

SOME RECORDS OF CRIME

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(BEING THE DIARY OF A YEAR, OFFICIAL AND
PARTICULAR, OF AN OFFICER OF THE
THUGGEE AND DACOITIE POLICE)

BY

GENERAL CHARLES HERVEY, C.B.

(SOMETIME GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE OPERATIONS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF
THUGGEE AND DACOITIE IN INDIA)

Ut jugulent homines surgunt de nocte latrones.—HORACE

VOL. II.

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SOME RECORDS OF CRIME.

1867.

17th April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—Mons. Thiers' ^{American} exclamation in summing up the political blunders ^{môt.} of the *Emperor Louis Napoleon*, in his late speech in the Chamber of Deputies, *Il n'y a plus une seule faute à commettre*, has been telegraphed from Paris to America by a clever Yankee, thus, "All the blunders are completely used up" !

Ranken, who has charge of our depôt at Jubbulpore, is desirous of a system of regular annual ^{Nujeeb} reliefs of the Nujeebs out on our command parties. ^{Reliefs.} The objection to this is, that the arrangement, as a hard and fast rule, would bring work by command parties to a standstill during the long time required for the reliefs to reach their several destinations, our strength being too limited to admit of the places of the several relieved and relieving parties being meanwhile supplied.

In the troublesome criminal statistics I am ^{The} additionally charged with, for the nine administra- ^{Murder of} tions forming British territory, and am now ^{a Jain} engaged in preparing by slow degrees for the ^{Priest.} three years for which they are due (1864, 1865,

1866,) there occurs to-day, *à propos* to what I have said of Mr. Reily's special work down in Bengal (p. 450, vol. i.,) the following harrowing tale of a case of *Thuggee by poisoning*, one of the series inquired into and unravelled by him. There was a *Jain* temple at *Pandooke*, near *Bhaugulpore*, in Bengal. The two servants of it were discovered one morning, now kicking about on the ground, now reeling about as if intoxicated and *págul* or mad-like, while the head priest or *Poojáree* himself, was nowhere to be seen. Three days subsequently his corpse was found in a pit or dry well, about half a mile distant from the temple. The medical evidence pointed to *poison* as the probable cause of the man's death, but, as in all cases of vegetable poisoning, the venom was not discoverable in the contents of the stomach. The two drugged servants—who recovered—were, with two others, charged with the murder, but were acquitted. In their defence they attributed the deed to two pilgrims who had slept, they declared, at the temple that night—that they had not only poisoned them, but were also the murderers of the priest. And there the case had for some time been left. In the course of Mr. Reily's inquiries into the cases of poisoning so prevalent at that time in that direction (*vide* p. 38, vol. i.,) a man named *Phoolchund* was arrested as one of a gang of professional poisoners charged in several other cases of murder. He confessed, and included in his confessions *his complicity in the murder of the priest*; and, in the list of his accomplices, he gave

the name of a man, one *Phódoo a Nápit* (barber caste,) who was thereupon arrested, and both he and the other were formally admitted as *approvers*. According to them, the case happened in this wise. They and some others (of whom one, *Gopaul*, was the personal friend of the priest, for whom he used to read and write, whose debts he used to collect, and whose property he was left in charge of, even to the keys of his treasure, when the *Poojáree*, a time back, went to Patna to marry,) together proceeded by concert one evening, some in a bullock cart others on foot, "to make an offering to the *Thákoor*" or idol in the temple. Some sweetmeats were purchased for the purpose, which being brought to a garden in the neighbourhood, were divided into four parts, and placed in four *dhônas* (a kind of box formed of leaves, in which sweetstuffs meant for presentation are usually carried.) The man *Gopaul* now mixed some powdered *datoora seed* or *bookni*, in the meats in one of those receptacles, and handed it over to the head man of the gang, one *Chutturdhári*, as the proposed offering. The latter accompanied by *Gopaul* and another named *Juggurnáth* (escaped into *Nipál*,) tendered it to the priest, who presented it in due form to the idol, and then, as was usual, began to divide it among the three. They persuaded him to keep the whole of it for himself, as they had three other *dhônas* for themselves. The priest thereupon ate some of the drugged sweetmeat, and going into the outer courtyard, gave some of it to

the two temple attendants. This at about seven o'clock the same evening; and the poisoners lingered in the precincts of the temple, on the pretence that "they would wait to hear the Thakoor's evening hymn." In the darkening gloom, just before the night lamp was lighted within the inner shrine, an aged woman, almost the last act of devotion of the closing day, crept in to be advised by the priest, and as silently stole away, and a lame old man struggled up to offer to the idol his obeisance and salutation, or *durshun*, and slowly limped out again. All then became silent and was dark, save the glimmer from the uncertain night light within the innermost recess of the idol's *sanctum*. And now soon, the priest became insensible—and as the two drugged attendants were lying in the outer court under the same influence, and the two or three other usual servitors had gone away to a distant *burt-mêla* or charity fair, the lurking wretches decided to kill the priest outright and plunder his wealth stowed away, as the man Gopaul knew, in a *málkhána* or secret treasure-place within a certain inner room, and they proceeded to carry out their fell purpose accordingly. The unconscious priest was lying inside of the inner courtyard, under the verandah of the shrine itself. One scoundrel clutched and squeezed his throat, another sat heavily upon his chest, a third held his hands, while a fourth horribly trampled where of itself a fatal result might be reckoned upon: "The priest did not speak, but flapped about his hands and feet, and that was why his hands were held."

The helpless victim became convulsed and died. Four others of the gang then lifted away the corpse, while the others plundered the treasure. They brought out four sacks of it, "each about a cubit long," which they placed within the cart outside, one of which sacks, according to the cart driver, "clinked as though heavy with metal money." The latter witness saw the dead body as it was brought out, and recognized it to be *that of the priest*. The case was tried before the Sessions Judge of *Bhaugulpore*, who convicted all the prisoners (seven in number,) of murder, and sentenced three of them to death (*Chutturdhári*, *Gopaul* and *Shunkur*), and the other four to transportation for life. It was then reviewed on appeal before the High Court at Calcutta, the Judges being *Messrs. Norman and George Campbell*, the appealing convicts being represented by two able leading members of the Calcutta Bar, *Mr. Montriau and Baboo Aushotush Dhur*. The appeal resulted in the confirmation of the conviction and sentence of death passed upon *Chutturdhári* and *Gopaul*, and of the sentence of transportation for life upon one man only of the other group of convicts. The other prisoners were acquitted, including the man *Shunkur* who had been sentenced to be hanged. The cartman was tried as an accessory after the fact, and was also released. In concurring with this decision, Mr. Campbell observed, *more suo*: "I have seen a great deal of the working of detective departments, and I well know, that while well worked they have led to great results, they are also very liable to abuse. An accepted

Our
Special
Measures
decried.

approver regularly employed by the defendant, a villain of the deepest dye according to his own showing (a favourite and oft-used expression by our decriers,) seems to the people to have life and death in his hands ; those whom he denounces are carried before a dreaded inquisitorial tribunal, and those whom he spares are exempted." Mr. Campbell, as Judicial Commissioner for *Oudh*, has had several of our cases before him (of trials upon the committals of Chamberlain, my assistant at Lucknow,) and I do not remember that he was at all seriously opposed to any of them. *Non tali auxilio*—the occasion requires other aids—I would say of ordinary police procedure when advocated against our special operations, and have said, and Sleeman before me, on all such occasions ; and I would merely point to the enormity of the crimes the special detective police are employed to put down, *ex gr.*, the terrible tragedy just narrated, one only of a vast number ! No one, moreover, has been able to devise a better plan for putting down the evil than the course pursued by the Thuggee Department—and as to the employment by us of *approvers* ("a coarse means," as I have myself always admitted, but capable of being safeguarded,) it is a well-known maxim that the best governments are often obliged to have recourse to the worst means on unusual occasions, when they would not, as I have often replied, wantonly subject peaceable people to the oppression and cruelties of the lawless.¹ I do

¹ P.S.—A police system is essentially of an arbitrary and despotic character. From the operation expected of it, and it is

not, however, perceive the contention in Mr. Campbell's observation as to the implied *previous* employment by the defendant Chutturdhári, of the approvers in the case referred to, while they were yet at large, and were not yet approvers. Both of the approvers concerned in the case, were members of the gang, and they *of course* were, equally with every other member of it, subject to the orders of the leaders of it, and would do ordinary offices for them; and it does not, too, seem that either of them at all *spared the two leaders themselves* when giving evidence in a Court of Justice! Chutturdhári, the chief ruffian, would seem to have waxed wealthy, and to have acquired influence at Bhaugulpore consequent on his ill-gotten gains, and to have, after the

susceptible of, it should be more properly regarded as an appendage only, to the more regular system of judicial administration. This was the opinion of a high judicial authority: "Its perfectibility, in fact, is irreconcilable with the existence of institutions which protect the rights of individuals in free countries; so that we find a well-organized and perfect police only in those states where arbitrary principles of government permit its free and unobstructed range—yet even in the metropolis of the British Empire, where there exists such a jealousy in respect to personal restraint, probably not a day passes in which some act is not committed by the subordinate ministers of our police, in violation, strictly speaking, of the liberty of the subject. . . . In criticizing a system of police, *as well as a system of summary jurisdiction which partakes of the same arbitrary complexion*, we must, especially in countries like India, rather look to the practical operation of the system, than consider it as a regular theory of government to be judged according to the principles which constitute the basis of what is popularly understood by the term law. *The case is indeed different when express legislative provisions*" (ex gr., the special laws for the suppression of Thuggee, Dacoity and other professional criminal classes,) "*regulate any part of this otherwise irregular system.*"—Sir Edward West to the grand jury at Bombay.

murder, been even employed as a *Mookhtear*, or estate agent, where he resided. Both condemned men, *Chutturdhári* and *Gopaul*, were hanged in sight of the turrets of the temple where they had murdered the priest. I regretted, however, the respite and release of the rest of their convicted associates.

Poor
Concert.

To Madam Bishop's concert again—a very thin attendance—few here being able to afford five rupees for a ticket of admission.

18th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*.—The weather still stormy, and consequently still in a measure cool, for it has not yet been so very hot as it was where I was this time last year, or as the year before.

Hindoo
Pilgrims.

A very large concourse of Hindoo pilgrims has been flocking to the great periodical fair now being held at *Hurdwár*, the great “gate” of the *Ganges*, or point where the *Ganges*, after tortuous and difficult course through the mountainous regions of the *Himálaya*, first enters the plains. The river is veiled in snow and ice, and lost to sight and to all perception, at a point two or three miles above *Gungôtri*, its outlet. This disappearance of it being regarded as mysterious, the name of *Bhagiráthi* became attached to the imperceivable portion of the river, and it was given out that this *Bhagiráthi* formed a junction underground, and was married to the *Ganges* *once every twelve years*. The supposed event, professed to be carefully brought down from the remotest times, is taken occasion of for the assemblage at *Hurdwár*, of a vaster concourse of devotees than at the

Myth
about the
Ganges.

usual annual fairs held at the same place. On the first occasion of the declared union, the name of the lost river was transferred to the Ganges itself, which was consequently itself called the *Bhagiráthi*, that name attaching to it along almost its entire course from *Gungótri* till nearly the *Soondurbuns* below Calcutta, and from end to end thereof was declared to be sacred and holy; but *Gunga* is its more common name. So much for the superstition or fable. But in point of fact the priestly Brahmin astronomers computed (I believe correctly,) that Jupiter was in Aries when the sun entered Aquarius, or "*Koombh*," every *twelfth year*; and they ordained therefore, that the occasion should be held as auspicious, and ablution in the waters of the sacred river be performed preferably at Hurdwár, where the river first issued to accessible regions; or if the distance to that place were too great, then at the other points of the holy stream usually resorted to. Thus there is a greatly increased gathering of people at Hurdwár from all parts every twelve years, and particularly of *Jogees*, *Gosáens*, *Byrágees*, and all of that sort. The "*Koombh*," as the period is called, that is, of the sun entering Aquarius, being propitiated then this year, owing to the commonly believed recurring underground junction of the two rivers (to go back to the fable,) a vast mass of pilgrims is now collecting at Hurdwár to celebrate the occasion of the "*Koombh-ká-mêla*" or twelfth-year fair, the sign of *Aquarius* being designated *Koombh* or the *Water-pot*, by the

Cholera
Precau-
tions.

Hindoos. Owing to the massing of so many people, cholera has broken out among them, and precautions are adopted by the civil authorities of Delhi to prevent the pilgrims from returning by this way. The ferries across the Jumna have consequently been closed, and the railway authorities been asked to close also their third-class carriages.

Frequent
Holy
Days.

19th April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—Good Friday. My office people have leave to-day. Others rejoice in holidays : I begrudge them—they occur so frequently. For not only do our mixed lot of office employees, expect to be indulged with leave, both on their own and on the great days observed by each other, *Christian, Mahomedan, and Hindoo*, but additional leave to perform *shrád* or propitiation for the *manes* of deceased relations ; and on occasions of certain new moons, of eclipses of sun or moon, of appointed religious festivals, of a relative's marriage, or someone's illness or death, leave is also eagerly sought and often granted ; and this throws work into arrears. Taking the officially recognized holidays throughout the year allowed all round, I have made it a plan with my own establishment, to allow no more than *eleven* days for such occasions throughout the year for each set of employees, and that no leave will be granted as a matter of course, on the holidays of one another : for they also get our Sundays, and the usual half-holiday on the last Saturday of every month, as well as on our own appointed days.

To church in the morning. The monotonous, ever-swinging punkah makes one drowsy, let

a preacher be ever so energetic. Some attempt to produce "hot crossed buns" at the Hotel to-day.

20th April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—A kind letter from the Maharajah of Jeypore, sending me "your own portrait, one of myself, and another of Colonel Eden," as photographed by himself at the beginning of the year (*vide* p. 84, vol. i.) adding: "I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you since you left Jeypore. Is it 'Out of sight, out of mind'?" He signs his name in English, *S. Ram Sing*—the letter S standing, I suppose, for *Shree*, a name of *Lukshmee*, the goddess of *luck*, and supposed to be an auspicious prefix to proper names. Written at the head of a native manuscript, as it usually is, and always used to be atop of our own official vernacular papers, it is an invocation of that deity.

Our
Photo-
graphs.

21st April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—Easter Sunday. To church. There was a goodly attendance.

22nd April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—The first of the milestones leading out of Delhi along the grand trunk road, in the direction of *Kurnál*, was observed this morning to be smeared with a reddish colour. This has lately happened at *Meerut* and other places, and on the gateway pillars of European Residents—the work, I apprehend, of local *Budmaashees* whose object is to create a sense of something being intended. I give it no other importance.* The Mutiny is too recent

* P.S.—It is an old way of desecrating slabs, posts, boundary pillars and such like, regarded to be held inviolate, to daub them

Native
Advice
how to
govern
Natives.

to be readily forgotten, or for any attempt to re-enact anything in that way so soon. Hereafter we may look for its recurrence. When the Russians are in full march upon our frontiers and the Affghans possibly have joined on to them, we may look out for interior convulsions. Meanwhile let us govern these discordant populations *strongly* and well, and subjection will continue till the *girdish owkát*, or "turn of the times," comes round. "It is our nature and temperament to *feel* that we are ruled,"—*tuhookkum boordun*, was the expression used—said an old Native Irregular Horse officer to me one night march lately. "Be just (he advised,) and as considerate as you may—but you must still be *zubber-dust*"—which perhaps meant a little more than *all-powerful* or *vigorous*. There is a leaven in the expression, of the oriental maxim, "Never mind how strong—but *strong*"—a little of kindness, but something of mind :—

"Tender-handed stroke a nettle,
And it stings you for your pains ;
Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains ;
'Tis the same with common natures—
Use 'em kindly, they rebel ;
But, be rough as nutmeg-graters,
And the *rogues obey you well*."

We have had storm and rain off and on, and I have not felt at all so scorched to-day while seated at work in the very sunny verandah off my room at the Hotel.

with messy stuff. Oil mixed with *Sirdhoon*, a sort of ochre, is the smudge generally used when a worse defilement should not be adopted.

23rd April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—The Gháts or ferries across the Jumna at Delhi, had been closed to prevent pilgrims from the Hurdwár Fair from entering the city, and vast crowds of them thus cut off had collected on the opposite bank of the river. Through some misunderstanding the interdiction to cross over was removed at ten o'clock last night, and before the mistake could be rectified, quite 20,000 of the wayfarers had defiled and streamed through the principal street of the city. By four o'clock this morning, the chief crossing at the opposite end of the Railway Girder Bridge having been again closed, the continuous batches of pilgrims again gathered there in quick succession, were forced to seek passages higher up the river, and from there made to "move on" straight away.

Ferries closed.

Major Coleridge writes from Bikaneer, he had not yet sent me the promised copy of the wonderful ancient map of the world as conceived from Hindoo sacred writings, which had been shown to us when we visited the Jain Temple at Bikaneer (*vide* p. 168 and 244, vol. i.) some of the inscriptions upon it having yet to be completed by the Juttees employed to copy it—this done, he would also send with it the plan of the famous well there, also described. He is tracing the descent and origin of the *Rhátore* family as recounted in the manuscripts of the family "Bháts" or Bards. There must, however, be some thousands of years of mythological genealogy in their narratives, the first positive date being but about a thousand years

Fail to get a Copy of the Ancient Map of the World.

back. Coleridge does not place much faith on his King's "good talk." He even accounts it as so much "bosh": "As the sandstorms increase in duration and violence, so does the number of robberies and the difficulty of preventing them, and everything here is 'as usual.'" I suppose as little may be expected from his august brother-in-law, "His Highness" of Ulwur, he too having fallen short of his promises. But I wrote to the latter to-day, urging him to see more to the Meena dacoits infesting his territory. He had been away lately from his capital—perhaps to *Rájghur* for a wassail (*vide* p. 349, vol. i.)—but I must try to persuade him to help us, his Minister, *Roop Náráyun*, being so well disposed to do so. "You are now no doubt engaged in directing all your attention to the government of your important territories. I am sanguine of your continued co-operation with the efforts of the British Government to suppress those criminals. Indeed, when I lately passed through Ulwur Territory, I perceived that your Highness's officers had been duly impressed by yourself of your anxious desire very effectually to put down those very formidable robbers," (at any rate, *Roop Náráyun said so.*)

24th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*.—A man of the 79th Highlanders died last night of cholera in the Fort close by, and several fatal cases have also occurred in the city—but as yet chiefly among the pilgrims who had managed to elude vigilance and pass over the fords.

Plunder
of Govern-
ment
Bullock
Trains.

A repetition is rumoured of attacks on the

Government bullock train, such as had before taken place now and again on the high road between Agra and Bombay, where it runs through native territory (Málwah.) One of these previous cases was lately described to me by an approver as follows :—" We had left our places in Shajánpore (of Goorgam in the British district of Delhi,) and the villages thereabout, on an expedition in the direction of *Gwálíor*, and on arrival at *Bhákur* we were put up by a resident Sahoocar in our secret. One of our scouts brought us word that a couple of wagons then on the road from Indore, contained treasure for conveyance to Gwálíor. We pushed on to the Trunk road, and at a point of it between Sáhárungpore and Sháhjehánpore " (*not* Shájánpore near Goorgaon, where Meenas reside so plentifully, *vide* p. 327 *et seq.*, vol. i.,) " we waylaid the convoy as it passed by at about eight o'clock that night, and plundered both wagons. Seven persons formed the escort, but they got terrified and ran away. Our booty was a sum of 30,000 rupees of Indore *sicca* (mint,) and with it we went straightway back to our homes. One of the escort got a sword-cut at our hands. We were not pursued, but got safely away, each one of us carrying a portion of the plunder. The following formed the gang." (Here followed the names of forty-three dacoits, mostly *Meenas* residing in the British district of Shajánpore of Goorgam, Delhi.) This affair was, with another on the same high road last January,³

³ On a *sánga* or consignment of opium despatched from Indore upon carts for conveyance to Bombay, when alighted at the

authenticated like *all* the different cases from time to time mentioned generally are. It took place near the village of *Adkháta* in Gwalior Territory. We are unable at present to trace the present rumoured affair, but have no doubt it was the deed of one of the gangs of whose *setting out* we had promulgated information (*vide* pp. 393, 435, and 448, vol. i.).

25th April, *Hamilton Hotel, Delhi*.—The Viceroy is expected here to-morrow on his way up from Calcutta to Simlah. The manager and hotel establishment very busy all day in furbishing up the place and in looking up turkeys and fat poultry.

The
License
Tax.

The new License Tax is becoming more and more the topic among the people of Delhi as the 1st May approaches, the date upon which it is to come in too peration. The measure is disliked. Mr. Rogers declares he will close his hotel from that date, he having already, he says, taken out a license as an hotel-keeper (*vide* p. 404, vol. i.) But with all this and my own objection to it, I yet consider it a master stroke of financial policy. Mr. Massey has limited his estimate of the consequent increase to the revenue, to the modest sum of *half a million*. I wonder if in his heart of hearts, he has not thought it might not bring in a couple of millions ! For really, I think the tax capable of yielding much more even than two millions, if its collection should be placed under proper and more stringent

head of the *Simrôle Pass*, the first stage out from Indore, at midnight of the 8th January, 1867, the deed of a gang of *Múghyas* (*vide* pp. 168 and 385, vol. i.).

management. Not that I approve of the tax—for I quite agree with the native who a day back, said to me that it was merely word-splitting to declare that the License Tax *was not indeed an Income Tax!*

Then there is the other great *wáridát* or happening of the day and occasion of discussion, here not less than in commercial Calcutta and Bombay, namely the failure of the “Bank of Bombay.” As a shareholder (a very small one,) I for one am dead against the proposed ingenious scheme of amalgamating it with the Bank of Bengal. Am I, I wonder, beyond the mark when I say that the Bombay Government *will not be allowed* to make the advance which has been recommended towards the reconstruction, by that stratagem, of the fallen concern; or much behind the scenes when I add that the renewal of its business *will also be forbidden?* The present manager of the Bank of Bengal, a very persuasive gentleman and of consummate address, is the *admirable Crichton* who has proposed the measure, and he is repairing to Bombay to *talk it over* with Bombay folk. The Government directors of the late bank are, I apprehend, chiefly to blame for the *fiasco*, and I fear Sir Bartle Frere, as Governor of that Presidency, will not escape censure.

Failure of
the Bank
of
Bombay.

26th April, Hamilton Hotel, Delhi.—A long morning walk. From the top of the ruined musjid on the Ridge I looked out for the arrival, across the Girder Bridge leading over the Jumna (it leads into Delhi right through that part of the Palace Fort called *Selimghur*,) of the express train conveying the Governor-General and suite. All Delhi had

turned out upon the railway platform within the city from an early hour, in the same expectation. But, the wheels of the state carriage frequently taking fire (as of *dák ghárees* also in such sultry weather,) the train due at 7.30, did not run in till 11 a.m. ! Sir John Lawrence and the principal members of his Staff, Seymour Blaine of the number, left for Simlah after only two or three hours of rest at the Hamilton Hotel, travelling from this point in *dák ghárees* drawn by artillery horses. Some friends, come up by the same express, I saw similarly off from their hotel at a later hour. They informed me of the appointment of Mr. G. Campbell (Sir George,) from Judge of the High Court at Calcutta to be Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. I remember his saying, despondingly, that to have been relegated to the High Court was to be shelved, but he was wrong. Great and deserved praise has been accorded him for his able Report as President of the late Bengal Famine Committee, clothed too as the miserable subject was by him, in such beautiful language. He has attributed the blame of the famine gaining so much head, more to the system of administration than to any individual ministerial officers. *Mr. Massey*, author of the unpopular License Tax, has also passed on, and *Mr. Henry Summer Maine* (Sir Henry,) the Member for Law ; the alarm of cholera naturally hastening the general stampede. Major Annesley and Captain Cunningham, both of the 11th Hussars, were the only lodgers left at the hotel by evening. Dined with the McNeiles at Ludlow Castle.

Report of
the Com-
mission
on the
Bengal
Famine.

Visitors
to Delhi.

28th April, Hamilton Hotel, Sunday.—After church drove Captain Cunningham to the old cantonment grave-yard, always a sight for a traveller to Delhi. The Jeffreys, of Demerara, who left some days ago, write from "Garden Reach" (Calcutta :) "We stayed three days at Agra, and did all the sights most successfully—the *Secundra* remains as well as the *Táj*—the latter more than once, by moonlight ^{The Taj.} as well as by daylight. We were never tired of gazing in wonder and rapture at the marvellous dream of a thing it is."⁴—Moved at evening from the hotel to Mr. Wright's nice place in the civilian lines outside of the Cashmere Gate, and dined there.

29th April, Delhi.—Slept deliciously last night at Mr. Wright's comfortable abode, the punkah unceasingly playing over me throughout it.

The dacoities, with killing and wounding, of late down Hooghly, before adverted to (v. p.450, vol. i.,) would seem from the inquiries, to have been the performances of a gang for some time at work in *Hooghly*, *Báncoorah* and *Midnapore*—old ground, as

⁴ P.S.—The idea was a happy one which likened "this marvellous dream of a thing"—a well-conceived description of it—to a concretion of the tears (implied in the waters of the Jumna that flow beneath its walls,) shed at the death of the beautiful woman entombed there. The lines so describing it, are said to be inscribed within one of the small cupolas of the *Táj*, on the walls or sides of which many effusions of sorts (with the usual amount of *nomina stultorum*,) may be seen adhering :—

"In Death's cold arms the fair Momtája slept,
And sighs o'er Jumna's winding waters crept ;
Tears such as angels weep, with fragrance filled,
Around her grave in pearly drops distilled ;
There, fixed for ever, firm congealed they stand,
A fairy fabric, pride of India's land."

The
 Dacoitie
 Ball
 Rolling.

the records of my office in Sleeman's time show, for we used then to have an assistant down there, now some time withdrawn. But we now also hear of a body of dacoits in the upper end of *Bálásore*,

In Bengal.

in Bengal, who have been equally busy about there since February last, the perpetrators in some instances (in one so recently as the 9th instant,) being local villagers headed by professional dacoits from the neighbouring Tributary States. The robbers have become very bold, and there is no great difficulty, it seems, in persuading local parties to join them. One of these, versed in the *shástras* or sacred writings, wanting some tobacco, repeated some *shlôkes* or passages from them, to a man, a disguised dacoit, who had some: "Don't pay me for it," said the latter, "you are a Brahmin and I respect you." Going to him again in a day or two for more, he was supplied in like manner; and so, presently, the robber let the man into his secret, and by-and-by gained him over as an associate in a dacoitie in Hooghly. So much for Bengal—while down Bombay the *Khaikarees* (formerly put down there, *vide* p. 347, footnote p. 348, and p. 350, vol. i.; and *vide* Journals for 1849 to 1854,) have taken to dacoitie and gang burglary again, the local police officers concerned, admitting the withdrawal of our executive agency from that quarter, as the chief reason thereof. Then as to the *Meenas* up in these higher districts, with all the arrangements of the Punjab authorities to prevent it, they still have undisturbed abiding-places in Shajánpore, the British district before described (p. 327, vol. i.,)

Recruit-
 ing for
 Dacoits.

In
 Bombay.

Delhi
 District
 Meenas.

and that, too, with scarcely any less immunity than when Sir John Lawrence was himself the magistrate for these parts.

Left Delhi at 5 p.m. to-day, in a two-horse "dák gháree," carrying my belongings with me. Had intended to start later on, for it was very hot at that hour, but was advised to push on and not to stay either at *Kurnál* or at *Umballa* (the usual halting-places,) cholera having broken out at both. Seven miles out of Delhi we were obliged to pull up for about an hour, owing to a fierce hot wind and dust-storm—an "andhee," or a *blinding*, as it is called by the natives. Leave
Delhi.

An
Andhee or
Dust-
Storm.

30th April.—*Kurnál* at half-past six this morning for half an hour, for a cup of tea. *Umballa* at about 1 p.m., where I stayed only long enough to have the wheels greased of another conveyance, that in which I had come thus far, being in a very shaky condition; we had constantly, too, to slake the wheels with water to prevent ignition, throughout the journey. Reached *Kalka*, at the foot of the hills, 157 miles from Delhi, at about five o'clock this evening, or in twenty-four hours from the time of starting from Delhi. Pulled up at Mother Bain's "Brahminee Bull" *Hotel*, so to describe a long set of ground-floor rooms, covered by a single verandah. But she has a knack of making travellers very comfortable. A hot bath and dinner, with a pint bottle of cooled claret mixed up with some sugar, mint, and soda-water, soon set me up, and now for the post that here awaited me. En route
to the
Hills.

Bruce writes about the gang intercepted in

Deoli (*vide* p. 435, vol. i.) It had recently committed a dacoitie near the cantonment of Deolee in Harowtie, upon five camels laden with opium, going from Kôtah to Boondée. The gang was under the leadership of *Sulla*, a Meena of Ulwur, a "general number" dacoit leader. He was one of those who escaped capture when the others were arrested. Those taken into custody have confessed to that particular dacoitie, but decline to give up the names of those of the gang who had escaped arrest (of whom *Sulla* was one,) and they swear to their innocence of previous acts of the crime. The approvers on their way to look at them, will soon clear up all about them. Bruce is very zealous on the subject. *Sulla* was with the gang that committed the great treasure dacoitie at *Sowndha in Khandesh*, before narrated (*vide* pp. 184, 185, 192 and 197, vol. i.)⁶

Proposed
Arrest of
Jeehun
Sing at
Indore.

The Nagpore Police are naturally very opposed to the arrest of their police inspector, the man *Jeehun Sing*, so frequently mentioned by me as in league with the dacoits raiding down in that direction (*vide* pp. 190, 191, etc., vol. i.), and remonstrate against the proposal of Major Thompson, my assistant at Indore, to take him into custody. The fellow is sure to come to grief, as are also *Choutmull*, *Bhyrôn*, and other police employés similarly

⁶ P.S.—This man, *Sulla*, was subsequently taken up in Ulwur Territory. He confessed and narrated nine different acts of dacoitie, two being *upon the Government mail cart* while running to Bhurtpore. They included also the two cases mentioned in the text. The list of his accomplices numbered 126 men. He was, after trial and conviction, finally admitted as an approver.

leagued, and I think we may, for the present, let them be till that certain crisis happens.

Major Ranken, my assistant at Jubbulpore, in whose financial abilities and special perception in all such matters, I have always had great faith—for example, his foresight as to the consequences of the plethora of field officers sure to be occasioned by the late Staff Corps scheme, and his proposed remedy by offers to them of reasonable compensation for their early retirement (*vide* Journals for 1865 and 1866,)—I think correctly writes in regard to the Bank of Bombay (*vide* p. 17, vol. ii. :) “The old bank must now wind up. — did not show much foresight, and the Government directors of the bank, instead of checking speculation, would seem to have encouraged it.” In point of fact, the failure is the result of that disastrous speculation mania (the offspring of the great cotton bargains effected in Western India during the American War,) that recently raged in Bombay, and maddened sense out of everyone (*vide* p. 203, vol. i.)

Late
Bank of
Bombay.

1st May ; travelling up from Kalka to Simlah.— Was up at 2 a.m. and dressed to start, but from headache laid down again and slept till five o'clock, when I awoke quite refreshed and *well*. After a cup of tea, left good Mrs. Bain's place, and rode up the steep mountain-side to *Kussowlie*, accompanied by *Captain Noel Money*. He commanded the scaling ladder party in the storming of Delhi. The air cool and fresh ; the scenery—wood, hill, dale and running rills—charming ; such a change from the scorching plains left below, the morning ride was

Up from
Kalka
to Simlah.

delightful ! We did not stay at Kussowlie, but, passing down by the winding road leading under the substantial buildings of the Soldiers' Orphan Asylum, established at this healthy sanitarium by benevolent Sir Henry Lawrence, we rode on to the river at *Hurreepore*, crossing which by the Girder Bridge, we pushed on to the rest-house at *Kukkurhuttee* and had breakfast. At 1. p.m. we again mounted our horses and proceeded merrily with our journey ; for the change was so great, and the holiday—a pure one—most enjoyable. But the sun was powerful and the afternoon ride hot. At *Syree* bungalow we stopped for half an hour to refresh ourselves with some cool *beer mug*, artistically *brewed* by my companion. Then, mounting our fourth and last post-horses, we ascended the hill to pine-scented Simlah, arriving there when the community—ladies numerous and gentlemen many—were moving about on horseback or in *jánpáns*, or afoot, here, there and everywhere, along the narrow ways of the mountain resort. There seemed to be joyousness in every countenance, as if all congratulated themselves on being up *here* and not down *there*. I am sure I did, and felt grateful. It was dark by the time I reached “Longwood,” our residence. Surprised the lad and his mother seated comfortably at dinner, for I had not told them of my leaving Delhi. The change was so sudden from the great heat below, that I quite shivered from the cold, and was glad to get abed under three blankets—at Delhi a thin sheet, and not always even that, being the usual covering at night, and

a punkah in movement over you throughout it!

2nd May, Simlah.—Indulged in the luxury of ^{Personal.} lingering in bed for tea and the early pipe, and felt by the prolonged rest quite recovered from the fatigue of the journey and the long horseback ride. From Delhi to Simlah in forty-eight hours (ten of the number passed at Kalka,) was not so bad! Our house was in nice order, everything shipshape and comfortable, and Hugh in occupation of a room in our detached office cottage.

Arranged my study and prepared for the renewed fight with my work, now easier of accomplishment from the more enjoyable climate, and amid the pleasures of a numerous society. At evening met several acquaintances. Oh! the delights of one's home—and the peace of it!

3rd May, Simlah.—My office establishment and ^{Personal Matters.} records having yet to arrive, I have happily some days of leisure before me. Of personal matters there is a packet full—the marriage of a pretty cousin, the death of another in connection with a mystery, an impending mésalliance of a nephew, the wrath thereat of his father, the serious illness of an aged uncle—the *school bills of the children at home*—and lastly, the more cheering announcement of the nomination to the command of the Scinde Division of the Army, of George Malcolm, my fellow cadet at Addiscombe, and brother officer when we together served in the Scinde Irregular Horse, in the plains of Cutchee in Beloochistan. Brother Albert aspires to be Brigadier of the

Hydrabad Contingent, and his son to marry. Several visitors called during the day.

Meanwhile official items by post accumulate. To begin with :—Dacoits down in Bengal have become bold indeed. In a case committed a few days ago, some even attacked the assistant magistrate of the district while travelling on the highway—they plundered his bhangy load of clothes and journey requisites, and defiantly fired off a gun at him ! Then to notice other occurrences of striking interest or variety, we have an account of a *river dacoitie* a few nights ago, upon a cotton boat when moored for the night on the Jumna, at *Suckutpoor Ghat*, below Agra. The robbers first flung a shower of stones on to the boat in the dead of the night to terrify the *mánjees* or boatmen, and then boarded the craft, and plundered some cotton and whatever else they could carry away, wounding four of the crew. Both river thugs and river dacoits abounded on the principal waterways down the entire river extent of the country, and our records contain many revolting narratives of their excesses, the one set of miscreants scarcely surpassing the other in acts of atrocity—but thugs, except occasionally as *poisoners*, have now left the rivers almost exclusively to their congeners, the dacoits.

River
Dacoitie.

Met Sir John Lawrence out at evening. I think it was Ben Jonson who said a cursory nod or salutation, merely showed, like a short letter to a distant acquaintance, a necessity for doing something without any inclination for doing much ;

but it was something to be noticed at all, and there was no *necessity* in the matter. It was a crumb of comfort, but—*tumet jecur*—so curt, so very *Cromwellian*—like Sir John up to the hilt!

4th May, Simlah.—There have been some cases of cholera even up here, through fear of which *Jánpánees* and other hillmen in the employment of the European community, are beginning to run away.—Hugh listens to a Moonshee reading out some of my official communications in *Oordoo*, and tries to understand them!

Cholera at Simlah.

We were out at noon making calls along the Jáko ridge.

A lady's bonnet figures in the most recent case of dacoitie. The mail cart was running a few nights ago along an elevated viaduct called "Tucker's Bund," a lonely narrow way three miles long, on the road to *Goruckpore*. The driver and a single passenger were the sole occupants of it. At midnight it was stopped by a band of robbers carrying *lúthees* or bludgeons. They beat the two men, deprived them of their clothes, and carried away all the mail-bags and mail-parcels. They threw away all the letters and such-like, and retained but a single package; that package contained a lady's bonnet—priceless to her—a white elephant perhaps to them—and which possibly may lead to their detection. The flaunt of a woman's gown as she turned the corner of a street, was, after prolonged failure, the successful clue to a great case of robbery in London not long ago—more likely here, a *Mem Sahib's* bonnet, if the

Bonnet Case.

local police, with such able officers as *Mr. Berrill* as Superintendent, and *Captain Dennehy* as Deputy Inspector General, take care to work it out properly.

5th May, Simlah.—Sunday. The church was crowded with the new visitors of the season.

Great
Indian
Peninsula
Railway
completed

Hear from Ranken at Jubbulpore, of the completion of the junction there of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with Allahabad: "The engine from Allahabad ran in direct this morning. The contractor of the line has a large breakfast party here on the occasion." The event is a great one, for now the railway is open the whole way from Bombay to Calcutta on one hand, and to Delhi on the other; and we may bid *adieu* to any more *dák* travelling in those directions.

Colonel
Mere-
wether.

6th May, Simlah.—I have mentioned Malcolm's nomination to a Divisional Command (p. 25, vol. ii.) With equal pleasure I notice Merewether's appointment to be Commissioner of Scinde, for I may say I helped him to the first start that has finally led to it. My early friend, William Macdonald and I (he a son of the Archdeacon of Salisbury,) had been youths together at Bishops Cannings near Devizes. He and Serjeant Merewether, long time Clerk of the House of Commons, subsequently married two sisters, and when young Merewether, the latter's son by a previous marriage, came out to India, Macdonald, then become Rector of Calestone, near Calne, wrote to me to try to get him on if in my power. For this I presently had an opportunity when Merewether

soon after came up to Scinde with his regiment, the 21st Bombay Native Infantry. I was retiring just then from the Scinde Irregular Horse. Jacob (afterwards the well-known "General John Jacob,") had relieved me as Acting-Commandant of the Corps, and Malcolm, who was Adjutant, had succeeded me as second in command. I recommended Merewether to Jacob's notice, who replied he had made him his Adjutant! His father afterwards acknowledged to me, when I was at home in 1856, that he had always felt this to have been the stepping-stone to his son's subsequent good fortune, and he distinguished me with much attention in consequence of it. Jacob took a great liking to Merewether, and they became fast friends. Merewether was present with the Scinde Horse in the battle of "Hydrabad," and, with a short *ad interim* service in the southern Mahratta country with his substantive regiment, the 21st Native Infantry, in the field force commanded by my father-in-law, the late General Peter Delamotte, C.B. (*vide* Journal for 1844-45,) he, on rejoining the Horse, did excellent service soon after in inflicting a severe defeat, with 120 sabres only, upon a large body of Bhoogtie *lootoos* come down from the hills to raid, whom he cut up almost to a man. He obtained great praise for this opportune service. When the news of it reached home, the great Duke of Wellington, happening as he passed hurriedly through the Lobby of the House, to meet Serjeant Merewether, exclaimed to him as he went on: "I have read it all—excellent

—he will do very well—I congratulate you.” Merewether, after this exploit, served with a detachment of the Scinde Horse in the campaign in the Punjab of 1848-49 ; was at the siege and surrender of Mooltan, the battle of Gujerat, and in the pursuit and surrender of the Sikh army to Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert. On Malcolm leaving the corps he succeeded him as second in command, and served on the Upper Scinde frontier in the troublous period of 1857. John Jacob, his friend to the last, not only, on his death of fever at Jacobabad in 1858, made Merewether his sole heir, but even requested, I might say *bequeathed*, that he should be appointed to succeed himself in the command of the corps. This was promptly complied with by the Government of Bombay, and Merewether, next as the valued lieutenant of Sir Bartle Frere, then Commissioner of Scinde, helped not only in the settlement of the province after the Mutiny, but crushed an extensive rebellion projected by the *Belooch* and *Brahoe* tribes. For this he was made C.B. He subsequently (1864,) became Political Resident and Commandant at Aden, where he successfully conducted operations against the *Foudheli* tribes at *Bir-Saeed*, *Ahmôdra* and *Sŭgra* ; and there he is now, awaiting to take up his new employment, except the impending complication with Abyssinia should delay it.⁶

⁶ P.S.—Colonel Sir William Merewether, K.C.S.I., as he afterwards became, though tardily, for his admitted important services in the Abyssinian Campaign, was later on called home from Scinde by Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, to be a member of his Council at the India Office. In that place he most

7th May, Simlah.—The necessity for the adoption of force of arms in Abyssinia seems imminent. The *Negus* appears resolved on holding *Mr. Rassam*, our representative, and his fellow prisoners in continued captivity, and has declined to release them.

War with
Abyssinia

A recent case of dacoitie comes up from Midnapore in Bengal, with the curious feature, observed also on one or two other similar occasions in the same direction, that the perpetrators “had their necks bound round with cloth.” No doubt this was a disguise, in order to let it be supposed that they possibly were *Lingáyuts*, a people who are in the habit of wrapping their silver *lingum* boxes in linen when worn suspended to their necks, or, as often, bound round an arm above the elbow, and they will probably be discovered to have been professional dacoits. The robbery was on this occasion upon the high road, on a party of six *bhangy* bearers conveying treasure to Calcutta, from whom they obtained a booty of nearly 9000 rupees ; hour ten o'clock at night ; place, *Kalárghat* in Midnapore.⁷

Dacoitie
in
Midna-
pore on
Treasure
Carriers.

strongly opposed our withdrawal from Candahar, and wrote me a very characteristic letter on the subject ; but without avail, for the unwise measure was carried out. He died shortly after from the effects of an accident, and lies buried in Brompton Cemetery.

⁷ This was one of the undiscovered cases made over to the special detective agency under *Mr. Reily* (p. 450, vol. i.). The perpetrators were discovered to be indeed *Binds* (a professional class,) *personating Lingáyuts*. Six of the gang were intercepted at the railway station at Dinapore, with 5000 rupees of the plunder in their possession. Thirteen *Binds* in all were arrested, of whom six were convicted, two admitted as approvers, and the rest acquitted, “the corroborative evidence against them not being considered sufficient.”

Personal. Our lad scarcely thought I was in earnest, nor do I think he feels very grateful for my inveigling him into a visit to *Dr. O'Meara*, the famed Simlah dentist, who in a trice relieved him of an inward-grown *tusk* which had impeded his utterance—he, who had resisted every persuasion to that end, of his grandfather and grandmother, his uncles and his aunts !

8th May, *Simlah*.—A very cold day for this time of the year, with rain. We got a wetting as we were returning home from Hugh's first walk round Jáko Hill.

**Jeewun
Sing.**

In regard to the man *Jeewun Sing*, Head Constable in the Nagpore Police, so frequently before mentioned (pp. 190, 191, vol. i.,) it seems (*vide* p. 22, vol. ii.) that he had been deputed on a kind of roving commission in Central India “to seize dacoits.” The man reckoned without his host in coming right up to Indore on such a profession, for Thompson, our assistant there, has, upon the information we possessed of his complicity with dacoits, and because he had not been previously apprised of the man coming to Indore itself, had him arrested, and of this — writes to me complaining ; my own impression, however, being that the man, armed with the commission to hunt up the offenders in the recent treasure dacoitie at *Burwai* in Nimár (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) had only come up to put some pressure upon them, in view to exacting his own share of the plunder.

Coleridge from Bikaneer says that he had not yet got permission from the Maharajah to adver-

tise "those copper mines," as I had advised (*vide* p. 180, vol. i.):) "I am sorry to say that His Highness has thrown business to the winds, so much so that *Khurreetas* (official communications,) from the head British Agency, of which there are five or six, of dates varying from two months to fifteen days, are lying unopened and unread, and in consequence everything is getting into as great a 'hobble' as the *License Tax*. The hot wind is beginning to make itself felt, and I look forward with pleasure to six weeks at Mount Aboo."

Copper
Mines in
Bikaner
neglected

9th May, Simlah.—Gloomy weather—the mountain tops and glens shrouded with shifting mists, so thick and substantial-like, it seems one could cut them into slices with a sword.

Write to Thompson that he justly proposes that the deputation of such men as Jeewun Sing to the Native States should be previously communicated, and that I would request future attention to that requirement. I last year contemplated similarly to arrest the man Chotéláll (alias Choutmull,) who like Jeewun Sing, was known to us to be also in league with the dacoits raiding in the Deccan from up country (*vide* pp. 164 and 182, vol. i.) He had been enrolled into the Berár Police, as before noticed (*vide* pp. 182 and 191,) the same man who fell out with *Kishen Sing* and his brother *Hurree Sing* at Ajmere, in a dispute about his share of some proceeds in dacoitie which they had suppressed (pp. 182 and 191;) but on the remonstrance of the Chief of the Berár Police, I was asked by Mr. Yule, the Resident at Hydrabad, by whom Berár was admin-

Police
Superin-
tendent
Jeewun
Sing.

Police
Inspector
Chout-
mull.

istered, to forego the measure for the present. Beyond, however, the *to us* notorious fact, that Jeewun Sing was, like his *confrère* Choutmull, largely concerned in or rather cognizant of all the heavy treasure dacoities in Berár and Khandeish, I do not think we have sufficient evidence as yet for his conviction, for which reason too, I forewent his arrest, previous to his enlisting into the police. So that—however likely that the fellow had got himself sent up to Central India in order to claim from the perpetrators some share in the recent plunder in Nimár, and to make, like *Choutmull*, similar exactions from his quondam companions under the threat of his having them seized—I say to Thompson, that, as the local police are now answerable for the man's conduct and our own evidence against him not yet sufficiently matured, “you had perhaps better release him and inform ——— that you have done so at my request, and beg that you may on future occasions, be informed of the man's mission into any part of the Central India States.” Men of such antecedents and proclivities, admitted into our police bodies without sufficient guarantee for their good conduct, such as we require from our approvers—for these are legally convicted criminals under perpetual custody, and are only held to be “pardoned” *on the condition* of their good behaviour—may certainly, if they are faithful, *for a time* warn off their former associates; but as *free agents*, that is, being under no such precautionary guarantees, they will do as little as they can *in bringing them to justice*, except they fall out with

them, as the man *Choutmull* did with the brothers *Kishen Sing* and *Hurree Sing* (pp. 182, 183, vol. i.) The danger indeed, is, that they will instigate their *quondam* companions in crime, to revert to its commission as opportunities may offer, and will keep their secret for them as long as they are well paid for it from the plunder acquired. On these occasions, that is, of fresh acts of crime by their confederates, they will for appearance sake, have some persons arrested, and, lumped among these, a few even of the *real perpetrators* also ; but they will, true to their secret engagements, take care to ensure the release of the true culprits or their eventual acquittal. Our information indeed is, that some instances of this kind of thing have already taken place—as to be expected should men be employed who are roundly suspected to be themselves criminal, and against whose action in police agency, some such adequate safeguards have not, perhaps, been adopted.

10th May, Simlah.—A dacoitie was perpetrated a few nights ago near *Sheorájpoor*, upon a camel dák carriage running with passengers on the Grand Trunk Road from *Futtehghur* to *Cawnpore*. The robbers suddenly sprang up from the road sides, stopped the camels, struck the driver off the box, and beat about the passengers, whom they deprived of their clothes and everything of value, and made off.⁸

⁸ P.S.—This robbery was admirably traced by *Mr. Horace Goad*, the Police Superintendent of the Cawnpore district. The gang was composed of *Aheers*, *Bahélias*, etc., local robbers, of

11th May, Simlah.—The first instalment of office boxes arrived to-day. Khaikáree approvers have been occupied in bringing them up from the cart road terminus, which being somewhat distant they do not much like it. But it is not unaccustomed work to them, who thought it nothing to lift away loads in their plundering days.

12th May, Simlah, Sunday.—Much thunder and heavy rain during the night, and up to a late hour this morning.

13th May, Simlah.—The Rao Rajah of Ulwur sends me a very good photograph of himself.

James Blair, going home on short leave, hands over our Rajpootanah office to his namesake, Colonel C. Blair. These changes are frequent in the Political Agencies, and as affecting us, are inconvenient, Political Assistants being employed as Thuggee officers—*ex-officio* only as such,—but in the present instance, I acquire the assistance of an officer who has already had a good insight into the working of the department, he having lately been the *whip* in the conduct of several successful dacoit trials sent up to Eden's Court by James Blair, and he writes very pleasantly on his accession to the "interesting new duty."

14th May, Simlah.—Much rain and the weather quite cold and gloomy, as though the regular South-west Monsoon had set in.

whom he arrested twelve. Of these, two were admitted as Queen's evidence, three were transported for life, and the rest sentenced to limited imprisonment. The gang had committed several similar excesses.

A good deal of discussion has been going on, as ^{The Indian Staff Corps.} to the financial results of the three Indian Staff Corps lately formed, and now some time in full career. By the Staff Corps rules the officers admitted into it are promoted, not by casualties, as of old, in the *cadres* of the regiments to which they belonged had they elected to remain in them, but according to their prospective length of service in the Staff Corps. Thus, a Staff Corps officer of eight years' service, is guaranteed promotion to the rank and pay of a Captain; of twenty years to Major; of twenty-six years to Lieut.-Colonel; and when he has completed twelve years of service in the latter grade, he is admitted to what are called "Colonel's Allowances"—a very liberal provision, amounting to about 1100*l.* per annum. There is no saving in this system; for in a few years the inevitable pension list will have become an enormous expenditure. It is felt that no inducements are held out to officers to retire earlier should any desire to forego these advantages; and that as, by the formation of the Staff Corps, they are excluded from the *bonus* many on retiring used to receive from their juniors in their respective substantive corps (for before, every officer permanently belonged to a regiment, and his promotion went on in it until he became a Field Officer; whereas he is now only *lent* to a regiment from the Staff Corps, that is to say, the several regiments of the Indian Army are "officered" from the Staff Corps,) and no adequate compensation substituted for the loss of that bonus, often a very handsome one,

Staff Corps Lieut.-Colonels will now be led to "stay on" till entitled to Colonel's Allowances; but that if the superseded retiring regulations of a previous period (1796,) were now conceded, many would gradually go long before arriving at that provision, and the prospective *savings* to Government would consequently be great.* A great mistake has certainly been made in not holding out sufficient inducements to such earlier retirements, not only as touching a greatly increased pension list, but with regard also to the spectacle afforded of a great and ever-increasing number of Field Officers as the sure result of these new promotion rules! For even allowing a reasonable margin for casualties, the number of officers who *must* by the new rules, attain field rank within a given period—say, by 1873—would be out of all proportion to the requirements of the service and become the laughing-stock of all other armies. As it is, there are at the present moment, evolved from the working of the new rules, upwards of two hundred such officers in one alone of the three Staff Corps of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, *attached* to regiments doing "general duty"—that is, doing *nothing*!

The
Viceroy's
Levée.

15th May, Simlah.—All Simlah astir on account of the Viceroy's Levée, unattended although, as it happens, with the usual gay appearance of officers in uniform numerously riding towards Peterhoff, down the winding hillside ways from all directions

* The rules of 1796 provided, that an officer could retire on full pay after twenty-two years of actual service.

of the extensive mountain retreat. For the fag end of last night's great downpour, with thunder and lightning, persistently held on, and cloaks and overcoats were the order of the day; and, although permitted, as to that matter, to attend in undress, yet the medley spectacle of saturated cocked hats and helmets with drooping plumes and wetted hackles, ill beseeemed the occasion. The levée did not have the appearance of being very well attended either, although it was pretty certain that every officer at Simlah not in "sick quarters," was present at it. Sir William Mansfield, who has been ailing lately, was too unwell to come. I was told off to be among those who should stand "winging" the Viceroy in the reception hall during the presentations. Our lad, now lately become a "First Lieutenant," went through his turn of introduction very well.

Major Ranken, our assistant at Jubbulpore, who is keen on the subject, and is always clever at such calculations, had drawn up and provided me with a statement showing the different grades in the three Indian Staff Corps *for the six years ending in 1873*, including in it the promotions progressively to occur (computed without casualties of course,) in each year of the series. I took this with me to the levée, and at the end of the ceremony, presented it to the Viceroy with a short printed memorandum on my own part, and craved for it his Excellency's attention. The memorandum stated that the necessity for reducing the number of field officers in the Staff Corps of the three Presidencies,

Major Ranken's Paper on the Staff Corps.

I present it to the Viceroy,

was beginning to attract attention both at home and in this country, and that the adoption of some scheme for its *gradual* reduction, was worthy of consideration; that without some extra pension, field officers would not leave the service now, as their prospects *by waiting* were very good: that Lieutenant-Colonels of 1861 (the date of the formation of the Staff Corps,) would be entitled to their "Colonel's Allowances" in 1873, and that if the advocated scheme were adopted *now*, or *soon*, several of them would retire sooner; but that any delay would make it too late, as when *near* Colonel's Allowances, they would, of course, be inclined to stay on for those allowances. The statement was drawn up from the Army List, corrected to the 31st December last (1866,) but the number of Staff Corps officers has increased even since that recent date. I afterwards called upon the several members of Council and on the Commander-in-Chief on the same subject.

And to
the dif-
ferent
Members
of Council
and the
Com-
mander-
in-Chief,
and
others.

16th May, Simlah.—Sent to-day a copy of the statement to Colonel Durand, the Military Member of Council, and to other councillors. financial, legislative and all, as well as to the Commander-in-Chief; and to Colonel Norman, the Military Secretary to Government, who, and Donald Stewart, are credited with being the originators of the Staff Corps scheme. The document shows that there will, in 1873, be as many as 921 Lieutenant-Colonels in the three Army Staff Corps, all who survive of whom, would, on reaching Colonel's Allowances, be, in 1884, in receipt of quite 1100*l.* per annum each; that, allowing 221

of the number meanwhile to die or to retire, which was to allow a large margin in those regards, there would still remain as many as 700 officers entitled to at least 1100*l.* a year : that this would amount to upwards of 700,000*l. per annum*, “ *an enormous prospective liability, and at one coup nearly doubling the amount, including Colonel’s Allowances, now paid by Government to the entire number of retired officers of the three Presidencies !*” The proposed remedy is, to pension off Staff Corps Field Officers, and gradually “get rid of them” by the offer annually of one hundred extra pensions, of 144*l.* to each Bvt.-Colonel, 135*l.* to Lieutenant-Colonels, and 108*l.* to Majors, in numbers proportionate to the strength of each of the three armies, (that is, of forty-five to Bengal, thirty-two to Madras, and twenty-three to Bombay,) the extra pensions being additional to the old-established pensions of their rank, of 456*l.* in the case of Bvt.-Colonels, of 365*l.* of Lieutenant-Colonels, and of 292*l.* of Majors ; officers of the last-mentioned rank to be admitted to the offer to retire, in the event of the allotted number of one hundred extra pensions, not being accepted by as many Lieutenant-Colonel’s ; and that these pensions be granted, irrespective of the leave already taken by the several retiring officers, preference to candidates for retirement, being given in the order of seniority. Ranken shows that the Staff Corps pay of 100 Lieutenant-Colonels “amounts annually to 99,340*l.*,” and that as the pension of their rank, 365*l. p. a.*, with the extra 135*l.* to be offered, or 500*l.* in all, to 100 Lieutenant-Colonels, would amount to 50,000*l. p. a.*,

there would, if all accepted the offer, be a clear saving of 49,340l., or nearly five lakhs of rupees every year! Even if the offer of this boon were accepted, there would still remain upwards of 300 Lieutenant-Colonels and 500 Majors in the three Staff Corps in 1873, and the question pertinently put by me, is: "How may suitable *employment* be found for even that reduced number?" I note that in 1873, there will, *statu quo*, not only be as many as 921 Lieutenant-Colonels, but also 476 Majors, 790 Captains; and, on the other hand, *no more than seventeen subalterns in the three Staff Corps*, restricting the count to those only who were admitted to the Staff Corps on its first formation in each Presidency in 1861.¹

Later in the day the weather cleared up, and

¹ P.S.—At first repudiated, thrown out, not agreed to, ignored, and myself singled out from home and held up as the obnoxious originator of the scheme (which I was not, though by my well-known action in bringing it prominently to notice and in *agitating* the subject, I might be said to have *fathered* it,) the measure was nevertheless *eventually adopted*, and put into practice on even more favourable terms to individual officers; but only when "the enormous prospective liability," additionally occasioned by the certain admission of Lieutenant-Colonels of twelve years' standing to "Colonel's Allowances," (a concession extended under a spirit of unbounded liberality, most honourable to the promoter of it, and for which the whole Service was deeply indebted to the Secretary of State for India of the period, Lord Cranbourne, the present Lord Salisbury,) was at length realized as inevitable under any circumstances, and after too, it had already to some considerable extent been experienced and begun to be felt. It was implied, when the scheme was rejected, that it was the product of too easy an access to official documents, and such accessibility was, somewhat discourteously, animadverted upon and forbidden. No credit would seem to have been allowed to *intuition* in a matter so publicly patent, or to the knowledge of old that *two and two* made something, or that of the "rule of three"!

became most charming. The mall crowded—every one congratulating each other at having come up from the burning plains.

17th May.—A salute announced the arrival from Hyderabad of Sir George Yule, come to take up his place as a Member of Council (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) He rode straight up to “Longwood” to see me, and we had a long conversation, *de omnibus rebus*.

There is some inconsistency in Sir John's attitude towards Native Rulers—at variance, that is, with his declared policy of non-interference with their internal administration. Take, for instance, the enforcement within their territories of the decrees of our Civil Law Courts, and the late arbitrary “Resolution” compelling payment by them of compensation for all mail robberies within the limits of their several states, both touching them on very sensitive points. On the subject of the latter *ukase*, I have already noticed its effects (*vide* pp. 133, 248, 392, vol. i.) That the measure has created a very great temptation to rob the mails, there can be no doubt. I have it before me that as much nearly as three crores of rupees worth of jewellery and bullion (30,000,000*l.*) are estimated to be annually sent to Western India by post through Jeypore territory alone, the high road to Bombay through Rajpootanah. This includes, to be sure, the transmissions as well by the mails of the British Government as by means of the native *dák* or post maintained independently in Native States. Separate these remittances, however, and the vast

Sir John
Lawrence
and
Native
Rulers.

Value of
Precious
Things
sent by
the Mails.

Compensation for
Mail
Robberies

majority of them would still represent despatches from British territory. Jewellery and gold bullion, gold leaf, pearls and precious stones, gold and silver lace, and the richest brocades, the finest and most costly fabrics, and shawls from Cashmere, are continually entrusted to the British Government Post for despatch (*vide* pp. 364, 392, vol. i.)—for despatch, too, despite the prohibition of the Post Office rules—to say nothing of the enormous remittances, of which I have mentioned several notable instances, of treasure sent on camel back and upon carts, for the purchase of cotton and opium in the regions where those commodities are grown. The knowledge of all this excites the cupidity of plunderers, added to the fact (but which, as has been seen, is of no moment to them either way,) that the so-called “escorts” accompanying so much wealth are always slender (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) Any way, they are insufficient for the purposes of protection. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that native chiefs should view with dissatisfaction and feel vexed by the promulgation of an ordinance that should hold them responsible when such costly articles are waylaid and plundered. For, as they justly aver, the ability, if not *license*, to send prohibited articles by the Government Post, and the knowledge that they are so continually sent, badly guarded too, offer temptations to rob the mail, for which they cannot with justice be held responsible by us, any more than the British Government held itself answerable on the not infrequent occasions of the Government mail being similarly robbed in *British territory*!

But not only that, for the introduction of the obnoxious measure has led rulers to be opposed to and to object to the proposal for the extension of British Post Offices within their own limits ; and it has moreover passed, that mail robberies have increased in Native territory, rather than diminished, since the adoption of the new rule—a natural consequence—the knowledge that compensation for losses, or *tawáni* as it is termed, is demanded, having led the native public to resort more than ever before, to the British Postal Department for the export of their things of value.²

18th May.—Am flattered by a friendly visit to-day from Colonel Norman, Military Secretary to the Government of India, for I had not before been so distinguished. He is a very able man, but some of us are not one with him in regard to the after-effects resulting from his child—the Staff Corps (*vide* p. 40, vol. ii.)

It falls in somewhat with my remarks about the late Compensation Edict, (*vide* p. 43, vol. ii.,) that an influential paper should, at this date, observe of its operation, that it was “a roundabout and ineffective method” of doing what native chiefs would do of themselves if properly urged ; that the arrangement would not render life and property much more secure than before ; and that it acted as a premium on the neglect of more effective measures, as that feudatory chiefs preferred paying up the

The Press
on Com-
pensation
for Mail
Robberies

² P.S.—The above was subsequently brought by me into an official report on the subject. The enforced compensation was not, however, payable to any senders of articles contraband of the Post Office rules, but to be “collected into a fund.”

full value of the plundered mails, to the burthen of maintaining an efficient police. The same journal further describes the "compulsory exaction," to be in a manner, a species of "black-mail,"—paying for depredations was to the minds of native rulers, more economical than the expense of a police, the advantage of keeping up which was now ignored more than before; the "high-handed decree" was distasteful, as placing native chiefs "under the pressure of an invidious compulsion"—and further, they felt *insulted* at being regarded "to be cognizant of brigands" (not, I think, that all are not,) "who come from British territory as often as from their own."

Anecdote
of a Hill
Woman
married
to an
Officer.

19th May, Sunday.—In our walk round Jako this evening, we met "Annie, born of native parents," lolling in an approved English young lady manner, in a *Jánpán*, carried by costumed hill men, all *en règle*. This lady, sprung from a hill village, and of the fair complexion usual among hill women, was styled as above in the announcement of her marriage with ———, long time a colonist in these mountains. It is told of this event, that as the period of it drew nigh, the Chaplain of the Sanatorium took her in hand to instruct her in the principles of Christianity, preparatory to her anterior baptism, and used to narrate to her, in an easy way suitable to her understanding, some of the incidents of the Bible. On returning to and resuming one morning, the account of the Nativity, she stopped him: "No, no, do not tell me those tales, but tell me again about

the drowning of the *lushkur* in crossing the waters, and all that," alluding to the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea; that and kindred traditions of pomp and circumstance, conjuring her fanciful imagination more than, as she regarded them, drier information not so illustrated, or comprehensible.

20th May.—No more rain for the present, the weather most pleasant, and everything looking beautiful. Our Jánpánees, and hill men generally, may be seen gaily wearing bunches of the dark blue iris growing wild round about, and abounding white or red rhododendron flowers, in their caps and head-gear.—I imported to Simlah several sorts of roses last year from Jubbulpore (where I had introduced them from Belgaum, *vide* p. 250, vol. i.,) and all are now in bloom in our rosary here, delightful to the eye, the Persian or Bussora rose, of great perfume, both white and pink, particularly.

Among the *nuzzuránas* or offerings (lit. ceremonial presents,) to the Viceroy from ambassadors and envoys received here, was a stout *yaboo* or hill pony with *slit ears*, consequently called *châr-gooshee* or four-eared, an importation from *Khirgeez* where the breed abounds, presented by a distant hill chieftain. It was added, as was incumbent (*it was not so in olden days*,) to the "Toshuh-khánuh" or official depository of all such non-personally receivable presents; and being put up to auction at the office of the local Deputy Commissioner or magistrate, was purchased by myself. But the animal proved to be incorrigibly vicious, to the

Flower-
Bedecked
Jánpánees

My
Yaboo.

terror, not only of those whom I should meet while riding him along the narrow hill ways, but of myself whom, by his ugly habit of shying, he had sometimes nearly precipitated, along with himself, down the awfully deep *khuds* or abysses of the hills, overhanging which the mountain straits and paths dangerously wind. But being a beautiful animal, with a long bushy tail and mane, and of a silky white colour dappled with red-brown spots, plum-pudding like, and not only very sturdy and enduring, but comfortable to ride from his easy ambling paces, I thought to have him *altered* as advised, and the operation was performed accordingly, earlier in the season, at the Horse Artillery veterinary stables at Umbalah, such being generally the effective remedy for vice. But on this occasion it has not proved successful as yet; for "Plum-pudding" this evening broke away from his syce or horsekeeper, and scampered away to the public danger. The poor syce was dragged some distance, and is badly hurt. I am perplexed what to do, for I do not want to get rid of so fine a little beast, too readily!

Môghya
Temerity.

21st May.—Regarding the *Môghyas*, whose plundering habits I before noticed (*vide* pp. 375, and 385, vol. i.) the Political Officer at Oodeypore reports another of their exploits in the direction of the same Nimbhaira before mentioned (p. 375, vol. i.,) affording a further specimen of the temerity they have acquired from long neglect and impunity.

An Old
Retired
Bengal
General
Officer.

With our lad, to-day visited General — and his wife. Their grown-up sons and daughters

having never been at home, are almost to the manner, natives in their ways, and talk what is called "*chee-chee bát*"—a mixed sort of Hindustanicum-English jargon—for instance, "*Áth bujhá áná best hai*" (You had better come at 8 o'clock,) "*Oodhur don't go*" (Don't go there.) The good old General rose in my second brother's regiment, eventually to the command of it, and had been in India continuously since coming out as a young cadet. Thence we wound down the hillside to call on —. Something surely troubled the beautiful lady there, with all her grace of reception and charm of manner,—perhaps flying rumours—why mind them? they are ever over-coloured, as often untrue, however sometimes provoking. The lad went in and got wounded. He came out fired, and was ready to imitate the Indian champion casting away his scabbard, or the battle-breathing *Phailwán* burning to throw down the gauntlet to the whole world, *for her!* But, stay—

"Those who in quarrels interpose,
Must often wipe a bloody nose."

Or, as the Indian himself has it: "If you butt your head against a ram, you are safe to get a broken pate."

22nd May.—It certainly seems ludicrous to ^{License} "license" soldiers to carry arms, yet such seems ^{Tax In-} congruity. to be in effect, the operation of the new License Tax (*vide* p. 434, vol. i.) Then as to its results, the promises from its incidence—in the single instance of Lahore, a rich district, it will scarcely

realize 20,000 rupees in the year there, nor more than six lakhs of rupees in the entire province of the Punjab. But with all the diatribes against its action, levelled by the unreasoning and unreasonable rich Calcutta folk, the greatest objection to the impost is this, that it falls principally upon those who are comparatively *poor*. Of the 1400 or so licenses as yet issued under the Act in the above district, but a few over a thousand were to the lowest or sixth class of persons included in its scope; about 200 only to the class next in succession; and the rest, not a hundred, to the remaining four higher grades—a result that, perhaps, may be taken as a sample and an estimate of the product of the entire measure, to say nothing of the ill-will it is creative of. This seems awkward for my opinion as to its financial success! (*vide* p. 16, vol. ii.)

After closing office work, walked at evening round Jako with the two Swinley youths, both fine young fellows, one in the Irregular Cavalry and the other in the Royal Artillery. Their father is ill.

Thuggee
by means
of Poison.

23rd May.—Am a good deal occupied just now in preparing statements of the crime of Thuggee by means of poison throughout India during the past three years. They give much trouble, there being great difficulty in drawing them up with sufficient fulness, owing to the absence of details in most of the cases reported by district officers, and to a general hesitation on their part in determining the degree of heinousness attaching to each case; some correctly recognizing “Thuggee” in instances which were

palpably the deed of experts, although death should not have taken place ; others only doing so where death had resulted ; some classing certain murders as cases of "Thuggee," without reference to the means resorted to in the perpetration thereof ; others who wholly pass by cases of poisoning whether followed by death or not, although they bore evidence of being the acts of class criminals ; some who restrict their notice to selected cases only of its occurrence, passing by other similar instances ; some who endeavour to distinguish between different degrees of poisoning, some calling "murder by poison" *Thuggee*, others not doing so : others who lump all such kindred offences under round numbers without any narration of the attendant circumstances, contented only with quoting against them the sections of the Penal Code under which they were triable or were tried, (among which quoted sections were those which recognized the criminal use of poisons,) yet leaving it to be gleaned to what particular instances of the collection they were applicable, etc. Thus the research for statistical purposes, is proportionately great.

