

Pilgrimage to the Caaba and Charing Cross

Hassan, Hafiz Ahmed (1871)



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Sani H. Panhwar (2022)

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TO THE
CAABA AND CHARING CROSS.

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PILGRIMAGE

To The Caaba and Charing Cross.

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF MY EARLY HISTORY.

I find there is a very great desire among English people to become acquainted with the peculiarities of foreign countries; and the more distant and more inaccessible the country, the greater is the curiosity which is felt regarding it. There is also a very laudable desire to learn the impressions which foreigners, visiting England, derive of English institutions, manners and customs. I have lately been led, by the destiny which guides our footsteps along the pathway of life, to visit some places of remarkable interest, which from various causes are seldom visited by, indeed, they are almost inaccessible to, English travelers. And I have been bold enough to place on record the results of my observations, with the hope that they may not be uninteresting to the reading public of this great country. I lay claim to no great literary ability, and shall attempt in this little book no high flights of rhetoric or eloquence. But I am not without hope that my narrative may receive some little share of the attention of that section of the English people that takes pleasure in reading about the marvels of foreign lands. More particularly, because the information I have to give on some points is new, and could have reached them by no other channel, And if some of my statements should appear so marvelous as to be incredible, I beg to remind my readers of the old adage, common among Englishmen, and daily receiving illustration from the events which are described in the journals of the day, — that truth is often stranger than fiction.

I was born in a city in one of the most fertile and salubrious provinces in the north-west of Hindustan, called Rohikund. It may indeed be styled the garden of India. Bounded on the east and north by the mighty Himalaya Mountains, the backbone of the earth, and on the west by the broad waters of the Ganges, the sacred stream of the idolatrous Hindoos, on the south by the forest and meadow lands of Oude, its fertile soil is watered by various streams that have their source in the Himalayas, and find their way among winding channels to the Ganges. For many years I have been in the service of the Nawab or sovereign of the Tonk State. This sovereignty is situated in a part of Rajpootana, and is surrounded by territories ruled over by Hindoo princes, the descendants of the ancient royal families of India, who ever successfully resisted the efforts of the Mohammedan conquerors to subjugate them. The existence, therefore, of a Mohammedan power in their very midst is a source of much heart-burning and jealousy to these Rajpoot princes, who live on the traditions and the recollections of

their past greatness. The Nawabate of Tonk was founded in the year 1817, when a treaty was made between Ameer Khan, then ruler of the Tonk state, and the British government—a treaty which on the side of the Tonk sovereign has ever since been faithfully observed. The loyalty of the Nawab of Tonk to the British government was conspicuously shown in 1857.

When the Nawab, my master, fell under the displeasure of the British government, and was dethroned and banished as a state prisoner to Benares, I deemed it unbecoming in me to desert him in his misfortunes. I followed him in his exile. And being aware of his innocence, and entertaining the fullest confidence in the justice of the British government, I would not allow myself to believe that an explanation of the affair, and a revelation of the deep-laid conspiracy by which the government had been led to believe in his guilt, would not be followed by his restoration to power.

The net of misfortune in which the Nawab, my master, was enveloped, is in itself well worthy of the attention of those who take pleasure in strange and eventful stories, and in tracing the thread of artifice and cunning by which designing men in this world often succeed in accomplishing their evil ends, to the destruction of the good and innocent, and the elevation to temporary power and prosperity of the wicked. The fate my master underwent, and the mode in which it was worked out, is an episode of Indian history, very instructive to those who would learn something of the manners and customs of a people once distinguished for chivalry and martial ardour, but now little better than robbers and assassins,

I feel sure that the reader's sympathy will be aroused for those who have suffered by one of the most calamitous events that could befall a wise and upright prince, whose whole efforts were devoted to the benefit of his subjects and the protection and support of the poor and the improvement of his country.

CHAPTER II,

A TRAGEDY AND ITS RESULTS.

The administration of the Tonk State. – A rebellious feudatory, – Attempt at compromise. – Murderous attack on the minister's house.

Before describing the extraordinary circumstances and the bloody tragedy which filled the capital of Tonk with consternation and woe, I must premise that, in addition to the ill feeling entertained towards the Nawab, my master, on account of his belonging to the Mahomedan faith, and having the misfortune to be the ruler of a state surrounded by the territories of bigoted Hindoo princes, he incurred much odium by adopting measures of improvement in his State, which in a more civilized and advanced community would have secured him the approbation and the good-will of every one.

Fully impressed with the blessings which civilized institutions confer upon a country, and being incited thereto by the advice of His Excellency, the Viceroy of India, tendered to the assembled chiefs and princes of India in open durbar at Agra, in 1866, the Nawab, my master, set vigorously to work at the improvement of his territory. He planned roads to facilitate and protect commercial traffic; he instituted schools and dispensaries for the relief of the sick; he organized an effective police, and endeavored to put down highway robbery and marauding with a strong hand; he constructed wells, tanks, and canals to fertilize the soil; he erected market places, and encouraged in every way the settlement of a peaceable population in his cities. I held the office of Dustoorool Moolk, as it is called, answering in a small way to the office here styled the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had the supervision of all revenue matters, It does not become me to speak of my own labors, for self-laudation is ever contemptible. But I can say this much, that by a judicious and economical administration of public affairs, with my advice and assistance, the Nawab paid off a very heavy debt left by his predecessor, and by improvement in the land, providing for artificial irrigation, etc., matters were so arranged that, on the most moderate computation, in twenty years' time the revenues of the Tonk State would have been doubled, and a condition of prosperity unexampled and unprecedented in Rajpootana, or perhaps in any state under native rule, would have been the result. This description of the condition of affairs does not depend merely on my own statement; for Colonel Eden, who was the Governor-General's Agent, the highest official in that part of India, and who as I shall subsequently show, was no friend of the Nawab, himself admitted, in his Report for the year 1865-6, published in the selections from Government Records, which is an Indian Blue Book, that the Nawab was the most vigorous ruler in Rajpootana.

But all these improvements could not effectually be carried out without the cooperation of the landholders and other influential people in the territory. The principal of these was a Rajpoot chief, whose castle was situated about twenty miles from the capital,

Tonk. This chief was called the Lawa Thakoor, or lord of Lawa, as it would be written in English. The Lawa chiefs and people were turbulent Rajpoots, living by rapine and plunder. Highway robbers and other criminals frequently found an asylum in the walls of the Lawa fort even in recent years. The chief himself was proud and ill-disposed towards the Nawab, whom he hated, both because he was a Mahommedan, and because he was jealous of his position, and, being himself allied to some of the oldest Rajpoot families, he coveted the position of reigning sovereign of the Tonk state. Wedded to the traditions of the past, and ignorant of the blessings of civilization, he despised the attempts which the Nawab was making to introduce reforms, and he called the measures by which these wholesome reforms were to be introduced, "new-fangled notions."

How could a barbarous chief, inured and accustomed by early associations to violence and rapine, who held, as he said, his lands by his sword, appreciate the advantages of good government, an organized police, roads, and other measures which are designed to put an end to the very conditions under which barbarism and crime exist ?

To be brief, the Lawa chief refused to cooperate in any of these measures, and declined to pay the impost which the Nawab was endeavoring to levy for the good of the country. Unable to coerce his powerful feudatory, and hampered by his opposition, because that opposition encouraged others to a similar course of disobedience, the Nawab endeavored to overcome the obstacle by temporizing. He did everything he could to induce the Lawa chief to submit to the impost, He even offered to make good the amount of the impost by grants of lands and other things: and after some negotiations, conducted on the side of the Nawab by his minister Surwur Shah, the chief, with a large following of armed retainers, came into Tonk in the latter end of July, 1867. Alas it was an evil day for Tonk when the invitation to a personal interview was issued.

About nine o'clock on a close, muggy evening, on the 1st August, 1867, a day marked with a black spot in the calendar of my life, I was seated with the Nawab, conversing, when we were startled by the sound of firearms in the city, followed by the distant noise of many voices and much confusion. Alarmed at so unusual an occurrence—for firing guns was prohibited by law in the city after sunset—and dreading lest the presence of so many armed followers of the Lawa chief in the city should have led to some affray, the Nawab dispatched messengers to learn the cause of the disturbance. We were not long in doubt, for presently messengers arrived from the city magistrate to the Nawab, to tell him that the Lawa people had attacked the house of the minister Surwur Shah, and had slaughtered many of his guard, and that there was a terrible affray and much bloodshed. I hurried to the spot: but by the time I got there the fighting was over. How shall I describe the sight that met my view! Dead bodies and wounded lying in the street, bleeding from ghastly wounds, blood spilt on the road and the gateposts of the minister's house, the gate broken in or thrown down, and a huge crowd of

people, all in a state of the greatest excitement, fear and trembling. What was to be done? I saw at once from the dress and appearance of the dead Rajpoots and the sepoy of the guard what had happened, and orders were immediately issued to dispatch as many armed police, and as many men as could be got together at the moment, to overtake and capture the fugitives who had escaped.

But the Lawa people had had all prepared. At an early hour in the evening the chief had made all his arrangements to leave Tonk that night, with all his following. Their things had been packed up, their beasts of burden laden, and horses saddled. Accordingly his people had all fled, and were by that time some distance on their road to Lawa. The chief or thakoor himself had not however left, and fearing lest in the excited condition of men's minds (the Mahommodan soldiery of the guard being thoroughly enraged at the treacherous and sudden onslaught on their comrades) the chief himself would fall a victim to their angry excitement; or that if at large he might, perhaps, perpetrate some fresh disturbance of the peace, the Nawab took the wise precaution of sending orders to have the house in which the chief was residing surrounded by armed men, so that no one should be allowed to enter or to leave the premises.

These preliminary measures having been set on foot, I set to work to examine the dead and wounded. I found among the slain the uncle of the Lawa chief, who had headed the attack, and one or two other chiefs and men of note, whose bodies were lying in the road. There was also a sad spectacle—the body of the faithful Goolab Khan, the commanding officer of the guard, who had fallen like a true soldier at his post. Altogether there were seventeen bodies to be found, ten of which were those of Lawa men who had met their death in the perpetration of this grievous outrage, six Hindoo sepoy of the guard, who had fallen at their post, and the body of the slain Mahommedan officer. Besides this there were some nine sepoy badly wounded, but only one wounded man of the Lawa party was captured, and he was seized on the road. He had been wounded by a sword-cut in the head, and was at once sent into custody where, however, he had the best medical attendance it was possible to afford him. This man's name was Megh Sing. Some three others of the Lawa band were also captured unhurt, and were taken also into custody. It was the month of August; the weather was, as it always is at that time of the year in India, excessively hot, and at the same time damp; and it was impossible to keep the dead bodies for any lengthened time, for purposes of inquiry. They were accordingly picked up; the body of the Mahommedan officer was made over to his friends, who buried it; the bodies of the Hindoos were disposed of according to the rites of the Hindoo religion; that is to say, they were burnt next morning. The bodies of the chiefs were burnt in one spot by themselves, those of the Raj pout retainers at another, and those of the Hindoo sepoy of the guard at third. There is a class of men who devote themselves to the duty of performing these last rites in India, who are called burners of the dead, and to these men was entrusted, in the ordinary course of things, the last melancholy office. I might as well here mention, as it has been alleged that the bodies of the slain were disposed of with undue haste to serve

a purpose, that, while it was utterly impossible to keep the bodies, so it was impossible for the friends and relations of the deceased Lawa men to be apprised of what had occurred, as they were naturally away at their homes. They could not therefore be sent for on the spur of the moment to attend the funeral rites, nor is it at all likely they would have come, had they been summoned. The relations, however, of several of the deceased Tonk sepoys were present, and identified the corpses of their friends. I merely mention this, to show there could, in reality, be no dispute about the identification, and that there was no mystery about the matter. The Lawa men succeeded in carrying off with them all their wounded, except Megh Sing, who, as I have said, was captured. At least it is to be presumed they did so, for it is altogether unlikely that in an affray where seventeen men were killed on both sides, and nine wounded on one side, there should be only one wounded on the other. And as, conscious of their guilt, and defeated in their murderous attempt, and driven off, they had fled, it is only fair to presume they carried away the rest of their wounded with them, lest they should fall into the hands of the authorities, and be made to give evidence. which would criminate their superiors.

Up to this point my narrative has contained little beyond a record of violence, such as may at any time occur where there are elements of mischief ever ready to hand, in the shape of turbulent men accustomed to carry arms, and prone by natural instinct, early habit, and traditional association to resort to force and bloodshed at the bidding of their feudal superiors. Now, however, I have to relate, how fraud, cunning and artifice supplemented violence and murder, and actually succeeded in turning the infamy due to such a crime from the heads of the guilty on to those of the innocent; how deceit, and treachery, and falsehood triumphed over innocence and justice; and how the guilty were allowed to escape with the reward of innocence, and the innocent to suffer the punishment due to the guilty.

The first step the Nawab took the next day was to institute an inquiry into the circumstances which led to the affray; when it transpired, that about noon the same day in which the tragedy occurred, the uncle of the Lawa chief who had the principal control of his affairs, had called, either by appointment or of his own accord, at the minister's house, and had asked for an interview. The minister unfortunately was at that time ill and confined to his bed. Being unable to see the chief he sent a message by his deputy or assistant to say that he was ill, adding some remark to the effect that the Lawa chief ought not to object to bearing his share of the public burdens for the establishment of police, dispensaries, and other improvements designed for the general good of the State. To this the chief angrily replied, that he was not in such a position as to be thankful for a piece of bread, that he did not hold his estates as a grant from the Nawab, but held them by his sword, and by his sword would keep them, laying his hand at the same time on the hilt of his sword. In this state of anger and indignation he left. That afternoon, as it subsequently transpired, the Lawa chief, after consulting with his uncle, determined to leave Tonk, and return to his fort the same night. Preparations were accordingly made, everything was packed up, and the horses were saddled, when

the chief's uncle left with a number of retainers, all armed (accounts differ as to the actual number—from sixteen to fifty men), and repaired to the minister's house again; the outer gate was closed; he demanded admittance. The sentry from within stated that he could not open the gate; that the minister was ill and could not be disturbed at that hour, This did not satisfy the Raipoot chief; he and his men pushed the gate, the wicket gave way and fell in, and they were about to enter, when they were opposed by the sentry and the rest of the guard. A scuffle ensued, during which one of the chief turbans was knocked off. Swords were then drawn by the Rajpoots, and the sepoy took their arms in self-defence. The officers of the guard came up, and several sepoy, who had apparently laid down undressed to sleep—for I myself saw their dead bodies lying on the ground in that state without their clothes—rushed to the spot, fire-arms were used, and the fight became general, with what result I have already said.

The crafty and subtle plot by which this infamous outrage was made the instrument for ruining the Nawab, who, it must be sufficiently clear, was in no wise concerned in the affray, I must reserve for another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE PLOT.

Anonymous Letter. – Siege o Lawa. – Political intrigues – the Nawab's ruin accomplished.

The parties answerable for the gross outrage described in the last chapter must have become fully aware, directly the excitement of bad and angry passions had subsided, and they had time for cool reflection, that so serious an affray could not be passed over without notice by the British Government. The Nawab, conscious in his own innocence, took the ordinary course which common sense or prudence would suggest, and directed a full and searching inquiry to be carried out in the usual manner. His opponents, however, who had their guilty acts to conceal, took a very different course. At that time the relations between Tonk and the other States, were under the supervision of Captain Bruce, the Political Agent of Harrowtee, as his official position was designated, who resided at Deolee a place about thirty miles from Tonk. This officer's immediate superior was Colonel Eden, the Agent Governor-General as he is styled, who resided at Mount Aboo, some three hundred miles distant, There was at that time, residing at Tonk, a native doctor named Bheekoo Singh, a clever man, who understood English; and from the fact of his being occasionally called on to attend the families of British officers when they happened to be in the neighborhood, and to be in need of medical advice, he had free access not only to the wives and families of such officials, but to the officials themselves. This man was immediately sent for to attend to the wounded; and among his patients was Megh Singh, who, the reader will recollect, was the only wounded man of the Lawa party captured.

The first step that the Lawa people took was to despatch a letter purporting to come from one of the retainers who was present at the affray, to Captain Bruce at Deolee, in which it was artfully stated, that the minister had invited the chief to his house on the evening of the affray; that the uncle of the chief had gone, and had been taken alone into an upper room in the interior of the house and there assassinated, and that the followers of the chief had been set upon in the courtyard of the minister's house and assassinated also, and that the writer of this letter was the only one who had escaped. He did not say that he was wounded, but that he escaped.

This letter was the first step that was taken. The next will require a short explanation to be properly understood.

It will be readily conceived that the relations between the Lawa chief and the Nawab having been for a long course of years of a most unfriendly character, owing to the

rebellious and turbulent disposition of the chief, many efforts would be made by the weaker party, by means well understood, and constantly practiced in India, to secure the goodwill of all the subordinate officials attached to the Governor General's Agency and the different political agencies connected in any way with Rajpootana affairs. The success which had attended these efforts will be seen from the following circumstances.