Among the several cases so reported, I have come to one which I do not think I have noticed before, except officially at the time of its occurrence, which was nearly two years ago, and I would mention it here. I have said that our School of Industry at Jubbulpore, is intended to act as a kind of reformatory, in which the offspring, male and female, of our thug and dacoit approvers and prisoners, are

A Rail-
way Gen-
tleman
Poisoned.

instructed in various trades in view to their reclamation, and by their following which they may earn their livelihood (*vide* p. 250, vol. i.) But beyond the influence exercised through their parents in our custody, we have (wrongfully I think,) no power over this rising generation when they have grown up and elected to seek their living elsewhere. Several of them have, from time to time, done very well as far as we know or have been able to follow them in their subsequent careers. Many of these youths, of the thug classes, had found employment with European gentlemen as private servants, more particularly of late with the officials employed on the railway under construction on the line connecting (at Allahabad) the Great Indian Peninsula Railway with the main line running to and from Calcutta, a work which, as I have noticed, has lately been completed, though not yet in working order (*vide* p. 28, vol. ii.) Among these gentlemen was a *Mr. Upham*, who was in charge of a portion of the line extending for some miles beyond Sleemanabad, which is near Jubbulpore, our depôt, and two such lads were in his service as *khidmutgárs* or table servants. He had ridden back one evening tired from inspecting his long beat, and was lying on his bed in his tent. The *kunnáts* or tent walls being triced up to admit the air, he was able to see under them, and presently, on chancing to look that way, he observed the two servants, who were engaged in cooking his dinner outside, squeezing into one of the cooking utensils on the fire, some green pods which he had seen them to pluck from a bush close by the spot ; but supposing

the substance to be some kind of vegetable, he took no particular notice of the act except to be curious what they possibly could be. Accidentally, however, from fatigue, he was in no humour for food when his dinner was served, and merely took a little rice and milk. He may, too, have then been a little suspicious, for he afterwards put some of the cast-away pods into his pocket; but the thought did not last, for next morning the two servants served him as usual with tea, etc., for his *chota-házirri*, or first breakfast—partaking of which he ordered his pony and then rode off to the tent of the railway doctor, two or three miles distant; by the time of his reaching which he became faint and lost consciousness. Dr. Spicer at once perceived from the symptoms, that he was suffering from *datoora poisoning*, and was happily able promptly to apply the usual antidotes, and the patient quickly rallied. On his producing the pods which he had picked up on the previous evening, the two proceeded to the bush from which they had been plucked. The doctor at once pronounced them to be of the *datoora* plant (*Datoora stramonium*.) Thus further confirmed in his diagnosis of the case, the two servants were taken into custody, and along with them the unfortunate horse-keeper and the grass-cutter. How the two latter were believed to be implicated I am not aware, but they both were sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The head servant or cook, he who more particularly was seen to handle the pods, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment; but his fellow *khidmutgar* was *acquitted*! The intention was to rob their master

Thug-
born Lad,
on
Release,
becomes
a
Notorious
Thug
Leader.

while in a state of unconsciousness, and he narrowly indeed escaped with his life. It is significant that these two servants were the offspring of thug stranglers of the old stock, and the occasion shows the difficulty in reclaiming these people from their evil ways. Among many other examples of this, I would remember that of the thug-born lad who was kept in prison along with his mother till he had grown up, and was then set at liberty. His father, his uncles, his brothers, all his male relations of several past generations, *were thugs*; and those of the immediate or present race of them, had been, more or less, *convicted of thuggee* in our operations, and been variously sentenced, some to be hanged and others to transportation or imprisonment for various periods, his father being of the number executed. This youth had never himself engaged in any act of thuggee—he was too young then yet to do so—but he was *cognizant* of the deeds of his adult male relatives, and he plainly “belonged to,” *was a member of*, the formidable association. Hence his incarceration in view to his reformation as he should grow up. But not a bit—far from being reclaimed, he became, on his being at length enlarged, the jemadar or leader of a gang of thugs, as his father was before him, and was long notorious as such, till at last he too was sought out and taken, and eventually, after conviction and a sentence to death, was admitted by the General Superintendent as an approver under conditional pardon. He thereupon assisted the Suppression Department against his numerous associates, many of whom were, through his assist-

ance, accordingly captured and brought to punishment. This was in the early part of our operations; but in regard to the case just recited, of the narrow escape of the railway gentleman, I may also narrate in this place, if I have not already done so at the period of the occasion, that shortly prior to that occurrence, it happened that several poor children of the Byculla Charity School at Bombay, were discovered to be poisoned from eating some medicated sweetmeats that had been maliciously flung over the wall into their playground. I had long previously but ineffectually endeavoured, when I was the Thuggee officer for the Bombay circle, to persuade the Bombay Government to specially legislate against the possession and unrestricted sale everywhere of poisonous drugs.³ Aroused now, however, by the Byculla incident, to a sense of the danger of not doing so, the Government of Bombay *forthwith* passed a law restricting the sale of poisons; and no sooner did I become aware of it, than I, who had now become General Superintendent of the entire operations for the suppression of the crime throughout India, went straight up to the Supreme Government with an earnest recommendation (frequently before submitted,) that a similar law be passed for the entire Peninsula,⁴ even going so far as to declare the possibility of the

Byculla
School
Children
Poisoned.

³ The curious on this subject I would refer to vol. i. New Series, of "Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch of the Judicial Department, 1858," where my several reports on the subject to that Government are recorded.

⁴ P.S.—Vide letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 900, dated 13th September, 1865, in reference to which I here quote what I submitted of the subject at a subsequent date. Speaking of the recommendation not

crime *being practised upon ourselves*. I was not then aware of the above case in the Central Provinces, of Mr. Upham, the railway superintendent. It had taken place only a few days previously, and it served my prediction very opportunely !⁵

being then yet attended to, I said : "I believe an objection to such a law was urged in the fact that *datoora*, for instance, was often used by natives for medicinal purposes. If justice should be defeated by these detestable criminals making use on their part of the same argument in support of their *innocence*, it were weakness for us to urge it, too, if through it they should be saved from punishment ! It is the well-known character of the Thug to *make that null which would be evidence in our Courts of Law*—and for him to advance that in his defence which he knows *we are ourselves so tenacious about*—for him to declare that he kept poison by him *to use it as medicine*" (this subterfuge was really adopted on a previous memorable occasion, on the part of a notorious ruffian, who was not only a thug poisoner but also a dacoit and murderer, as well on river as on land—*vide* p. 62 and footnote, vol. i. ;) "because we say that it is used by natives for such a purpose, *and may therefore be possessed by them*, is altogether to sustain that character and to overreach us. As submitted, however, in my letter under advertence, the inconvenience of a prohibitory law of the scope advocated by me, to those who really used drugs for curative purposes, would affect a very few in comparison with the very many whom the restriction would protect. They who required such things for honest aims, would suffer little from the mere trouble of having to seek permission to possess them ; while the effect upon those who wanted them for criminal ends, would at least be that they would, in some measure, be deterred from too readily using them lest they should be discovered *unlawfully* to have them."

⁵ P.S.—Mr. Maine (Sir Henry Summer,) who was the Legislative Member of the Governor-General's Council at this period, hesitated to recommend the advocated law, on the ground that it was a "delicate question to legislate upon." Such was not the opinion of Mr. Hobhouse (Lord Hobhouse,) who, at a subsequent date, succeeded to the same high office. That equally able legislator, and I believe learned Sir James Stephen also, altogether supported my proposal. Pages 22 to 28, 38 to 74, and 76, 77 and 78 in the first part of the present Journal (vol. i.) show that the advisability of such an expedient still exists. Sir James Stephen was Legislative Member between Sir Henry Maine and Lord Hobhouse.

24th May.—We all know this day—and our native employés also well know that it is a *burra din* with us, or “great day”—for they have always a full holiday upon it. The Viceroy, as Grand Master of the new Order of the Star of India, held an investiture of the late two admissions to it, and I attended the ceremony at Peterhoff. The two new knights were Major-General Durand, the Military Member of Council, and Mr. Wm. Muir, the Foreign Secretary. All the members of the Order wore the special robes appertaining to it, and “Sir Henry Durand” and “Sir William Muir,” K.C.S.I., were invested accordingly. Sir John addressed them in a speech recounting the services on account of which they had been selected for the distinction. Aitchison, as Secretary of the Order, marshalled the ceremony. Sir John’s voice sounded weak and hollow. I do not think he can be well; and certainly both he and Sir Wm. Mansfield looked worn and haggard.

It being the Queen’s birthday, the Simlah European Volunteers, composed mostly of local shopkeepers and clerks, moved into camp down at Anandale, with their wives and belongings, to shoot for prizes, and for the frolic of the occasion. To where I, too, and nearly the whole community, went in the afternoon, but, as I missed my pony, I had to walk up the winding paths of the steep hill-side, and felt fatigued by the exertion on my return home, not very fit to dine afterwards as I did among other invited “heads of departments”

Chapter of
the Order
of the
Star of
India.

H.M.’s
Birthday
Banquet
at Peter-
hoff.

at Peterhoff, "to celebrate Her Majesty's birthday." It was a medal day, of course, and of full uniform. The table was well served, the wine good, and everyone was quite happy. Trotted back with Lumsden (Sir Peter,) I on my fine English horse, he, too, on a good mover; and we both together paced it pretty smartly, giving the go-by to all those returning from the banquet.

A Lukkur-Pukkur. 25th May.—A neighbour's pet dog was carried away last night by a *Lukkur-pukkur*, a species of ounce infesting these hills and preying upon dogs and the like, but very timid as against human beings; they are great sneaks.

Simlah Tunnel. 26th May, Sunday.—We strolled at evening through the tunnel (of no great length,) on the road to Maháseo; and wandered, too, over the crag through which it is excavated. A good deal of water was dripping through the arch.

Report on the Conflict of Laws referring to Thuggee Operations in Native States. 27th May.—I was called upon for, and last year submitted to the Government of India, a full Report on the working of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department in Native States, discussing more especially the application of the British law to its procedure in territories not subject to the general laws of the Indian Councils. I carefully reviewed in it the history of our operations, showing "categorically and specifically" (the words of my instructions,) how and at what time each chief consented to the direct action of the British Government within his territories in respect to Thugs and Dacoits, and furnishing a complete compendium, which was what Government had

aimed at, of the law on the subject. Government thanked me cordially for this report, sent a copy of it to the Secretary of State for India,⁶ and circulated printed copies of it to all Governments and Administrations throughout India, and to every Political Resident at Native Courts. It has just been reviewed in very favourable terms by the "Times of India" in a leading article. The editor, quoting Sir William Sleeman, declared with him that "never in the history of crime and of its suppression had there been fewer acquittals as compared with convictions, or more security to the innocent in the pursuit of the guilty, than witnessed in the measures of the Government of India for the suppression of the great crime of Thuggee." He then goes on to give copious extracts from my Report, and to combat any idea of any undue interference on our part in the administration of Native States protected by treaty from interference in their internal affairs (the question of possible legal objections to our operations in which, had been distinctly raised by the Government of India itself in calling upon me for this Report,) distinguishes me with the remark that the subject had been "satisfactorily handled by Colonel Hervey," supporting this by quoting, as a "conclusive argument," the following passage from my Report:—"The only ground upon which any opposition might be based to the extension of the operations of the Thuggee and

⁶ P.S.—The India Office wrote back of it approvingly—that it was a most useful State document and all that.

Dacoitie Department to Native States with greater scope than formerly, would be, I conceive, in a wilful misconstruction of the articles of the several treaties with Native Chiefs, wherein it was guaranteed that British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into their principalities, should any chiefs be so disposed to misapply that prohibition when considered in connection with their recognition of the *supremacy* of the British Government and with their agreement to act in *subordinate co-operation* with it. But it would be hard to maintain any reasonable opposition on such premises. The British Government does not assert any right to introduce its jurisdiction in their States *quoad* the civil and criminal management or control of them, but claim only a right as a paramount power to protect the *general community*, and to prevent professional robbers and murderers finding asylum in Native States and committing from there depredations in the States of others and of the British Government. If, in the absence of any *lex loci*, or of a law particularly applicable to such cases, and of a disposition on the part of the local Sovereigns to adopt any measures of the kind, it were left to the peaceable subjects of a country to redress their own wrongs and avenge their injuries, anarchy and disorder would be the inevitable result in every State throughout India; no general safety would be afforded; the subjects of every territory would equally suffer from the excesses of the persons who occasioned those wrongs; and every attempt towards good government, in which

the supreme power was deeply concerned, would be impossible."

The "Times of India" adds:—"There are other passages which we would gladly quote. Colonel Hervey may well be congratulated on having had the opportunity of which he has taken such excellent advantage, of placing on record the services of the department which he now so ably represents. The department has done good work. It has checked the commission of dreadful crimes, and it has done so in the face of formidable difficulties, which have been all overcome by the devotion and perseverance of the officers entrusted by the Government to carry out its humane objects. With truth does Colonel Hervey say that '*a blessing has been conferred upon millions of our native subjects, which is felt and acknowledged throughout the vast land to a degree of which any Government might be proud, showing, as it does, that it was not in vain that it was undertaken, and not in vain that the obligation to discharge it was appreciated and pursued.*' And we are persuaded that the remarkable success which has hitherto attended Colonel Hervey's efforts, will be met with also in the field to which the operations of his department are now to be confined." 7

7 P.S.—The Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, which before exercised jurisdiction throughout British India, had then recently, owing to the late introduction in British territory of a new police system, been required to restrict its *executive* action to Native States only,—but it had still to keep touch with British districts, and to maintain cognizance of the occurrence therein of all acts of professional and special crime, and of the criminal classes located

28th May.—James Blair, who lately left Aboo on a short furlough to England (*vide* p. 36, vol. ii.,) writes from Aden that Colonel Eden (Agent Governor-General for Rajpootanah,) who has not been very well, “talks of going home,” as had been advised, “but can’t make up his mind” like another Rajpootanah political of long standing, and that both are not wise in remaining. Coleridge writes from Aboo that Eden will go in the cold weather, and that the other has leave to the Cape of Good Hope.

Ball at
Peterhoff.

The weather was very sultry throughout the day, and towards evening we had a great dust-storm. This culminated at night (but fortunately, only after “all Simlah” had safely put in at Lady Lawrence’s ball at Peterhoff,) in a mighty storm with rain, thunder, and lightning. There was much waltzing of the bull-in-a-china-shop, or multiplied *deux temps* kind, but I was glad to see some dancers old-fashioned enough to resort to the too long discarded *one—two—three* waltz. Customs repeat themselves, and the latter would be a desirable return to a time-honoured one.

Transfer
to the
Depart-
ment of
Thug and
Dacoit
Prisoners
in Native
States.

29th May, Simlah.—It had long been our procedure, even in British territory, to obtain from time to time, the custody of prisoners confined in local jails, against whom we had charges of crime other than those they were there held in detention for. By these means we not only occasionally come upon “wanted” men, but obtain an access, in, or ranging in them, to keep up, indeed, a *general intelligence everywhere*.

sion sometimes of valuable approvers (*vide* p. 183, vol. i.) Thus in 1865 I obtained my first two Meena approvers from the Agra jail, and through them was enabled to commence our present, and now extensive, operations against the Meena tribe as professional dacoits. There had never been any objection to the practice, and it has, indeed, legal sanction. But — has, for some unknown reason, lately opposed it, possibly to favour the objection to it raised by the local Durbar which may dislike the trouble of providing escorts for such demanded prisoners; for our own departmental means are much too limited to take that duty. The knowledge, moreover, that we are able to trace them even to within remote prison walls, notwithstanding the names they there assumed and the castes they pretended to belong to, has a deterring effect upon criminals of the professional classes, such as those against whom our action is directed. I have already mentioned the result of the examination by myself of the prisoners in custody at Ajmere, Jeypore, and Ulwur (*vide* pp. 183 to 186, vol. i.) The latter two States are thickly packed with predatory Meenas, and I must ask the Agent Governor-General to overrule the objection that has been raised. The hitherto unchecked brigandage and spoliation carried on by this particular tribe in all directions, to say nothing of the harrying practised by the *Môghyas* lower down in Rajpootanah (*vide* pp. 165, 277, 288, 377, 379, 385, and 386 to 389, vol. i.) are an opprobrium to the several local

governments concerned, and an oppression to the inhabitants.

Pursuit of
Gujjádthur
Sing.

Daly writes from Gwalior that he has been able to further the mission of our Duffedar (Moona Sing) for the pursuit of Gujjádthur Sing, the leader of the Bedowreah band that slew our men in the Kerowlie and Dholepore forest (*vide* pp. 355 to 359, 361, 369, 382, vol. i.) The Dewan, or chief Minister of the State, would give our project full consideration. The Duffedar wanted the two captured members of the gang to be made over to him for the purposes of the research, and Scindiah, after demurring on the ground that he had spent money and time in their capture, and that one of them was scarcely less a villain than the ringleader himself, had at length acceded to do anything which might appear advisable, and the Duffedar had now gone to *Bhind*, where the outlaws had sought refuge, armed with orders for general assistance, the Soobah or Governor of that district, who was at Gwalior, having had matters explained to him in the presence of the Duffedar, who, added Daly, was a keen fellow, and would, he thought, succeed. But I do not like the employment of those two prisoners, and I have telegraphed to Daly not to have them handed over. They are a bad sort, and would escape, or manage to bring about their rescue, and this would give grounds for recrimination on Scindiah's part. Moona Sing is, moreover, himself a Bedowreah, and is accompanied by a very good approver of that tribe; and as the two captured men have now been in custody some time,

they can hardly be better informed than themselves of the refuge places of their leader Gujjádhur and his followers. I fear, moreover, the temptation afforded to these desperadoes by the presence again in their haunts of some more of our people, to have another slap at us in retaliation for our having had so many of their tribe transported for dacoitie in Oudh and the Doab. Such an exploit as the forcible rescue from our custody of their two quondam associates, specially deputed as our agents were to assist in unearthing themselves, would give additional *éclat* to the gang, and be disparaging to us.

Daly says of the great heat at Gwalior, that it is "heavier at night than day, and during the day life is only bearable behind a tattee."

Walk round Jako at evening with "Norman" and "Florence," the two lovely children of Macleod, successor of my friend Fred Curtis in the command of the 21st Hussars.

30th May.—Everyone is much concerned at the serious illness of General Swinley, at his residence, "Bally Hack," situated on the hill above the *khud* beyond our house.—I brought the doctoor to see our lad, who is also ill and complains of great pain in his right side.

We have made two great hauls; one of a lot of Meenas intercepted by one of our command parties in an expedition of dacoitie, and caught *flagrante delicto* in Harowtie, where Bruce, lately one of our assistants, is now the Political Officer; and the other of a band of *Môghyas*, captured by the Tonk

Capture
of Meenas
and
Môghyas.

authorities in the mingled jurisdictions down by Nimbhaira before mentioned (p. 375, vol. i.) I now hope to be able, through the latter lot, to effect a beginning against the Môghyas infesting the region indicated. If the other Durbars, Meywar and Scindiah, could only, by this example on the part of smaller Tonk, be led to act with equal promptitude, and more particularly *Scindiah*, than whom the rulers of Tonk and Meywar are as naught, something might be effected in the desired object of suppression. At present the action taken, affects only the immediate vicinity of Nimbhaira, for all round that locality the tribe live and carry on their trade of robbery and rapine, like the *Shekâwuts*, with impunity. They are very formidable dacoits, of very atrocious habits, as may be judged from the examples I have given (*vide* pp. 375, 382, vol. i.)

Death of
General
Swinley.

31st May.—General Swinley is no more. His illness was Bright's disease.

Wrote to-day to Government recommending a pension to the widows of the five men who were murdered last December, by Gujjádhur Sing and his gang of Bédowreahts in the Dholepoor jungles—my action in which case I detailed. (Report to Foreign Office, No. 377, dated 31st May, 1867.)

Receive from Sir William Muir, the Foreign Secretary, the *Times* of India of the 24th instant, eulogizing and reviewing my Report of last year on the Conflict of Laws between British and Native States. I have already noticed the article (*vide* p. 59.) Other Indian Editors have been equally complimentary. From the terms of my instruc-

tions in calling upon me for it, an idea seemed to prevail that there was, or was likely to arise, some *conflict* in the respective laws, consequent upon the extended scope given to the special department in its future operations in Native States. But I think I satisfactorily showed, both by argument and quotations from law writers, that there was, in fact, no real "conflict," so to call it, at all, but that our procedure in the special duty would, on the contrary, be in harmony with that of the native rulers themselves. I stated that there was nothing, according to my apprehension, which was inconsistent in the state of the British Law in regard to the operations of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department in Native States, or to the apprehension, trial, and punishment of thugs and other professional criminals captured in them. It was a maxim of the Law of Nations that murderers and robbers by profession, who did not confine their depredations to any particular tract of country or to the territory of any particular ruler, should everywhere be delivered to the sovereign who reclaimed them, or in whose dominions they had committed crime; and as every country in the British Empire in India, was under the protection of the British Government, that Government had, by another fundamental maxim, the undoubted right to take upon itself the duty imposed upon it by the laws, as well of humanity as of nations, to require that such offenders should, through the local government, be pursued to their homes and be arrested and brought to trial, by any

No real
Conflict
in the
respec-
tive
Laws—
British
and
Native.

means not violently opposed to the customs or the prejudices of the country in which such measures were necessary. For the repression of an unusual class, recourse must be had to unusual means, if we would not wantonly subject the people committed to our charge to their atrocities, or render ourselves liable to the reproach that we did not restrain them. This principle was sufficiently enunciated in the despatches of the Government of India quoted by me. It was supported, too, by that which, I added, dictated to all civilized nations that an intervention was justified, not merely in the case when the safety or the essential interests of a State were affected by the internal condition of a neighbouring State, but also in the case where the rights of humanity were violated by the excesses of a cruel and a barbarous people living within the territory of a scarcely civilized Government :
• “Although the justice of each nation (observes *Cuttel*,) ought, in general, to be confined to the punishment of crimes committed in its own territories, we ought to except from this rule, those villains who, by the nature and habitual frequency of their crimes, violate all public security and declare themselves the enemies of the human race. Such persons may be exterminated wherever they are seized ; for they attack and injure all nations, by trampling under foot the foundations of their common safety.”

The above being, I submitted, the reasonable view of the question, it only remained to point to the state of the *Native Law* in respect to such pro-

ceedings. The Native Law, I said, contained no law, that I was aware of, to meet such exceptional cases. Neither the Hindoo nor the Mahomedan law, provided for robbers or assassins *by profession*. The criminal law of the country, moreover, was, by reason it was supposed of its original deformities, scarcely now referred to by native rulers in the administration of criminal justice. It had given place to a sort of *customary law*, or by *arbitrary will* (*Elphinstone*.) Whereas, on the other hand, the particular law of the British Government which affected the offenders, was *exceptional* (Acts XXX. of 1836 and XXIV. of 1843,)* its territorial scope was *general*, it was applicable to every part of India, and it was *declaratory*. By these considerations the law of both Governments, British and Native, were drawn, I affirmed, into close affinity with each other. It was *common law* that criminals should be regularly convicted by a trial in due form of law. This was a reason why offenders of the heinous classes referred to should be delivered up to the State where their crimes had been committed. They were pursued in foreign States by agents of the paramount power accredited to the Native Government (that is, by our Thuggee Police.) These agents were empowered by such States, by means of written mandates (*purwánahs*), to pursue and to arrest the fugitives, and were accompanied for the purpose by the local officers thereof. The persons arrested were tried by courts which were assembled under the authority of the local chiefs, upon which persons appointed by them, sat and

* Re-placed by corresponding sections in the Indian Penal and Procedure Codes.

presided. There was no *lex loci* in such special cases ; at best it was but *arbitrary*. The law resorted to was that which was as applicable to foreign as to British territory. It was *declaratory*—and, by reason of its speciality, it was also *arbitrary*. It was administered by a mixed court, composed of the representative of the British Government (the local Political Agent or the Agent Governor-General,) and of the native officials of the local State. The tribunal was a duly-constituted one ; and, lastly, the punishments awarded on conviction, were referred to and received the sanction of the local Government. There was harmony in all this. The arrangement was reasonable, and conflict of authority might not, I said, be anticipated. I was complimented, as I have said, by the Government of India for this exposition.

The
Funeral
of
General
Swinley.

1st June.—I attended General Swinley's funeral this morning. The Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and numerous other officers, civil and military, were also present. General officers were the pall-bearers. The deceased General's two fine sons walked close behind the bier, and the Dead March resounded solemnly as the procession slowly proceeded down the steep declivities of the distant burial-ground, but we missed the stately boom of the old big drum, now a discarded adjunct of a military band. The Simlah Volunteers furnished the firing party, of whom also a party carried the coffin when at last it had been brought to the entrance into the graveyard, Ján-pánees having conveyed it so far. The Cemetery

The
Simlah
Cemetery.

is prettily situated on a romantic knoll covered with fir trees, some way down the Simlah mountain decline, and is approached by a narrow and tortuous pathway, scarcely broad enough for a couple of horsemen abreast. At present it is enclosed simply by a mud wall. Many lie buried there. The last time I was present on a similar occasion, was at the interment there of young Sir Alexander Lawrence, son of Sir John's illustrious brother, Sir Henry, and that was a great occasion : for we all sorrowed at the young man's untimely and awful end, and Sir John's grief was visibly poignant. He was killed, as was his pony, by falling down a *khud* in the vicinity of Simlah (*vide* Journal for August 1864.)

Later in the day I presided at a meeting of local householders—and subsequently attended a meeting of the members of the Simlah Club. The Club House is situated at the foot of the Jáko mountain, on an eminence over above the centre of the mall, and commands a fine view of wooded hill scenery, and of the distant plains, and the windings there of the Sutlege.

2nd June.—Hear of another cotton boat robbery on the Jumna a few nights ago, on the reach of the river between Agra and Ghazepoor. The boat had moored for the night and its crew had gone to sleep, when, suddenly, at midnight, they were assailed with a shower of stones and then immediately were boarded and the boat plundered, and this recurrence of the crime too, in one and the same neighbourhood (*vide* p. 26,) despite the

The
Simlah
Club
House.

Cotton
Boat
Plun-
dered.

supposed vigilance of a special river police!^s These river robberies are conducted much in the same manner there as on the stream lower down. The plunderers contrive to learn of the despatch of a freight of goods, they follow the boat from mooring-place to mooring-place, sometimes afoot, sometimes in a boat; and when the opportunity is favourable, the spot desolate, and the night well on, they suddenly board the craft, beat and knock about those of the crew who have not jumped to the shore or concealed themselves, plunder what they can lay hands on, and rapidly escape, travelling during the rest of the night, and thus leaving miles behind them before the morning, at which hour only the local police become aware of the occurrence. But I cannot understand how then, in the present case, "*bales of cotton*" should have been carried off, or any receiver ready to hand to take them over!—The boy abed two days, put in an appearance at breakfast to-day, looking much pulled down.

Personal.

A Double
Dacoitie.

3rd June.—Among the reports received this morning, was one of a *double robbery* three nights ago, down in *Goruckpore*, where gang robberies have been frequent of late. An armed gang, carrying lighted torches, at midnight burst into a house and plundered it, seriously wounding a couple of men who were in their way as they left. They proceeded next to a second house hard by,

^s P.S.—It was afterwards thought that this and the previous boat robbery (*vide* p. 26,) were procured by the boatmen. There was no detection in the previous case, and in the present instance, the only two persons arrested for it were convicted of it, and sentenced, but they were *not*, I believe, boatmen.

and attacked and plundered it also in the same manner. The district is infested by *Bhurs* and *Dômes*, both criminal classes, of whom the former have as bad a reputation there as the Meenas elsewhere sustain. They are locally regarded to resemble the Brinjarees, although residing in villages and not being carriers as the latter are. *Râjbhur* is their more popular appellation, and they claim to be sprung from the aboriginal settlers of that part of the country—a wild race. The *Dômes* again, I have considered to resemble the *Khaikarees* Khaikaree Rechabites and the Dômes, *alias* Korwurs, who raid in Bombay and Madras territories, Berar and the Nizam's districts, in habits as in ostensible occupation (*vide* pp. 347, footnote 348, 350, vol. i., and p. 20, vol. ii.) except that the *Khaikaree* surprisingly abjures tobacco as religiously as the *Rechabite* of old forswore wine, the only reason given being, "it is not our caste habit." I have long observed these slighted *Dômes*. They also are descended from some stock of first settlers, and I have not formed so low an estimate of their intelligence as has usually been received of them. They are good for scouting purposes.

4th June.—Am occupied in translating deposi- Police Em-ployés. tions for my periodical report. Here is one of the sworn informations against the two police employés and their associate *Motee Sing* Meena, whose knavish ways down country, and connivance with dacoits from Upper India, have before been noticed (pp. 22, 32, vol. ii., *et ante* :) "*Jeewun Sing* Jeewun Sing. is a Rajpoot Thakoor. He formerly resided in Bikaneer, but for the last twenty years he has

lived at Oomraotee (in Berar,) employed by the local *Séth*s or native bankers and merchants, as a carrier. He keeps ten or twelve camels for the purpose, and is locally known as the ' *Séth's Jemadar.*' When Meenas come down from their *Dés* or country on expeditions of dacoitie, they are put up by him and he advises them where to rob under a promise well understood, of receiving a share in their plunder, sometimes a *fourth*, at others a *fifth*; or when the booty shall be small, a *tenth*. He abets them and sets them on to commit dacoitie. He does not himself join in the dacoitie, but attaches to the gang some of his own people for the purpose; for he keeps some twelve of such persons of sorts by him. In Nagpore he is employed by the *Séth* Aberchund, and he has similar employers at Jálnah and Oomráotee. One year he will be at Oomráotee, another at Nagpoor, the third at Jálnah. He sends his camels with their goods, to Bombay, to Indore, to Boorhanpore, to Jeypore, to Jodhpore, to Jubbulpore, and other places, acting indeed as a general carrier of goods and specie to different parts of the country, and it is under that cloak that he procures dacoities. He will not have his own direct employers plundered, but only the property of others; and it is under this guise of being true to the former, that he promotes the plunder of the others. It was upon information thus acquired from him, that I committed with my gang the dacoitie at *Dhygam* (booty 7927 rupees, *vide* p. 76, vol. ii.) and plundered the horse *dák* near Jálnah (booty, two mail wallets containing

gold leaf etc., and a quantity of *cheroots*.) In both these affairs Jeewun Sing received his stipulated share. Dacoits constantly resort to him and he gives them information of the despatch of convoys, or of houses they might plunder. (Here followed his personal description.) I also know *Motee Sing*. ^{Motee Sing.} He is a Meena Jemadar of the 'Kákoos' clan, formerly residing at Nágul in Jeypore, but latterly at Oomráotee in the employment of native merchants. He and Jeewun Sing live together. They go share and share in everything, and even have their food prepared in the same place. He too, is in the habit of giving dacoits information where to plunder, on their agreement to give him a share in the proceeds. Both he and Jeewun Sing are men of substance, and their ostensible employment is as camel carriers. Both are held in estimation among local native merchants. Motee Sing has a pleasing address, as if he were an *Ameer* or a gentleman. Although a Meena, down in Berar he passes for a 'Thakoor of Shekawátie' (*vide* pp. 164, 190, 191, vol. i.) Both he and Jeewun Sing were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the treasure dacoitie at Ootrádapet (*vide* pp. 182, 186, vol. i.) . . . I also know *Chowtia* or *Choutmull* (*vide* pp. 182, 190, ^{Choutmull.} vol. i). He is a Brahmin, and he is not only in the service of the local government but is employed by Mahájuns also. He is secretly in association with both Jeewun Sing and Motee Sing; and in robberies committed upon information imparted by himself, he like them also receives a share in the booty. These three men are well known among us, and

their connection with us is patent to us all. They are locally thought well of for respectability, so that when parties of ten to twenty, two or four, five or seven of us Meenas, go down to *Oomráotee* to commit dacoitie, we go to them. Outside of *Oomráotee* are two *mundürs* or temples, one called *Ballajee's* and the other *Devee's*. Under cover of their good repute, these three men put us up there, no Government *Chupprásee* (belted magisterial attendant,) or other person interfering, because of their respectability. For they give out that the strangers have come down from their own country in search of service, and that it was their intention to find employment for them with some of the local *Sêths* whom they knew to require some fresh hands, averring that they would themselves be answerable for their good faith in the matter."

Dhygam
Dacoitie.

I here add the record of the *Dhygám* case alluded to in the above information (p. 74,) as translated by me : "Twenty of us (names and villages etc. given,) proceeded from our homes in *Rajpootanah* to *Oomraotee* in *Berar*, and there went to *Jeewun Sing Thakoor*, where we met fifteen men of another gang. They had alighted at the house of one *Jhánjoo Láll*, a local *Sêth*. This man along with *Jeewun Sing* advised the assembled lot of us to stay there awhile, as no doubt 'something would turn up.' In this interval we learnt of two camels laden with treasure setting out for *Khamgám*. I followed with my quota to plunder them; but when we had got to a village about nine koss distant, the camel men observed and suspected us.

They lodged information of us at the village *Thannah* or station as they passed on, and we were thereupon taken into custody and sent back to Oomraotee, where we were questioned by the Tuh-sildar why we had followed the convoy. We declared that we were not following the camels, but only happened to be returning homewards the same way, 'having failed to obtain employment.' We were thereupon shortly released, but we continued to stay on at Oomráotee. Then soon a man of the goldsmith caste informed Jeewun Sing that his master, a Sêth residing at Dhygám, had quite 50,000 rupees of wealth stowed away in his house, and if we were sent with him he would show us all about it. We decided to accompany him, and the united lot of us started accordingly, reaching Dhygám an hour after dark. We went straight up to the indicated house, broke open the shop door, and leaving some of our men to cover it by a fire from matchlocks, the rest of us entered the premises. The inmates at once cleared out. Then lighting a torch, we dug about in the loft where our spy had told us the treasure was hidden. We found nothing there, but on our breaking into a closed niche or recess in a wall, we discovered in it what we were in search of. Put away in it we discovered a heavy gold waist-belt, a valuable gold bead *kuntha* or necklace, two or three smaller kunthas, eighty gold Venetians (sequins,) and two earthen vessels in which a quantity of silver ornaments were concealed, also 1200 rupees in cash. The ornaments weighed quite a maund. The

whole booty, as valued by ourselves, amounted to about six thousand rupees, and with this we at once made off. We travelled all that night until we had reached some hills some eight or nine koss distant. Proceeding onwards we got to Ellichapoor on the third day, and there alighted in the local *Dhurmsála* (travellers' inn.) Some of the gang stayed there for a couple of days longer, others doubled round to Oomráotee, but I and my men pushed on to Indore. We were not opposed in this robbery, but as we had fired off some shots to keep intruders off, no doubt some of the village people were hit, but no one of our side was hurt. Jeewun Sing, from being constantly in the habit of escorting goods, was easily able to supply us with the matchlocks." Memo.—Two persons on the side of the village, received gun-shot wounds in this authenticated affair.)

Dacoitie
in Mid-
napore.

5th June.—We have another case from Midnapore. Dacoitie is a good deal rife in that district, and it is a pity there is no longer a Dacoitie Commissioner in those parts. What was effected in the previous case there, has been mentioned (*vide* p. 31, vol. ii.) The district is a jungly one, and robbers find asylum in it, favoured also by local landholders and small chiefs. The present case is regarded to be the deed, one of several in this and neighbouring districts, of an outlawed leader. The property plundered was insignificant it seems.⁹

⁹ P.S.—The proclaimed robber leader alluded to, whose name was *Kooshla*, would post himself in the jungle, and from there infest the adjacent districts, levying blackmail to such an extent that

6th June.—While receiving reports *now and again* of the occurrence of special crime from other provinces, I get nothing in that way from *Madras*. Not that nothing of the kind occurs in that direction, but from studied reserve, the scope of my office being there, it would seem, regarded as one of interference, rather than as of a *general superintendence* or watchfulness by means of which to enable other Governments and the public generally, to judge of the comparative condition of crime and the results of local police action in keeping it down, in the different police areas of the country. It was in that view, and with that broader conception of the requirement, that when charged with supervising that duty I was constituted the “consultative officer of the Government of India on police subjects.” This conveyed to me no power of interference with local police administration, my only part being “to keep touch,” as I have said (*vide* footnote, p. 61, vol. ii.,) with British districts in respect to the occurrence in any of them of class crime, such as the special department over which I preside had been and was engaged in acting against. Perhaps the idea is, that the duty prefaces the introduction of a *central police bureau*. I wish it did. I should, if

the villagers feared to give information against him. He was at length, towards the end of this year, ably followed and pounced upon one midnight, in the heart of a jungle, by a party of police led by its energetic Superintendent, Mr. Pughe, a son of the Inspector-General of Police himself. The man himself, however, escaped arrest, but, later on, he was captured by a police force specially appointed to the duty, and was eventually transported for life. This served to break up the gang.

appointed to such a charge, have much to advocate in support of such a measure—not, however, on the footing of the lately abolished office of “Director-General of Police.” That was an experiment in the direction of a general centralization, which had of late become a mania at the head centre of Government, and the great mistake in its adoption, was, in not confining the range of the office to general principles and the general supervision above defined, which was the original intention in creating it, but extending to it the inspection, *quoad* an “Inspector-General,” of police administration, and the direction, too, of its financial arrangements. This was intolerable to local Governments, and especially so to the several Police Inspectors-General thereof, who were supposed to possess, as by the new Police Act was indeed designed for them, an *independent* department or organization of their own. And, unquestionably, the measure (Director-General,) as inaugurating a covert central scrutiny and central control, was a very distasteful one, and was naturally regarded to engender a feeling of distrust and uncertainty on the part of local Governments, who, by the new Police Act, were supposed to be empowered with the entire uncontrolled management of their several police forces. Of this tendency an example was soon afforded in Bombay. Colonel Bruce, the new Director-General, was deputed to Bombay on an avowed mission to cut down the police expenses there—on a “snipping errand,” as it was locally designated—at the in-

Colonel
Bruce.

stance of the not very popular Member of Council for Finance. This was stoutly resisted by Sir Bartle Frere the local Governor, and his Council, and I know it was currently said, in consequence, that the Bombay Government was regarded to be *on the verge of insubordination*—for that this was not the only one of its resistances to the edicts of the supreme Government. This cutting down of establishments had also been aimed at our own special police agency, and but for the manful stand of *Mr. Court*, the ablest of the Inspectors-General of the period, and for an article which I had contributed to the “Calcutta Review,” we should probably have been annihilated. That gentleman had long experience of our value as an auxiliary element in police action, and in his place of President of the Police Commission then assembled to devise rules of conduct for the new police force (by the creation of the new Police Act,) he forcibly maintained, in opposition to Colonel Bruce and Messrs. R. and T. (the two other members of the assembled Commission,) that the ordinary police were unable to cope with organized crime carried out by persons living at a distance from their homes, such as those against whom the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department was specially employed. This resulted in our executive agency being, by way of a tentative compromise, limited, with extended scope, to Native States, but with continued *general superintendence*, on my part, as chief of that special department, *throughout British territory* in respect to the occurrence

Sir Bartle
Frere.

Mr. Court,
Inspector-
General
of Police
for the
North-
Western
Provinces

therein of crime of a "professional" nature (*vide* footnote, p. 61, vol. ii.)

A Police
Bureau.

My plan for the introduction of a "police bureau," would not be upon the principle above developed. It would avoid interference with, or that *espionage* which was so much dreaded in the previous experiment, into the internal concerns of the several local police bodies. But it would, on the other hand, provide for *command* on all special or extraordinary occasions, and for the maintenance of the prestige of the Supreme Government as the directing power in all exigencies affecting the public welfare. The high officer holding the police portfolio which I contemplate, would by his office be the reflex of the efficiency of the whole body of the constituted guardians of a community so diversified as are the people of India. Police action would not centre in him, but from him would emanate police action in all special cases, the perpetration of which, or the persons leagued for the purposes of which, and the possible expansion of whose association, were not confined to one police area, but were widespread. I would have, in short, that important functionary to be the Secretary to the Government of India for all police matters, not only in proceedings against Thugs and Dacoits, which should still be his special duty, but against such other special criminals as should require coercive measures and combined action in regions not comprehended in the territorial scope of any particular Government or Administration, but presenting ramifications in

various directions. He would, in fact, become the centre of a general *Intelligence Department*, and in that capacity he would receive and lay before the Viceroy the intelligence kept up by him accordingly, in his special capacity of General Superintendent within the different police areas for which the several local Governments were responsible; and as Minister or *Prefect of Police*, he would be the mouthpiece of the Imperial Government, holding the police portfolio of the entire country on the same principle that now, in a minor way, obtains in the Province of Oudh under the able administration of Mr. John Strachey (Sir John;) and he would, moreover, restore to the Supreme Government that authority and general control over the police which was contemplated by and comprehended within the provisions of the new Police Act, but which, owing to the antagonism referred to, it now lacks. For in point of fact, the Inspector-General of Police, as at present constituted, of any of the police areas, is, as was pointed out by Mr. Strachey, in a very nondescript position. Although charged with the general control, and with the organization of the quasi-military duties of the local police force and its interior economy, he has very little to do with the arrangements for the preservation of the public peace and security, or the prevention, detection, and prosecution of crime. The several Police Superintendents are subordinate to Magistrates of districts in those particulars, and the latter are in their turn amenable to Commissioners

*Generally regarded to be the recipient of a good deal of information of the nature here adverted to, I was, shortly afterwards, specially additionally employed in this capacity accordingly, in direct communication with the Viceroy himself through his Private Secretary.

of Divisions, each division comprising several magistracies—except in regard to the particular professional crimes against which magisterial officers do not, as I have said, possess like us, the means of combined action. Yet, notwithstanding all this irregularity, all reports and returns as to police administration, for which Commissioners and Magistrates are chiefly answerable, reach the local Government “through this irresponsible Inspector-General,” and through him, too, the orders of Government are conveyed—and yet all the while the Inspector-General is unable *per se* or *suo motu*, to exercise any supervision over Magistrates, any more than that Commissioners can look upon Inspectors-General as their superior officers! The General Superintendent would also, according to my plan, as the centre of the Intelligence Department, be constituted the chief of a secret and political police.*

Personal. 7th June, Simlah.—We were again at a concert given by *Madame Bishop*—and I went also with the lad to a race ordinary, held at our club. For the races at Anandale are at hand, and he is bent on a mount in them. I drew “Sam Slick” in the lottery—a favourite horse.

8th June.—The anniversary of my landing at Bombay as a cadet from Addiscombe in 1836!

The
Simlah
Races.

The first of the races took place this afternoon at Anandale, where all Simlah collected to view them. I look on sedately, comfortably seated at a good look-out point, smoking my pipe. *Sam*

Slick fails miserably. The Simlah race-course is ^{Race-course described.} perhaps the most remarkable in the world. It is situated low down below the Simlah mountain, and compasses a charming little dell romantically surrounded by fir-clad hills. A portion of it runs by a precipitous wooded gorge dangerously near its edge, into which, if a horse ran off the course, the rider would be safe to be plunged and perhaps to break his neck. The contracted space is the only available level piece of ground in the vicinity, and here all meetings are held, of archery, football, cricket, and other sports, and bazaars; and it sometimes forms the encamping ground of the Simlah Volunteers. A small Chinese shaped temple, placed among some very lofty cedars in one of the recesses of the spot, where sacrificial goats and buffaloes are on occasions slaughtered, is an object of interest, situated as it is in the deep solitude and woody nook in which Hindoos love to erect their places of worship, and where, as at this spot, the simple-minded hillmen believe that they propitiate by those sacrifices, and by offerings of boiled rice and sweetmeats, the *jins* or ^{Elfs or Elfsins.} and brownies, who they declare disport in these woods at night, to behold whom by any chance thus frolicking or dancing is attended, they believe, with certain personal calamity. For this dread reason, hill people will never wander out at night in these mountains, nor will a baggage cooly be persuaded to descend the hill till after the day shall have dawned.

The
Church at
Simlah.

9th June, Sunday.—The Simlah church is situated on a restricted plateau cut out from the side of the hill overlooking the bazaar or native quarter. The edifice has lately been restored with a new roof, the planking of which having but very recently been plastered on its upper surface with pitch as a security against leaks, many of the congregation at to-day's service, found their feet cleaving to the floor from the resinous stuff which had fallen through the crevices, and some too, had to bethink how discreetly to get up from their seats.

Crime
Statistics
for
Madras
and
Bengal.

10th June.—On the subject of seldom reports of dacoitie received from Madras (p. 79, vol. ii.,) a reticence more or less observable in some other provinces, I may, being about to close the statistical returns for the past three years, in the preparation of which I have for some time been daily at work, here note what they present in regard to dacoitie both in Madras and Bengal, in which two provinces that crime would seem to have preponderated in comparison with the areas and populations appertaining to the others, difficult as it has been, in respect to *Madras particularly*, to gather from its numerous and intricately drawn up Crime Tables (and owing too, to the absence from them of all narrative of the attendant circumstances,) anything more than a mere figured statement of the occurrences there.

*Comparative Statement of Dacoities in Madras and Bengal, in
the three years ending with 1866.*

—	Number of Cases	Killed	Wounded	Amount of Property Plundered			Amount of Property Recovered.			Supposed Num- ber of Persons concerned	Arrested	Convicted	Released	Died	Escaped
				Ra.	As.	Ps.	Ra.	As.	Ps.						
Bengal ...	2,578	115	392	7,28,975	11	3	5,000	14	11	5,366	15,213	4,648	10,204	264	97
Madras ...	2,628	not stated		4,46,973	...	...	43,911	...	...	45,534	9,064	2,910	6,123	21	not shown

—	Area	Population	Regular Police	Village Police	Proportion of Police to Area	Proportion of Police to Population
Bengal ...	Sq. Miles 217,441	40,279,179	34,071	186,110	Square Miles 1 to 6'38	Persons 1 to 1,122'21
Madras ...	141,746	26,549,062	25,835	13,314	1 to 5'48	1 to 1,027'64

My forwarding Report to Government, should notice the difficulties met with in drawing up these Statistics, arising from the *capricious* summaries of them received from the different District Officers, some furnishing fuller particulars than others, some giving none at all, the greater number sending in very meagre accounts, or at best so deficient in details, as seriously to affect that precision which should be the feature of statistics of the nature I am charged with. Not only was no clear classification to be arrived at of the importance, in point of their serious nature, to be attached to the different enumerated acts of crime comprised in the returns supplied; but, how to mark off those among them which were of a *professional* nature, that is, the deed of *born robbers*—criminals by caste and profession—was a perplexity. In explanation

Memoran-
dum for
Report.

whereof it might be shown how hard it has been to specify the varying degrees of dacoitie perpetrated throughout the country, as distinguishable from one another, to wit, (1) dacoitie committed through revenge or sudden conception ; (2) through poverty or famine, of the latter sort of which there were so many instances last year (1866;) (3) through caprice, or by which to attain an end, such as to divert an inheritance or get rid of some particular member of a family, of both of which I have met with examples in the course of our own special operations ; (4) tumultuous raids ; (5) acts of reprisal for affront or injury, as prevailing in our frontier districts ; (6) ordinary highway robberies ; (7) gang robberies of crops or of grain on threshing floors ; (8) on plantations or mango groves ; and (9) the acts of professional and practised dacoits, only perpetrated because it was their vocation, unimpelled by the motives which move ordinary criminals to commit them.

As to
Reticence

Referring, however, to the *reticence* before remarked (pp. 79, 86, vol. ii.,) on the part of Madras in respect to this office, observably shared in by Bengal also, attention might also be drawn to the idea which would seem to possess the Madras Police authorities, that where no "torchlight gang robbery" (Madras definition,) had taken place, *real dacoitie has not been committed*, because in their estimation, every other act of the crime, formed what, in the Madras Crime Returns, is termed "technical dacoitie" only. It should be brought to notice that if only gang robberies undertaken

by torchlight, were taken into account in Madras territory, the total number of "dacoities" down there, when confined to that nomenclature, would amount to no more, in the period under review, than 398 (viz. 153 in 1864, 98 in 1865, and 147 in 1866,) instead of so many as 2,628 as to be gathered from the Madras Crime Returns (viz. 939, 568, and 1,121 in each of those years,) which would fail faithfully to convey the state of that crime in a territory so much the home of professional robbers as Madras is, who seldom used lighted torches, except led to do so by the nature of the enterprise; and would fail too, to give to the crime the signification declared by law to belong to "dacoitie" when committed by five or more persons, and which included *every* such act of predation within that declared definition, without class distinctions in respect to the persons who committed it. The same might be remarked of Bengal, where there are also habitual gang robbers who do not use lighted torches except on occasions. I should point out, moreover, that the Law provides for the punishment of persons proved to have "belonged" to *any* gang of dacoits (or of thugs,) as comprehended within that legal interpretation "dacoitie," and pays no heed to the refinements which would seem to be now advocated. "If you want *dacoitie*, go to the upper Provinces," has been the observation in the jurisdiction pointed to, as though Madras were an Utopia in that regard! ¹

¹ P.S.—On this subject, in the Report eventually sent in, I stated from these commonplace notes, that the particular class of

Dacoities
in Nine
Adminis-
trations.

I further here note that the statements as yet prepared, exhibit the following number of dacoities

robbers alluded to, carried on their mode of committing robbery, to a perfection which excluded any necessity for their lighting any torches at all, except they should be resisted or be unable (which was seldom,) to carry out their design of noiseless depredation—"the masterpiece of their art"—without converting it into one of open demonstration and violence: "I allude to the dacoits who, known to the Thuggee Department as *Korvees-Khaikarees*, are, in Madras and Mysore, otherwise variously called, but who all are, I believe, one and the same people. The same might be said of Bengal and other Provinces. Not that Bengal is infested by the same class of depredators, except I should eventually be able to declare the *Dômes* or *Dômras* to be identical with the Khaikarees, whom they resemble in every particular except in the use of tobacco (*vide* p. 73,)—but there are in Bengal, habitual robbers who do not use lighted torches. But however all this may be, a consideration of the *old* law would be useful to the question. It provided (Act XXIV. of 1843,) that whereas it had been considered necessary to adopt more stringent measures for the conviction of dacoits who belonged to certain tribes, systematically employed in carrying on their lawless pursuits in different parts of the country, and to extend certain laws for the prevention of thuggee, to persons concerned in the perpetration of dacoities, it was enacted, that *whosoever* should be proved to have belonged to *any* gang of dacoits, shall be punished with transportation for life, etc. Now the *new* law (the Indian Penal Code,) embraces all these provisions, and defines moreover the different grades of punishment to the different degrees of the offence of 'dacoities.' The comprehensive nature of the term *dacoities* thus becomes very plain." And in another part of the same Report, I submitted on this latter subject: "Thus, therefore, the wisdom of the Legislature, which recognizes every act of open depredation by five or more persons, under the common designation of 'dacoities,' and is not biassed by any nice distinctions such as are often advocated, but which, where *predation* has taken place, looks upon the perpetrators to be equally offenders, whatever their mode or manner of committing it, may not, I think, be questioned, or its reasonable decision on the subject, with any advantage be disturbed or meddled with, in the preparation of statements of the nature under report, however 'technical' the definition assigned by it to the crime of dacoities, may by some be declared to be, of which these papers afford many instances." (*Colonel Hervey's Report to the Home Office, No. 344, 30th April 1868, paragraph 7.*)

in the *nine* administrations of India, (for of Burmah I have no cognizance,) in the period indicated :—

	Cases.	Population (round numbers)	Millions.
Bengal	2578	40 $\frac{1}{4}$	
North-Western Provinces	190	30	
Oudh	103	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Punjab	62	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Central Provinces .	92	9	
Madras	2628	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Bombay	357	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Mysore	279	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Berar	252	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	<hr/> Total 6541	<hr/> * Total 153 $\frac{3}{4}$	

* P.S.—
This was
the con-
ceived
Popula-
tion
before the
Census of
it was
taken.

And that they exhibit also, that in the total number of 6541 cases, property to the extent of 21,32,706 $\frac{1}{4}$ rupees exchanged hands, of which no more than an eleventh part was recovered; further, that 228 persons were killed in them and 1317 wounded, all on one side too, and *not on that of the enemy*—(a rare return when compared to that of any modern Indian battlefield!) and lastly, that of the 30,520 persons arrested, as the result of *local police action* more or less in these cases, a *third* only were convicted, for I have been unable to gather in how many of the cases.

Memo.—I do not in these notices mention the *area* or extent of each police jurisdiction, by which to compare the different administrations one with another, because it may be conceived how unsafe any data on the basis of “cases to area” might prove to be, since it could happen that more crime should take place in a large area with a limited

population, than in a small area with a great population ; but it might, in respect of *area*, be stated of the comparative condition of *Bengal* and *Madras* in this particular of “dacoitie” (*vide* p. 87,) that while there appeared no great difference in that crime in the former province in the two leading years of the period under inquiry, (1864, 1865,) and a very noticeable increase only in the latest year of the series, 1866 (during which a sore famine prevailed and dacoitie rose in proportion,) *Madras*, although both in area and population no higher than *two-thirds* of those pertaining to *Bengal*, on the other hand showed a number of cases in the leading year (1864,) not very noticeably short of the number which occurred in the famine year, while in *Bengal* the difference in the number of cases between those two years (1864 and 1866,) was very great, as might be placed prominently to view by the following little table :—²

Years.					Bengal.	Madras.
					Cases.	Cases.
1864	.	.	.	.	424	939
1865	.	.	.	.	495	568
1866	.	.	.	.	1659	1121
Total					2578	2628

² P.S.—The following is quoted from what was eventually submitted on the subject in my forwarding letter to the Government

11th June.—Blair reports the death at Aboo, on the 7th, of his important prisoner *Kishen Sing*, of India in the Home Department, in the following year, No. 344, dated Delhi, 30th April 1868 :—

Reported
Death, at
Aboo, of
Dacoit
Kishen
Sing.

“If therefore the number of cases in Bengal during year of Famine (1866,) so greatly exceeded the number in the two preceding years, how account for the comparatively small difference in the number of cases for the similar years in Madras—or how account for Madras, with a considerably smaller area and population than Bengal, possessing a *larger* number of cases than it in the first two years of the series, and almost as great a number in the famine year?

“Bearing in mind that the Famine raged (as I believe,) in a far more contracted space, or at any rate, in a milder form, in Madras than in Bengal, it is to be noticed that crime *increased* in Madras in a greater ratio—or in other words, that while the difference in cases of dacoitie between the famine year and the two preceding years, was in Bengal very great, showing that to famine was to be attributed the excess, in *Madras* there was not that great increase caused by famine which might have been expected, if to famine was mainly to be attributed the cause of so much dacoitie. . . . If this should be so, it may perhaps be ascribed to accidental causes only, that the crime should in the middle year of the series (1865,) have comparatively been so low in Madras as 568 cases (a number which nevertheless far exceeds that in any other Province in any year of the series except Bengal in the one single year of the famine,) and not to any *operating* cause, that in the famine year it should have exceeded so little as by 182 cases only (1121—939,) the number in the other preceding quiet year (1864,) other than that perhaps there was a viciousness in the people by whom generally the crime was perpetrated, or in the particular individuals by whom perhaps a great number of the cases were committed, *to deter whom from which no sufficient example had been made*—or that they found a facility for perpetrating the crime in Madras, which was not presented to dacoits in other parts of India; and perhaps the presence in Madras territory of a numerous people, who, notwithstanding their various designations, belong to one and the same stock and may be recognized under a common denomination, *their common occupation being to commit dacoitie and gang-burglary*, may account for the crime. I here again allude to the great robber confederacy, who, known to this Department as *Khaikarees* and *Korvees* (*vide* p. 347, footnote 348, 350, vol. i., and p. 20 and 73, vol. ii.,) are in Madras variously

the same who was arrested at Ajmere on information treacherously given by the man *Chouthmull*, of his trying to cheat the opium Customs (*vide* pp. 181 to 183, and 195, vol. i.) Blair had charge of his case. We had several dacoities against him, and should have been able to show, moreover, that it was he who, joined by Motee Sing Meena and others, carried out the bold plan of rescuing Ward's four prisoners, at Jalnah last November, as already described (*vide* p. 163, vol. i.)^a He and Motee Sing Meena were both previously in our custody at Akolah in Berar, in charge at that period of Captain Davies, my extra assistant in that direction (*vide* Journal for 1864.) Davies had irregularly, and without waiting for orders, released Motee Sing (the sometime associate of the two police constables Jeewun Sing and Chouthmull—*vide* p. 75, vol. ii.;) and no sooner did this happen than Kishen Sing got freed too!

We were at the races again to-day. The lad rode his pony "Jim Crow" against some

designated" (here their several local names were given.) "They are the same people, by a small gang of whom *Mr. Ralph Horsley*, of the Madras Civil Service, was murdered in his bungalow at Bellary, on the night of the 4th July 1856, when a magistrate of that district, as submitted by me in previous reports in the Foreign Department. Their existence throughout Madras as professional depredators was specially reported by me to the Madras Government in September 1859, and it will be perceived that they were not only lately pointed to by the neighbouring Mysore authorities (*vide* Colar, in Mysore, in the Statistical Statements for 1865,) but that their excesses were in a measure even admitted in the Madras Crime Returns for 1864 and 1866. As reported by me on previous occasions, they also exist throughout Mysore itself, and I would refer to some remarks in support thereof under Coorg, in the similar Statement for 1866."

^a *Vide* p. 29, vol. i.

Arab galloways, so only came in third. His racing soubriquet is "young Paul," my own on like occasions having been "Captain Paul." For in those old days it was to have a black mark against you to be openly known to keep race-horses, and an *incognito* became consequently a practice.

12th June.—It had been ruled, when wider scope was given to the Thuggee Department in Native Territory, that the several rulers should contribute towards the maintenance of the establishments so employed. To be sure a very small sum was fixed upon—14,000 rupees per annum only—proportionately divided among the three groups of Native States, namely, the Nizam, and the States of Central India, and of Rajpootanah. The measure was very distasteful, however, to the several chiefs, and *Scindiah*, the Ruler of Gwalior, complained of it in person to the Viceroy at Calcutta, although his share of the payment was no more than 200 rupees per mensem. Both he and *Holkur*, the Indore Chieftain, urged that their own police arrangements would suffice to meet the evil to suppress which the extraneous aid of the special Thuggee Department had been called in. But Colonel Meade, the Governor-General's Agent at Indore, represented that its withdrawal "would be most detrimental to the general peace of the country." The Government of India upon this, countermanded payment of the contribution, as "not worth the ill-feeling which the measure had excited." But no sooner had this been conceded, than the other equally dis-

Contribu-
tion from
Native
States
counter-
manded.

Compensation for
Mail Rob-
beries in
Native
States
intro-
duced.

relished measure was put into force, that every Native State in which the mail of the British Government was plundered, should pay a compensation equivalent to the value of the property robbed. The several chieftains consider that this unexpected declaration nullifies the concession vouchsafed in the other matter. I have already noted upon this subject (pp. 134 to 137, 248, 392, vol. i., and pp. 43, 44 and 45, vol. ii.) Scindiah has been the stoutest in remonstrating against the obnoxious rule. He declared it was in effect to class him, whose police arrangements had been admittedly very good, with those other rulers who had organized no police at all or worth the name, nor had introduced any of the reforms he had been commended for ; and he still maintains his objections, although aware that so far from any appropriation of them, the amercements would be collected into a reserve fund for the purpose of distribution among the widows and families of the employés killed in such acts of plunder, or to those who should be crippled or disabled thereby. He was aware too, that the robbed parties would not be admitted to compensation from the fund, for their evasion in sending articles for despatch which were forbidden by the Post Office rules, as proved by the robbery of them (*vide* footnote p. 45.) Dislike to the measure exists nevertheless. Scindiah will not allow himself to be smoothed down, although informed in reply to his remonstrance, that "instead of making the comparative excellence of police arrangements a basis

on which to claim exemption from the operation of the rules, His Highness should rather regard this circumstance as a guarantee of the rarity with which they will affect his State, and strive by further measures of amelioration, to reduce their chances of touching him to a minimum." This by way of a sop, I suppose! The *Times of India* has now an article on the subject. It says that the measure "has no doubt been deprived of its sting" by the above, as it would seem to have been adopted "by way of indirect compulsion to induce Durbars to organize a complete police force"; and that their complaints have been made use of by the Government of India, "in order to commend the chiefs who have paid most attention to their police":—"The remonstrances of princes of this class, prompted in many cases by a genuine sense of political dignity, have been met by an implied assurance" that (as intimated by the Bombay Government to the Rao of Cutch, another dissentient ruler,) isolated instances of the plunder of mails in their territories, "would not be considered cause for the strict enforcement of the rules, which were of a provision for the interference of Government in States where systematic disorder imperils the passage of Her Majesty's mails."

Objections by Native Rulers.

The editor observes of this, while admitting in regard to the other dissatisfied Ruler that "the Viceroy does his best to speak the testy Scindiah fair," that "this discretionary distinction is one which it will not be very easy to maintain

Editorial on the Subject.

in practice, and one which may give rise to odious comparisons. We have said little as to the manifest impolicy of subjecting the sovereigns of our largest Native States, like the Nizam and representatives of the most ancient dynasties of Rajpootanah, to the same stern treatment which might be considered needful in the case of some upstart Rajah with a pedigree only a century old, or some half-reclaimed hill Thákoor. The risk of giving mortal offence, in half a dozen cases that might be named, would, we think, to a wise politician, seem utterly incommensurate with, whatever practical advantage may be gained by proclaiming these compensation rules throughout the rest of India." It might certainly be advanced in defence of the measure, that it was sure to effect its purpose, like that which checked the Saxon guerillas by making responsible the whole "hundred" in which any murdered Norman had been found (*vide* p. 332)—"but our contention is" (the paper goes on,) "that the end might be better gained by means more suited to the present condition of our Indian Empire; and this regulation, which has held the threat of fine and mulct over the tributary svoereign princes of India, has been regarded"—it further observed—as a dictatorial policy"; then followed something too *ex-cathedrá*, which I omit to quote—but the article proceeds more reasonably to remark, that if the rule had been greatly tempered in the application, it was still needful, it urged, to allude to the effect of it on the sensitiveness of the chiefs and princes

against whom it was levelled ; and if further pleaded in its defence that it was in accordance with ancient usage for Native States to compensate travellers who were robbed and maltreated in passing through their dominions, that the principle embodied in it might be said to have only systematized and fixed a custom that had been acted upon from time immemorial, and that the Government of India in issuing it was consequently only applying to an imperial purpose a well-established and accepted municipal law,—the reply was, “that the analogy was not, in the estimation of the quoted journal, nearly complete enough to justify this imperious enactment” :—“For a State voluntarily to compensate an individual traveller, or a small party of merchants who may have suffered injury because of neglect on the part of the State of ordinary public duty, is a very different thing from the chief of the Durbur being called upon by the Paramount Power to repay the value of the property which some desperate outlaws have seized from the tempting treasures unlawfully carried in an undefended mail cart or *dák gháree*.”—However all this, anything that will serve to lessen the number of acts of plunder in Native States, serves us—but not if by it Native Rulers are led to growl and grow lukewarm in the cause.

I write congratulating Ranken on his promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel in the Madras Staff Corp.

13th June.—I have mentioned of the habits of Mooltani
Dacoits.

Mooltani
Dacoits.

the tribe of dacoits called *Mooltánees*, that they follow up convoys of piece goods, sugar, opium, etc., laden upon carts (*vide* p. 336.) Baroda and Cambay have been from old their haunts. From there they sally on their distant expeditions, and to there do they retreat after a successful season. Khunjur dacoits, their congeners, also often find safety in that direction under the guise of being *Bhát mendicants* and *Guzerattee Dhombárees*. Mooltánee plunderers, so much in the habit of *dacoiting* convoys of opium and other merchandise in Khandeish, come mostly from Baroda territory, and although the Guicowar assumes an attitude of lofty independence, and our Resident at his Court has stiffly informed me that his office "was not in the habit of rendering any crime returns to any office," I have nevertheless taken that important Native State to be certainly included in and not specially *excluded* from the system of general supervision with which my office has been charged, or from the scope of the "resolution" which constituted *all* Political Officers in Native States to be "Superintendents for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoitie" *in communication with myself*; Guzerat generally, and Baroda therein more particularly, presenting a safe thoroughfare to plunderers from the Upper Native States, and the home or the refuge of those who depredate in the central regions of India. I have therefore directed a command party to be sent with approvers down to Guzerat and Baroda.⁴

⁴ P.S.—This resulted in the arrest of six registered Mooltanee

In a pony match this afternoon at Anandale between "Jim Crow" and another, Owners up, the former came in the winner—great rejoicing!

14th June.—Respecting the *Khunjurs* as dacoits, I mentioned at an earlier date of this Journal (*vide* p. 435, vol. i.,) the account given to me by a man of the tribe named *Himtya*, of his earliest recollections, how when wandering about in a forest in the outskirt of which a gang of his people had encamped on an expedition of dacoitie, and he and his little playmate sister had fallen asleep in it, she was carried off by a tiger, etc. In looking over this man's subsequent career, I come upon the following narration by him of one of his own many acts of plunder. It is an old case, and I only mention it here in connection with our continued proceedings against the same people of the present generation, repeating it from my own report of it. *Himtya* had become the right-hand man of a celebrated *Jemadárnee* of the tribe named *Tumbólin*. On her husband's execution some time before, for a dacoitie at *Pudéchoor* in Madras territory, she was acclaimed by his

Khunjurs:
Story of
the Plun-
der of the
Military
Treasure
Chest at
Shola-
pore.

dacoits and a fugitive approver, in the *Kairah* district near Cambay; of six other criminals of the same tribe, and another escaped approver in *Baroda*; also in the capture of a gang of thirteen *Khunjur* dacoits and yet another escaped approver, in the adjacent *Punch Meháls* (*Baroda* territory,) who had doubled there from *Baroda* itself. This re-captured approver (by name *Mulla*,) had run away from the Thuggee Police at *Indore* in 1864. Seven of the latter gang were convicted, of whom one subsequently confessed to and recounted eighteen acts of dacoitie in different parts of the country.

followers to take his place as their leader, and she frequently did conduct them accordingly to the point of attack, although she did not personally join in the affray itself, but managed all the concerns of the gang, acquainted herself with all the necessary information of suitable places to plunder, and settled every preliminary, leaving the actual conflict to the leadership of her chosen captain, the man *Himtya* ; and this intrepid lady became so notorious for her successful enterprises, that a reward of 1000 rupees was proclaimed for her arrest. But she was never captured, and lived to an old age, dying at last among her own people in their retreat in the fastnesses of the Oudh Terae. The dacoitie I am about to relate was a remarkable one. It was one of many similar daring attacks upon treasure even when under the escort of military guards of the line, and of which I am able to narrate several. This one, cursorily alluded to before (*vide* p. 411, vol. i.,) happened in this wise. This class of dacoits invariably commit gang robbery at nightfall, just about lamp-lighting time, at which listless period of an Indian day, cattle are being sluggishly driven into the towns and villages from the open country, and tired-out toilers of various pursuits are returning to their homes, or village accountants and the clerks of native bankers particularly, are engaged in casting up in their *wuhees* or ledgers the transactions of the day, taken from the paper slips in which they had *itemed* them ; and at which hour too, night watches are set in military cantonments, sentries

doubled where necessary, and their hitherto piled arms outside, are removed by the several guards to within their respective guard-rooms. This critical hour is particularly chosen too, by these dacoits, that they may have the whole night before them for escaping to their distant rendezvous, and the whole of the following day in which to get farther on without halting, except for a hasty meal, towards their remote original starting-point, often a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles distant from the scene of the just perpetrated outrage. The tribe had often successfully committed dacoitie in the contiguous Southern Mahratta country—so low down even as Goa in Portuguese territory—coming down for the purpose from their haunts in far Hindostan; and on the present occasion *Tumbôlin* had brought her gang down from near Indore in Central India. For in those days, and indeed very much even at this date, such people were able to travel over the vast unsupervised plains and crossways of the peninsula, without attracting particular notice; or if noticed, to be shunned only by the wary, and seldom successfully avoided even by these, as my many tales of violent crime have shown.

Coming down in this way in quest of booty, *Tumbôlin* planted her *tânda* or encampment in the neighbourhood of *Nuldroog*, some fifteen miles distant from the military cantonments of Sholapore. The spot was a wild one, and being situated within the frontier of the Native Government of

the Nizam of Hyderabad, it presented an additional sense of security as being safer still from all local interference. She next proceeded to *Sholapore* itself to look about her, whether in the cantonments or in the native town, accompanied by two of her men and by a couple of women, assuming to be *Dhombárees*, a class of showpeople and singing mendicants from Guzerat (*vide* p. 100,) a device by which they not only obtain alms, but access to such places as seem desirable to their ends. In the Sholapore cantonments, then, they went about among the bungalows of the *Sahib-lôgue*, or officers of the station, singing various ballads, particularly that favourite one among the European community, which quaintly describes, in measured rhythm and pretty jingle, the strange ways, according to native conception, of the remarkable "Topee-wállahs" or *hat and bonnet-wearing folk*, as Europeans in India are often called, quite as frequently as "Ingleez" or "Feringhee" (Frank or foreigner,) and "Gôra-lôgue" or fair folk, the refrain of which lay was "*Arè! Tôpee-wáláh (Oh my! what Topee-waláhs!)*", each preceding verse describing some wonderful tale of them, whether of love, war, or frolic, or prowess in shikár exploits, one particular verse recounting, much to the amusement of the European listener, how a certain Sahib "deserted his children, set fire to his house, and fled with somebody's wife." Beguiling the different *Sáhib and Mêm Lôgue* in this manner, and with feats as acrobats and posture-masters, the crafty lot at

length presented themselves in the compound of the bungalow of the Brigadier himself who commanded the troops of the station, General Brooke, a well-known officer of the Bombay Army of repute for smartness and dash, in front of whose dwelling paced a sentinel from his or the "Commanding Officer's Guard;" and across the hedge separating which from the adjoining compound, the robber scouts perceived another sentry on duty from a stronger Guard of Infantry Sepoys there also posted. This other *compound* they also presently reconnoitred under the same pretences. They perceived the guard there to be over a *Treasure tumbril*, and learnt that the bungalow close by it was the dwelling of the Paymaster himself of the Field Force. Outside of the cantonments they were met by the man *Himtya*, who, with two or three others, had similarly visited the town and fort of Sholapore, situated within the former of which he had marked down the house of a wealthy tobacconist, who was also a Sahoocar, which might, he thought, be by-and-by attempted. On their return that night to their *tánda*, Himtya discussed with the Jemadárnee the chances in favour of either enterprise—the said Sahoocar's securely-built *kôthi* or residence and place of business inside of the town, or the more dangerous one of an attack upon the military treasure chest of the Sahib-lôgue within the cantonments. Both decided upon the *latter* and more daring attempt, as adding *éclat* to the prestige of the tribe and to the Jemadarnee's own renown. So both localities were

still further to be spied—the exact spot of the strong room of the man of wealth to be discovered, and the approaches to it through the crowded town examined, on the one hand, and the ways usual at nightfall of the military cantonment to be mastered, the means of escape through the broken ground in its neighbourhood, and how successfully to baffle pursuit through it by cavalry, to be thoroughly explored on the other. Tumbôlin, satisfied from her own personal scrutiny of the feasibility of the latter undertaking, commissioned her prime henchman, *Himtya*, to arrange further steps in respect to it, while she personally should acquaint herself in like manner with what it was necessary to learn and make sure of for the other or alternative enterprise, now or hereafter. She did so accordingly within the next few days, not only by a minute survey of the means of access to and escape from the marked down dwelling, situated as it was within the walled city, but, by the artifice of presenting at the “dookan,” or counter, so here to call it, located within the Sahoocar’s stronghold, some coinage of a remote currency for exchange into the current money of the locality, she was even able to mark down the recess or strong room in the same corridor, wherein the rich man’s wealth was deposited. The clever process by which this is accomplished by this particular class of robbers, described already in my previous journals, need not be here detailed—for that house was not robbed on this particular occasion, although it was at a subsequent period by a distinct gang of the

same tribe, upon information independently acquired by its Naique (another notorious leader named *Grassia*, *vide* p. 197, vol. ii.,) on which latter occasion three persons of the house were killed by the robbers, and *six* wounded, the dacoits escaping with, however, an indifferent booty. They numbered twenty-seven men on that subsequent occasion, all of whom fell into our custody at different periods, *Grassia* becoming one of my best approvers. He died of cholera while out with an arresting party of the Thuggee Police. I will therefore only go on with the exploit which was carried out by the present gang and boldly achieved, although with disappointing results.

The troops posted at Sholapore were composed of a regiment of regular native cavalry, two corps of native infantry, and a troop of European horse artillery, all of the Bombay Army, under the command, as I have said, of a Brigadier. The Civil Sessions Judge of the jurisdiction, resided at a spot beyond the town in the neighbourhood of the local criminal jail, and the Collector and Magistrate of the district, and his several assistants and other officials of the Bombay Civil Service, occupied bungalows, whether on sufferance within the cantonments, or close within the neighbourhood thereof; and the whole formed a numerous and compact body of residents in full development of a civil and military station in India—of ladies and gentlemen (civilians,) their children, ayahs, servants and official attendants, and of military officers and their wives, their respective

troops, and all the adjuncts and circumstances of an important military command.

Himtya duly possessed himself with all the information necessary to the meditated attack, and thereupon, to allay suspicion, their *tánda* or encampment was moved to a more distant point, and a *tippun* or rendezvous, appointed at a spot conveniently near enough to the point of attack for the different members of the gang to zig-zag to it after flight, and where a couple of men and two or three women should await them with ponies provided with *korcheens* or saddle-bags for the expected booty.

Captain R. Lewis, of the 22nd Bombay Native Infantry, was the military Paymaster at Sholapore at this period, and he and three or four other officers (Captain Poole of the 1st Bombay Cavalry, Captain Morris of the 9th Bombay Native Infantry, author of the well-known Indian hunting songs, "The Snaffle, Spur, and Spear," and "The Boar, the mighty Boar;" and another officer,) had just returned from a day's sport in the open country, and were awaiting some refreshments in the verandah of his bungalow, fronting which, at a little distance, stood the treasure tumbril and the guard-room appertaining to the charge of it, the kitchen being a little way hard by. The man Himtya had been there the previous afternoon, not only to take a last look at the premises, but to fix upon a spot in some broken ground not far outside of them, where at evening to bury or conceal the bamboo hafts of the spears of the

gang in expectancy of the planned attack—and he had witnessed the Havildars on the Paymaster's establishment, depositing all the money-bags within the *right-hand* one of the two compartments of which the tumbril was composed. The tired officers were still seated in the verandah—the short twilight had ceased—the guard over the treasure had just relieved its sentries, and had posted double sentinels immediately over the tumbril itself, a precaution which was to last throughout the night, and the rest of the Sepoys of the guard had retired into the guard-room, taking their arms with them. The dacoits, who had by now taken out their bamboos from where they had been hidden, and fixed spear-heads on to them, had on their part—their loins tightly girded, and shoes secured behind their waist-cloths—stealthily approached the entrance into the Paymaster's compound, crouching as they went along under cover of the high cactus or prickly pear hedge by which this and the other several local premises were surrounded. No sooner they perceived that the Sepoys of the guard had retired into their guard-room, than the man Himtya, very composedly stepped forward and *shut them up within it*, by quietly putting up the chain fastening of the door to the hasp above it, two other dacoits simultaneously rushed in and ruthlessly speared both sentinels, while another boldly mounted the tumbril, and breaking off the heavy padlock with a blow from an axe, quickly laid open *the right-hand compartment of it*. The

alarm having been raised, the sentinel at the Brigadier's quarters fired through the dividing hedge upon the robbers. At this moment a servant conveying from the kitchen the tray of the called-for refreshments, had a blow aimed at him—it missed, the spear passing between his legs—and the affrighted man fled headlong to the bungalow, his tray and its contents cast away upon the ground. Captain Lewis ("Bob Lewis") and his friends, now only became aware of the presence of robbers, and that the treasure tumbril was under attack! They hastened out. The barrels of their guns happened to have been discharged and were empty, except one loaded with small shot. The possessor of this weapon promptly fired it off at the dacoits, and at once brought down one of their number. And now, too, the plunderers had discovered that they had broken into the *wrong* compartment—the correct one inasmuch as they had supposed—but it had happened, by the merest chance, and without any intention of precaution, that the money-bags had been removed from it that very forenoon, prior to the Paymaster proceeding on *shikár*, and been placed in the other or *left-hand* one! And now, too, the robbers were themselves, in their turn, assailed, "*and that, too, by saheb-lôgue*" (as the man Himtya expressed it to me,) and one of their own number besides, been shot! So all things seemed adverse to them, and rapid flight was only left them—bugle and trumpet-notes reverberating through the night air, and the call to arms and assembly sounded! They there-

upon at once decamped, lifting their disabled comrade away with them—but to expedite their escape, and because he was hopelessly wounded, they presently laid the man down in the broken ground through which they fled, and, picking up their look-outs posted at their *tippun* or meeting-place, they forthwith hastened on, the women in turn astride the ponies. By midnight they had rejoined their *tándah*. All was ready there to go on with them, and all went on accordingly, Tumbôlin mounted on her favourite piebald pony. They travelled the rest of the night and all next day, only halting for a hasty meal for man and beast, and then onwards again until they had reached far, far beyond the Kistna, and felt they were secure from pursuit or detection. Meanwhile there had been great commotion in the cantonments the bold robbers had visited. Vedettes and patrols of cavalry were sent out scouring the country for miles in different directions, while the rest of the troops stood to their arms! At morning the wounded dacoit was found and brought in. He would disclose nothing, and died during the day, true to his associates to his latest breath.

The Brigadier reported the following day to Army Head-quarters, that his camp had been attacked “by a numerous and well-organized banditti,” and that he had made every disposition “to repel their renewed attack expected that night!” In point of fact, the gang that had created this stir and alarm, *numbered no more than sixteen persons!*

The fifteen survivors fell into our hands, all sooner or later, and were disposed of.

A
Marriage
Procession
despoiled
within the
City of
Poona.

Ten years later Tumbolin's gang appeared, on dacoity bent, in the Poona district. The Foujdar or head of the City Police of Poona, was being married, and on the evening of the ceremony the whole of the City Police were attending the marriage procession in another part of the crowded city. Suddenly, at nightfall, the strong dwelling or *kôti* of a rich Marwáree merchant situated inside of it, was attacked by persons shouting intimidation, bearing flaming torches, and armed with spears and axes. They broke into the Marwáree's strong room and plundered it of a booty valued at 5000 rupees. But as they were escaping through the town, two of their number were captured. One of these was the man *Himtya himself*. It was his last robbery. He was convicted, while his companion was acquitted from his declaring "that he was a poor labourer who happened to be passing by the scene of the dacoitie, when he was knocked down by one of the robbers, and that when these had escaped, he was seized by the police as though he had been one of them." This latter affair was happily unattended with bloodshed. The custody of Himtya was claimed by myself, and it was then that he made to me all his revelations. He became a very valuable approver and assisted me in bringing many of the tribe to justice.⁵

⁵ P.S.—One of the dacoities disclosed in the course of the operations that followed on these revelations, was a similar daring exploit at *Hump-ságur* on the opposite bank of the *Tumboodra*

15th June, Saturday.—Simlah being situated within the limits of the Punjab Government, it would surely be an ungracious act for the departments of the Supreme Government temporarily residing at Simlah, not to follow the excellent example set by the Punjab, in granting a half-holiday occasionally of a Saturday to its different establishments ! Our clerks, Native and European, would certainly so regard it on beholding their fellow scribes of the local Government, “abounding in beneficence, cherisher of the poor,” excused office attendance, and themselves not so indulged ! But holiday or no holiday, certainly a large number of us of the Supreme Government, who are up here with our several offices, gathered this afternoon at a monster picnic given by General and Mrs. Brind on the wooded hill below Elysium, where stands a scrubby temple dedicated by the hillmen to their “Hunnoomán.” The proximity of the hallowed spot was no hindrance to the enjoyment of the occasion, and *desipere in loco* was exactly the course observed, to which the abundance provided for the numerous guests contributed no little ; and to those who liked, the inviting

river on the *Canara* frontier, and it is identical with that with which “*Seeta*,” one of the late Colonel Meadows Taylor’s beautiful Indian novels opens, as he admitted to me, the scene of it and the names of the principal actors concerned being disguised, but not the details. Colonel Taylor, from his position at Shorapoor-Bedur, co-operated with myself, acting from the Bombay side, in putting a stop to the depredations of this particular tribe in those southern regions, as related in that able officer’s highly interesting “*Story of my Life*.”

solitudes round about, offered no obstacles to their wandering about them primevally :

“ To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Nessra's hair.”

Then at night I was a guest at a dinner party given by our socially popular Minister of Finance. This second festivity concluded with singing as in the old mess table times. I suppose out of the peculiar association, I was called upon to sing *Dick Turpin*. I was sorry ; but Phœbus had not

“ taught me how to sing,
How to tune the vocal string.”

16th June, Sunday.—To church, to listen to the preaching of our new chaplain, Mr. Baly, who might, not intrusively, be compared with the most eloquent of Temple preachers.

Objections to
our claim-
ing Pri-
soners
from
Native
Jails.

17th June.—Employed in drafting a reference from the Agent Governor-General for Rajpootanah, on the request of a Political Agent, that we should cease to apply for the custody of prisoners in the jails of Native Courts, claimed by our approvers as their associates in crime (*vide* p. 62, vol. ii.) Of course I object to forego this advantage. I am bound, for the purposes of our special duties, to avail myself whenever I am able of local police action, so fitful as it is, against professional marauders, and to claim from among the persons arrested, those who occasionally happen to be in our lists of registered criminals, and of whose criminality there is evidence on record. If able to trace them to within prison walls, why not be permitted to look for

them there? It was the action of my predecessor, and I have not seen any injustice, but the contrary, to proceed from it.

I come upon some atrocious acts of poisoning in the Statements of that crime under preparation in continuation of the series of Dacoitie Returns for the past three years, now nearly completed, but not yet sent up. The devices resorted to in this species of Thuggee are many—a particular one whereof is the pretence of being marriage agents—a sort of peripatetic “Matrimonial News” mongers as it were.

Poisoners
disguised
as Mar-
riage
Agents.

A woman appeared at a house and claimed relationship with the inmates, declaring she had come to talk over a contemplated marriage. The family consisted of a man, his father, wife, and two daughters. The woman being invited to stay for some food, wheaten cakes were made ready and some vegetables placed on the fire, for flavouring which the eldest child, a girl of eleven years of age, occupied herself in grinding some condiments, while the stranger went on discussing the pretended family matter. She presently proposed to help the girl in what she was doing, and being suffered to do so, the latter after a time got up and accompanied her mother on some errand outside, leaving the stranger to be entertained, when the meal should be ready, by the other members of the family at that moment occupied in another part of the dwelling. When the food was laid out, the owner of the house and his old father both partook of it, but the other daughter

“thinking it tasted nasty,” spat it out, and getting up, went away. The woman excused herself with some *chowpattee* or bread-cake only. Both men became insensible, and in the confusion consequent on the wife and other daughter, on their return home, finding them in that condition, and in their endeavours to bring them round, the stranger managed to get clear away with the ornaments she had taken from the persons of the two men. They died from the effects of the poison which the woman had mixed in the spices with which the food was flavoured.

It was supposed that this method of committing the crime—that is, by assuming to be marriage agents—had been forsaken, from the example of the execution of the noted criminal named *Mootasuddee*, mentioned before, who, under that pretence, had inveigled and murdered nineteen persons after the same manner (*vide* p. 261, vol. i.) That desirable result was chiefly due to Major McAndrew, at that time my assistant for the Punjab. The people were, as previously noticed, warned of the artifices the criminal and his accomplices resorted to, in enticing victims from their homes under the delusion of their contracting or settling marriage alliances through their agency, and every intelligence of their mode of procedure was disseminated. But of no avail—for here now was another case, after the same fashion, in addition to that other instance in the Rhôtuck district mentioned at an earlier date (*vide* p. 258, vol. i.) The practice was confined to no particular province, for there had been examples

of it lower down in India, and it was a special part of the procedure also to pretend (as in the instance just narrated,) to be even acquainted with the family of the selected victims, by which means to ingratiate themselves in their good graces. Thus, to quote an instance from my report of it, a woman would appear, footsore and weary, at a house the master of which was absent at labour in the fields, and his wife and daughter engaged in preparing his meal against his return at evening. The stranger would ask for water and to be allowed to rest there for a while. In the course of the conversation she would tell the girl she knew her aunt, "Bheemee," of whom she had previously, by some means, acquired information, or possibly had really met. This repeated by the girl to her mother, that aunt's sister—"Oh ! mother ! here is a poor woman, who says she knows aunt Bheemee !"—would naturally create some interest in the tired traveller. Soft-spoken, and seemingly really travel-worn, she would be permitted to stay a little longer and to lie down, on the understanding that she must go away before the absent husband's return, who, more wary, might chide the wife for her imprudent affability towards an absolute stranger. The good wife herself would presently have occasion to quit the room, generally the vestibule on the ground floor, leaving her daughter to attend to the meal on the fire ; and soon, too, the girl herself would go out into the back-yard to fetch firewood, or to attend to the calf tied up in it, and thus afford the looked-for opportunity for the appa-

Poisoners
pretend-
ing to
be ac-
quainted
with
Members
of the
Family.

rently slumbering stranger to drug the cooking food. She would raise her head on her elbow, look eagerly all round, listen, get up, run up to the fire, quickly mix up in the rice or other food under preparation upon it, the powder—the poison—she was already provided with, and as hastily return to her recumbent position upon the floor-mat or on the *ruzée* or quilt that had been placed for her to lie down upon. On the return of either mother or daughter, the woman would be still as if asleep; and by-and-by, towards evening, she would arise, thank her kind hostesses very warmly—“would be sure to tell ‘Bheemee’ about them, and how very, very kind they had been to her”—and depart, but only to lurk about in the vicinity. On the husband’s return home from his daily toil in the fields, or whatever his occupation, the family would tell him of the friendly visit, and all then partake of their evening repast; and in due time, the woman would stealthily come back, peep warily into the house, and, finding all quiet within it and the inmates indeed, prostrated on the floor in a state of insensibility—*of utter unconsciousness*—would rob their persons and the residence and hurriedly decamp, leaving not a trace of herself. The woman in this particular case was seventy years of age. “Three similar instances were (said my report of the occasion) proved against her. She was recognized by the inmates of the house, who fortunately had recovered, and on conviction she was, in consideration of her advanced years, sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment with labour suited to her sex and age.

The wicked old woman pleaded poverty, and offered to my assistant at Lucknow (Captain T. H. Chamberlain,) to become a Christian if spared the pain and disgrace of a trial ! ”

There is often an unwillingness on the part of the sufferers who recover, to come forward with evidence ; and (as I reported on the occasion, have often done so, and still continue to represent,) “ it is only when death has ensued that, generally, any reliance can be placed for a report of it being made at all, or the scene of the occurrence being traced.”

Unwill-
ingness to
give Evi-
dence in
Poisoning
Cases.

18th June.—“ Waterloo ” in all our minds.—All day at work at translations from the narratives of our approvers. Many of their tales of crime are startling, not only for atrocity but for frequency. Was late consequently in getting out for my usual walk round Jako, and so was back late for dinner—a solitary, almost benighted, pheasant, with a rushing sweep of his wings, perching on an oak in our grounds, overhanging the road, at the latest moment of the twilight as I returned.—Hugh accompanied his mother to the concluding concert of Madame Bishop’s series.

19th June.—In some of the poisoning cases in the period I am reviewing, sometimes the local police have been unaware of the occurrence, even when death has been the result ; and when at length it is heard of, there is no *corpus delicti* from lapse of time ; and although all the details are satisfactorily corroborated, the culprits escape conviction. There is at Jemálpore a hill, over the tunnel close to the railway station, called the

Failure in
Corrobor-
ation.

A
Brahmin
poisoned
at Jemál-
pore.

“Kunkurree Puhár” or stony hill. At a well at the foot of it, four poisoners, accompanied by a young Brahmin whom they had inveigled by the way, aged about twenty-five years, sat down to rest and refresh themselves. They made some sherbet both in their own and in the traveller’s brass *lotah* or drinking vessel. He drank the contents of his own vessel—they took care to confine themselves to what they had prepared in theirs. All then together clambered up to the top of the hill and sat down under a tamarind tree. There the traveller, who was only partially insensible, soon dropped off asleep. Thereupon one of the gang felt about him for his *hummeéánah*, a purse usually hidden about the waist; the traveller, still somewhat conscious, raised himself and seized the man by his hand. The latter upon this threw him backwards violently upon the rocky ground, another lifted up a great stone and dashed it upon his chest—blood flowed from the poor man’s nose and mouth, and he expired. The murderers obtained no more than *twelve and a half rupees*, found concealed round their victim’s waist, which, and the poor fellow’s *lotah* and a *ruzáee* or quilted coverlet, made of a red spotted stuff, they appropriated, and went away, leaving the dead body there on the open ground. Mr. Reily, whom I have mentioned as having been specially employed in these inquiries in Bengal in communication with myself (*vide* pp. 38, 42, and 450, vol. i.) unravell’d this case. Two men, concerned in another similar murder, had fallen into his custody. They

confessed, and among other cases mentioned this one also. They were separately taken on different dates, and each pointed out the same spot as that upon which the murder had been committed. In the house of another of the accomplices denounced by them, a *red spotted ruzdee* was found, of which he was unable to give a satisfactory account. On the fourth or remaining accomplice being traced and arrested, he admitted the murder. But, for the reasons already given, the case could not be sent up for trial; the police had not heard of the occurrence; no remains were discovered; there was no independent testimony to corroborate that of the approvers.

Went to a cricket match in the afternoon at Anandale, to see the lad play in the "Lights" ^{Cricket Match.} against the "Heavies." He was "not out" when the game ended.—Rain had for some time been threatening, and it fell heavily as the meeting broke up, wetting us all. I had walked down; and I returned in the same manner, by another way leading distantly round under Peterhoff, a steep, zig-zagging, and very picturesque ascent. I like this kind of exercise, but was very tired by the time I got back home. Fell in with Sir Henry Durand ^{Sir Henry Durand.} as he ascended the hill on horseback, with whom a long talk. He is always very affable, and to me speaks unreservedly of many things.

20th June.—A gang of Meena dacoits had lurked in the vicinity of Agra during the assemblage at that place of the many great chieftains who attended the Viceroy's late Durbár with their numer-

ous retinues, from different parts of the country. Their object was plunder (*vide* pp. 17 and 31, vol. i.,) but we had appointed approvers accompanied by Nujjees to be on the alert, moving about the crowded places and in the different distinct encampments by which the entire neighbourhood was filled, an arrangement which, with the precautions also taken by the local police, no doubt served to scare them away, both Captain James Blair, our assistant for Rajpootanah, and myself, being also present with our respective establishments at distant points of the great camp. But not before the robbers had managed, nevertheless, to obtain information of a large consignment of treasure consisting of *reals*, silver brick, coral beads, etc., which to the value of upwards of 41,500 rupees, had then recently been received at Agra by railway from some Mahájuns at Calcutta, for conveyance to a branch firm in the city of Jeypore, to where indeed the whole was presently forwarded, laden upon five camels under an escort of ten armed men. The robbers laid their plans accordingly and followed up the convoy. It had reached *Mohunpoora*, the last stage of the journey, in safety (28th November last,) and had alighted for the night in the bazaar, distant only about eight koss or fifteen miles from its destination. During the first watch of that night, that is, at about 10 p.m., the bivouac was approached by a band of twenty-two Meena dacoits, some on foot, others mounted upon camels, who, under the pretence that they were deputed by one *Futtehjee Rhatore*, a well-known Sirdar of

Treasure
Dacoitie
at Mohun-
poora.

the Jeypore Court, to examine what was under conveyance, impudently eased the convoy of 27,000 rupees of the remittance, and the men of the escort of their arms and personal belongings, and made off! Secret information has now been sent to me by some *Mookhbirs* or informers in the service of the local Durbar, that some Meenas recently arrested in Jeypore on suspicion (of which we had already heard,) really took part in the dacoitie adverted to, instigated to it by the said *Futtehjee Rhatore*, who now, they declared, molested them for telling against the arrested men, and had not only confiscated their property, but had even imprisoned their families. They urge me to act promptly, or that otherwise the prisoners, of whom there are twelve, would be released. The suspicion against *Futtehjee* and his undue influence in the palace, had already become known to me when lately travelling in Jeypore, and it is confirmed, moreover, in a note received to-day from Beynon, who writes "all the opposition possible is brought to work in his favour and to throw dust in my eyes." The names of two of the arrested Meenas, happen, too, to be in our registers as accomplices of approvers in three other recent acts of dacoitie, so I have little doubt of the correctness of the present information (*vide* pp. 31 to 33, vol. i.) *Futtehjee* commands a camel corps in His Highness's service, and those two men belong to it. I have claimed the custody of them both.

"*Mookhbirs*" are intelligencers—givers of *khurbur* or information, as their name implies—and

*Futtehjee
Rhatore.*

*Mookh-
birs.*

are commonly employed by native rulers on a system usual in Native States for working out crime. But, though we do not reject their information, knowing as we generally pretty well do, who they are and a great deal about them individually, we do not make use of such persons for the purposes of evidence against others, our more legitimate course being, only to act in that regard, upon *previously* recorded evidence formally given by duly constituted *approvers* such as are employed by us, every one of whom is a convicted dacoit or thug as the case might be, and against whom a sentence of death or transportation beyond seas, or of imprisonment, has been recorded, execution thereof being only suspended during performance of their compact of true and faithful service, and any dereliction therein subjecting them to forfeiture of such exemptions as a condition of their employment. "Approvers" are, moreover, under life-long custody—"Mookhbirs" are not so, but are persons independently employed at the pleasure of the local authorities. They generally nevertheless belong to the criminal classes—and their information, discreetly used, not infrequently leads to the detection of the culprits sought for, and, according to native practice, to their conviction.

Difference
between
a Mookh-
bir and an
"Approver."

Sungram
Sing.

21st June.—A man named *Sungram Sing* has long been notorious in the Jounpore and neighbouring district, as the enterprising headman of some banded *budmaashees* of the *condottiere* sort—a kind of swashbucklers who go about the country with rifles, guns and revolvers, swords and bludgeons,

frightening everyone and helping themselves to whatever they have a mind for—who have long been proclaimed as outlaws and a reward offered for the capture of their daring leader. Some police lately came across a small party of these rebels and exchanged shots with them, but the presence of *Sungram Sing* himself, served to keep off any closer contact. The horse upon which the native police sub-inspector rode, certainly received a bullet-wound of which the animal died—but the opportunity was lost and the outlaw has escaped. (P.S.—He was killed in another encounter in the following year.)

A great gathering at an “at home” this evening, held at Strawberry Hill, the residence of the popular Mr. and Mrs. N. T.

22nd June.—Khundwah, on the line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, is the station for Indore, one of the Government opium depôts. Remittances from Bombay for the purchase of opium at Indore, are, on arrival at Khundwah, laden upon carts and camels and taken on. On the occasion of a just repeated act of dacoitie in that direction, of date four days ago, the conveyance was a cart. The first stage of the journey from Khundwah had been completed and the consignment was being pushed on, when at a very early hour of the morning, the convoy was assailed a little beyond the village of Desgám short of the Nerbudda River, and robbed of a considerable sum of money. The robbers are stated to have been many. On the previous similar occasion at *Burwai*, on the same line of road, mentioned before (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.,) no escort was

Treasure
Dacoitie
at Desgam
near
Khund-
wah.

in attendance—but in the present case, upon the representations on the subject there was an “escort,” but, of a *single* foot constable only ! This was remarkable, considering the very great traffic upon that wild road, the valuable remittances that daily pass along it, and the thick jungle through which it lies. It was something to have gained attention to the requirement ; but police protection, if afforded at all, should be more effective. How could the present have been regarded as a “suitable escort” ? (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.)

Super-
abun-
dant
of
Officers in
the Staff
Corps.

A friend writes on the subject of the “*inundation*” of Field Officers in the three armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, as a consequence of the late Staff Corps and Amalgamation Rules (*vide* pp. 36 and 39 to 42 :) “In this amalgamation business, Government have shown themselves like the Romans, ‘without understanding.’ They demur about a few thousand rupees and then incur vast prospective liabilities. The Government of India know well what they are about, the measure was forced upon them by the *Secretary of State* contrary to the advice of his Council—and he carried out the views of the Cabinet. Unless Staff Corps promotion is granted, officers will grumble—and if *it is*, what is to be done with a dozen field officers in a single regiment ? A retiring scheme, by which many shall be induced to accept a reduced scale of pensions on earlier retirement, would be the obvious remedy.” (*Vide* pp. 36 to 42, and footnote of concession : officers were eventually allowed to retire on improved allowances.)

23rd June, Sunday.—We were exhorted to-day at church to give freely, liberally, and not to withhold. I remember a venerable Archdeacon preaching at the Cathedral at Bombay, telling the congregation of the difficulty met with in collecting the subscriptions promised in the written slips of paper often put into the offertory, his peon or chupprasse being generally sent away, he said, with *Peeché áô—Kül áô*—and even desired *J—ko jáô*,—"Come by-and-by," "Come to-morrow"—or, "Go to—" (a place for the wicked !)

The late
Arch-
deacon
Jeffrys.

24th June.—Daly writes that Scindiah now objects to the transfer to us of the two Bedowreah prisoners he lately had agreed to make over—"they are too anxious about their welfare to do this." I can understand this—they know too much:—but I am glad of it than otherwise, and have written saying so—"I should have feared their escape and foul play from their confederates" (*vide* p. 64, vol. ii.) Scindiah's marriage festivities under celebration at Gwalior, have hindered progress against the rebels in Bhind, the Soobah or Governor of the district having come away from there to attend the ceremony, as in duty bound.

25th June.—There is still trouble in *Tirhoot* (*vide* p. 450, vol. i.). We have a special report of a fresh act of dacoitie down there. A large gang of armed men provided with lighted torches, burst into a dwelling at Kalloa at midnight, and carried off a lot of property, wounding the owner of the house. The robberies in *Tirhoot*, *Chumpárun*, and other *Terae* districts, have, decidedly, indications of being

Dacoitie
in
Tirhoot.

the deed of practised dacoits. Budhucks are declared to be keeping quiet—but we know that many of them have habitation along that border (*vide* p. 355, vol. i.) Other plunderers infesting the same direction, are *Dósadhs*, *Gwálas*, and *Aheers*. The two latter classes are ostensibly herdsmen, but who, and *Dosádhs* also, often take service in our ranks, and make good soldiers too.

My
Office.

26th June.—My work is interesting and I always take pleasure in it. The advantage of the office is its independence, range, and the ever varying incidents of it. Well has "Competition Wallah" observed in his "Letters," that it was impossible for an Indian official to have any misgivings as to the importance of his work.—"Zeal is the characteristic of the grand service and unquestionably pervades all its members."—We all are impelled with a like desire—each one to do, as all hope, some good in his day and in his generation. It may be a sign of too much complacency, but—*honi soit*. I take it to be the soul of a sense of responsibility, to know more of your work than anyone else, and to be able so to answer respecting it as no other can, or perhaps—can gainsay. The peculiarity of the special duty is—as in all researches into hidden ways—that the more you explore, the more comes to light; and, as of course, that nobody can be the wiser if *nothing* should—suppose of it whatever he may.

I have now to show, in my forwarding Report of Dacoitie Statements for the past three years, the work, little or much, that has been done by the

local police in the suppression of the evil—no enviable task; to go on with the preparation of the similar returns of Thuggee by means of poison; to finally formulate a reply to the objections lately raised to our demand for the extradition, when we should require it, of prisoners in custody in Native States (*vide* p. 114;) and to put together matter for a report on the condition of *Shekawátie*,—in addition to the constantly recurring investigations that centre in my office, the control and direction of our general proceedings in every direction, and the numerous questions that arise therefrom. I do not dislike the duty, difficult and perplexing though it sometimes is.

27th June.—Some rogues have lately been discovered going about “uttering” counterfeit moneys. These people, variously called *Chhápa-bund*, *Khoot-soorrya*, *Kulb-sázee*, etc., not only pass off, but are themselves the coiners of base moneys, as their names signify,* and are very clever in the manufacture thereof. Several of them were arrested by myself when Thuggee officer for the Bombay circle, and my Reports describing their habits were printed and circulated by the Bombay Government (*vide* Bombay Police Selections, 1858.) These swindlers, and sometimes ruffians, generally travel about in the garb of religious mendicants, and are dexterous in passing off their spurious coinage by sleight of hand. I had it tried upon

False
Money
Coiners.

* *Chhápa-bund*—Stamp maker.
Khoot-soorrya—False moulders.
Kulb-sázee—Base die fabricator.

Their
Method.

myself, and I failed to detect the imposture. They form a professional class, and may be met with in the most distant regions. The method they adopt is very simple. The moulds used, of which several were made in my presence, are formed from unslaked lime and a kind of yellow clay variously called *peela muttee*, *gára*, *shédoo*, etc. finely pounded and sifted. This, when moistened and well worked up into a putty, is pressed round about the piece of money to be imitated ; the mould thus rudely formed, is then pared all round of superfluous stuff, and is placed within some charcoal embers till it gets baked. It is then taken out, and when cooled enough, its rim is carefully incised all round and the enclosed coin released, leaving an exact impression of both faces of it within the hardened amalgam. The two parts are next joined together with an adhesive stuff, and molten tin poured into the hollow interior of the mould thus formed, through a small aperture deftly drilled through the rim, which when sufficiently cooled is taken out, when, lo ! the thing is done—the false money ready to hand—it only remaining to smooth away the metal protruding through the drilled hole, and to rub the piece over with dirt or other colouring substance, whereby to give it the appearance of *being old enough money* ; but as the rim of the “ Company rupee ” cannot, from its being milled or grained, be readily imitated by so rude a contrivance, money coined in our Government mints is not generally used, but native currency preferably. Nor are the moulds usable more than

for once. And with the false money thus easily coined, these people frequent bazaars, or join on to travellers, and, by confidence and other plausible tricks and devices, manage to pass off the spurious ware upon innocent folk coming away from the country markets, and upon the unwary. For the purpose of securer concealment, they stow away the false money thus manufactured, in ingeniously contrived secret pockets, sewn within their *lungótees* or waist-cloths—in *thigh-pockets* as they might be called—but which from their position were not likely to be searched.⁷ But this is not all, for these fellows sometimes cheat with false jewellery also, of which the following was an instance, as reported by me at the time to the Bombay Government. Three suspected individuals transferred to my custody from Ahmednuggur, at a fair in which district a vendor of piece-goods had been murdered, collectively admitted the crime

Murder by
them at a
Fair of a
Dealer
in Piece
Goods.

⁷ P.S.—Upon information of this cunning artifice, search was made for these pockets, and it led to the detection of several of these criminals. A Political Officer in the Southern Mahratta country, wrote to me that he had by such means, discovered “quite a nest of them” practising down there.

Appropos to this subject it may here be added that the Thakoor, I think, of Ummurghur in Kerowlie, who was one of the most determined opponents of the Thuggee Department, and the chief protector of thugs and dacoits, the same individual, I believe, who on our remonstrances was removed from the office of Dewan at the instance of the Agent Governor-General for Rajpootanah (*vide* pp. 354, 355, vol. i.,) was afterwards heavily fined, under the orders of the Government of India, and is still paying towards the mulct, for criminal participation in a regular system of counterfeit coinage carried on under his auspices by a gang discovered a few years ago to be living in his village, and paying him a sort of tax for permission to coin.

when examined by myself; but while one confessed to it circumstantially, with the complicity, he declared, of three others including the other two, the latter denied the imputation; and yet each charged his companions with it to his certain knowledge! The deed was a very atrocious one. The murderers enticed their victim away from his booth in the fair, by showing him a supposed gold necklace of the heavy sort, but which in fact was of gilded brass. They told him that if he would meet them at nightfall at the river-bank hard by, provided with the means to purchase that and some other articles *obtained by them*, they whispered, *by robbery*, he might make a good bargain. The man yielded to the temptation, and repaired to the appointed spot. They presently fell upon him, threw him on the ground, and held him down. He entreated to be spared. No chance of that. With a huge stone they shattered his head. Then appropriating his handkerchief or *roomal*, and the money he had brought with him, they lifted the corpse to the water's edge, fastened the same ponderous stone to it, and flung it into the river in deep water. The body was not recovered, though the man was missed. There was therefore no successful prosecution of the case.

State of
the Law
against
False
Money
Coiners.

Their general inability to imitate money coined in British mints, served these swindlers a turn; for the law against uttering counterfeit money required that the money so uttered, should be counterfeit of the coin of the realm, which the money passed off by them was not: hence, generally,

their immunity from punishment, except they could be sent up for trial on charges of *conspiracy to defraud*. But even this alternative presented the difficulty, that when the facts were proved, as they usually were, they generally constituted robbery and not conspiracy.

The clever rogues exist, as I have said, throughout India, and although varying in castes, their mode of coining is much the same everywhere. In the Punjab, I found the crime to prevail so much, and even the Government rupee to be there imitated, that it was astonishing to observe how much the money in circulation was mutilated in view to test its genuineness. Nor did they confine their operations to current coinage only; for in that province, the practised knaves were in the habit of even imitating *Bactrian* and other ancient coins found in those regions, cleverly passing them off as real, upon even the most learned of collectors of such *curios*. When I was on service in Persia (on Sir James Outram's personal staff,) a proclamation issued from Tehran, was circulated among Persian subjects in the neighbourhood of our camps, warning them to be guarded against the payments to them tendered by us who vaunted to pay so handsomely for our purchases, our money being counterfeit, specimens of which, it declared, had been sent up to the Shah for inspection. Some of the sharpers had probably come up from India among our camp followers, and found opportunity to coin and pass off false Persian money to the country people thronging our camp bazaars with supplies. I

They coin
and pass
off False
Ancient
Coins.

They
accom-
pany our
Camps in
Persia.

brought to notice, too, a paragraph in a London newspaper of the time, purporting to be information transmitted to St. Petersburg by the Russian Minister at the Persian capital, stating that a large quantity of false foreign money had lately been conveyed across the frontier, *coined in India by the employés of the British Government!* All this information, acquired and brought to notice as it was so long back, cannot, I fear, have been promulgated up here, or it is unremembered. To say nothing of congeners such as *Bhár* robbers, systematized *Sunnowreahs*, and the *Pádsháh-i-Chôr* or imperial thief, of whom and *hoc genus omne*, full information and publicity have from time to time been sent out by our department.

Dine at
Peterhoff.
Anecdote
of Right of
Entrée to
Govern-
ment
House.

28th June.—We had the honour of dining last night at Peterhoff in our turn. For everyone on the Government House List is thus distinguished by roster; the exceptions are seldom, as on an occasion, a time back, of the wife of a colonel not receiving any invitation, the latter inquired the cause; the aide-de-camp from whom had issued the invitation cards replied, “he had not received His Excellency’s command to invite Mrs. ——,” whereupon the indignant husband showed that Mrs. —— had been received at Her Majesty’s drawing room, and soon the amende followed, and the *oversight* gracefully acknowledged.

Sir John
Lawrence.

Sir John on these conventional occasions, which he is said very much to dislike, may generally be seen after the dinner, leaning an elbow on the marble mantelpiece of the withdrawing room,

holding momentous converse with some of the high officers among the guests, brought up to him by an aide-de-camp, or, oftener, beckoned to. I was on the present occasion told off to take in the wife of an absent Victoria Cross officer* with whom I was acquainted before he had become thus famous, and was glad to be able to congratulate him through her. The Mutiny brought out many such gallant fellows.

* The late
Major
Cochrane,
H. M.'s
86th Foot.

A note from Mr. Whitely Stokes, secretary to Mr. Maine the Legislative Member of Council, informs me that the Advocate-General had expressed doubts as to the power of the Indian Government to pass Act I. of 1849. This was a law declaring Politico-Criminal Courts to be duly constituted courts, and to which, indeed, it had been our habit from time to time to commit our thug and dacoit cases for trial. It would be a *fiasco* indeed, if it should now be pronounced that all those trials were illegal !^s

Obstruc-
tion to
Pro-
cedure.

Captain Thomas, of the 21st Hussars, who died yesterday, was buried here to-day ; and, curiously, I had a letter to-day from home, from my old friend Fred Curtis, who lately commanded that corps and was required to send in his papers (a mandate which, by my advice, he only obeyed *under protest*,) informing me that he had, after an interview with His Royal Highness, been offered the appointment of Assistant Adjutant-General at Lahore by the Duke of Cambridge, but had re-

^s P.S.—Nothing came of the objection. It was overruled, and remained unaffected by the new Penal and Procedure Codes.

spectfully declined. The offer was in a manner a graceful acknowledgment of an undue haste in accepting his resignation on the part of the local military authorities. Restoration would have appeased the offended soldier. He was a very strict disciplinarian, as I am able to say who had served under his command in the Scinde Irregular Horse, and was considered to hold too *taut* a hand over his Hussars. "*Point de zèle* would have served him better," was the observation to me to-day of Sir ———, who knew him in another command; but my friend would rather have died than forego the guiding principle of his career, that "every hour of his life belonged to the service of Her Majesty and for its good." *Transeat in exemplum!*

Lady
Lawrence
"at
Home."

At evening to-day we attended Lady Lawrence's "at home"—where all Simlah was present—the ladies at their best, beautifully apparelled in *confections* direct from Paris, or sent out by the Court milliners of Conduit Street or Piccadilly; and subalterns' wives as well dressed as any. And why not? All are *rank and file* in that regard: there are no distinctive badges among ladies, except, alas! in precedence to the dinner-table. *There*, conservatism is maintained to the bitter end. I remember little Mrs. F—— fainting at beholding a lady of junior (husband) *rank*, being taken to table before herself—the distance to it, through the folding doors, being no more than three paces!

Pre-
cedence.

If it were a question who should bear away the palm of the many who graced the assembly to-night, it would be accorded by acclamation, I

think, to the strikingly handsome Miss M——
D——. Let him win there who can !

29th June.—A letter to-day from a brother at ^{Personal.}
home, announcing the death of a dear old relative,
revives many recollections of a farm and an old
country house in Wiltshire in days long gone by,
where we learnt how to shear and pasture sheep,
plough and sow corn, make bread, brew, shoot and
ride, and were always happy and joyous, in seed-
time or in harvest. Seventy-five, and remember-
ing us all too, to the last ! I wonder if there is
anyone alive now who cares to call to mind the
youthful *Christina Douglas*, playing upon the harp
and singing Moore's melodies (then a rage,) before
admiring assemblies in the brilliant saloons of Nos.
— and — Berkeley Square, where many known to
fame would gather to behold and to listen ! It
was she who on the very early death of our more
beautiful sister, her loved and slightly younger
niece and companion, sought solitude and peace in
that distant farm-house and eventually married the
good man there, who mourning, ever held her
memory enshrined in his heart of hearts, and has
now at length followed, to lie beside her in her own
silent resting-place in that peaceful acre down in
the vale where stands the local village church, the
attention of passengers to the "little" and "big"
two steeples of which—*koochuk* and *buzoorg*, as we
would describe them here in India—would always
be directed by the drivers of the old Bath and
Bristol Mail coaches running by from London.
We were boys then, wont to come down there for

holidays from Johnstone's big school at Hampstead.* The mail coach driver's legend went, that the simple village folk of Bishop's Cannings, not content at beholding the then recently erected church of the neighbouring town, being provided with *two* spires, while their own more ancient edifice should have only *one*, and desirous to emulate it, had the present diminutive steeple there in view, reared at the tower corner of their own place of worship, in the hope that, *by manuring*, it would be persuaded to grow to the same height as the other one, and thus discomfit the men of Devizes!

30th June, Sunday, Simlah.—The morning service at church to-day lasted no longer than three-quarters of an hour, including the sermon, though not the second service.

Simlah
Dinner
Parties.

1st July.—Dinner parties are now frequent—and very pleasant they are—good and sprightly company, well-spread tables, unrivalled *cuisine*, the choicest wines—no Sybarites could fare better than the diners-out of “Simlah in full season.” It is remarkable what excellent cooks the *Mūghs*, brought up here from Calcutta, are; equal to the best of *chefs* if left to themselves and well provided, and keeping sober for the day, albeit of a race who

Mūgh
Cooks.

* P.S.—The late famous Serjeant Ballantyne and his two brothers were our schoolfellows at this place; as were also Mr. Charles Collette of Lincoln's Inn Fields, famed as a “conveyancer,” and his elder brother the late Colonel Henry Collette of H.M.'s 68th. The “Serjeant” was the eldest of the three at Johnstone's school. The second we used to call “Prince Long-nose”; the third, their excellent mother's pet, was the “ugly duck.”

formerly were pirates on the rivers and coasts of Bengal, and who still are great blackguards down at Calcutta and mostly drunkards. They are also excellent confectioners, and a good *Mūgh cook*, such as come up to Simlah in the service of the high officials in the Governor-General's train, can always command good pay—from thirty rupees to seventy-five and even one hundred a month. As to the wines, a wine merchant of Old Burlington ^{Wines.} Street, with whom I am in the habit of dealing, informed me that the *choicest* were sent out, Indian customers being always "such excellent paymasters" !

2nd July.—It had been brought by me to notice some time back (*vide* Journal for 1862,) that in some of the poisoning cases of then recent occurrence, there was reason to believe that the poisoners were returned emigrants from our ocean settle-^{Returned}ments, who had either learnt the practice there or ^{Emigrants} had acquired it prior to emigration, and had now ^{as} reverted to the crime on their coming back to India. It was subsequently ascertained by us, from some confessions, notably of one *Bishendyal*, that the perpetrators were indeed of the latter category, who had sought refuge in our island colonies as coolies, from apprehension of arrest for like offences already committed in India. There was too great alacrity on the part of emigration agents at Calcutta, as I informed my good friend Mr. Jeffrey of Demerara, in engaging coolies at random for shipment to the colonies. It would now seem, from a consideration of some subsequent cases

about to be embodied in the statements under preparation, of the crime of thuggee by means of poison of occurrence during the past three years, that there has been some revival of the practice if it had ever been abandoned. The detected instances were three, viz. :—

A Case at
Benares.

(1) In Benares a man was found lying in a state of unconsciousness near the river-bank. On his coming round some hours subsequently, he stated that he was travelling up from Bengal, and when he had reached a certain *serai* or inn, a short distance from Benares, he was joined by a man of the *Aheer* caste, who proposed to journey with him “as they both were bound in the same direction.” The two crossed the Ganges together by the bridge of boats, and then rested on the opposite bank. Here the first wayfarer requested the other to purchase some *suttoo* or prepared spiced meal, from the stalls there congregated. He came back with some tied up in two lots, of which he gave one to the traveller, and himself ate of the other. Finding it had a bitter taste, the man asked the *Aheer* where he could have “got such stuff from,” and threw what was left of it into the river. He soon began, however, to feel the effects of what he had eaten, *for the suttoo had been drugged*. Led by the other man along the river side, he was next robbed by him and then left in a state of insensibility close to the edge of a field of growing corn.

Another
in the
same
neigh-
bourhood.

(2) About a fortnight later, a man, journeying from Allahabad, was found in another part of the Benares district, lying in a state of partial insen-

sibility by the side of a tank. He was just able to say that he had met a man some little distance back, also calling himself an *Aheer*, at whose hands he had partaken of some *suttoo*, and that, becoming dizzy, he was resting a little, the stranger having gone on ahead. The pseudo *Aheer* was presently perceived coming back in that direction, who on being arrested and claimed by the other as his travelling companion, declared he was but a *Pássee* (a low Hindoo caste inhabiting those higher districts and much in the habit of poisoning people in view to robbery,) and his name *Sheodeen*. Recognized also by the victim in the preceding case, and some of the articles robbed on that previous occasion found in his possession, he acknowledged his guilt, said that he was, when taken into custody, returning to see whether the man had become insensible enough to be safely robbed; detailed other similar cases of which he had been guilty, and stated that he was taught how to commit this kind of crime by one *Bishendyal*. Now "*Sheodeen Pássee*" was found in our rolls of registered thug poisoners at large, and the man "*Bishendyal*," a returned emigrant from the *Mauritius* (*vide* p. 139,) had, on conviction of several acts of this crime—one being the murder of his brother by administering *dhatura* mixed up in his bread—been hanged at Benares¹ (*vide* Journal for 1862.)

¹ Extract from the confession of *Bishendyal*: "I have been in the habit of administering *dhatura* in bread or other food for three or four years. I learnt how to do so at the *Mauritius*, where I worked as a coolie for fourteen years. While on that island I was myself poisoned by a Mahomedan coolie, and robbed by him

Another
Case of
Poisoning
near Sher-
ghôttý.

(3) The third was decidedly an instance of emigrants poisoning their companions when returned to India, and robbing them of their earnings. Having carried the crime to the colonies and practised it there, the miscreants, on coming back to India, reverted to the same means for treacherously depriving their fellow-labourers of the savings they had effected during the exile, of which the following was an example :—

A man was travelling to his home at Sherghôttý on his return from eighteen years of coolie labour in Trinidad. He fell in with two others also just returned to India from the Mauritius. The three travelled together ; all went well for that and the next day ; and at dawn the day after, the party again set out on their journey. It was then that the opportunity was found by the two last comers for drugging the other, and after they had proceeded a little way, for robbing him. He became totally insensible and went about in that condition for the greater part of the day. On recovering his senses at length, he became aware that he was alone and had wandered *quite eighteen miles distant in an opposite direction from their starting-point that morning*, and discovered too, that he had been

of my money and all my things. But I afterwards stole some of his clothes ; and wrapped up among them I discovered some *dhatura powder*. I gave some of it, mixed up in meal, *by way of experiment*, to one of my fellow-coolies who had come with myself to the island. He became insensible ; and becoming thus aware of the effects of dhatoora, I gave it in the same way to others. For I knew other persons who also did so, and I am able to have them apprehended." Memo.—P.S.—The man *Sheodeen Pásee* was tried, and on conviction sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

robbed of his entire hard earnings of the past eighteen years—124 English sovereigns and 990 rupees in Bank of Bengal notes, besides personal clothes and sundry ornaments. The two culprits were traced and arrested about ten days later, and in their possession were found 110 sovereigns, the bank notes for 990 rupees, and the plundered clothes and ornaments. But before the case could be completed *the complainant died of cholera*. The arraigned parties were, however, successfully tried under a section of the Indian Penal Code that met the case, although not in the degree of the punishment they deserved, their sentence being no more than ten years' imprisonment, whereas if the crime had been committed in any of the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, they would, under operation of another more stringent law (Act XXIX. of 1850,) have probably been sentenced to *transportation for life*. I have frequently urged upon the attention of the Government of India, how very desirable it was, for the more effectual suppression of this deadly crime, to extend the territorial scope of that wholesome and very necessary Act to a law *for all India*, for its operation is confined, strangely, to the limits only of the three Presidency towns indicated.* We are, moreover, in our proceedings against professional criminals, unable to obtain any very reliable set of approvers from among them when our choice is restricted to only *limited sentenced men* among those convicted. The man sentenced to death or transportation for life (from execution whereof he is

Proposal
to change
the Law
for the
Suppression
of
Poisoners.

* *Vide* p.
23, vol. i.

Extreme
Sentences
afford
good Ap-
provers.
Limited
sentenced
Men make
indif-
ferent Ap-
provers.

snatched through approvership with us) has everything to be afraid of should he forfeit his conditional pardon ; while he who has been sentenced to anything short of those awards, has no more to fear on forfeiture of approvership, than the prospect of reverting to his original limited sentence, on the expiration of which, too, he can claim his liberation. The latter class of men plainly make bad or, at best, but indifferent approvers.

3rd July.—We gave our second little dinner party last night, and among our guests was my late travelling companion up the hill to Simlah, Captain Noel Money, who commanded the escalading party at the storming of Delhi in 1857, a dashing officer. His promotion has been slow.³

Dinner
Party à la
Russe.

Dinner was served *à la Russe*, a lately introduced fashion now beginning to be followed at Simlah with more or less exactness. *À la rigueur* the plan is, to let the table linen, with the laid-out dessert and decorations upon it, remain to the end, the guests being served with viands from a side table or the side-board, the Khánsamán or butler being entrusted with the carving thereof, a task he generally accomplishes very well, though not with the favour or partiality in the matter of *tit-bits*, hosts and others would perhaps occasionally observe under the time-honoured practice of carving the dishes at table. But for my own part,

³ P.S. 1889.—This fine officer had again an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and, as Colonel Money, commanded a brigade, or headed an important command, in the Afghan War. He lately died, after admission to the Order of the Bath as " Companion."

I adhere to the good old custom of having the cloth removed at the termination of the dinner courses, thus revealing the glossy mahogany at which we have been seated, and to behold its polished surface mirroring the dessert, decanters, and glass, brought on to it as of old time, when dining-tables were of real oak or mahogany, and not merely *deal boards*, concealed however much they may be with fine and costly linen—for by the new fashion it has indeed come to this! *Our* way is, to strew the dinner-cloth with maiden-hair fern picked the same afternoon from the Jako hill-sides and pleasantly arranged in various formations by our native servants, in designing which they display much taste, pure white statuettes standing out from the fern, little vases adorned with roses and other flowers from the garden loosely placed about, and small open-work silver trays here and there, completing the decorations, hanging *Ar-gands* shedding light from above, and shaded candles from the walls—no lights anywhere upon the table itself. Dinner over, the ornaments are quickly removed and the cloth twirled up and swiftly slid away by a single successful jerk along the entire length of the table, a feat cleverly accomplished after the manner prevailing at mess tables. Candelabra are next brought on, and dessert arranged from a table where it had already been laid out, and in the centre of the table a large vase is placed, filled solely with glorious wild mountain flowers and leaves, in gathering and arranging which the servant employed is both

clever and artistic, this floral contribution generally forming the feature of a Simlah dinner-table. The servants then retire, and the wine is passed round. It happened that several marble articles ordered by me at the quarries at Mekrána (*vide* p. 104, vol. i.,) had lately been brought up to Simlah and safely delivered, not a flaw or a crack in any of them, although conveyed in the rudest of country carts in use in that wild and distant region, and among them was a very large table slab of the purest white marble. This placed upon a fitting stand at one end of the capacious dining-room, with dessert and all its appurtenances tastefully arrayed upon it in the exact order they are eventually to be disposed upon the dining-table, adds a pleasing effect to the general appearance of the room. As to the rest, we do very much in India as is done at home. All retire to the drawing-room for coffee, followed by music and singing, or making out words from ivory letters promiscuously jumbled together, or to look through portfolios of engravings and pictures, and illustrated books, and sometimes playing word charades and such like, till at length Jánpáns are called for, in which the ladies are conveyed away, accompanied or not by gentlemen afoot or on horseback, and by syceś or chuprásees bearing lighted lanterns; then all to bed to rise betimes—the native quarter being hushed long ago and the majestic mountains and deep wooded glens shrouded in the gloom and silence of solemn night, the spangled firmament beyond—

beyond and ever beyond—inspiring awe and adoration.

4th July.—My mind is wholly taken up with these cases of poisoning which I am engaged in examining. Yesterday I went through several bad enough instances of the crime, and to-day the horror has been repeated. I have long laboured to arouse sufficient attention to the heinousness of the horrible evil now become an opprobrium—to its dark and diabolical character ! It should seem that because the public mind had been sufficiently horrified with the accounts by which it was first startled, of the deeds of those Thugs who *strangled* their victims, it has become dulled by the surfeit, to the reception of anything, the deed although of similar criminals, milder in *mode* of accomplishment, and less *tragical* in the narration ! The cup of horrors having been once so full to the brim, it can sip at nothing not so brimful. Artaxerxes may have been cruelly poisoned, but was not Cæsar treacherously poignarded ? So would it be argued ! But to bring the matter nearer home and draw the parallel closer, let us put it the other way :—If the victims of *Rush* were barbarously murdered, were *Cooke* and the other poisoned dupes of the man *Palmer*, any the less ruthlessly *killed* ? These reflections bring me back to examples of my earliest official acquaintance with this, so regarded, *lesser* or less heinous mode of committing Thuggee. I observed a few days back (*vide* page 119,) that there was an unwillingness on the part of the victims who have recovered

their senses, to give evidence against the culprits. This is especially the case in the instance of females. They have been returning home from some market town, or proceeding upon some visit when met and accosted by the prisoners, by suffering whom to accompany them they have easily been deluded into partaking of their "sweetmeats," or of their spiced *suttoo*, or idol offerings, and on returning to consciousness only, have become aware of the delusion and their robbery. They will hurry home, and for obvious reasons remain profoundly silent on the subject, and seldom be prevailed upon to speak, much less give information of the mishap, for fear of what might be attributed to them! A brother and sister were returning from a visit to a relative at a distant village. By the way, they were addressed by a wayfarer resting under the shade of a tree, who presently requested to be allowed to accompany them "as he too was going in the same direction." All taking shelter from the heat of mid-day at a running stream, under the shade of some tamarind trees, the stranger produced some sweet stuff, which he declared had formed part of an offering to the local idol, to partake of which being productive of good, "would they not accept some of it—it would give relish to the parched rice they were eating." This was kind of him, and they took and ate some of the proffered thing. Then the three proceeded on their journey. Where she had strayed to the woman "did not know," for both she and her brother had wandered

A distressing
Case.

about unconsciously, different ways. Not till the fourth day did she recover her senses. She hastened to that idol's shrine to worship, and then sped home. The pack bullock she had been riding was gone, her brother was nowhere to be seen, herself robbed. She bid her son go with some friend to search for the missing relative. Up among some hilly ground was found his skull, ribs and mangled remains. Jackals had been beforehand in the search, and had already mostly devoured the murdered man's corpse. This was the deed of a practised poisoner, and he himself narrated the story to me. It was substantiated on inquiries at the scene of it.

But that was only one of several like misdeeds of which he had been guilty. This was another, and shows the extent to which the odious practice may be carried by a set of scoundrels influenced by no restraints, glib of tongue, successful in cajoling, and in a manner able to go about committing it *unpunished*. It is an old story, but will not suffer in the repetition; and is, moreover, but one of many others of which, in my subsequent wider circle of control, I continually have had sad experience:—The two country brothers of a Sepoy serving in a corps of Native Infantry, then recently returned from field service, set out from their distant native village, to visit and congratulate him. Nearly arrived at the end of their long journey, they were joined by a man come, he said, from a neighbouring place, and “going in the same direction.” At mid-day they sat down

Another
Similar
Instance
of Poison-
ing.

by a well to refresh and eat bread. The stranger hereupon offered them some sweetmeat, "seeming to be sugar," which they accepted and partook of, and presently they went on together. But soon the first two began to get giddy and to stagger about as though intoxicated. One of the two, on coming to his senses the following day, found himself alone, and robbed of all he had possessed. All he remembered was the stranger throwing him down, and disengaging from his person a silver girdle he wore about his waist. The road lay along the coast, and was intersected with creeks influenced by the tide. Floating in one of these a corpse was perceived by a villager later on, as it was being carried out by the ebbing stream. The missing man had walked right on into it and was drowned, and his body taken out to sea by the receding waters. The Sepoy, to visit whom the journey had been projected, brightened at the thought that tidings might yet be received of his lost brother being still alive. His emotion, and the eagerness with which he caught at the idea of his having been seen in the creek, were painful to witness, as he gave evidence before me at the inquiry—and the despair that overcame him on being told of the improbabilities, was most distressing, when, yielding to the account, and the little hope there was to build upon, he with loud lamentations exclaimed, "Why should he have thought to come all that way to see me—me only—so unworthy!"

Then there was the miserable fate which befell

a family party in my own neighbourhood. One morning the dead bodies of two small boys of six and ten years of age, were discovered in a tank near a village, and exposed near the same spot, were found four other human forms, a man and three women, senseless, but still breathing, one being the mother of the two lads. "Restoratives having been applied" (I quote from my report of it,) "sensation and memory slowly returned, and the victims thus rescued from death, were able, by degrees, to recall the circumstances that had proved fatal to the children and had well-nigh hurried them also to eternity." They had been to a neighbouring fair, decked out, as may be supposed, in their family trinkets and holiday garb, and while there were accosted by three *Mahomedans*, perfect strangers, who ingratiated themselves so much in their confidence, by their praises of the two boys, and by their pleasing ways and address, that they were suffered to escort them through the crowded fair, and even to invite them to refection outside of the village. Whatever the females of the party may have thought of their offer to them of money also, as was stated in the local report, certain it was that the whole party were simple enough to accept the invitation without any suspicion: "They all partook of the little feast prepared for them by the gallants—some rice and curry, and fruit and sweetmeats." The rest was but a dream; for, deposed the survivors, they shortly afterwards became insensible. It was found they all had

The Fate
which
befell a
Family
while
travelling.

been drugged. The two boys had also partaken of the tampered food. Of the ornaments all wore, and other possessions, not a trace remained. The assassins escaped detection.

Reflec-
tions.

Were these instances but solitary and incidental cases under strong temptation to commit them, by but unpractised people? Or, as I further inquired, were the perpetrators but raw hands hitherto unsteeped in similar villainy?—"May men so stealthy in their ways, apparently so frank in their manner, and yet so intent upon their purpose, so sure in administering the poisoned potion, the shuffled food, or the drugged *hookah*, be mere novices at the artifice, rather than confirmed offenders? Not only does each case display the dexterity and the artfulness of the pretended *friends* by whom the victims are beguiled, but it is stamped with indications of consummate knavery; while each at the same time lamentably reveals the real simplicity of the deluded sufferers—the horror and terror of the survivors on discovering how they had been victimized—how nearly they, too, had died!"

Cholera at
Simlah.

5th July.—Cholera does not often occur at Simlah, but a child died of it yesterday in our midst, whose mother was dining with us but the other evening!

Dacoitie
in
Tirhoot.

We have a special report of yet another dacoitie down in *Tirhoot*. A woman of the premises went out during the night to ascertain the cause of a noise as of digging, outside of the door. A lot of armed men thereupon rushed in, bearing a lighted torch, and broke into boxes and other usual re-

ceptacles of property. The owner of the house was knocked down in the rush, and he and the Chowkeedar, or night watchman, and three others, were slightly wounded. The robbers got away, however, and with but little booty (*vide* p. 450, vol. i., and 127, vol. ii.)

6th July.—Completed to-day my reply to the protest against the practice of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department requiring the transfer to it of "wanted" men traced to the local jails in Rajpootanah, and claimed by approvers and accomplices in other acts of crime (*vide* pp. 62, 114, vol. ii.) I have gone into the question very fully, not only to show that the evidence upon which such requisitions were made, was reliable, but that the procedure was conformable with law and practice,³

³ P.S.—Act VII. of 1854 regulates the procedure in matters of the arrest and delivering up to the officers of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department of all persons, whether the subjects of the British or any foreign Native Government, charged with thuggee or dacoitie. By this Act doubts and misapprehensions in these matters were removed. The rules on the subject of the apprehension, demand, and surrender of persons so charged, were detailed and summarized in a Report on the Conflict of Laws, for which I had been called upon by the Government of India (*vide* pp. 58, 66 to 70, vol. ii.,—also sections 1 to 8 of Report quoted below)—*par exemple*, thus:—

"Registered Thugs and Dacoits, are, however, always made over to this Department for disposal, by the States of Rajpootanah and of Central India, and by the Nizam and other Native Governments, whenever required. Native chieftains perceive that the only object of the British Government in respect of the proceedings of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, is the suppression of crimes which they themselves acknowledge to be great evils, and that we know and feel that this can only be effected by their working in concert with us. They have nothing to do but to act negatively, and not a single offender would be forthcoming! The criminals would be as safe from us in the wild hills and

and helped us a great deal in our operations. I have been at some pains in doing so, in order to set clearly before Colonel Eden, the Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajpootanah, the grounds upon which our demands for such transfers were *bonâ fide* based. It was an object to avoid the obstruction—I might say *check*—to our general proceedings which might otherwise arise from any undue assent being conceded to the Native Durbars raising such objections. At present these are confined, at least outspokenly, to the single Durbar of Jeypore. I have written to Blair to arrange all the enclosures in the order indicated in my Report, so as to assist Eden in considering the subject, and arriving at a correct appreciation of it. It is our proper part to gain the upper hand of the predatory communities infesting Rajpootanah and from there penetrating into remoter regions for the purposes of dacoitie, so as to counteract (inasmuch as is consistent with

jungles of Rajwára and Malwa, Bendelcund and Hydrabad, as in the Khyber and Bolán Passes. In *Rajpootanah*, for example, every State has, at the bidding of the Agent Governor-General, at one time or another surrendered even unregistered offenders, and this could not be effected, as Sir Henry Lawrence justly remarked, under any rigid and unswerving rule. To this I would observe, that, whether registered or not, the habit of the Native States has long been to deliver up *anyone* required by this Department. It cannot, however, be too often repeated, that such requisitions are always made through the several local Political Officers. The existing practice had the approval of the Home Government, and has proved to be most serviceable in its results." (*Extract para. 190 from Colonel Hervey's Report to the Government of India on the Conflict of Laws in reference to the operations of his Department in Native States, No. 199, dated 21st April, 1866.*)

the policy of the British Government in its relations with Native States,) the influence which so many of the robber leaders possess with the several Durbars, exercised through the Native Durbar officials.

Our present operations have, admittedly, tended to direct a very effectual blow against the hitherto unchecked system pursued by these robbers, and to create an alarm among them which must be productive of beneficial results, and it is therefore natural that they should seek resorts by which to escape the intelligence which we maintain of them, enabling us, as it does, to trace so many of them even to the jails into which they are from time to time cast by their own rulers. It is patent, too, that these people, I here mean *Meeenas* more particularly, are the very men by whom the country is oppressed, and at whose hands the community suffer—that they are, in fact, the robbers over whom we have been set to watch, and whom it is our duty to *suppress*; and if there could be any doubt of the integrity of our researches against them, it would be dissolved by considering, as the list I have furnished Eden with shows, *what they were in prison for* when we traced them there; for if they were there, as they all mostly were, and continue to be, *for robbery and other acts of violence and predation*, the result of the local police action against them, we cannot be considered to be far out when we claim them as altogether professional dacoits.*

7th July, Sunday.—Heavy rain in the forenoon,

* P.S.—The arrangement was left undisturbed.

and I suppose but few went to church, but the evening service was well attended.

Two Gold-
smiths
Poisoned
in Bengal.