It happened that, a few years before this affray occurred, the Lawa chief had openly defied the Nawab's authority. The Nawab complained to the Governor General's Agent, who told him to take his own measures to coerce his refractory vassal. He accordingly set troops in motion, and laid siege to the fortress of Lawa. He had just completed, at a great extense of time and labor, earthwork batteries for his guns, when the Lawa chief managed to leave his fort, and betook himself to the British station of Ajmere, some two hundred miles off, where he had a private interview with a British officer, subordinate to Colonel Eden. It is ill work speaking against the dead, and as that officer is no longer alive to resist any implied imputation upon his official character, I shall mention no names, nor do more than barely allude to the reports which were everywhere in circulation—viz., that on that occasion the Lawa chief expended a large sum of money. That large sums of money are expended in all these intrigues is notorious. But as British officers act mostly on reports and representations made to them by their inferiors and subordinates, it is by no means a necessary conclusion that the money so freely distributed on these occasions finds its way further than the subordinate and inferior channels of communication. However, the result of the Lawa chief's timely visit to Ajmere was, that a few days after, a peremptory order arrived from Colonel Eden to the Nawab, directing him to withdraw his troops and guns, and leave the Lawa chief alone. At the same time an officer was deputed to the spot, nominally to settle the dispute. In reality he carried out the designs and wishes of the rebellious chief, and the Nawab was forced to withdraw his troops and guns, leaving his purpose altogether unaccomplished. In short, the chief by intrigue had worsted him; and everyone saw that the influence of the Lawa chief, although in rebellion against his sovereign, was more powerful with the British Authorities than that of the Nawab.

It is the custom in Rajpootana for every ruler of a State to have a representative always at the court of the Governor General's agent, in order to form the channel of communication between the British Government and his master, and to look after his interests generally. It had been for years the end and object of the Lawa chief to be recognized as independent of the Nawab. On the present occasion, the means used to poison the mind of Colonel Eden against the Nawab were so successful, that on receipt of a report of the affray of the 1st August, Colonel Eden took the strange and unwonted step of summarily dismissing from his court the representative of the Nawab in such a manner as to show that he had already pre-judged the case against him, and admitting a representative from the Lawa chief in his stead: a thing unheard of before, for as a mere vassal he had no right or claim to be so represented. This step was sufficient to show the whole of the rulers of the Rajpootana States that the representatives of the

British Government had determined upon the ruin of the Nawab. This done, Colonel Eden next dispatched Captain Bruce to proceed to Tonk to inquire into the affair, thus disgracing the Nawab first, and instituting inquiry afterwards.

It is not necessary for me to continue this narrative in detail. The reader will see at once that the Nawab's ruin was predetermined by Colonel Eden, Captain Bruce came to Tonk on the 15th August and conducted a perfunctory and loose inquiry into the affair. I call it perfunctory and loose, because many witnesses who could have thrown some light on the affair were not examined. I myself, who knew more about it probably than any one, as I was on the spot almost immediately after it occurred, was not allowed the opportunity of making a deposition. Megh Sing, who alleged he was the only survivor, was kept in confinement till Captain Bruce arrived, but the native doctor was an effectual channel of communication between him and the outer world. And on the day of the examination he was allowed several hours' close intercourse with the other Lawa witnesses, so that they had the fullest opportunity to concoct anything they liked. His story agreed in some respects, in others not, with that given in the anonymous letter to Captain Bruce, although, as both he and the anonymous writer each declared he was the sole survivor, it ought to have been apparent at once that there was something strange about it. They both agreed, however, in saying that the slaughter of the chief had been committed in a small upper room in the interior of the house, where Megh Sing said there were four altogether murdered; it is certain they were armed if they were there at all, and it is equally certain that, being Rajpoots, they would not die like rats in a cage. This little room therefore must have borne many traces of the crime; but when I desired Captain Bruce to inspect it, he said it was no consequence, and would not do so. Captain Bruce sent off the first report, with a portion of the evidence, on the 26th August, to Colonel Eden; and although he, even after the loose inquiry he made, exonerated the Nawab from all complicity with the alleged crime; and although he afterwards continued the investigations, and took more evidence, which he sent with a second report on the 15th September to Colonel Eden, in which he again exonerated the Nawab; yet Colonel Eden on the receipt of the first report, with nothing officially before him but half the record of the evidence, and Captain Bruce's expressed opinion that the Nawab was not concerned, wrote to the Government of India and recommended the dethronement of the Nawab. The Government, without inquiry, adopted that recommendation; and the Nawab, who took no steps to vindicate himself from the imputation—indeed he could not do so, because he was never allowed even to see one of the dispatches or official letters till more than a year after his banishment—was astonished at receiving a letter from the Viceroy, declaring that he was held guilty of being concerned in a plot to assassinate in cold blood a number of chiefs and Rajpoots who had been lured into the minister's house to their destruction. Resistance of course was hopeless: he at once left his throne, his family, his capital, his country, and has lived in exile as a state prisoner ever since, pointed at by the finger of scorn and indignation as being stained with an infamous crime!

In justice to Colonel Eden, who took so very extraordinary a part in this affair, truth compels me to state, what I regret to have to state, as it reflects seriously on the justice of the British Government towards their native feudatories although of course they must have been ignorant of the real state of the case—that, although in his younger years Colonel Eden had been a vigorous and energetic officer, yet it was notorious throughout Rajpootana that for some two years before his death (he died shortly after these events), he was, from decaying Health; physically and intellectually incapable of performing any duty which required the least mental application. He could not master the contents of documents laid before him for his signature, His condition must have been perfectly well-known to everyone about him, and the *vakeels* and representatives of the native courts had constant opportunities of seeing him. In this condition he was a tool in the hands of any crafty or designing person who could procure his signature to a document. It is deplorable to contemplate the consequences of an officer in his state of health being allowed to remain in such an important position, when he had to supervise the affairs of all the independent States of the whole of Rajpootana. Shortly after these events, Colonel Eden left on medical certificate, and died on his road to Bombay.

If the Nawab had been a little boy accused of picking pockets in the streets of London, he would not have been condemned without being tried by a magistrate. As it is, he was condemned without being allowed even so much as to see the depositions or the reports on which the Government acted, much less reply to them. He was completely prostrated by the blow, and for weeks and weeks did nothing but bemoan his hard lot, and offer up prayers to heaven for that justice which man had denied him. After a while he yielded to the solicitations of myself and others of his friends and former servants, and determined to make an effort to obtain something like a hearing. His first step was to solicit to be allowed to see the dispatch and depositions on the strength of which he had been condemned. This was at first refused him; but ultimately, more than a year after his banishment, he was furnished with a portion of these documents. After another earnest solicitation he was furnished with the rest; and then, for the first time, nearly two years after the sentence had been carried out, he was made aware of what had been alleged against him. He appealed to the Government, praying for inquiry, but all in vain.

The reader will, perhaps, at first be inclined to suppose that, in the narration of this affair, I have been drawing on my imagination, and that such an occurrence could not really have taken place in the nineteenth century. But I can assure them it is all too true, and the documents and proofs are all at hand, and I shall be happy to show them to anyone who may wish to satisfy himself by further inquiry of the truth of what I have stated. The statement I have made with regard to Colonel Eden's health is one the truth of which is well known to all the British officers in his department, and was notorious throughout all circles of native society in Rajpootana.

In January 1870, the Nawab procured permission to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. I accompanied him thither, and subsequently repaired to this country. Our adventures, and the impressions I derived from what I saw during our journey, I now proceed to describe.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM BOMBAY. TO JEDDA.

Embark at Bombay. – Horrors of sea voyage. – Crowded steamer. – Aden – Visit to a Mohomedan saint – Hodyda. – Visit to another saint. – The country and its resources.

In January, 1870, the Nawab and his suite, which comprised altogether about one hundred and fifty persons, proceeded through Central India to Bombay. I was much struck with the scenery through which the road passed and the extraordinary verdure of the country, interspersed with large trees and rippling silvery streams, which resembled lace set in green velvet. At Bombay we took our passage in a steamer called the *Sir Bartle Frere*, for Jedda. We were put to a great deal of inconvenience by the want of punctuality observed by the captain of the steamer, who, although he had engaged some four hundred and fifty or five hundred passengers, did not sail for a week or more after the date advertised for departure. I had inspected the ship before we took our passage, but when I got on board, the evening before our departure, I discovered that there was a great difference between the *Sir Bartle Frere* cleaned, painted, and decked out for inspection, and the *Sir Bartle Frere* with more than four hundred souls on board, ready for sea, The passengers were crowded together, cooped up in holes and corners of the ship in every conceivable stage of discomfort and confusion. The foul stench that polluted the atmosphere of the cabin it is impossible to describe. And what was my consternation when, the ship already being, as I thought, crammed with living beings, so that it would be impossible to squeeze another creature on board it, on the morning before we set sail, lo! the proprietor came on board accompanied by a boatful of fresh passengers. How they ever managed to stow themselves away was a mystery to me, which was not even solved by the Government official who came on board to inspect the ship before departure, and ascertain that she had only the proper number of passengers. Before leaving the vessel, this functionary made a short address to us all, stating that he had examined the ship, and found everything arranged as the law required. Whether this included the fact of there not being an excess of passengers on board beyond what is allowed by law, I do not know; but if any of the passengers suffered any ill-treatment during the voyage, they were to complain to the authorities at Aden or Jedda.

We were now fairly embarked on the much dreaded "black-water," that object of apprehension to the natives of the interior who, like myself, had never seen the sea before. The agonies we suffered no pen can describe. Why was it that when I opened my eyes and raised my aching head, not only the sea but the sky appeared in motion? Everything was dancing, the ship underneath my feet, the sea, and the sky above me:

while the cruel torment I endured, aggravated a thousand-fold by the intolerable inconvenience of being so dreadfully crowded—so many human beings shut up in that narrow space—and the sickening smell from between decks—ah! it was something totally indescribable. Utterly prostrated, I lay day and night on the deck, deeming that I had reached the extremity of human suffering, and that my condition could not possibly be rendered worse than it was. Alas ! I was soon to find out that Fate had something yet in store for us, and that there were lower depths still of aggravated suffering, than that to which I had already sunk.

On the fifth night the wind, hitherto favorable and not boisterous, began to blow with force. The sea water came in through the sides of the vessel, and was more than an inch deep in the cabin and on deck. Backwards and forwards, from side to side, up and down, *Sir Bartle Frere* reeled, and plunged, and tossed, till we scarce knew whether we were on the surface of the sea or underneath its waves; while the water, laden with filth which emitted a most frightful odor, slushed backwards and forwards from side to side. Terror and consternation seized the minds of the women and children and the men too; and the hapless crowd of miserable wretches fell to beseeching Providence to assuage the violence of the elements, and to save them from destruction.

Amid the fury of the storm, the voices of the multitude imploring the protection of the Almighty even drowned the roaring of the winds and waves.

But there is a termination to all conditions of human affairs; and the following morning the storm abated.

In spite of all my sufferings, the intensity of which it is vain for me to attempt to depict, my mind had been so much impressed with what I had heard of the wonders of the deep, that I kept constantly looking about me to catch a glimpse of the sea monsters and living creatures of strange forms with which I had been led to believe the waters of the great deep were peopled. But I saw nothing more wonderful than the winged fish which are found in those latitudes, which appeared to fly about in flocks from one spot in the sea to another, generally covering a distance of about twenty feet in their flight. I saw also a living creature which looked when in the water like a rose in full bloom, but when taken out of its native element, I found to be a whitish pulpy mass, semi-transparent, adorned with blue streaks and with an eye of a pale red color. The form of these strange creatures was circular, varying from half an inch to an inch in diameter.

All conditions of life have their stages and periods of repose; and after seven days of such discomfort and wretchedness as, even now, when I recall it to mind, awakens visions of horror and despair, our eyes were gladdened by the appearance of land, and the *Sir Bartle Frere* anchored near the barren, ugly, naked shore of Aden. My heart yearned so for the land, that it was with difficulty I could persuade myself to make the necessary preparations to go on shore. We had arrived, however, late in the evening,

and found that we were not allowed to land till the medical officer of the port had examined the passengers, and certified that there was no sickness or infectious disease among them. We despaired of his coming on board that evening, and made up our minds to pass another night on the steamer.

In the morning, while awaiting the arrival of the doctor, we amused ourselves with watching the Somali boys, who inhabit that part of the Arabian coast, diving in the water for little coins which we threw into the sea, to tempt them to show off their fish-like propensities. They were exceedingly clever at catching in their mouths everything we threw into the sea; and they reminded me of the fish I have seen in certain parts of the Ganges in India, which are fed by Hindoos, who throw into the sacred waters little bits of bread at which the fish dart with surprising alacrity. These Somali boys, with their dark faces and red hair, splashing about in the blue waters, diving, and then rising to the surface with their mouths filled with the coins we had thrown into the sea, looked like large fishes or marine animals. When they had collected a good many pieces of money they swam off to their boats and deposited their gains in their purses, and then jumped into the water again to resume their sport.

At last, the doctor was announced; and I, fearing lest my pale attenuated frame, the result of so much sickness and long starvation, would lead to the belief that I was suffering from some disease, exerted myself so far as to don a neat dress, and make myself spruce; and that done, I sat bolt upright and looked my best; for I said to myself, "God forbid the doctor should prohibit me from going ashore." Others appeared to be animated with the same desire as myself, and so, after the doctor had taken a look at us, he told the captain there was no objection to our landing. We lost no time in availing ourselves of the permission, but when I stepped on shore, my knees trembled under me, and I fancied that the solid earth was reeling and shaking as if it had been the deck of the floating prison where we had been confined so long. The first thing we found on that barren, burnt-up, rocky shore was a cab, and a carriage-and-pair waiting to be hired. I mention this, because it made a great impression on my mind; for assuredly I never expected to find such appliances on the barren coast of Arabia. A little farther on we found a crowd of natives, with a number of donkeys ready saddled, clamorously offering their animals for hire, trotting them backwards and forwards and exhibiting to the best advantage their qualities. Most of my friends and companions, partly to humor the donkey-men, and partly to satisfy their own curiosity, and discover by experience what kind of sensation was produced by riding a donkey, mounted the creatures. I, on account of my great physical weakness, preferred the carriage, and so we all set out for the town of Aden.

It is a strange place, and the approach to the town, which is a collection of houses inconveniently placed, and more resembling sheds built of sticks and mats than houses, is through a hole in the mountain which surrounds the town. Our party alighted for rest and refreshment at a mausoleum called the Makbara, or burial place of the saintly Eid

Roos. The tomb was in the centre of the hall; the mosque attached to it was gaudily decorated with chandeliers and other articles of glass. I threw myself on the floor of the mosque from sheer fatigue, and my example was soon followed by the rest of our party. I had put some money into the hand of one of the natives of the place and desired him to procure some food for us; and, after waiting awhile, we were informed that our meal was ready. We then got up and followed our guide into a neighboring house, as it is called in Aden, – in reality a shed constructed out of bamboos and mats. There was a neat carpet spread on the floor, of Turkish pattern and make; in the centre of this carpet was a circular mat, about five feet in diameter, on which our dinner was laid out. It consisted of cakes made of flour and baked in butter called "paratas," water melons as sweet as sugar, and meat, which our host said was cooked, though it appeared to us as if it had never been subjected to any heat beyond what might be derived from the Aden sun. I cannot indeed aver that it had never been put upon the fire, but though hot to the touch it was nevertheless quite raw. The water was served in copper vessels, and had a very peculiar smell, the cause of which, when we inquired, our host explained by saying, with a laugh that had a dash of pride and contempt in it, that the smell was in consequence of the water having been smoked by the incense which had been burnt to make it more palatable to their respected guests.

However, a week's starvation and sea-sickness gives a wonderful flavor to a meal, and I candidly confess that I devoured whatever came within reach of my hand. Moreover I had this reflection ever present to my mind: that as soon as I returned to the steamer my mouth would be locked up till I should get to land again. On leaving the house, I put some more money into the hand of our entertainer, which had the effect of eliciting from him expressions of the liveliest gratitude, and many prayers that the wishes and purposes of the donor might receive full accomplishment.

After dinner we were solicited to call and pay our respects to the revered descendant of the saintly Eid Roos, in whose premises we had been resting. The natives revere him as a saint. He is, in fact, the *mutwalli*, or treasurer of the mosque and mausoleum, and keeps these buildings in repair out of the alms given by the believers, retaining the balance for himself, by which means he has amassed a considerable amount of money. We were conducted along a circuitous passage, and through several doors to an inner apartment, at the entrance to which we deposited our shoes. The room in which we found ourselves was decorated with a large collection of weapons, arranged along the walls; these weapons were long, heavy, gilt matchlocks of various forms and of antique fashion called "toradars " (matchlocks fired by a piece of burning string), daggers and swords of different kinds, all gilt and beautifully decorated with silver work. On the floor there was stretched a gaudy carpet, in the midst of which was seated a stout, sedate, grave-looking personage with fair complexion. He rested on a "masnad," or cushion of cotton or silk stuff with a pillow behind to support the back; his legs were doubled under him. The syed, for it was the holy man in whose presence we now found ourselves, was dressed in a long white linen robe. He at once arose and advanced to the

door to receive us with an alacrity which somewhat astonished us, and begged us to be seated on his "masnad." We declined with courtesy, alleging that we were not worthy to be seated on a "masnad" in the presence of so revered a syed, The syed then seated himself, and we deposited ourselves upon the carpet. He spoke with much reserve and in a low voice, but politely gave us to understand that he was extremely delighted to make our acquaintance. We replied in suitable terms, and a conversation was kept up from time to time, till the necessity of repeating our afternoon prayer and making some few necessary purchases before going on board again, obliged us to solicit permission to take our departure. The dervesh, as the holy syed is called, gave expression to the pain he felt at parting from his friends, and we took our leave. We then repaired to one of the neighboring mosques to recite our prayers; after which we went to the bazaar to make sundry purchases. The most necessary article we had to procure was a stock of earthen water jars to hold fresh water; for the water served out to us on board had a fetid odor, and was, besides, almost hot. If the earthen jars could not make it aromatic, they would, at any rate, we thought, keep it cool. And so, after completing our preparations, by two o'clock we all returned to our prison. In the morning we weighed anchor and started again, when all my miseries returned; the heart-breaking smell, the deafening noise of the engine, the dreadful shaking of the deck, and the abominable discomfort from the crowding, all combined to produce the same condition of physical depression and wretchedness which I had experienced before. Certainly, if there were two methods of reaching my destination; one involving a journey of a thousand miles by land, and another a hundred by sea, I should unhesitatingly choose the former.