8th July.—The following account was under notice to-day among the cases of poisoning under examination and report. It occurs among those skilfully researched by Mr. Reily in his recent operations in Bengal, in communication with myself (*vide* pp. 38 and 42, vol. i., and p. 1, vol. ii.) He was out in the districts thus engaged, when he was startled one morning at hearing that three men had been poisoned the day before close to where he was inquiring into some other cases. They were brought in upon a cart. One was already dead, another died soon after arrival, the third man recovered. He was a Brahmin, and said he was coming up country, when he fell in, at morning, with some Rajpoots travelling like himself, and later in the day with the two deceased men, both *Sonárs* or men of the goldsmith caste, and with *two others*. The Rajpoots by-and-by fell behind, but he himself, the two goldsmiths and the other two, journeyed on together. At evening they alighted near a police station for the night, and it being too late then to cook any food, they satisfied themselves with some *poorrees* or puffs prepared from flour purchased from the local corn dealer, and filled with some spiced meal supplied by the other two men; and this, dressed upon embers, formed their repast, made and eaten separately as by caste enjoined, that is, the Brahmin by himself, the two goldsmiths by themselves, and the other two men together. The

Brahmin not half liking what he had made, did not eat it all up as the Sonars did. And now all he remembered was, his being led by the other two men to the spot where the two goldsmiths were lying, but that he resisted and went onwards till he fell down senseless. He recovered, but his less fortunate fellow victims would seem to have suffered very much when discovered, "the skin on their backs, shoulders and elbows, having been rubbed off from their rolling on the ground in their agony." The case was very cleverly unravelled. Both the culprits were separately arrested, one being traced to his home, and the other as he was escaping into Nipal territory, accompanied by his wife and children. They each accused the other with mixing poison in the *suttoo* or sugared meal, and not only were both recognized by one of the five Rajpoots, the only man of that party who had at all talked to them, but were also distinctly identified by the recovered Brahmin. They were also claimed as accomplices in other similar deeds of villainy, by a man who had shortly previously recorded their complicity with himself in other authenticated cases under Mr. Reily's inquiry, and both were accordingly sentenced to capital punishment, on the ground that "a severe sentence was imperatively called for, in order to check, if possible, the spread of a crime so fatal to society, and so difficult of detection." The Judges of the High Court further added, that "the Detective Superintendent, Mr. Reily, de-
Mr. Reily
com-
mended
for Intel-
ligence.

has dealt with this case, and for the complete chain of evidence which he has obtained under circumstances of so much difficulty."

A great
Dacoitie
traced by
the Smell
of some
Musk.

*This
was the
robbery
alluded
to at p.
94, vol. i.

9th July.—Some years ago the clue to a dacoitie, one personally worked out by myself in a case attended with murder and wounding, at Gudduc, in the Southern Mahratta country,* was gained through some *musk*, an entire pod of which as excised from the deer, happened to be of the articles carried off by the plunderers. The difficulty of proof on that occasion as against the robbers, whom I had traced and arrested with their plunder some two hundred miles distant from the scene of the outrage, lay in the untoward circumstance that the plundered Sahoocar, a man of some substance and an important personage in the rural district where he resided, while admitting the fact of the attack upon his house and the outrages committed thereat, yet denied that anything was taken away from it, "except a few household articles," to mention which he supposed was of no material consequence, because any restoration of them was not at all likely to be demanded by his customers. For, as is the custom among Sahoocárs and Mahájuns generally, with whose business that of the *poddár* or assayer of coin and jewellery is combined, this person was also the local pawnbroker, and possessed a large quantity of pledged articles, and his fear was, a *run* upon him for them or for their money value, should it become known that he had been plundered to any extent. But among the few

things which he mentioned to have been really stolen, was included a *musk bag*, which, being his own property, purchased at a high price (for a pouch of that rare commodity is costly, brought down as it is from the pine-covered mountains of Thibet,) he thought it might be incidentally put down among his losses, lest, perchance, *it should be recovered*; so also as to some rupees of a *peculiar currency not often met with*. His dilemma was, however, great when he heard of the *whole* of the plunder, pledged and unpledged, being recovered by me. The smell of musk as my men and I approached the spot, and about the place itself when we suddenly invaded the *tánda* or robber encampment on the outskirts of a distant forest, had been unmistakable; but, in ignorance of any having been taken away, or indeed of what had constituted the plunder, but only of the fact of the deed itself, I took no heed of the circumstance when after capturing the surprised gang, I began to search for their plunder. This we found by digging under their cooking hearths and here and there, the smaller articles of jewellery being discovered stitched within the folds of their old *ruzzáis* or quilts, or on to tattered garments, and the curious money which I have mentioned, stowed away in the *humiyánees* or waist-purses worn by the leader of the gang and his head man—but *not any musk*, for which indeed we had made no quest. But I was presently advised by a woman of the encampment at variance with *Kunkia*, the *naique* or leader of the gang, “to search for *kustoori*,” the native name

for a musk-sac ! She was the daughter of an old crone who, her grandson being in my custody, had secretly informed me one early morning when taking my exercise in the open country away from camp, as was my habit, of the particular gang by which the robbery had been committed, and the direction of its flight. I now understood the cause of the peculiar odour which we had perceived, and *for musk* we searched accordingly, and presently we came upon it, and with it upon some articles of previous plunder secreted by the leader. Our finding it and the old-fashioned coinage adverted to, made me quite independent of the testimony of the plundered Sahoocar, in the matter of the property which he had repudiated, but which now he was in great straits about acknowledging. For I promptly sequestered his *wuhees* or ledgers, and in them detected entries, surely enough, *of all the several articles we had recovered !* For, owing to the man's stout persistence that he had *not* been plundered of anything particular, the research and capture on our part—the local police having failed—had been discredited, and even laughed at.*

* P.S.—This lucky detection of the dacoity at Gudduc, a place in the Dharwar district, opened out to me all the other exploits of the Khunjur gangs in the Southern Mahratta country, and was the first of my successes against that tribe. In the Gudduc affair several men were killed and wounded by the plunderers. Cholera was raging at the period in the town, most of the inhabitants had fled from it through fear of the fell disease, and the people of the plundered firm and other inhabitants were lying outside of their dwellings, when the gang suddenly appeared, holding flaming torches, armed with spears, their faces tied up,

That having been the *scent* on that previous occasion carried to a successful issue, for I obtained the conviction of the entire gang, of whom two were executed, I will here notice an equally signal *trail* that was now lately taken up and followed by Mr. Reily, with like results, in a case of *poisoning* examined to-day, one of those of occurrence in Bengal, with the investigations of which, I have said, he was specially entrusted under my general guidance (p. 156,) my report and classification of which and of other acts of poisoning throughout British territory, are under preparation.

A scent merchant at Ghazipore, had dispatched a boat-load of rosewater in charge of one of his servants, to Calcutta. A month subsequently the agent at Calcutta sent back the boat with the empty carboys and a tin flask containing some *utter* (or "otto" as it is written and consequently mispronounced at home,) or extract of *keora*, the *Pandamus odoratissimus*,⁶ a highly scented flower much used in idol worship, and growing profusely in the Lower Provinces, particularly in Orissa ; and this, as a precious commodity, was entrusted to the particular charge of the returning servant. He had designed to travel back with it by the railway journey, but becoming ill while at Calcutta, he proceeded up country in the returning boat as far as Bhaugulpore. He landed there and, accom-

A Poison-
ing Case
detected
through a
Perfume.

and shouting intimidation. They speared everyone who came within reach. The additional consternation thus caused in the locality and round about, was very great. The entire gang was convicted, two were hanged, and the rest sentenced to transportation for life.

⁶ Or, more correctly, the *Andropogon Nurdus*, or Spikenard.

panied by a relative, went on with the intention of accomplishing the rest of the journey by the land route, taking with them the canister of fragrant perfume. They unhappily fell among professional poisoners, a small gang of whom had been infesting the neighbourhood. They had taken away with them the river toll receipt and bill of lading, and the *mánjhee* or boat-master and supercargo, was perplexed on arriving with his freight at his destination (Ghazipore,) at not finding them already there. Two dead bodies were, a few days after the men had left the boat, discovered in the adjacent open country near a railway station, and upon one of them were found *the receipts of the toll collectors*. They were thereupon identified as the corpses of the two men who had quitted the boat; but beyond the further information that they had charge of a metal *kooppee* or flask containing a perfume when they left the river, nothing more was ascertained of the circumstances, notwithstanding the offer of a reward for information. It happened, however, that one of the persons arrested seven months subsequently in the poisoning case of the three travellers (two goldsmiths and another,) lately narrated by me, one of the two men afterwards executed for it (*vide* pp. 156, 157,) had included in his confessions the names of two persons as the accomplices in other acts of the crime, of his companion, the other subsequently executed convict; and as, on inquiry, it was ascertained that those two persons had been previously charged with drugging travellers, the arrest of

one of them was effected a month subsequently, and on his being identified and claimed, not only by that confessing convict, but independently by two others of his accomplices then also in custody, he also confessed and narrated the details of *twelve* different acts of poisoning travellers in which he had taken part, *the present case being one of the number*; and of this particular instance he stated that it was committed by himself and three others at the period indicated. They had met the two travellers at a bazaar on the way to the railway station; one of their number joined himself to them. On arriving near a bridge on the way, the three together rested there, and having bathed, some *suttoo* or spiced meal (previously drugged,) was produced by the deputed accomplice and offered to the travellers—they partook of it, and then all together proceeded onwards. Arrived about a mile distant from the railway station from where they would have gone on to Ghazipore, both men lay down insensible; their money, “*a tin flask containing some utter of keora* (spikenard,) which they were conveying,” and some few other things, were taken possession of, the bodies left where they were, and the gang for the present dispersed. On examination hereupon, of the local police record of the occasion, not only were these circumstances confirmed, but it was ascertained that the Civil Surgeon of the district had recorded his opinion that the deceased *had been poisoned*. He could not, I think, have declared that death had ensued from *datoora*, the poison used, that being a vegetable poison and not trace-

able in the system after death ; nor could he, with any certainty, have spoken to the same end from any diagnosis of the case ascertained before death, for it was not in evidence whether the two deceased men were seen by any other persons while suffering from the effects of the drug administered to them ; but that circumstance was immaterial to the evidence grasped by the clue of *the flask of perfume*, for on the man's confession being thus corroborated by the local record of the case, a diligent search was instituted for the principal culprit—for him who had administered the poisoned meal—and he fortunately was not far off. The detectives appeared two days subsequently at his house in a village in that neighbourhood. He was not there, but it was searched in the presence, amongst other local residents, of the absentee's father, who was even the land-holder or zumeendar of the village, when, lo ! hidden away among a lot of *ooplees* or fuel of dried cow-dung stacked in a small room, was discovered *the searched-for flask*, and in it was some utter of *keora* ! The culprit himself was next traced, and arrested the following day at Bhaugulpore ; another of the denounced accomplices two days after at Monghyr, and the fourth or remaining accomplice, about a fortnight later down in Rajmehál. The account books of the scent merchant who had dispatched the essence from Calcutta, also duly exhibited entries respecting it, and by whose hands he had sent it ; and both he and the boatman, moreover, recognized the recovered flask. Another of the arrested parties

was also admitted as evidence in the case, and both he and the previous informant, separately and identically, pointed out the spot where they declared they had plundered and left the two prostrate travellers; and lastly, the local police proved that their dead bodies were found at that spot. Thus the evidence was most complete, the finding of the tin flask of perfume in the house of the man charged with administering the drug, being an essential corroboration of the testimony of the original witness as respecting him particularly. The case was tried in the Court of the District judge—the chief culprit was capitally convicted; another was sentenced to transportation for life; the village zumeendar, father of the first prisoner, was adjudged imprisonment for three years; the other two members of that particular gang being the two persons admitted as Queen's evidence. The inquiry was admirably conducted by Mr. Reily, and the judges of the High Court at Calcutta confirmed the convictions.

10th July.—Of those who dined with us last night, was Colonel Vaughan, C.B., one of the heroes of the late Umbeylah campaign; and a right bit of stuff for it, as the occasion proved. Our lad, to whom he has taken a fancy, went up to-day for the Higher Standard Examination in Hindostani, in passing which he had not succeeded at Bombay last November, and he was now again ignobly plucked. He did not sit down to the study persistently enough, and now the boy looks upon it that Hindostani has given him some mortal

Colonel
Vaughan,
C.B.

Hugh is
Plucked.

offence : " I will never go up in it again. I have done with Hindostani." But will that pay ?

Escape of
some
Mool-
tanee
Prisoners:
Sirreeram
of Jalnah.

11th July.—I write to-day to Ward at Jalnah of the escape of some Mooltanee dacoits from the local police, while under escort to himself from Khandeish, and to endeavour to discover the reported arrest " somewhere in the Deccan " of the notorious *Sirreeram Shroff*, banker of Jalnah and dacoit confederate, a fellow who used to hang about Captain Davies, my former assistant for those parts, and whom I had met down there in my mail cart journey through Nandgam, when travelling about a time back (*vide* p. 197, vol. i.) in quest of information (successfully followed up) of some plunderers from Rajpootanah concerned in a then recent act of dacoitie in Berar.⁷ We scarcely knew each other then, but are better acquainted now, and Sirreeram would buy me over if nothing worse. He was an abettor also in the forcible rescue, by Kishen Sing Rhatore, of Ward's four prisoners last November.

Khai-
karees.

I tell Ward, too, to have an eye on the doings of the Khaikaree people in his direction, who are reported from Bombay to be up and doing a little dacoitie again over his border, and in Madras territory and Mysore, where, styled *Korvees* and

⁷ P.S.—I traced four of the gang on that occasion to the Poonah Jail, in which they had meanwhile been incarcerated for a dacoitie at *Mullád* down Suttarah ; on whose transfer thereupon to our custody, the above and other acts of dacoitie became divulged. The man *Jowahirra Durzee*, who afterwards was one of those rescued from Captain Ward's lock-up at Jalnah, was one of the number.

Korivurroos, etc., they had ever before been busy (*vide* pp. 347, 350, vol. i., and p. 73, vol. ii.)

I also write to him, "I am about to transfer some Khunjur approvers to you, through whom to look about after the gangs lately formed by *Jám Sing* and by *Grassia's* daughter. The latter used occasionally to come to Jubbulpore when I was there to see what we were doing against their tribe." *Jám Sing* was the son of Kunkia Naique, approver, the leader of the gang that committed the *musk dacoitie* lately adverted to (page 158.) He was quite a lad when I arrested that gang; and on his growing up, with a view to reclaim him I admitted him into my Nujjeeb Force, the custodians of our approvers on command duties of pursuit and arrest; but he was too restless and always "must to the greenwood go," and, true to his instincts, and eager to emulate his father's exploits, much as the latter, as I must say for him, had endeavoured to dissuade him from the purpose, he flew to the jungles the moment I discharged him, for I had no legal authority for holding him in restraint, and soon rejoined his people in acts of predation and became the companion of thieves, trying his hand at first at horse-stealing and in midnight adventures in camps and fairs, till now at length he has got a gang of his own! The father of the other—the girl—was, as I have had occasion to notice, one of my best approvers. A fine, noble fellow was *Grassia*, although a dacoit—some of whose exploits I have occasionally alluded to. He was the leader of the gang in the dacoitie upon the

premises of the wealthy tobacconist situated inside of the walled town of Sholapore before mentioned (*vide* p. 107, vol. ii.,) his latest and last feat being, the following year, at *Gokák* in the Belgaum Collectorate. He died, as I have noticed, of cholera while out on command duty (*vide* p. 107.) His wife, of fine presence and masculine gait, came to me with her three children, a girl and two boys, directly she was told of the event, tore off her necklace and exclaimed: "There—I am a widow (*ránd-moondh*;) I may now go where I please." Then, falling on her knees, she placed her right hand on the heads of her sons in turn—a form of solemn oath among Hindoos, as inviolable as the Israelitish habit of protesting by one's loins when invoked—and swore they should follow their father's profession; and their sister, taking her daughter by the hand, shall look after them, take care of them—and, as if of foreknowledge aware of their probable incapacity, "should even take their place and herself lead them as *Tumbólin* did" (*vide* p. 101.) They all bodily left the place soon after, but Grassia's daughter occasionally showed herself. Her brothers turned out, surely enough, of weak intellect, and could take no better part in the lawless career of the tribe, than in cutting away horses from their pickets at night, or such minor acts of night stealth. Their sister grew up a fine, well-knit woman, of no particular good looks, but of imposing aspect. She remains unmarried, her deceased mother's last injunctions having, it is said, been, "Look after your brothers; you will save enough to do there."

[*Postscriptum*.—To run on with the narrative, I would here introduce, even at the risk of a little repetition, the following story of *Grassia's daughter* and of her implacable cousin *Chambêlee* and her husband *Oomrao*, as taken from the account submitted by me of this enterprising robber tribe in a Report to the Government of India of a subsequent date : “ The habits of the Khunjur dacoits as highwaymen and footpads, have been often before described in my reports. The present bands are composed of the descendants of those old gangs of the tribe, so many members of which were brought to trial by this Department, and executed or sent beyond the seas, in its operations against this people in various remote parts of the country, their depredations formerly extending from Patna in Bengal to the Southern Mahratta country and the Madras Presidency, Guzerat and Kattyawár. Some of the leaders of the present gangs are the sons of deceased approvers, and one gang is under the leadership of the daughter of an approver of the tribe named *Grassia*, who was himself a most enterprising leader, who used to conduct his gang from Hindostán to Southern India, and there undertake and carry out many daring exploits. Seized at length, with several of his gang in the Sattarah Districts, he became one of my most useful approvers when I was the assistant of the Department for the Bombay territories. But when he died, which was of cholera when out on command duty, his widow, on presenting herself to me with her children—a girl and two boys—to announce her intention to return to her people in the jungles,

The Story
of
Grassia's
Daughter
and her
Cousin
*Chum-
bêlee*.

assured me (tearing off her necklace as she did so to signify at once her widowhood and her determination,) that it was *not possible* for them to follow any other vocation than that of their father, now that he was no longer, nor herself, the bond-servants of Government—that they had his deeds to emulate, and it should be her care to bring them up to do so. I met them some years subsequently in the jungles, when travelling in Central India. They were accompanied by *Oomrao*, the now grown-up son of another dacoit of the tribe, who had, with another robber (the same young man's *uncle*,) been hanged at Dharwar, on a committal by myself for trial for some atrocious dacoities attended with murder in the Southern Mahratta country (*vide* p. 435, vol. i.) All were then 'learning the trade,' but at present were 'only stealing horses from their pickets at night'; they had not yet turned their hands to *dacoitie*, but would now soon do so. The girl, now become a fine young woman of a stern and commanding appearance, informed me of the promise exacted from her by her now stricken mother, *never to marry*, and to lead the gang as another famous woman of the tribe, named *Tumbolin*, had done (*vide* pp. 101-112,) the traditions of whose achievements formed the burden of the camp songs of this gipsy people. Her two brothers were to be subject to her and do as she should bid them. I once again met them. The mother was now dead, and a small gang had been formed—'but we have not yet done anything very particular, you shall hear of us in good time'—and she

warned me to try neither to prevent nor reclaim her ; significantly adding, ‘ we have only stolen a few horses and robbed a sahib as he slept in his tent.’ But Oomrao, the young son of the executed dacoit above adverted to, had meantime married her beautiful cousin *Chumbélee*, and she had been abducted by *Amán*, the powerful leader of a gang of the tribe infesting *Punnah* territory in the direction of *Rewah*, who had himself been often in our custody, but had as often been released for want of sufficient evidence. He warned Oomrao to abstain, at the peril of his life, from endeavouring to trace or recover his wife, or to visit his gang, for that, being related to approvers (*Goindahs*, i.e., tell-tales as these were contemptuously called,) he would murder him. The incensed young dacoit resorted to me. He contrived to meet me by appointment or as he chose, in my frequent early rides or excursions in the open country, and he laid bare to me what the tribe was now about. All had reverted to dacoitie ; new gangs had been formed ; they were most busy in plundering opium and other convoys of goods and merchandise passing to and from Bombay and Indore ; he had himself taken part in some of these robberies ; with the old members of the tribe had passed away the fear which had been inspired by the former operations of this Department against them, while the traditions of their past exploits still animated them and were the pride, as they were the song, of the new generation ; *Grassia’s daughter* was indeed the leader of a gang, and she was in Berar with her

two brothers ; *if I would only get him back his wife*, he would assist me in renewing operations against his people, and would himself also submit to the ordeal imposed by the Department of being tried for his life. For now indeed there remained no members of the former gangs who were the accomplices of our old Khunjur approvers who had not either been captured or had died, *and new approvers were therefore necessary to carry on with.* I assented, and eventually succeeded, with the assistance through the local Durbar, of the Political Officer of the territory (the late Major Willoughby Osborne,) in recovering possession from *Amán* of the young man's wife. She was reluctant to return to him, *because, as the wife of an odious 'approver,'* as she would now be, she would not have the dresses, the ornaments, nor the forest freedom and amusements she would otherwise enjoy—and she endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose of assisting me, first by entreaties (which much exercised him,) and then by taunting him as a despicable traitor. But he abided by his promises, and, surrendering himself to me, recounted a narrative of his own criminal career. It stood the tests to which it was put by us in accordance with the practice of the Department over which I preside. The dacoities which he enumerated in it were found to have been actually committed, exactly in the manner he had narrated them ; the attendant circumstances were supported by collateral proofs ; the persons he named as his accomplices, were discovered really to exist and to

be the sons or relatives (the most of whom had been convicted dacoits,) of former gangs of the same tribe ; some of them were, too, in custody in different parts of the country under suspicion of dacoitie, and one small gang had even recently been convicted in the Court at Indore of the Agent of the Governor-General for the Central India States, *of a dacoitie in which he, Oomrao, was himself concerned*, and sentenced to short periods of imprisonment. On my obtaining access to some of these persons, I found that two of the number were the run-away sons of an old dacoit approver of the tribe, named *Kokátee*, whom I had myself seized and, after conviction, had admitted to approvership some years back in the Southern Mahratta country, when I was Assistant General-Superintendent at Belgaum. They and one or two others at once also confessed to me, and confirmed Oomrao in those acts of the crime in which they had taken part with him. *In this manner were the present operations renewed by us against the new gangs of this enterprising race of born robbers.* The proceedings against them in the period under report, are in continuation of what had been effected by us in that which preceded it, of which an account was submitted in my report of March, 1865 (*No. 224, para. 7.*) *Chumbélee* died very soon after the above events ; but *Amán* is still alive, at large, and full of wrath ; and *Grassia's* daughter still retains her gang. She has felt herself restrained for a time by the revelations of *Oomrao.*"^a (*Vide Colonel*

^a PP.S.—As pertinent to the occasion, I would here recount

Hervey's Report to the Foreign Office, No. 116A, dated 30th November, 1869, para. 22.)

Memo.—This particular gang, and Khunjurs generally, of whom one named *Jám Sing*, the irreclaimable son of an old and zealous approver named *Kunkia* (*vide pp. 158-59,*) again cropped up in Berar, where my assistant, Major W. G. Ward, subsequently had a great deal to say to them and sternly to handle them.⁹ Of Oomrao it may here be added

what I had said on the same subject at a previous date in reporting on the habits of the *Khunjur* dacoits, commonly called *Sánsyas* : “ Seldom detected in acts of dacoitie, and if detected and peradventure convicted, having every inducement to submit in silence to the comparatively slight imprisonment awarded them, from their knowing that their families would meantime be faithfully maintained by the rest of the tribe, these robbers continue to flourish with impunity. That caitiff is not half a robber, in the estimation of his people, who should be unable to submit to a few years of incarceration without breaking faith with his tribe. The girls of a colony will shun him for a husband who has not already shown that he can baffle the inquiries put to him by the shrewdest policeman, let him cross-question him ever so cleverly. A young married man of the tribe, who, weary of the enterpriseless life at our reformatory at Jubbulpore, had joined a colony now in Bendlekund, with the fullest intention of never conforming with the habits of his connections at Jubbulpore as approvers, whom he despised, was nevertheless at once deprived of his wife—with her own free consent as she has since informed me—his child murdered, and himself turned adrift with a threat of being killed should he ever dare to show himself among them again.” (*Report of Major Charles Hervey, General Superintendent, to E. C. Bayley, Esq. (the late Sir Edward Clive Bayley,) Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 566, dated 17th July, 1861, paragraph 26.*

⁹ P.S.—I left the following memorandum of this incorrigible fellow when I vacated office : “ *Jám Sing* was a small boy at the time of the capture of his father, Approver *Kunkia Khunjur*, for the dacoitie at *Gudduc* in the Dharwár district (*vide p. 158, footnote p. 160.*) I put him to school, by-and-by took him out *shikáring* with me, and, when he was old enough, made a Nujeeb of him, had him drilled, etc. But as he grew older he became un-

that, on the expiration of the sentence of ten years' imprisonment, he was, although serving meanwhile as an approver, set at liberty, the local political authority considering it was not competent to him to try him on the customary general charge, as was desired by the Special Department in view to his continued custody as an approver in accordance with departmental precedent. His previous trial had been on a specific charge only, and *it formed no part of the declined "general charge."* Oomrao did not, however, wish to be released, and requested he might be restored to approvership, being quite willing to undergo the ordeal of trial and sentence on the general charge, "as he was afraid of the vengeance of his people." It was said, however, after he was set at liberty, that he was *borne away backward* and had reverted to dacoitie.

12th July, Simlah.—We had a decision at last in the *Scot-Jervis* court-martial case, a telegram from home announcing that the Secretary of State for War had resisted in the House of Commons the call for the production of the proceedings in that

Result
of the
Scot-
Jervis
Court-
Martial.

steady and quarrelsome, and was constantly desirous to rejoin his people. His instincts revived, and both he and his younger brother went off to the jungles. He was occasionally heard of by the Department—first as a progressing thief and robber. He and his brother were next ascertained to *have enrolled themselves in the Berar Police*. Discovered in shielding their brethren, who were engaged in crime round about, and in other corrupt practices, both fled. Jám Sing was next imprisoned at Jalnah for stealing a horse. By-and-by both he and his brother were taken up for robbing the mail in Indore, and imprisoned; and then at length they came into the custody of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department at Jalnah. Both were subsequently released, the evidence not being regarded complete enough for their conviction in a trial. More will yet be heard of these two persons."

remarkable trial, and that the dismissal of Jervis from the Service had been finally confirmed, but that in consideration of the recommendation of the Court, he would be paid the value of his commission, 1800*l*.

Pensions
granted to
the
Families
of our
murdered
Men.

The Government of India have acceded to my application for a compassionate allowance for life to the widows of our five unfortunate fellows who fell into the hands of Gujjadhur Sing's banditti, and were cruelly murdered last December, and cast into the Chumbul near Kerowlie (*vide* p. 66, vol. ii.) It is nothing to be murdered, for that is soon over, but it is lasting to be starved by slow degrees. A deaf ear is never turned to such appeals in India, and the Government of India is ever foremost to listen to them with "a tear for pity, and a hand for melting charity."

A Concert-
Play.

We were at a concert-cum-play at night, a very full house of a mixed nature. The extravaganza was well got up, but the actors scarcely knew their parts, and thus many clever *hits* were lost to the audience. Amateurs are often an affected lot. They assume an indifference as to each other, very inconsistent with the interests of the *mutual reliance society* in which they enlist. If the ladies fall out at rehearsals they take to curtsying low to each other, while male members of the company look at one another contemptuously—"poor devil that thou art!"

13th July.—To prevent approvers from writing to others to speak tenderly of associates with whom they are about to be confronted, and whom they are

desirous to shield, and having a suspicion that way in some recent cases, I mention it to assistants, and desire them to require all letters through the Post Office addressed to approvers, to be delivered to themselves, such persons not being free agents, but convicts under custody : " Your attention is also drawn to the necessity of taking care that approvers shall not learn the names of the persons about whom they are likely to be examined, or with whom they are about to be confronted, before they are put to that test."

Precautions
against
Partial
Evidence.

I pay my respects to two ladies arrived from Rajpootanah on suffered leave. I am so hospitably received at the seldom occurring and distantly situated stations I pass through when travelling in Central India, Rajpootanah, and remote Guzerat, all more or less *ab orbe divisos*, that it is quite a pleasure to meet kind faces from there come up to see the world. The half-holiday of the day was further availed of, by our going down to Anandale to see Hugh at cricket and riding in some hurdle races, in both of which he acquitted himself.

Lady
Visitors
to Simlah

14th July, Sunday.—The Calcutta Charitable Institution was the theme in the discourse to-day of our excellent minister. Cholera flying about among the hill people inhabiting the interior mountains.

Cholera
in the
Interior.

15th July.—Ah! ah! we have one at least of Ward's four rescued prisoners once more in custody, Jowahirra himself! The capture was effected in Khandeish, so now we shall very soon

Recapture
of a
Rescued
Prisoner.

know all about that mystery. I hope to be able to make capital out of that rescue event—untoward though it was—to be led up to fresh gangs by the fresh information we shall get.

Attempt
to resist
Arrest.

Other good news to-day, comes from our detectives at Jeypore watching the progress of the great *Mohunpoora* dacoitie case lately mentioned (*vide* p. 121, vol. ii.) They caught sight in the *Jôhurree Bazaar*, a principal street in that city, of a man in their warrant named *Sheodeen Meena*. He fled, but was chased and captured, whereupon they were suddenly resisted by several men of the local camel *Rissâlah*, of which he was a member, who demanded his release. He had lately been taken into that corps, it being chiefly composed of his fellow tribesmen, the command of it being held by *Futtehjee Rhatore*, the Rajah's favourite now charged with procuring that dacoitie (*vide* p. 123.) Our men declined to give up their prisoner, and there was about to be an attempt to rescue him and a street row, when the *Durbar Chuprassee* attached to the detectives, advised the camel *Sowars* to desist, the arresting party being, he warned them, the employés of the British Government. Whereupon they dispersed, and the prisoner was retained. He happens to be of the number the local *mookhbirs* had already denounced as accomplices in the dacoitie mentioned. Two also of the men under local arrest for the same affair, have further been recognized by our fellows as their accomplices in three previous heavy dacoities, as previously recorded against them—two cases

against one, and one case against the other. I have claimed their transfer to us in the event of their acquittal of the crime for which they are in custody.

16th July.—A doubtful case of "Thuggee" has cropped up to-day among those under examination for report; for, from the information as yet received of it, I do not know where to classify the occurrence. According to the special report received by us, the life taken—of a young female twenty years of age—was effected "in the old professional way with the *roomál* or waist-cloth." The body was found concealed in a hollow close outside of a village near Lahore, where the deceased had resided with her parents. The poor girl had left the dwelling for a little while the previous evening at nightfall—not an unusual thing to do—wearing her usual ornaments, and on her not returning within the usual time, the consternation in the household was great. The ornaments she wore were not upon the dead body when discovered at morning. Suspicion attached to a male relative who was known to have had *liaisons* with other members of the family, and was regarded to harbour similar intentions with respect to her. The village headmen, however, believed she had been murdered by some of the people returning by the village that night from a neighbouring *mêla* or fair, and in this belief the poor girl's parents shared. The local magisterial officer, too, stated that "he did not think there was much ground for regarding this to be a case of professional Thuggee." But

A young
Girl
Poisoned.

if "Thuggee" is to way-lay, beguile, strangle, or poison, slay and rob, the present would, in such sense, be a case of it. The local police inquiries, however, have led to no further knowledge of the circumstances, and I mark it off as a case not "for the present" to be so included.

"Guspácheo."

17th July.—At our dinner party last night the soup served was *Guspácheo* (perhaps more correctly written *Guipuscoa*, a place in the province of Biscay,) a kind of liquid salad of Spanish invention, which when we were at Jubbulpore, used to be much relished by our guests in sultry weather. It slakes thirst, and creates healthy appetite. I would improve on our ordinary *menus*, and as it is a simple and wholesome dish to lead off dinner with, I here describe how to put it into takeable form. The *Khansáman* is instructed to have ready, close upon the dinner-hour, a table-spoonful of small onions and a few green chillies, both finely chopped, some cucumber pared close to the heart and sprinkled with salt, and some sliced raw tomatoes, all separately ready to hand. Just before the company arrives I mix these together, adding a table-spoonful of pure Italian olive oil, and of good Taragon vinegar, and of salt a salt-spoonful for each guest, and just before serving I throw in two tumblers of iced water, and over all some pulled bread-crumbs carefully toasted, or crisply toasted bread-crusts cut into small squares. There is also the ordinary soup for those who adhere to that steaming fluid, but I commend our *potage* as the proper *correctif* for hot weather, and

more consistent too, with the cooled drinks that follow suit. There is then no complaining at your cook for spoiling his own reeking decoction, or with yourself for taking any of it, nor any weary wakefulness during the night, or any fevered brow at morning, nor, as I will vouch for, any interior discomfort or bemoanings.

We hear of two cases of river dacoitie, both on the same night, in Bagirhaut of Bengal. The gang in one of them, is looked upon to be the same that committed a dacoitie upon a house in the same sub-division six months earlier. That particular part of the country abounds with creeks and rivulets, the villages are situated in the jungle and far between, and the boats used by the dacoits are light and swift, enabling them to row rapidly from place to place, and as rapidly to escape from the ill-constructed police guard boats. The robbers on these occasions, are generally armed only *with their paddles*, and some few occasionally with *lâthees* (cudgels or bludgeons,) but they seldom meet with any resistance from the timid people whom they are in the habit of plundering.¹

Desirous to facilitate the progress of the "Mohunpoora" dacoitie case now under trial at Jeypore (*vide* pp. 122, 178, vol. ii.,) I have, in order to lead to an easy understanding of it, to-day

¹ P.S.—In one of the river cases there were no arrests; in the other one, on the property of one *Môdhoo-sundun Shâ* (10th July,) nine arrested persons were set at liberty; and in a case earlier in the year (10th January,) of fourteen persons taken up twelve were released and two returned as convicted, sentences not communicated.

translated the whole of the original information respecting it, as it reached me, and from the vernacular record have written out a detailed narrative of the action taken thereupon, for future use, it being convenient to have such matters ready to hand *in English*, the vernacular papers, though full of every detail, being too numerous and too irksome for *others* to wade through, or, owing to their complexities, either readily or satisfactorily to research or sift; but this kind of thing is laborious, single-handed.

Dacoits
Tracked
by the
Fashion
of their
Shoes.

18th July.—I noticed of a mail robbery, and another act of plunder of occurrence a few nights subsequently, both near Dhoolia in Khandeish (*vide* pp. 341 and 347, vol. i.,) that by their *shoe-prints*, it seemed the perpetrators on both occasions were up-country men, and probably belonged to one and the same gang, also that I had directed the recapture of two persons who, *ex pede Herculem*, arrested on suspicion *by their shoes*, had been irregularly released (*vide* p. 347.) We are in luck; for not only has one of those two men, the one I more particularly suspected and wanted, been fortunately found, but he turns out to be, as I thought, *identical with Oodah Rhatore, one of the rescued four*;

Recapture
of Oodah,
one of the
four
rescued
Men.

and not only that, but through him the recapture of the notorious *Jowahirra*, another of the *Jálnah* fugitives (*vide* footnote p. 166, vol. ii.,) has also been effected (*vide* p. 177.) Oodah has made many admissions, short only of his own complicity and of his being one of those rescued ones, and that is how we have come round him—by affecting

to believe him, and so utilizing his information in discovering the other man ! We are greatly indebted to the local Bheel Police and its energetic Superintendent, Captain Oliver Probyn, an old acquaintance, for this important reprisal. I have mentioned their prompt action in the *Sowndha* dacoitie case (p. 199, vol. i.) and I would here say something of this excellent body of men. To the gallant *Outram*, my earliest friend and patron, is due the merit of withdrawing them and their kinsfolk from their lawless habits. The Bheels of Khandeish were looked upon as hopelessly untameable savages. He went in single-handed among them, took part in their sports and exercises, joyed and sorrowed with them, and awed them by his feats of prowess in facing tigers and other wild beasts infesting their intricate fastnesses, excelling their own daring fearlessness in such pursuits : nor did he hold back from witnessing with the same undismay, but with kindled pity, their demoniac orgies on occasions of the "mysteries" of their chiefest festivals—exhibitions which were truly awful. Permitted at length by Government—long stirred by their excesses, but never able efficiently to quell them—to enrol and discipline a body of the mad lot, the "Khandeish Bheel Corps" soon acquired a reputation under his popular leadership, which placed it for efficiency and dash among the best of our partisan levies,² and, under the

Captain
Oliver
Probyn.

The
Khandeish
Bheel
Corps :
Outram.

² P.S.—The following extract is here added on this subject, from a notice of *Outram's* career published by the *Calcutta Englishman*, on the morning of the ceremony of unveiling that hero's beautiful statue at Calcutta, by Lord Napier of Magdala, in the

same judicious treatment pursued by Outram, and reclaimed at great trouble and expense from their wild and predatory state, they now present a compact body of armed retainers, with a high feeling of attachment to the service, invaluable as a police admirably suited to the requirements of the country inhabited by the tribe, and co-apt with and acceptable to the wild race which they represent.

Arrest of
some
Gwalior
Outlaws.

19th July.—Am right glad to hear from Moona Sing, the duffedar specially appointed to the duty (*vide* p. 382, vol. i.,) that he had arrested some of the banditti concerned in the murder of our poor

presence of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and of the troops of the garrison of Fort William and a vast concourse of the inhabitants of the city, European and Native, the authorship of which I may now avow:—"The untameable Bheels of the Vindya and Sâtpoora ranges, ravage the country and rush back to their impenetrable fastnesses, unpunished; and who will trust himself among the savages? Season after season beholds every military expedition failing to subjugate them. The indecisive chastisement inflicted, but tempers them to further resistance and fresher raids; and the Bombay Government despair ever to reclaim or to reconcile them. Outram goes merrily in among them to hunt with them in their wilds; slays their most dreaded beasts, and *chaffs* them. They witness his prowess, are awe-struck by his mien and daring, and, charmed by his address, they offer him allegiance. They regard him as an *Avatar*, and gather to celebrate in his presence the orgies of *Gummut Deo* (their god of pleasure,) extemporizing for their symbol of the worship, a large stone which had for ages mysteriously, as it seemed to them, lain at the bottom of one of their wildest ravines, and upon which *he* had stood while waiting, unattended, for the beat they were driving down upon him. Or, is a wounded tiger at bay in his den, and rockets fail to turn him out? At a moment's thought, Outram rushes in upon the beast, to the dismay of the wild men, thrusts his rifle into the monster's distended mouth, and slays him. The Bheels are turned into a corps of riflemen, and, with Captain Outram at their head, they restore tranquillity, to the region within the scope of their raids, and to this day are the smartest of our police train-bands."—(*Calcutta Englishman*, 23rd May, 1874.)

fellows in the Dholepoor jungles last December, *Oomrao Sing* being one of them.

Some Madras men have just been detained on suspicion, while working their way across to the Southern Concan on the Bombay side, who declare themselves to be *only bird-catchers*. It is not often that this people have excited more than a passing notice when met with, but our own records show instances of their progress across country being similarly arrested. I wait, however, for proof of the actual occurrence of any offence, the present rainy period in those parts, being the season for their legitimate pursuit of *feather gathering*. I myself on one occasion when employed down there, from my convenient post between those two territories (Madras and Bombay,) intercepted a gang of them on its way from Madras to Rutnagherry on the Bombay coast. Openly they *are* bird-catchers, and as such convey the plumage of the birds, ensnared by them in the low marshes of the Concan, to Calcutta or Madras, from where the supply is sent to China; and from China, the feathers are imported back to India in the shape of those beautiful fans so much in request among European ladies, who little suppose how much the story of those lovely feathers, and of the pursuit of the occupation, is sometimes connected with some very dark deeds of crime. The conviction, however, of the wary and certainly enterprising race, has not been frequent, whatever our own special knowledge of their secret habits.³

³ P.S.—*Chirree-Márs* are bird-catchers from the coast of

Club
Dinner.

At evening Hugh and I were of Colonel Vaughan's guests at dinner at the Club, where dinner-giving is frequent at this season, the cuisine under the manipulation of *Mugh* cooks, unexceptional, and wines the choicest. Commend me to "Christopher's Champagne" of our Club brand, whatever the other vintages here or elsewhere—particularly to an iced *magnum* bottle of it! No "nectared sweets" can compare with it!

21st July, Sunday, Simlah. — Whether from "*Simkin*," or a fresh cold, made worse by going out last night, or a fit of laziness, stayed at home to-day!

Madras. Properly, they are a ramification of the Korwee tribe, and their language is Teleegoo. They get money advances for their feather crop, and then sally forth in bodies of from ten to twenty persons, stretching right across the peninsula into the Konkun, snaring principally kingfishers and birds of brilliant plumages, the skins of which they convey to the Madras coast, from where they are exported to China and are there converted into those pretty fans and feathered ornaments that are imported from China to India and Europe. But they are *gang robbers* too, as often as they find the opportunity. They supply themselves, when periodically setting out on such feather collecting expeditions, with *nux vomica* and other medicines to use as antidotes against snake-bites, to which they are so much exposed while engaged in catching the birds they want in the swamps of the Konkun, where, chiefly, such birds are to be found, and they seem to care little when snake-bitten, their habit being daily to take an infinitesimal dose of powdered "*koochla*" (*nux vomica*), for two or three months before setting out, by their doing which they declare they become impervious to any evil effects from the bites of snakes or other venomous things for quite six months to come." (Taken from a List of seventy-one wandering and other predatory tribes infesting the districts of the Bombay territory, with their occupations, ostensible and real, etc., drawn up by Captain Charles Hervey, Assistant General Superintendent of the Thuggee Department. No. 1, New Series of Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government in the Police Branch, 1858.)

22nd July.—The returns of poisoning cases for the Central Provinces, examined to-day, present indications which cause me apprehension. I mentioned some time back the case of a railway official, how his food had been tampered with, and he nearly poisoned to death by his servants, two Thug-born fellows from our depôt at Jubbulpore (*vide* p. 51, vol. ii.) The present reports from Jubbulpore, include a “murder by poison;” a case of robbery “after administering poison,” the deed, it would seem of a scoundrel, upon three fellow-workmen employed, like himself, as masons on the railway; and the murder of a man and his wife, “found strangled” within their own dwelling-place. These, and some other instances of crime in the same neighbourhood (Jubbulpore,) of prior and subsequent date, make me feel anxious. I fear some of our own people, the offshoots of our depôt down there, may like those *Thug-zádas* (Thug-born,) be at work. For although these cases are not locally attributed to “professional” criminals, and the persons taken up for them have been discharged, still we cannot be too watchful over such occurrences, or be too suspicious when they take place. In watching professional criminals of hereditary descent, this is doubly necessary. When lately the special Dacoity Agency, long kept up in Bengal, was abolished, and the dacoit approvers appertaining to it were summarily allotted, under the orders of the local Government, to four selected districts, and there placed under the so-called “surveil-

Poisoning
by Thug
Offspring.

Released
Dacoit
Approvers
revert to
Dacoities.

lance" of the local police, I remonstrated at the arrangement, no previous reference as to its advisability having been made to *myself* as General Superintendent, or sanction obtained from the Supreme Government, without which "it was not competent," I said, to any local Government to release convicted thugs or dacoits, which those approvers were. It followed, as I had anticipated, that the freed approvers at each of those points, *reverted to dacoitie*. In one instance they were joined by some local police constables, *their supposed custodians* (approvers convicted and sentenced *five*, constables *three*, other accomplices *four*.) in another they escaped detection; in the third case the gang numbered thirty-five men (approvers convicted *nine*, a "Thug-záda," or son of an approver, *an enrolled member, too, of the city police, one*, the rest of the gang having been invited by these men from the neighbouring district!) and in the fourth instance, the approvers were even living *in the local police lines*, and the place selected for the dacoitie was in a neighbouring village. They committed this last affair, the report stated, "in the old professional way, with lighted torches, their faces blackened, and bodies half naked" (approvers convicted *four*.) I recently, on like grounds, objected to the liberation of certain Thug convicts from the jail at Bangalore down Mysore, whose release had been proposed in consideration of their long incarceration. In support of my objection I quoted, among numerous other instances, the example of the release of the Thug

offspring who, as before noticed (p. 54, vol. ii.) afterwards became a very notorious Thug Jemadar, although he had been a *détenu*, along with his mother, during the whole period of his boyhood, and was supposed to be untainted. On the Bangalore occasion I was consulted by the local administration, at that period presided over as Chief Commissioner, by Mr. Lewin Bowring, the indefatigable and hard-fagged Private Secretary of Lord Canning throughout the period of the Mutiny, and a most able member of the Bengal Civil Service, Mr. Ch. Saunders, of the same service, being the Judicial Commissioner of the Province. My advice against the proposed clemency was followed,* and I here quote, as bearing

A released
Thug Lad
becomes
a great
Thug
Jemadar.

* The following anecdote of an escaped Thug may be regarded to be relevant to this subject. I quote it from my account of it:—

“So inexorably, indeed, did the approvers perform their duty, that but a few years ago, when I was the Assistant General Superintendent for the Bombay territories, an old Thug, who *thirty-five* years previously was transported to the Mauritius, and there had almost become a Frenchman, escaping at length from the island in a French ship and landing at Bombay, was at once tracked by one of my approvers, notwithstanding his changed appearance and French gait; who, when brought before me, *accosted me in French*, and implored to be taken back to transportation, as that it was perfect misery to remain in a country from which, as he had learnt since his escape to it, every one of his male relations and acquaintances had been swept away—had either been hanged, or been sent beyond seas, or imprisoned in fetters for life—and almost every female had died from destitution—and the only person who lived to tell him the tale was his sister, whom he had left at his village a blooming girl, but who now had become a miserable infirm old woman, coming from whose lips this sad history of all those whose memory he had clung to through many years of sorrow and oppression, had fallen upon him with redoubled horror. I suffered him to live in the lines of the Department, but he died soon after from sheer

Story of a
Thug
escaped
from the
Mauritius.

Convicts
let out on
sufferance,
turn Gang
Robbers.

on the subject, what occurred within my own executive experience in a like case:—"Owing to his years and, as I thought, his infirmity, I had permitted an aged Khaikaree dacoit of eighty, who had so long ceased from taking any active part in dacoitie, that no one of the approvers with me had been his actual accomplice in any act of robbery, to reside in the lines of the Department at this station (Belgaum,) also a young Khaikaree lad who had not yet been present in any gang robbery. Three other lads whom I had before released for the same reason, also another, a seeming blear-eyed old man between sixty and seventy years of age, whom also I had looked upon as bodily 'unfit,' I suffered to live in the neighbourhood, having obtained employment for them all as daily labourers on the roads under the local Executive Engineer, with the exception of the first old man, who was too aged to perform any manual labour. After some months, I was very much concerned at learning of some gang robberies taking place in the immediate vicinity of Belgaum (my post!) I felt that as I was then engaged in having so many dacoits arrested and punished, it was not likely that any distant gang would be so bold as to visit that neighbourhood; and I began strongly to suspect that some of the people about me were concerned. After some

woe."—Of another Thug fugitive I may here relate, that after many years of successful, but, as he told us, always troublous concealment, he was at length traced and discovered as the gun-cleaner and *shikáree* of the sporting Rajah of Bulrámpore.

little time I succeeded in ascertaining, beyond every doubt, that the above persons formed indeed the gang, fostered in a manner *by myself*! Four of the number admitted the fact: the first old man had obtained all preliminary information as to the houses to be robbed—he planned the robberies; the second old man conducted them in person; the lads formed his gang; it had been regularly organized, and everything that was done, had been done *systematically*. The responsibility of this fact seemed to me to be enormous.”

“It would be curious” (I went on saying,) “should the above circumstance operate with Government more strongly than anything else I have advanced against the leniency proposed to be exercised. To be compelled to oppose clemency, and not meet in the same spirit the magnanimity by which it has been prompted, is the most humiliating feature of my duties; but I am assured it will be felt, from what I have submitted, that protection to the lives and property of our peaceable subjects is the paramount consideration. I indulge even in the hope that it will be perceived, that while such atrocious crimes continue to be practised by a people who have for generations been a pest to the inhabitants of the country at large—that while such people continue addicted to their evil habits and tendencies—the time cannot have arrived to relax any of the measures that have been adopted to suppress them.” To this I here add, that no advantage would arise from colonizing such people, or of

Undue
leniency
depre-
cated.
“Guan-
dianship”
is frus-
trated and
evaded.

Vain to
Colonize.

placing guardians over them, for (as was also my predecessor's experience) we have had numerous instances in which both had failed, and "not one in which either had succeeded." Small police guards have been placed near such robber colonies as guardians; but they have always been found to connive at their offences from motives whether of fear or of interest.

23rd July.—In the Returns of Highway Dacoitie for the period still under report, there occurs a remarkable case, and as it is connected with a personal adventure, I transcribe what I have noted of it. A good deal of crime of a murderous sort had been taking place on the line of railway then under construction over the *Thull Ghát* trending Bombay-wards, and I resolved, as will be seen, to travel that way in order personally to obtain, if to be done, some inkling as to the tactics of the perpetrators. To pierce that mountain barrier down as if to the level of the low-lying country below it, was a stupendous undertaking on the part of the indomitable Railway Engineers who had accepted that labour; but always indefatigable and everywhere *never* to be deterred by obstacles (of which the similar tunnelling of the *Bhóre Ghát*⁵ leading to Bombay from the Deccan,

The Constructor of the original Cartway over the Bhóre Ghat.

⁵ P.S.—To *Captain G. W. Hughes*, of the Bombay Army, was due the merit of laying out and constructing, earlier in the present century, the first practicable road over the Bhóre Ghát, as it was to *Captain Peter Delamotte* (subsequently the General Officer who in 1845 commanded the operations of the campaign in the Southern Mahratta country,) to cut out from the multitude of bewildering rocks, the road, now the pleasant evening drive

which had also interposed the way, was a proud example,) the gigantic operation had been successfully accomplished, one only link, and that over a very difficult portion of the line, remaining to be completed, and it was of that *hiatus* that the robbers dexterously availed themselves. Among the numerous travellers on the particular occasion referred to, were a couple of *Juttees* from Bikaner, members of the same remarkable race mentioned in the account of my journey to that desert city (*vide* page 158, vol. i. :⁶) “At that time the railway over the Thull Ghát connecting the *Egutpoora* and *Kussára* stations, had not yet been completed, and the habit was for railway passengers on arrival at either terminus, which for

round Breach Candy and Malabar Hill in Bombay. I was at Addiscombe with the youngest son of the former officer. He came out after myself, and I well remember his father, the simple old infantry officer, but a practical engineer of no ordinary merit, then long retired from active service, following soon subsequently, as well once more to behold his young son and an elder one, both of the Bombay Army, as again to visit the scene of his labours, and be there lost in contemplation of the difficulties he had overcome, and in wonder of the marvellous accomplishment of that task! Of course all that kind of thing is mere *bagatelle* now-a-day, but in those former times there were not the means and appliances, nor yet the scientific acquirements possessed by engineers of the present period, and the engineering difficulties were consequently ten-fold.

⁶ P.S.—The *Getæ*, whose forefathers so obstinately opposed the invasion of their country by Alexander the Great: Pronounce the leading letter of the old Greek formation of the name of that tribe (one said to be of Scythian origin,) as you would the letter J, and the succeeding letter as a short vowel (as both should be but for our knack of mispronouncing every word that is not *English*,) and take the next succeeding letter into the first syllable, you then get exactly the name by which these people call themselves to the present day, namely *Juttee*. I add this under correction.

Personal
Adven-
ture.

How
properly
pronounce
the word
Getæ.

the down train was generally at about *midnight*, to hurry over the intervening *eleven* miles of Ghat road, afoot or in the diminutive two-wheeled carts which plied there, called *tángas*, drawn by a couple of small ponies, a common mode of conveyance in that part of the country. Robberies on passengers who lingered behind, had then lately often taken place, and the *tánga* drivers were suspected to be implicated. In the present case the *tánga* conveying the two Juttee travellers then just arrived at Egutpoora by the night train, lagged behind the great bulk of the other passengers. It was accompanied by another similar conveyance occupied by three persons, who feigned to be also railway passengers, and by-and-by the two Juttees were barbarously murdered by these ruffians, themselves cartmen whose vehicles had got no hire. They were joined in the foul deed by the drivers of those two *tángas*. The throat of one man was described to have been cut 'as a goat's would be.' The other Juttee manfully resisted, but being at length overpowered, he also was butchered. The local police now, by my experiment I have supposed, made aware of the method observed by these skulking miscreants, were quickly on the spot, displaying too, more than their usual mettle, a quality they before had lacked. Four of the criminals were promptly captured, of whom three were soon after hanged, one having been admitted as Queen's evidence; and only one man remains unarrested."*—I was, as I have said, travelling unaccompanied, along

* Taken from my report of the occasion.

the same road in the same way shortly *previously*, and, as I may consider, I narrowly escaped a like fate; for I had purposely loitered behind in my *tánga*. The road was very wild and lonely, and the distant voices of the numerous passengers who had hurried on ahead, were now only faintly heard. Presently two men appeared from concealment behind the rocky wayside. They crossed and re-crossed the head of my cart, for it was being slowly driven, but being advised of me, by the driver of it in the Mahratta language, "Wait—he is still awake," they desisted, and I expected to be attacked further on. But presently a tiger was observed standing upon a projecting rock overhanging the cart track. The waning moon from behind plainly revealed this new visitor's figure. Of his presence somewhere about, the two little ponies harnessed to my *tánga*, had before given indications by pricking their ears, snorting, and becoming uneasy. Others, I have no doubt, have experienced like myself, when travelling by night through forest tracks or a jungly country on horseback, this perception of a wild beast being somewhere near and about, and the consequent recklessness unmistakably displayed by the horses they bestrode. The sensation is a very unpleasant one; for the syce or horsekeeper stepping by the side of your horse in the darkness of the night or in the uncertain light of the flickering torch, is also in the deepest awe. The men with you will shout out and all that—faint utterings and mild defiance at loudest—and

the torch-bearers will fling about their flambeaux flurriedly, but, none the less, all huddle together affrighted, and it is as much as you can manage, amid the general consternation, to keep your horse from bolting incontinently—where to you know not ! On the present occasion the sudden apparition was a climax. It maddened the two little tattoos attached to the tánga, already violently agitated as they were by the previously scented bodily presence of the jungle monarch. Stay to perform obeisance—never ! With ears erect, heads uplifted, nostrils distended and stertorous, and altogether unmanageable, they started—they rushed the dreaded spot—and then with down-stretched heads and stiffened tails, they tore on wildly at their hardest pace—a mad chase along the narrow and precipitous way, at best but a cart track with broken rocky ground on either side—frantically pelted through the soon overtaken passengers, in and among them to their great peril and the imminent risk of my collapsed driver, and not a little alarmed self—nor stopped nor stayed, until they had brought me in safety, as I was thankful to acknowledge, to the Kussára Railway Station, the goal of that midnight stampede ; and there I was informed by the station-master and employés at the wildly solitary post, that a tiger had for several nights been prowling about the place, and that one had even been seen there at an earlier hour that very night. I felt very much indebted to that tiger, short and untender as would have been the mercy shown by His

Majesty too ; but I thought I would have preferred to have been left to him, than to the human monsters I had so nearly fallen among. I could on my part, for his opportune service to me, have wished, for the grace of his abstention, that he had been spared a longer shrift than was the fate of those miserable cut-throats who waylaid me, though he were even a *man-eater* ; but the fine brute was himself slain shortly after by some railway sportsmen, ever on the look-out for such big game. The rôle, sociable and not, personated in this tale of plot and retaliation, was, it will be perceived, *five-fold*—myself, the local police, the murderers, the tiger, and the gentlemen of the railway—of whom in this five-handed competition, where all were perhaps equally bloodthirsty, the marplo tiger proved the *saving clause* !

Tigris agit rabidâ cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam : sævis inter se convenit ursis.

24th July.—I was very pleased at receiving a letter this morning from an old native friend who had long not written to me—one *Goondo Bapoojee Kurrulgeekur*, of Gokák near Belgaum, in the Southern Mahratta country. He says he desired much to see me, was “extremely unhappy for having nothing heard from you since a long time. I am greatly indebted to you for your having shown innumerable kindness towards me which I often remember.” Good cause had he to be so mindful, for our acquaintance began strangely, and the story of it was full of incident. Three brothers living at Gokák together formed a firm of Sahoocars

The
Dacoities
at Gokák.

under the business name of "Kurrulgee-kur," from their ancestral village of *Kurrulgee*. They had grown old thus associated, and with them resided the grown-up son of one of the three. He was their heir, the other two being childless. A nephew, namely my friend *Goondo*, the only son of a deceased younger brother, also resided with them, and he unfortunately was not a favourite with his three old uncles. Suddenly one evening at nightfall, or "lamp-lighting time," the hour invariably chosen by *Khunjurs*, the class concerned, some of whose excesses I have described before (*vide* p. 101, vol. i.), to commit dacoitie, their premises were invaded by a band of robbers, one of them holding a flaming torch, upon whose appearance the several *karkoons* or accountants of the establishment, seated in the verandah occupied in drawing up the transactions of the day, hastily got up and fled, and two of the aged partners intuitively concealed themselves, the nephew being in an inner apartment; but the other old man and his son fell into the hands of the bandits and both were instantly speared. The strong room, previously marked down when exploring the premises, was next broken into by a blow from a hatchet against its ponderous padlock, and the money-bags and other valuables deposited in it, rifled and carried off. With spearmen in front, spearmen behind, and the plunder-bearers in their centre, the gang bodily escaped through the town, boldly shouting defiance and aiming blows at anyone they chanced to meet. Five persons were murdered on this

occasion and five others were wounded. The event, one of a series of similar robberies in the same direction, created great consternation ; for not only did the surviving partners of the firm, suspect their obnoxious nephew of procuring the dacoitie—for “ had he not now become heir to the estate ? ”—but the local political and magisterial authorities, on the other hand, believed, that the deed was rather to be attributed to a *political* aim. For among the murdered persons was a man who held a position of influence in the neighbourhood, by whose death the succession to his estate and dignity was diverted into another line, and it was supposed the dacoitie was a covert act by which to compass that end. This man was the *Déssae* or manorial proprietor, of an important district in those parts called *Wuttoor*, and it chanced that he had arrived at Gokák on the very evening of the outrage, and, with his attendant horsemen and followers, had alighted under an open lean-to shed or verandah, of a *Dhurmsála* situated in the street opposite to the house that was attacked. The dacoits, however, had no interest whatever in either the descent of the *Wuttoor* manorship, or the entail of the *Kurrulgee* banking estate. The leader of the gang was the same *Grassia Naik* whom I have mentioned before (pp. 107 and 167, vol. ii.,) and he had come down to those distant southern parts from the *Oudh Terae and Central India* on an expedition of dacoitie to be committed wherever he had the opportunity. It was his last feat, for he was arrested at *Sattara* not long after. When the

gang had assembled on the appointed evening at the preconcerted spot outside of the place where their weapons had been previously concealed, the leader, in usual course, entered the town—not only to obtain oil for the torch, but to take a last look round about the doomed premises, and he perceived that some armed men had alighted at the Dhurm-sála indicated, *who would require to be looked to.* “He and his men (I quote from my printed report of the event,) had travelled several miles that day with the settled purpose of committing this dacoitie, as planned fully a month previously. A bad omen which occurred that morning when they had started to commit it, had moreover been discharmed and converted into a propitious one. The wife of one of the gang had died a few days previously and her obsequies had been carefully performed; but, following that event so very immediately, their superstitious fears were scared at meeting, on the morning of their setting out on their predetermined purpose, the dead body of a man as it was being borne along for cremation. This boded evil, and thereupon one of their number, to make it of none effect, promptly went up to the bier and *pointed his stick against the face of the corpse*, by which act the supposed threatened calamity was averted, and the gang felt themselves free to proceed with their enterprise. Their leader was not now, therefore, to be deterred from his purpose by the mere accident of the advent of the Dêssae and his armed retainers in close proximity to the point of attack. Returning to the spot where his men

had assembled, and, ready armed, were awaiting him, he rapidly told off each man to his appointed part, and merely remarked to a tried member of the gang, named *Hurree*, on whom, on occasions of danger or difficulty, he had always relied, and who, with three others, was to post himself in the street adverted to, that in the shed "over the way there" he would find a personage wearing a wide white *pugree*, who and his attendants *should be seen to* if they stirred at all in the matter. The consequence was that the man and two of his companions were speared outright, and five of his followers were wounded."—The dacoits were not thus, in communication with any local parties. Certainly they knew nothing of *Goondo* or his family affairs. Their leader learnt that the firm was a *rich one*, and that being all he wanted to know, he visited their "Dookan" or place of business in person early one morning, and in the usual way asked them to change some money which he produced of another part of the country, for local currency. One of the old men thereupon unlocked the fastenings of a chamber opening on the same corridor where their business was transacted, and brought out from it the required change. By this the robber leader learnt the situation of the money room, and marked it down accordingly (*vide* p. 106, vol. ii.) The booty was not a very considerable one; but the gang numbered twenty-one men, and they all got clear away with it several hundred miles, despite the presence at the gate of the town, of a strong party of Mahratta Horse who might

have pursued them had they been so minded. Suspected of instigating the deed, in view to inheriting the property of his surviving uncles, *Goondo the nephew* was arrested, and his life was in great jeopardy. He was kept in custody for six months, and every endeavour made to get him convicted, and he was greatly incensed at the prosecution he had been subjected to by his two uncles. Smarting under a sense of the injustice he had suffered, he burned to be revenged upon them, and he leapt up eagerly at the intelligence of my successes just about then, against dacoits who had depredated in that quarter (in the Gudduc case then particularly, *vide* p. 158,) for I was stationed in the neighbourhood, and he pressed me for information by which he should at last be relieved of the horrible suspicion he had laboured under. For some of the gang, including Grassia, had fallen into my custody, of whom (Hurree being one,) seven were indeed sentenced to transportation for life for this very act of dacoitie (the rest being similarly accounted for by the special department at different subsequent dates,) and it was well known that the dacoitie at Gokák had been revealed to me by the approvers I had admitted from that particular tribe (*vide* p. 167.) I endeavoured to dissuade him from pressing his complaint, to spare his aged uncles now that he had been so completely vindicated and they themselves overwhelmed with a sense of the wrong they had inflicted upon him. But he had not then been long released from durance, and was obdurate—declared their endea-

your was to get him hanged—that had they succeeded in their charges, he certainly would have been hanged—was he to let them off? So that, when the real culprits were proceeded against by me and condemned, he, in his turn, preferred charges against his two relatives and against their witnesses of false imprisonment and conspiracy, and both old men were convicted accordingly and sentenced each to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, and the others for various shorter periods. Prior to their arrest and trial, however, the two old men, now thoroughly alarmed, first sent, and then secretly came to me and made me high offers if only I would suppress the information which should prove their nephew's innocence.' I

' P.S.—Several cases of the innocence of convicted parties had come to light in the course of the operations I was engaged in at this period, and in reporting upon another flagrant instance thereof in the same connection as the above case at Gokák, I felt it necessary to give an explanation of the *accident* of such discoveries, and the delicacy and untowardness of my position in respect thereto: "The case of the dacoitie at *Gokák* (that above described,) will be in your recollection; how nearly similar conduct on the side of the plundered parties brought an innocent person (their nephew) to condign punishment. On proofs, adduced from this office, of that outrage having been the act of dacoits from Hindostan then in my custody, the accused and sometime imprisoned man, prosecuted those parties, and the result was *their conviction and sentence to fines and imprisonment*. It had been my endeavour to dissuade him from proceeding against them, and rather to remain satisfied with the establishment of his own innocence. The emphatic reply was, *they would have had him hanged had they succeeded in establishing their accusation against him!* And I adduce that circumstance as an example of the present case, that under the law on which the arraigned parties in it, ten in number, were committed for trial, *they were liable to the extreme penalty (death) prescribed therein for an offence of such a nature.*

"So serious, then, might have been the result of the trial, that

believe they both fulfilled the period of the punishment awarded them. The nephew, any how, soon

I submit for consideration, whether, upon the issue of the present inquiry, the *télee* (oilman) and his family " (upon whose house a dacoitie had been committed and who perjured themselves as against the persons wrongfully convicted of it,) "should not, as a public example, be driven with ignominy from their present village, the punished parties be restored to it with marked consideration, and the police patell and members of police, mentioned in the record, deprived of place and employment, and the police patell himself (village headman) heavily fined.

"I am led to this course because, even with the encouragement I have been honoured with by Government, to use my utmost endeavour in such cases to enable it to make every reparation to parties who may have been wrongfully punished, and with every consciousness of the duty being a laudable one, I find myself drawn into these inquiries very unwillingly; and I would, therefore, have it felt that it was not in vain that the misconduct of the native police is investigated and brought to light, when so calculated, as it was in the present case, to mislead and misdirect their European superiors.

"My part in bringing such transactions to light, arising out of the nature of the duties with which I have been publicly entrusted, naturally places me, I feel, in an invidious position. Over that, from the manner in which such acts become discovered to have been the deed of professional dacoits, deposed to as they are by approvers, *not with any special reference to any one particular act of crime, but elicited in the course of the examination to which these persons are subjected with the view to ascertaining the number and nature of those they may have committed at different periods during their respective careers*, I am satisfied it will be perceived that I have myself no control. But the question arises—to what extent may not such instances as the present, of the conviction of innocent persons, become multiplied; and how check for the future all chance of any recurrence of such convictions? With respect to the latter, it may occur to Government that its sense towards the parties through whose agency false witness has been borne and evidence suborned, where so palpable as in the present instance, should be summarily marked as the most effectual means of deterring others; and, in regard to the former, it is a matter beyond conjecture, and I must trust to continued support in the performance of a duty of so unpleasant a nature." (Taken from a letter from Captain Charles Hervey, Assistant General Superintendent No. 173, 22nd October, 1852, paras. 10 to 13.)

after succeeded to their estate. I had not heard from him since the above events, and I have replied to his present letter advising him to travel to Upper India now that railways had so much facilitated such long journeys:—"You are at the head of a prosperous firm, your agents are probably men whom you could trust, it would be an advantage to you to travel about and see Delhi and the territories your countrymen formerly invaded and occupied."

25th July.—The final completion of these statistics give a great deal of trouble; for so much continues to come in from time to time, that the figured statements require repeated alterations. They unfold, however, much that is interesting and eventful, such as I may avail myself of at some future period when *retrospecting* in the hoped-for quietness of retirement. To-day I have been revising the returns for *West Berar*, and I take from the tale the following, as an example of the extent of supervision and the variety of the criminal classes included in the scope of our ken. It shows also the *long-handedness* of our work. In the published List of seventy-one wandering and other Predatory Tribes supplied by me to the Bombay Government before adverted to (*vide* footnote p. 186,) were mentioned two designated *Párdhees* and *Phánsi-Párdhees*, Dacoitie Statistics. *Párdhees*, both affined classes and being indeed identical but for residence and mode of livelihood, the former being of settled habitations and living chiefly by plunder, the latter itinerant and subsisting by snaring game; yet both essentially "shikárees" or

hunters in their respective degrees, those hunting large game and running down wild hog with dogs, and these or the *Phánsi-Párdhees*, contenting themselves with snaring peacocks, partridges, antelope and suchlike, cleverly managed by setting nooses or *phánsi* (whence their name,) strongly pegged into the ground where game abounded, and made of catgut. I have watched these indefatigable trappers driving antelope most patiently, unperceived and by slow degrees, towards the snares planted across the track or circuit a herd would be wont to follow, and only when closely approached to the forelaid ground, would the stealthy beaters urge the timid lot to a quicker pace, and anon, by shouts and openly showing themselves, to consternation and wilder flight, the hallooing generally ending in three or four head of deer being helplessly caught by their feet and entangled among the staked-down meshes. Equally clever are they in circumventing *jackals*. Wrapped up or encased in a jackal skin and provided with a stout short club, one of them lying out, will at nightfall answer the challenge call of the male jackal with a similar characteristic prolonged counter yelp or re-echo most exactly imitated. This forthwith brings up the unsuspecting champion to avenge the vaunt, and not a moment is lost in beginning the provoked encounter, preceded by angry snarls on either side, both real and the pretended, whereupon the bold but cozened true jackal, is forthwith dexterously cudgelled and slain. The latter or *Phánsi-Párdhees* are the proto-

types of the other section of the tribe: They are *shikárees* pure and peaceable : not so the other lot or "Pardhees," who under the cloak of their being also hunters, affect when taken up, to be the same inoffensive people. Their sport, however, is large game, for the ostensible purposes of pursuing which they possess themselves with swords and spears and matchlocks, and, further to mystify and confute research or inquiry, they reside mostly in villages and engage themselves as village watchmen and night guards. But all this is only their exoteric habit and their ruse, their *secret* practice being to commit gang robbery, in following which they are both bold and enterprising. They do not rob at any very remote distances from their homes, although going sometimes a long way for the purpose, and they are not generally thought to rob with open violence, yet rob in a manner so nearly bordering upon it, that a very slight change of circumstances or position, converts them into veritable dacoits. At their villages the so-called *Párdhees* are known also as *Tákinkárs*, from their further ostensible occupation of mending and pointing mill-stones, by their going about in towns and villages offering to do which, they obtain information of places for future plunder. These people are to be met with chiefly in the Berars, in Khandeish, and the Moghullai or Nizam's territory. Higher up in India they may be recognized as identical with the race called *Bowreas* in Marwár and in the Saharunpoor and Delhi districts, and with the *Búgrees* of Malwa ; both confirmed

dacoits in those regions and frequently coming within our operations. The "Párdhees," then, are often formidable robbers of the professional order. Their common way, however, of effecting an entrance into a place marked for plunder, is, by means of long single bamboos or poles with short sticks tied across them and projecting on either side, to scale the loftiest walls and places, and thus be enabled to reach and force closed or blocked-up doors and windows the least thought of or distrusted by the inmates by reason of their very loftiness. I had only lately established a sub-agency of the Department in West Berar, with head-quarters at *Akolah*, with the "Hydrabad Assigned Districts" comprehended in what is territorially designated *the Berars*, for its circle of supervision. The officer appointed to the charge of it (Captain T. Davies,) was what was called a "Local Officer" in the service of H.H. the Nizam, and he was also the police officer of the district, not at all deficient in energy, as will be seen, and from education and local associations thoroughly, by birth, conversant with native ways, and very well qualified for the duty under watchful supervision. I have had the assistance of three or four such gentlemen from time to time, and have found them very useful under proper control, the tendency otherwise being, from habit and training, to drift into native *versatilities*, and to adopt means of procedure not always *en règle*. Their intelligence, properly directed, is often remarkable; and their tractability when

once brought to understand the full meaning of complete devotion to orders betokened in the expression *jo hookkum*, that shibboleth of implicit obedience to every command, can be moulded to a degree of efficiency, within certain bounds, that often equals if it does not excel that of the more exact, but not so pliable though more zealous European subordinate. As secretariat clerks, and in other Government and mercantile offices, they are invaluable, although not considered in the latter employment to be generally so *cute* or intelligent, and perhaps not so patiently diligent, as the Bengalee *Baboo*, the Madras *Gentoo* clerk, or the Bombay *Purboo*. They are, on the whole, though a most useful, somewhat a dilettante lot.—Captain Davies when taking up the new duty was supplied from my office with lists of the criminals registered by us as dacoits belonging to the several classes infesting Berar and contiguous territory. They included the names, parentage, etc., of as many as *ninety-three* Párdhees against whom there was sufficient information to warrant their arrest, beside Tákinkárs of the genus “Párdhee,” *Kolháttees* and other banded classes residing in and about Berar, numbering in like manner *from 290 to 300 men*. He had come to Ellichapoor, the proper capital of Berar, situated on the high ground of the Ajuntee range, and had alighted with some of his establishment inside of that town. At an early hour of that night, shouts were heard as of a dacoitie, proceeding from outside of the town walls. Word was hurriedly brought in that a

Dacoits
 or
 Párdhees
 on a
 Mueque.

richly endowed *Durgah*, the shrine of one *Rahmán Olla*, a local saint, located without the town, was under attack from a band of robbers. Davies promptly proceeded to the spot, but found that the dacoits had already left it with their booty. This consisted not only of several *giláfs*, those beautifully brocaded green silken coverings which are devoutly spread over the tombs of reputed holy men and of princes, but of a large quantity of *silver plating* which the robbers had, as sacrilegiously, peeled and torn off from the massive wooden doors leading into the shrine. They had obtained entrance into the place by climbing an extemporized ladder, formed from the described single bamboo pole with short stepping-sticks or rungs fastened across it, up to a high and long-blocked-up window, through which they quickly effected an aperture, and so had passed down into the sanctuary. This mode of access at once indicated that *Párdhees* had been at work. The robbers fled across the open country, some doubling back into the town. Davies at once rode out six miles to where he knew some *Párdhees* resided, and there he found some of the plundered silver lining and silk coverlets, and arrested two men of that tribe, *both registered in his lists*. He thereupon carried out a sustained pursuit and research, and succeeded during that night and the following day, in capturing the entire gang with a single exception, and in recovering also the whole of the plundered silver plating, found buried here and there in a field, in

weight quite two maunds, or one hundred and sixty pounds of sheets of silver. All the prisoners were convicted and sentenced to transportation. It was supposed that some *Moojáwirs*, permanent servants of the shrine, were implicated—an accusation I received with caution, distrusting that they could assent to the robbery of their own place of worship. It had at this period been contemplated by Sir John Lawrence, to abolish the Berar sub-agency. I had indeed received orders to dismember it, on the ground that the suppression of professional criminals should be left, “as in British districts,” to the action of the *local* police, which in Berar had then lately been considerably augmented. “Berar,” officially designated the *Berar. Hyderabad Assigned Districts*, had in the opinion of some, been looked upon as, and indeed been called, “the peaceful valley,” and not the *Alsatia* it was in point of fact found to be. The necessity for an increased police force in it was, very soon after its surrender to British administration, declared to be indispensable, owing to the continued excesses committed throughout it. Our own special Thuggee sub-agency was only a small auxiliary element, introduced as a tentative measure to the same end; but the occasion of the plunder of the above holy shrine and our action in detecting it, gave me the opportunity to say with reference to the order for its abolition, that I had been sanguine that the dacoities of a systematized nature in Berar and Khandeish, where so many heavy robberies the deed of professional dacoits had taken place, would

gradually be brought to light by the special department, and the offenders eventually arrested; information of the perpetrators was being obtained, and I was engaged in following it up when I received the order abolishing the sub-agency; it had then only very recently been established by me in concurrence with the wishes of the Resident at Hyderabad, the high officer who administered the Assigned Districts; cost very little; and "I should have been very glad had it pleased Government to allow it to exist for some little time longer, as I required co-operation in that quarter in the scheme of our general operations, for it linked the special agencies for the Rajpootanah and Central India States with that for H.H. the Nizam's territories, and afforded a direct supervision over the proceedings of professional criminals in the direction of the Central Provinces on the one side and of the Bombay Presidency on the other, a gap which, under existing arrangements, will not, I fear, be easily filled up, it being the practice of the police of British territory, to act independently and exclusively upon their own areas only"—our action on the other hand, not being confined to jurisdictional limits, but being *general*. This remonstrance resulted in my being authorized to send off a *clear-the-line* telegram countermanding the measure of abolition! The said sub-agency was subsequently, however, merged into the much larger and more extended one lately established by me at Jalnah under Captain Ward, and Davies, who was an old Local Officer, was retired on a pension from the Nizam's Government.

[*Post-scriptum*, 1889.—Referring to the Berar field of operations after the above, I here quote what I reported of its criminal condition a year subsequently (1868 :)—

Criminal
Condition
of the
Berars.

“It was noteworthy in respect to the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, that the crime of dacoitie there has considerably decreased. The large amount of treasure that was constantly conveyed into that province by railway from Bombay, for the purchase of cotton, excited the cupidity of those bands of robbers from foreign territory (*Meenas and Rhatores*,) who, always on the look-out for booty, were particularly in the habit of plundering convoys of treasure in various parts of India. The escorts employed being always slender and the local police below par, the succession of heavy robberies soon took place, which staggered the Berar and Khandedsh authorities, by the atrocity with which they were sometimes attended, and dismayed the consignees, but which scarcely, in that period of speculation and mania, deterred purchasers from sending fresh supplies of money both in bullion and specie, with which to buy up the precious commodity. It was the spectacle of the impunity with which those professed robbers escaped with their rich booties into their own country, that soon caused local criminal organizations to spring up and to produce that constant recurrence of general dacoitie in Berar, which created such serious notice and led the Government of India to adopt a speedy and a sure remedy. The local police force being doubled and the European superintendence over it consider-

ably augmented, the crime at once collapsed and the foreign element was expelled by which principally it had been sustained. Dacoits from Rajpootanah, hitherto allured by so much wealth, the transfer of which to themselves had been so easy a process, but *to whom only* it had become a habit to ascribe almost *every* robbery, were now driven to seek some other field, *scarcely however, so much through any example which had been made of them in Berar*, the result of local police action (for but four men of their number would appear to have been convicted through the agency of the augmented Berar Police, of whom one only was hanged,) as through the measures of prevention locally presented by an increased and more efficient police organization, and by treasure being now escorted by the police itself, as well as by the checks placed upon the movements of the robbers in Native States, through the agency of the auxiliary Thuggee and Dacoitie Department. But, as was promised by me at the time (*vide supra*,) the perpetrators of those treasure dacoities are being gradually accounted for by this Department, resulting from the general measures adopted by it for their suppression."

And again, yet a year later (1869,) I further reported: "The influence the dacoits possess (*the Meena Rhatores*,) prevents any very honest or hearty co-operation on the part of the different Durbars with the endeavours of this Department for their effectual suppression, the best that can be said of the "co-operation" of Native Rulers them-

selves, being, that they give a languid assent only to what is involuntarily conceded by them. No surveillance sufficiently strict to enable local authorities to account, when required to do so, for the movements of individuals of the tribe, is exercised even in the particular British district (Shajānpoor of Goorgaon) in which Meenas mostly reside (*vide* pp. 317, 327, vol. i.,) *much less in Native States*, in which any account of them at all is unwillingly given, and then only in an unreliable or involved form. The special department being thus left to itself, has to rely mainly upon its own exertions and upon what it can work out. If, therefore, I was sanguine, as I had promised,* that the robberies • *vide* p. 211. which they had committed in various parts of the country, and particularly in Berar and Khandaish, *would be traced out by us* and the tribe be vigorously pursued, the statements herewith submitted will afford some proof that those expectations have been realized, and *that almost every one of the heavy treasure dacoities in Berar*, which created so much anxiety at the time and led Government to increase so considerably the police force of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, besides many more of occurrence in other parts of India of which no clue had hitherto been acquired, *have indeed been duly traced by the Department under my control and been brought home to these people*. I would dwell upon this result as the more satisfactory, from the fact that while the arrangements by which the strength of the Berar local police was so considerably augmented and placed

under so improved and so increased an European superintendence, served, as might have been expected, to put down *local* criminal organizations, and to prevent (as they were calculated to do,) the incursions into the province of the bands of plunderers from Rajpootanah by whom these districts used to be so frequently visited, no actual detection or punishment of any of the latter on the part of the local police took place, *except in two only instances*, as was submitted in my previous Report (convictions four, one hanged.)* If it should be so, then the operations of this Department, by which they have been, and continue to be, gradually brought to justice, have perhaps, been productive of some beneficial results. 'THOU ART OF MORE MIGHT THAN THE HILLS OF THE ROBBERS' was an apt illustration of the terror an organized banditti could inspire from their retreats in the unexplored recesses of an unsupervised and ill-governed country: 'The first enemy,' which one such lawless band was described in another allegorical account to have encountered, 'was that of sleep,'^s as pertinently showed that it was only

* *Vide* p.
214.

^s " See *Sheik Sadi's* pretty story in the *Gulistan*, of the fatal leniency advocated by a Vizier in behalf of a gang of dacoits who from their refuge in some hills afflicted the people in the plains. They had retreated with a rich booty to their fastness in the hills, and, fatigued, had fallen asleep, when the King's *Nujjees*, as we might here call them, fell upon and captured them. Taken before the Ruler of the country, he directed their decapitation. Whereupon his old Vizier interceded in behalf of one of their number on account of his youth. The Monarch's reply was, that the lad was *born a robber*; but the Minister urged that he was not yet a *hardened dacoit*. The youth was handed over to the Vizier for the experiment of reforming

by their neglect of ordinary precautions that they could be overcome or suppressed. The measures then of the British Government, by which they are both hunted to their fastnesses, or are made powerless for mischief in them, would show that, asleep or not, retreat into their hills and wilds, does not afford them that refuge which of old furnished the figure that by Omnipotence *only could they be brought low.*"]

26th July, Simlah.—In India we talk of the prospect of an expedition to Abyssinia, now imminent; and at home the question is whether France will wage war with Juarez of Mexico for the "murder" of the Emperor Maximilian.

Referring to the case of my friend Goondo, the Kurrulgee banker, in connection with the dacoitie at Gokák (*vide* p. 197,) I to-day looked over the record in another equally murderous outrage committed by the same class of depredators under another Naik or leader in the same neighbourhood about fifteen months previously. "Dacoitie," as understood in Upper India, and commonly spoken of, used not then to be admitted to exist or take place in Bombay or Madras territory, and the suppression of that crime had not then yet been superadded to my duties as the special

him, but whose head he, by-and-by cut off, and then escaped to his people! It was as criminal 'to belong to a gang of dacoits' as to have 'committed dacoitie,' was as much that sovereign's principle, as it is that of the Government of India; while that of the ill-fated Vizier was the same sympathy or hesitation which leads so many of our judicial officers to pass lenient sentences upon such offenders."]

Thuggee Officer for the Bombay Circle. For whenever urged by me that it *was* committed, even down Bombay or Madras, and that, too, by *organized dacoits* as much banded together for the purpose as any infesting Upper India, I would be told to *go to Hindostan* "if you want to find 'dacoits'!" Its suppression had not then, therefore, been extended to myself, and it was only on my persistent representations, and on the Governor of Bombay of the period, Sir George Clerk, a Bengal civilian, discerning that the cases of then recent occurrence in the Southern Mahratta country, and particularly that at *Gudduc* (the musk case), which I had, as I have said, personally followed up and detected (*vide* p. 158,) bore all the features of "professional dacoitie" as committed in Upper India, where he had served, that the new duty was entrusted to me, and I received a *carte blanche* to proceed against the perpetrators. For the present were not the only cases, nor the *Khunjurs* the only offenders who committed dacoitie in Southern India. I had traced back the expeditions of the latter tribe even to Madras and to the Nizam's territories (notably a case at *Oopwa Ellore* near Masulipatam); at *Bolárum* near Secunderabad; in the military cantonments at *Jalnah* on the treasure chest, resembling the similar affair at *Sholapore* lately described (p. 101;) at *Bellary* (Madras,) and on Bombay ground at *Meeruj*; at *Dhoolia* on the military chest; in the camp bazaars of Sir Thomas Munro when in the field, both at *Kulludghee* and at *Sholapore*; of Sir James Keir when invest-

Former
Dacoities
by Khun-
jurs in
Madras
and
Bombay
Territory.

ing the fort of *Rairee* near *Vingorla* on the western coast; and of a reinforcement of troops from Madras when marching under Colonel Dowse through the *Amboolie Pass* near *Belgaum*; as well as at *Dhoonsee* of *Dhárwár* on some merchants when alighted for the night with their goods close to a police station; and other places far and near, all of remoter dates, the perpetrators of which had hitherto remained unknown;) and I was further able to discover and report upon the habits as dacoits of several other classes of robbers and criminals by profession, particularly of the *Khaikarees*, a tribe presumably of mat and basket weavers, who, under various denominations, were found broadcast throughout Bombay and Madras territory and the Deccan generally, practising dacoitie, their secret occupation (*vide* pp. 347, 350, vol. i. and pp. 73, 166, vol. ii.) At the period indicated, the discovery of the *Gokák* case (p. 197,) was one only of a string of disclosed robberies following upon my action in arresting the Gudduc gang (p. 158.) That information led up, one after another, to all the other cases, of which prominently a dacoitie at *Bhagulkote*, the case adverted to, was another very atrocious example. I take it from my papers of the period. It was committed upon the premises of a very thriving firm of native bankers, and the leader of the gang was the same *Kunkia Naik* who afterwards perpetrated the robbery at Gudduc (p. 158.) He took, as usual, some rupees of another currency to the place marked down for plunder, and inquired of the *Shroff*, at what rate he would discount it for

locally current coin, but being offered less on the transaction than the dacoit pretended was enough, he purposely "set up an altercation" with the banker, who haggled for a bargain of a few coppers less on the rupee, than the robber declared he would consent to. On the latter pretending at length to be satisfied, the shroff opened one of the rooms in the verandah where he had been seated, and brought out from it a bag of money, and from it counted out the exchange agreed upon. Thus the stranger knew the particular room that should be broken into. Some evenings subsequently, a gang of robbers rushed, with a lighted torch, into the premises at the usual *Khunjur* hour of night-fall. The Sahoocar was an aged man—his numerous clerks rose up and fled instinctively, but he got up and stood against the door of that money-room to guard it from plunder, and he was thereupon at once speared, and his young grandson also, who, on hearing the old man's heavy groans, had sprung to his assistance from an inner apartment; another man was speared dead outside of the premises, and four more received bad spear wounds. The robbers got away with their booty to their distant rendezvous scot free. The plunder consisted of a lot of gold twist (*kullábut*,) hard cash, and other valuables to the extent of 9000 rupees. The gang, all told, consisted of eleven men only, of whom only five were *Khunjurs*. Being at the moment short of hands, the leader had supplemented his *Khunjurs* with a small quota of *Lumbánée* robbers encamped in the neighbour-

hood of his own tánda. As stated in the Gudduc case (p. 158,) the entire gang, identical in both cases, Khunjurs and Lumbánees, was arrested under my personal conduct and tried and convicted. Two of the number were upon my committals for this and the subsequent business at Gudduc, hanged at Dharwar. They both were very desperate characters, and had always taken life on every occasion of dacoitie in which they had engaged, from their earliest career. One of them was the man who mercilessly killed the young lad who had, as above, rushed out to help his aged grandfather. I will append hereafter what I reported of the state of the country at this period, and on the subject of this dacoitie at Bhagulkote particularly.

[*Post-scriptum.*—The following is here introduced from the Report adverted to :—“An inhabitant of the tract of country that formed the beat or dacoit *preserve* appropriated by the two leaders, *Bália* and *Nád Tookya*, has in the proceedings in that case, in speaking of the dangerous character of these dacoits, declared : ‘I swear by *Ishwur*, that what I have stated is truth; but should these people be informed of it, and at any time be released and come back, they will revenge themselves upon us and ruin us, and I mention this to the Sircár that precautions may be taken against them to enable the ryots to live out of fear’ (the probability of their release by the Appellate Court had been rumoured.) “Another in the same case declared that these dacoits ‘were always moving

The State
of the
Country
from
Brigand-
age.

about in harvest time, plundering the fields, the cultivators, from dread of their revengeful character, refraining from complaints against them,' adding that since the arrest of so many of them, 'no one's house was now robbed, everyone living at ease.' Another declared the robbers were 'always eating, and drinking, and squabbling—never labouring—their women extorting grain from the cultivators through the fear the tribe was held in.' In the same case the approver *Bheema* has detailed how, because a ryot, to prevent one of their women from carrying away the ears of corn she had been pilfering from his field, had snatched away a blanket from one of them, the act was 'taken to heart,' a gang was assembled at night, the entire threshing-floor plundered, and that man's life taken.

"And although represented by me (speaking of Khaikarees more particularly,) not to be a part of the system of the local dacoits of this Presidency to design murder, their outrages have, as my proceedings amply testify, been attended with violence and bloodshed, and often with murder.

"Plundered parties, crowding my court, have reiterated the statements already on the records of the local police magistrates, of the sudden rushing into their houses in the dead of night, of fierce men with muffled faces, or daubed with streaks of paint, holding lighted torches, and armed with swords or bludgeons; of the remorseless rapine they committed; of terrified wives and daughters with lacerated ears and nostrils,

injured wrists and ankles; of affrighted old men and women, and younger men with broken heads, or sore from blows and buffets; of doors and windows broken down; closets and boxes laid open and gutted; rooms rifled; their household gods desecrated, their sanctities invaded, and themselves ruined, often past redemption, by ruthless scoundrels, whose only excuse for such acts has been, *that such was their profession!* No succour at hand, the village guardians concealing themselves, the neighbours mute and in the deepest awe—they, in terror, had to succumb to the outrage and every indignity, uncared for—till the noise of shouts and musket-shots, the sounding of conchs and drums, and the bombastic *entrée* into the premises of the village authorities *now* come to assist them, made them feel some assurance of the robbers being really gone, and themselves left alive!

“In the *Bhagulkote* gang robbery (the deed of Kunkia’s gang,) the owner of the house, a rich banker, but a feeble and aged man, being speared by a dacoit, a young lad, his grandson and heir, rushed forward to hold up the murdered man:— ‘Fifty rupees for you over your share if you kill him!’ cried out the Naik of the gang to one of the bandits, and the lad was slain on the spot! A nephew succeeded to the estate—two of the dacoits were hanged—the house was one day found in flames and was burnt to the ground—the nephew soon after died after a short illness. The husbandless survivors, forbidden by their laws to

re-marry, and without any male heir, are now the sole representatives of the once flourishing firm !

“In the case of the *Kullôlee* gang robbery (by Khaikarees,) the plundered party declared that the robbers ‘ essayed in vain to withdraw from the wrists of his son (a young lad,) a pair of silver bracelets ’—a dacoit thereupon suggested that the boy’s hands should be lopped off ; another, that his arms should be broken ; a knife was produced, and the ruffians prepared to do the deed, but again endeavoured to get the bracelets off by other means—‘ they dragged and pulled at them, and then tried by applying oil ; next they rubbed both arms over with rice-husks, and at last succeeded in getting possession of the coveted ornaments, but only after they had excoriated and lacerated the poor lad’s hands.’ They similarly treated a little boy in the *Butgeera* dacoitie (by Khaikarees,) and in the same way a young girl in a gang robbery in the Tanna Collectorate ; and in a dacoitie at *Hutnee*, they were on the point of ‘ chopping off ’ the feet of another young girl in order to gain possession of a pair of silver chain anklets, but only desisted on being implored by her mother to refrain.

“For such acts of pillage, too, it has been exemplified *that others than the guilty parties have suffered* (*vide* footnote, p. 203.)

“It will have been perceived likewise, frequently in the cases sent up by me for trial, that the terror has been certified, which the people of the districts generally have been relieved from by the pro-

ceedings of this special department against these robbers :—‘ People are now able to sleep,’ says one man in a case now under preparation ; another, that ‘ while the robbers were at large they inspired great fear, no one knowing what they might not be about ; but that now no robberies took place, and the minds of the inhabitants were at ease.’

“ Though such has been the testimony borne to the feeling of security evinced while the operations against the dacoits proceeded, on the other hand there was much alarm spread everywhere when it became known that several of them had been acquitted by the judges of the Higher Court : ‘ Since ’ (reports a police Amildar in a case now pending,) ‘ the operations of the Thuggee Agency against the Khaikaree tribe, his district had enjoyed much prosperity, the ryots being happy, and, excepting that they were aware of the people of certain villages having been in concert with those robbers, there had been no fears anywhere ; but that now, owing to the rumour that several of the robbers had been set at large, people had again begun to be alarmed,’ and that if I would ‘ but take some effectual measures against the tribe, it would tend much to the comfort of the ryots, as a proof of the regard for them on the part of Government.’ ”⁹

⁹ P.S., 1889.—This referred to an order then recently received from the Superior Court for the release of some twenty-four to thirty dacoits, who, on committal from myself for trial, had been convicted and sentenced in a Regulation Court. I had them all re-arrested, one by one, as they emerged from the jail gate, and

Jail
Guards.

27th July.—A time back, when there was a dearth of Sepoys and a requirement put forth for their exclusive services for strictly military purposes under the new organization of the Native Army consequent upon the Mutiny, it was ordained, among other sweeping changes, that they should be no longer required to mount guard over jails, or supply escorts for purposes pertaining more, it was declared, to the duty of the Civil Police or Constabulary then lately formed in supersession of the old *Burkundáz* police system. Not that the Native Police were as yet at all fit to act as jail warders as at home, but because—*presto!*—they *ought to be*, and that to supply jail guards was considered in some degree to derogate from the *prestige* that belonged to or *should* surround the Native soldiery. By some, however, it was thought that this radical innovation in Sepoy uses was a return to those old pampering ways that had corrupted the old Sepoy Army, and had imbued them with that prætorian arrogance and sense of their importance which had led them to mutiny. I hear on this subject from a friend to-day, who is both an utilitarian and a financier, that those orders should be modified: they were, he wrote, all very well during the Mutiny and the times that immediately followed thereupon, but our Sepoys should be fully employed in time of peace in the now present all up for trial, upon fresh charges, under Act I. of 1849, to a Politico-Criminal Court, which was a *non-regulation one*, and they were not only again convicted and sentenced, one and all, to transportation beyond seas for life, but both conviction and sentence were confirmed by the local Government (*v.* p. 135 and footnote.)

scribed duties—what was the use of them, and why should they not be required to do something for their pay? It was, he added, going too far to say the practice destroyed discipline—they wouldn't *fight* any the worse, and if they could not fight, what was the use of them if their services were not to be utilized when they had nothing to do? If, too, they were brought again upon the duties they formerly were accustomed to, the police might in many districts be reduced, he thought, and State expenses be reduced, etc. In an unpublished memorandum of the great Sepoy Revolt, written in 1858, I said this *cottoning* to Sepoys, was one of the predisposing causes that had led up to it: "As if not enough that such indulgences" (some of which I narrated,) "should have crept into the service, it ensued that it was considered 'impolitic' to try the patience of our Sepoys by letting them come too frequently upon duty, and it was proposed to relieve them 'as much as possible from treasure and other escort duties' (as of escorting the baggage of their European officers while travelling on court-martial and other duties, through robber-infested regions, or on sick leave,) as well as 'from duties of guard and sentinel at the civil and military stations,' as being 'destructive of discipline'—that they should be brought on duty 'but every third or fourth day, except when actually in the presence of an enemy,' in order 'not to drive but to lead them': and it was deprecated too, that the discipline of European troops should be introduced among them, whether

Pamper-
ing our
Sepoyry.

on the march or in quarters, and advocated, on the contrary, to allow them even a latitude in foraging (military parlance for *looting*,) on the ground, as stated in his 'Political Sketches' by Colonel Sutherland, from which I took up the contention, that there was 'an Asiatic sensitiveness about and propriety in the conduct of Sepoys, which rendered the roughness and severity observed towards European soldiers, offensive and unnecessary towards them' ! Hence Sepoys become perfect hidalgos when abroad. Their demands were *law*," etc. I must, if I can find time, look over these old papers and journals in view to furbishing them up for publication some day.¹

On the same Subject in connection with the Sepoy Revolt.

¹ P.S.—In a research as to "the *leading causes* of an event productive of such dreadful calamities as those we have experienced by this great revolt," I find myself further writing in the language of the above quoted "Political Sketches," on this subject, in the unpublished document above adverted to in the text : "If it were said at the commencement, that the Sepoys resigned their actions to the behests of law and custom as imposed upon them by their creed, over the requirements of military discipline, we should in a few words be declaring the root of the evil we are about to discuss, namely, the *faulty discipline* of the Army that could suffer any consideration to be paramount to the demands of duty.*

* P.S.—The incident of a Havildar of a Bombay Native Regiment, being reduced to the ranks for having his face shaved in compliance with the behest of a priest at a temple where he had worshipped on the line of march, it being contrary to a regimental regulation to do so, will be in recollection (*vide* pp. 334, 335, vol. i.) In this case the commanding officer was reprov'd (I thought, justly rebuked for his harshness ;) but in the present connection I subscribe to the principle, that however necessary it may be, even in matters of creed *versus* military discipline, "to hold checks over men in power, it is still more necessary to leave in the hands of officers commanding native regiments, the power to reward and to punish."

28th July, Sunday.—Dined last night, *impromptu*, with Major Goad at "Tally-ho Hall," where *spolia opima* of the chase, and swords, guns, pistols, and spears, *dhál*, *tulwár* and *toofung* (shields, scimitars and matchlocks,) lay strewed about or hanging against the walls; and sporting pictures, and of favourite horses and dogs, abounded, each eliciting an anecdote characteristic of this fine but eccentric old retired Bengal Cavalry officer, here settled amongst his *Penates*, an extensive local house-owner, liberal landlord, and hospitable host—much given to hospitality indeed, but after his

Dinner at
a Friend's
House.

"This *indiscipline*, so to call it, the fruit of system, was linked with certain predisposing causes that, pointing out how easy it was to revolt and successfully to throw off foreign yoke, could scarcely fail to impress with baneful influence, minds already possessed by a haughty sense of superiority.

"These causes were affirmed in a very simple fact patent to everyone, namely (1) that 'in this our Indian Empire, however inversely the process, yet equally calamitous as that which has been held up as the great evil of former Asiatic monarchies, a great policy was maintained which contented us, *our sea boards secure*, to strengthen our *frontiers* against invasion, but to leave our *centre*—our richest provinces, *their own Hindostan*—to be largely held by a Sepoy Army, amid peoples who, although on the whole passively contented with our rule, feared too much and held in awe that Sepoy force, not to be infected by its rebellion;' and (2) that 'throughout the dominion, from sea-board to frontier, the collection of revenue and administration of justice were at all times upheld and enforced by the presence of that force of pampered mercenaries, in provinces which, situated in the heart of the empire, were administered not by their foreign masters in person, but through a *native agency*, under no further superintendence than what a single European functionary was able to bestow over ten or twelve of such delegated instruments, holding each a jurisdiction over a vast district.'

*Memo.:
Taken
from my
Journal
of the
Persian
War, and
visit to
Babylon,
and from
"Political
Sketches"

"It was easy then for the Army by which such extensive regions were preserved, while under such imperfect supervision to perceive, and indeed it naturally followed that it should perceive its *strength* by the weakness of that of the Civil Authority."*

The
Simlah
Scare, an
Incident
of the
Mutiny.

fashion—living in seclusion, yet daily to be seen riding, and riding well and as erect and self-possessed as any young Dragoon or Life Guardsman, some fine Arab horse or stout yaboo, along the narrow and winding bridle paths with which Simlah is entwined; a *beau-sabreur* too, whose insatiate sword left its mark on many an Afghan foeman in Pollock's avenging campaign up there, who, moreover, when the "Nusseree Battalion" (which, unhappily for it, comprised many Ghoorkas and hill men,) quartered on the *Jutôg* mountain neighbouring on Simlah, was shaky and wavered, and threatened to follow the mutinous example upheld by Native regiments in the plains, and a not very dignified flight from this imperial sanitarium was proposed (and by some indeed was carried out in an untellable manner,) drew forth and buckled on his rusty old cavalry sabre from its accustomed place of neglect, and stood at bay, urged on all to *stand by*, and succeeded in establishing a refuge point and a fronting face on a commanding spot, and threw heart and manliness into the small remaining European community and other local adherents (much needed where so many were helpless and alarmed women and children,) and loftily exclaimed "Let them come on!" They never came, but broke up and decamped down the hill, much to the relief of the determined little band he had inspired, and of the terrified ladies clustered on that selected and now historical hill-side. This grand though gruff old officer has a nephew in a Highland regiment now in India, and

a son who is a very promising officer in the Indian Police.² Of the two other guests at dinner one is said to be affianced to the lovely daughter who presided at the table.

On my return home, where I had left Hugh and his mother at a *tête-à-tête* dinner, I found both in great excitement and grief. Our beautiful bull terrier—pure white with a single dark patch over one eye—had been pounced upon close to the dining-room door, where a servant was cleaning up the plates, and been carried off up the overhanging hill, by a *Lukkur-pukkur* or ounce, whom no shouting could induce to drop his prey. It was useless in the dead darkness of the night, and where deep *khuds* interposed and precipitous hill-sides, to carry on any search at that late hour, or think of any chance of rescuing the dog, who would too, by now have been securely taken into the cavernous depths of the forest-covered abyss by which Elysium Hill is surrounded* ; so bemoaning only was left at the fate of our favourite. But Hugh and I searched about a great deal from dawn up to a late hour to-day in all directions, and down in the adjacent *khuds*, if perchance we should find some traces of poor “Black-Eye”—if only a foot or other betokening—but, no, he was clean gone. He had been playing and full of fun the moment

A Visit
from a
Lukkur-
Pukkur.

*P.S.—
Ourhouse,
“Long-
wood,”
stood
upon this
hill. It
has since
been con-
verted
into an
hotel.

² P.S.—The nephew was killed in the recent second Afghan campaign, while serving in the Transport Corps and bravely defending his baggage charge. The son, *Horace Goad*, who had made his mark as a most efficient police officer (*vide* footnote p. 35, vol. ii.) left the Police Force on inheriting his father's estate at Simlah, a resignation that was much regretted on public grounds.

before. They are a nuisance, these *Lukkur-pukkurs*, and the mistake was to leave the dog, even for a moment of the dark night, or at all after dusk, unfastened or at liberty. The hill people are in the habit of placing a strong steel collar fretted with sharp spikes, round the necks of their dogs in their forest villages, or at their bivouacs in these mountains, as a security against these prowling night pests.

At evening to-day the oaks on our hill were taken unyielding possession of by a numerous troop of great brown monkeys of a large species, whom not all our other dogs with all their barking and chivying, nor our own shouts and molestations, served to frighten away; on the contrary, our dogs were taught to keep well distant, by a huge male *bundur* from amongst the invaders, leaping on to one of them, and severely biting him on his back—no chance of retaliation given to the angered bull terrier, for the ugly fellow was up a tree in a trice.

29th July.—Much rain. The wild beast with the iterating name, was up here again last night, prowling about in hope of getting another of our dogs.

Finding
in the Mo-
hunpoora
Case of
Dacoitie.

Our Tômundâr who has been watching the trial, reports to-day from Jeypore that all the Meena prisoners in the Mohunpoora dacoitie case (*vide* pp. 122, 178, vol. ii.) have been convicted by the Court of trial composed of Wakeels presided over by Major Beynon, the local Political Agent, and that they have sent a messenger to him with offers of service as approvers; two had been sentenced to

transportation for *twenty-one* years, four to transportation for *fourteen* years, four to *seven* years' rigorous imprisonment, and one man admitted as Queen's evidence; and further, that the courtier *Futteh Sing Rhâtôre*, their secret confederate (*vide* pp. 31 to 33 and footnote, vol. i., and 122, 178, vol. ii.) had been convicted of complicity, and his dismissal from the Ruler's service and expulsion from the territory recommended. This is too sweeping a condemnation to be at all acceptable, I fear, to the local Durbar or to the Ruler. The case has yet to be submitted for confirmation to the Higher International Court of Wakeels, assembled under the presidency of the Agent Governor-General, *Colonel Eden*.

The following is an example of Meena cunning in evading arrest, as taken from a report received to-day from the same intelligent native officer :
 "I learnt that *Agurjee Meena*, general number 7509, was concealing himself in a certain hamlet. I went there with some horse and footmen, taking with me the three informers and our Kaim-Khānee approver, *Jeewun Khan*, and accompanied by the Durbar official. We surrounded the dwelling where the fugitive was hiding under a feigned name. He leapt the wall and escaped into the inner apartments of the adjoining house of the village headman. The villagers hereon declared they would not permit any further search. The house of their headman could not be searched except under a special order from the Jeypore Durbar, and I was even asked by the official of the Durbar deputed to assist my command, 'whether I was

Arrest of
Agurjee
Meena
in
Woman's
Disguise.

come to plunder the village.' I felt sure the man was still in the place, as from our securely surrounding it, he had not yet had any opportunity for getting away. So I sent an approver lad who was with us, to join the boys of the place, and thus contrive to gain access into the premises of the village headman. He did so, and came back telling me that the fugitive was within, *disguised as a woman* and wearing women's *bangles* on his wrists! I thereupon went straight up to the house in person and demanded the custody of the refuged man, but was desired by the headman to *hold back*, 'the females of the family were inside, and he would kill me if I dared to approach any nearer.' I replied in the name of the Sirkár that, being accredited with a warrant to arrest certain criminals, I must insist on searching for the man. This was denied me by the same Durbar official, except I could produce a special written order from the Chief Minister of the State, and I was peremptorily ordered 'to step out of the way to allow the females of the house to come out of it.' This was towards morning. I had again secretly sent in the same lad, so I retired a few paces to one side. The females of the house now came out, the boy accompanying them, and when they were about to pass into another house, the boy cried out your name, and signing to me that the fugitive was among them, pointed him out to me. I thereupon stepped out and seized my man. He was indeed dressed up in woman's clothes, and I arrested him so attired. Sir, I would beg you to

consider how much the officials of the State are in this manner leagued with the dacoits and thwart us. The men appointed to accompany us, send word beforehand to the fugitives to conceal themselves, *pretending all the while to be on our side*, and the State officials expressly deputed to assist us by their presence with our arresting parties, similarly go along with us as if everything was all right and no obstruction to be apprehended.”³

30th July.—On the subject of the criminal condition of the Berars lately referred to (*vide* p. 211,)* in looking over to-day some old papers connected with that province, I find a memorandum by myself sent to the Resident at Hyderabad (the present Sir George Yule,) showing how when thuggee raged in Southern India, it was discovered by our special department that a rich Sahoocar residing at Oomraotee, a large and populous town and the principal cotton market of the province, often formerly raided by plundering hordes of Pindáries, was the prime mover in many of the cases of occurrence in that direction. It happened that some of his men coming up from Bombay with his goods, had been murdered by thugs on the way and the merchandise plundered.† Being a wealthy man he cast about in all directions for information, and at length succeeded in learning of the perpetrators, a gang of thugs some time infesting that highway and coolly located in the neighbourhood. They compromised the matter with him (as in the

* *Vide*
also, *Post-*
scriptum
memo., p.
213, vol. ii.

How
Thuggee
was
fostered
of old in
Berar.

† *Vide* allu-
sion to
the
circum-
stance, p.
192, vol. i.

³ P.S.—Agurjee Meena was afterwards sentenced to life transportation.

case of the dacoitie at Ootradapet (*vide* pp. 183, 190, 193, vol. i.,) by paying over to him a sum of money much in excess of the value of the property he had been plundered of. He perceived how *easily* the amount was made good, and how profitable was the trade the thugs carried on. A thug was not indeed worth his salt if unable to talk over and cajole anyone, so the thug Jemadars had no difficulty in gaining over the covetous Sahoocar to keep their counsel *and join them*, and he thereupon not only became their general receiver, his reputed *respectability* enabling him to be so, but he used to give the thug leaders information of the despatch from Bombay and other centres, of goods or treasure by other Sahoocars in their business transactions, the carriers or convoys of which the thugs would thereupon waylay and murder, making over the plunder to him, bringing in the goods or bullion and specie they got, straightway to his place at Oomraotee as if he was the consignee thereof and themselves the servants he had employed to convey them ! So thus the present way of procedure is an old game ! The rogue was in the end taken up by the Nizam's Durbar and made to disgorge a large amount as an equivalent for immunity, but what eventually became of him the record did not show.

31st July.—Among other guests at dinner with us last night, were Mr. and Mrs. Dietrich Brandis. He is at the head of the Department for the Conservation of Forests, and although an Hungarian by birth, he has several English officers serving

under him in subordinate grades, a very intelligent gentleman, but speaking English imperfectly and with foreign accent.

Not often, but with unpleasant recurrence when it does occur, and always with disturbing attendants, life is taken among our employés, the deed of a companion, the true motive for which is not easy to fathom, the impulses of natives being sudden, their modes of thought unsearchable—their revenge often terrible. But the present criminal was no half-crazy fellow, but one who had brooded over something more, I cannot but believe, than what only wrath could have prompted—to have been reported to his officer for remissness while on duty, being the supposed reason for the deed. Rage, suppressed and silent, and not mere anger, must impel a man to so cowardly an act as to attack as he slept, another, who, although in rank above him, was still his comrade.⁴ Nujeeb

The
Murder by
a Nujeeb
of a
Thuggee
Police
Duffedar.

⁴ P.S.—How different, though not always, the European on similar occasions—not that I would in cases of prepense bloodshedding, draw a line between the perpetrators: Private Mc Guinness, of the Artillery company on garrison duty in the Fort of Belgaum, had been reported by his serjeant-major for slovenliness as sentinel at the Arsenal Gate—he had not promptly enough challenged the approaching “rounds.” His entreaty to be “let off this time” the punishment (a slight one) the officer commanding the company had awarded him, not being attended to, he was seen on his return to barracks, to dash his violin to pieces—a sure symptom in like cases of desperate pre-determination, but which unfortunately was not heeded—for he was very fond of the instrument and a proficient player. At night he stole into the serjeant-major’s quarters and awoke him. The latter got up from his pallet, quickly took in the situation, laid hold of the man and struggled with him; but the other drew a bayonet from under his cloak and stabbed him with it—the wound was mortal, the serjeant-major died almost immediately. The murderer

Account
of the
similar
Murder
of a
Sergeant-
Major of
Artillery.

Bhuggut Sing had been reported by his Duffedar, a Mahomedan, for sleeping at his post—a grave yet not an unusual, though a seldom offence among native policemen. He had yet to appear before the officer under whose orders he was employed, but pending which he should have been placed under arrest, and not have been brought on duty until the alleged dereliction had been inquired into and disposed of. He was, however, put upon duty, and a few nights ago, was the sole sentinel of the post where the guard he belonged to was located, a *serai* within the city of Allahabad, where

was speedily tried by a court-martial, and was hanged in the presence of the assembled troops. He stated he could easily have slain his victim without detection, but that he did not like to kill a sleeping man—it was repugnant to him—so he awoke him to give him a chance against himself. On the scaffold he admitted the justice of his doom, and begged all comrades to forgive him if he had ever offended any of them. Several of the men fell out from the ranks from emotion. I was at Belgaum at the time. The regiment to which I belonged, the present 106th, was also quartered there in the cantonments outside of the Fort, but I was not then employed with it. It happened that our own serjeant-major was the guest, on two days' leave, of the murdered Artillery serjeant at his quarters inside of the Fort, and occupied the other's cot in its usual place, the latter sleeping on a borrowed one, and our serjeant-major was very nearly mistaken for the intended victim. The prisoner said he first went up to where he lay, but perceiving by the night lamp that he was not his man, stepped across to the other. The deceased serjeant-major was greatly esteemed by his officers, and used often to be brought on duty as officer for the day and to take the night rounds. It was discovered among his private papers, that he was the son of a gentleman of position named Seymour, and had run away from home as a youth, and enlisted under an assumed name—not an infrequent occurrence in the European corps of the old East India Company's Service. We had two or three such gentlemen in the ranks of our own regiment. It has been remarked that such waifs and strays have generally turned out good soldiers, and have often risen to commission rank.

this party of Thuggee Police had lately arrived with approvers from Agra. The hour was between 3 and 4 a.m. Feeling himself struck, the Duffedar got up from his *charpai* or bedstead in an inner room of the serai, but being dazed for the moment, stumbled and fell upon the one next to it upon which another Nujeeb was sleeping. This startled the latter, whose immediate impulse was to throw his arms round the man, supposing him in the darkness to be some midnight thief; and he was by this action himself disabled by a severe sword blow on an arm, intended for the fallen man. The murderer then fled outside, but being pursued by the Duffedar and grappled with, he slashed at the latter fiercely, delivering him several sword-cuts, the last sure blow slicing off a portion of his head. The poor man had shouted for assistance, and a police patrol coming up, the assassin was secured. The victim having been conveyed to the city dispensary, and the Joint-Magistrate summoned to him, he was only just able to declare to the latter, that *Bhuggut Sing* had been his assailant, and then expired. I don't know—I may think it—probably I do—but I have wondered whether it occurred to Captain Dennehy, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, to whom as head of the local detective department the Thuggee Police Guard was attached, to say *cherchez la femme*, to those about him! The murderer declared it was easy for him to have slain the Duffedar outright as he slept, but his deep desire was to hack him with sword-cuts before

he perished : “ had he a hundred lives (he said,) I would have taken them all : ”

“ One to destroy is murder by the law ;
And gibbets keep the lifted hand in awe ;
To murder thousands takes a specious name,
War's glorious art, and gives immortal fame.”⁵

Dacoitie
in the
Punjab.

Criminal
Tribes in
the
Punjab.

1st August.—The Punjab now so efficiently and quietly governed, and in the matter of dacoitie become quite a model province, I am surprised at getting anything in that way from there ; but I suppose some late disquieting disturbances at Lahore, gave an opportunity to *try it on* in that neighbourhood, a report from there saying that some marauders a few nights back, set upon and plundered a party of men, women and children, while travelling in the direction of *Umritsir* in a conveyance drawn by bullocks, called a *bylee*. The gang got clear away with its booty. Perhaps the people variously called *Hárboorahs*, *Sánsees* or *Sánsyas*, *Bowreas* and *Hárnees*, all more or less belonging to the same gipsy tribe, lower down recognized as the *Khunjurs* (*vide* footnote, p. 386, vol. i.,) form the principal criminal classes in the interior of the province ; *Meos*, *Mercátees*, *Rángurs* and *Meenas* infesting its borders on the plains, and raiding round about there ; and some *Muzbees* (the old local thug class,) lurking about criminally intent when unable to find employment—which is unusual, the latter being a very useful people, and just now in requisition as muleteers for service in Abyssinia. Besides these there are

⁵ P.S.—The murderer was executed not long after.

the *Goozurs*, who are a race of active night thieves largely located round about Delhi; the *Beloochees* so called, who pilfer in the region of Sháhábád; some *Caboolies*, who try a " 'prentice han' " at crime in our plains; and certain frontier tribes like the *Swátees* and other inhabitants of independent territory who raid on our upper frontier borders: but all have been unusually quiet. I notice that according to the statistical returns I have been preparing, "dacoitie," so technically designated, numbered no more than *twenty-one* cases throughout the Punjab in 1864; *twenty-five* in 1865; *sixteen* in 1866; and that at this date, no more than three or four have taken place during the present year.

2nd August.—The Bank of Bombay, which went New Bank of Bom-
bay. disrupt not long ago (*vide* pp. 17, 23, vol. ii.,) much to the blame of the Bombay Government as its directors, has been resuscitated, or is trying to be so, a *new* Bank of Bombay having published a prospectus which offers favourable terms to those who will take shares in it. My own losses in the matter of shares in it did not amount to much, yet as money was lost on its failure, and also the whole of our shares when the Agra Bank failed, I feel like a bitten man, and will no more meddle with such enterprises—*sunt mala plura*.

Still some cases of cholera at Simlah; but it has Cholera. been raining a good deal, which may serve to drive away the evil.

3rd August.—The "Times of India" has returned to the subject of mulcting native rulers for

Compensation for
Mail
Robberies
in Native
States.

robberies of Government mails while in transit through their territories (*vide* p. 96, vol. ii., and its references.) On the present occasion it has, I think, been inspired in view to *tone down* its previous denunciation of that measure, the present leading article in that journal saying, that having since seen all the papers relating to the subject, “we are able to discriminate between the policy itself and the application, or rather the *modification* of it (as the editor terms it) with which Sir John Lawrence is personally concerned.” The old rule was, as before noticed (*vide* p. 134, vol. i.,) that Native States were held answerable for the safe transit of the public mails through their territories, liable to fine if the letter mails were carried off, and responsible for the value of all plundered goods, each case “to be decided upon its own merits.” Lord Dalhousie, as Governor-General, was disposed to relax the stringency of these rules, but had not done so—and there was a feeling later on, that the irritation they caused possibly contributed “to the great surge of revolt.” But when order was restored, it was resolved to deny compensation for costly articles lost in transit by post, and *not* to hold Native States responsible for the robbery thereof—palpably an indication of a softened tone resulting from the revolt, and, a desire to steer void of giving further offence. This was on the advice of *Oufram*, in his place of Member of Council at Calcutta. But this countermanding of the old practice, this *reculade*, did not serve to discourage the transmission by post of things of value, or to

stay the robbery of them. Bullion and jewellery and precious fabrics, continued to be entrusted to the public post, senders preferring to take their chance of the safety thereof, speed being gained thereby, and the greater expense avoided of employing special carriers after the manner of their own old method of remittance and despatch ; while to be excused restitution, led native rulers to relax in their measures of protection, or at any rate to care little whether such things were plundered or not, and at the same time encouraged dacoits to waylay the mails. When the present Viceroy entered his high office, the safety of the mails became a burning question from the frequency of the plunder of them, some examples of which I have narrated * (*vide* margin;) for the robbery of their things of value, contraband of the postal rules, was felt by the senders only—the loss of letters and public despatches, and of books and manuscripts, was a public nuisance. So it was resolved to revert to the old rule which held native governments responsible for the robbery of goods, whether of the prohibited sort or not, and which imposed fines upon them when letters were plundered, with this exception, however, that exemption from compensation was claimable where the local police arrangements for the security of the mails, were considered to have been reasonably calculated to protect them. Senders of articles in violation of the postal rules, were still, however, *not* themselves to be compensated for the loss of them, the object being to discourage such transmissions ; but

* *Vide, ex gr.*, pp. 34 to 38, 326, 341, and 364, vol. i.

the so-called "compensation" realized was to be applied to such improved local police arrangements as should be recommended by the local British Political Officers. Some "modification" in these hard and fast rules, was, however, assented to on the representations of the high Political Officers opposed to them, of whom I have noticed the objection raised by Sir George Yule (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) I have also mentioned what I had myself recently represented of the umbrage they occasioned to native princes (*vide* p. 133, vol. i.) It has now eventually been decided to forego the right to levy the fine on account of lost letters, but the duty to protect the mails was insisted upon; every State was held responsible for their secure passage through its respective territories, and its police arrangements for that purpose were to be made more efficient; "compensation" was to be levied by rulers themselves on the districts to which the plunderers should be traced, full value of the things plundered being reckoned to be included within the assessment fixed upon, even should they have been prohibited articles transmitted at the risk of the owners thereof. It is not, however, stated how the proceeds should be applied.⁶

The
greater
Security
of the
Mails
aimed at.

The aim of these rules is, it is added, the greater security of the public mails, although, as may be

⁶ P.S.—I have before noted that it was subsequently ordered that the "compensation" levied should be formed into a fund for the relief of the widows or families of the postal employes killed in such mail robberies, or who should be maimed or injured (*vide* footnote p. 45, vol. i.,) a most excellent alternative application of the proceeds.

discerned, native rulers or their officials will not be slow to perceive that they open out to them a latitude for extortion in levying the stipulated compensation from their own subjects on occasions of the plunderers being traced to their limits and the tracks not carried beyond them. I say nothing here of the fact, having already remarked upon it (*vide* p. 136, vol. i.,) that these acts of plunder have, in frequent instances, been planned *in our own territories*, through the intelligence kept up between the plunderers and their confederates among the employés of the despatching offices. The registers kept in my office exhibit the names of several such partisans, not only in postal but in other public offices, as well as in our police establishments, in some of our cavalry corps and in mercantile firms, broadcast about the country, and also among the people acting as *gate-keepers*, that indispensable class of premise guards at Calcutta best known as *durwáns*—the *concierges* of continental Europe.

The *Bombay Times* winds up its remarks on the subject with the following endeavoured *amende*:—

“In formerly speaking of these proposals we assumed that they represented the views of the present Viceroy, who, during a former part of his career, was disposed to push to an extreme the claims of the paramount power in its dealings with our allies and tributaries. There have been, we think, many indications that, with growing experience of the weight of high political responsibility, Sir John Lawrence has acquired a juster sense of the political rights of native princes, and

The
“Times
of India”
on the
Subject.

has been more inclined to exhibit that considerate forbearance which is the fitting temper of irresistible power; and we are glad to find that in this little matter of the rules respecting mail robberies in Native States . . . he leaned to the side of those political officers who, while they have exerted every effort to induce the chiefs to keep up efficient police, would do away with the idea of fine and penalty altogether.”⁷

The
Evening
Sermon.

4th August, Sunday.—Still much rain, and we have had a bad landslip on the public mall. To church at evening service, when we had a right down exosseous sermon from Mr. Baly—devoid of the usual dry bones altogether, but replete with animation and quickening adornment.

Simlah
Servants.

Mr. Jones, the intelligent police officer for Simlah, dined with us last night. He gave us an amusing account of the rascalities of the native servants come up with their employers from stations in the plains, their many cunning tricks and devices in cheating and pilfering, and how much they ill-conduct themselves, ayahs, sweepers, and jánpán-bearers more often, towards ladies who have come up without their husbands, and the trouble they give him. I fear he is in a very delicate state of health.⁸

5th August.—From Mr. Wyllie, of the Bombay

⁷ P.S.—There presently appeared a notice in another local journal, that the “penalties levied” were to be paid into a local fund to meet expenses for the better security of the mails, but it was subsequently otherwise ruled, as stated in footnote at p. 244, vol. ii.

⁸ P.S.—This excellent young fellow died shortly after of a rapid decline.

Civil Service, lately *pro tem.* Foreign Secretary, one of the foremost of our clever "Competition-wállahs" (a son of my old acquaintance in Scinde, Colonel Wyllie, of the Bombay Army,⁹) we have an official memorandum on the subject of our alliances with foreign Native States, and of the treaties with the independent hill chieftains both in this direction and on our extreme barrier frontiers. It was not much to be told that these border tribes arrogated to themselves a high-handed and insolent independence, and raided our marches on desperate forays intent, after the manner of "moss-trooping Scots" of old time; but Mr. Wyllie lays it down as a present moral obligation on our parts, to endeavour to civilize the barbarous races and educate them, and to establish schools for them, to distribute troops along our borders and erect barracks, etc., in view to induce them, "*sua si bona norint*," to peaceful frontierzen-
Sua si
bona
norint.

Not so fast, dear sir! Excellent, if we could reckon on the results! but I fear that yet for a long time, nothing but *kázi-ool-hoojját*, or the arbitration of the sword, will suffice to reduce them
The
Sword
the
Arbiter.

to order or amendment.¹

6th August.—More precise information is telegraphed from home connected with the *Jervis*

⁹ P.S.—The present General Sir William Wyllie, G.C.B. His talented son died early. P.P.S.—The veteran Sir William was also gathered this year, 1891.

¹ P.S.—I once met with a finely-watered Damascus blade, much coveted by me and afterwards acquired by a foreign prince who was travelling in India—a cousin of our Queen—with the above fitly-conceived Arabic epithet, "arbiter of all wants," a veritable *nom de guerre*, inscribed upon the back of it.

The
Justice
Court-
Martial

court-martial. We have the heads of a reprimand from the Duke of Cambridge to Sir William Mansfield, conveyed it seems some time back and now only divulged on its being laid before Parliament, and that the adjudged officer was "allowed" to retire with a bonus of 1800*l.* as the price of his commission, *payable from the revenues of India*. Opinions are divided on the subject. For one, I have thought the Chief should rather have been supported. For, although I might have inclined to the position, that simple dismissal from his personal staff of the erring aide-de-camp—"Cassio, I love thee, but never more be officer of mine"—would have been a more dignified course at the outset of the profitless contention; still there was no question of the gross insubordination displayed, and *that one fact* should have been disconnected from all the side issues with which the inquiry was so unnecessarily burdened, and which were so disparagingly weighed against the course pursued by the high and distinguished officer answerable for upholding the discipline of the service. Indeed, I should have supposed that he exhibited more moral courage, in the sense he entertained of that great duty being paramount to every personal consideration whereby he preferred to submit himself to censure rather than that the conduct he complained of should pass unnoticed, than had he ignobly sheltered himself from public inquiry by simply sending the transgressor, whom he had so long trusted, to the *right about*, as he might easily have done.

Other jobations follow suit in the same telegram—the opinion of Government at home reflecting on the action taken, or rather the inadequate prevision grasped, by Sir Cecil Beadon and other officials concerned, in meeting the late distressful Famine in *Orissa*, being of the number and creating much dismay among the chastised ones. Of course, the Secretary of State was all wrong—"badly advised"—and all that !

Decision
on the
Orissa
Famine.

7th August.—Attended a lecture by Colonel Henry Norman on the Relief of Lucknow. One of the many anecdotes recounted was characteristic of the British tar. Attracted by a succession of deep thudding sounds, Norman, on entering the court-yard of a mosque from where they proceeded, observed in sole occupation, a powerful bearded sailor belonging to the gallant Naval Brigade, again and again uplifting a huge cannon-ball of the many lying about, shot and shell, and wrathfully throwing it down upon the beautifully tessellated marble pavement of the enclosure, on slab after slab thereof, and vengefully and with deep but satisfied utterance, delivering himself of "heave" each time he did so ; who explained as his reason for the desecration and vandalism, that he was "not going to suffer such lubberly scoundrels to pretend to be of a religious lot !" The last glorious assault and on-rush had then just taken place, and the city finally recaptured. "Loot" was not in the honest fellow's thoughts ! I was glad to find the lecturer giving full credit to *Outram's* dashing conduct. Some feelings of

A Lecture
on
Lucknow
(Anecdote).

Outram
at
Lucknow.

jealousy, in minds ordinarily superior to such bias, have led to much unmerited reticence in regard to his conspicuous gallantry and noble bearing on every occasion at Lucknow, whether of advance, siege, or besiegement ; or in the splendid interlude at *Alumbágh* hard by it, where Outram with his handful of troops kept the British flag flying, and routed the hosts of the enemy on every attempt to dislodge him or vauntingly to provoke him to combat—a challenge never, to their cost, declined—after the bulk of the great army corps had *retired* (even if only to return anon in renewed strength,) and had left him there, albeit his own chivalrous choice, *alone* ! For the Baronetcy came tardily, as though only from an after inspiration and of a relenting impulse. *The Victoria Cross was dear Outram's only coveted guerdon, and would have been his fitting meed.*

The Agra
High
Court on
Meenas
detected
at Ajmere.

8th August.—A time back the quotas of three distinct leaders of Meena robbers banded together for dacoitie, were detected, through the intelligence kept up by Captain Shuttleworth the local police officer (formerly of the “Black Watch,”) secret-
ing themselves in the city of *Ajmere*, with the connivance, too, of some members of the local police and of other official employés. The prisoners were shortly after arrest examined by myself at *Ajmere*, and were recognized by the approvers with whom they were confronted, to be mostly Meenas belonging to the colony of that tribe inhabiting *Shájánpoor* in British territory, that remarkably isolated strip of country surrounded by

Native States, and situated near Goorgaon of Delhi (*vide* pp. 317, 327, 439, vol. i.) That outlying district being notoriously a very nest and a meeting-place of Meena dacoits, and Ajmere very distant from it, the arrested parties were unable to explain away the false names and habitations with which they had endeavoured to pass themselves off, or, when called upon, to give a sufficient reason for their being so far away from their home, where, as was proved, they were due to be "present" for roll call—then additionally required of all Meenas professing to reside there, except they should obtain permission to be absent from the scrutiny on the ticket-of-leave system then lately introduced. Implements for committing dacoitie were discovered concealed about the places they had occupied, and being charged with assembling and making preparation to commit dacoitie, they were, after trial in the Court of the Deputy Commissioner for the district, sentenced, one and all, to rigorous imprisonment for seven years. Their purpose was *dacoitie*, as was afterwards more unquestionably established upon the confessions to us of some of their number. They had then very recently already committed two authenticated acts of dacoitie in the same neighbourhood, obtaining booties on each occasion, valued at 18,000 rupees and 8000 rupees respectively; and they had two other enterprises on hand (as afterwards admitted to us,) one the plunder of a rich convoy of treasure then about to be despatched from Ajmere, and the other to sack the premises or *kôthee* of the re-

mitter himself, an influential native banker in the same city, *who was even the Treasurer of the Governor-General's Agent for the States of Rajpootanah, Colonel Eden!* A great deal more was elicited in our subsequent investigations into the criminal career of each individual member of the arrested lot, and I had been congratulating myself, that for the present at least, they were shut off from doing further mischief—it being something gained to have, at a single haul, got so many dangerous fellows safely *put by* and prevented for a time at least, from carrying on more, and I had only just included a full account of the circumstances in the Dacoitie Statements of the period, when, lo! a rumour reaches us, that the High Court at Agra had taken up the case on the petitions of three men of the number belonging to the Ajmere Police (who had aided and abetted the dacoits,) and that the chances now were, that, on technical grounds, the liberation of all would be recommended! Of course, my office will first be referred to by the local Government, to show cause against the measure, but I shall have to struggle hard to stay it.

The
Police
Super-
intendent
of Khan-
desh.

Recap-
ture of
two of the
rescued
Prisoners.

9th August.—Two letters from *Oliver Probyn* of the Khandeish Bheel Police, on the subject of the revelations which he reports, of the fellows lately captured down there (*vide* pp. 177, 182, vol. ii.,) and of the arrest among them of *two* out of the four prisoners rescued last November from Ward's custody at Jalnah, one of them named *Ooda* being the man who was irregularly released and whose

recapture I had requested. He is now known to be of the number who, in a dacoitie down there, were suspected *from their shoe-prints* to be no local robbers (*vide* p. 347, vol. i.) I have telegraphed to give him a small present from myself for "value received;" for he had told us where to find the other captured fugitive *Jowahirra*. Not that I did not know that Ooda was altogether the rogue he was trying to make out *he was not*, in view to hoodwink us, but only to let him suppose that he was still gulling us with his twisted stories, and thus be led on, by his sure entanglements, to disclose further clues to and give us a little more information of his associates, and where to lay hands upon them. This on the diamond-cut-diamond plan. It will then be time enough to reveal to him our knowledge of himself. At present he supposes we know him not.—Probyn confirms, in his other letter, the duplicity of the man *Jeewun Sing* before often enough mentioned (*vide* pp. 164, 190, 191, vol. i., and 22, 32, 73, vol. ii.) This man, locally notorious as a dacoit confederate, had been taken into the Nagpore Police for his "excellent acquaintance" with dacoitie doings, soon after his other equally artful and equally notorious *confrère*, but not his friend, named *Choutmull* (also before mentioned—*vide* pp. 164, 182, vol. i., and 33, 75, vol. ii.,) had also been taken into the twin police force of Berar. I had hinted to the heads of the local police, our information that they both harboured dacoits, but the former man nevertheless incontinently appeared at Indore on the declared de-

Robber
Confederates
among
Police
Constables.

Their
doubtful
Co-opera-
tion.

puted purpose of searching out the perpetrators of the treasure dacoitie near Burwai, near Khundwah, of occurrence last February (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.,) of whom it was stated he had already arrested some (whether real or supposed we have yet to see.) But Thompson, my assistant for the Central India States, was, as I have before said, at Indore (*vide* p. 22, vol. ii.,) and as the approvers with him claimed the man as more or less their associate, he forthwith had him arrested ; but waiting to obtain more certain information of his complicity, and because the Chief of the Police in which he was employed wished it, I had ordered his release (p. 34.) It now, however, comes out from the disclosures made to Probyn by *Jowahirra*, the other recaptured fugitive, that these charges were not without foundation, and I am curious to learn something on the subject from Ward at Jalnah, to whom I have to-day ordered all the prisoners to be transferred.

Amateur
Actors
and the
Theatre
at Simlah.

10th August.—There being no *troupe* this year of professional actors at Simlah, some amateurs among the local European shopkeepers and clerks, last night performed with great success, the “Two Bonnycastlees” and a “Burlesque of Shylock” before a full house. The Simlah “Theatre” so called, is, however, a miserable construction with a low flat pitch-plastered roof, and placed down in a *khud* below the native bazaar, ill-ventilated and badly devised, not a decoration in it, and the scenery arrangements mean and insufficient. To suggest, with bated breath, the erection of a *State Theatre*, worthy of this Viceregal place of residence,

The
Erection
of a State
Theatre
sug-
gested.

would be to be condemned past redemption ; yet why not have such a structure, if the public amusement is the public health—and the “drama an intelligence” ? The present building being already much *tarred*, it only remained to *feather* it also—hence this gibbeting and detraction.

11th August, Sunday, Simlah.—Hugh and I dined at the Simlah Club last night. To church for evening service.

12th August.—Wrote to Probyn thanking him for his “very valuable co-operation at all times.” We are gradually coming from one gang to another of the perpetrators of the heavy treasure and other dacoities down in Berar and the Central Provinces, the deed of robbers from afar and not of local organizations. The latter collapsed the moment the local police was doubled, and the European superintendence considerably augmented (*vide* p. 211;) but to trace the distant-living bandits, and bring them to account sooner or later, is our work (*vide* P.S. p. 213, vol. ii.)

Regarding
Treasure
Dacoities
in Berar
and the
Central
Pro-
vinces.

13th August.—I have twice mentioned trails followed by *scent*—one in a poisoning case through the subtle perfume of some stolen extract of the *keora* flower or spikenard (p. 161,) and the other of a dacoitie through the pervading odour of some plundered musk or *kustooree* (p. 158.) Here is another successfully followed up by the *smell of opium*. A quantity of that valuable drug was plundered by some Mooltanee dacoits in March last, from a train of bullock carts while under convoy from Rutlám, as before noted (p. 336, vol. i.) Assailed in the dark with a shower of stones, the

Successful
Trail
through
Scent of
Opium.

men in charge and the cart drivers immediately ran away, and the robbers carried off and buried their plunder. Intercepted on suspicion as some of the gang were hastening by a village at break of day, as already told (p. 336,) it was perceived that their clothes smelt strongly of the drug. The footsteps of the plunderers were next carried from the place of the robbery up to a spot in the dry bed of the river, on the way to which *opium* was found to have been recently buried, and thus the arrested parties, seven in number, found themselves in a plight. They had reason then to be astonished on being told, after all this, that the magistrate had *acquitted them!* But as I had received information of their arrest, and our approvers of the same tribe had claimed them, recognizing two of the number as previously registered dacoits, and another as but recently let out of jail after undergoing punishment for a previous opium dacoitie, I was able to intervene and to direct their transfer to our custody. Before that could be carried out, however, five men of the lot effected their escape from the local police, including the above three recognized accomplices of approvers, so that thus only two have reached Ward at Jalnah, and these two fellows have confessed to him as many as thirteen similar acts of dacoitie committed within the last few years in Khandeish and Malwah, *the recent or Rutlám case being one of the number*, and to belong to a large gang of Mooltanee plunderers located in Baroda territory. They declare, however, that in the particular case

under notice, their plunder consisted of five chests of opium, *not two only*, the whole of the contents of which, they add, they had buried together in the dry bed of the *Soor* river (but where that quantity was not professed to have been found,) "each chest consisting of from seventy to eighty lumps or balls of the drug, weighing each a *seer* or a couple of pounds," a much more valuable prize than what, it will be recollected, was declared to have been exhumed; so that someone must have got considerably enriched by the treasure trove !*

But we have received a report of another more recent act of dacoitie in Khandeish, which I only note because of its being the deed of *Khaikárees*, the professional dacoit race described before (pp. 347, 348, vol. i.) The owner of the house attacked, awoke at midnight by his hearing footsteps outside of it, and on coming out by the door, was forthwith seized and held down, while the rest of the robbers rushed into the house, and, blowing a hitherto suppressed torch held inside of an earthen vessel into a flame, proceeded by its light to plunder the place of whatever came to hand. This is often the way with *Khaikáree* robbers when engaged in an act of gang burglary, as often demonstrated in my reports of their doings. They go intending to commit a noiseless robbery, but prepared to convert it into one with open violence with lighted torches, if at all resisted or not readily able to

A Dacoitie
by Khai-
karees.