In the evening we passed through the entrance to the Red Sea by the Island of Perim, which entrance is called by the people of India the Bab-i-Sikandur, or Gate of Alexander (instead of Bab-ul-Mandeb), as it is believed that that great conqueror caused this excavation to be made in the mountains in order to allow his ships to pass. Much consternation and terror was visible on the faces of the passengers during our passage of the straits; for it is believed to be attended with the utmost danger, and that the least deviation from the right course would consign a vessel and her crew and passengers to inevitable destruction on the rocks. And when the danger was past, and we had cleared the straits, everyone was loud in his praises of the cleverness of the English nation, to which our captain and the officers of the ship belonged. After a day and a night's voyage, we thanked God that we had a prospect of again leaving the vessel for a time, for we approached Hodyda, the capital of Yemen. We could not, however, get nearer to the shore than within five or six miles; and it was a difficult and dangerous task to get on board the little boats, a number of which put out, as soon as our vessel was descried from the harbor. The sea was dreadfully rough; and with the steamer tossing up and down, and the boats dancing about on the summit of the waves, to descend safely from the one to the other was as hazardous an experiment as holding a wolf by the ears. We were half-persuaded not to venture on shore, but the terrors of sea sickness were so great, that I was determined, at all hazards, to make the attempt, and, watching my opportunity when the boat was lifted up by a wave almost to a level with the lowest

step of the ladder, I took a leap and found myself safe in the boat. The sea was so rough that we were much wetted by it on our passage to the land.

Troublesome and exacting as was the sea, the boatmen were almost equally so, for fearing lest when we should reach land we should not care to pay them what they demanded, they forced us to pay them what they chose to exact before we reached the shore.

As we neared the harbor the boat stopped at about twenty paces from the land, when a crowd of naked natives—I call them naked, for indeed they were nearly so, having nothing whatever in the shape of clothes, but a strip of cloth round the loins—rushed impetuously into the sea, clamoring and vociferating with their guttural voices, and battling with the waves, which at times covered their heads, till they reached the boat, to the sides of which they clung like sea monsters. We thought they had all come to drag the boat to the shore; but no such generous purpose animated them. Each, we found to our cost, had merely his own selfish interests in view, which he endeavored to serve by trying to persuade every one of us to seat himself on his shoulders, and trust to the tender mercies of the amphibious barbarian to convey him safe to land.

They seized my companions by the legs, by the hands, by their clothes, and endeavored to drag them thus on to their shoulders. Some yielded and were well wetted for their pains. For my own part I determined to remain where I was, unless some more convenient method of landing could be devised. And my resolution was rewarded, for seeing that I could not be induced to clamber on to the shoulders of these naked barbarians, some of the Arabs who were on shore brought out a rude chair, and by this means I was conveyed safely through the surf, though I expected at every step to be immersed in the water. His highness the Nawab followed my example.

When we landed we found an enormous crowd collected, staring at us with open eyes and mouths, their eyes fixed in their sockets, appearing like holes in their skulls that were never intended to be anything but wide open.

In front of us was a house, the finest building in the place, which was white-washed,—at least so the natives of the place said; for my part I could not discern anything white about it. It seemed to be in a state of great disrepair. In front of the doorway walked a sentry, wearing a red cap and an old military suit, with very old shoes, and armed with an old muzzle-loading musket, in every respect, the counterpart of the shabby, tumble-down building, the entrance to which he was apparently engaged in guarding. This building was Government House, and the space in front of it was covered with bales of coffee and other merchandise, strewn about in such a way as to make the approach a winding labyrinth.

We were provided with introductions to the Hodyda authorities, and were consequently received with kindness and respect. The house consisted of two apartments, one of which was the custom-house office, where the custom-house staff, two writers, were seated, who appeared to have no other duties to perform than to smoke long-stemmed pipes, and converse together. We were conducted into the inner apartment, where the principal officer of, the place, whose name: was Mahommed, received us and our party with much courtesy. I may safely say of him that he is a real and true gentleman, a generous and hospitable host; one always ready to sacrifice his comforts and conveniences and perhaps his interests, for others. A glance from his angry eye was sufficient to scatter the importunate crowd who thronged the windows to get a peep at the strangers. Our kind host entertained us very hospitably, and introduced us to the Pacha's brother. He was very urgent on us to pay a visit to a saint who resided in the neighborhood of Hodyda, about thirty miles from the town; and as we were assured by all that we should ever after regret it if we left without paying our respects to this holy man, we determined to take their advice, and retired early to rest in order that live might be ready to set out at three o'clock the next morning. The Pacha, hearing of our intention, kindly sent us two of his own horses, besides donkeys and camels, to convey our party, and an escort of mounted and foot soldiers for our protection. We reached our destination after a six hours' journey.

The object of our visit was an old man with the appearance and expression of much sanctity about him. He received us very courteously, and, after having given us several precepts and advice, knowing we had travelled a long way to see him, and had only a short time to stay, he sent for refreshments. The dinner, as he called it, was served in a flat-bottomed vessel, and consisted of dates mixed with melted butter, and bread or cakes of maize. This repast the Syed Abdul Baree, for such was the name of our revered host, invited us to partake of; but the Bedouins who had accompanied us, without waiting for any invitation, fell upon it, and speedily devoured at least half.

We were much pleased with our reception, and, after we had rested, returned to our host's house, where we were introduced to the Pacha and other magnates of the place. As the steamer was to sail the following morning, we had to embark 'shortly after our return.

As to the town of Hodyda, it is as dirty and wretched a place as can well be imagined. The market or bazaar is so narrow that four men can with difficulty walk abreast in it. I had not much opportunity of seeing a great deal of the country. From what I did see, however, and from the information I was able to collect, I should say that if the land could only be irrigated it would produce a great deal more than would suffice for the requirements of the district. I saw some fields of maize, and a few of barley, clad in green verdure. The greater part of the revenue is derived from the duties levied upon merchandise, both imports and exports being taxed. The principal exports consist of coffee and cornelians of different colours. I cannot do sufficient justice to the great

courtesy and politeness of the Hodyda officials, who exerted themselves to the utmost to minister to our pleasure and our wants.

The inhabitants of this country have a great idea of its fertility and resources. And it is right I should record the impression of the people, even though the place does not strike the visitor as one of excessive fertility. Vegetables, however, are produced there, and the jasmine-tree flowers abundantly.

Two more days of misery on board had to be passed before we reached our destination, when we were looking forward to parting from the *Sir Bank Frere* with the pleasing anticipation that our relations with that vessel would there end, never to be renewed during the term of our lives. I must mention, however, that throughout the whole voyage the captain and all the officers of the ship behaved towards us with the utmost kindness and consideration.

And so we cast anchor at Jedda.

CHAPTER V.

FROM JEDDA TO MECCA.

Land of Jedda. – Oppression by custom-house officials. – Harbor and town. – Camel traveling in Arabia. – Mecca. – Concourse of pilgrims, – Religious ceremonies. – The holy Caaba. – Abraham's place – Well of Zemzem. – Harem Shareef – Other places of sanctity. – Kalifaas of pilgrims. – Hadj ceremonies.

As soon as the medical officer of the port had pronounced that the ship had a clean bill of health, the utmost possible anxiety was exhibited on the part of the pilgrims to get on shore. Like vultures upon the carrion, the boatmen flew upon the baggage of the passengers, and the confusion that followed was indescribable.

When we reached the shore the baggage was carried from the landing-place to the town by negro porters, whose amazing strength astonished me. Some of these men carried on their backs a weight of six Indian maunds, or 480 pounds. It was said that a first-rate porter could lift and carry as much as eight hundredweight; but this seems incredible.

The unhappy pilgrims had next to undergo the painful ordeal of witnessing the examination of their effects.

We were fortunate enough to escape this, thanks to letters which we brought with us from our friend Mahommed of Hodyda to his brother officials at the port of Jedda. But the way in which the baggage of the other passengers was treated was simply disgraceful. The officials went about armed with iron hooks, with which they broke open every box they found locked. Every package was then examined, the articles being taxed according to the caprice and fancy, as it appeared to me, of these people. In some cases articles were altogether abstracted. Thus, if there were ten pieces of the same kind of goods, one of them was taken and the rest returned. If the articles were of different kinds, a certain sum of money had to be paid for each. They appeared to have no rule, or tariff, or regulation of any sort to guide them.

It was a system of indiscriminate robbery. Gaudy, flashy, highly colored articles were taxed heavily, because in their ignorance the officers supposed the more gaudy the appearance, the more valuable the goods. They turned over everything, throwing all the contents of the boxes and packages into the utmost possible disorder; and this they did, too, in the most offensive manner. It was a labor of much time to rearrange and repack them. We were not only fortunate enough to escape all this inconvenience ourselves,

but we found that the favor shown to our letters of introduction even extended to our friends, for all whom we introduced as our friends were shown the same immunity as ourselves.

Jedda is a small town. The market, although containing no good shops, yet furnished all we required. It is roofed in with timber to protect the people from the rays of the sun, which are here very powerful.

The port seems well frequented; there were at the time we landed more than twenty vessels and four steamers in the harbor. It is true this was the season at which the pilgrims usually arrive, and therefore the harbor may have been more than ordinarily crowded.

Like most places in Arabia, Jedda is very badly off for drinking water. The only method of procuring it is by storing rain-water in tanks or large ponds like wells, dug out of the ground at the foot of the neighboring hills. These wells are so constructed that access to them can be prevented by locking a plank of wood over their mouths. It is said that rain never falls on the hills for more than ten or fifteen minutes at a time. However, these wells are constructed in such a position as to collect all the water that comes from the hills. The owners make a good profit by the sale of the water, which fetches about three pence for each leather bag or "mashk" full. This is the price in the cheap season. And even then this necessary of life is not procurable by the poor except in small quantities. The poorer classes are obliged to avail themselves of a little canal which brings water into Jedda from one of the neighboring "wadys"; but it is saltish and unpalatable. The richer classes use this canal water for washing and other purposes besides drinking.

Jedda boasts a citadel, an old tumble-down fortress, with a few guns. A man-of-war lies always in the harbor, the double entrance to which is protected by two guards of foot soldiers. Three consuls—British, French, and Persian reside in the town; the latter probably is intended to look after the interests of the numerous pilgrims to Mecca, who pass through Jedda at certain seasons of the year.

We were detained more than twenty-four hours at Jedda, in order to complete our arrangements for our onward journey. The only method of conveyance in Arabia is the camel, which the Arabs, in their ignorance and conceit, declare is a more comfortable and convenient mode of travelling than by train. The seat in which the traveller sits to make a long journey on a camel's back, is here called a shugduff. It consists of a double framework, in rectangular form, about a yard and a half in length and a yard in width, one part of which is suspended on each side of the camel, the weight being thus equally balanced on the animal's back. For protection from the rays of the sun, the shugduff is provided with an awning over the back part of it. In addition to this there is the "Takht-i-rawan," or literally, the travelling throne, which is a palanquin suspended between two camels or mules, in which the traveler reclines at full length. This is, of course,

more expensive than the shugcluff. Then, again, one may travel in a shibree, seat or framework placed on the top of the load carried by a baggage camel. Dromedaries and swift donkeys are obtainable, on which the journey may be made much more rapidly than by either of the other methods. But for such a journey as that we were contemplating, the dromedary or donkey would be useless, because for security it is necessary to keep pace with the caravan or kafila, which gets over the ground very slowly.

It is absolutely necessary to provide water for the journey at each stage, and carry it on to the next. Good water-bottles are therefore requisite.

Our party numbered altogether a hundred and fifty men; we had, therefore, to procure seventy or eighty camels, which we hired in the place. The Bedouins brought them in to the number of eighty-five; and the business of loading them created almost as much confusion as the disembarkation of the baggage from the ship. It was not till evening that the lading was completed, when we marched out of Jedda. No sooner were we outside the city than the camel-drivers, who were Bedouins, brought up an additional supply of camels, to the number altogether of a hundred and twenty, and commenced to unload and load the additional camels with a portion of the baggage originally put upon the eighty-five camels we had at first hired. When we remonstrated against this proceeding, they told us that our baggage and party required the whole hundred and twenty, but they had not brought the others into the town because a duty was levied upon every camel brought into town for hire. We were quite helpless, and afraid of giving rise to any altercation with the Bedouins, which might have led to awkward complications.

It is no easy matter to mount a shugduff, for, in the first place, the camel-drivers insist on your mounting while the animal is standing, and not while it is sitting on the ground, as is the custom in India. And, as both the travelers must seat themselves in the shugduff at the same moment, to preserve the equilibrium, it is necessary for one to mount the camel first and remain standing on or clinging to its back till the other has got up; then they both glide down into the two sides of the shugduff at the same moment. Moreover, the Bedouins insisted on our keeping the concern equally balanced during the journey, and I and my companion were afraid for a long while to lie down, lest we should disturb the equilibrium. And whenever it was in any way disturbed, owing to our changing our position, or shifting it while asleep, the camel-driver on duty would come up shouting "Meezan, oneezan," ("balance, balance,") knocking the end of his stick against our backs if, through drowsiness or other cause, we were inattentive to his call. This provoking irritation added much to our discomfort and the inconvenience caused by the jolting of the camel.

Our string of camels extended nearly a mile; and in order to keep up communication with the party, the Nawab mounted some of his men upon donkeys, whose business it

was to ride backwards and forwards from the front to the rear of the caravan, and *vice versa*, with messages, orders, or inquiries.

We made about nineteen miles the first twelve hours, reaching our halting place, Hidda, about 10 A.M. There was no water to be had, and no shelter from the burning sun, except one small cottage, which was occupied by the Nawab. I made myself as comfortable as circumstances would allow, by constructing a sort of tent or canopy out of the two halves of my shugduff set up in an erect position on the ground, with a blanket stretched over the top; and hearing there was a well some five miles off, we dispatched a party of our servants for a supply of water. We had none of us tasted any food for eighteen hours, so we were glad to get what we could.

We purchased some water-melons from some Arabs who were wandering about, ruffians in long loose coats, and carrying daggers in their girdles. It is considered unsafe in India to eat large quantities of water-melons, but in Arabia it does not appear to be attended with any injurious consequences.

The savage Bedouins returned with their camels, which they had taken out to graze, about mid-day, and demanded their rations, which they devoured in a truly bestial manner; and, in spite of our fatigue, and the aching of our disjointed limbs, they insisted on our starting again at four p.m. We were compelled to submit to this tyrannical arrangement, and travelled all night, reaching Mecca at four next morning.

No sooner had we arrived in the courtyard of the house we were to occupy, than the Bedouins untied the shugduffs, and let them fall on the ground, utterly regardless whether they were broken to pieces by the fall or not. Fortunately, the occupants had all got out of them; otherwise, their bones would have been broken, as well as the wooden framework.

Mecca must be a good-sized place, seeing that as many as a million people find comfortable lodging room and accommodation during the Hadj, or pilgrim season, besides plenty of supplies.

It is an exceedingly interesting place, especially at this time, when so many pilgrims are collected together from all quarters of Islam. There you may see assembled together in the Harem, at the time of prayer, Indians from Hindostan, Chinese, Turks, men from the Straits and Singapore, Bokharians, Affghans, Egyptians, Circassians, Russians, Persians, Tartars, Negroes, Algerians, Bedouins of different tribes, learned Arabs, and others, all dressed in the peculiar costume of their tribe or country.

To see this immense concourse of people, all clad in garments of different form and color, arrayed in long lines, prostrating themselves at once in prayer, is a marvelous and imposing spectacle. More interesting still is the sight of the revered Caaba, covered with

a veil of black silk, adorned with a golden girdle, and studded with texts from the Koran, woven into it.

The army is commanded by the Pacha of Mecca, a Turkish officer; but the administration of justice is in the hands of the shared, as he is called. the ruler or governor of Mecca, appointed by the Sultan of Constantinople. Indeed, this officer, whose name is Abdoolla, and who is an exceedingly polished gentleman, and a very fine-looking man, may be called the governor of Arabia, seeing that all the Bedouins throughout the whole of Arabia revere and obey him, as their chief and high priest.

The population of Mecca is supplied with sweet water by means of a canal, constructed by the wife of the famous Caliph Haroun. Reshid, and called after her, Zeibeda. The people are very fond of wearing silk and woollen clothing of gay and gaudy appearance. Their articles of dress are supplied from the manufactories of England and France; but the ignorant people believe that they are all of Constantinople manufacture, and will not be persuaded that they come from other countries, even though the manufacturer's name and the place where they were made be written on them.