* P.S.—The two confessing prisoners above alluded to (*Mogul* and *Imam*,) were later on sentenced in the Court of the Resident at Hyderabad, each to ten years' transportation.

effect a stealthy entrance into the premises. They are identical with the "Kul-Kowrees" and "Korwurroos," with other *alias* denominations, infesting Mysore and Madras territory and the entire southern peninsula (*vide* p. 347.) Two of the culprits in the above case have been locally arrested and sentenced.³

Bheels.

³ P.S.—There was a good deal of crime in Khandeish in the year 1867, whether dacoities or "robberies," chiefly the deed of *Bheels*, which *Major Oliver Probyn*, the highly efficient Police Superintendent of the district, attributed in a great measure to the restrictions imposed upon *wood-cutting* in the *Satpoora Hills* and jungles occupied by the race on the borders of Khandeish. He said the Bheels had enjoyed the privilege of cutting timber in them from time immemorial. It was their chief means of subsistence, and that their complaints against the innovation were constant. He also ascribed the great oppression practised by the local traders (Sowcars) and village headmen in their dealings with the Bheels, as an additional operating cause: "No one who has had but little intercourse with Bheels can form any idea of the extent to which they are cheated, I might say *robbed* by the local Sowcars," and "entangled in the meshes of false accounts and extorted bonds," they are compelled by these creditors "to live on mere pittance, barely sufficient to support existence." The small advances originally made to them become standing debts, and being rarely paid off, "the Sowcars will yearly carry away almost all the grain the Bheels may have grown, and occasionally seize also the bullocks which have enabled them to cultivate the ground which had produced the seed just taken possession of. Was it to be wondered at that these Bheels betook to robbery?" Major Probyn added that in several of the robberies committed during the year by Bheels, the chief plunder had been found to be *the bonds which the Sowcars had extorted from them!* The district magistrate, *Mr. G. F. Sheppard*, a very able Civil Officer, observed to this, that the causes above assigned for the frequency of the robberies, were doubtless in some degree applicable—that the measures of Forest Conservation of late years adopted, no doubt resulted in certain hardships, but that the evil had been great which arose from indiscriminate cutting down of forest, which must soon have exhausted the supply now that the demand for timber had of late so much increased; and he anticipated of these measures that in the end the result would be

We dined last night with the Durands at their house, "The Observatory." I took Lady Durand to table. Sir Henry, in conversation with me, defended the policy of not taking up any positions above the passes, of late so much advocated in some quarters. He said we could at any time easily move up into Afghanistan, and that in his opinion the day of conflict with the Russians in that direction, was very distant. I would distinguish his rôle as one of *disciplined inaction*.

14th August.—Last night we dined at "Woodville" with the Commander-in-Chief and Lady Mansfield. Sir William seemed very thoughtful. He had indeed but just seen a telegram from home announcing that General Peel, the Minister for War, had declared in Parliament, that if he had known that the Duke of Cambridge's reprimand to Sir William in the *Jervis case* would be published, he would have advised his Excellency's recall. I don't think Sir William need much care—"rail on!"

The telegram was made known to the community in the course of to-day. It stated that a debate in the House had resulted in the rejection (by not

beneficial, and that he thought that by the system of Tuggái,* * *Tuggái* which had been extended to them by Government, the Bheels (or more correctly, *tukáwee*), generally were improving. I believe, however, that with the exception of those enrolled in the Bheel Corps, the condition of the poor Bheel, whether in Khandeish or those of the Bheel Páls of Pertabghur and Sirohi, and about Neemuch, or in other fastnesses possessed by the tribe, to be still very much the same as described by Bishop Heber—impoverished and scantily clad, and "thieves and savages" to the present date. This would seem to be the common fate of all aboriginal races. (*Vide Heber's Journal*, vol. ii. p. 495.)

a very large majority,) of a motion to petition Her Majesty to restore Captain Jervis. The Chief was, it is said, quite himself again, and in good spirits, while at the Council Board at "Peterhoff" to-day. Perhaps he thinks, and thinks correctly, that General Peel's observations were intended to force upon Parliament the production of his rejoinder to the Duke's reprimand—a very ably drawn up document I understand.

15th August.—It being a Hindu festival and the office establishment on leave in consequence, I made several calls to-day, and at evening we had a party to dinner at home.

16th August.—An expedition to Abyssinia to rescue the British subjects there defiantly held in captivity by the *Négus*, is now a certainty, and is now openly talked of. C. Blair writes, the rumour of it down in Rajpootanah, is, that it was to be a "reconnoitring party" only, and that several officers from Rajpootanah were under orders to join it. Here we know a little more of the preparations, reticent as those who know all would be. The expedition is to consist of a large force from the Bombay Army, under the personal command of Sir Robert Napier, the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay.

James
Blair and
the
Môghyas.

James Blair, who has returned from his short furlough home, has relieved C. Blair, who was acting for him as my assistant at Aboo, and I am glad to find him writing that he was "most anxious to get the wedge in amongst the Môghyas near Neemuch (*vide* pp. 377 and 386, vol. i.) I score

him as a giant come back refreshed. As noticed before, these Môghya robbers do not confine themselves to the particular tract above indicated, but spread into Harowtie also, and into the Central India States, of which the opium dacoitie in the Simrole Pass near Indore was a recent example (*vide* pp. 365, 385, vol. i.) Their depredations in that direction became so frequent, that in the absence of any effectual local police arrangements, the safety of the high road through Indore to Gwalior has now for some time been entrusted to a system of cavalry patrols, assisted by a foot police of local Nujjees. A stretch of 180 miles of road, extending from *Dewás* to *Bhádurwás*, is daily patrolled by that efficient body of irregular cavalry, the Central India Horse. It was by Môghyas that a Lieutenant Haig was a time back attacked and wounded. The spot chosen for the ambush was a wild part of the great trunk road about thirty miles from Indore and ten miles from the staging bungalow at Dewás. He was travelling in one of the conveyances of the "Government Bullock Train," journeying down country. At a dark hour of the night the train was waylaid and set upon. The officer defended himself, and, for the severe sword-cut he himself received, he dealt as good a one in exchange to one of his opponents, whereupon they all hastily left the spot, taking but an insignificant booty with them. This occurred a short time ago. A party of our special police was quickly despatched from Indore. Two of the plunderers were eventually arrested, of whom one

Cavalry
Patrols.

Lieut.
Haig
attacked
by
Môghyas.

was the man who had been wounded, and he confessed. The gang was composed of certain Môghyas, twelve in number, whose names he gave. But we have no approvers of that tribe to support the statement, so that these fellows have their own way as yet, but we shall be even with them by-and-by. The admissions made by the two arrested men were of too partial a nature to satisfy me, and I therefore rejected the offer of their services. It is repugnant enough to be obliged to have recourse to approvers at all, but to enlist *bad ones*, goes against the grain entirely, however desirable I feel it to be to get information somehow or somewhere, upon which to make an effectual cast, against this enterprising robber tribe; but better make a good beginning, than be in a hurry and commence badly. A good approver is a valuable fellow, but a bad one involves a deal of trouble, and is sure to fail you. I desire to *hit* these Môghyas hard and surely.⁴

Sunnô-
reah
Thieves
and
Nûths.

17th August.—A letter from the Police, telling me of the arrest at Nagpore of “a large gang of *Sunnôreahs*,” from the *Tehree* district in Ben-

⁴ P.S.—I was subsequently at length able to submit a full report to the Government of India, of the long time depredations of these people, and of their habits as dacoits, and to commence systematic operations for their suppression. The body of information acquired enabled my successor in office, Major now Colonel Sir Edward Bradford, K.C.S.I., K.C.B., with the aid of the approvers I had myself admitted from the tribe, to follow up these first proceedings successfully, Government having, upon my recommendation, conceded to him, the employment of a distinct assistant for the special duty of conducting the operations against them, with headquarters at the central position of Neemuch, right in the heart of their settlements in that direction.

dlekund, and inquiring where any account might be found of the wandering tribes of India. — seems to regard this capture as a first revelation as to this race of born thieves, and of their thievish habits ! Alas for my printed “ List of the Wandering Tribes,” circulated so long back as 1852, and our published reports concerning these very Sunnô-reahs ! There is a want of articulation I fear in these matters, where it should not be. He tells me too, of the similar arrest by the police, of some *Nûths*, and inquires about them also, and whether they are not identical with the Khaikarees, and says “ we sadly want a Police Gazetteer for India ” ! Pigeon-holing—relegation to the dust-bin of official records—prevails, it is plain. — adds that the information respecting this *new discovery* is being printed for circulation, and that I shall be supplied with a copy of it :—Kind ! But full account of these people were published many years ago ! They are a remarkable race and practise a widespread system of plunder. Variouslly called *Sunnô-reahs* in Bendlekund their principal *locale*, *Dhunnojee Brahmins* in Guzerat, and *Thug Bhâts* in Sirôhi and other parts of Rajpootanah, gangs of them periodically sally forth every year and return with the proceeds of the booties acquired converted into money. They rob far and near, and will penetrate even to Calcutta and Bombay on their pilfering expeditions, coming back to their homes with some goodly present of jewellery or costly thing retained from their *loot*, with which to conciliate the chieftain or chief local authority

Sunnô-
reah Pro-
cedure
described.

where they are sheltered. Strictly *day thieves*, Sunnôreahs rob only between sunrise and sunset, a habit they rigidly observe ; and no temptation, no easy booty, no assurance of *swag* however easy to be acquired, will induce them to break through this rule. After sunset they become religiously honest folk, but at sunrise they remain no longer spell-bound ; and there is nothing, however valueless or trifling, which they will then abstain from pilfering. While so engaged they observe a code of signals, and converse by signs more expertly than perhaps any other known race of pickpockets and cutpurses, necessitated to it, my predecessor was of opinion, by the rule which prohibited them from robbing at any other than in daytime. The actual theft is the feat of a boy trained to the practice, and each young knave is attended at some little distance off, by an *Ostád* or instructor,⁵ who, acting as a sort of fugleman, by signs or by song from some vantage standpoint amid the bazaar crowd, directs the apt and all-attentive lad, *when* and *how* to approach the indicated article, the particular moment to *lift* and abscond with it, or to *hand it* to a confederate on the look-out hard by, and thus to pass it on from hand to hand, to beyond the outskirts of the listless folk thronging the visited *gunge* or market, or crowded about the open booth or stall marked for spoil. This being accomplished with much dexterity, the youth is soon lost in the multitude, or disappears by some side way : “ They move away with great rapidity,”

⁵ P.S.—Of the sixty Sunnôreahs seized on the above occasion by the Nagpore Police, twenty were boys.

reported the elder Sleeman, "and have relays in proportion to the weight of the article stolen and the distance which the chances of pursuit may make it necessary to have it conveyed at the first burst of discovery." The distance thus *passed*, will sometimes cover quite a hundred miles when the appropriated article has been costly and the local police considered to be vigilant. They paid a tax, it was added in our old Report, "to the landholders on whose estates they resided, and to the influential officers of the chieftains, if not to the chiefs themselves." In Guzerat they would pay this tax for protection and asylum to the Guicowár, who, remarked Sleeman, "seemed always to regard them as a very legitimate source of income." A good deal more of the same sort was reported by us of this dexterous class of professional thieves, which I must embody in a further report to the Government of India, in bringing to its notice this supposed *new discovery*.

We dined at the Club. A long talk with ———. At the Club.
 The Chief had asked him whether he thought that he had now heard the last of the *Jervis affair*, and he had replied that he had *not*. I am to see the rejoinder.

18th August, Sunday.—Hugh and I walked in the forenoon to the top of the lofty peak overhanging the furthest rifle range, from where a beautiful view of the Snowy mountains. They seemed in the clear atmosphere to be quite close by.—At evening to church and a sermon upon not being religious overmuch. Alluring counsel where The Snowy Range. The Evening Sermon.

habitually there was a bent that way, *more majorum!* Pace, dear Pastor! Admitted you rather implied that your listeners, not *should be*, but *were not* righteous overmuch, though affecting to be so:—Nor do we on the other hand mean, looking at your exhortation the other way, that they should supinely yield to what they would complacently persuade themselves was seldom resisted, as though in justification for following the example. But then, you know, your very words might be quoted as of great authority!

The
Jervis
Case the
Topic at
Simlah.

19th August.—The great topic of conversation is the Commander-in-Chief's reply to the Duke's reprimand, and there is an eager desire that it should be made known. The impending war with Abyssinia pales before it in local interest, full as the newspapers are of the preparations for that expedition.

Italian
Concert.

A so-called "Italian Concert" this evening, was a disappointing affair, the principal singer having a cracked voice, dolefully unmusical, and the overture in all, *point harmonieux*.

20th August.—A day of heavy office work finished off with a large dinner party at home, a brother of my old Hampstead school-fellow *Hew Dalrymple*, the present Baronet of Berwick, here unexpectedly met with, being of the guests.

Sunnô-
reahs.

21st August.—Replying to the reference about the *Sunnôreahs* lately captured by the Nagpore Police (*vide* p. 262,) I say that reports regarding those people as criminals, had long since been submitted from the General Superintendent's Office, and been printed and circulated; that if the

persons now arrested really came from *Tehree* and *Chirkári* of Bendlekund, the police had no doubt got hold of the right sort, as that this class chiefly resided in those districts, *Bendlekund* being their general nursery ground ; that they were the most practised pickpockets and juggling thieves of all India, going periodically far distances on their thieving expeditions, and coming back with valuable booties, much of which they used as hush-money, and as consideration for the refuge allowed them by the local rajahs and zumeendars where they dwelt ; that as to the *Nüths* also in custody (a class corresponding in many practices with the gipsies of Europe,) they more likely were *Bériahs* than *Khaikárees*, as was supposed, the *Nüths* resembling the *Bériahs*, or rather that *Bériahs* resembled *Nüths* so closely in pursuits and practices, particularly in prostituting their women, and in the habit of kidnapping girls whom to bring up for that purpose, that they not only passed for them, but might be declared to be even identical people (although not so,) and that thus when “ *Bériahs* ” were taken up, they were easily able to declare and make it be believed that they were harmless “ *Nüths* ” or *showmen* and *tumblers* only—but that they were *not* *Khaikarees* ! Also that I had lately seen some printed papers proceeding from Nagpore and from another Chief Police Office, professing to circulate information, as though now also for the first time given, of the criminal habits of certain “ *Rinds* ” (sometimes locally called “ *Beloochees*,” and of the people known as *Kullubsázees* or false money coiners (v. pp. 129 to 134, vol. ii.) but of both

Nüths and
Bériahs.

Rinds
alias
Belooches

Money
Coiners.

of which classes full reports had also long previously been given by us, and been printed and circulated. I won't say our information is infallible, but I am bent on letting it be known that the special department had not been forestalled in acquiring what is now professed to have been *discovered*, and that the new police have yet to *hark back* a bit before they are able to run upon any new scent.* *Sub jánta* or "knowing everything" has been too long, and not perhaps inaptly, though in banter, applied as our *sobriquet*, and I am unwilling to forego the earned *distinction* even if it be to plume to do so. We must *kick the beam*, if we would be useful and stand by our patent for speciality!

A sudden down-pour. In my evening walk round Jako mountain got caught in a very heavy downpour, and was wetted to the skin. Met several ladies helplessly seated in open *jánpáns* at the opposite end of the long way, undergoing the same pitiless shower-bath, the rain having fallen most suddenly as if let out from some flood-gate.

22nd August.—An expedition to Abyssinia being decided upon, Hugh, who is all ambitious to take part in it, applied to-day to Sir Robert Napier, the reputed Commander, to be attached to one of the Irregular Horse Corps selected for the service. I write to Merewether, about to hold an

* P.S.—A question of some importance, had been referred from my office, to the local Government concerned, and, on my receiving no decision, I asked a Member of the Council to inquire about it. Learning from the Secretariat that the papers on the subject had been sent direct to the Governor, he inquired of the latter whether it was so, who replied he did not remember them. Search was made for the missing documents at Government House, and they were at length found put away under His Excellency's sofa pillow. He admittedly had *sleep* upon them.

important command in it, offering to be attached to the Intelligence Department.

23rd August.—A Hindoo festival to-day—office closed—out all day returning neglected visits—the expedition to Abyssinia the topic everywhere, and a great desire shown, that at least a column of the Bengal Army should be told off to join it, *and not to leave everything to Bombay!* A good deal of pressure is being exercised up here on the subject, and it will prevail.

A telegram was received to-day from home, saying that *Jervis* was reinstated. Met the Chief shortly afterwards. He certainly looked very thoughtful. It is supposed he must resign, or will be told he must do so. He is too strong-minded I think for that. There was insubordination, and he was bound to meet it rather than to shield himself from inquiry at the expense of discipline. All aides are in some measure mixed up in the household matters of their Chiefs, but that is no reason on which to tolerate or uphold contumacy or defiance, born of that kindly intimacy and the sufferance it is productive of. Simple dismissal might have been a corrective, but it would have been an evasion—for look at the whole case:—Apart from “Pickles” the only *amari aliquid* and regrettable part of the question, the several acts of defiance, the tone and attitude assumed when Donald Stewart, the Deputy Adjutant-General, was sent to the offender for his sword, the vituperation, the scandal, all public and open-mouthed—was all that to be borne in silence by the Head

A Bengal
Column
for
Abyssinia.

Ru-
moured
Rein-
statement
of Jervis.
The
Subject
con-
sidered.

of the Army—was he to be *afraid* of an inquiry who had no ground to fear, except in that one matter which disclosed how too confiding he had been as a host, how indulgent as a patron towards his personal protégé?—Sir William will battle the watch yet !

Midnight
Drench-
ing.

24th August.—Weather very foggy, with plenty of rain ; so much rain that, returning at midnight from the Club, where I had a small party at dinner, we were drenched by it.

Dinner at
" Wood-
ville."

25th August, Sunday.—To church in the forenoon. Hugh too unwell to accompany me to dinner at the Chief's usual Sunday party.

The
Estimate
for Aby-
ssinia.

26th August.—The expedition to Abyssinia is very popular from the chivalrous cause for it. Mr. Massey, the Finance Member of Council, said last night, that he had telegraphed home to grant a million of money towards it.* Sir Robert Napier is to command it as Generalissimo and Plenipotentiary, as Outram was in the Persian war, and Bengal is, after all, to furnish details equal to the command of a Brigadier-General (p. 269.) Sir Robert as a Bengal officer, must, it is supposed, have been easily persuaded to this, although in command of the Bombay Army to whose sea-board the war appertains.

Com-
mand of
the Expe-
dition to
Abyssinia.
Bengal
details for
it.

A long conversation last night on the subject, led to my being favoured to-day with the perusal of the Chief's replies to the Duke's reprimand in the Jervis case. He will *not* resign his command

* P.S.—The war, from first to last, cost nine millions !

for all the recent telegrams that Captain Jervis had been reinstated, and, to my mind, he is quite right.

We have a Government Notification out, re-
gulating the transmission of Memorials to the Secretary of State, or to Her Majesty, by private individuals or Government employés. Every such document is to be submitted through the Government under which the petitioner resides or is employed, and to be forwarded home by it with every necessary information, except when relating to pensions and such pecuniary matters, or leave of absence, in which case the memorial should be sent through the Financial Department. In every case the local Government or Administration is to be the medium of appeal, and each sheet of a memorial is to bear the signature of the petitioner. All vernacular appeals are to be accompanied, when forwarded to England, with translations in English, correctly rendered, copies to be made and retained by the forwarding Government, and the originals not to be detained longer than a month. Certain memorials may be declined and returned, prominently when couched in disrespectful language; or when a decision on the subject of it has already been vouchsafed; or when palpably devoid of claim; or an application for employment; or an appeal from a judicial decision; or when it is illegible or unintelligible; or when the petitioner, already in Government employ, seeks for some prospective advantage in respect to pension. My guardian (one of the

Regarding Memorials.

Court of Directors,) advised me, when I was coming out as a cadet, "Never memorialize."

Thug
Poisoning
in Ben-
dlekund.

27th August.—A few days ago two Hindoos were joined on the road by a Mussulman in Bendlekund. It was raining, and they took shelter at a Hindoo place of worship by the way. The stranger gave some spiced sugar to the two travellers, saying, "it was of a sort to remove fatigue." They became insensible, and in that condition they were robbed. The report says they have recovered. Nothing ascertained of the culprits.

Dacoitie
in Goruck-
pore.

Then in the Goruckpore district, a band of twenty armed dacoits entered the village of *Roháree*, with lighted torches, one midnight lately, burst into the house of two *bukhál*s or shopkeepers, ill-treated all the inmates of the dwelling, and fled with plunder estimated at 2575 rupees, of whom no traces have been acquired.

At evening met Colonel Norman, the Adjutant-General. He was very close about the arrangements for the Bengal column intended for Abyssinia, but I know that *Donald Stewart* is to command it, with *Roberts* as his Assistant Quarter-master-General—both up here on the Head-quarters' Staff.—Great excitement among the officers gathered at evening on the Mall, to join the expedition being the aspiration of everyone. The Chief has had 200 applications volunteering for the service within the last two days.

Command
of the
Bengal
Column
for Abyss-
inia.
Great
Excite-
ment.

General
and Mrs.
Main-
waring.

Among our guests at dinner this evening were General and Mrs. Mainwaring, who both were

among the hostages taken by Akhbar Khan in the disaster in Affghanistan in 1842.

28th August.—Have at length received from Jowahirra Durzee: How the Prisoners were rescued at Jalnah. Ward the file in the case of the recaptured *Jowahirra Durzee* (*vide* pp. 177, 182, 252, vol. ii.) His revelations are delightful. He has narrated not only how his rescue was effected, but the details of thirteen acts of dacoitie committed by him in Berar prior to a previous arrest (when he was sentenced to decapitation—*vide* p. 190, vol. i.,) eight others between his escape on that occasion, and his capture in a dacoitie near Poonah (*vide* footnote, p. 166, vol. ii.,) and yet two more between his second escape from Jalnah and his present final recapture in Khan-deish, the two latter acts being, one, an adroit robbery of a quantity of bank notes from the house of a wealthy shroff situated in the town of Bombay, and the other, the recent dacoitie near *Khundwah*, in which a rich booty in cash and silver bullion was obtained (*vide* p. 125, vol. ii.)

But before proceeding further I would here give some account of the career of this remarkable dacoit, although at the risk of becoming involved in some repetition of the tale given in an earlier part of the present Journal (vol. i., p. 186 *et seq.*,) so intimately connected with the circumstances there narrated, being the history of this man. He is a fine-looking fellow, resembling in that regard his somewhile associate *Sadoollah Náee* (*vide* pp. 185, 198, vol. i.,) now become one of our most zealous approvers. Nor should we regard contemptuously individuals with such very tame affixes to their

Career of
Jowa-
hirra
Durzee.

names as *Durzee* and *Náee* (tailor and barber,) for these are but their *caste-nymics*, and do not, however originally applied, betoken their exclusive occupations, or that they are identical with the daily toilers so called. For in Rajpootanah, and some parts of India, persons with such surnames, make first-class fighting men, in the same relation that the "Kaleefa" or caliph—a complimentary distinction accorded among Mahomedans to *tailors*, on account of their conspicuous prowess—is known to be a first-rate swordsman, or that the courageous *Bhistee* or humble water-carrier, is assented a place in Paradise—*Bihisht*—not only on account of his twice-blessed vocation, but in recognition of his unfailing devotion as the close companion in the thickest fight of the athirst "faithful," as he is to this day of our battling soldiery, European and Native.⁷ Anyhow, these two men, *Sadoollah* and *Jowahirra*, both fine handsome fellows, are very capable dacoits of the

Cogno-
mina.

⁷ P.S.—I quote from a Report on this subject of a subsequent date :—"It is a peculiarity in India that the *name* which denoted the original occupation of a people to which it appertains, and by which they continue to be distinguished, becomes, in course of time, their *generic* appellation only, and is by no means a test of their individual vocations. The designation may belong to the *ostensible*, recognized occupation of them all bodily, but it scarcely denotes their real livelihood. *Dick Turpin* and *Jack Sheppard*, were, I believe, the sons of carpenters, but they were not the less highwaymen and housebreakers. Among the Rhatore dacoits this Department is now dealing with, are several "*Durzees*," "*Náees*," and "*Burráhees*." Are they simply *tailors*, *barbers*, and *carpenters*, who have never touched needle, razor, or chisel? Or are so many "*Brahmins*" among dacoits, *not* dacoits because they belong to the sacerdotal class? And if "*Gola-wándloos*" and "*Yeddiers*" (milkmen and cowherds,) do *not* belong to the

boldest type. The story is a long one, but I recount it as a *dénouement* of what I had previously said of these roving bands of plunderers from Rajpootanah, and of their feats (pp. 190 to 193, vol. i.)

Jowahirra and three of his accomplices in dacoitie, one being the accomplished leader *Mulla Ját*—one of those to have been beheaded—had, as mentioned before, been taken into custody in Hyderabad territory by the agents of the plundered parties for the treasure dacoitie at *Ootradapet*

criminal classes in Madras (the contention down Madras,) why are so many of them arrested in Madras districts for dacoitie, house-breaking at night, and other crimes?"

To this was added the following explanatory footnote, following what *Ainsworth* had written of the subject:—"As a rule in the records of crime the professional *cognomina* attached to prominent characters bear no reference to the pursuits of the individuals themselves. They rather refer to some *calling* which the bearer of the *sobriquet* either once belonged to, or was intended or brought up for; sometimes even to some personal peculiarity in no way connected with any calling whatever. Some of the most distinguished London ruffians enjoy such titles as 'Bill the Coster,' 'Butcher Mike,' long after *Bill* has ceased to be a costermonger, or *Mike* has preferred garrotting fellow-creatures to slaughtering bullocks. An analogy may be noted in the case of the Guerilla warfare carried on by Spanish villagers during the Peninsula war. The captain of one band was still 'The Doctor,' of another 'The Chaplain,' although as bandit leaders both had adopted measures more summary than was formerly, we may suppose, their wont for releasing bodies and souls from the impediments of life! A still stronger analogy may be observed in the case of some of our oldest English family names, originally only *surnames* of an hereditary calling. Every soldier, sailor, clergyman, doctor, and barrister, has known members of his own profession bearing such names as *Smith, Fuller, Taylor, Fletcher, Miller, Baker, Sadler, Archer, Bowman, etc.*" (*Report from Colonel Charles Hervey to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 552, dated 30th April, 1872, para. 19 and footnote (b.).*)

(*vide* pp. 186 to 188, vol. i.,) and at their instance been set at liberty by the frontier officer in the service of the Nizam, on a compromise to restore the plunder—valued at Rs. 33,340 in gold and silver bullion and cash. They thereupon promptly produced a sum of 13,000 rupees accordingly, promising to give more on their acquiring a fresh booty. On Ward's remonstrance with the Hyderabad Durbar at this reprehensible proceeding, they were re-delivered into custody through the instrumentality of the principal despoiled party, he having, in point of fact, stood security for their reappearance should it be demanded, and had kept them at hand. They were thereupon tried for the dacoitie, and as it was attended with murder and wounding, they were, by an award of the Nizam's Court of Judicature at Jalnah, sentenced to be beheaded,^{*} but before that sentence could be carried out, they (the Rohilla excepted,) were enabled, by the connivance of the native jail guard, to effect their escape through some undue influence connected, it was supposed, with the still to be fulfilled promise of restitution of the rest of the plunder (*vide* pp. 190, 195, vol. i.) Urged now to fulfil their compact, the gang next committed another heavy dacoitie, as before shown, on another consignment of treasure while under conveyance upon a couple of country carts from the railway station of *Mulka-pore* in Berar,^{*} where it had just

* *Vide* p. 196, vol. i.

^{*} The four thus sentenced men were—(1) Mulla, *alias* Mulhar, *alias* Khooljee and Khoomjee, caste Ját; (2) Hêma, *alias* Siputjee, *alias* Sookjee, caste Malee; (3) Jowahirra Durzee, *alias* Manjee; and (4) Abbas Khan, a Rohilla.

been received from Bombay for the purchase of cotton, a remittance of 66,000 rupees in coin and bullion, information whereof had been acquired by the man *Jowahirra* himself, by bribing the traitorous local native agent of the remitters of it. One only of the carts was plundered, and that only partially, for day had dawned, and the robbers had only just time to bury their plunder and disperse. They were not opposed, the only two Sepoys in charge, and the cart driver, having fled the moment the plunderers appeared. Some went straightway back to the railway station. *Jowahirra* and another (*Oodah*) proceeded by train from *Bhoosáwul* to Bombay, others went off to their different meeting-places round about. A month subsequently they dug out their booty, and to keep faith with the agent who had betrayed the consignment, *Jowahirra* and another, at once went and paid him the promised remuneration of 2000 rupees. They next paid up a sum of 10,000 rupees in further restitution of the plunder obtained in the previous robbery, besides a satisfaction of 1100 rupees as hush-money exacted from them by the knave *Sirreeram* residing at *Jalnah*, who had threatened to report them (*vide* pp. 197, vol. i., and 166 vol. ii.) Information, however (of the robbers being to be found in *Berar*,) having meanwhile reached the plundered parties, they employed the man *Jeewun Sing*, the well-known double character before mentioned (pp. 164, 190, 191, vol. i., and 22, 32, 73, 253, vol. ii.,) at that time residing at *Oomraotee* in secret association

with these dacoits, to trace them out, on the threat to report him to the local authorities if he did not for them also effect a compromise with the gang for restitution of their losses in the recent act of plunder. He, in his turn, threatened them—for their several *dérah*s or trysts were well known to him—and they thereupon gave over to him a sum of 5000 rupees “as all that was left of their prize,” the total proceeds of which they had indeed by these payments exceeded. Thirteen men, including the two leaders of the gang, *Mulla Ját* and *Kishen Sing*, were arrested on suspicion for this dacoitie, but they were released by the local magistrate on the ground of insufficient evidence, etc., as before stated of this affair (p. 196, vol. i.) It was not long after this that when travelling about alone in Berar for information, I learnt that Jowahirra, Mulla Ját, and the two others sentenced with them to be beheaded, so far from having been so executed, as we had been led to suppose from the communication received from the Nizam’s Durbar, were, on the contrary, at large, committing dacoitie!

Being still under covenant to restore the rest of the plunder in the Ootradapet affair, and “in honour bound” to do so (stricter in that sense, being robbers, than some others ordinarily are,) Jowahirra moved up from Bombay with information of the despatch from there of another rich remittance to Berar for the purchase of cotton. At the Julgam station in Berar he learnt from secret agents there located, that it had actually arrived there and was about to be sent on upon

camels to Hoosingabad. He quickly assembled the gang, and followed up the convoy from stage to stage. The consignment was a very large one, nearly a lakh and a half of rupees, and being attended by Sepoys of the Line, the robbers had to be very cautious, "owing to the alertness of the guard." Not till arrival in Khandeish was the opportunity at last acquired to fall upon and plunder it. This was at *Sowndah* (p. 197, vol. i.,) as far only as which point of the route the guard had orders to escort it. The robbers were not to be deterred by the fact that the convoy had alighted for that night close to the local police station—the guard of Sepoys had gone away, and that was all they wanted. For one or two of their scouts had daily moved along with the train and learnt every particular. The booty acquired was great, *upwards of one lakh and thirty thousand rupees* in money and bullion. But the affair terminated with disaster to the dacoits, as before narrated (p. 199, vol. i.,) for not only were several of them captured by the Khandeish Bheel Police, *Mulla Ját*, the leader of the gang, his brother, *Lutchman Ját*, and *Sadoollah Náee*, being of the number, but a good deal of their plunder was recovered, etc., etc., as already told.

Jowahirra Durzee himself and his friend *Oodah* ^{Oodah Ját.} *Ját*, one of the gang, on this occasion got clear away. They fled to Bombay, from where after a while, they came up to Poonah, where they lodged in the city with some other associates there assembled—numbering now no more than about a

Dacoities
at (1) Pul-
loos (Sat-
tarah),
(2) Pábull
(Shola-
pore),
(3) Mullád
(Satta-
rah.)

dozen men in all. They stayed there for about a couple of months on the look-out for booty, flitting in the interval thus engaged, by railway between Bombay on the one side, and Sholapore on the other. Running short of means, eight of their number proceeded on like research in the direction of *Sattarah*. There they learnt of the despatch of a quantity of gold *venetians* and other money laden upon a *tattoo* or pony. Waiting for this on the roadside, they fell upon it soon after nightfall at a spot near *Pulloos*, and returned forthwith with the booty to their rendezvous at Poonah and there divided it. The gang next followed a cart conveying treasure from Poonah along the high road to *Bársee* in the direction of Sholapore, and fell upon it also one night near *Pábull*, but were baulked of their booty through some false alarm. They then revisited *Sattarah*, leaving a couple of their number at Poonah on the look-out. They there presently learnt of the despatch from *Phultun*, of some more treasure and some piece goods laden upon a cart for conveyance to Sholapore. They followed this cart and plundered it after dark at *Mullád* near *Páramuttee*, the three men in charge running away; value of booty about 5000 rupees. Burying this in the jungle, they made off for Poonah, but had not proceeded far when some of their number were intercepted by some *Rámoosees* or village watchmen, and conducted to Poonah, where those who had stayed there and the others who had preceded them, had also been meanwhile arrested, *Jowahirra* and *Oodah* being of the number.

But although recognized to have been staying together in one place at Poonah, nothing was found upon any of them to strengthen further suspicion. Those seized on the road were thereupon released who at once went and dug out the buried booty ; but the others were held in custody under requisitions for security. I heard of this detention while again travelling early last year (1866) in Hyderabad territory, and on the ground that one at least among them, namely the man *Jowahirra*, was of the number capitally convicted in the *Ootradapet* affair, I requested their transfer to Ward's custody at Jalnah for further inquiries (*vide* footnote p. 166, vol. ii.) *Jowahirra*, *Oodah*, and *Ramnath*, another of the subsequently rescued four, were thereupon sent to Jalnah. These three persons, and *Hurree Sing*, re-arrested at Hyderabad, now thought it prudent partially to reveal some of their misdeeds to Captain Ward, but they had scarcely done so, and while yet the several affairs they had narrated were under reference to the different local authorities, when the man *Hurree Sing*'s brother *Kishen Sing*, one of the two leaders in the Mulkapore affair (*vide* p. 196, vol. i.,) whose part in which he, *Kishen Sing*, knew they had revealed, appeared one night with *Motee Sing* *Meena*, at the gate of Ward's Lock-up, forced the sentinel there, climbed over the wall, and boldly rescued *Jowahirra*, *Oodah*, *Hurree Sing* and *Ramnath*, and carried them safely back on camel-back in the manner already described (*vide* pp. 29 and 163, vol. i.*)

* The names of the four rescued Prisoners were (1) *Jowahirra Durzee*, (2) *Oodah Jât*, (3) *Hurree Sing* (brother of the renowned *Kishen Sing*), (4) *Ramnath*.

Jowahirra's
Confrère,
Oodah.

Jowahirra now went with Oodah to his old haunt in Bombay, and by robbery, acquired while there a lot of bank notes. Oodah after this went away to Khandeish, and when the hue and cry for Oodah's recapture (*vide* p. 347, vol. i.,) had toned down a little, Jowahirra himself once more appeared in the open country, and planned and successfully carried out the recent further treasure dacoitie at Desgam near *Khundwah*, mentioned at the time of its occurrence (*vide* p. 125, vol. ii.) He fled to Nassick—from there by-and-by he again went to Bombay—then dodged back again to Nassick, and upon information *treacherously supplied by his friend and companion Oodah*, Jowahirra was at length finally captured in Khandeish, as already set forth (*vide* pp. 177, 182, 252, vol. ii.,) and sent back, as above, with Oodah and some other prisoners to Ward's custody at Jalnah.*

29th August.—Here then is Jowahirra Durzee's

* P.S.—All this will be found, if followed, to fit in with the entire tale respecting the movements of these two men, and with the events connected therewith in the order of date. The rescue of Jowahirra Durzee, of Oodah, and the other two who had escaped with them, was effected on the night of the 5th November, 1866—the first treasure robbery near Burwai, on the night of the 26th February, 1867. Oodah having fled to Nassick, changed from there to Dhoolia in Khandeish, and there joined some of his tribesmen come down from Rajpootanah on dacoitie. On the night of the 4th March, 1867,* he, in a gang numbering *six men*, plundered the mail bags two miles out of *Dhoolia*, seriously wounding the Dák runner in charge of them. The tracks of *six* persons wearing Hindostani *shoes*, were by such footprints carried to some rocky ground, and there the plundered letters were found scattered about and the empty mail wallet (p. 341, vol. i.) Rhatore strangers were known to have been staying in Dhoolia for some time and they were suspected. The gang thereupon shifted to *Munmár*, a railway station handy for further flight. Six nights

* Memo:
5th March
errone-
ously
stated at
p. 341,
vol. i.

account, as just translated by me, of the manner in which he and his fellows were rescued from Ward's little jail (*vide* p. 281, vol. ii. :) "Hurree Sing had some time before managed to send a message to his brother *Kishen Sing* of our being in confinement here (Jalnah;) the latter returned a reply from *Boorhanpore* (one of their news centres.) This was communicated to Hurree Sing by *Kyum Sing*, one of our fellow prisoners, to whom it was signified by his servant when we were taken outside for ablution of a morning. Oodjee and I were studiously kept unaware of what was going on, Hurree Sing and Ramnath only knowing all about it. At length two steel clasp knives with

The Story
of their
Rescue by
Kishen
Sing
Jemadar.

subsequently (10th March, 1867,) they plundered a cart laden with goods (some English boots, etc.,) on the road leading from that place to *Malligam*, and obtained a booty valued at 2000 rupees. The same description of footprints of six persons were again taken up from the spot of this repeated robbery and followed up successfully to Munmár, and there *Oodah* and another were, *by their shoes of up-country manufacture*, taken into custody (p. 347, vol. i.) But nothing besides the mere conjecture being established against them, they were set at liberty before I could intervene. I wrote back claiming *Oodah* as one of the rescued Jalnah fugitives, and requested his recapture. This could not be immediately carried out, for he went off to Bombay, there rejoined *Jowahirra*, and with him went to *Kullían*. From there they went up to *Khundwah* and committed the second treasure robbery in that neighbourhood (at *Desgam* on the 17th June, 1867, narrated at pp. 125 and 290, vol. ii.) *Jowahirra* and *Oodah* fled to *Nassick*. From there they presently parted company. *Oodah* was hereupon luckily discovered by the *Khandeish Bheel Police*, when, to obtain consideration without revealing himself, he treacherously betrayed his friend and companion *Jowahirra Durzee*, who having just then come up from Bombay, was thereupon arrested by the *Khandeish Police* at *Newree* on the 11th July, 1867. He and *Jowahirra* were then, at my request, transferred along with some other "wanted" men to Ward at Jalnah, as stated in the text (*vide* pp. 318, 341, 347, vol. i., and 125, 182, vol. ii.)

file blades and a separate small steel file, procured at Bombay, were conveyed to Hurree Sing by his servant outside ; and Oodjee and I were then told, under an oath of secrecy, of what was intended, that *Kishen Sing was coming down to rescue us !* The instruments, folded in a cloth, were deposited where the servant usually cleaned his master's platters of a morning outside of the jail. This about a week prior to our escape, and the next morning we were provided in the same manner with some bullets, small shot, and gun caps ; and *Hurree Sing* obtained likewise a sum of 25 rupees sent down to him by his brother.¹ We commenced cutting through our fetters with the instruments thus provided, on the following day, and we daily contrived to do so, a little by little, in the shed where we used to cook our food. We also did so at night by sitting up on

¹ Extracts from a letter from Captain W. G. Ward, written on the morning of the escape, *Jalnah*, 6th November, 1866 : " I was out at the spot by two o'clock, and searched round by the river and in the nullahs till daylight, but without success. The officer commanding the station sent out cavalry pickets at an early hour to scour the country. They came back at evening without any tidings of the fugitives. Near the jail were found their irons. *These had been filed through.* . . . It is difficult to understand how they had the opportunity to cut their fetters unless they did so when taken of a morning to the river. An accomplice could easily secrete a file in the sand and with the chain under water, it could be used noiselessly when the man was supposed to be washing himself. . . . I think they must have closed the eyes of the sentries with rupees. There was a hole near the *choolas* which the prisoners cooked food upon, from where we suppose they had dug out hidden money with which they probably bribed them. I had all their cooking-places dug up, and discovered a little bag concealed in the ground containing *forty-eight gun caps of sizes, fourteen bullets, and about a dram of gunpowder.* Kyum Sing did not escape. I hold him still."

our bedding. In six days three of us had managed to cut through their leg irons sufficiently, but I myself had by the seventh day cut through the ring only which connected my two fetters together.* *Kishen Sing* appeared in due course at one o'clock at night of a Saturday. I remember that the following day was a Sunday. He had beforehand had it intimated to us through the same outside man, to be in readiness to escape that night, and at about that hour; so that just before one o'clock *Rámnath* and I arose from our sleeping-places, upon which both *Hurree Sing* and *Oodjee* also did so. The *Nujjeeb* on sentry over us inside, was seated on the window-sill, leaning against the wall of it. We saw he was asleep, and we thereupon passed out into the yard. There, within the opened doorway of the outer and larger gate of the enclosure, *Kishen Sing* was awaiting us, accompanied by *Motee Sing Meena* and by a *Kaimkhánee* or camel-man named *Sulla*. *Ramnath* silently led the way out through the outer gate, followed by myself and by the other two fugitives, our rescuers bringing up the rear. When we had come out,

* P.S.—Not that files are indispensably necessary for such purposes, for threads overlaid with pounded glass or emery powder, have occasionally served these ingenious robbers to a like end. Thirty of our worst characters confined on one occasion in the central jail at Agra in view to their better security, contrived by patient daily operation, to cut off their irons simultaneously, by means of cotton threads manufactured from their prison clothes and secretly covered by them with gum mixed up with pounded glass procured when taken outside for gang labour or ablutions, and rose suddenly upon their guard; but four only of their number managed to effect escape, eleven of the lot being cut down by the jail warders and the rest prevented.

* The town quarter of Jainah is so called.

Kishen Sing went up to the Infantry Sepoy on duty at that post, and suddenly presented his gun at his breast. The man was at the time leaning up against the wall with his musket at the support. He remained mute and raised no alarm whatever ; so we stealthily passed out and proceeded straight-way along by the front of the gate leading into *Kadirábád* the town,* on to a nullah where were fastened *three camels in readiness for us*. I and Oodjee mounted one of these, Kishen and Motee sat upon another armed with guns, and Ramnath, Hurree and the camel-man together rode upon the third animal. The entrance into the jail enclosure was effected by climbing over a low part of the wall. Motee and the camel-man had come there, they told us, as early as nine o'clock that night, concealing themselves in the interval in a deserted little temple close by there. Kishen said the sentry at whom he lifted his gun declaring he would shoot him if he stirred, got very frightened and stood up against the jail wall *stock still*, but before that, was leaning against it, lazily supporting his musket. When we had got clear away upon our camels, we passed on to the trunk road which leads to Oomraotee and Nagpore, and, avoiding all villages, by dawn had got as far as *Peepulgam* (one of their *dérah*s.) By ten o'clock that morning we reached *Maikur*, passing on from where we entered the jungle, and there in a nullah where were some mangoe trees, we drew up and cooked some food. We then pushed on, travelling in this manner till seven o'clock that evening. Kishen Sing here left us, accompanied by Motee Sing and the Kaim-

khánee, while we four who had been rescued, proceeded close by *Akôlah* by concert to *Mulkapore*. Kishen Sing subsequently also came there *accompanied by the Berar Police Inspector Choutmull*, to whom we then paid over for his silence, a sum of 2000 rupees, which we had buried in that neighbourhood from what Oodjee, Hurree Sing and I had put by there from our shares in the dacoitie we had committed in that vicinity (*vide* p. 277, vol. ii.) Ramnáth, who was not in that affair, had nothing at hand from which to pay towards the exaction. Kishen Sing and his brother Hurree Sing now went on to Rajpootanah. They *were accompanied by Choutmull*, who was also going up there to be married." Thus was confirmed the story of their interception at Ajmore on betrayal by Choutmull ! (*vide* pp. 163, 164, 182, 183, vol. i.)

30th August.—The further confessions of Jowahirra Durzee received from Ward, reveal that he was cognizant of, although not actually present in, the treasure dacoitie on the high road near *Burwai*, of occurrence on the 26th February last (*vide* p. 318, vol. i.) He says that this robbery was carried out by a small mixed gang of Meenas and Rhatores, eight persons only in all, under a Rhatore leader named *Mehtáb Sing*, and gives a particular account of the details of it, agreeing in all essential points with the actual occurrence, adding that the gang was deputed by the now notorious Jeewun Sing, to look out for booty on the highway between Indore and the railway terminus at Khundwah "where much treasure was daily on the road," and that when the police report of its occurrence reached

About the
Burwai
Dacoitie
on
Treasure.

the head police office,³ he (Jeewun Sing) procured his own deputation to Khundwah for the declared

³ P.S.—The following was the special local police report of this robbery: "On the 23rd February, 1867, one *Ramdial*, the agent of *Seonath Ramnath*, despatched, by railway from Bombay, seven boxes of treasure valued at 32,000 rupees, for *Seojeeram Salugram* at Indore. It reached Khundwah at 9 p.m. of the 23rd February, and was at once conveyed to the house of the local agent, representing both the transmitting Sahoocar and the consignee. It remained there till the 25th, awaiting arrival from Indore of two agents appointed to take charge of it. These arrived late on the evening of the 25th, whereupon a couple of carts, hired from the Transit Agency, were laden with the treasure and sent off from Khundwah at near 12 o'clock the same night, the party being joined by another agent of the said *Seojeeram* lately come down from Indore with a convoy of opium. On the following night, at about 10 or 11 o'clock, on the road three miles beyond *Burwai*, the carts were waylaid by a gang of about fifteen persons provided with *lathes* (long staves). They drove one cart, upon which were four boxes of treasure valued at 18,000 rupees, off the road into the jungle—the other cart was rapidly driven on, and it safely reached the small mail stage of *Oomreah*, three miles farther on, just as the mail cart also arrived there. The driver of the mail cart was requested to report the circumstance at *Burwai*, but by the time he had reached the spot where the carts had been waylaid (and which was on his way), he found the police and several people already there. The surrounding jungles were that night and the following day scoured by the police, aided by the people of *Burwai* and the neighbouring three hamlets, and information of the robbery despatched the same night in various directions, and all the roads and especially the ferries watched; but neither the treasure nor the robbers have been traced, for these had nearly an hour's start of the police. The great weight of the treasure forbids supposition that it has been carried away to any distance—such a load could hardly have been carried through dense jungle at night by men committing a crime, the success of which depended on silence and rapidity of movement. It is surprising that there should be so little crime on this road considering the enormous traffic upon it in value and in bulk, the wild country through which it runs, some portion being in foreign territory, too, and the great facilities for concealment and escape presented by the dense jungles bordering it, while there is every encouragement to commit robbery by the extraordinary indifference and recklessness (as shown in the present instance,) of the merchants

purpose "of tracing the perpetrators," that he thereupon, as a pretence had several persons arrested up there for the robbery, among them being the man *Mehtáb Sing* and three others only of the real perpetrators; that these prisoners, *twelve in number*, were even sentenced to imprisonment for seven years, but that through his, Jeewun Sing's, machinations, *Mehtáb Sing and the other real offenders, were eventually set at liberty on appeal*, while the rest of the condemned men remained on in prison. (Memo: Jeewun Sing arrived at Khundwah to inquire into this robbery on the 9th March; the arrest of twelve persons, including *Mehtáb Sing*, was effected very soon after his appearance on the scene).⁴

As to the subsequent similar robbery near Desgam, on the 17th June last (*vide* p. 125, vol. ii.,) the

and traders for the safety of life and property. I believe there is more traffic on this road in a week than on any road in the Central Provinces in a month."

⁴ P.S.—We have an anecdote of *Mehtáb Sing*. He had the year before located himself and his men at *Boorhanpoor*, a head centre of the confederacy, on the look-out for booty. Some traders arrived with goods at that station by railway from Bombay. Placing their properties upon a couple of carts, they proceeded therewith at once. They were followed by the dacoits, who plundered them the same night when arrived near *Asseerghur*. This case was not included in the local returns. It had not been noticed because it was regarded to have been complained of *by a lunatic*—the stratagem of an interested party; but its occurrence was confirmed, nevertheless, on a reference from the Thuggee and Dacoitie Office! *Mehtáb Sing* subsequently undertook the robbery perpetrated near *Burwai*, higher up the country (*vide* pp. 318, vol. i., and 287, vol. ii.). He and three others of the lot arrested for the robbery at *Burwai* were, as stated above, afterwards released, but he subsequently fell into our hands and was, on the committal of Captain Ward, eventually sentenced to transportation for twelve years.

following is my translation of Jowahirra's narrative of it : "I, *Oodjee* and *Ghásee*, had from Bombay gone to *Kullian* near it, and while there *Jeewun Sing*, the Chief Constable of the Police of the Central Provinces, sent us a message from *Khundwah* through one *Chooneelal*, a Brahmin, desiring us to come up by rail with the next treasure remittance which we might learn of, and not to be afraid, as he would keep us safe from capture everywhere throughout his police range in the Central Provinces. We three thereupon went to Bombay, where we learnt from one *Birdee Khan*, a Kaimkháni or camel-owner, that he was about to start with some treasure from Bombay consigned to Indore. We talked him over, and he assented to us ; but as *Ghásee* had fever and we were obliged to leave him at Bombay, *Oodjee** and I accompanied the treasure by the same train as far as the *Khundwah* station, where the consignment was taken out. *Jeewun Sing* had *Jaroo Khan* and some Meena and other dacoits lurking about in that neighbourhood in small separate parties. They were secretly assembled. The treasure was taken on upon a cart under charge of a *single* foot policeman. It was drawn up for the night at a spot about seven or eight koss from *Khundwah* (*Desgam*), where there was a staging bungalow. When taken on at dawn next morning we fell upon and plundered it when arrived about a mile from that village. There was a goodly lot of treasure on the cart, but we were able to carry away no more than one complete box of it, containing

**Oodjee*
and
Oodah
are identical.

About the
Treasure
Dacoits
at *Desgam*
near
Khund-
wah.

10,000 rupees, besides a large parcel of silver bullion obtained by breaking open another box. But as we should not get clear away with any more, owing to the outcry that was raised, the village being so near and some policemen there, we were obliged to content ourselves with what we had acquired and to escape. *Birdee Khan*, who had revealed the remittance to us, fled straightway. The booty was carried by our people by preconcert to the vicinity of another village in that direction, and there we all met. I and Oodjee awaited them there, for I was footsore. From here we took on the booty and buried it in the jungle, about two or three miles distant from Khundwah. I myself did this, assisted by a Bidá-wut named *Poorjee*. At evening we saw Jeewun Sing. I persuaded him we had not effected much. Two or three days after this we took out the hidden booty and handed it over to Jeewun Sing at a little distance off from Khundwah, and he sent it off laden upon a tattoo in charge of a couple of his men, named *Jaroo Khan* and *Gurmésha*, with a safe-conduct passport. On the following day he counted out to me a sum of 800 rupees as our share in the prize.⁵ I and Oodjee thereupon went

⁵ P.S.—I received Jowahirra's accusations of Jeewun Sing's complicity in these two treasure dacoities at Burwai and Desgam near Khundwah, with some hesitation, on the ground that he himself was not *actually present* in the very act in either case, and because of the *vraisemblance* affected by him in his narration of the circumstances. Ward also viewed them with suspicion, and the local police, while admitting Jeewun Sing's previous confederacy with his accusers, rejected the charge *in toto*. Yet Major Probyn, by whose Bheel police

up to Nassick, where Ghásee had come on, and we told him of the adventure. From here Oodjee went away southward, but Ghásee and I stayed on for a while at Nassick" (here followed the names, parentage, etc., of the accomplices in the robbery, eight in number): "Jeewun Sing, on his part, also sent five or so of his own men to this dacoitie. I do not know their names, nor did they tell us, for we mutually kept our names from each other. *The dog's foot was upon the cat, and the cat's upon the dog*, and that was the way they played us off, and we had to play the same game with them, for we had no business with his men, but only with *Jeewun Sing* himself. He and his men went off to Nagpore. I went down to Bombay, and I was soon afterwards arrested."⁶

Jowahirra was captured, wrote to me at the time of his arrest: "Jowahirra tells me that both cases were, as I thought, committed by Jeewun Sing's men from Nagpore. This man is now the Chief Constable at Nagpore. He sent his men to Khundwah to look out for *loot*, and when the first case near Burwai was reported to him as a police officer, he went to Khundwah and arrested a lot of men, allowing his own fellows to get clear away." The statement was, moreover, subsequently confirmed by the camel-man *Birdee Khan* on his eventual arrest—the same individual who, in the second case, betrayed the treasure to the robbers (*v. ante*, p. 290.) Accusations against the police are a very common criminal expedient, but the antecedents and proclivities of Jeewun Sing as a confederate of robbers, were, no less than those of his rival *Choutmull* the Berar constable, notorious throughout the province, and these two persons were consequently very useful police officers as against others, from their intimate acquaintance with the criminal habits of so many. Both eventually came to grief and their services were dispensed with. Jowahirra, on the other hand, was, on our committal for trial, sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and *Birdee Khan* for a lesser period.

⁶ P.S.—He was arrested at Newree in Khandesh on the 11th July, 1867, at the instance, as has been shown, of his friend Oodah or Oodjee himself, and he was subsequently sentenced to four-

31st August.—We last night attended Lady Lawrence's "At Home" at Peterhoff—a very crowded reception—ladies beautifully dressed—the wife attired in a "confection" just received from home.—To-day being the last Saturday of the month, the custom of *closing office* prevailing throughout the Punjab, was heartily followed by all having office establishments at Simlah—out of respect, of course, to the good example licenced by the Government of the territory where we "sojourn"—and a very considerate custom it is (*vide* p. 113, vol. ii.) I took advantage of the holiday by being out of doors throughout it. Hugh and I dined at the Club, where generally diners are more numerous of a Saturday night. A separate table system is the excellent custom.

1st September, Sunday.—A beautiful day till the afternoon, when it rained heavily. To church at evening.

2nd September.—We hear from Moonah Sing that his prisoner Oomrao Sing (*vide* p. 184, vol. ii.) has, in a written statement to the head native authority of Bhind, given a full and detailed account of the Kooa Khêra affair, in which our Nujjees and approvers were barbarously murdered, and has declared the complicity in it of *Gujjâdhur Sing* and other Bedowriahs : but as Oomrao Sing is the sole

Lady
Lawrence
"At
Home."

Saturday
Half-
Holiday.

Simlah
Club.

Confes-
sion as to
the
Murder of
our Men
last
Novem-
ber.

teen years' transportation by the Resident at Hydrabad, on the committal of Captain Ward (p. 117, and footnote p. 291, vol. ii.) ; Jaroo Khan and Mehtâb Sing were likewise, on Ward's committals, awarded transportation for twelve years ; and Oodah for fourteen years (*vide* foot-note p. 429, vol. i.) I declined the proffer of Jowahirra's services as an approver, as we did not feel sure about his trustworthiness (*vide* footnote p. 291.)

evidence on the subject, we are unfortunately, at present, unable I fear to take direct action upon his testimony.⁷

Gang
Robbery
in the
Tannah
District.

Gang robberies would seem to be of somewhat frequent occurrence in the Tannah District of Bombay, occasioned, it is reported, from a rumour spread about, that owing to the drain of troops required for the expedition to Abyssinia, the local authorities were unable "to keep up law and order in the districts"! As several of the outrages have been locally ascribed to *Khutkurrees*, also called *Katôrees*, an aboriginal race of diminutive people infesting the hills and wilds of the Northern Concan, and more popularly known as the *Maila Bheels*, or Bheels of the lowest social order, I here transcribe what I said of these quaint little folk, in my List of Seventy-one Predatory Tribes to be met with in the districts of Bombay (*vide* footnote p. 186, vol. ii.)

The
Khut-
kurrees.

"*Kutkhurree*—makers of catechu, produced by the destructive distillation of the 'khair' tree or *Mimosa capechu*. They are also charcoal-burners, collect gums from the jungles, and are occasionally farm helps; but are inconstant as such, leaving employment without notice, and

⁷ P.S.—1872: To anticipate the result of the pursuit of this gang in satisfaction of the barbarous outrage committed by it upon our Thuggee Police in the Kerowlie forest, narrated in the Preamble and in the Journal (pp. 30 and 356, vol. i.) I may here record that in an encounter this year with the pursuers in the long sustained chase and never faulty or lost scent of the trail, *Gujjâdhur Sing*, the desperate leader of it, was shot, and his equally notorious brother *Huzzoorree Sing*, Bedowriah, was captured and hanged, two others of the banditti, being transported for life on our committals. There is generally a Nemesis attending every vendetta.

sometimes even without wages. They are nomadic during the fine weather, but settle down for the rainy season in small huts in the vicinity of villages, cultivating gourds and some little rice; but as soon as the crops are housed they resort to the jungles to make charcoal. On account of their very inferior caste, they are not admitted to the rights of Hindoos. Their women wear long strings of white and coloured beads, and though not so industrious as the males of the tribe, may nevertheless be seen working in the fields for the koonbee or village cultivator. They commit petty thefts of grain, poultry, etc., and occasionally deprive some benighted wayfarer of his clothes. They are not numerous, and may be said to be allied in position to the low-caste Dhêr. When recognized as *Katôrees*, from whom they differ but little, they are incorrigible robbers and petty highwaymen, although ostensibly the sellers only of firewood, charcoal, forage, wild honey and other jungle productions, and sometimes taking labour. They are not allowed to live within any village, and they are so wild in their habits, that there is always great mortality among them when unfortunately imprisoned."—What can the local police be worth, if to take alarm at such poor folk! What a falling off from the days, not so long back, of the "Tannah Rangers," when commanded by my old friend Fred Curtis (*vide* p. 135, vol. ii.)^{*}

* P.S. 1891.—Captain W. F. Curtis, of the 1st Bombay Cavalry. From Aide-de-camp to Sir James Carnac, the Governor of Bombay, he was appointed Commandant of the Scinde Irregular

A mixed
Concert.

To an amateur concert at evening, in which an Italian professor performed on the piano, and the well-known Colonel Duggie Campbell, of the Royal Engineers, on his violoncello. Though well attended, the entertainment "hung fire," and was not a success.

Modified
Dacoitie
in Mysore
(by Khaikarees).

3rd September.—The following two recent instances of modified dacoitie, as prevalent in Southern India, serve as samples of what the *Korwee Khaikarees* or *Kurwurroos*, variously otherwise called down there, are nightly occupied in during *Amawás* or dark half period of a month. The reports come from Mysore. Close upon midnight a gang bearing lighted torches, appeared at a house in one of the neighbouring villages. First they pelted stones round about, crying out they would kill all who dared to come out of their

The Late
Colonel
W. F.
Curtis,
21st Hus-
sars.

Horse, and myself at a subsequent date his Second in Command. He left the corps in ill health for Egypt, leaving me in temporary command, with Lieutenant George Malcolm (the present Sir George, G.C.B.) as my Adjutant; on his returning from where he was employed to form the "Tannah Rangers," a police body. He next held the post of Superintendent of the Bombay Island Police. In the Persian War he was Director of the Land Transport Corps, after which he became an Assistant Judge Advocate-General, and finally was, on the "Amalgamation," gazetted Lieutenant-Colonel of the 21st Hussars, of which fine regiment he held command for some years. He was a very strict disciplinarian. General Curtis died a few years ago in retirement at his home in Upper Norwood. The Tannah Rangers were merged into the new Bombay Constabulary. He was succeeded in the command of the Scinde Horse by Major John Jacob, of the Bombay Artillery, afterwards the well-known *General Jacob* of Scinde celebrity. Curtis's supersession in the command of the Scinde Horse on his return from a sick furlough (most unexpected by him,) was not very fair to him, however excellent the selection for it of Jacob.

dwellings ; next, by some of them ascending on to the roof of the residence, and bursting open its outer door from the inside, the gang rushed in, their faces smeared with charcoal, talking Canarese, and holding long bamboo staves, ill-treated two of the inmates, rapidly plundered the place and fled, the police *patell* and his posse of *peons*, only appearing at the scene a full hour after the robbers had left ! The other case, of occurrence a few nights ago, was at the dwelling of two families occupying different parts of the same premises. A couple of robbers, by climbing over a wall, opened the yard door from the inside for the admission of their companions. These hurriedly rushed in, holding long staves, and bearing a flaming torch. They terrified a woman who was setting up a cry, by thumping her, and telling the other inmates they would "break their heads" if they should raise the alarm, quickly appropriated whatever they found, and made off. Some of the villagers thought to intercept them, whom the robbers prevented by forthwith flinging showers of stones at them, their usual mode of repelling interference, and got clear away. I apply "modified" to this sort of dacoitie, because the perpetrators generally content themselves, as in the present instances, with small booties, and oftener resort to their more profitable and less hazardous occupation of *gang burglary*, this bringing them, as before described, individually more gains, from the booty being divided among much smaller gangs (*vide* p. 257, vol. ii.)

In Madras
and
Southern
India.

The same kind of pillage is carried on by the same people throughout the Madras Districts right down to the southernmost point of the peninsula, including adjacent native territory, besides heavier dacoitie often enough. But Madras is not communicative in such matters to outsiders (*vide* p. 79, 86, 88, vol. ii.) We are not favoured with information of such events from that quarter except what may be gleaned from the Madras Annual Crime Statements, these on the whole consisting of lumped figures only, without description in specific cases and without any distinctive features that ascertained thereto, (*vide* p. 86) nor of any casualties. Down Madras too, Khaikaree robbers (there called *Kôrwurroo*, *Kôrchurroo*, etc.,) are not admitted to be of any importance, because declared to be "home made" only,* and not strangers from a distant country, as are Meenas and other predatory tribes from Hindostan, who moreover, were *unknown there*. Yet we know of both Meenas and Khunjurs penetrating so far, and the man *Ramnath*, one of the four prisoners rescued from Captain Ward's custody, gave us an account before he escaped, of a successful dacoitie then recently committed by him in that direction (authenticated,) with a gang of Meena Rhatores from Jodhpoor and Jeypore territory.

When as Assistant General Superintendent for the Bombay circle, I conducted operations against

* P.S.—On this subject and the frequency of the depredations of this tribe throughout Madras territory and Southern India, I would refer the reader to Appendix B.

these same Khaikarees of diverse *aliases*, in effectually putting down whom I was singularly successful, with approval both from the Bombay Government and from home, I was much *diatribed* in the local Press for “molesting these poor Khaikarees, who might be seen outside of their wigwams laboriously eking out precarious existence in the lowly occupation of mat and basket making”! I obtained, however, 382 convictions against them, of whom 301 were sentenced to transportation for life, the rest to shorter periods, a numerous lot besides being magisterially sentenced, but this only after much objection on the part of the Judges of the Bombay Suddur Adawlut, the High Court for the Mofussil or Districts of those days.¹

4th September.—To be abreast with official information of a general sort, and as a relief from the dry details of my own special work, but more for the sake of noting an instance of the liberal spirit of Sir John’s Government, I notice that a recommendation of the Government of the Punjab, in behalf of a gentleman who had been transferred from an appointment under that Government to be tutor to the *Rajah of Mundee*, to the effect that the period of his employment in the Mundee State should be allowed to count towards pension, was refused by the Government of India in 1863; but that on a similar reference from the same Government early in the present year, that certain other servants of the British Government transferred in

Success
in putting
down the
Khai-
karees in
Bombay
Territory.

Pensions
of British
Officers
who have
been sent
to Native
States.

¹ *Vide* Appendix C. (regarding Bombay Regulation Courts.)

like manner to the service of the *Bhāwulpore* State, should be admitted to pensions on retirement under the Uncovenanted Service rules, the request was yielded to, the *Bhāwulpore* State being, however, "debited with a proportion of the charge for pension;" and that the previous case being thereupon again urged upon notice, to the end that the recent ruling might be similarly applied to the gentleman whose application had before been rejected, as well as to other analogous cases, the Government of India has now decided not only that that officer's service in the *Mundee* State should now be reckoned towards pension under the service rules, but further, that in all cases of a Government officer being allowed to take service under a Native State officially, and on public grounds for the purposes of State interest, his service under that Native State shall be taken to count towards pension, "whether the proportion of pension calculated according to the period of service in the Native State, be chargeable to such State or not." This was to relieve a very meritorious public servant from the disappointment he must have endured at the refusal by the Supreme Government of his application on the previous occasion, and to encourage others to assist Native Rulers.

House-
hold
Servants.

Our servants have been quarrelling among themselves and giving us trouble, desiring bodily to leave, out of pique with each other! These outbursts are the experience of every household. Hugh went to the Club Ball.

5th September.—The weather charming through-

out the morning. *A propos* to the confessions of the man Jowahirra Durzee (*vide* pp. 283, 287, vol. ii.,) I must recount one of the cases now narrated by him in the story of his criminal career, first saying something of the persons who chiefly composed the gang on the occasion. They were *Rohillas*, a race of Affghan descent inhabiting the province called Rohilcund, but also located in considerable numbers in the dominions of the Nizam of Hydrabad, where as mercenaries they give much trouble by their unruliness and their forming the most daring of marauders. At the request of the British Resident, the Assistant General Superintendent for those territories (Captain Hastings Fraser,) took up proceedings against that people; but this being contrary to the orders from home, by which the action of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department in Hydrabad territory in such cases was restricted, I requested him on future occasions to act against such persons only in his capacity of "Assistant Resident," it not being intended from the orders adverted to, "to include under the designation of dacoits, military adventurers" (as these Rohillas in fact were,) "who, in a state of virtual anarchy like that of some parts of the Nizam's dominions, were one day in the employment of the local government, and the next in that of rebellious subjects." I was able, however, to report that our special proceedings against them on the occasion referred to, had served considerably to check their depredations, and that crime by other tribes in Hydrabad territory had decreased in proportion

Rohilla
Plun-
derers.

with the decrease of outrages committed by Rohillas; also that the recent spectacle of the deportation from Hyderabad to the Bombay jail at Thanah, preparatory to transportation, of so many as *fifty-six* persons of that class, who, out of a total number of *ninety-six* committed by our assistant at Hyderabad for trial, had been convicted and sentenced to transportation for life at the Andamans, had greatly dismayed the turbulent and lawless race, who now learnt with considerable uneasiness that they were in future to be arraigned before a British officer, and not be tried, as always before, by local native authorities only, whenever convicted by whom and confined in His Highness's forts, their invariable practice had been to rise upon their guards and effect their escape. We had at that time departmental information against one hundred and ninety-two others of these persons, of their complicity in the plunder on a large scale, of the town of *Nelingah*, situated in the districts then lately restored by us to the Nizam; and the feeling now arose, from the example above described, that the same fate awaited them all, an alarm under which it was anticipated many would be induced to accept service under the Native Government, or return bodily to Peshawur, their original home—which many did—or go back to Rohilcund. I explained, however, that although the Rohillas, as free-lances, plundered the country at every opportunity as the employés of the great local Talookdars and Zumeendars, they were also often freebooters on

their own account, and that their excesses on such occasions were regarded to be little distinguished from those of the regular dacoits of the country. It has happened strangely, therefore, that we should now have in the man *Jowhirra Durzee*, an accomplice in that very act of plunder of the town of *Nelinga* above adverted to! The following is taken from his self-narrated list of robberies. From his account it is plain that it was more an act of open depredation by a body of marauders, than an ordinarily accepted act of dacoitie, perpetrated as it was upon an entire town and in the daytime. This banditti, computed at three hundred and eighty men, consisted principally of *Rohillas* headed by three noted leaders of that people, five *Sikhs* from the neighbouring Sikh colony at *Nandére*, and some thirty *Rhatores* and *Meenas* who had come down from *Rajpootanah* intent upon dacoitie. The latter forthwith associated themselves with the others on discovering them collected at *Bhálka* on declared open pillage. According to *Jowahirra*, the Talookdar of *Nelinga* was apprised by the *Rohilla* leaders of their intention to plunder that place, and even furnished them with some guides to the town. They proceeded the first night to the neighbourhood of *Méhkur*, a chief town of a district situated in the present British administration of *Berar*. The following night they reached the point of attack, arriving there at daybreak, and, in divided bands, pushed up to the place at different points. The local guards were at once disarmed by them, and the place

Nelinga
Plun-
dered.