The country about Mecca is terribly sterile and barren; nothing appears to grow there: you can see neither verdure, nor gardens, nor trees, except a few date-trees planted by the side of the Zeibeda canal, and some shrubs. But about twenty miles from the sacred city, at a place called Tail, many rich and delicious fruits, of both cold and hot climates, are grown; and of course they are sent to Mecca in abundance. It is from Taif that the supplies of vegetable and animal food, sufficient to support the enormous concourse of pilgrims in the Hadj season, are brought. It is a favorite place of residence for the richer classes during the summer months, when the climate, they say, is cooler than that of Mecca even in the winter.

The natives of the place are bold arid harsh-featured. Their prominent characteristic is, however, their great hospitality, which one meets with even from rough, savage men, who, under the exterior of their rustic and ungainly manner, harbor a kindly and hospitable feeling.

The houses there are built upon the sides of barren hills, overlooking the Caaba, which is located on a site somewhat below the general level of the city. The rows of houses standing one above another, when lighted up by the golden rays of the setting sun, occasionally present a very striking and picturesque appearance,

When a pilgrim arrives at Mecca, the first thing he does after settling himself in his lodgings and recovering from the fatigues of the journey, is to visit the holy Caaba. He is conducted thither by a personage called a "mutawif," who meets the pilgrim at the very door of his lodgings and walks before him all the way, reciting as lie goes along the suitable prayers. The pilgrim or pilgrims follow him, also reciting the prayers till

they reach the "Bab-ul Salaam," or "gate of salutation." Here the pilgrim, if he has not performed before the ceremony of Vazoo (bathing hands, face, and feet), finds water deposited for this purpose, as is the case also at most of the other gates. From this gate the holy Caaba is visible, about a hundred and fifty or two hundred yards in front, and here the procession hat is for a few minutes, while the mutawif, followed by the pilgrims, recites the devotions specially set apart for this stage of the ceremony.

After the recitation is finished, the mutawif addresses the pilgrims individually, enjoining on each to contemplate in silence and with veneration, "One whose house is before him," then to utter or to offer in silence his own special prayer, and implore the mercies and blessings of the Most Merciful One. After this the mutawif leads the way towards the holy Caaba till the whole party reach the Black Stone attached to one of the corners of the sacred building. Acting under the directions of the mutawif, the pilgrims here kiss the stone, and then they commence to the Tawaf, or walking round the holy temple seven times, each circuit beginning and ending at the Black Stone, which is kissed by each pilgrim at every circuit. The mutawif the time leads the procession, reciting the suitable prayers. The pilgrims are next conducted to the door of the holy Caaba, where they are directed to recite the special prayer, and this done they are taken into the "Mukami Ibrahim" (the spot where Abraham used to worship), a few yards in front of the holy door, where they again recite the devotions specially adapted to the occasion. After this is over, the ceremony concludes with walking seven times between two spots called Sala and Marwa.

I may add that it is not necessary to go through these observances under the leadership of the mutawif. Many pilgrims perform them unassisted, reciting their prayers from the book they carry open in their hands, reading as they go along, or else they learn them by heart beforehand, But to those who go through the ceremonies for the first time, it is almost necessary to employ a mutawif, to avoid making mistakes, There are many of these mutawifs in Mecca. They are not officials appointed by the shared, nor are they a religious order, but merely men who have undertaken the work as a profession. They make it their business to learn by heart all the devotional exercises, so as to become fitted to direct the pilgrims. Many of them have agents or representatives at Jedda, and some visit or reside at Jedda themselves, in order to receive the pilgrims as soon as they arrive. These men also make themselves useful in hiring camels and horses for the pilgrims, both Jedda and Mecca, from all of which they no doubt derive a handsome profit. Besides which they are well paid for the Tawaf at Mecca, itself. The devotional exercises which I have called prayers, are in reality hymns of praise to the Almighty.

The ceremonies I have described do not necessarily form part of the Hadj, or observances incumbent on pilgrims; they may or they may not form part of these observances, according to circumstances. The especial Hadj ceremonies are performed upon a certain day—the ninth day, that is, of Zil-hadj—an Arabic month which, according to lunar changes, falls at different seasons.

We performed the Tawaf as soon as we had settled ourselves in our lodging. Our mutawif was named Mahomed Durwesh, an old and experienced Arab, whose fame, as a skilled mutawif, is great in Mecca. We had more than a week before us ere the time for the performance of the Hadj ceremonies should come round. Before describing these ceremonies, I will say a word or two about the holy spot, to which our attention was now devoted.

The holy temple, called the Caaba, is built upon the spot where it was first erected by the prophet Abraham. Of course it has undergone many changes since the time of its first founder. As it now stands, it is a building about eight yards square, constructed of stone, of a kind which is very abundant at Mecca. I do not know its name, but it is of a dark color, with little specks of white in it. Each stone is square, and about a cubic foot in size. The height of the temple is about ten or eleven yards. Near the roof there is a golden pipe or conduit to carry off the water.

The whole building is clad with a covering of black damask, in which are interwoven, in an immense number of places, the following words in Arabic: "There is no God but one, and Mohammed is his prophet." This covering is changed once a year, at the Hadj season. About six yards from the ground, there is a golden girdle six hicks wide, all round the covering, which hangs down to the ground and completely envelopes the whole building except the doorway. The four corners of the holy Caaba are distinguished by separate names. The corner where the Black Stone stands is called after it; the next in order that you pass, in performing the circuit or Tiwaf, is named the "Rukni Iraki," or "the pillar of Irak." Irak is the name of a territory between Persia and Arabia, which is divided into two portions, viz.:-Iraki Arab, Ancient Babylonia or Chaldea, and Iraki Ajam, comprehending Media. The next, or third corner, is called "Rukni Shami," or "the pillar of Syria;" and the fourth, "Rukni Yemeni," or "the pillar of Yemen." These names are, I think, derived from the countries situated in the direction to which the four corners of the holy Caaba point. The door faces east by north, and thus the four corners are pretty nearly opposite the countries whose names they bear.

Adjoining the holy Caaba, and between the Rukni Iraki and the Rukni Shami, is a semicircular space enclosed by a marble wall about as high as a man's waist, capable of containing conveniently thirty or forty men. The wall is built so as to leave a passage between either end of it and the two corners of the temple, of about a yard in width.

This passage is left for the pilgrims to pass in making their circuit or Tawaf. The enclosure is paved with blocks of white marble and black stoner it is called Hatim, and is used as a place where the holy Koran is read, and other devotional exercises performed. There are many traditions that this space was formerly included in the temple itself. This, however, is a matter resting on tradition merely, and though very

probable, is not certain. The space is therefore considered especially sacred, and is protected by the marble wall.

The golden "Nabdan" or conduit is so constructed that the rain water it carries off falls within the Hatim. The door by which entrance is effected into the holy temple is about three yards by two, and a little more than two yards and a quarter from the ground. Entrance is effected by means of a movable wooden ladder, or staircase, and the floor in the inside is one level with the doorway. The roof is supported by two round marble pillars, five or six yards in circumference, separated from each other and the wall by a space of a little more than two yards. Texts from the holy Koran are inscribed all over these pillars in mosaic work. The walls inside are also decorated in a similar manner up to about the height of a man's waist from the floor. The upper portion of the walls is covered with very valuable red and green damask curtains, in which is interwoven again and again the text: "There is no God but one, and Mahommed is his prophet." The ceiling appeared to be covered with a similar veil or curtain.

As a rule, the pilgrims, when they enter the holy Caaba, are not required to recite their prayers facing any given direction; for they may recite them with their faces turned to any point of the compass. But in reciting prayers outside the holy Caaba, it is necessary to turn towards it.

Outside the holy Caaba, and close to it, and on the right hand side as you enter, there is a little pit, about two yards by one in area, and less than half a yard in depth. I much regret that I cannot recall the Arabic name of this spot; but it is sacred as being the spot where Abraham used to pray to the Almighty. It is paved with white marble and little pieces of red stone. Pilgrims here recite their prayers.

The holy Caaba is usually called "Bet-Allah," or "The House of God." The pathway by which the pilgrims perform the Tawif or circumambulation is paved with white marble, and is called the "Mataf." It is mostly of a circular form, except in front of the doorway, and varies from seven to nine yards in width. It is flanked by rows of glass lanterns, hanging about the height of three yards from the ground. In front of the holy Caaba, and just opposite the door, there is a beautiful little building called "Mukami Ibrahim" or "Abraham's place," in the interior of which, there is a stone revered as being that upon which Abraham used to sit when he prayed. A little beyond this is a large marble pulpit, upon which the Imam stands when he delivers the "khutba," or sermon preceding the "namaz," or prayer, in which the preacher praises God, blesses Mahommed, his successors, and the reigning sovereign. The khutba is delivered to the assembled Moslem on Friday mornings and upon stated occasions. If you stand at the entrance of the Mukami Ibrahim, with your back towards the building, or the holy Caaba (the door both of the Mukami Ibrahim and the holy Caaba being in the same direction) you will have this marble pulpit towards your left hand, and two other dome-covered buildings on your right. One of these buildings is used as a library,

which contains nearly all the great works upon our religion. There are also several clocks of different kinds kept there, which regulate the exact time for prayer.

The other building covers the famous well of Zemzem. The water is a little brackish, but its supply is so inexhaustible that it yields some thousands of leather bags full every day, not only for use in Mecca, but for transportation to many distant countries.

The enclosure in which the holy Caaba stands, called the Harem Shareef, is, I should say, more than 500 yards square. The building itself is situated in the centre, and all round the walls of the enclosure there is a portico lighted up at night by rows of glass lanterns. The distance from this portico to the Caaba is about 250 yards, and at each of the seven corners of the enclosure is a minaret, from the summit of which the "Azan," or call to prayer, is regularly made. Some of these minarets are of very great height, but they are not all of the same elevation. They are so lofty that the voice of the muezzin, the functionary who utters the "Azan," or call to prayer, can be heard all over Mecca by the thousands and tens of thousands who obey the summons.

I have given this description from memory, and recorded briefly the impressions made on my mind at the time. The reader who is desirous of learning more details, may find them in a little work by Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur C.S.I.

The sacred enclosure, or Harem Shareef, has no less than forty gates, each of which has its special name, connected with some historical or religious association. The most conspicuous of these gates are the "Bab-ul-Salaam," or "Gate of Salutation"; the "Bab-ul-Vida," or "Gate of Leave"; and the "Bab-ul-Safa," or "Gate of Sala," which is the name of a locality. The floor of the portico is paved; not so the courtyard between the portico and the Caaba; but there are paved ways, or pathways paved with stone and lime, leading from the portico to the "Metaf," or pathway for circumambulation. But almost the whole area is covered with mats, upon which the hundreds of thousands of devout Moslem, who assemble there for worship, kneel and prostrate themselves while performing their devotions.

There are stated times at which the whole of the worshippers assemble to perform their devotions together, and then they all stand in rows, each row following and imitating the imam, who stands in front and sets the example for the rest. As it is difficult in so vast a multitude for the imam to make himself heard by all, it is the custom to station "mukabbris," as they are called, at intervals, whose business it is to keep those about them informed of what is going on, so that all may know what part of the office the Imam is reciting at any given time. This they do by shouting out the words "Allah o akbar."

After the prayers are over, it is the custom for the assembled multitude to perform the "Tawaf," or circuit of the holy Caaba; but it is difficult on such occasions, owing to the

vast concourse of people, for each one, as he passes the Black Stone, to kiss it. This part of the ceremony is therefore often omitted at such times.

The usual hours for devotion are as follows: From four a.m. till before sunrise; then at midday, beginning at a quarter past twelve; again from three to four o'clock in the afternoon; in the evening at sunset, according to the hour at which the sun goes down; and again at half-past eight o'clock. On Fridays the concourse of worshippers is so great that the whole courtyard of the Harem Shared is quite filled, and the spectacle is most imposing.

There are many other localities in Mecca which are revered and visited with much veneration by the Mahommedans. it would occupy too much space were I to describe all of them. There are, for instance, the birthplace of the Prophet, of his daughter, of his cousin Ali, the spot where Abubekr used to worship, and where Omar embraced Mahammedanism. Each of these spots is visited in turn by the pilgrims, with the customary offering of prayer and praise to the Almighty.

The month in which the hadj ceremonies are performed is called Zil-hadj. As a rule, two great kafilas, or caravans, are always expected to arrive in Mecca on the 7th of that month. These kafilas come from Egypt and Syria respectively. The one is called Misri (Egyptian), the other Shami (the Syrian).

The caravans consist of a number of soldiers, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and all the pilgrims that assemble, both by way of Egypt and Syria, and from Persia as well. The principal man in the kafila is generally entrusted with the new covers, the outer and inner veil or curtain of the holy Caaba, which the Viceroy of Egypt sends annually to Mecca, in obedience to the Sultan's orders. The same functionary also brings the heavy sums of money which are allotted for expenditure at Mecca at the different seasons. The arrival of the two kafilas is celebrated by a salute of guns. On the same day, the 7th Zil-hadj, the seven minarets of the Harem Shareef are illuminated so as to publish the fact of its being the seventh day of the month. The custom has arisen from this. It is always supposed that the people of the Misri and Shami kafilas having been, before their arrival at Mecca, so much in the open country, must have had peculiarly good opportunities of seeing the moon, and that they therefore ought to be best acquainted with its phases.

The Hadj ceremonies commence, not at Mecca itself, but at a place some nine or ten miles off. Till the evening of the eighth day the pilgrims all repair to a large sandy plain, in the centre of which there is a hill or enormous heap of stones, on the summit of which is a mosque. The hill, or hillock, is called "jabal-ul-Arfat," or the Mount of Arfat; the plain, itself being called Arfat.

The real meaning of the Hadj is the assembly of pilgrims from all parts of the Mahommedan world on this plain of Arfat to contemplate and worship the Almighty, and the design appears originally to have been to collect all the Mahommedan world together, so as to promote intercourse and fellowship and union among the Moslem, so that all Mahommedans, regarding their fellow-worshippers as brethren, might be united in their design and effort to further the prosperity and support the cause of Islam all over the whole world.

The Pacha and the High Shared of Mecca repair in great state to Arfat, accompanied by troops, artillery preceding and cavalry following them, and guns being fired at intervals the whole time the procession is on the way. Their tents are pitched in front of the hill, in the centre of the plain, and, seated within, the shared receives, with great honor and respect, the letter which is annually sent to him by the sultan, through the superior official of the two kafilas.

All day long the pilgrims are engaged in their devotions, and reciting their prayers. Towards evening, the "Khateeb," or reader of the Khutha, mounted on a splendid camel, ascends part of the way the Jabal ul Arfat, whence he delivers the Khutba of the day, and this concludes the ceremonies of this portion of the Hadj. The assembled multitudes then take their departure to another place, called Muzdalifa, midway between Arfat and Mina, at which place the following day is to be spent.

At Muzdalifa they pass the night in contemplation of the Most High, and worship, and at sunrise they repair to Mina, where the principal ceremony consists in the sacrifice of a goat, a cow, and a camel, in the name of God. After this the pilgrims repair to Mecca, where they perform the Tawaf or circuit of the holy Caaba, and return at once to Mina, where, from one day to three, they worship the Almighty.

This concludes the ceremonies of the Hadj. During their sojourn at Arfat, the pilgrims are obliged to lodge in the open air, or under tents, as there is no house accommodation there. At Mina the Arabs have erected a good many houses, which are rented by the pilgrims; but there is not sufficient accommodation for more than a few out of the whole number; and hundreds of thousands of them are forced to remain unprotected from the sun and weather, or to lodge in tents.

This is the place where the prophet Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Ishak (Isaac). The spot is marked by a pillar, and many ceremonies are performed there.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies at Mina, the pilgrims are at liberty to return to their homes; but as a matter of fact they always go back to Mecca first, where they remain several days.

After performing our religious rites and ceremonies, we had to set to work to complete our arrangements for a much more difficult and dangerous journey than that from Jedda to Mecca; for we had to go on to Medina, to pay a visit to the tomb of the Prophet. This was a journey of 200 miles, and the road is considered so unsafe, that no party of less than twenty or thirty ever ventures upon it. In our case the risk from robbers was the greater, because the Nawab having been very liberal in his gifts and alms at Mecca, a report had got abroad that he was possessed of considerable wealth; and as crowds of Bedouins come in to perform their devotions at the Hadj season, there was reason to believe that these fabulous reports of the Nawab's great wealth would be spread about among the Bedouin tribes of the desert.

The most essential part of our arrangements was to engage really trustworthy camel-drivers; for it is well known that these men are often in league with the robbers, and aid them in plundering caravans. Mahommed Hussain—one of the shekhs, who undertakes the arrangements for all the Indian pilgrims—did his best to provide for our security. He introduced me to a deputy-shareef, the owner of Fatima Wady—a large tract of land so called, ten miles from Mecca—as the most experienced man in conducting kafilas from Mecca to Medina, and who had lately conducted many rich caravans with perfect security. We soon came to terms with him. It was agreed that he should himself accompany us, and return with us; that he should have the hiring of the camels, which he undertook to get from Bedouin tribes who acknowledged his authority, and in whom he could confide; that half the hire should be paid in advance, and the other half on reaching Medina; that we should engage to remain at Medina not more than ten days, and that the protection of the shareef should not be withdrawn till the whole party had returned to Mecca.

The High Shareef of Mecca kindly allowed us an escort of ten camel-riders, well armed, whose expenses we engaged to defray. The deputy-shareef had also some four or five slaves,—strong, stout men on whom he could rely, and well armed. Most of our party—the Nawab's retainers—were also armed. As our expedition was noised abroad, we were joined by many others bent on the same errand as ourselves. Three of these were personages of such consideration as to be allowed an escort each of ten mounted men,—altogether making a force of thirty well armed and well mounted camel-riders, supplied by the High Shareef of Mecca; so that we mustered a strong party, quite capable of giving a good account of any body of Bedouin plunderers.