The
Account
of it by
Jowahirra
Durzee.

given up to be sacked while the Rohilla leaders and Jowahirra as the Jemadar of the Rhatore quota, leisurely sat down (like Nadir Shah at the sack of Delhi,) upon a carpet spread out for them at the chowree or local police station, and employed themselves in collecting the several lots of plunder brought to them there by their followers in quick succession, which when the whole had been packed, the entire band made off with : “ That very night, as we were fleeing with our booty, we were surprised by a body of about thirty horsemen headed by a *Sahib* (British officer,) who had sallied from *Owsa* in pursuit of us, who, on being presently joined by the *Naib* of *Owrád* with a *posse* of retainers, attacked us at morning and put us to flight. Two ponies laden with about 12,000 rupees in hard cash (*nugd*,) were recovered from us. Two of the Rohillas were killed in the fight and a couple of horses; and a *Sowár* on the side of the *Naib* was wounded. The *Sahib* encamped in the neighbourhood, while we made good our escape to *Bhalká*, round about where we hid ourselves. When pursuit had ceased and we found the opportunity, we looked over what we had managed to get away with of our booty. It consisted of ornaments of gold and silver, fine apparel, rich cloths, strings of pearls, coral beads, and much else, the whole of which we computed to value about *fourteen lakhs of rupees*. In the division of this spoil our share of it, (i.e. the share of the quota of Meena-Rhatores,) we valued at about 84,000 rupees, and this we apportioned among ourselves, according to the scale

usual among us, about a month subsequently. This left each man of us a share of 2000 rupees after deductions for the claims of outsiders entitled to share in prize booty according to our rules. But this was not all. It was found that we all had more or less appropriated something of the plunder in the act of committing it, on being required to disgorge which there arose an additional sum of 12,000 rupees for distribution; and from this each man got 250 rupees more, the rest of that overplus *treasure trove* being claimed by myself and appropriated by me as leader of our quota. After all this we abode some time at the *déra* of our people at *Pimpegam* in Berar."

(P.S.—Memo: The entire gang was computed by this deponent, at 385 men, some of the Rohillas of whom were subsequently arrested by the Nizam's officials and more or less punished—a single Rohilla leader only being sentenced to imprisonment for life. The man Jowahirra was, on committal by Captain Ward for "professional dacoitie," awarded fourteen years' transportation. He offered to serve us as an approver, but was refused (*vide* notes, pp. 391-2, vol. ii.)

Strength
of the
Rohilla
Gang.
Jowa-
hirra's
Sentence.

6th September.—A telegram from home tells of the death of *Professor Faraday*. I was personally acquainted with him before I came out to India. His daughter, a young lady of small figure like himself, we used, from her name being *Abbey* (some pet name perhaps,) *parva componere*, to call "Cathedral."

Death of
Professor
Faraday.

We learn also, through the same means, of the

Death of a Relative. death of a greatly esteemed relation, long time a distinguished member of the Bombay Civil Service, a proficient in revenue matters, both land and customs, latterly holding a high position, highly respected by Government and beloved by the community—Native as well as European—a son of the famed “Maynooth” Spooner, and husband of my cousin. He had retired but three years before.

Reported Release of the Captives in Abyssinia. The “Times of India” announces that the captives have been released by the Nêgus, and that the expedition to Abyssinia has been *abandoned*; but Sir Henry Durand, who should know, told me to-day, it was strange that Government here had received no announcement thereof.

Research into the Shekawátie Records. Engaged a good deal to-day in collecting notes in preparation for a Report on the lawless condition of *Shekawátie* (*vide* pp. 308, 311 to 313, 316, vol. i., and 129, vol. ii.) I first notice that, according to Hamilton’s *Hindustan* (p. 535, vol. i.,)

Origin of the Shekawuts. that region was supposed to have derived its name from a predatory tribe of Arabs, who wrested it from the *Kaim-Khánees*, a race of half-converted Hindoos still inhabiting it (*vide* pp. 113, 291, 293, 304, 305, 315, vol. i.,) of which ousted class we have an excellent dacoit approver named *Jeewun Khan*, who ostensibly was a camel driver only: next, that though nominally the feudatories of the Ruler of Jeypore, the *Shekawuts* seldom paid any regard to his mandates, and from their position on the highway leading from the Upper Provinces of Delhi and the Punjab, they were from old time in the habit of extorting blackmail or

rekwālee, from merchants travelling with goods through their limits, or in default of these acceding to the levy, of plundering them altogether, in consequence of which and because they extended their ravages into British territory, the British Government were, a time back, led to direct that these freebooters should, for the future, be pursued across the frontier into the country which yielded them asylum, and "*be destroyed wherever they could be found*"—this about the year 1812:—that this quieted them for a while: but that a few years subsequently they again broke out, and although put down by the operations of a punitive expedition sent into the wild region, when many of their fenced towns were captured and sundry forts levelled, they, together with their chiefs, still continued refractory, as they do to this date, and rejected all subordination to their liege lord, the sovereign of Jeypore: that several spasmodic efforts were at a later period made to bring them to reason and order, but without any lasting effect: that, at length, their depredations having been carried to even greater extent, it was considered expedient to inquire more directly into the matter in view to interference on the part of the British Government, should the Native State to whom they were tributary, be "unable or unwilling to put them down:" that thereupon the British Superintendent for the Rajpootanah States, at that period stationed at Ajmere (Colonel Abraham Lockett,) was deputed upon this duty, who reported fully upon the evil condition of the province:

Their
Plunder-
ing Habits
of old

Are
publicly
pro-
claimed.

Disclaim
the
Suzerain
Power.

that this visit gave rise to a fear among the marauders, that they and the native government to whom they were supposed to be subordinate, were about to be coerced more effectually than ever before, and that this alarm that their strongholds studding the country, would now be reduced and utterly thrown down, led the chiefs concerned, to deprecate severe measures under assurances that there would not be any recurrence of occasion for such coercion : that thereupon the Government of the period (1832,) gave up the intention to employ a British force so long as the local chiefs had the ability or evinced a will " to restrain the depredations of these tribes of robbers : " that the inquiry led, however, to the expediency of posting, later on, a special local force at the capital of the province (Jhoonjoonoo,) and which eventually resulted in the formation of the local *Shekawátie force*, and in the appointment of Major Forster to the command thereof (*vide* pp. 252, 293, 305-6, vol. i. :) that the measures adopted by that energetic officer had the desired effect, but that on the disbandment of his force and removal of the efficient prevention wrought by it, matters retrogressed to their former condition, and Shekawátie once more drifted into all the consequences of continued misrule and unchecked savagism : further, that this defiant attitude was, if it is not demonstrably so to the present day, the example of the feudal system throughout Rajpootanah (more or less,) each Thakoor or feudatory, from the holder of vast possessions down even sometimes to the petty lordling of a village,

yielding but a nominal obedience to his reputed sovereign : and that in Shekawátie particularly, these petty chiefs abounded from the circumstance of their holdings being so often subdivided on every recurring demise of the landowner, as before noticed (*v. p. 232, vol. i. :*) also that the Shekawátie confederation, or “ confederated *frèreage* of Shekawátie ” as Tod termed these associated plunderers, had no visible head, and continually engaged in unlicensed rapine : that at a later date the late Sir Henry Lawrence, a brother of the present Viceroy of India, proposed, as Agent to the Governor-General for Rajpootanah, to again post a special British officer for eight or ten years in Shekawátie to put it into order, Forster’s brigade having been withdrawn, but to which the Government of the period (1856-57,) *would not accede* : that the area of the province was estimated at 10,000 square miles, and that *a blue pennon surmounting a yellow banner* was their national flag.—All this so far, supports what I have previously recorded of the deplorable condition of the district at the present date ; and, with my own observations thereof, affords a pretty tale upon which to build a report on the subject : but there is more, and I must excerpt it to-morrow.

Subdivision of Heritage.

Proposal refused to post a British Officer in Shekawátie.

7th September.—A telegram from Constantinople, dated the 4th instant, announces that the captives in Abyssinia, have, at the intercession of the Armenian Bishop, been indeed released by King Theodorus (*v. ante, p. 306,*) and it seems here to be thought that the expedition must certainly be

Seeming Confirmation of the Release of the Captives in Abyssinia.

broken up. A much disappointed one writes to me that the prisoners might *at least* have been detained a little longer; it was surely "premature" to have set them at liberty, and "old *Negus* need not have finished up the matter in such a *wine and water* manner"!

Sheka-
wátie
Record
Re-
searches
con-
tinued.

Reported
Foray.

Proposal
to employ
British
Troops

Declined
by the
Agent
Governor-
General.

To go on as to Shekawátie :—I find the Political Agent for Meywar reporting to Colonel Sutherland, the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajpootanah some twenty-five years back, the appearance in Meywar of a foray of maranders from *Shekawátie*, under the leadership of a son of a noted outlaw and freebooter named *Chimmun Sing* an ex-Thakoor of that fief (stated to be himself living in *surna* or sanctuary at Jodhpore,) on their way to plunder in *Malwah*: that the laxity of rule in Native States, admitted of organized bands of freebooters roaming about in this manner unmolested in quest of booty: that they were even sheltered: that he urged speedy and energetic measures for the suppression "of this daily increasing predatory system," and advocated the employment of British troops for the purpose, "it being useless to trust any longer to the action of the Native States, who either cannot or will not protect their territories from such ravages:" to which the Agent Governor-General replied (somewhat lukewarmly, I think,) that it must be left to Native Rulers to protect themselves, the employment of British troops not being desirable ("quite out of the question,") and that in cases of a Native State failing to expel or punish dacoits, or of their voluntarily harbouring them, we should act only, if need be, *on the capital of it*:—later on

he directed the Political Officer for Tonk, to transfer to Sleeman, at that time holding my present office, twenty-two dacoits taken into custody by the local officers of that State, as belonging to notorious bands from *Shekawátie*.

Delivery
to the
Thuggee
Depart-
ment of
some
Dacoits
from
Sheka-
wátie.

The suppression of dacoitie in Native States had at this period been superadded to the department of the General Superintendent, "to be carried on in the same manner as hitherto adopted against thugs," and the co-operation of Native chiefs being required to that end, they had been separately addressed accordingly. It was pointed out to them severally, by *khurreetas* or written communications in the vernacular, that the British Government had learnt that numerous bands of dacoits were harboured in certain Native States, pointing to *Shekawátie* in particular; that *Thakoors* and village headmen were often not only in league with the plunderers, but even shared in their spoils; that such bands had recently successfully plundered in various districts, British as well as Native, at long distances from their homes, and that those of them who had occasionally been captured, were found to have come from *Shekawátie* and its propinquate districts; that the British Government was resolved to put down this system of plunder in the same way as thuggee, through the officers of the Thuggee Department, presided over by the General Superintendent, and confidently calculated on the active co-operation of the several Native Rulers against dacoits inhabiting their territories, and compliance with the requisitions of the General Superintendent and his officers; that

Suppres-
sion of
Dacoitie
added to
the Duties
of the
General
Superin-
tendent.

The
Opinion as
to the
causes of
Dacoitie,
by
Colonel
Suther-
land,
Agent
Governor-
General
for Raj-
pootanah.

My View
of the
Question.

the British Government had a warm interest in the suppression of this predatory system, and expected hearty assistance from everyone, as all governments and all people suffered equally from it. According to Colonel Sutherland, all plundering on a large scale in the Rajwára and Malwah States (his information did not in those days extend lower down, or to provinces higher up in India,) arose solely from the system pursued by Native Rulers of proscription and alienation, arising from party jealousies, more particularly he declared in *Marwar*, that is, in Jodhpore territory. He argued that, as we had deprived native chiefs of the power of combination and resistance, we should protect them from internal persecution, and he advocated the remedy to be to proclaim a general amnesty and restoration of those alienations, in view to immediate tranquillity. But to this I would observe that if the "dacoitie system had been understood then as it is now, it would have been seen to proceed from old time *profession* remaining unrepressed from continued misrule, the easy venality of those who fostered it and sheltered its perpetrators, and from the general awe dacoits inspired.

My memoranda further show that presently Government took up a complaint on the subject from the Resident at Indore (the capital of the neighbouring "Central India States,") directed the attention of Colonel Sutherland "to the lamentable fact of a body of organized plunderers being able to march with impunity from *Shekawátie* into *Málwah*, horse and foot, through

the Rajpootanah States of Meywar, Pertábghur, and Bánswára, to plunder in Málwah,"* and as to the objection raised by Colonel Sutherland to employ Government troops on such occasions, Government, *on the contrary*, "would be sorry to restrict any officer responsible for the maintenance of order in such a country as Meywár for instance" (from where the proposition to employ them came,) "from making use of every available means to put down effectually bands assembled for rapine and violence : that the Court of Directors, *à propos* to this subject, had declared that "the existence of bands of plunderers moving from country to country, or sallying from one country to commit depredations in others, *will not be tolerated by the British Government*," and that the Government of India thereupon now enjoined on Colonel Sutherland, to omit no pains tending to put down lawless bands in the districts indicated, and to afford ample means for the purpose : that Colonel Sutherland in a measure demurred to this dictum, still clinging to the assumption that the dacoit irruption complained of, was to be attributed to confiscation of landed property, the local native administrations pursuing with proscriptive laws and ineffectual means the "rebels they had themselves made," and that he considered the account exaggerated : but that he was overruled by the Government of the day directing, that "under all circumstances, every indispensable and disposable means be employed to repel the incursions of plunderers from a foreign State, *more especially in countries where the boundaries of different*

* "Málwah" comprehensively composes the "Central India States."

Government overrule the Objections of Colonel Sutherland.

The Court of Directors on the subject.

Colonel Sutherland's Hesitation

Is overruled and the Employment of British Troops when required allowed.

States were intermixed, and, the Rulers thereof, with minor Governments, were unable, even with the best disposition, to act vigorously for themselves ;” also that wherever the necessity of the case called for the employment of British troops, they were “ to be considered available for the purpose.”

Question-
able Arab
Origin of
the Sheká-
wuts.

I demur, however, to the origin of the Shekáwuts from Arabs. I am inclined to believe that that assigned origin belonged rather to the *Kaim-Khánees*, the half-converted race before often alluded to, whom they had superseded in the possession of the territory,* and that it was consequently conveyed, in common belief, to themselves. For wherever “Arabs” have settled or colonized, their descendants have followed their religion—although with some alloy, the result of local association. But the “Shekáwuts,” now so designated, were, as before noticed (*vide* note, p. 289, vol. i.,) sprung from one *Mokul*. He was the son of *Balôjee*, a younger son of the Rajah of Jeypore before that capital was removed from Ambêr, and held the lordship of the province in fief from the latter ruler, thus accounting for Jeypore’s *quasi* sovereignty over it. The anecdote of the birth to him of a son and heir at the supposed intercession of the local saint *Sheik Boorhan* (*vide* p. 289, vol. i.,) traditioned to have come down there at the period of the invasion by *Timour Lung* (Tamerlane,) compares with that of the blessing similarly conferred at a subsequent era upon the childless Emperor *Akhbâr*, on the reputed prayers of his spiritual guide *Shah Selim*

* *Vide*
pp. 118,
291, 293,
304, 305,
315, vol. i.,
and 306,
vol. ii.

Cheesti (*vide* note p. 447, vol. i.) The infant having been obtained, in popular belief, through the Saint's prayers, and at his request named *Shek*, the entire tribe at his injunction assumed the name of *Shekáwut*, and in like obedience adopted certain Mahomedan religious observances which, though faintly followed at the present day, while they conveyed a semblance of conversion to Islam, did not certify it, beyond evincing a continued mark of respect to the memory of the holy man, the distinguishing feature of which is, that after the fashion of his usual attire, a blue *pyrahün* or loose garment and a blue cap, are usually worn by them in early infancy, and that their national yellow flag is surmounted with a blue pennon. In other respects the *Shekáwuts* are *Rajpoots toto cælo*. How account, too, for their unmistakable *Rajpoot* names, and for so many of these having, moreover, the distinguishing affix of "Sing," showing rather their *Rajpoot* descent?

The
Origin of
the *Sheká-
wuts*
ques-
tioned.

8th September, Sunday.—I continue gleaning. There is a good deal said in the documents I am researching, about the practice of *surna* or giving sanctuary. Colonel Sutherland writes (October, 1840,) he did not think the custom, although religiously and obstinately observed throughout *Márwár* for instance, would frustrate our measures for the suppression of thugs and dacoits in that State. The territory, he thought, was too remote, and the habits and pursuits of its inhabitants too primitive, to lead such criminals to seek or to find refuge there. He thought it were better to meet

Con-
tinued re-
search
into the
*Sheka-
wátie*
Records.
Surna
or
Sanctuary.

each question as it arose, than to enter with the Durbar on the general question of *Surna*, and that the local Resident would, he thought, be able to prevent Márwár becoming "refuge" for offenders should it be attempted. On this subject, however, the experience of our own special department resulted otherwise, insomuch that the criminals themselves boasted of the *safety* to be found by them in Márwár, it being a common adage among them that *Márwár men Thug bütchta*—"the Thug goes scot free in Márwár!"

Colonel
Sutherland
land
respecting
Surna.

Our own
Experi-
ence of it,
and an old
Thug
Saying.

The
Durbar's
View of
Surna.

It offers a
Means of
Evasion.

Thakoors
opposed
to give up
Offenders.

To go on:—The Durbar submitted a minute on the subject, to the effect that the party granting *surna* or asylum to a fugitive, would be held answerable for the future conduct of the refugee (no reference here, however, to the *crimes* for which we should pursue him,) but that should he be a *stranger*, the fugitive would be regarded to be *in the surna of the local Ráj*, and would be punishable by it "commensurately with his offence." This was at once a loophole for every sort of evasion, and obstructions to our arresting parties and collisions, became of frequent occurrence! Talookdars and zumeendars (landholders,) profited by depredations, hence their aversion to surrender offenders at all, and the assistance they rendered them in escaping; and it was further a conviction, that the ill-feeling and arrogance displayed by Thakoors generally, were to be attributed, moreover, to the well-known fact that *they were themselves the originators of the plundering expeditions*, they who harboured the gangs, and the source indeed of the evil. This

applies particularly to the condition of Shekawátie as it prevails at this day.

9th September.—It is decided that a demonstration of our power on the seaboard of Abyssinia must be made, whether the captives have been released or not. Their liberation, too, is doubted.

Final
Resolu-
tion to
invade
Abyssinia

Owing to a Hindoo holiday my office is partially closed to-day, Hindoo religionists only being permitted to absent themselves.

Hindoo
Holiday.

Still occupied in researching. I note in corroboration of yesterday's inquiry, that it was experienced in our own previous operations in Rajpootanah, that dacoitie in its worst form *was* cherished and continued to be *sustained* by the several petty Thakoors and Jaghiredars, though there was seldom sufficient clear proof to warrant proceedings against them individually. They themselves seldom went abroad with the expeditionary gangs, but perfected all the necessary arrangements for their success, at home, always got a share of the plunder, and screened the offenders to their utmost ; *these influential individuals were at the root of the evil* ; severe punishment might teach them better.

The Re-
search
con-
tinued.
Dacoitie
cherished
in Raj-
pootanah,
fostered
by
Thakoora.

And as a proof of the distance to which plunderers from Shekawátie proceeded, a band of nine horsemen from that district, and commonly known to belong to the brotherhood called *Bárah Bháee* (twelve brothers,) was intercepted and taken into custody so far down country as Ahmedabad in Guzerat. They were convicted of several acts of dacoitie in various directions. The exploits of Doongurjee and his free-lances in the extensive

They are
at the
Root of
the Evil.

The Dis-
tance
travelled
by Sheká-
wuts on
Plunder-
ing Expe-
ditions.

shawl robbery near Palee and their breaking jail after conviction have already been adverted to (*vide* pp. 410, 411, vol. i.) Later on, several very daring dacoities took place in the district of the Ganges Doab in British territory in the N.-W. Provinces. The local Government protested loudly, designating them as a revival of a habit of outrage by robbers from contiguous Native States, and demanded the adoption of the most stringent measures for ensuring co-operation from Native Rulers in their detection and in repressing such predatory acts for the future. The dacoits were from Shekawátie, the condition of which country had, since two years past, relapsed "into a highly unsatisfactory state"—which was to speak of that condition in the mildest way, for in point of fact it had *never*, except while Forster's contingent was posted in the region, *been in any better*. A native chief of rank and supposed respectability, was, after Forster's withdrawal, appointed by the Suzerain (Jeypore) to the management of the affairs of the troubled district. Soon, however, the Government van was looted on the border. High rewards were offered for the detection of the culprits, declared to have been traced to the suspected district. The Agent Governor-General of the period, Sir Henry Lawrence, wrote strongly to the Suzerain Government, declaring to the Durbar that its administration was discreditable; that there was no reason whatever why a single criminal should find shelter from such outrages, let the sheltering land-holder be even the most powerful zumeendar of the territory; such

They
Plunder in
the
Gangetic
Doab.

The Com-
plaint of
the
Govern-
ment of
the North
Western
Provinces.

The
relapsed
Condition
of Sheka-
wátie
since
Forster's
With-
drawal
from it.

The
Govern-
ment Van
Plun-
dered.

Sir Henry
Law-
rence's
strong
Protest.

“notorious criminals” must be sought out and given up ; lukewarm aid in such cases was as bad as none, etc. But all to no end ! Frontier British officers still remained without that “ promptest and most cordial aid for the seizure of the dacoits,” which Sir Henry had invoked from the Native Rulers concerned and had endeavoured to enjoin. So presently, *he deputed an officer to the infested region with the means for pressing insistence in a surer way.* Lieutenant Hardcastle on this mission energetically captured a fort and village “ where dacoits were harboured,” and carried off *seventy-one* prisoners, declared to be “ all noted dacoits.” They were made over to the Názim of Shekawátie, the high native official then lately appointed by the Jeypore Ruler to manage it. The province was described by Sir Henry Lawrence, in his Report to Government of the occasion, as a *nest* of armed robbers finding support from the chiefs of Jeypore, Jodhpore and Bikaneer, upon the confines of each of whose domains the district impinged, and chiefly from those of the Shekawátie race : “ they associate for plunder and follow rapine as a profession and means of subsistence, and daily commit atrocities in all the adjoining districts : ” it was now endeavoured to put down these bands and restore the oppressed, etc. “ The present and past misrule in Shekawátie, was to be attributed,” Sir Henry added, “ *to the splitting up of the estates composing it, and to the region bordering on so many territories,*” quite as much as to the consequent “ oppression ” (*vide* pp. 132, vol. i., and 309, vol. ii.)

Lieutenant
Hardcastle
deputed
to Shekawátie.

The Splitting up of
the
Estates.

Sir Henry then alludes to the story of the attack upon the Bikaner town of *Chooroo* by a party of the descendants of some old land-holders who had been ejected from their possessions for their rebellion several years previously (1818 :) "They were joined in this attack by several Bikaner and Shekawat Thakoors for mere excitement sake," but the town was recovered in forty-eight hours "by a spirited surprise conducted by the Bikaner Amil (Governor,) with a band of 400 men riding camels, who killed the rebel leaders, losing their own commander," etc., as already recounted (p. 232, vol. i.) Lieutenant Hardcastle, with the Jeypore and Bikaner contingents, next captured, in Delhi territory, to which they had fled, the two principal surviving outlaw leaders of that occasion, etc.

The Research into the Records respecting Shekawatie, concluded.

This completes the retrospect to be gleaned from the available information researched, up to the year of the Mutiny, 1857. During that disturbed period and until the excitement it had occasioned was over and things had settled down, very little was effected in the way of "suppression" in the States referred to; professional criminals (Rhatores, Meenas, Shekawuts, and such like,) reverted to their habits with renewed zest, and it was plain that there was "plenty now to do," as George Coleridge had written to me, "in putting down dacoitie." I gather that the whole of the lower or east and south-east portions of Bikaner and the parts of Shekawatie that adjoin them, swarm with bands of men mounted on horses and camels, who plunder traders indiscriminately, singling out, with robber

Locale of the Dacoits.

gluttony, parties who travelled together with an idea of greater security, and *kuttárs* or caravans of merchandise ; or, in default of meeting with such, looting a village or two to keep their hands in, *dum vivimus* ; and further, that the people of the borders of Shekawátie, Bikaneer and Jodhpore, that triple frontier, are so mixed up in these acts of plunder that it is difficult to fix the blame on any one State more than upon the other, except that, to my mind, *Jeypore*, as the Suzerain of *Shekawátie*, the focus, so to call it, of the jumbled brigandage, the “ nest ” of the federated robbers, is chiefly responsible for it all. The above is enough with which to back up my own personal observations of the state of the country.

10th September.—The reflection, all in all, is, (together with my own experiences since applying my mind to put down the *Meena* tribe more particularly, as of leading importance,) that the old dacoit gangs, which before plundered so extensively far and near, with their principal haunts in and about Shekawátie, still continue to carry on dacoitie and to harry the country far and wide, of which I have noted so many instances ; that Shekawátie particularly, always bore a bad character ; that it was still infested with dacoits of a bad sort, who, as ever before, except during Forster’s high-handed interregnum, planned and carried out their expeditions on the old-established plan, Thakoors and Zumeendars of Shekawátie protecting and shielding the perpetrators and sharing largely in their plunder. Of this the instance might be adduced

Memo-
randa
on the
subject.

ADacoitie
in Hissar,
anda Case
of Torture
in Mey-
wár.

of the police of *Hissár* on the British frontier, once tracing a dacoitie there committed into Shekawátie, where a son of the local Thakoor was arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The disorderly condition of the district was on that occasion prominently brought to the notice of Government. Then again, there also cropped up the comparatively more recent case of "two Naiks" tortured in Meywár, not without provocation it should seem, but under circumstances which led to the dissolution of the existing Meywár Regency Council and to a proclamation by the Government of India, publicly impugning the condition of affairs in Odeypore (Meywár,) the parties concerned *unquestionably belonging to the same Shekawátie brotherhood*, although temporarily settled in a village within Meywár, the headmen of which paid them for immunity from their ravages, while they (those two Naiks,) were secretly themselves the leaders of the dacoits who plundered in all the neighbouring country, etc. Had Sir Henry Lawrence's proposal, before noticed (p. 309, vol. ii.,) to appoint a British officer for a period of eight or ten years in Shekawátie to restore it to order, as Forster so vigorously had done, been conceded at the time by the Government of India, or that excellent officer not been transferred so inopportunately to Oudh, the territory would not probably have so miserably fallen away as it has.²

² P.S.—I had heard it rumoured, while at home on a very short Sir James furlough just before this transfer was carried out (1856,) that it Outram. was probable that Sir James Outram, also then in England, would

We had a party at dinner at evening. One of ^{Personal.} our guests, a lady, fainted at table.

not return to his post of Chief Commissioner for Oudh, the reason given for it being that he was not considered an able enough administrator, and I here refer to the incident as it was related by me in the Memoir already cited (*vide* footnote, *ante*, p. 183) of Outram's career, and published in a local paper on the morning of the inauguration of the fine equestrian statue erected to his honour on the Calcutta *Maidán*. It ran as follows:—" . . . Next, filling in succession the posts of Resident at Sattarah and at Baroda, he was, after return from a sick furlough, *called up by the Marquis of Dalhousie, to the high office of Resident at Lucknow*, where, soon after, under that distinguished nobleman's direct instructions, he carried out the annexation of Oudh; his remarkable arrangements for accomplishing which, without conflict, are a matter of history. And now sickness a second time compelled him to go home. Bowed down by bodily pain, the German baths and waters but scarcely benefiting him, we well remember his summons to attend at the office of the Secretary to the Board of Control, and how the glad tidings affected him, that 'it had pleased Her Majesty to accede to the recommendation of the selection of himself to be Plenipotentiary and to the chief command of the expedition to Persia.' We remember Lord Lyveden, then plain Mr. Vernon Smith (then at the head of the Board,) describing how 'the old soldier's eyes lit up on receiving the announcement.' To Persia he went, and 'Barázjun,' 'Koosháb,' 'Mohamra,' 'Ahwáz' were added to his distinctions. But the time was now at hand when his greatest energies were to be called forth. Stunned by the intelligence received by us at Bagdad, of the awful events at Meerut and Delhi, he at once pointed out the gravity of the occasion to Her Majesty's Ministers, his express as to which, *vid Trebizond and Constantinople*, happened to be the earliest information they had received of the outbreak of the Mutiny, and recommended that every officer of the Indian Government at home, whether civilian or military, be forthwith ordered out to his post—a counsel which was at once followed—and then, bending his powerful mind to grasp the magnitude of the occasion and how best to grapple with it, he hurried to Bombay. *His place at Lucknow had meanwhile been filled up by the appointment to it of Sir Henry Lawrence, to whose post of Agent Governor-General in Rajpootanah, Outram was gazetted in exchange.* The measure sorely chagrined him, but his reply to the Governor-General, Lord Canning, who had ordered it, written from Persia, was an instance of that obedient but manly meekness which should be the example

Personal. 11th September.—Am unpleasantly informed to-day by the doctor, after a thorough hauling over, that I am in “enfeebled” health, and should go home. I do not myself feel it, but I have been thirty-one years in India, with only one intervening

of every true-hearted soldier: ‘My lord,’ wrote he, ‘I go with alacrity wherever my services should be considered by your lordship to be most useful to the service of Her Majesty, and to order me to which should be to the convenience of the public service.’ Arrived at Bombay, his counsels were eagerly sought, but while on his way to join Woodburn’s column, then marching in the direction of Indore, from whence more readily to join his new post in Rajpootanah, a telegram from home next announced that he had been appointed to be the Military Member of Council at Calcutta, and Lord Canning rejoiced to summon him up at once to his side. But his spirit, mourning as it did with the most touching sorrow at the sad falling away of our hitherto highly trusted (by no one more than by himself,) and now misguided and infatuated native soldiery, chafed, on the other hand, at the idea that he might now only ‘stick at Calcutta,’ and perhaps not be called upon to take any part in such glorious deeds as were then being achieved by Havelock, but now one of his own Generals in Persia; and so it was with a heavy heart that he embarked for Calcutta. Detention for a fortnight at Galle made him champ and brood over what he supposed he was *cut out from*. But on arrival at Calcutta that July morning, he learnt that the wound received by Sir Henry Lawrence, of which even he had now only heard, had proved fatal to that lamented officer, and that the garrison of Lucknow was beleagured now almost without hope of relief. Out stepped the soldier: *he had been the humble means of annexing Oudh to the British Empire, and he now claimed to be allowed the honour of re-annexing it!* It was enough; Lord Canning at once assented, and appointed him not only Chief Commissioner but to the supreme command of the two divisions of the Army serving in that direction. We know how we all admired that grand episode of his career, when he waived the right to exercise that command, and chose rather to serve under Havelock until that persistent commander should himself complete the relief of Lucknow which he had already striven so much to accomplish—an abnegation, the modesty of which was justly described by Lord Clyde, in his Orders of the day, to be unsurpassed in any of the records of war.”—(Taken from the article “Outram,” by Colonel Hervey, in the Calcutta “Englishman,” dated Saturday, 23rd May, 1874.)

short period of six months at home on sick-leave eleven years ago (1856,) and no more than two months' local leave—twenty-seven years in India too, before ever going up to the hills—and I feel thankful for my heartiness hitherto.³

Having already referred now and again to the *Surna*. custom of *surna* or sanctuary in Rajpootanah, that “dearest privilege of the races of these regions” as Tod stated of it (*vide* pp. 121, 132, 140, 168, vol. ii.) and it being frequently mentioned in the documents just researched (*vide* pp. 315-16, vol. ii.) and, from the pretensions built upon the right of it, the custom forming one of the chief obstructions to the scope of pursuit in our operations in Native territory, I record here, for a proper understanding of the subject, an entire passage descriptive of the institution taken from *Tod's Rajasthan* (vol. i., 1829, p. 527,) first stating my belief, contrary to common acceptation, that our word *shrine* is derived from the Sanscrit term *sirn* or *sirna*, and that it is not identical, although interchangeable, with its alleged Latin derivative *scrinium*, however much the sanctuary privileged by “*sirna*,” may and has served to *screen* the fugitive seeking it.

After describing *Náthdwára*, that “most celebrated of the fanes of the Hindoo Apollo” (that is to say, of the god Kániya or Crishna,) as one of the most frequented places of Hindoo pilgrimage, situated about twenty miles distant from Odey-

³ P.S.—I did not go home; and then only finally did so in 1875, eight years later.

pore the capital of Meywar, where its “many thousand inhabitants of all denominations, reposing under the special protection of the god, *are exempt from every mortal tribunal;*” and saying of its position—shut in as it is by a cluster of hills, the river *Bunáss* nearly bathing their extremest points—that within these bounds is situated the *sirna* of Kániya, “*where the criminal is free from pursuit, nor dare the rod of justice appear on the mount, or the foot of the pursuer pass the stream;* neither within it can blood be spilt, for the pastoral Kániya delights not in offerings of this kind,” Tod went on: “The extension of sanctuary beyond the vicinage of the shrine became a subject of much animadversion, and in delegating judicial authority over the whole of the villages of the grant, to the priests, the Ráná” (the title of the Ruler of Meywar) “committed the temporal welfare of his subjects to a class of men not apt to be lenient in the collection of their dues, which not infrequently led to bloodshed. In alienating in this way the other royalties, he was censured even by the zealots. Yet however important such concessions, they were of subordinate value *to the rights of sanctuary, which were extended to the whole of the towns in the grant, thereby multiplying the places of refuge for crime, already too numerous.* In all ages and countries the rights of sanctuary have been admitted, and however they may be abused, their institution sprang from humane motives.”⁴ To check the

⁴ P.S.—Might we not take the time-honoured custom of *sirna* or sanctuary, to be pointed to in the passage of Isaiah, ch. iv.,

impulse of revenge and to shelter the weak from oppression, are noble objects, and the surest test of a nation's independence, is the extent to which they are carried. From the remotest times *sirna* has been the most valued privilege of the Rajpoots, the lowest of whom deems his house a refuge against the most powerful. But we merely propose to discuss the sanctuary of holy places, and more immediately that of the shrine of Kániya. When Moses, after the Exodus, made a division of the lands of Canaan amongst the Israelites, and appointed 'six cities to be the refuge of him who had slain unwittingly, from the avenger of blood' (*Numbers, ch. xxv., v. 11, 12,*) Levitical Law on the Subject. the intention was, not to afford facilities for eluding justice, but to check the hasty impulse of revenge; for the slayer was not to be protected, until he stood before the congregation for judgment, or, 'until the death of the high-priest,' which event appears to have been considered as the termination of revenge (*Numbers ch. xxxv., v. 25, and Joshua, ch. xx., v. 6.*)⁵ The infraction of poli- Infraction of Sanctuary.

verse 6: "And there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the daytime from the heat, and a place of refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain"?

⁵ P.S.—"There was," added Tod, "an ancient law of Athens analogous to the Mosaic, by which he who had committed *chance-medley*, should fly the country for a year, during which his relatives made satisfaction to those of the deceased. The Greeks had *asyla* for every description of criminals, which could not be violated without infamy. Gibbon gives a memorable instance of disregard to the sanctuary of St. Julian, in Auvergne, by the soldiers of the Frank King Theodoric, who divided the spoils of the altar, and made its priests captives: an impiety not only unsanctioned by the son of Ciovis, but punished by the death of

Abuse of
the
Privilege
of Sanc-
tuary.

tical sanctuary (*sirna toorna*.) often gives rise to the most inveterate feuds; and its abuse by the priests is highly prejudicial to society. Moses appointed but *six* cities of refuge to the whole Levite tribe; but the Ráná has assigned more to a single shrine, than the entire possessions of that branch of the Israelites, who had but forty-two cities, while Kániya has forty-six. The motive of sanctuary in Rajasthán may have been originally the same as that of the divine legislator; *but the privilege has been abused, and the most notorious criminals deem the temple their best safeguard*, yet some princes have been found hardy enough to violate, though indirectly, the sacred *sirna*. Zalim Sing of Kôtah, a zealot in all observances of religion, had the boldness to draw the line when selfish priestcraft *interfered with his police*, and though he would not demand the culprit, or sacrilegiously drag him from the altar, he has forced him thence by prohibiting the admission of food, and by threatening to build up the door of the temple. It was thus the Greeks evaded the laws, and compelled the criminal's surrender by kindling fires around the sanctuary."

The pre-
vailing
Custom of
Surna.

The above, with variations according to local circumstances, is applicable to and forms more or less the practice of all places of *surna*, wherever established in Rajpootanah. It was regarded to be more or less dishonourable in Rajpootanah, to

the offenders, the restoration of the plunder, and the extension of the *right of sanctuary* to five miles around the sepulchre of that holy martyr" (*Tod's Rajasthán*, p. 527, vol. i. 1829.)

surrender those claiming the protection. But Native Rulers now began to have less hesitation to give them up, perceiving as they did, that the British Government assumed the right, as the Paramount Power, to demand from Native States for trial in its own Courts, or in the established International Courts in which a Vakeel or representative of the State concerned, should be one of the assessors, all criminals guilty of offences within the scope of the jurisdiction of either, sheltered by Native States. As the Supreme Power we were able to require the surrender for trial of foreign subjects committing heinous offences in our territory, on the just ground that they might rely on our justice, but we felt unable to act reciprocally in that sense, and deliver up *our* subjects for crime in Native limits, on the ground of the uncertainty how they would be tried and punished there. By the arrangements adopted, and the understanding arrived at, the *sanctum* of *surna* was thus in a measure *penetrated*, although remaining still in some degree an obstacle to our proceedings, and a bone of contention.

The Paramount Power may reasonably claim Criminals seeking *Surna*.

I submitted on this subject to the Government of India on a previous occasion : " The subordinate officials and retainers generally of Native Rulers, were doubtlessly in the habit of opposing the successful arrest of offenders, as were also the many petty chieftains, to whom had the arrests been left, none would have been made : but the great Chiefs themselves, declared their readiness to co-operate cordially with the British Government in

Argument and grounds for such Claims.

relieving society from the depredations they perceived the Supreme Government was bent upon putting down. It has been seen, that while some Chiefs were interested in protecting these lawless men, others clung to the *éclat* of having their estates looked upon as *sacred asylums* for all classes of offenders. Some would indeed, but for the presence at their courts of zealous and watchful British representatives, have perhaps rejoiced in any opportunity for showing to the flatterers who surrounded them, that they were able to evade the duty of assisting the Paramount Power in its great objects, which other Chiefs, they might boast, were compelled to perform. But the British Government, in the exercise of its high prerogative, could not recognize the right of sanctuary in any country, to the habitual robber and assassin whose crimes should not be confined to the country in which they resided, or in which they sought the asylum; and thus, however much local officials and landlords of every degree, had converted this privilege of asylum, when conceded to their chiefs, into a revenue for themselves, and exerted themselves to protect the offenders, with a view to present and prospective profit and advantage from so doing, and would never arrest, or assist in arresting them, if they could possibly avoid it," which unfortunately, is still their ruling conduct, "the principal Chiefs themselves were fully alive to the necessity for an acquiescence, or the semblance of it, with the aims of the Suzerain Power for reclaiming from every State *the disturbers of the common weal*,"

(paras. 36 and 37 of Colonel Hervey's Report, No. 247, dated 21st April 1864.)

A good deal of opposition had been experienced in these regards, more especially from the *Jodhpore Ruler*. Our special officer in that territory (*Márwár*,) was strenuously opposed by the chief of the period, by his Thakoors, and by all the local officers: "The Maharajah persistently declined" (almost to the verge of war being declared against him) "to apprehend or assist in the apprehension of thugs in his territory, on the plea that Márwár was always exempted (*vide ante*, pp. 315-16,) from giving up any criminals who should take refuge in it, or should avail themselves of the *sur* or sanctuary, this and other States had immemorially and inviolably afforded to fugitives, whatever the nature of their crime. But by the pressure put on, and the firm attitude of the Government of India, matters were brought eventually to a satisfactory issue, the Maharajah's 'direct co-operation' was attained, and a treaty securing a barrier against the *predatory system* and acknowledgment of British *supremacy*, entered into; while in regard to *Oodeypore*, the next most powerful State, in which the measures of suppression had also met with opposition, every endeavour to that end had proved ineffectual, and every effort been made by the Ruler to preserve for the territory all the privileges of sanctuary, the same judicious attitude was attended with the like beneficial results, lukewarm although the affected 'co-operation' was: 'several *kowlámahs*' (promissory engagements) 'were negotiated at different periods

Opposition to our Proceedings on the grounds of the Privileges of Sanctuary.

between this chieftain and the many feudatory chiefs (*Choondáwuts and Suktáwuts*), of whom his State was composed, in all of which it was more or less stipulated and agreed to by them that robberies *should not be permitted* within their respective estates; thieves and dacoits, home or foreign, of whom a list was enumerated, *should not be harboured* by them, but be given up, with the plunder found upon them, to the Government which reclaimed them; *turna or sanctuary was not to be extended to murderers, dacoits, and traitors*; travellers and traders were to be *protected*; plunderers seized and given up; receivers of stolen goods, aiders and abettors of robbers, held as guilty as the robbers themselves; each fief was to be answerable, under certain conditions, for property plundered within it, and each chief answerable for the protection of British *dáks* and *banghies* (mails and parcel posts,) and to make good all losses occasioned by plunderers"⁶ (*vide Jodhpore and Oodeypore in Colonel Hervey's Report on the Conflict of Laws, No. 199, dated 21st April, 1866.*)

The Burden of the several Treaties in regard to Sanctuary more particularly.

The above was the burden of the several treaties with other Native States also, and it seemed to secure plain sailing, but it required careful manipulation, so to call a guarded course, to steer clear through the many crooked ways of the several

⁶ P.S.—It will be in recollection that on the whole my own contention was opposed to this ruling in the matter of compensation for robberies of the public mails, on the ground of its savouring too much of an *Ukase* (*vide pp. 133 to 137, 162, 248, 318, 392, vol. i., and 43, 44, 45, footnote 45, 96 to 99, 242 to 246, and footnote p. 244, vol. ii.*)

Durbars, and to tone down asperities. But in regard to *sanctuary* particularly, a special *Surna treaty* cleared the way: "*Surna* or sanctuary, except for murder, dacoitie, or treason, will continue with those who have hitherto held it" (*Article xvi. of Treaty with Oodeypore.*) I have enough now to go upon by which to work out my projected Report on Shekawátie.

At a dinner this evening at the Club, given by Personal.
Mr. John Dalrymple, of the Bengal Civil Service, a younger brother of Sir Hew Dalrymple, with whom I was at Johnstone's School at Hampstead (p. 266.) I was fortunate in being seated next to Colonel Donald Stewart, the Deputy Adjutant-General at head-quarters up here. We talked on Colonel Donald Stewart.
various subjects—of my old Commanding Officer and friend, *Fred Curtis*, and his removal from the command of the 21st Hussars on the recom- Fred Curtis.
mendation of Lord Paget, which he of course defended, and I regretted as a very arbitrary act towards a most zealous old officer, in admission in some sort of which, that is of its afterwards being looked upon to have been so, His Royal Highness offered him, I told Stewart, an appointment in India in the Adjutant-General's Department, but which, I added, Curtis declined (*vide ante*, pp. 135, 295;) we talked also of the composition of the Bombay Native Infantry as compared with Sikh and Punjab regiments; of the cholera-attacked 103rd Fusiliers, to which Hugh belongs, and its late march five miles out of its cantonments at Morár under operation of the new "cholera camp rules,"

in which march several fatal cases had taken place—who was to blame? And chiefly of the expedition to Abyssinia, now under the din of preparation at Bombay, a subject Stewart had good reason to be interested in, he being the Commander elect of the Bengal column told off to join it, an arrangement which, with all his own and Norman's reticence, I well knew to be purposed (*vide ante*, pp. 269, 270, 272;) also of George Malcolm, Petrie, Merewether, and others of Bombay, about to take important places in the campaign. Shrewd, well-informed, and accomplished, and a gallant soldier, Stewart will, with his contingent of Bengal troops, be a valuable acquisition to the told-off forces—not that *Bombay-wállahs* will much like to be thus supplemented “by outsiders”!

Major
Gleig.

12th September.—While occupied in my rose garden to-day, I observed a stranger labouring up the steep ascent leading to our grounds, who, much heated by the exertion, for the sun was hot and he of full body, presently crossed over to me, and with much agitation said, to my great surprise, he had come to me by the advice of “Bukshee Hamilton” (Colonel Hamilton, the military Paymaster of the Presidency, being so familiarly alluded to, a good fellow and a favourite, up here on leave, but with whom I was not personally acquainted,) “as the only man” who could help him out of his calamity: “I pray you, sir, help me for my poor wife’s sake and child’s.” I bowed kindly, led him up to my study, and there the poor man recounted to me how his further services had

been summarily dispensed with, and himself "retired" upon a pittance—"oh! so unjustly—so harshly—what was he to do—how live?" His only fault was, he declared, that he was a deaf man, and had given an opinion while sitting on a court-martial, and after it had declared, "he had not heard a word of the proceedings"! He spoke with great warmth, but very grievingly. Much myself distressed by the manner he told his tale, I bid him go home, send me every paper in the case, and a full and confidential narrative of the entire transaction, "holding back nothing," and that if I could from them see my way to it, I would try to draw up an appeal for him to write out and send in.

In a case of dacoitie of occurrence a few nights ago at Colár, in Mysore territory, but without Robbery in Mysore. booty, a man of the house attacked was killed, and another wounded. Several arrests have taken place.⁷

Another native holiday to-day, so after disposing of the day's post, and there being a great cricket match down in Anandale, in which Hugh played, I went to see it, walking down to the ground by the steep and winding, now footpaths, now a bit of made road, and now mere crooked stony tracks and precipitous, leading under the *pendáills* or lines of the *Ghoorkas* on detachment duty here, situated hard by the local jail perched on an eminence overlooking the vale.

⁷ P.S.—Some of these prisoners were subsequently convicted, the result of local police action; but whether belonging to the professional classes or not, was not communicated.

About
false Con-
fessions
and
Amateur
Detect-
tives in a
Case of
the
Plunder
of a
Wagon
Train in
Western
Malwah.

* Under
local au-
thority.

13th September.—The Government bullock wagon train had on two recent occasions been plundered (January and April,) on the high road to Bombay passing through Western Malwah (*vide ante*, p. 14, and note, p. 15.) From the local inquiries made in connection with a previous similar occurrence in the same neighbourhood about two years previously (*vide p. 15*), certain local parties were arrested * of whom one, named *Willáyut Hoossen*, professed to know about them, and “confessed” to his own participation in that previous affair, and thereupon certain of the declared perpetrators were locally tried and even convicted of it. On the papers being sent to my office, I perceived that the “confessions” contained only the patent and locally well-known outside facts of the particular act of plunder referred to, and *nothing* of the inside details, and as we knew, from our possessing those secret details, as had been communicated to us by accomplices arrested for intermediate dacoitie in distant Jubbulpore district while hurrying away from it with plunder through the neighbouring district of Saugor, that the real perpetrators were far-off-residing *Meenas*, and not any local parties such as had been taken into custody as above, I wrote to-day to Thompson, my Assistant at Indore (who had announced that the unconvicted portion of those locally arrested persons were about to be transferred to his office, together with the above “confessing” individual, for further inquiry,) communicating not only my distrust, but that I viewed with suspicion the zeal of amateur detectives :

"The transfer to you of these men, will give you a good opportunity for unravelling the whole matter; for if it is true that *Meenas* were the perpetrators, how could *Willáyut Hoossén* and his lot have had any part in it?"^a

^a P.S.—On the transfer of this man to us with the prisoners locally arrested at his instance, against whom he was to be a witness of their complicity, he recanted, that is, withdrew his confessions and all part in any of the dacoities. The prisoners were consequently set at liberty, as were those also, I believe, who had been convicted upon his evidence. I would here add something on the danger of acting upon the information of amateur detectives, and indeed of employing them at all; and I select for the purpose what I reported on the subject to Government at a subsequent date. The case happened in *Guzerat*, where an officer, who was also the local police magistrate, acted as an Assistant to the General Superintendent in my predecessor, Sir William Sleeman's time: "Under an impression, on his part, that his men might be advantageously employed in working out a special case of crime of then only recent occurrence (but of which they personally knew nothing,) and they being put upon the duty, they thought to mix themselves up with the city police of Ahmedabad, and upon their evidence some men were arrested and committed for trial. The intelligent judicial officer who tried the case unravelled the conspiracy to ruin innocent persons, and he set them at liberty:—'The accused owed their deliverance entirely to the care bestowed on the case by the trying authority; but, supposing it to have been otherwise, what stand could unsupported innocence have made against a body of compact and disciplined perjurers so perfect in the strategy of lies?' This was what was said on the occasion. It was further experienced that when so occasionally set to detect crime in which they had not themselves really taken any part, arresting parties abused their authority, and neglected the pursuit of the real offenders in order to search for property. An instance of this kind happened to myself. Desirous to push research into some recent robberies, and *captivated* by the seeming correctness of my information, I even hazarded a request to the local magistrate to have the houses searched of certain *Meenas* dwelling at *Shajánpoor*. *Nothing was, of course, found*, and I merely adduce the circumstance to show how ready the temptation is, even to the cautious, to *catch* at such information in inquiries into crime which has suddenly been committed, and as an additional proof of the very close and

Risks in
employ-
ing
Amateur
Detect-
tives.

Personal. To-day being the birthday of our twins, we had a party of friends to dinner at evening. Both youths are getting on now, and must soon go to Sandhurst.—Hugh was afterwards tempted to the race lottery at the Assembly Rooms, but came back empty-handed.

Hindoo Holiday. 14th September.—Yet another native holiday—on this occasion on account of the eclipse of the moon. For on such occurrences, whether the day to be observed be an *eed* or a *teohár*, that is, to be kept by Mahomedan or Hindoo, or for the matter of that by Christians also, Eurasian office employés being mostly of that faith, *all* look upon the occasion as reciprocal and mutually to be enjoyed, and leave for the day is expected accordingly. For in point of fact the work of an office such as mine, is of so intermixed a nature, requiring all the members composing it to be in articulation with each other, that it is liable to halt, and does not run smoothly on, if all engaged in it are not together present to carry it on and be at hand to reply to the constantly recurring references to

* Taken from Colonel Hervey's Report in the Foreign Department, (subject, "Informers,") No. 523,—July, 1871.

organized system pursued by these robbers, who take so much care, as I have before observed, to prevent their plunder being readily discovered. It is an example, moreover, of the advantage, in researches into class crime, of the safer course of looking after crime of which information has been recorded by accomplices, over that of employing 'informers' in vain searches in cases in which they were not, or declared they were not, implicated (*v.* pp. 123, 124, vol.ii.). For I would show by it, that it is preferable in operations, against professional criminal classes at any rate, to proceed against them systematically for *previous* offences of which there is some knowledge, than for new cases of which there is none that is reliable, leaving it to the process of that steadier and surer course for the development of the new cases themselves."*

each. This indulgence of allowing an occurring holiday to be a general one, thus in a manner necessitated, becomes, however, too much a practice, and so grows into a prejudice of so marked a tendency in the minds of the mixed employés, that the *Burra Sahib* or head of an office, is regarded askance or with backward eyes if he should disagreeably interfere with the usual course of the occasion. This should be remedied by some arrangement common to every public office. It would, moreover, greatly relieve merchant and other private European offices to do so, for these follow suit with governmental example (*vide* p. 10, vol. ii.)

The frequent Recurrence of Native Holy Days and its Inconvenience.

Properly, there should be no holiday or attendance from office excused to-day, for the present *Grühun* or eclipse, does not take place till to-night, and the Hindoo religious requirement is, to bathe (in some holy stream if sufficiently propinquate,) after the occultation is over; but this objection to granting the leave all the same, is not generally pressed, obvious though the fiction of its necessity is.

The myth of the eclipse, among Hindoos, is, that *Vishnu* their preserving deity, inconsistently it should seem, cut off *Rahoo's* head, the said *Ráho* (the ascending node,) being one of the *Daityuns* or Titans of their mythology, thus separating it from *Khétoo* or the dragon's tail, which is the descending node. Thus separated, *Ráho* the evil spirit or dragon's head, and *Khétoo* the dragon's tail, were translated to the stella or planets, as the eighth and the ninth *rásee* or signs of the zodiac (*rás-chűkr*),

The Hindoo Myth as to the Eclipses, and to the Lunar Eclipse particularly.

the Persians and the Magi limiting their system to *seven*, and thus became the authors of eclipses! In the lunar eclipse, *Ráhoo* or some other fancied monster, is supposed to have carried off and to be holding *Khétoo*, the dragon's tail, in its mouth, away up in the *nác-shŭtra* or mansion of the moon, and it being necessary for mundane welfare, that it should be made to let go its pernicious hold of it, it is ardently and loudly shouted to and hooted at by a vast concourse of *dhêrs* or low-caste men, said to be assembled at and shadowing the gate thereof, to forego it; and for this reason it is customary for Hindoos to call out *Chôr-deo*—*Chôr-deo* ("Let go"—"Let go!") as long as the eclipse lasts, the shadow of the supposed assembled multitude creating, in their belief, the visible occultation of the orb—its passing away, the manifest *melting away of the crowd* on the supposed successful result of its vociferations and prayer! It is *after* this fancied effect has been "accomplished," that the religionists bathe, put on clean apparel, anoint themselves afresh with their several distinctive marks on forehead, breasts and arms—and feed. The connection of this fantastic notion with astronomical evidence, will be perceived.⁹

⁹ P.S.—*Maurice* says of this supposition as a secondary cause, that it "proves neither bad theology nor despicable philosophy to exist in Hindostan." He added of the *Deluge*, for example, that Brahmin astronomers indicated in mapping out the firmament, that "some dreadful position of the planetary orbs, often represented in Sanscrit writings as personified *dewtahs* or divinities, occasioned the grand convulsion; or that some fatal *eclipse*, which ever happens near that region of the heaven where their fancies have fixed their imaginary dragon" (that "visionary dragon formed

Hugh preparing to hurry down to rejoin his regiment at Morár, his leave being up on the 20th. He will not take an extension on sick certificate which the doctor is ready to grant him, because of the restriction on his liberty up here such leave would impose! He had mounts in some of the races at Anandale to-day, and came up at evening very exhausted.—I took a moonlight walk through the woody glen below our house after dinner; and although *Lukhur-pukkurs* are not supposed to attack human beings, I should not have cared to meet one in the awfully solitary paths.

15th September, Sunday.—Bishop Milman ("Calcutta,") preached the sermon to-day. There is a fascination about this worthily esteemed Prelate one has to beat about to describe. Quaint in aspect, "little of stature," and a comicality in

Personal.

Bishop
Milman
and the
late Dr.
Cotton.

by the course of the moon near the ecliptic,") "portended and accompanied it." He showed further, that as, according to the above Hindoo relation, "a devouring fire as well as a tempestuous ocean contributed to that general devastation," the hypothesis conformed in some degree, and was reconcileable with the modern notions of Whiston, Whitehurst and Watson, the one "that a comet passed at that remote era near the orbit of the earth and caused the inundation," and the others, "that fire bursting from the internal regions of the earth, greatly contributed to bring on the dreadful catastrophe."—Thus there is something to be gathered from the Hindoo myth of the eclipses! We are taught that the tides are influenced by the moon, that certain very high tides are attended with inundations, of which the well-known *Bores* or exceptional tidal waves at Calcutta and other places are examples, and that such floods generally occur at the periods of those occultations. There is some reason then, it seems, for the Hindoo world to desire under such persuasions, that the supposed evil influence should pass away! (*Indian Antiquities*, vol. v. pp. 274–275.)

countenance joined to a look of serious earnestness some would pronounce droll or serio-comic, he is withal most engaging to his hearers and to those who have the privilege of his society—a very lovable character indeed, and without guile. The occasion gives me an opportunity for here copying the stanzas written by an old Rugby pupil of Bishop Milman's but now excellent predecessor in the same See, the late lamented Dr. Cotton. They have only just been perceived by me :

“ A sound of a surging flood !
 He thought to step on the strand :
 That wave was the Angel of Death,
 That shore the eternal land.

Yes, by the doom of God,
 On the Indian sands no more :
 But by the grace of God,
 On Heaven's blissful shore !

‘ Death ’ we call it and weep :
 Not so those Hosts on high,
 ‘ Translation ’ to dwell with God,
 With God everlastingly !

We know it and yet we weep,
 We who are pilgrims still :
 Weep, forgive us, Lord !
 For the void we cannot fill.”

The writer of these lines was, however, I think, in error in saying that the Bishop whose awfully tragical end he so touchingly describes, was stepping on *to the shore* when he fell into the tumultuously rushing river where the steamer he had come in was moored. For he had that afternoon *landed* from

it at that point, for the special purpose of consecrating a small cemetery in the neighbourhood, and was in the act of returning to the vessel after performing that ceremony, when in the uncertain light of nightfall, he suddenly *disappeared*, truly *in gurgite vasto*, no one seeing him fall, as he was stepping across the plank laid to the boat from the shore, and was carried away in the fearful rush and whirl of the mighty river, and seen no more—not even a trace of him found!

Dr. Duka, the Station Surgeon, was sent for to see Hugh. He says he may not go down the hill as the lad had intended to do to-day.

16th September.—The doctor this morning said ^{Personal.} Hugh “must act in regard to his health as a man with a small capital—not trench too much upon it, or he would become bankrupt.” The sick boy was fed to-day on *Salap Misree*, that *panacea* in ^{Salap Misree.} many instances within our own knowledge, in all cases of emaciation and debility, and I must here notice *how* to prepare it. The root as dried for sale, should have a transparent appearance withal its usual cloudiness, and be very hard to convert into powder. The best and most nutritious sort is imported from Persia, but a very excellent kind is brought down from above the Passes, strung generally as it is round the necks of camels whereby to avoid transit dues. The former sort has a wrinkled appearance and is of a small oval shape; the latter is denominated the *punji*, from resembling a splay five-toed sort of thing; an inferior and larger bulb being brought down from

the Nilgherry Hills. The dry root must be very carefully triturated, and even then be sifted through muslin, so as to produce the finest impalpable powder. Thus reduced, the flour obtained should be kept in a small glass stoppered bottle—a very little at a time, for it soon becomes rank, but otherwise it should have a pleasant soft odour. A teaspoonful of this meal is next slowly sprinkled into a breakfast cup of *cold* water and unremittently stirred the while, for from the gelatinous nature of the root, it is naturally apt to and *does* very quickly lump:—the mixture is then tossed into an equal quantity of fresh milk, and the whole next slowly heated and boiled, but should be stirred unceasingly. Let to boil up three times at short intervals, it is finally sweetened according to taste, and when cool enough may be partaken of. Properly prepared, the *congee* or decoction thus prepared, should be of the consistency of a custard, with tiny translucent particles of the root glistening throughout it, and emit a pleasant aroma. Arabian physicians were the first to discover its nutritious qualities, but it is not much known among our own countrymen. The root is an expensive commodity. When at home in 1856, I could obtain it only at Apothecaries' Hall, and there only of the very smallest and a most shrivelled description. It is a sovereign remedy for weakly children, pulmonary affections, consumptive people, and the aged. To those recovering from a prostrating sickness, it is invaluable taken the first thing of a morning in the place of tea, coffee, or other slops,

and may advantageously replace every previous nostrum and prescription.

17th September.—Was occupied all the afternoon yesterday and up to midnight, in drawing up from his papers and own account, a defence in some sort for Major Gleig. He would seem to me to have been somewhat too hastily placed on the Retired List. The reason ascribed was an admission on his part of deafness when nominated to a General Court-martial. In sending off the document to him the first thing this morning, I wrote to him that if everything advanced in it (all from his own statements,) was true and the unvarnished truth, then to have the paper printed and submit it to Army Head-quarters.

Major
Gleig's
Case.

A busy day to-day in preparing the Statistical Returns of Dacoitie and Poisoning in India, for final transference to the printing office. So many emendations crop up, that it is a troublesome procedure to get all completed in a correct form ; for these papers will undergo scrutiny from every magistrate and police officer throughout the country, and perhaps be viewed by the several local governments with curious if not with no friendly eye.

Thuggee
and
Dacoitie
Statistics.

Receive at evening a letter from Major Gleig : "I cannot sufficiently thank you for the trouble you have taken in drawing up such an excellent appeal. I feel more obliged for it than I can find words to express," etc. He is having it printed, and will send the proof sheets to me for correction. So far, well.¹

Letter
from
Major
Gleig.

¹ P.S.—The late Major Gleig was a son of the well-known

Statistics. 18th September.—The science of Statistics is a dull study; I wish I understood it better, for I

Chief Chaplain to H.M.'s forces (author of the "Subaltern.") He had been placed on "general duty," a situation arising as in many similar cases, from the operation of the then new Staff Corps rules, by which, owing to the attenuated cadres designed for the newly formed regiments, the vast number of overplus officers, for whom there was no employment, were told off to be what is called "general duty wálahs," or sort of drones, imputed (by the fact thereof,) to be out of the pale of much consideration. In that "capacity," so to call the effacement, he was, for his well-known and unconcealed infirmity of deafness, usually excused from court-martial duty (such being the "duty" those officers were more usually put to and made use of for;) but having from some inadvertence been nominated president of an European district court-martial, he was "challenged" by a prisoner under trial, on the ground that he was "hard of hearing." It was alleged he had in some manner persuaded the man to object to him, and that in the particular trial alluded to, he had declared he "had not heard a word of it." This was regarded to incapacitate him, and his name was in consequence scratched under the orders of the Secretary of State, and he placed on half pay. This to a man of twenty-two years' service, with a family, was a serious matter; and as it did not appear to me (even with the imputed defalcation,) that the "oath" administered under the Articles of War to members of a court-martial, debarred a man from giving his vote on his having *read* the proceedings of the trial, even though he should not have heard "a word of them," I felt myself able, I thought, to make out a pretty good case for him upon the papers he had supplied me with, the hardship of his case being, that he was "chassé'd" *without trial*. The petition for a reconsideration of the circumstances, was in the end so far successful, that a modified view was arrived at, and the full pension of his period of service allowed him. He was nevertheless, on the whole, one of the "hard bargains" of the service. His particular *ability*, strange enough, was in repairing and constructing pianos, and in that capacity he was considered an acquisition to station society. At Meerut, the station where he came to grief, he had quite a workshop for such purposes, which used even to be visited of a morning after parades, in a friendly way by many, and particularly by the high officer upon whom devolved the disagreeable duty of reporting his imputed *lache* to head-quarters. His estimable wife was a daughter of Mr. Cramer, the celebrated piano manufacturer of Regent Street and a great violinist of the

have been immersed in the — (unparliamentary) work all day in the matter of my criminal Returns—interrupted by further attention to Gleig's case.

19th September.—Attended a confirmation service held by the Bishop of Calcutta. He addressed the postulants in a very tender manner, both before and after the ceremony. With his kindly beaming eyes, earnest and honest face, language beautiful, exhortations persuasive, the excellent divine seemed just such a man as we might suppose Zacchæus to have been if clothed in the graceful and becoming lawn sleeves and the sacerdotal vesture of the nineteenth century. The female portion of the confirmed was modestly attired in white robes and long veils (a custom now for the first time witnessed by me.) The candidates were mostly Eurasians and well on, and one pair was a married couple! The occasion recalled to memory my own confirmation in the uniform of an Addiscombe cadet, by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Cheam, to where I had been summoned by my guardians from the neighbouring Military College.

A Confirmation Ceremony.

Went to the races in the evening, and afterwards was at the Fancy Ball of the season, but not in fancy costume. Personal

20th September.—Hugh is certainly far from well or strong. Lank and lean, he stalks about as

Hugh.

period. Young Cramer, a son, was at Johnstone's School with us at Hampstead (*vide* p. 437, vol. i., and p. 138 and footnote, and 266, 333, vol. ii.)—a pale-faced boy with blushing hair, who when he first came to the school drolly informed us, "My mother is a fine woman, my father is a great fiddler."

though in pain, and complains of aches in one side—and this the doctor regards as an affection from *pleura*.

Suspected
Sham
Death of
Kishen
Sing,
Dacoit
Jemadar.

* *Vide* pp.
29 and 163,
vol. i., and
281, 283,
vol. ii.

Blair had reported the death, in his custody at Aboo, of the arch-dacoit *Kishen Sing* (*ante*, p. 93,) the bold robber who, joined by his *fides Achates* Motee Sing Meena, had rescued Ward's four prisoners at Jalnah in the consummate manner already fully detailed,* and who was captured while escaping through Ajmere, as also before noticed (*vide* pp. 182, 188, 196, vol. i.) Major Davidson, the Deputy Commissioner there, now inquires: "Did anyone on your part, who knew him well, see and testify to the dead body? I ask this as a doubt of intrigue is suggested, and I know that as our police were escorting him up to Aboo, an attempt at rescue was threatened!" Having had doubts whether the *veritable* Kishen Sing had been arrested at Ajmere and taken to Aboo, and the present hint at foul play of some sort being ominous, I write off to Blair at Mount Aboo on the important subject, and ask whether any attempt was made on the man's way up the hill to that place to rescue him, adding: "a great deal will come out of all this business as to the game that has been played." I also instructed Ward at Jalnah, to examine Jowahirra Durzee carefully about it; and addressed Davidson at Ajmere, and Major Impey, the Political Officer at Jodhpore, to compass the arrest of the fugitive *Hurree Sing*, *alias* Thoolsa Ját, the brother of the said Kishen Sing, and one of the four rescued by the latter from

Ward's custody, as that he was reported to be at *Towseena* in Marwar territory—which Blair also is enjoined to endeavour to bring about through the offices of Colonel Eden, the Agent Governor-General. The capture of the above Motee Sing, the other chief actor in the effected rescue, has, on the other hand, just been accomplished by one of our search parties in Rajpootanah. This is luck !

Capture
of Motee
Sing
Meena.

21st September.—The anniversary of a happy event in which we were mutually concerned a period back : “ All who joy would win—must share it.”

Personal.

At evening went to the races—the last day of the meeting ; won two small bets, and lost a big one.

22nd September, Sunday.—The Bishop preached an excellent sermon in the cause of Missions, which at evening was again powerfully advocated by our Chaplain, Mr. Baly.

Mission
Sermons.

23rd September.—Had Gleig's proof sheets in hand a part of the day.* The words of the Secretary of State for India, in concurring with the expressed opinion of the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor of India “ as to the utter incapacity of Major Gleig even for the ordinary routine duties of his profession,” were, “ It appears that this officer took the usual oath administered to members of courts-martial, and voted both on the finding and sentence of a general court-martial at Delhi, but subsequently confessed that, being deaf, he did not hear one word of the proceedings.”