Shareef Muhsin, however (for that was the name of the deputy-shareef who had undertaken to protect us), could not, even with all these precautionary measures which I have enumerated, consider it unadvisable to take advantage of an additional source of security which chance threw in our way. It happened that there was in Mecca at that time one Shekh-ul-Heramee, or the prince of thieves and robbers, as he was called. It is said that he belongs to the noblest of the robber tribes, and that his influence, was so great that the mere fact of his presence with our caravan would be sufficient to ensure

our immunity from attack He was an old man, dressed in a coarse stuff garment, and we looked upon his joining our party as an important addition to its strength.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM MECCA TO MEDINA.

Precautions against robbers – The Egyptian torchbearer. – Violence and cruelty of the Bedouins. – Savages – Alarm from thieves. – Extraordinary expedient for getting rid of robbers. – Returning good for evil – Medina. – Mosque and mausoleum of the Prophet. – Characteristic reception on return. General remarks on the resources of the country. – The condition of Indian pilgrims – Return to Jedda.

It was on a dark moonless night that the caravan assembled on a bare sandy plain a little way from the city of Mecca. This is a terrible place for scorpions. Under almost every stone you will find one of these creatures. We were therefore careful to remove all the stones and the upper layer of sand, and to cover the ground with twigs and roots of bushes before we ventured to lie down.

It took a long time to collect our caravan, and we did not start till the evening of the day following that originally appointed for our departure. Our camels were better and stronger than those which had been furnished to us at Jedda, but we had the same kind of conveyances, the "shugduff," the "takht-i-rawan," and the "shibree," as we had before.

The Arabs have devised an extraordinary kind of torch which they use on dark nights, to keep stragglers together and to guide the caravans. It consists of a round iron network or grate about a foot in diameter and two feet deep fixed to the end of a pole. This iron network was filled with dry wood and other combustible matter which was carried along with the caravan, a donkey being laden with it. The wood was ignited, and occasionally incense is mixed with it, which emits a pleasant perfume in the night air, and moreover serves the purpose of a pretext for making some fresh exorbitant charges. As the bearer of this walking lighthouse moves along, red-hot ashes drop out all along the road. In any other part of the world than Arabia this might be dangerous, for it might set the whole country on fire, but in these desert tracts there is so little that is combustible that it does not cause any apprehension. The light is exceedingly useful, for it can be seen from a great distance, and the burning ashes and embers that fall on the road, are very useful guides to stragglers that have by some accident lost the track. The torch, moreover, serves a useful purpose in forming a constant supply of fire for the travelers' pipes, as they smoke incessantly. It is a curious thing that the duty of carrying the torch always falls to the lot of the Egyptians; I suppose because the Arabs are too modest to assert their capability of performing so delicate a task. We marched all night, and in the morning reached the Fatima Wady, and encamped by some date gardens. This place is the domain of our guide and protector Abdool Muhsin, the deputy shareef a reef.

The sun being very hot at noon, we moved to a shady place under the date-trees which were growing by the side of a canal. At a little distance there was a range of hills so precipitous that they looked like walls. The canal water came from these hills. We were obliged to halt here, as the escort promised by the high shared and some of our party had not yet joined.

Towards noon next day some ten ill-favored, ugly, misshapen wretches, of most villainous appearance, wearing long loose garments made of old blankets or strips of old carpet, were presented to me by the shareef. They were armed with heavy flint matchlocks and daggers, and looked in every way the most abandoned and desperate characters. I made no doubt that they were all robbers whom the shareef had succeeded in capturing, perhaps detecting them in the very commission of some act of violence and crime, and had brought them to show to us. I asked the shareef if it was not so.

"By God," said he, "they are much greater persons than you take them for."

"You mean, then," I replied, "that they are riot all of them murderers and robbers?"

"By the Almighty and his Prophet," he answered sharply, "they are by no means the men, you take them for—murderers and brigands! They are the escort the most gracious High Shareef of Mecca has provided for you, and they have orders to do all they can in the way of serving you. They have just arrived from Mecca and have come for money to purchase fodder for their camels."

I was astonished at the mistake I had made, as well as at the ruffianly appearance of our escort. And, indeed, many of my friends were often alarmed by them, taking them to be indeed robbers.

We started about 3 p.m., marched all night, and encamped next morning in a valley where there was a pleasant cool breeze blowing. The whole night we were on the lookout, and the shareef was especially vigilant, for the road was known to be infested with thieves. The shareef however, took care that not a single camel belonging to the party was allowed to get out of sight of his guards. The men of the escort too, were mounted on swift dromedaries and kept riding backwards and forwards along the line of camels, which stretched to an enormous distance. And the shareef himself was very active, riding about on his dromedary here and there, to see that all was right.

In this way we went along day after day; the details of each stage it is unnecessary to relate, Our food consisted mostly of rice, dates, and flour and butter, all of which we brought with us. Occasionally some of our party would purchase a sheep from the wandering Bedouins who approached our camp; but meat was a luxury we rarely enjoyed. The water-melons were always most acceptable.

We now and then caught sight of semi-barbarous denizens of the desert, standing or walking about on the bare bleak hills. But it was a matter of wonder to me where they procured herbage for their scanty flocks of half-starved sheep and camels, in a country which appeared to contain nothing but stones and great heaps of sand. I was informed, however, that these sons of the desert knew where to find fertile spots where there was fresh water and enough vegetation to afford scanty support for their animals. Sometimes these wretches would follow our camp, and pick up any refuse and offal they could find—it might be a piece of raw meat, or a bone, or a crumb of bread or vegetables,— that had been thrown away. I always observed that they picked it up, whatever it was, and swallowed it eagerly, as if no food had passed their lips for months. Indeed, it seemed as if they served the same purpose as vultures, which devour carrion, these scavengers of the desert.

As to the clothing they wore, I may say they had none, nothing at least beyond a little strip of cloth round the loins. The women wore the same scanty dress, but they had besides, another strip of cloth round the bosom, which supported their long heavy breasts; and this I think was the purpose for which it was worn, rather than as a covering. Their hair, which was a tangled mass, mixed with dust and dirt, must have been an encumbrance to them rather than an ornament; and so to keep it in place on their heads they either plastered it up with mud or fastened it with a strip of cloth, but whence and how they procure the cloth I cannot say.

These semi-barbarous people, who inhabit the desert parts of this frightful country, appeared to me to be of the negro race who, somehow or other, have come over to Arabia. Their language differs much from that of the Bedouins, who speak pure Arabic, and who are comparatively a fair, manly, and pleasing-looking race.

On the fourth day we reached a village called Rabik, notorious for robbers, who have in years past carried on a successful course of plundering. It was prettily situated in the shelter of a grove of date-trees, and had a citadel in front with four guns in it. There is also a guard of horse and foot soldiers in the Turkish service stationed here, to protect the district; but none of them ever venture beyond a wall a little distance from the village, from fear of the Bedouins.

At this place the shareef changed our order of march. The camels had become so fatigued from travelling continuous stages of nineteen hours a day, which allowed only five for rest, and the road in front of us was reported to be so dangerous, that it was not safe to march during the night; and moreover the scarcity of water was so great that it was determined to halt during the night. Moreover we doubled our precautions. The camp was protected by the "shugduffs," which were arranged in a circular form around it so as to form a kind of fortification. The escort were posted at proper intervals to keep watch, and the two Egyptian flambeau bearers were stationed by the side of the Nawab's tent, and the Nawab's retainers were enjoined to keep a good lookout over the

boxes in which the money and valuables were kept. There were five of us altogether in my tent, and we arranged among ourselves that one should keep awake and watch while the others slept.

In spite of all these precautions, however, the first night did not pass without alarms. The wary thieves got in among our camels, and crept close up to our tents, and, although we detected them before they had succeeded in accomplishing their purpose, we could not catch them, for they managed to get away by concealing themselves under the camels; and they were so swift footed that there was no chance of capturing them as soon as they got to the outside the camp. The pilgrims in other parts of kafila were not so fortunate as we were, and many of them were robbed. This was especially the case with the pilgrims who were travelling alone; for when there were many together the thieves had more difficulty in making their escape. We were constantly disturbed by alarms. Those who had firearms were firing after thieves or what they took for thieves; others were shouting out, "Here he is" or, "He is gone this way, or that," "Look out ahead," "Catch him; he is in your direction." Then they would rush out of their tents with lanterns, and others fired off their guns, always aiming into the sky, so that altogether we passed a most restless night, though it was impossible not to be amused at the ridiculous and ineffectual attempts to apprehend the thieves. It is fortunate they never attacked us in a body; and for this we were indebted to Shekh-ul-Heramee, the prince of thieves and robbers, for all who knew him, and he was well known hereabouts, abstained from attempting anything worse than pilfering without violence. The shekh, too, was very vigilant, showing himself constantly, and letting the Bedouins see that he was interested in our security.

About ten next morning we left this miserable place, where even the water was brackish and most unpalatable, and passing through the gardens and groves of date-trees, emerged into more open country and fields of maize. After this we had to traverse a rugged path over the mountains, so steep, that we were forced to dismount and let the camels be led over one by one. As there was great probability of our being attacked in this place, the shareef and the Shekh-ul-Heramee, planted themselves upon a rock whence they could get a good view of the kafila, and remained there on the lookout till the whole caravan had made good its descent. At the halting-place we came upon another kafila which had preceded us. The pilgrims and travelers belonging to this caravan had not been by any means so fortunate as ourselves in escaping the violence of robbers. Several of them had been attacked and badly wounded. I myself saw one man, he was a native of Cashmere, with fair complexion and well built frame. His eyebrows and cheeks had been shockingly cut by the robbers, who had come upon him when he was a few paces from the kafila on the roadside, and attacked him from behind. His fellow-travelers, who were with the kafila, saw the attack and hastened to his rescue, but the villains escaped after badly wounding him. He had been observed to carry about with him a purse of money, which he wore round his waist, and this no doubt was what tempted the thieves to assault him. There were others in the caravan who had

been wounded in a similar manner. They were all seriously injured; and the Cashmeree's case appeared to me to be hopeless, so badly had he been sliced about the face and eyes. These robbers always attack their victims from behind, and aim at the eyes and face first, with the object of blinding them. There was another very distressing case. One of the party, a Turkish gentleman, had gone out of his mind, owing to the shock occasioned by the fact of five of his party having been carried away with their camels while they were asleep in their shugduffs, by the brigands. There was no doubt that the drivers had been concerned in this crime, and that the unfortunate men had been carried off to some remote spot and there mercilessly butchered.

On the third day from Rabik the shareef again changed the order of march, and made us travel by night. The country we traversed abounded in trees and bushes, and the road was a narrow pathway between hedges, among which the thieves were lurking in numbers. We often caught sight of them skulking about and trying to get in between the camels. The drivers used to drive them off by shouting "Barra, barra!" "Be off!" for they did not dare attack them, being afraid if they did, and if any of them were wounded, they might bring the whole body down upon us in force.

There was another cause of irritation and annoyance, besides this constant apprehension from robbers and thieves. Among the pilgrims who accompanied us there were a number of poor creatures, who were fanatics enough to have ventured on the pilgrimage without having the means of providing themselves with any sort of conveyance. They walked along, keeping pace with our camels, which went very slowly over the ground; and for a time got on well enough. But after a while, from fatigue, decrepitude, and weakness,—for most of them were aged men and women,—they began to lag behind, several of them lost their lives by doing so, as they fell into the hands of the robbers who were hovering on our track, and were mercilessly butchered. We could not bear to witness the sufferings of these miserable wretches, in such a piteous and helpless condition in a foreign land, and we gave up our seats in the shugduffs to them, and allowed them to ride while we walked, thus helping them somewhat to get over the ground; for there was no doubt what their fate would have been, had they been abandoned on the road, and the caravan could not possibly be delayed on their account.

The shareef, seeing that the audacity of the thieves and brigands was every day becoming greater, and that their numbers were increasing as if they were meditating a general attack, adopted a curious and characteristic expedient. He halted in a large wide plain, and assembling his armed slaves and the escort around him, he shouted in a loud voice: "You shameless effeminate dogs of robbers! Behold, you have worried us to the last pitch by your insolence, and by incessantly dogging our steps. If you are brave, come out like men and let us fight. But perchance you villains do not know that it is I, Shareef Abd-ul-Muhsin, the lord and master of Fatima Wady, and no one else, who has undertaken to conduct this kafila in safety to Medina; and so long as a drop of blood

remains in my veins, I will not allow you to touch the kafila of which I have taken charge." The Shekh-ul-Heramee, the prince of thieves and robbers, also called out something to the same effect, speaking in his peculiar dialect, which was intelligible to the robbers, though none of us understood at the time what it was he was saying.

Upon this the brigands all decamped, with the exception of three or four who came up to the shareef's dromedary, and catching it by the reins, thus addressed the rider: "Lord Shareef, we avow we knew not that the kafila was under your protection, and that our chief was in your service; had we known it, we should not have followed you. But we have thrown ourselves upon your protection, trusting to your generosity, for we have been following for the whole day, and had nearly completed our plans for falling on the kafila and plundering it. But now, as we have come so far with this intent, and are suffering from the pangs of hunger, we beseech you to be so kind and generous as to supply us at once with food." The Shekh-ul-Heramee recommended that they should be treated kindly, and the shareef promised they should have food given them at day-break; meantime he lent them a dromedary of his own to ride.

In the morning we were obliged to move out of our route to get a fresh supply of water, as our stock was all exhausted. The shareef knew of a well called "Beer-ul-azab," or the sweet well, so called from two sweet date-trees growing close to it. It took us nine hours to reach it. There the three robbers were presented to me. The Shekh-ul-Heramee desired them to show us the daggers they wore; they were not of good steel, but serviceable enough to dispatch a man, if thrust into any vital part, such as the eye or heart. They averred that they had many comrades, but that all of them had retired on hearing the voices of the shareef and their own chief, and that they also were ready to go as soon as they had had some food. They had food given them, and then retired to where their chief was resting, where coffee was served out to them.

Meantime the pilgrims and camel-drivers all rushed to the well, and there ensued a desperate scramble for the water. The water which came up was half mud. And at last, the Bedouins, seeing the great scarcity of the supply, let one of their number down the well by a rope; and he took care that the leather bags of his brethren were sent up filled, and all the others empty. After leaving this place, we marched all night, so that when we arrived at our next stage we had been forty-six hours on the march.

Nothing worth recording occurred after this till on our tenth march we reached the suburbs of Medina. The country here appeared very fertile; there were a number of gardens full of date-trees and edible vegetables. Wells were abundant, and in close proximity to one another, so there was no lack of irrigation.

It was dark when we reached Medina, but crowds came out to welcome our arrival. We had one of the best houses in the city hired for us, consisting of four stories and a number of apartments communicating, with each other, and with a good supply of

water from a well in the courtyard, so constructed that water could be drawn from it to each of the four stories. The shareef and the Shekh-ul-Heramee also lodged under the same roof.

The mosque and the mausoleum of the Prophet is the finest building I saw in Arabia; nor have I seen anything in England surpassing it in the gorgeousness of its decorations.

The country about Medina is more fertile than that of any part of Arabia I have seen. The principal feature about it is the number and surprising variety of the date-trees.

The Arabs make quite a study of the date-tree, some thousands of varieties of which grow here. They can tell you the particular name of each kind, and how that certain kinds of the fruit have undergone some change in their shape, taste, color, stone, or skin, since a certain period. Some kinds of dates have old traditions and superstitions connected with them. The Arabs will tell you why a certain kind was black, and why another kind was without a stone; and why some trees are found growing, not in an upright position as trees ordinarily grow, but lying with their trunks prostrate on the ground, and their remaining branches in a perpendicular position. In short they seem to regard anecdotes about date-trees, their history and genealogy, much as they do those of their horses, camels, and even of their ancestral heroes.

The neighborhood of Medina abounds in places of interest battle-fields, where in the early days of Mahammedanism great victories were gained. A valley, a mountain, a cave, a collection of date-trees, a plain of sand, a well, a wall, almost every object you see, furnishes a topic round which historical or traditional anecdote or superstitious fable centres itself. Every date-tree especially is a subject of traditional lore.

During the ten days we spent at Medina, we visited all these places.

The garrison at Medina is pretty much in the same state as that of Meca, though inferior in number. In neither case are the troops well disciplined or well equipped, in my opinion, although they are doubtless hardy and brave soldiers, and would be ready for service at the shortest notice. The men belonging to the infantry and artillery live in barracks both at Mecca and Medina; but what most excited my surprise was the condition of the cavalry. All the horses were with few exceptions picketed, saddled, ready for immediate use, the men being quartered in small blue tents which could be packed up at any moment. The horses, although they looked very thin and ill-fed, could gallop at amazing speed. Their riders used to amuse themselves by firing their matchlocks, and then, with loosened rein, charging along the sandy level.

The first thing the pilgrims do on arrival at Medina, after procuring lodgings and settling themselves in them, is to visit the mosque and mausoleum of the Prophet. You

enter the mosque by a flight of stone steps. The floor is paved with marble, which is covered with Turkey carpets. The roof is supported by a number of beautifully decorated stone pillars, and the southern wall, is colored with gold, crimson, and green; a number of texts of the Holy Koran and precepts of the Prophet being emblazoned on it in letters of gold or mosaic work. As you enter by the western door, the Babul Salaam, or Gate of Salutation, you have the mausoleum about thirty yards in front of you.

This mausoleum, or tomb, of the Prophet is about ten yards square, and is divided into two compartments, one being the burial-place of the Prophet and his two first successors, the other of his daughter. The first apartment is entered by a small door facing the east, and contains a second enclosure with an intervening space of about two yards wide, or passage, between it and the outer wall. The inner enclosure, which is, like the outer, square, is covered with green damask, on the surface of which is interwoven the text in Arabic, "There is no God but one, and Mahommed is His prophet." The tomb itself, concealed by a metal covering, is within the inner enclosure, the head being towards the west. On its left are the tombs of Hazrat Abubekr and Hazrat Omar the two immediate successors of the Prophet, but they are not raised above the level of the floor. The other apartment of the mausoleum contains the tomb of the Prophet's daughter; at least, so it is believed by some, but there is a good deal of difference of opinion about this; many holding to the tradition that she was buried in the space between the two enclosures, and others that her relics were deposited in the famous burial-ground outside Medina.

I should mention that the outer enclosure of the mausoleum is made of brass lattice-work, so constructed that anyone can, from the outside, get a view of the tomb of the Prophet's daughter, with its covering of black silk and the golden letters woven into it.

Some of my readers may require to be told that the spot where the Prophet is buried is the place where he dwelt during his lifetime; but his house consisted only, of a building of four low mud walls, roofed with leaves and timber of the date-tree. The mosque which was in existence during the lifetime of the Prophet and of his four successors, stood on the west of the present mausoleum, and was about eighteen or nineteen yards square. This spot is now distinguishable by the pillars in that part being of marble, whereas in the other part of the mosque they are of yellowish stone. The marble pillars are also further distinguished by having on them the names of one or other of the Prophet's associates and friends. When the Prophet used to preach, his friends were accustomed, while listening to him, to occupy each the particular spot now marked by the pillar which bears his name. The pulpit, also of marble, where the Prophet used to sit while preaching, is at the further end of this part of the mosque.

The whole mosque covers an area of not less than fifty by one hundred yards. It is entered by five doors, the approach to which is by a stone staircase, elegantly constructed. These doors are called the Babul Salaam, or Gate of Salutation; the Bab-i

Gibrael, or Gate of Gabriel; the Bab ul Nissa, or Gate of Women; the Bab ul Mejidi, or Gate of Abdul Mejid – so called after the late Sultan Abdul Mejid, who had it built. The name of the fifth I do not remember. Adjoining the Bab ul Nissa, or Women's Gate, is an apartment destined for the use of women exclusively.

Our return to Mecca was accomplished without adventure; but the manner in which we were received on our arrival at Fatima Wady was so characteristic, that I shall devote a few words to a description of it.

As we approached the place, the escort left us, and went on to announce our arrival; and the whole of the camel-drivers assembled and made a procession, which advanced amid the boisterous singing of Arabic songs, shouting and laughter, and the waving of naked daggers. Others exhibited their joy at our safe return by firing off their guns.

After a while, we beheld our escort, no longer bedraggled and grimy with filthy and tattered garments, but clad in white, seated on their dromedaries, awaiting our approach. As the procession advanced, the shareef's slaves, and the Shekh-ul-Heramee, and the escort, starting from opposite points, rode forward to meet one another, – the former, followed by the whole people, discharging their firearms and brandishing their glittering sabres. The amazing number of camels, rushing together at full speed; the shouting, singing, firing, and waving of glittering steel, and gesticulations of the wild crowd, – all in celebration of our safe return from a dangerous journey, – formed a scene which has been engraven on my memory, and which I find my pen wholly unable adequately to describe.

The shared gave us a grand entertainment in celebration of the event, and the following morning we reached Mecca.

From all I have seen of the country through which we travelled, I should say that it only wants to be irrigated to become a fertile land, smiling with fields of maize and wheat; and this irrigation could be easily managed from the fountains and springs which exist in the hills, and from wells, which might easily be dug in many places. But the inhabitants are indifferent to the advantages of civilized life, and care for nothing but grazing their flocks and carrels, and plundering travelers.

There is another road from Mecca to Medina, in every respect much better than the one by which we travelled, where there are villages at every stage, capable of yielding supplies, and water also is abundant. But it was unfortunately impassable on account of the robbers. The Shareef of Mecca used to pay them an annual subsidy, and, while that arrangement was in force, the road was safe for kafilis. But for some two years the subsidy had been withheld, and the Bedouins claimed the right of plundering all the caravans that went that way; and they are in such strength, that nothing short of a well-armed force could reduce them to subjection.

I cannot speak too highly of the exertions and vigilance of the Shareef Abdul Muhsin to which we are indebted for the immunity from Bedouins and robbers which we enjoyed. Before leaving this subject, I would in a few words draw attention to the circumstances under which so many of the poorer classes of Mahommedans in India perform this pilgrimage. Thousands who make this trip from religious motives, do so without having more money than is barely sufficient to pay their passage from India to Jedda, which is generally not more than a sovereign or two. On reaching Jedda they are forced to beg, and they thus become exposed to all sorts of hardships, sufferings, and dangers, besides being a source of distress to others, and bringing the very name "Indian" into disrepute. Numbers of them die either from privation, or from the rapacity of the Bedouins and robbers, who murder them for the sake of the money they are supposed to have about them; and more than half of those who go, leave their bones in Arabia. It would, in my opinion, be well if the Indian Government were to take some steps to prevent poor pilgrims from thus rushing on their own destruction, by allowing none to go who could not show that they had the means of making the trip and returning with safety.

Another thing that struck me very forcibly was the fact that the Bedouin robber tribes are such a curse to Arabia. It is said the sultan will not take any steps to coerce them or to restrain their predatory habits, because they are regarded as a sacred people. But there is no doubt that a moderate force, well equipped, could without much difficulty bring these robber tribes to reason. It is lamentable to think that the commercial and agricultural resources of Arabia are sacrificed to these people and to the Sultan's unwillingness to coerce them. Whereas if they were put down, there is nothing to prevent the country becoming a seat of agricultural and commercial prosperity, to the benefit of the world at large, and to that especially of the well-disposed and peaceable population of the country.

After a short stay at Mecca, we returned to Jedda and thence took ship, the Nawab and some of our party proceeding back to India; I and my companions to London, *via* Alexandria and Marseilles.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM JEDDA TO ENGLAND.

Departure from Jedda. – Suez. – Cairo. – Alexandria. – Marseilles – Paris. – Impressions of England. – Comparison between female education in England and India. – Oriental view of English society. – English manners at home and abroad. – Administration of justice. – System pursued in India. – Concluding remarks.

Our friends sailed for Bombay in the screw steamer *Scotia*, and I and my companions embarked in a steamer belonging to a Turkish merchant, built at Hull, and called the *Yembo*, for Suez. The commander, the officers, and crew were Arabs, the engineers Englishmen. The *Yembo* was advertised to sail the same day as the *Scotia*, but we were delayed a day longer, by order of the authorities at Jedda. The ship was not over clean, and the passengers were very numerous, moreover, the cargo was heaped up in huge piles on the deck, without any effort at order or arrangement, so as to leave very small space for the passengers to move about. We were better off, however, than in the voyage from Bombay, for there was not the same sickening smell as we had on the *Sir Bartle Frere*. The principal subject of complaint was the pace at which the vessel sailed, for she never made more than three miles an hour.

On the evening of the next day we stopped at a town on the coast, called Yembo. This was the captain's native place, and the vessel had been named after it. We had to exchange some cargo here, and take on board some more passengers, and I and my friends took the opportunity of landing to see what was to be seen. We found the town or village, a most miserable place, nothing but a collection of stalls or huts, and a few dreary-looking houses. We managed to get a bath there and some cooling drink, and as the heat was most intense we were glad to get on board again.

We did not touch anywhere else, till we came to Suez on the sixth day. There we were put in quarantine owing to a regulation of the port by which all ships leaving Jedda within a certain time after the Hadj season are considered unhealthy. Fortunately, we had with us on board a French doctor in the Turkish service, who telegraphed at once to the authorities at Alexandria, that we were in perfect health on board, and that it was quite unnecessary to detain us. The reply came, bringing permission to land after a day's delay, so that we landed at Suez nine days after leaving Jedda. At Suez, we lodged at the house of a merchant, a friend of our friend Suliman Nakkadee, and on the second day went on by rail to Cairo.

In passing through this part of Egypt I was much struck with the ingenuity of the Egyptians in applying (if they do not invent) machinery to the purposes of cultivation

and other useful arts. They appear to me in this and some other respects to be far more advanced than the people of India. We put up at Cairo in the house of our Suez friend, Suliman.

I was much disappointed with Grand Cairo. I had heard of it as one of the finest cities in the world, but I found it is by no means superior to the better class of cities in India. The French bazaar is the best part of it and the most thickly populated. The rest of the city is old, dirty, and in disrepair. The royal buildings, belonging to the viceroy, may be "the finest buildings of the world" in the eyes of the Egyptians; they are very far from being so in mine. How inferior are they to the royal buildings of the old Mogul Emperors at Agra and Delhi, and elsewhere, whose splendor, beauty of design, and exquisite proportions astonish even the greatest architects of the present day! Certainly the mausoleums of the viceroys, the mosque and viceregal palace inside the fort, the fort itself and the palace in the city, are very grand buildings. The mosque is especially beautiful, being very exquisitely decorated.

In due course we arrived at Alexandria, where we were much amused at the impudence and pertinacity of the donkey boys. Two of my friends who went out first beckoned to two of these donkey boys, when they were forthwith surrounded by a crowd, which so thronged them that it was impossible for them to mount any of the animals. Each boy drove away his neighbor's donkey, and pushed his own into its place; and there was the utmost possible confusion, the boys calling out, "My donkey English, him knows; gallop English him!" "Trot donkey, me India knows!" and so on. As fast as either of my friends attempted to mount a donkey, it was driven away and replaced by another, much to the amusement of the spectators. At last they succeeded in catching the reins of two, jumped on their backs, and rode away. We were disappointed in what we saw of Alexandria. Had we heard less even about the late viceroy's garden, we might have liked it better; as it is, it did not come up to the expectations we had formed of it.

Our experience of this part of the sultan's dominions added as much to our confidence in the progress of the empire as our experience of Arabia had diminished it. The fact is, that Arabia, besides being regarded as too sacred a soil to be subjected to the sacrilegious influence of civilization, is not expected to pay a fair revenue, and for this reason perhaps sufficient attention is not bestowed upon it. The shareefs, or native chiefs, are allowed to rule as did their ancestors; and the different kabylas, or families, are enjoying the same rights which they had ten centuries ago.

We sailed from Alexandria to Marseilles in the Peninsular and Oriental steamship *Nyansa*, on board of which vessel we enjoyed every comfort compatible with a sea voyage. The passengers were few, the weather fair, the steamer clean and well found in every respect; the captain and officers courteous and obliging, and the servants attentive.

We were much struck with the appearance of Marseilles, the first European city we had seen, and where we got the first glimpse of European civilization. As we drove through the streets, we were delighted with the novelty and variety of the scene. Every step seemed to reveal some new treasure, some new object of interest and pleasure. Every building was magnificent. We passed by the door of one mansion beautifully lighted with splendid chandeliers, and decorated with all sorts of ornamental embellishments. This, in our ignorance of European manners and customs, we at first supposed must be the residence of the Governor of Marseilles at least. It was in reality nothing more than a large tavern, or place of public entertainment. At another spot we passed a large crowd of people assembled together outside a great building, and this we took for an assembly met perhaps for the purpose of commemorating some great event of public and national importance. We discovered on inquiry, that it was nothing more than a gathering of people to amuse themselves after their day's work.

We were never tired of driving about and looking at the grand streets, squares, promenades, and buildings with which the city abounds. There, too, we had an opportunity of witnessing for the first time a performance in a theatre, where the scenery, the dresses, the lights, and the music, struck us with wonder and amazement, although we could not understand the language of the singers or actors.

We received every possible attention from the employees on the railway, and also from the passengers, both on our journey from Marseilles to Paris and from Paris to Dover. At Marseilles we had put up at the Hotel du Louvre, and when we arrived at the platform at Paris we were received by a gentleman who was there waiting for us. That he should have been apprised of our coming was at first a mystery to us; but it transpired that the manager of the hotel at Marseilles had telegraphed to the Hotel du Jardin, at Paris, of our arrival, desiring that there might be someone in waiting to receive us. The conductor was of much assistance; for he could speak English, and none of us were acquainted with the French language.

As we were anxious to get on, and reach England as soon as possible, we did not stay to see the sights of Paris, but were delighted with the glimpse we caught of that splendid city as we drove to the hotel and from the hotel to the railway station the following day. We met everywhere with the utmost politeness and attention from the French. At the different stations where the train stopped, they would come and tell us how long it would wait, indicating the number of minutes by holding up their fingers. They were most kind, also, in showing us the way about the different stations, which otherwise would have been a source of great perplexity to strangers as we were.

The passage across the channel from Calais to Dover was, though short, perhaps the worst experience we had had of sea voyaging. Whether we slept or fainted during the

interval we cannot tell; but we were aroused by the sounds of "Dover, sir," and lost no time in landing. The train was ready, and we went on direct to London.

On entering London, we could not at first believe we were really in the great metropolis of the world. We had been led to suppose we should find London a magnificent city, whereas it appeared to be nothing but a collection of mean black houses and smoky chimneys.

On arrival at Charing Cross our baggage was examined by the Custom House officials, and the enormous duty of sixteen times the value of the little hooka tobacco we had with us was levied. We had about twenty-one pounds of it, the value of which would have been in India about four shillings; and for duty we were charged sixteen times that amount.

We had also to pay a third of the value of the few silver articles we had with us as duty. How shall I find words to describe our sensations on arriving at the Charing Cross Station? The enormous crowd of Englishmen all staring at us, the size of the building, whose walls appeared to be painted with advertisements, the noise and bustle, the rushing to and fro, the gesticulations of all the cabmen, whose signs we could not understand, but who, on seeing us, all raised their hands to attract our attention; the buzz of voices, added to our own confusion in being loaded with all our luggage in such a strange place, with no friend to take us by the hand, — for we had arrived at such an early hour that the gentleman whom we hoped to meet had not been able to come,—altogether so bewildered us that our feelings and sensations were past all description. Our friend had, however, left a letter for us at the Charing Cross Hotel, and had spoken about us to the managers of that establishment, so that we determined to put up there for the present. After a delay of a few hours, which we spent in a room on the ground floor of the hotel, we procured a suite of apartments on the third floor, to which we were taken by the "lift" We had had no experience before of this invention, and the reader may perhaps be able to imagine our feelings of astonishment on being conducted to a dark little cell which of its own accord began to ascend, whither we knew not. One of our party was terrified at finding himself in such a helpless condition, shut up in a movable room, from which there was no apparent means of escape. Our minds were shortly relieved by the stopping of the lift, and an immediate release. Another thing that caused us much astonishment was, that the people in the upper stories of the hotel communicated with those on the ground floor without going down to them or calling out to them, by simply talking through a tube. All these things of course are so familiar to my readers that they may be almost as much surprised at my thus noticing them as I was when I first beheld them. But it must be recollected that I am merely recording the impression which an Oriental, who had been all his life a stranger to the habits and inventions of western civilization, derives when he first comes in contact with these things.

One thing which struck me very forcibly was the manner in which the services of the female sex are utilized in Europe. I was astonished to find, for instance, at the Charing Cross Hotel, that much of the office work, and the management of this large establishment, was left entirely in the hands of women. In my own country, although women in the higher ranks of society are with very rare exceptions taught to read and write, yet they are never so taught with the view of their being employed in any office, or in any position where it would be necessary for them to mix with society, or even to have their features exposed to public gaze. Their instruction is therefore confined to religious books and to Arabic and Persian literature, which, though of little use in public life, yet afford a great resource and solace to Eastern ladies in the secluded life they lead. English notions and Oriental ideas on this subject are at total variance. A Mahomedan husband would never allow his wife to appear in public, and a Mahomedan lady would be disgraced in the eyes of all her relatives, male and female, were she to show her face to others than her husband or her nearest relatives. Nothing will induce her to appear in public, nor will her husband ever allow her to earn her own bread while he is alive.

I may not pass over this subject without alluding to the condition of ignorance in which the majority of the female sex in India are plunged. As a rule, the majority are totally without any education at all. It is satisfactory to know that of late great efforts have been made by the Indian Government and private individuals to remedy this state of things, and that active steps are being taken to promote the education of women in India; for there can be no doubt that one great element in the prosperity and progress of a country, is the ability of women, owing to superior education, to undertake duties which in the East are exclusively confined to the male sex.

I was much astonished at the amount of intelligence and general knowledge or the lower classes; so different to what we see in India. Here you find the coachmen and cab-drivers sitting on the box reading the newspaper, and able to give you their opinion of public events. What that opinion may be worth, is another matter. But what are you to think of a country where a common charwoman is able to converse about the war in France and evince a considerable knowledge of geography?

We were much amused at one of the hotels in the north of England where we were staying, where in the bedrooms we occupied there was a copy of the Bible. The chambermaid noticed one of my companions perusing the contents of the sacred volume, whereupon she, knowing we were Mahomedans, expressed much gratification at the religious tendencies of my friend; whereas, he was merely turning over the pages of the Bible out of curiosity.

Passing from the lower to the higher ranks of society, where I have had many opportunities, thanks to the great kindness, courtesy, and hospitality with which I have been everywhere received, of witnessing the manners and customs of the English, the

first thing that struck me was the amazing difference between the behavior and breeding of the English gentleman as seen in England and in India. In the latter country, where the gentlemen we meet are mostly official, their behavior towards the natives of all classes, including the native gentry who come in contact with them, is marked with a degree of haughtiness, roughness, and overbearing demeanor, nowhere witnessed in England. The behavior of the English gentleman in India towards the natives is more be that of a Roman toward the conquered Carthaginians, than the citizens of one of the most civilized countries in the world. And if know the mind or my own countrymen I may safely say that the unpopularity of the British Government, and the dislike everywhere felt in consequence of the system of administration adopted of late years, to British dominion, is much enhanced by the offensive manner evinced by individual officers to the natives of the country. It is indeed more calculated to make the natives hate the English Governmerit than to admire or to like it.

Nothing could exceed the kindness, affability, and courtesy with which we were received by the various members of the aristocracy and gentry to whom we were introduced. I understand that it is distasteful to the members of the upper classes to see their names mentioned in a little book of this kind, or I intended taking this opportunity of publicly thanking them for their kindness and hospitality. I am, however, indebted to them for many very pleasant hours spent under their roofs, and for the opportunities thus afforded me of witnessing the charming scenes presented by the aspect of social and domestic life in England, both in London and in the country. I can honestly say that I know nothing more pleasing and more enchanting than a drawing-room circle graced with the presence of a number of English ladies. Their natural charms of grace and manner, enhanced by the exquisite taste and elegance of their dress, are increased tenfold by their accomplishments, and their intellectual powers fostered and refined by education. As an admirer of the fair sex wherever I am, I must be allowed the privilege of comparison; and when I say that, with all the advantages which English ladies have over their sisters of the East in the matter of education and refilled accomplishment, I still feel bound to give the preference to Eastern beauty, my English readers will, doubtless, attribute what they will consider my want of taste to national prejudice. We are all of us apt to be prejudiced in favor of our own country, our own people, manners, customs, climate, and institutions. Englishmen will doubtless appreciate this weakness – if weakness it be – and make a full allowance for it in my case. To the taste of the Oriental, the pure white complexion, the blue eyes, and golden hair, so much admired in England, are rather a defect than a charm.

We prefer the deeper hue of the brunette, the black sparkling eye and raven hair of our Eastern beauties. In artificial charms, such as are the result of intellectual development and education. English ladies are so superior to the Oriental that the two classes cannot be compared; for it is to education that must be attributed the exquisite tact, the grace of manner, and the aptitude with which ladies in England fill their places in society, and perform the duties of their sex in the family and social circle, I may, perhaps, be

considered wanting in good taste, but I cannot bring myself to admire the style of evening dress which ladies adopt in England, much as I admire their taste in other things. It is of course, a matter of habit, education, and national custom; but to the mind of the Oriental there must always appear to be a lack of modesty in the fashion of low dresses. Among the many characteristics which distinguish the Western from the Oriental races, is the practice of commemorating by means of statues, busts, and other durable and lasting monuments, the glorious deeds of public men, whether soldiers or statesmen, who have earned the gratitude of posterity by some great service to their country or to humanity. These monuments undoubtedly serve the purpose of keeping perpetually before men's eyes and in their memory the name and the fame of the heroes who have realized the truth that self sacrifice is the noblest principle in human nature. By such means are the deeds of great and good men perpetuated and others incited to follow their example. Respect and veneration paid to distinguished ancestors is the best encouragement to posterity.

It would serve no purpose for me to enter into a description of the great public buildings in London and other parts of England, or of the scenery which I have had an opportunity of seeing, both in the south and north of England and in Scotland; for all these things are well known to my English readers, and for those of my countrymen who may be projecting a visit to this country no description that I could give would convey any adequate idea of them. Although I had heard much of England, yet I found everything so different from what I had expected, the reality in every case far surpassing the idea, that I despair of being able to give my countrymen any such description of England, its people, its scenery, its cities, its great manufactures, its theatres and places of amusement, and its institutions, as would be of any real service to them. They must come as I did, and see and judge for themselves. As regards the finest buildings in London, such as St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, it was impossible for me to see them without making a comparison in my own mind between them and the great works of architectural art in India, such as the famous Taj Mahal at Agra, or the other splendid buildings erected at Delhi and elsewhere by the old Mogul princes. It is difficult indeed fairly to compare structures which differ so much in style as do Westminster Abbey and the Taj, for instance. If I must say to which I give the preference, I name the latter, which, of its kind, is the most beautiful building in the world, and which, as well as other buildings erected by the Mogul emperors, appears to me to possess greater beauty in the exquisite perfection of its details and its proportions, its mosaics and the material (white marble) of which it is constructed, than Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, noble structures, but wanting, to my taste, in delicateness of finish, details, symmetry, and design.

By nothing was I more favorably impressed than by the mode in which justice is administered in this great country. Here, every man's rights are protected by law; and if they are infringed, there is a sure method of obtaining redress through the regularly constituted law courts.

The great inferiority of India in this respect impressed me most painfully. The High Courts in India are tribunals where the suitor may expect to obtain justice, and which, if I am acquainted with the feelings of my own countrymen, have won the well-earned confidence of the public. And I may mention particularly the High Court of Agra, now located at Allababad, presided over by Sir Walter Morgan, Chief justice; of whom it is no flattery to say that the natives, one and all, regard him as the personification of the principle of justice. But the satisfaction that is felt by all classes with the mode of administering justice in the High Courts in India is very far from being realized in the case of the other tribunals of that country. But what pen or what language can adequately deal with the system that prevails over that large and most important part of India which is not directly subject to the British Government, but nominally independent. I allude, of course, to what are called the Native States, which comprise about one-third the area, and one-fourth the population, of British India. These states are not subject to the jurisdiction of the British courts of law, and consequently there is no channel by which redress or justice can be obtained in all those cases which repeatedly arise between the chiefs of these states and one another, or between the chiefs and their own feudatories, or between the chiefs and the British Government.

In former years, when English dominion was first established in India, it was the custom to treat these states as practically and theoretically independent; relations between them and the British Government were settled by international treaty, and any matters that affected these relations were necessarily regarded as political matters, and determined by diplomatic agents and officers. Thus the relation between the native independent states and the British Government belonged properly to the Foreign Office, and the correspondence was confined to that department. But now that the supremacy of the English Government as the power paramount is established, and the extension of commerce, roads, canals, railways, and the progress of civilization generally has drawn these states into more close connection with the British Government, and is daily drawing them yet closer still, the relegation of all questions that arise to the Foreign Office, and their settlement in secret and by means of secret correspondence, is a system which, however well suited it may have been to past years, is totally out of time and place now-a-days.

I have been taught in England that every wrong has a remedy, and every man is entitled to his rights; moreover that no man, be his position in society what it may, can ever be condemned and punished without a trial. But this is very far from being the case with a very large part of India, as the circumstances related in the earlier portion of this narrative fully show. And most unquestionably there ought to be some tribunal instituted, either here or in India, before which those who are not within the jurisdiction of the English law courts, when accused of any crime, or when they have had some right invaded by British officials, might have an opportunity of a fair and open trial, or

of vindicating their claim to redress. That there is no such tribunal in existence is, in my opinion, a blot upon the administration of British India, and I know it is the cause of deep dissatisfaction and discontent.

It appears to me most strange and most inconsistent with the principle by which care is taken to secure efficiency in the due administration of what is just and equitable in every other branch and department of the Government of India, that while it is thought necessary to have proved men and the best trained lawyers as judges of the courts, yet the administration of the law in a large and most difficult and important class of cases should be left practically in the hands of such an officer as the Governor-General's agent, who is most usually a military man, who, although he has generally had experience in diplomatic affairs, yet has had no legal education. Were his duties confined to matters of mere diplomacy, there is no doubt his official experience would be sufficient to enable him to conduct such duties with efficiency. But cases frequently come before him which involve nice points of law, in the interpretation of phrases and clauses in old treaties, and the weighing of evidence which nothing but a legal mind can effectually deal with. Moreover, in the ordinary tribunals of the country, where justice miscarries as it does sometimes, or when a suitor is dissatisfied with a decree, an appeal lies to the judicial committee of the Privy Council. And the value of a final Court of Appeal, far removed from the influences which must more or less affect local courts, cannot be over-estimated. But from the decision of a Governor-General's agent there is no appeal, except to the Government through the channel of the Foreign Office. There is no open inquiry; a petitioner has no means of satisfying himself that the record of his case is even laid before the authority whose will decides his fate; or, if laid before him, that it is ever read. He is allowed no opportunity of representing his side of the case, either in person or by advocate. If accused of a crime, he is not confronted with his witnesses; he cannot even state his own case, except in the form of a petition which may never be read; there is no one to whom he can appeal. He may be a victim of a mere intrigue: he may have the means of proving that it is so, but they are of no avail so long as there is no judge to hear him, no court before which he can appear, and claim to be heard in his own defence. Many with whom I have conversed in this country have expressed their surprise, almost incredulity, that such a state of things should exist. The fact is that people in England, members of parliament, and other public men who take an interest in these matters, have a vague idea that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council take cognizance of such cases. They do not understand that the jurisdiction of this excellent tribunal is confined to cases that are provided for by the ordinary courts of law in purely British territories. Or they imagine that what are called in the official language of the day political cases, are purely political matters, such as belong to the science or art of diplomacy, and rest on the principles of international law; forgetting, or not knowing, the actual relations between the British Government and the Native States, as they are called, and overlooking the fact that situated as these states and their rulers and chiefs are, a political wrong almost always involves a personal wrong. An Englishman may gain some idea of the condition of things I am endeavoring to

describe, by imagining the great landholders of England and Ireland, who live on their large estates, and manage them and the affairs of their tenants, being proclaimed outlaws that is, being denied access to the courts of Westminster or Chancery, and forced to submit to the jurisdiction of some branch of the executive government, responsible to no one but Parliament. Of course, even then the English landed aristocracy would be in an infinitely better position than the chiefs and members of the old royal families in India, because they would be able always to get their cases attended to in Parliament. But for the Indian noble whose rights have been trampled on, that channel of redress is very uncertain, for many reasons too obvious to need exposition here.

The custom of the country and etiquette preclude me from noticing by name the various noblemen and gentlemen who have shown me so much kindness and hospitality during my short sojourn in England, pleasing recollections of which I shall carry back with me to my native land. My friend, Syed Ahmed Khan Buhadur, C.S.I., who was residing in London when I arrived, has already returned to his duties in India; but his knowledge of English customs and the habits of society were of much assistance to me on my first arrival, when everything was necessarily strange. Syed Abdoolla, whose experience of life in England dates now many years back, has spared no pains to smooth difficulties and render my residence in London pleasant and agreeable. I cannot forbear mentioning the pleasure I have derived from the society of Mr. Palmer, of Cambridge, whose fame as an Oriental linguist had reached my ears long before I left India; but whose acquaintance with Arabic, Persian, and other Eastern tongues very far surpassed my expectation. The society of an English gentleman so well versed in the language and literature of Arabia, Persia, and the East, has been a source of the greatest gratification to me.

I should be glad if what I have written should have the effect of inducing more of my fellow-countrymen to visit England and Europe generally. For it is impossible, without seeing these countries, to gain an adequate idea of what Western civilization is, and what it has done, and is doing, for the European races, and the benefits which it is through them disseminating in the East and West.

Travelling in foreign lands, visiting distant countries, and mixing with people of different races, religions, customs, and manners, have the effect of enlarging the mind and removing prejudice, which is the offspring of ignorance. Most of my fellow-countrymen and co-religionists have a great objection to travelling in Europe, fancying that their religious scruples must necessarily be offended. But the Mahommedans of Turkey, Egypt, and Arabia visit Europe, and reside in Christian cities, and mix with European society, without doing violence to their religion; and why should the Indian Mahommedans entertain doubts and scruples which are not shared by those who are at least as orthodox Moslem as the followers of that faith in Hindustan. I can safely assure them that they will find no inconvenience at all from a sojourn in Europe. All that they

have to do is scrupulously to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors, which no one is forced to drink against his will, and to avoid swine's flesh. In all respects they can conform to the requirements of the Mohommedan religion in Europe as well as in India, even to the eating of butcher's meat, for the preparation of which, by the slaughter of the animals according to the rites and tenets of Islam, arrangements can be made.

In fact, every facility can be afforded in this country for rendering the residence of a Mahommedan gentleman pleasant and agreeable. And in my own case, I shall but be doing an act of justice in offering my thanks to my agents and bankers, Messrs. King & Co. Cornhill, for the assistance and attention they have given me.

I have now concluded my short and unpretending narrative. My mission accomplished, I shall return to my native land with grateful and pleasing recollections of my short sojourn in England. That mission, as the reader will have gathered, is to solicit from the English nation, through their representatives in the House of Commons, an act of simple justice—that justice which no Englishman would for a moment refuse to accord to the very meanest and humblest member of society, *viz.*, that a fellow-subject of Her Majesty be not convicted of a crime, and condemned without a trial and without a hearing. That is all I ask, and it is not much. I have in vain solicited from the Indian Government here, as a favor, what every other subject of the British Crown except an Indian prince can demand as a right, and I have been refused; the stereotyped official reply being given to my petition—that his Grace the Secretary of State sees no reason to interfere. I trust, in the interests of justice and humanity, no less than in those of my master, the Nawab, and of India generally, that the Houses of Parliament will, amid the press of important business that will occupy their attention during the Session of 1871, be able to give a hearing to my humble petition. If the Nawab my master—ever a loyal prince and subject of the British Crown—had been a little ragged London street boy accused of picking a pocket, he could not have been condemned without a trial; and if he had, his petition for a trial would at once claim attention from both Houses of Parliament.

It remains to be seen whether Her Majesty's Proclamation,—the Magna Charta of British India,—which promised to all their rights, and that justice and equity which is the right of every subject of the Crown, is a dead letter or not. Nor am I, nor is the Nawab, alone interested. The princes, chiefs, and people occupying a third of the area of Hindostan, are anxiously watching the result of my mission. For they well know that if once the principle is established, that a man, be the prince or peasant, can be convicted of a crime, and condemned without trial, and by secret correspondence, there is an end to all security of life, honor, and estate.

** I have added, in the form of an Appendix to this narrative, one or two articles taken from English papers and reviews, which will give the reader the idea entertained by that section of the Press which has turned its attention to the case.

INDIAN APPEALS.

From the "Globe," November 25.

Among proposed reforms in the administration of India, it has been suggested that cases in which the native princes are concerned should be referred to the decision of one or more Indian judges, instead of being dealt with, as at present, in the Political Department. There is much to be said on both sides of the question, but we are not now about to discuss the advisableness of the change. We shall content ourselves at present with saying that if such a procedure were established, the Government would at times escape from unmerited odium, which it incurs in settling matters with which its own interests are only indirectly concerned. Such a matter is the case of the ex-Nawab of Tonk, the papers regarding which were moved for by Mr. Stackpool on the 25th of February, 1869, and have been printed: It seems likely that this case, in some form or other, will come before Parliament, as three Indian gentlemen, agents of the ex-Nawab, have arrived in London to make an appeal in his behalf. Their names are—Hafiz Ahmed Hassan (secretary to his highness), Muhamman Hikmatu'llah, and Jafar Hussin. As they no doubt intend to petition the House, and "as the story is one which presents a curious picture of Oriental life and manners," we will briefly mention the leading facts.

Tonk is a principality in the great province of the Rajputana; it contains about 1860 square miles, lies to the south of Jaipur, and is conterminous with it. It was founded by Amir Khan, a leader of free lances, with whom we made a treaty in 1817. His successor, the father of the ex-Nawab, was thanked by Lord Canning for his services during the mutiny, and some territory was restored to him. The ex-Nawab himself was officially declared by the Governor-Generals agent to be "the most vigorous ruler in Rajpootana." His most powerful feudatory was the Hindu chief of Lawa, a small town with a mud fort about twenty miles from Tonk. The Lawa people were refractory, accused of gang-robberies, and said to be *mauvais sujets*, in more than one sense. In fact, matters came to such a pass, that in 1866 the ex-Nawab, whose name is Mohammed Ali Khan, resolved to take Lawa, and threw up batteries against it, but was directed by the Viceroy to abandon the siege, which he did. In the same year he, in accordance with the advice of Sir J. Lawrence, paid off the debt incurred by his predecessor, and undertook certain reforms and public works. The Lawa chief was called upon to pay a rate in aid of these works, which he refused to do, and this and other matters led to a "difficulty," which Surwar Shah, the ex-Nawab's minister, undertook to settle in a conference to which he invited Dhiraj Singh, the said chief. On the 29th of July, 1867, Dhiraj, with his uncle Rewat Singh and fifty Rajput followers, armed with swords and matchlocks, rode into Tonk in accordance with the invitation. But the minister had fallen sick, and either could not or would not see them. The Rajpoots were in a house some hundred yards from that of the minister; and on the 1st of August, 1867, while the chief himself, Dhiraj

Singh, remained in the house, his uncle Rewat Singh, with a party of his followers, went down to see the minister, and repeated their visit at 9 p.m. A fight then ensued between the Rajput visitors and the Minister's guards, in which Golab Khan, the captain of the guard, and Rewat Singh and fifteen others were killed, and ten men were wounded. As soon as the shots and the cries of the combatants were heard, the ex-Nawab sent down his guards to quell the disturbance; and they arrested four men said to be implicated in it, and pursued others as far as Lawa. The Lawa chief was also placed in arrest, and Mohammed Ali proceeded to investigate the facts; but on the 15th of August, Captain Bruce arrived to institute an inquiry, by direction of the Viceroy. On the 26th he reported to his superior officer, Colonel Eden, who, on the 6th of September, transmitted the papers to the Governor-General, recommending that the Nawab should be deposed, his Minister imprisoned for life, all his attendants who were in the house at the time of the affray dismissed, the principality of Tonk reduced by the transfer of Lawa to Jaipur, the Nawab's son placed on the throne with a salute of eleven guns instead of seventeen, and that Tonk should be charged with pensions to the families of the slain. On the 13th of September, a week after Colonel Eden had reported, Captain Bruce transmitted a supplementary report; but on the 23rd the Viceroy endorsed Colonel Eden's views to the Secretary of State, and on the 15th of November they were ordered to be carried out. There are, of course, two conflicting accounts of the tragedy, but we reserve the consideration of them to another occasion.

From the "Globe," November 28, 1870,

The Lawa version of the Tonk massacre is as follows:—On the 1st of August, 1847, the Nawab of Tonk's Minister sent a messenger to the chief of Lawa, who had arrived in Tonk on his invitation, to come to his house at night. The chief did not go, but sent his uncle and brother with fourteen attendants. The house has an inner and outer court. The whole party were admitted into the inner court, where all except four, the chiefs uncle and brother and two attendants, were detained. These four were taken up some steps leading to the Minister's private apartments, and there immediately murdered. Half an hour afterwards the rest of the party, who seem to have heard nothing of the death struggle, were "cut down," all except one man, who was seized and imprisoned. "The noise of firing" (an expression which hardly agrees with "cut down ") no sooner reached the ears of the Lawa chief and those who were with him, than they closed the doors of the house, but were shortly afterwards obliged to surrender to the guards of the Nawab. The Nawab's troops then marched to take Lawa, but returned after a little skirmishing. It is obvious that the truth of this story, as far as the massacre is concerned, rests on the evidence of one man, who is said to have been the sole survivor. The Tonk witnesses, eight of whom were wounded in the fight, depose that Rewat Singh, uncle of the Lawa chief, went to the Minister's house uninvited and late at night, when the Minister was too ill to receive him; and the sentry expostulated with him (this important fact is admitted by the opposite party); that he, nevertheless, pushed his way in; and that a scuffle and then a fight ensued, in which ten men were killed of the Lawa

party, and seven of the Tonk people, and eight wounded. The Nawab is said to have then sent his troops to Lawa in pursuit of some fugitives, to have placed the chief of Lawa in arrest. The first thing that must strike everyone in reading these statements is, that a case in which the evidence was so conflicting, and which involved the acquittal or dethronement of "the most vigorous ruler in Rajpootana," as well as the imprisonment for life of his Minister, and the dismemberment: of his principality, might wisely have been referred at the outset to the ablest judge on the Indian bench, instead of to a junior political officer. Next, it is apparent from that officer's confidential report, that he did not enter on the inquiry with a perfectly unbiased mind. So far, indeed, from that being the case, we find that, ten days before he commenced taking evidence, he wrote to the Nawab, whom he was about to try, to say that he had received a statement from the opposite party, which had made a great impression on him. We cannot wonder, then, that he refused credence to the Tonk story at once, though admitting it to be "complete in all its details, supported by the living testimony of eight men, who were wounded on the occasion," and by "eye-witnesses other than those engaged." So impressed, it was natural for Captain Bruce to overlook the improbabilities of the Lawa story. Otherwise he could not but have seen how improbable it was that the Nawab of Tonk, after leading back his troops from the siege of Lawa at the command of the Viceroy, should have, soon after braved the displeasure of that supreme authority by murdering some of its principal men and making a treacherous attack upon it. More improbable still was it, that an attack so risked should have been limited to a paltry skirmish, and should have been preceded by the murder of the Lawa chief's uncle, instead of by the murder of the chief himself. Again, it was highly improbable that a Mahomedan should invite four Rajpoots at night into his zananah, and that the Rajpoots should have gone there without suspicion of danger. Lastly, it was most improbable that the Tonk people, if they meant to kill the Rajpoots, should have left one of them alive to bear witness against them, and that with hundreds of matchlock-men around the house, they should have suffered a few swordsmen to kill and wound so many of the assassins. The report ignores all these points; and it appears that Captain Bruce would not even take the trouble to examine the room where the four Rajpoots are said to have been murdered, or even to ascertain, until weeks after, that six of the slain belonged to the Tonk party. How differently a really judicial inquiry would have been conducted in open court, is too plain to need comment.

From the "Birmingham Daily Post," January 16 1871.

The feuds, religious and social, which prevail in this country, are sufficiently acrimonious, and attended with abundance of ill consequences. In Ireland they lead to outrages compelling exceptional legislation, and in our own portion of the kingdom they constitute a source of never-ceasing dissension. Were it not for the restraint of the law, our numerous factions would probably contribute frequent riots of the Murphy type; but fortunately, the policeman is, as a rule, more than a match for his fanatical antagonists. There is, however, part of the British Empire where the spirit of faction is

equally hot, while the force of law is much less-powerful. If we desire to meet with a thorough-going tragedy—enacted in real life, but fit to constitute a most sensational drama on the stage—the desire will easily be satisfied by a reference to the contemporary history of our great "dependency," India. Such an instance is now placed before the public in the form of a narrative of the events which led to the deposition from the throne of Mahommed Ally Khan, late the Nawab of the district of Tonk. This territory is a Mahommedan principality, being situated in the centre of Rajpootana, and consequently surrounded with Rajpoot or Hindoo States. It is, therefore, just the locality for the generation of partisan hostility, and, at the period to which the narrative refers, there were resident at the spot certain persons who were not likely to miss an opportunity of showing how little was the regard they entertained for each other. Up to the month of August, 1867, Tonk was ruled by the Nawab Mahommed, a man of vigorous character, always faithful to his British allegiance, but one who could not be safely trifled with by his own subordinates. Among his feudatories was the Thakoor of Lawa, a Hindoo chief, one of the most powerful in the Tonk principality, and, further, influential through his connection with many of the rulers of the surrounding Rajpoot States. The Thakoor—by name Dheerut Sing—was young, weak, and inexperienced; but his counsels were directed by uncle—Rewut Sing—a stout old soldier, who had seen service as a commander of cavalry. To complete the list of the characters, we must also mention that the Nawab of Tank also had a confidential Minister—one Hakeem Surwah Shah—who had formerly been a native physician, but had risen to the highest political office in the State, though, according to one side in the dispute, by no means a man of unexceptionable character. On that point, however, we have only the assertion of English officials. Captain Bruce, the British Resident, speaks of him as a "creature whom he regards "abhorrently;" but we do not find any justification for the expression, beyond such as may be discovered in the history of the present case. At the period to which the narrative relates, there were some points of difference between the Nawab and his feudatory, the Thakoor of Lawa, but they are variously described. According to one party, the rights of the Thakoor were invaded by certain parties in villages adjoining his castle; but perhaps we are not strictly right in saying that there was a difference on that point, for the Minister of the Nawab professed a cordial desire to see the subject of complaint removed. The matter is, however, as will be presently seen, capable of a different construction. According to the other side, the Nawab, honestly endeavoring to carry out the recommendations of Sir John Lawrence, was introducing improvements in roads and other public works, schools, police, etc., and had, therefore, cause to levy certain taxes, which taxes the Thakoor of Lawa was unwilling to pay. Whether owing to one or the other of these causes, the Thakoor was invited to visit Tonk, for the purpose of conferring with the Government there, and having the disputed question adjusted. The Thakoor consequently set out from his castle—about twenty miles away—and arrived at the capital on the 29th of July, 1867. He was accompanied by his uncle and fifty other retainers. All the circumstances which then ensued are stated oppositely by different witnesses, but both sides agree that on the morning of the 1st of August, the Thakoor's uncle, with a few followers, called upon the

Minister, Hakeem Surwah Shah, by whom, according to one, he was well received, but, according to the other, he met with such a reception that he left in a fit of indignation. Be that as it may, at nine o'clock in the evening of the same day he repeated his visit, with a company of about fifteen retainers, most of them armed. How it arose, we cannot attempt to say; but, on their arrival at the Minister's residence, a fight took place between the party and the men on guard, all but one of the Thakoors men—including his uncle—being killed, and serious injuries being inflicted on the adherents of the Minister. Everything is uncertain as to the particulars, even the number of dead not being correctly ascertained; but it probably amounted to nearly twenty, in addition to a considerable list of wounded.

Since this sanguinary encounter took place more than three years ago, the reader may ask why it is now described. The reason is, that the course adopted by the Indian Government respecting it has become the subject of a petition to the House of Commons. The agents of the Government, after instituting long inquiries, came to the conclusion that the party of the Thakoor were "trapped" to the residence of the Minister, and were slaughtered in accordance with a plot previously agreed upon. The Nawab and his friends contended, on the other hand, that the uncle of the Thakoor had attempted to force himself upon the Minister, with a body of armed followers, at an unreasonable hour, and when the visit was the less justifiable, as the Minister lay ill in bed; that they were justly refused admittance by the men on guard, and that the altercation so caused led to an exchange of blows, for which the aggressors were really answerable. The Government agents, believing the former of these statements, though exempting the Nawab from personal concern in the fray, and throwing the blame on a wicked Minister, have reported in favor of deposing the Nawab, giving the succession to his son, and condemning the minister to imprisonment for life. These measures have been adopted, though neither of the incriminated parties was subjected to a public trial, or was even made acquainted with the evidence given against him until long after his sentence had been executed. Under these circumstances, the Nawab appeals to the British Parliament for a trial, and that amount of justice he certainly appears to merit; for not only is the whole story extremely mysterious, but the agents themselves declare that they were unable to procure testimony such as would support a judicial conviction. They make the observation that the stern treatment of the Nawab will be useful as a warning to other native chieftains; but that is an argument which cuts two ways, for, if the outrage really originated with the party of the Thakoor—as many, on reading the documents, will believe—the action of the Government may tend to ferment repetitions of the carnage among the Rajpoot princes. It is quite clear that the Nawab enjoyed an excellent character up to the time of this occurrence, while many ugly circumstances are imputed against the Thakoor. We cannot go into details, nor can we venture to give an opinion on circumstances which are so imperfectly known; but we consider it absolutely necessary in the interest of good and fair government that the deposition of a loyal chieftain and the incarceration for life of his principal Minister, should rest on a more substantial foundation than the private report of a military officer.

THE CASE-OF THE EX-NAWAB OF TONK.

*From "The Law Magazine and Law Review,"
February, 1871.*

We have received a printed statement of facts in support of a petition by the ex-Nawab of Tonk to the House of Commons, praying for a trial. The facts set forth are in themselves very curious, and disclose one of those sudden outbreaks of violent passion with which readers of Indian history are familiar. Broadly stated they are these – The Nawab of Tonk, acting on the advice of the Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, determined to carry out in his State a number of internal reforms, constructing roads, establishing police, etc. The Nawab is a Mahomedan. His most powerful feudatory was however a Hindoo – the Thakoor of Lawa. Tonk is surrounded by Hindoo States, and, one can easily understand that a continual state of plotting against the reigning Mahomedan body will be the almost normal condition. The fort of this feudatory it is alleged was the shelter and asylum of robbers. This, again, did not increase the good feeling between the sovereign and his subjects. The feudatory himself was a young man, the management of his State being mainly in the hands of his uncle. On August 1st, 1867, this uncle, accompanied by many of his followers, called at the residence of the Minister of the Nawab of Tonk, and finding him ill and unable to see visitors, returned about nine in the evening similarly attended. Then followed a fight. One Mahomedan officer was killed, and seven sepoy were wounded. On the other side, the uncle and fifteen of his followers were killed. This is by one account; the other gives ten of the Lawa party and seven of the Tonk as the victims. An inquiry took place on the part of the Indian Government, and in the middle of November, in the same year, the Nawab was informed that he was to be deposed. The Nawab at once obeyed.

Now upon these facts the first conclusion is clearly this, that if the deaths of these eighteen men can be shown to have been the result of a deliberate plan of the Nawab, not only did he fully deserve deposition, but even a still severe punishment. If this were a slaughter in cold blood, no punishment could be too great. But it is necessary to show, before the law all receives punishment, first, that the incident was anything more than a free fight in Indian fashion; and, second, that the Nawab can be in any way connected with the carnage. In other words, it is necessary that a thorough investigation of the whole of the circumstances should take place, in order that justice should be done; that the deposition should be confirmed, if the facts point to his guilt; that the Nawab should not, on the other hand, suffer any further loss, unless there can be no reasonable doubt in the minds of those who have investigated the subject, that his guilt is made out. What the Nawab claims is, that he should not be condemned unheard; that he shall have the same presumption of innocence in his favor which is not denied to any person, however much the facts may appear against him, who is charged with a breach of the

criminal law. He complains that the justice which has been meted out to him is too much after the Jedburgh fashion, of hanging first and trial afterwards. He asserts that he is prepared to show that he had no connection whatever with the fray; that it was either wholly accidental, or brought about by the insolent conduct of the uncle and his followers; that these went uninvited to the Minister's house, forced an entrance, behaved with a struggle; but that on any is not the smallest evidence to show that the attack was premeditated, or was in any respect of his orders, or done with his approval.

Now, upon these facts, in accordance with the rule which this magazine has always followed, we give no opinion whatsoever. We say further, that no one would be justified in giving a decision upon what is, after all, but an *ex-parte* statement of facts, and that a proper conclusion can only be arrived at as the result of a careful investigation. But the facts are such as appear to us to call for an investigation. The statement of the case against the Nawab seems to be that the Minister invited the Chief of Lawa to Tonk under pretence of redressing his grievances, that the chief accordingly went to Tonk with fifty of his retainers—the whole occurrence sounds like a tale out of the history of the highlands of Scotland—that on the day of the affray, the uncle with few followers called on the Minister about noon, when he was well received, and returned well pleased with the interview: that in the evening of the same day the Minister sent a messenger to the chief requesting him to wait upon him; that, accordingly the uncle of the chief, with about fifteen followers, went to the Minister's residence, arriving there about 9.0 P.M. They were all admitted. The uncle and three others were invited upstairs and then set upon and murdered, The remainder were similarly attacked and all killed but one.

The version given by the other side of course differs widely from this. The Nawab declares that being extremely anxious to set about the reforms urged by the Viceroy, he found his leading opponent in these reforms in the chief of Lawa. With a view to making some arrangement, the chief was invited to the capital. He consented to come, bringing with him, as we have seen, a number of retainers. The uncle visited the Minister at noon, on the 1st of August. The Minister was ill and unable to see the uncle. This gave offence to the latter, who is asserted to have used threatening language. Here comes the first discrepancy between the two accounts. The Tonk version represents the visit paid at noon as unsuccessful; the Lawa version makes such visit out to have been altogether successful. The Tank story is that the Minister was unable on account of illness to see his visitor. The Lawa, version is that he not only saw him, but that the uncle was extremely pleased with what had taken place; obviously, therefore, it is worth while trying to get at the facts here, and when an investigation takes place, the first point to direct attention to will be the question of the Minister's illness. Much turns upon this, because, not merely does it help us to form some notion of the respective credibility of the parties, but it forms a guide to point to us what was the *animus* with which the second visit was paid. If the Minister saw them and the interview was satisfactory, then the subsequent Lawa version, that a messenger arrived in the

afternoon, inviting the uncle and his party to pay an evening visit, becomes probable. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that the Minister was really ill, and had been ill for some time, and that in consequence he was unable to have an interview with the uncle, then the Tonk version, that the uncle went away angry and discontented, and uttering threatening language, is exactly what, judging from the character of the Lawa party, one would have expected to find happening.

The evidence on this point is gone into in the papers before us, and without attempting to give it, it is impossible to help saying, that the facts brought forward are such as to throw the very gravest suspicion on the story that the Minister received the uncle. The Tonk party assert distinctly that they can prove incontestably that the Minister was ill, and unable to receive any visit whatever. This, then, is the first point which should come under judicial investigation.

Another curious and suspicious feature of the case is, that different versions are given, of the affray by the Lawa party. In addition to the one we have already given, and by a man who is alleged to have been the sole survivor, a second version appears is having been given by a writer who, if he were telling the truth, must have been an eye-witness of the events he describes. He asserts that the attendants on the uncle were killed by a volley discharged by the Minister's sepoys. The former version was that they were killed with swords. But we should weary our readers if we attempted to point out the discrepancies in the account given of the final slaughter. As we have already said, they all point to the necessity of further inquiry—inquiry which should be full and searching. Upon the whole case it is impossible to help making this remark, that if the Nawab of Tonk be guilty, that is, if he induced his Minister to bring about the massacre of his enemies in the way alleged, then the Nawab must be one of the greatest dolts living, for a more clumsy massacre was never devised. No one, with an average amount of sense, would dream of murdering a man's uncle, and a few of his servants in order to get rid of a rebel chief, or having conceived such a project, would carry it into execution in the way alleged.

**From "India Reform." By W. Tayler, Esq., late
Commissioner of Patna.**

"Another striking instance of this species of secret investigation is that of the Nawab of Tonk, who has been declared guilty of murder, and dethroned, on an *ex parte* official inquiry, in which he was never confronted with the witnesses, had no opportunity of defending himself, and could not even obtain copies of the proceedings till eighteen months after his condemnation."