Major
Gleig's
Appeal
con-
sidered.

* *Vide ante*, p. 345.

I have made him to say in his appeal : “ With so great, so powerful, and such august rulers arrayed against me, I might despair of obtaining a reversal of the sentiments thus expressed, and of the shame and disgrace they imply. But I may not despair of redress ; and I therefore venture, in the humblest but the strongest language I am master of, to refuse to assent to, and to repudiate the implication. I will not admit that because I had said I did not ‘ hear a word ’ of the court-martial, much as I may complain of that unfortunate expression being unduly taken in its widest sense, I thereby confessed that I had *violated my oath* ; for it is in that serious light, which I am to suppose by the context, that my conduct was reviewed.

“ What was the oath that was administered to me ? It was that I should duly administer justice, without partiality, favour, or affection, according to my conscience, the *best of my understanding*, and the custom of war.²

“ Can it be seriously declared that, after I had repeatedly represented ” (memo. as was shown in the memorial,) “ that I heard imperfectly, with the very view to prevent my being often ordered on court-martial duty, and had nevertheless been sent thereon, when I said I did not hear a word in the case under consideration, I violated a single part of this oath ? I fail to see it, and I humbly beg

² *Vide* Art. 152 of the Articles of War of 1866, page 313 of the volume comprising the Mutiny Act, the Army Service and other Acts, and the Rules and Articles of War. The condensed words of the oath, run in the strain above recapitulated.

His Excellency to draw attention to so palpable a misapprehension of the case.

“ Or if, to reduce the matter to a proper level and to the appreciation which only was its due, my declared deafness was indeed a fact upon which it was asserted that I *ought* to be removed from the service, I would once more respectfully inquire, whether ‘deafness’ was a thing unheard of, or unknown in the army? And if it was to constitute the grounds for my removal, and deprivation of the means for supporting and sustaining myself and my family, why was it, if *not* allowed in the army and *not* recognized, declared to be *one of the objections which shall be considered as valid* when raised by a prisoner against a president (*and a president only,*) of a court-martial before which he is about to be tried ?

“ Perhaps the importance attached to the assertion, was assumed by General —, because he believed that it vitiated the sentence and the award which had been passed upon the prisoner who was tried before the court-martial upon which I sat. But it was found, if I am correctly informed, upon a reference to the Judge Advocate-General of the Army, and to the Legal Remembrancer of the Government of India, that *no such result followed, and that the proceedings were legal. The sentence was confirmed, moreover, and carried out!*

“ . . . Notoriously labouring for nearly twenty

years under the same infirmity, greatly increased by fever contracted in this country in the performance of my duties, I have yet continued to serve, loyally, zealously, and efficiently, *to the best of my ability*. Conscious of the infirmity, I prayed for relief from a duty in which my defective hearing might, according to my conscience, sometimes prevent me from hearing properly what ought to be heard ; and it will be in the recollection of the members of the very court-martial so often alluded to, that for the very purpose of hearing more perfectly the evidence on the prosecution and the defence of the prisoner, I solicited and obtained permission to sit at the end of the table next to the man who read the prisoner's defence. I did not neglect, moreover, *to read over* the proceedings any the less on this than on any other occasion of a court-martial upon which I have sat, as bound to do under the oath administered to me, and *to digest and consider* the recorded proceedings of each trial before I delivered my vote. And as to my inability to hear, taken as my admission in that regard most unhappily has been in its widest and least fair sense without connecting it with what had passed before, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief, General —— himself, and everyone I have conversed with, are able to say, as all have said to me, that, defective as my sense of hearing was reported to be, I could and did hear all that they said."

There is a good deal to the same effect in the unfortunate officer's appeal. The strange circum-

stance is, that with his really defective hearing, he should possess so keen an instinct of the sense, as to be able to manipulate and intone all the delicate organism of piano-making, and to perfectly tune the instrument! It was in a *pet* out of a personal misunderstanding, all very fully brought to light in the memorial, that he gave utterance to the hasty expression which formed the gravamen of his offence. I do not doubt the success of the appeal in the matter of pension, but I question the unhappy gentleman's restoration to the service. The usual course would have been to have submitted him to a medical examination, or to have brought him before a court-martial. It is not to be divulged that his appeal was drawn up by myself.

We were at an operetta at night at Strawberry Personal. Hill, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Noble Taylor, both among the foremost of entertainers at Simlah. The piece performed was "the Soldier's Legacy," in which a *débutante* sang charmingly.

24th September.—A heavy case of dacoitie took place a few nights back in Hazáreebaug of Bengal, in which the booty carried off was valued at nearly 15,000 rupees. Some persons have been arrested for it by the local police, but the classes to which they belonged have not as yet been stated.³

Dacoitie
in Hazá-
reebaug.

The troops for the expedition to Abyssinia, proposed to be sent from the Bengal side, were stated to be two regiments of Irregular Cavalry,

³ P.S.—Ten men were subsequently convicted in this case, the result of local police action. They were *Rájwárs* from Behár.

Objections at
Bombay
to a
Bengal
Column
for Abyssinia.

two of Punjab Infantry, and a Mountain Train Battery ; but some objections would seem to have been started at Bombay (as I thought would be likely, (*vide* pp. 269, 270, vol. ii.) to the employment of a Bengal division, and the matter is likely to be compromised by the employment from Bengal of certain details only. The *Qui Hies* would appear to be put out at Bombay alone and singly undertaking the expedition. The dissatisfaction felt is, that an assurance should in the first instance have been given, by, it is said, the highest authority, of the employment of an entire Bengal division, exciting thereby their military ardour, which now should not be fulfilled. Sir Robert, himself a Bengal officer, but of Bombay now the Commander-in-Chief, is thus placed between two stools in this indecision. But the sea-board of the objective point (Abyssinia,) belonging to Bombay, it is thought the troops of that Presidency have some right to claim the entire operations.

Personal. Hugh slightly better, if at all so. He is to remain here (Simlah,) in extension of his former leave.

Personal. 25th September.—Dressed to accompany us to a dinner party this evening, the doctor prevented his going ; from whom we are greatly concerned to learn too, that the lad would not, he feared, be ever fit for much, “ as he had no constitution, and more energy than strength.”

29th September.—A further bad account of Hugh. He was closely examined by the doctor to-day, who discovered a broken back rib on his right side,

and this the lad says must have happened in a fall from his horse when hunting in the plains with some brother officers near Mhow. The cause of so much pain whenever he went through any exertion, as lately in riding races and in the cricket field, is thus now known. We dined at Government House to-day. Many kind inquiries about Hugh. His leave having expired on the 20th, and the extension of it not yet officially known down there, we hear from his regiment that he has been reported as "absent without leave."

27th September.—Two useful pieces of information : (1) Tribute, "Nuzzuránas" on successions, contributions, subsidies, "Peshkush," or under any other name, paid by Native chiefs (excluding the *Guicowár*, who pays the British Government, however, for five regiments of Infantry, a Battery of Artillery, and three thousand Horse,) amount annually to about 685,000*l.*, about a million and a half representing the sum spent by the British Government every year out of the general revenues on Native chiefs—the revenue paid by all the people on their estates, amounting, on the other hand, to about twelve millions sterling per annum : (2) with reference to the crime of poisoning by *strychnine* and *datura* in a case in Bombay, the *juice* of the *nux vomica* (koochla) tree, was used with fatal result. On analysis of the stomach of the poisoned person and of some leaves of the tree, the presence of *strychnia* was proved by the peculiar colour tests deduced. In *datura* cases again, of occurrence in Bombay, chemical

Amount of Subsidies, &c. to the British Government compared with Amount paid out by Government for Native Chiefs.

Poisonous Effects of Strychnine and Datura.

evidence was seldom thought to be necessary, from the well-known symptoms of that poison observed *during life*; but *after* death the active principle of the drug was only to be *inferred* from chemical analysis of the sweetmeat or other medium made use of in administering it, and from the dilated pupil of the eye, which I take to mean not from the sweetmeat actually partaken of and already absorbed, but from what remained of it uneaten, or, undigested portion of it.

Personal:
Rejected
Church
Timbers
utilized.
An After-
noon with
a Friend.

The Station Church having lately been re-roofed, not too soon, bent by a mood for adding upper rooms to our house (Longwood,) I buy up to-day all the removed timber of it for the purpose—and then on to “the Park” to consult a kind friend on an official matter, and pass the afternoon there. An accomplished scholar, he gives me the Greek line for “As the leaves are, so is man’s life”;⁹ and I pass to him the Persian for “Absence makes the heart grow fonder”—*ánkih mujhoob ust, mehboob ust*.

Personal:
Major
Gleig.
Our Mugh
Cook.

28th September.—Scarcely see my way thoroughly through the statistical crime returns, other work cropping up continuously. Hugh feeling better. Gleig’s memorial went in yesterday. Have purchased the most of his few belongings; among them the new cookery book, “Cre-Fydd’s Family Fare,” quite a catch for our Mugh *chef*; but

⁹ P.S.—“Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground:
Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive, and successive rise.”

to whom how interpret its marvels? He will be aghast at its perplexities, and require additional *tots* by which to comprehend them—a predilection with him, for he is drunk downright whenever we have a party at dinner!

29th September, Sunday.—Bishop Millman has left. We miss him at church, and fain would still have been listening to him to-day. But we all hope our own incomparable and genial Minister may himself also yet be a Bishop! ^{Bishop Millman. Rev J. Baly.} ¹

An “Hotel” (save the mark!) has lately been established by one “Guffoor Mahomed,” bearing his name, at *Burra Simlah*, the higher part of the Station Hill being so called in contradistinction to *Chôta Simlah* situate on the lower incline of the range; to which some friends, arrived from Jubbulpore, have gone; whom I went to see and to welcome to-day. They described the heat to be very great in the plains. ^{An Hotel at Simlah.}

30th September.—In re-examining the cases of poisoning in Bengal towards the latter end of last year, I note one about which I am disposed to be suspicious whether the man *Bábun*, represented to have been poisoned, may not be identical with the fellow *Báboo Khan*, who, in complicity with the poisoner *Uzgur Alli*, pretended to have been drugged in a case in the same direction at about the same period.² In the case adverted to, of occurrence at Seetamárhee in Tirhoot, the village ^{A Question of Identity.}

¹ P.S.—Excellent Mr. Baly was not long subsequently inducted an Archdeacon; why not still yet to a See?

² Note.—To be found mentioned at page 39, vol. i.

headman brought a man to the police station, in whose possession some *goor* (coarse sugar) with some *datura* seed in it was found, and charged him with poisoning one Bábun and attempting to abscond with his money; and the accused was convicted too, and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for three years.

Amateur
Perform-
ance.

To some tableaux at evening, and a play called the "School for Coquettes" acted by amateurs before a numerous audience at the residence, by invitation, of the promoters, Major and Mrs. Innes, of profuse hospitality and both clever performers.

Major
Gleig on
his
leaving
Simlah.

Poor Major Gleig writes to me on leaving Simlah: "I want very much to leave you some slight proof of my gratitude for the trouble you have taken in working up my appeal; any success that may arise from it will be due to you and the excellent way you put it together, and I hope you will not refuse such a trifling token of remembrance." It is a very useful little present, a small letter-weighing machine; and I am sure I accept it with pleasure.

Threshing
Floor
Robbery.

1st October.—I have before noticed that some robbers are in the habit in harvest time, of plundering grain in the corn-fields, whether ripe for the sickle, or heaped on threshing-floors in field enclosures, prior to being winnowed and gathered. A bad case of that sort has been reported from the Central Provinces. Two men were in a field, to watch the crops. At midnight they were suddenly assailed, and one of them who resisted was killed. The other man ran away into the village and

raised the alarm. He has declared he recognized one of the perpetrators. We seldom act upon such recognitions in robberies at night time. In this instance too, it must have been pitch dark at midnight, the moon being only two days from its last quarter.*

Hugh feeling much better, we took him this Personal. evening to see "The Soldier's Legacy," performed this time at the Assembly Rooms, the entertainment having been got up for the benefit of *Signor Zelman*, an Italian pianist, in great request here among the ladies. He had played on the recent occasion at Strawberry Hill. A storm, with crashing thunder and much lightning and cold rain, caused an empty house.

2nd October.—To-day was a great occasion, and was, from the unusual event it would chronicle, regarded, reasonably enough, by our native establishments, as one upon which to be excused from attendance at office; for it was of the installation Installation of a Punjab Chieftain to the Order of the Star of India. by the Viceroy, as Grand Master of the Order, of the Sikh Rajah, *Jodbheer Sing of Nádóne*, a potentate of the Punjab, as a Knight Commander of the Star of India. All belonging to the Order included in the Chapter held for the purpose of bestowing the distinction, attended in full robes, looking very druidical, except where uniform and decorations glittered through the vestment; nor were any of

* P.S.—Eleven persons were arrested by the local police in this case, acting upon the information of the field-keeper, of whom four, who were *Gónds*, were sentenced to ten years' transportation, the rest being released. The slain man was the owner of the corn-field.

them so *pardes* as the Knight of the occasion himself was. Sir John addressed him very pleasantly, and the Rajah was much touched by the ceremony.

Misinter-
preted
Telegram.

Sir William Mansfield came up to me saying that, according to the newspaper version of the telegram from home announcing the recent admissions to the Order, he thought I was included among them and had to congratulate me.—Henry Riddell, one of the elected “Companions,” having, in the message received, been converted into two names, *Hervey* and *Riddell*!—A long conversation with Sir George Yule about the increase of dacoitie in Madras territory, adjoining the Nizam’s domains, where he was but now British Resident.

Sir
George
Yule on
Dacoitie
in Madras.

Bengal
Army
supplies
“details”
for Aby-
sinia.

3rd October.—The rejoiced though hardly satisfied *Qui Hies*, are allowed say I, they have demanded boast they, to send the complete number of officers allotted for the Staff of a Brigade, in consideration of the “details” supplied from the Bengal Army for the expedition to Abyssinia.—At night attended the last ball of the season at Peterhoff.

Seldom
Reports
of
Dacoitie
from
Native
States.

4th October.—We learn more of dacoities through our own people, and which, on local references, we succeed too, in getting authenticated, than we ever receive reports of from the Native States—and of these some occasionally are even of occurrence in British districts. In the latter instances the information, when vouchsafed, is *noblesse oblige*.

Personal.

Buy up at an auction a quantity of small new meerschaum pipes in neat cases, always acceptable presents to friends in my travels in the plains.

5th October.—Tirhoot⁴ again ! At midnight of 27th September, the inmates of a house at *Kunhára*, were roused by the shouts of a gang of variously-armed dacoits—eighty in number declare they, but never so many!—who knocked about the rooms, dug up the floor, beat the dwellers and carried away a lot of things (*vide* p. 127.)

Dine at the Club. Stewart has (as I expected,) been gazetted to the brigade command of the Bengal troops told off for Abyssinia, with a staff and an aide-de-camp, *Victoria Cross Roberts*, by his many friends called *Bob*,⁵ being his Assistant Quartermaster-General (*vide* pp. 269, 270, 273, 334.) The appointed Commander, for a dashing feat during the Mutiny, received a step in rank, and has had quick promotion ever since in consequence of it. It is thought, from the composition of the details told off from Bengal, it was somewhat strained to consider them to constitute a “Brigade,” as ordinarily composed; but *numerically* they do so—hence the acclamation, despite the unfriendly idea on the part of some, that the arrangement will not meet with sanction from home.

Dacoits
in
Tirhoot.

Staff of
the
Bengal
Column
for
Abyssinia.

Brigadier
Donald
Stewart.

⁴ P.S.—Readers of Sir William Jones’s impressions, narrated in the *Asiatic Researches*, will call to mind that on the authority of an aged Brahmin, *Tirhoot* was the residence of a colony of Egyptian priests, driven away by Cambyzes from the Nile, and from old time the seat of Hindoo learning, of greater antiquity than appertained to Benares similarly so renowned; that it was celebrated for its water and climate, and abounded with extensive orange groves which stretched some fifty miles away, qualities which contributed to class it as the Athens of Hindostan. It is chiefly occupied now by the establishments of indigo planters.

⁵ 1891.—The present General Sir Frederick Roberts, V.C. G.C.B., K.C.I.E., Commander-in-Chief in India.

A Present from the Prime Minister of Ulwar. 6th October, Sunday.—To church. My native friend, *Roop Náráyun*, the Prime Minister of Ulwar, sends me, with a note in English, “2 needle work handkerchiefs as a sample for your honor’s perusal” (*sic.*)

Doorgah Poojah Holidays. 7th October.—The great *Doorgah Poojah* holidays are now on and will last till next Friday, till when all offices will be closed of which the establishments are native. My own excellent head clerk and his son, being Brahmins of the strictest sect, they and the other Hindoo members of my office are *religiously* absent of course. Mahomedans follow suit from expectancy of the same indulgence; and so do Eurasian clerks, who, from living so much in the presence of such national observances, are too much imbued by them not to be infected by a like desire. So all round, there you are! (*vide* p. 338.)

Kishen Sing.

Referring to the doubt as to the death of the man *Kishen Sing*, the rescuer of Ward’s prisoners at Jalnah (p. 348,) Blair replies from Aboo: “I feel sure the prisoner who died here last June was identical with Kishen Sing. I am informed he attempted to commit suicide with a piece of glass. He also feigned madness. I think you may rest satisfied I am right in this matter”; and again, “The file in the case will, I am sure, satisfy you that there is no doubt but that the prisoner who died at Aboo, is identical with Kishen Sing.” While Ward from Jalnah, in reply to my request (p. 348,) supplies me with the statement of *Jowahirra Durzee*, one of the rescued four. It not only asserts that it was planned by *Kishen Sing*’s brother

Hurree Sing (one of the four rescued ones,) in conjunction with the powerful *Thakoor* of *Tow-seena*, under whose protection the two bold brothers, themselves "men of substance," resided, to effect *Kishen Sing's* liberation, "even if it should cost them 20,000 rupees to do so," failing which to be determined *forcibly to rescue him* come what might, and that they had appointed twenty confederates for that purpose with orders to lie in wait near about *Ajmere*, and fall upon the escort in charge of him as it passed by that way to *Aboo*, *Hurree Sing* himself lurking the while at *Bussai* close by, under a pretence of celebrating his sister's marriage there, "not caring who or how many should be killed in the attempt"; but the statement went on to say (I here translate it :) "I had not heard that *Kishen Sing* was dead. I have only done so since I have been brought down here a prisoner, but I do not believe it. I was some time at large after our rescue, and it was never rumoured among us that he had died. I doubt it, for I have now been in custody for two and a half months only, and while I remained in the *Deccan* unarrested, I used daily to receive accounts from our country, and am quite sure if he had died I should have heard of it. For instance, I know *Mulla Ját* is dead and *Héma Málee* also (both accomplices, previously mentioned,⁶) and I should have equally heard of

⁶ P.S.—*Vide* pp. 187 to 190, 195 to 203, vol. i., and 275 to 279, and footnote 276, vol. ii. These two men, *Mulla Ját* and *Héma Málee*, were, it will be seen, of the four, *Jowáhirra Durzee* being one of the number, sentenced to decapitation, or *kuttul buh zurb-i-umshir* as that award was termed in the language of the

Kishen's death. Even after we were joined by *Doonga*" (a fellow dacoit) "and told by him of Hurree Sing's intention to rescue Kishen, several fresh arrivals from our country came to our *dêra* or tryst, and they would certainly have mentioned such an event if it had really occurred. Once, on a former occasion it was spread about that Kishen Sing had died, but it was not true. He had been arrested somewhere in Nirmull, in the Nizam's country, on a charge of murder" (memo., of the husband of the Messalina *Mûna*, *vide* p. 430, vol. i.) "His brother Hurree Sing had not then been captured, and he persuaded the Naib of the District, by a bribe of 2500 rupees, to be party to the following device :—Kishen Sing was to pretend to be ill, and the corpse of a deceased Dhêr was to be ceremoniously cremated, as though Kishen Sing had died and that it was his body that was burnt; and as if further to confirm the event, Kishen Sing's mare, gun, and sword, were even sent to the Nizam's authorities at Hyderabad. But two or three years later on, behold ! Kishen Sing was again taken into custody" (memo., by Captain Davies, our assistant in Berar, *vide* p. 94,) "whereby he divulged the deceit, for he had indeed, once before practised the same ruse. The Naib was arrested upon this, but was restored after a few days. It is difficult to Court of Trial; of whom the three named (but not the fourth man, *Abbâs Khan*, who was a Rohilla,) were suffered to escape. The Rohilla got away subsequently. The deaths of Mulla Jât and Hêma Malee were ascertained to have really taken place at the period deposed to by Jowâhirra Durzee in the text. More about the *feigned* death of Kishen Sing will be found further on in the Journal (*vide* footnote p. 366.

escape from a British jail, but it would be nothing wonderful for Kishen Sing or his brother to do so, for both are very clever men. They have, too, all the capacity, the deception, as well as the *money*, necessary for such a feat."

Question : "It is reported he died of asthma. This is not an illness that can be taken suddenly. Did you ever hear of his being afflicted with it?"

Answer : "He never had asthma ; for he and I have been together in the Deccan for twelve years. He never lost breath in walking, and he never had that disease. When I lately saw him too, at Boorhanpore, he was quite well and in health."

This *Kishen Sing* is a great *desperado*, and it is ^{Kishen Sing a Desperado.} important to follow out correctly whether this story of his feigning death, this case of *interred yet not buried*, is true or not. I think I mentioned in the account of the *Oomurgah* mail cart robbery, in connection with which he was declared to have murdered the husband of the woman *Muna* (p. 429, vol. i.,) that he was in the habit of assuming the disguise of a native officer of the Nizam's Cavalry or Moghullai Horse, and in that robbery wore the uniform of that service : also his murderous attack, joined by another, upon two Infantry Sepoys proceeding on furlough, how manfully they fought him, one being slain and himself wounded (p. 166, vol. i.,) and other outrages. His acts of plunder were generally attended with bloodshed, and were of a desperate nature, another instance of the many on record against him, being an attack upon a

His
 fierce
 Attack on
 a Treasure
 Convoy
 near
 Kundee.

treasure convoy near a place called *Kundee* in Nizam's territory, on the high road from Sholapore to Hyderabad. It followed close upon that at Oomurgah just mentioned. The remittance under conveyance (upon a wagon of a transit agency,) consisted of 30,000 rupees in cash, besides some boxes of bullion. The robbers fell upon the escort at night, and succeeded in obtaining a booty of 27,000 rupees and two of the bullion boxes besides. The men in charge of the treasure were two Arab mercenaries, associated with five other persons. They fought hard with the plunderers, one Arab being killed, the other severely wounded, three of the others being also wounded and a servant of the Transit Agency. Nor did the dacoits escape wholly untouched, for three of their number carried away lasting recollections of the keenness of the blades of the brave Arab defenders. Upon a camel which the plunderers had brought with them, they laded their prize and made off, throwing away the emptied money boxes in the open near a village named *Chey-ráll*, where they were found. I learnt of this affair when travelling about in Berar (*vide* p. 197, vol. i., and 166, vol. ii.,) from the man *Choutmull*, so often before mentioned in connection with *Jeewun Sing* of the Nagpore Police (*vide* pp. 190-91, vol. i., and 22, 32, 73, 75, vol. ii.,) and it was confirmed by the details of it supplied to me from Hyderabad. I confess myself, however, to be perplexed—what to think of the present matter : whether to believe that *Kishen Sing*, so consummately artful as we know he was (*vide* pp. 429 to 434, vol. i.,) is really dead ;

About his
 reported
 Death.

got someone to die and be buried for him, corpse or alive; or whether there was neither death nor burial, nor even cremation (his proper obsequies,) but only a well-concerted escape, cleverly hidden from all knowledge where knowledge should have been! The man had, or pretended to have, a hacking cough for long, and to be very, very ill—he has, too, been positively declared to have died (*vide* pp. 93 and 362,)—and Jowahirra may have invented the story of a shammed death. Yet there is the information received from two opposite and far apart directions—from Major Davidson from Beeawur of Ajmere (*vide* p. 348,) and from Ward the other way from Jalnah (*vide* p. 362,) that death was pretended—the fellow alive and at large!

¹ P.S.—From further subsequent inquiries I learnt that on his Kishen death being locally reported (*vide* p. 93, vol. ii.,) leave had been Sing sought to *bury him*, not to burn him, as would have been the *redivivus*. course, the “deceased” having been a Hindoo; and that *buried he was*, some corpse carriers being engaged for the purpose; and as I could get no information of the *spot* of the declared interment, I was exercised in conjecturing the cause of this departure from the usual course, and in connecting it with what had been said of a deception having been passed off upon us (*vide* p. 348, 363;) and I was still labouring in the perplexity, and had even officially reported the supposed “dead” man’s exploits as a dacoit by way of an *obituary*, when I received the following communication from Major Ward, addressed to him by Captain Gunthorpe, the Superintendent of Police for the District of Akola in Berar: “I was looking over Colonel Hervey’s Report to the end of 1868, and happened to read in it about the great dacoit, *Kishen Singh*, how he escaped once by pretending to be dead, how he was re-arrested, and how he died at Mount Aboo, and the doubts thrown on his last death. I happened to be talking to a Marwáree of Shekawátie, and asked him casually where Kishen Singh, the famous dacoit, was at present? To my surprise he said, “He is alive still and is living in Marwár, in the village of Bhonwád.” He continued: “He

Major
Gleig at
Calcutta. 8th October.—Major Gleig writes from Calcutta, where he is about to embark with his wife and

tried to make the Sirkár believe he had died a second time at Mount Aboo. He was buried, but was dug up. It was thus Kishen Singh was pronounced dead by the jail people, to some of whom he gave something. In his secret was an old and faithful follower, who had taken the garb of a Gosáén, and he put up in a small hut opposite to the jail. Kishen Singh's body was borne out by four or five low-caste men, who were told not to burn but to bury it. These men were in the secret. The body was put in a grave, face downwards, and over it a large quantity of Bábul thorns and bushes, and just at the top earth was thrown, and dodged up, looking all right at the top outside. In the dark the faithful 'Gosáén,' who had been watching all, came and dug up 'the dead' Kishen Singh! Both then disappeared."

Here then was confirmation at last, of this consummate adventurer—this case of *nefunera funera*! The pretended Gosáén who at night released his master from his living tomb, was his faithful confederate and servant, like him who assisted his imprisoned brother, *Hurree Sing*, with instruments with which he cut through his fetters on the occasion of his rescue (*vide* p. 283.) He had for some little time established himself in a small "muth," as the abiding-place or tenement of an ascetic is termed, close by Captain Blair's *lock-up*, and was permitted to minister to the supposed sick prisoner when brought out of a morning; and I was informed by medical men that the device adopted of lying face downwards, with loose earth and brambles and bushes piled up alternatively over a person immured below all, would suffice to admit of his breathing, if not deposited too low in the ground, and if released in reasonable time. I subsequently had occasion to report the circumstance to Government in connection with a case in some sort similar, of another prisoner a time in our custody, and I here quote it also, as illustrative of the difficulties we are from time to time involved in: "In this case the prisoner was declared by the medical officer to be in a bad state of health. He had been some time in custody, and as an exceptional case I would beg particular attention to the details of it. There could be no doubt of the importance of that arrest. The dacoities in which the prisoner (*Mehtáb Mooltánee*, General Number 6036,) had been denounced by approvers, were numerous, and in one of them as many as *nine persons* lost their lives at the hands of the robbers. Of the seven men of the same tribe seized along with him, the arrest having been effected in distant Guzerat, six, all general number men, were tried and heavily sentenced, but

child for England, that he had heard from the Adjutant-General (Colonel Longden,) of a disposition to form a favourable view of his case, as

circumstances combined to prevent the same earlier disposal of this man's particular case. After the report of the medical officer on the state of his health, and my order thereon for his release, the Assistant General Superintendent in charge of the case, hesitated to carry that order out, his impression being, it should seem, that the man *was not actually ill*; and when I repeated the order for his release, that officer *had even committed him for trial*, selecting for his charge the case in which nine persons were slain! The fact that the prisoner was an unusually long time in custody, and that the medical officer reported unfavourably on his state of health, will naturally lead to a rejection of any proposition *that he feigned illness*. Nor would I convey that such was my own impression. For my fear was that he had sickened, and I had thereupon directed his release, and that he should be handed over to his friends if he were not under medical treatment. I must, nevertheless, submit that such are some of the difficulties we have to contend with in dealing with these extraordinary people, their devices being calculated to deceive anyone. I enclose a remarkable instance of an occasion of the kind. It refers to a notorious dacoit, regarding whose *death* I had submitted my doubts in one of my reports to Government, although his decease had been certified by the Assistant General Superintendent who had held him in custody, the man being now, it would appear, as certainly alive and at large!" (Memo: The case here last referred to was that of Kishen Sing described in the text.)

The action of the special Thuggee and Dacoitie Department.

We had no occasion vainly to invoke *Melpomene* or chaunt *Nenia* a second time in either moribund case—for both men (Mehtáb Mooltání and Kishen Sing,) came inexorably to grief in the end, an example of the general correctness of the assertion that has sometimes slightly, though not inaptly in the present connection, been levelled at our operations, to the effect that when criminals once came within the ken, or "clutches" (said despairingly,) of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, they seldom escaped—"Abandon hope, all ye who enter here"—a charge I might regard as rather complimentary than otherwise, for it showed that we always held the right people there, unless the Judges who finally tried them, were to be included in the detraction! Of the dacoits sent up by myself for trial, referred to at a former date of of this Journal (3rd September, *vide* p. 298,) *four hundred*

the result of his memorial, and that believing that he will be righted as to *pension*, although not *restored*, of which he had little hope, he was going straight off home. He may well say, "So far, so good."

Details of
the Cases
of Dacoitie
in British
Districts
in the
past three
years.

Although attendance at office is still excused, I was unable to allow myself the same remission. In working out to-day from the numerous district returns of the nine British Administrations, the summing up of the number of dacoitie cases of occurrence throughout them during the past three years, in preparation for the clerks on their coming back to work, I find they total up to 6541 cases; persons killed by the robbers, 228;

in all, only *sixteen* were acquitted, to speak of that occasion only; * and of 241 Thugs and Dacoits (approvers 183, prisoners, 58,) who broke away from jails in the great Mutiny, or were set free by rebels or escaped, no more than *ten* approvers and *twenty-two* prisoners remained not re-arrested by us in my time, and these probably had deceased; and *not a single man* of the several who subsequent to the Mutiny from time to time escaped from our own custody in different parts of the country, whether prisoner or approver, but who was sooner or later traced, and eventually recaptured. The country formed one wide prison for them all. The story before quoted (footnote p. 189, vol. ii.,) of the Thug who escaped from the Mauritius after a life-long captivity in transportation there, and was tracked to his native village in the heart of Hindostan, by our sleuth-hounds, is an apt illustration of the *not declined* imputation.

* The figures were :

Sent up for trial	400
Acquitted	16
Deceased before trial	2
	— 18

Sentenced 382

301 of whom were to transportation for life.

wounded, 1317; value of the property plundered, rupees 21,32,706 4 0; recovered, rupees 198,035 2 11; supposed number of persons concerned, 66,117 (of whom, of course, a large proportion are twice and thrice told and sometimes oftener;) arrested, 30,528; convicted, 10,195; released, 19,877; died, 327; escaped, 121—the “killed” and “wounded” being exclusive of such in *Madras*, the returns received for that Presidency not exhibiting any casualties in those regards, not that none occurred there (*vide* p. 298.) The cases comprehend every “dacoitie” *technically* so denominated, and they include therefore all professional cases also (*vide* p. 89, and footnote p. 90,) and upon these details and the several statements and tables appertaining to them, I will now go up to Government with my final report, and make as much a narrative out of them all as I am able. The information refers to *local* police action in British territory only, under the ordinary laws and ordinary mode of procedure, and is distinct from what happened in the same period and from our own special operations in Native States.

9th October.—Major Goad, the great Simlah house-owner, who figured so well in the Simlah Mutiny scare (*vide* p. 229,) and Mr. Jones, the excellent local Superintendent of Police, were of those at dinner with us last night. The Hindoo high days being still on, and my office closed, I keep holiday of a sort to-day, a kind of half-and-half leisure. Employ the “half-hour” in skimming through the latest magazines and the *Times*. At

Leisure
and its
Incidents.

night we dined with our neighbours, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, where I meet in *Mr. Fane*, of the Bengal Civil Service, the friend and host who, on my way on *tour* down country, a while back, welcomed me on arrival at Mirzapore, of which difficult district he was the Collector and Magistrate. It was a very hot and scorching day, and I was glad on that occasion to alight at his bungalow from a long all-night journey, and be refreshed with some tea and a bath, and an hour's delightful sleep under a *punkah*, until his return at noon, from kutcherry or office, to *burra-házirree* as a late breakfast is called, plentifully served.

Simlah at the Ending of the Season. 10th October.—Simlah thinning—the usual flight from it of the season's swallows—and the weather becoming very cold. We go out visiting. Approaching marriages, the result of the season, everywhere the topic of the day. Among them that of the Viceroy's daughter with Captain Randall, one of His Excellency's aides-de-camp.

Office re-opened. 11th October. — Office re-opened—giants refreshed—hard work resumed. Sir John was heard to say in praise of work—his own predilection that way—that “he could hug” Colonel —, one of his fellow labourers, for being himself so fond of it.

12th October.—I find rapid walking at evening round the Jako mountain road, however late, makes up for being busy from an early hour without exercise, and such has of late been my practice.

We have information (not very clear as yet,) of

a case of the poisoning of four travellers near Loodiana (Punjab.) *Postscript Memo.* This case was at a subsequent date confirmed, as the deed, on the 10th October, of a noted poisoner named *Shurrufodeen* (mentioned at page 67, vol. i.,) at the village of Ulwur in Kônah of Loodiana. The four wayfarers were drugged by two persons disguised as travellers, with *datura* administered in food and liquor, who robbed them on their becoming insensible, of the money upon their persons, some forty-seven rupees, and then left them to recover or not. They, however, recovered.⁸

* P.S.—As this remarkable criminal, *Shurrufodeen*, afterwards became very notorious as a successful poisoner, and baffled pursuit, I here quote the information I left of him on quitting office (*vide* p. 67, vol. i.,) as revealed by a woman named *Zookoorun*, with whom he had lived, and through whom some property he had robbed was discovered. It is quite a tale. She described herself as a *Rajpootni* residing in Behár, and that when quite young, she was married to a man of her own caste named *Láljee*, living at Bhaugulpore: “They together went to Lucknow, and resided there for ten or twelve years, her husband in the capacity of a household Sepoy. On the suppression of the Mutiny they removed to Báns-Bareilly in Rohilkund, where the man continued to serve as a private Sepoy for a further period of three or four years. He then gave up that employment, and, becoming implicated in some case of theft, he was sent to prison for a year. Both he and his wife had become Mahomedans; the woman thereupon took the name of *Zookoorun*, and her husband that of *Báboo Khan*. The man *Shurrufodeen* happened to be also a prisoner in the same jail, and a friendship sprang up between him and her husband. On their liberation *Shurrufodeen* was adopted by her husband as his son, and they all lived together. What the two men then did together, was declared by the woman, to be unknown to her; but her husband again got imprisoned about five years back at Meerut, whereupon the woman went and resided at Allyghur, and, on the persuasion of *Shurrufodeen*, she went with him a year subsequently to Agra for two or three

Four
Travellers
Poisoned
near
Loodiana.

Shurrufodeen,
the great
Poisoner.

Dined at the Club—attendance small—only a couple of tables, owing to most of the members

months. They then together came to Umbálah, and resided there for three months at the shop of a native butcher or *kussáb*. The two then went to Jullundhur (while yet her husband was in prison), where they stayed for three or four months more, that is, two months at the *serai* or public inn, and for a month at the place of one *Sheik Suffoollah*. Her two now grown-up daughters were with her. After this Shurrufodeen took them to his own house at Kántha in Hoshiarpore, with the usual results. The mother for this fell out with him, and thereupon informed the police that he was in the habit of 'killing people by giving them *datura* and other drugs, and appropriating what was upon their persons,' and that on one such occasion when she and Shurrufodeen had come to Jullundhur, he went up to Lahore, by whom accompanied she did not know, and returned eight days subsequently with a sum of 230 rupees, and told his nephew, *Peeroo*, that he had acquired that money by drugging a traveller somewhere between Umritsir and Lahore. She had also learnt from *Peeroo* that Shurrufodeen had on two previous occasions, poisoned people near Meerut, and again, 'now only about fifteen days since, another man at a place eight *kós* beyond Delhi. The victim on this latter occasion, was a *Ját*, and the things obtained from him were sixteen yards of the stuff from which *théngas* are made (an article of apparel worn by women,) seven yards of 'márkeen,' and a skull cap. The *Ját* died. The persons in the habit of accompanying Shurrufodeen on these expeditions, were *Kirpa* and *Fucqueera*, both "Dheemurs," or persons of the fishermen caste, and his nephew *Peeroo* aforesaid. Some *datura* seed powder, found in her bundle, she had got from *Rewkee*, the mother of Shurrufodeen, to whom he had entrusted it, and, on her accompanying him to some marriage ceremony, she (*Rewkee*) had handed it over to her eldest son, and she (*Zoooorun*) 'had taken it away from the latter unknown to him, and had passed it over to one *Hakim Khán*, the elder brother of the *lumberdár*, or village headman—except that one *Kurreem Buz* had that very day appropriated some of it.'"

Seventeen cases of poisoning were elicited against Shurrufodeen (insomuch as had then yet been ascertained;) the persons drugged in these cases numbered thirty-seven, of whom fourteen persons died from the effects thereof. It further transpired that in two of those cases some persons, other than the culprits, were convicted, of whom one man, sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in one of them, was released by order of the Judges of the High

having gone "down the Hill" to be in time for the beginning of the drill season. One of the diners became suddenly insensible. An Irishman, with a wink, suggested to give him some more "champagne." He knew more about it than myself, for I put the man to bed, and sat *shampooing* his exceedingly cold head and limbs till the summoned doctor came, and pronounced the "patient" to be very—too well supplied in that way already!

13th October, Sunday.—To church; a very small congregation, so many of the season's residents having left.

14th October.—The routine of to-day was—up very early; office work, four hours; bath and breakfast, one hour; at my desk again till 5.15; a rapid walk round *Jako*, the whole round, and back home by the Chôta-Simlah way, one hour and a half; then dinner, and to bed yawning.

Was engaged in making out my report to Government about the *Sunnôreah* day thieves,

Court, but that the sentence of transportation for life awarded in the other case, seemed to have been carried out. Shurrufodeen belonged to the *Kussâb* or butcher caste, and was commonly spoken of as the "Butcher of Hooshiarpore." A reward of 500 rupees was offered for his arrest. This was doubled on the occurrence of another atrocious act of poisoning very generally attributed to him, which took place on the *Prow* or encamping ground at *Rae* near Delhi. Curiously enough the individual "Bâboo Khan," mentioned above by the woman Zuhoorun as her husband, and the accomplice of Shurrufodeen, was believed to be identical not only with *Bâbun* in the case in Tirhoot lately mentioned, but also with *Bâbun*, alias *Bâboo Khan*, the associate of the executed criminal Uzgur Alli, as, indeed, previously supposed by me, *vide* p. 357, vol ii., and p. 89, vol. i. (Memo: *vide* my letter to Government, No. 120 of 1872.)

Simlah
empty.
At the
Club.

Routine
of a Day.

About
Sunnô-
reahs.

The con-
jectured
identity
of Bâboo
Khan
alias
Bâbun.

necessitated by the lately declared "*first discovery*" of them down in Nagpore (*vide* p. 262,) their habits and every information of them, having, as I have said, been already frequently brought under notice by the Thuggee Department. I find that Sleeman, in reporting of them many years back, and of the insufficiency of the existing laws for effectual proceedings against them (not in any degree ameliorated under the late new Penal Code,) stated that they were not arrested in one season out of ten that they were out on their expeditions, and that the chances always were more than ten to one against their ultimate conviction when taken into custody, or any greater punishment being awarded them than a merely nominal one—perfect impunity, in short, so far as our own courts were concerned. Further, that *Mr. Pollock*, a magistrate in the North-Western Provinces, submitted a report of them to that Government in 1856, and proposed that a register of those residing in British limits should be kept. *Captain Dennehy*, the present efficient Deputy Inspector-General of Police, within whose police jurisdiction Sunnôreahs much reside (in the *Lullutpore* district bordering on Tehree of Bendlekund, their chief home,) had also submitted a full report regarding them. Moreover, a gang of them was intercepted by the local police at Kaira in Guzerat last year. They swarm in Bendlekund, and abound also in *Bánpore*, situated therein but now included in British limits. Referring to their habit of paying a tax to certain native chiefs, the *Guicowár* being

prominently one of the number, for protection and permission to reside unmolested within their limits, a very common way under native rule generally, Sleeman said that even if the Guicowár, or the chiefs of *Duttea*, *Orcha*, *Chundéree*, and *Tehree*, in Bendlekund, where Sunnôreahs mostly congregate (or, as I would add, the Thakoors also of the places in Serohi and other parts of Rajpootanah where they also have habitation,) withdrew their protection, and should forego the tax, as they are always ready to declare they have done, their landed and official aristocracy would continue the one and demand the other, under the persuasion, Sleeman added, that if so remunerating a people were expelled their territory, they would readily find other rulers and their aristocracies to asylum them on like terms, and that their expulsion, while it only removed the *locale* of the evil, would not diminish it. So notorious for dexterity in appropriating what belonged to others, while beguiling these by an assumed air and appearance of simplicity, I have thought the Sunnôreahs might, in some sort, be compared to the ancient *Phœnicians*, so remarkable as traders under affectation of fair dealing. The latter, however, like the self-scattered and broadcast *Bunyas* and Marwáree *Sahoocárs* of India, by some supposed to be their descendants, propitiated the goddess of wealth (*Lukshmee*, of Hindoo mythology,) assigning at the same time honours to Mercury (*Boodha*,) as the deity of merchantmen, in irony whereof that divinity was also distinguished as *the god of all thieves*. Now

"Sahoo-cár" literally signifies an *honest dealer*, ascribed in hyperbole; and *Sunnóreas*, like all the robbing tribes in India, thugs and dacoits included, hold *Kalee*, called also *Dévee*, as their tutelary deity—their *Laverna*—as Mercury, with whom the legend says the latter was associated, was of all *pickpockets and rogues*.⁹

Proposed Special Law against Sunnóreahs and such like. ⁹ P.S.—In a further report on the subject the following year (1868,) I repeated a proposition long previously made by Sir William Sleeman, for a more stringent law as against these "incorrigible *Sunnóreahs*;" and next year (1869,) in referring thereto, I stated: "The arrest of some *Sunnóreah* Brahmins at Nagpore and at Kaira in Guzerat in 1867; of some *Dhumdjee Brahmins* (the same people) at Ahmedabad in 1866; and *Thug Bháts* (yet identically the same) at Serohi in 1868; the arrest of *Sunnóreahs*, from time to time, in the North-West Provinces; the capture of two gangs in *Jághiredár* villages in the neighbourhood of Belgaum in the Southern Mahratta country, in 1868; the very recent detection of another gang at Bombay (September, 1869;) and the reports which followed from the several local authorities, descriptive of their habits and system, all combine to confirm the previous experience, that till such practised thieves should be declared liable, on conviction on the *general charge* of habitual association, that is, "of belonging to professional gangs of robbers while engaged in robbery," to a sentence of *imprisonment for life*, or for such limited periods as to the Judge conducting the trial might seem proper, the community could never hope to be relieved from their depredations, the old law (Act XI. of 1848,) or its substitute, Section 401 of the new Indian Penal Code, not being sufficiently punitive to deter those particular classes of accustomed robbers, from reverting to the crime and steadily and continuously committing it in all parts of the continent of India in the manner they have continued to do from old time. From their homes in Bendlekund, Rajpootánah, and Guzerat, they sally in scattered parties to the remotest countries, eastward to Oudh, Benares, and Calcutta, northward to the Punjab and the Himalayas, westward to the Indus, and southward to the Southern Mahratta country and the Carnatic. . . . Gangs of this people go out regularly every year, and return with the accumulated *earnings* of the season—for so they call what they steal—amounting often to a considerable value. Through *mookhyas* or local agents in their secret, they are generally readily

15th October.—What are dreams? Only wrought ^{Dreams.} out of idle fancies during wakefulness; or from morbid sentimentality; or visions invoked by currents of thought; or the phantasms of rumination, as ordinarily accounted for? But here am I, who am troubled by no such imaginings—my excogitations being of troublous folk only—of “questionable shape,” certainly, but *in the flesh*. To be sure, when I have played intensely at chess, I over and over again have told myself in sleep of the moves I had failed to make in the game when awake, and that, I may suppose, has indeed proceeded from the over-strained mind; but in the present instance there was no such thing; for I dreamt last night of a relative, deceased last May at home, who told me of his long pre-deceased

able to convert their booties into ready money, but they often reserve some valuable article, as a watch, a string of pearls or corals, or a good ring or other ornament or curiosity, as a present to the chief or landholder under whose protection they live when at home.” To all this I added: “These details form the substance of the information which had been recorded of these people *more than twenty years ago*, and they will be found to accord in the minutest particular with everything that has lately been ‘discovered’ of them, the only change in their habits being what they were necessarily compelled to adopt by which to utilize the facilities further afforded to them by the introduction of *railways*. They have now resident confederates (‘Mookhyas’) in every principal town or city, and although the still dexterously carry out almost every robbery through well-trained boys, and keep up the same thorough acquaintance with the code of signals before required (*vide* p. 264,) they have now so systematized their operations by means of the railway, that they make the different railway lines, distances, and fares, their constant study and catechism; and this they have accomplished with so much precision and exactness, that they might be consulted on such points as safely as a *Bradshaw*; and, lastly, they will never commit a robbery after sunset.”

wife, a nearer relation, that she was lying a corpse upstairs, and had, as she died, said something fondly to him, methought, "to follow her by-and-by," and lo! to-day I receive a letter from one of their daughters—my cousin—telling me that on the morning of his death, he had told them of his dream that night, that he had met them all again! I can connect this, however—with—*nothing*—except vainly to conjecture how my own overnight illusion should have been followed this morning, with a letter from England on the same subject, or on a subject allied to it!

Report
upon the
Sunnórea,
and
as to a
law under
which to
suppress
them.

Sent off my *Sunnórea* Report to-day, and was glad to be relieved of it. It embodied much of what I have noted down of the artful rogues in this Journal, with an added recommendation that the existing law be amended, providing severer punishment, so as to admit of the "approver system" being applied against them, the short periods of imprisonment now only awardable, procuring small chance of any of those convicted being made, as in the Thuggee Department, potentially instrumental, as approvers, in the capture and conviction of their associates, with any substantial results in the matter of their repression, as that they would not depredate the less, and when their limited sentences expired, those convicted, approvers or not, would return to their lucrative trade with renewed fervour in proportion to the period of their compelled desistance from it.¹

¹ P.S.—It will be remembered that I said of these people (pp. 264 and 375,) that there was nothing too valueless that they

16th October.—On a proposal three years ago to transfer to the local administration our depôt of

would not steal, or however valuable which they would not dex- The
terously acquire, if among the articles in view where engaged in ineffec-
an act of adroit knavery—or for the matter of that, too heavy, if tual pro-
only *liftable*, which they will not remove, and offhand convey to ceedings
a long distance by their runners. But looked tenderly upon as against
petty thieves only—"mere pilferers," the tendency has been to Sunnó-
deal with them leniently. Of this an example was afforded in the reas in
case, to speak of it only, of the trial of the very men stated in the High
preceding footnote (p. 378,) to have been arrested at Bombay, and I Court of
will here quote it from a Report from me of a subsequent date to illus- Bombay,
the Government of India. It will be seen in it, that the "insignifi- illus-
cance" of the articles stolen, was the *point* pressed by the Counsel trated.
for the defence; also that these "petty pilferers" were yet able
to engage expensive English advocates (solicitors and a barrister,)
to defend them!—and further, that the Judge who tried the case
(a member of the High Court of Bombay,) paternally let the *poor*
fellows off: "As this Report was going through the Press, the
following illustration of the leniency and mildness with which
these incorrigible robbers have ever been treated, has very oppor-
tunately taken place. The Sunnóreas stated in the text to have
been recently arrested at Bombay, were tried in the High Court,
an English barrister being engaged to defend them. The Counsel,
on the ground that what they had been detected in stealing was
valueless, pointing to the property forming the subject of the
indictment, exclaimed, that the prisoners were 'pitchforked
before the jury on the charge of stealing a *heap of trumpery*
filth of the value of 20 rupees, and it was on an inquiry of that
kind, that the jury had been detained from ten o'clock that
morning until five in the evening!' The jury was, very properly,
reminded by the Judge, that the mere value of the goods was
not an ingredient in enabling them to arrive at their verdict.
They acquitted a Marwáree who was the receiver of the things
plundered, and probably was the 'Mookya' or the local confi-
dential agent of the gang, and found the Sunnórea prisoners
guilty of belonging to a gang of wandering persons associated for
the purpose of habitually committing theft (Act XI. of 1848, and
Section 401 of the Indian Penal Code;) but they accompanied their
verdict with a strong recommendation to mercy, *on account* of the
prisoners *belonging to a strange district, and not knowing the*
English laws, and of the long imprisonment they had already
undergone, '*a more protracted incarceration*,' sentimentally advo-
cated their Counsel, '*than was sometimes awarded in England to a*

The Thug and Dacoit Depot and School of Industry. prisoners and approvers (all sentenced men under indulgences,) and our school of industry at Jubbulpore, in the Central Provinces, I resisted the

man for half killing his wife. The Judge, on the ground, he said, that the prisoners *merely followed the practice of their ancestors and did not consider it wrong to steal*, and bearing in mind that they were foreigners in Bombay, and had been in jail since September, sentenced them to hard labour for *one calendar month*! In recounting the robberies in which they had been detected, the Counsel for the prosecution had exactly described their system, it will be seen, without its mode of execution: 'The nature of the articles stolen is very varied; they are not particular as to what they appropriate. The first booty, it being monsoon time, was a lot of umbrellas; then a man's clothes who was bathing in the Bôleshwur tank. The man went to bathe and left his clothes on the bank, and when he came back his clothes were gone, together with a lot of Government Currency Notes which were in the pockets. They then stole the brass pots of a poor cooly who had just come to Bombay for labour; he laid his pots down for a minute, and when he turned round they were gone.'—'Now,' said the Judge in passing sentence, 'you must take warning that if ever you come to Bombay again, you must live properly, and not by pilfering from your neighbours . . . When you get out of jail at the end of the month, you had better go back to your country, because this conviction may be brought up against you in any part of India if you should fall into grief again.' (Taken from Col. Hervey's Report to the Government of India, No. 1160a, dated 30th November 1869, footnote p. 67.) The orders immediately passed by Government upon the arrests effected, as stated in the text, at Nagpore, were, that "no exertions should be spared to suppress this fraternity of born thieves, and to reclaim them from their thievish propensities—the largest period of imprisonment sanctioned by the law should be awarded them," and the Agent Governor-General for the Central India States, in whose political charge Sunnôreas mostly resided, was requested "to suggest any special measures for the repression of their crimes, if the provisions of the existing law were insufficient." (*Government letter in the Foreign Department*, No. 1277, 31st December, 1867.) The sentences passed on the Nagpore prisoners, ninety-three in number, twenty being boys, were imprisonment from six to two years, which in exiguous, unprofessional cases, might be enough, but not a sufficient example to deter *habitual* tribal robbers from reverting to crime on their release.

arrangement as long as I was able. I did so on the ground that those establishments formed an integral part of the Thuggee Department, itself a distinct administration working under the direct and sole order, of the Supreme Government, the school of industry our own creation, the small jail our own erection, and ourselves beholden to the several approvers and prisoners for much valuable assistance in our general operations throughout the country, who too, had been assured, as a part of the conditional pardon under which they had assented to help, and continued to help us, that they would always remain under the special care of the General Superintendent himself; also because I feared their transfer to strange custody would involve us in a breach of faith, and cause them a sore disappointment who had assisted us so much under that construction of our assurances. I opposed it, moreover, because I apprehended that they would not receive in other hands, the same consideration they were accustomed to from us, their ways not be so well understood, and be subjected by the innovation and through change of their overseers to new modes of treatment, which, however considerate in themselves, they would regard as harsh and unusual, whatever our own discipline over them may have been. The transfer was, nevertheless, eventually carried out, under the compromise however, that the depôt should still be under the dispensation, for all departmental purposes, of the General Superintendent, whose orders in those respects would be carried out by the

officer appointed to the charge of it, and that my assistant at Jubbulpore, Colonel Ranken, should continue to hold that charge, and the School of Industry be conducted by him as hitherto in all essentials. But, behold ! I now receive a proposal for the removal of the said prisoners into the Central Jail ! I have replied, strenuously opposing the measure, advancing as against the centralizing object of it, that it was nothing unusual to exercise intra-mural rule and authority within the limits of another State, adducing for my contention the example of accredited embassies located within the domains of foreign Powers, the distinct jurisdiction exercised within which was not claimed or interfered with by the local potentates ; moreover, that in our case, the practice had existed for the last thirty-five years untouched. The School of Industry has been a very thriving institution, covering not only its own expenses, but by its profits, even contributing, under the management of the above able officer, a considerable sum annually to the Government Exchequer, and presenting, as it always has done, an object of much interest to visitors, from being worked as it is, by the offspring of thugs and dacoits, whom it had been our endeavour to reclaim.

Claim to
the
Mutiny
Medal.

17th October.—Up very early, poring over records of 1857 and 1858, to enable me to give from them an account of the conduct of our approvers and nujjees during that eventful period—that is, of those of them who remained faithful, for there was a falling away at some places—for whom I am

asking for the Mutiny medal! I find I am able to make out a claim for those of our establishments who took part in the military operations in the neighbourhood of Jubbulpore. I myself was at that period in the Southern Mahratta country.

We have information of the death of the outlaw *Sungram Sing*, who had stalked the Jounpore district so long with impunity, killing and plundering and terrifying (*vide* p. 124,) and of the dispersion of his followers. He and one of his companions were killed in an encounter with the local police a few days ago, and some of his gang were arrested. Their depredations had been a standing disgrace to the district.

18th October.—Despatched my Report asking that our men be admitted to claims for the Mutiny medal. I have submitted that the strange spectacle of convicts *wearing war medals*, would not be the least of the anomalies of that extraordinary event, itself “a great anomaly”; and that those of our men who rendered admitted good service on that unparalleled occasion, were not any more heterogeneous in composition, than others whose services were recognized and were rewarded; and I have instanced among such recipients of the decoration, the scratch corp of *sweepers*, the lowest of people in the scale of caste, who were jumbled together and formed into a temporary military body at Cawnpore—of whom some I fear, had even taken part in the massacre of our countrymen then recently enacted there—a very good story of whom was, that a body of high-caste

Death of
Sungram
Sing and
Disper-
sion of his
Gang.

The
Mutiny
Medal
claimed
for certain
of the
Thuggee
Depart-
ment.

mutineers fled at the very sight of them, lest they should be polluted by their shadows perchance falling upon themselves! I have merely made a push for the held-out palm, without much expectation of concession barring faint acknowledgments; but nothing like a good scramble—for there is quite a run for the *cordon*, now there is to be a wider distribution of its bestowal. Our Nujjees, in their petition to me for the distinction, very appositely submitted that their services during the Mutiny, were, at least, as good as those rendered by the local police, to whom the decoration had been extended, “and what is strange,” added they, “the word *Nujjeeb* too” (their own peculiar denomination,) “is engraved upon their medals.” This is a strong point, and I shall get the coveted pendant for our Nujjees.³

19th October.—An account of the heavy treasure dacoitie at Mohunpoora near Jeypore, last November, has already been mentioned (pp. 17, 31, vol. i., and 121, 178, vol. ii.,) and also the result of the trial of some of the perpetrators in the Lower International Court, presided over by Major Beynon, Political Agent at Jeypore, but which had yet to be confirmed by the Higher Court (p. 232.) It is now communicated that the decision has been *reversed*, the return of the prisoners to the custody of the Ráj been directed, the Court of Trial reprimanded for declared irregularities, of procedure, of prolonged

Reversal
of the
Trial in
the great
Mohun-
poora
Dacoitie
Case.

³ P.S.—It was not considered suitable to extend the medal to *approvers*, and yet they were associated with those to whom it was accorded on the claimed occasion!

investigation, and for giving expression "to such harsh opinions respecting a personage of the Court, on insufficient evidence." That individual was, as I have said, the courtier *Futtehjee Rhatore*, a *gratissima persona* with the Maharajah. This result is not, however, to be surprised at, considering the man's influence, and the pressure put on to bring about the annulment of his conviction. The wonder is, that the wukeels sitting on the Lower Court, were bold enough, in such a case, to agree to passing sentence at all! Assessors Native
Assessors hold back
from
passing
Sentences representing Native Durbars, will join with us in giving a verdict, but abstain from consenting to pass sentences, or to sign any warrant for the execution thereof. The reason for this is, that international plunderers in Rajpootanah, and, it might be added, in other Native States, often belong, as in the present case, to a superior class, and are even sometimes related to the ruling princes. Of this I have given an instance in the case of the great shawl robbery at Nusseerabad, in which the principal leader was connected with the Ruler of Bikaner (*vide* p. 411, vol. i.) and thus escaped punishment. Criminal trials like that in this "Mohunpoora case," are exceptional, and are convened only for offences by thugs and dacoits, or by international plunderers; they are held with the concurrence of the Native Rulers, and the offenders are tried, under the direct authority of the Agent Governor-General, by British Political Agents, assisted by Native assessors, or by a "Punchayut" or conclave of wukeels or representatives, or of

specially deputed persons or delegates from the States of which the accused are subjects. Thus there is a powerful element in the constitution of such courts in favour of the accused, if they should be at all related to any of the Rulers forming the congeries of the several States, or be a magnate of rank, influence, and wealth enough to pay handsomely for *accommodation*. I will append hereafter, side by side of each other, the *finding* of the Lower Court of the first instance, and the *decision* reversing it (of which I have been informed but have not yet received,) of the Higher or Court of Appeal, by which to show the curious mode of argument remarkably adopted in Native Courts of Justice, when party spirit runs high, an offended Rajah has to be appeased, and the flagrancy of a sovereign's favourite to be shielded.'

20th October, Sunday.—Very few at church to-day, for very few visitors now remain on the hill.

The
Thibetan
Road-
ways.

21st October.—The weather is getting very cold, and Simlah looking like a turned-out pocket. Some have gone into the interior—whether to the Choor or the *Shálee* highlands, or to *Narkhána* on the Thibetan road. This road follows the windings of the mountain-sides, is very narrow, and often runs along long-legged galleries, propped from below at great depths, connecting difficult and precipitous mountain scarps, where foot-room by which to pass from one to another, could not be cut out of the sheer rock forming them. Such

³ P.S.—*Vide* Appendix D.

causeways are dangerous, and to look down from these creaking, shaky, and perilous constructions, into the awful abysses below them, is to court dizziness or vertigo. These excursions to the mountains beyond Simlah are, however, very exhilarating—the snowy ranges superbly facing the traveller, pine and other forest surrounding him, and deepest *khuds* threatening precipitation at every pace and turn. On one such visit at a very contracted part of the way where there was no turning or standing room even for dismounting, my shying hill-pony nearly threw both himself and me down one such very undesirable pitfall; and it was through one of these very causeways, that young Sir Alexander Lawrence (son of Sir Henry Lawrence,) fell with his pony three years ago, and himself and pony were killed. His dog had, however, crossed the gallery safely, and was found sitting on the opposite edge of the chasm *waiting for his master* (*vide* pp. 70, 71, vol. ii.)

22nd October.—Occupied in putting together the materials for my Report on the condition of Shekawatie.

To-day set a lot of workmen to pull down our old and dilapidated kitchen range and servants' rooms; but it will be necessary to scarp the hill-side under which our house is situated, to admit of the plan for the new range. The hill men are ^{III}very uncertain labourers, coming to their work one day and not the next, or unaccountably absenting themselves mid work—and so timorous, that a rough word sets them scampering:—as Jánpánees

they give ladies a deal of vexation, by their frequent absences when required for the usual evening sedan airing, or when wanted to convey their mistresses to ball or party, or a-visiting or other recreation; but they are strong to labour, though shunning much work or a continuance of it—and of fulsome odour, too! Nor do hill men like to be out after dark, through fear of seeing forest fairies, those little folk who they believe disport at night season in their jungle glades and mountain recesses, and resent curiosity (*vide* p. 85, vol. ii.)

Thug
Depôt at
Jubbul-
pore, and
Tent
Factory.

23rd October.—We had a visit to-day from Captain Vertue, suddenly come up from Jubbulpore, where he had sometime acted, in Ranken's absence, as Superintendent of our *Durree-khâna*, or tent and carpet factory, as the Thug and Dacoit School of Industry is commonly called; and I was glad to get from him the latest personal accounts of our establishment down there, and of the general behaviour of the numerous lot. Carefully watched and intelligence well kept up by frequent intercourse among them, we often acquire much useful information of the doings of their people abroad. He dined with us at evening.

24th October.—What with office work, house building, and long rapid walks round Jako, my usual exercise, time from uprising to going to bed, is fully occupied, and pleasantly. Was pleased to receive to-day, for my garden up here, a fresh batch of rose-plants from my own stock left at Jubbulpore (*vide* p. 250, vol. i.) I have a plot up here, filled entirely

with the Persian or "Bussorah Rose," both red and white, identical with the sort from the flowers of which the famous *uttar of roses* is produced. I visited, when at Bussorah, the manufactory where the essence was extracted, a place neither clean nor so inviting as one would be led to look for, where the air was whelmed with overpowering fragrance. Here, all we can make of the gathered rose-leaves, is *Pot-pourri*, of which we possess some still strongly scented although manufactured some years ago (*vide* Journal for 1857;) and from wild violets, now crowding in full bloom the hill slopes, a confection which the natives declare to be *mooffeed*, or wholesome.

The
Persian
Rose.

25th October.—A long visit at evening from our friends at the Park. They admired our grounds, and the oaks which abound in them, delicately veiled as their trunks and thicker branches still are, with parasitical ferns and orchids, though now some time drying off from cessation of the rainy season.

Ferns and
Orchids.

Office establishment in excitement, expectant of a recurring set of holidays.—Hugh had some of his young friends to dinner with us at evening.

26th October.—We hear of the plunder of some Bunyas in broad daylight, four or five days ago on the high road near *Burhya* of Goruckpore. They had reached a crossing within a jungle when they were desperately assailed by a band of robbers and plundered, one of their number killed, and the rest wounded. Goruckpore is the region of the

Highway
Robbery
with
Murder.

Budhucks and other bad characters, to whom the proximate Nipal Terae affords ready retreat.

Night
Dacoities.
Dismay of
the
Villagers.

Then two dacoities were committed in Khandeish a few nights ago: (1) at an early hour of the night the village was entered by a gang of about a dozen men with their faces bound up, a second party being posted outside of it; they straightway attacked the house of the wealthiest local resident, broke open the door of it with axes, and entering, dug up from below a window, some property which had been stowed away there; their coverers without fired off several matchlocks to deter interference, on the sound whereof the village was at once bodily deserted, the inhabitants escaping into the fields and surrounding hills, "leaving the entire village at the mercy of twelve men"—nor would they be persuaded to return till several hours after the robbers had fled—their disguise and appearance, together with the hour of the robbery, betokened they were *Khaikárees*, or possibly some *Khunjurs*:⁴—(2) On the following night another village, lying close under some hills, was entered just after dark, when the villagers were still without it, collecting their cattle; the dwelling of the single Bunya of the place, was then broken into with axes, and property to the value of over 1000 rupees dug out from three different places inside and carried off. In this case also the robbers had bound up their faces, and they wore short trousers

A
Repeated
Dacoities
after
Nightfall.

⁴ P.S.—Some of the stolen property in this case was traced to a receiver, and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but none of the robbers were discovered.

or *cheddies*, the bare part of their legs being daubed with streaks of red and yellow paint. They fired off several matchlock shots as they retreated to the neighbouring hills. The gang is supposed to be identical with the last. Some of the robbers were, in both cases, mounted upon ponies, and this leads to the supposition, considered with the early hour of both robberies and the statement that the robbers proceeded at once, in either case, to where they found their booty, that they were *Khunjurs*; but in other respects, and particularly in the matter of *cheddies* and paint, that they were *Khaikarees*. Both tribes have hunting grounds in Khandeish, a common field for many sorts of plunderers.

This, the first day of the Hindoo *Dewáli*, pro-
 perly *Deep-ali* or Feast of Lamps (from *deep*, a
 lamp,) the office establishment have leave, and
 Mahomedans as legitimately as the Hindoos, the
 period being at the same time that of the celebra-
 tion of *Shubrát*, their own Festival of Lamps. On
 the former occasion there is much rejoicing among
 Hindoos—worshipping of the cow, consecration of
 lamps, libations of oil, *pooja* or prayers to Lukshmi
 the goddess of wealth and the married wife of
 Vishnoo the creative power, and indeed a deal of
 gambling, too, as though to invoke her help in
 acquiring riches. Oil lights, placed in small
 earthen pans, are at night floated upon flowing
 waters if at hand, and every dwelling illuminated.
 The Simlah Bazaar flared with such lights, which
 still burned as at a late hour I again rode through
 it on returning from dinner at the Club.

The
 Dewáli
 Festival
 and
 Shubrát
 Holidays.

Empty
Church.

27th October, Sunday.—Our excellent and deeply versed Minister, is no doubt aware that *Heemakót*, or the Himalaya (*Imans*), the seat of ancient Brahminical learning—where, time was, Pundits *matriculated*—call it now *Simlah*, the mountain, we shall suppose, of *Gandharvas*, where the Brahmin religion flourished in the greatest vigour—was of old time regarded to be the most excellent of all places in the universe for the successful devotion of the pious (according to the *Sacuntalá*, or Sanscrit story of “The Fatal Ring”;) but he would scarcely have realized it to be so at the present date, from the restricted congregation assembled to listen to him at church to-day! But then we are not Hindoos, you know, though allied to them if their Aryan brethren, as some think we are:—and the season swallows, too, have mostly flown away!—A long walk at evening with Hugh and his young friend Brind—round by that extreme end of *Simlah* called *Chelsea*—where we met on the narrow pathway, a long string, two and two, of the small European and Eurasian girls of the nunnery there located.

Sheka-
wátie.

28th October.—Nobody about, and all being quiet at home, I began the day by writing to Colonel Reynell Taylor, in political charge of the Cis-Sutlege States and the Warden, I might say, of our frontier in that direction, where it impinges on *Shekawátie*, on the subject that preoccupies my mind just now: “The dacoits of *Ulwur* and *Shekawátie* are so connected in depredation, with those located in *Shajánpore* in British territory and with the robbers infesting *Jheend*, *Nábhá*, and *Puttiúla*

(your charge,) that there constantly arises a bitter recrimination between the several frontier authorities concerned, which I am very anxious should be put a stop to by the adoption of some sounder system of border *bundobust* (management.) My aim is to be allowed an assistant at *Jhoonjoonoo* (the chief town of Shekawátie,) through whom in some measure to make up for the withdrawal of Forster's admirable contingent; for that region is now in miserable plight and given up a prey to the lawless. I met with loud complaints from the people throughout it—oppression, affliction, and woe was the condition of the unhappy inhabitants—neglect that of the country—and I was impressed with a sense that our Government had failed in their duty towards it. And this condition I considered to be the primary cause of the unsatisfactory state of the frontier indicated and of dacoits being sown *broad-cast* in those regions. I have thus ventured to include *yourself* among the other high officers whom I have consulted on the subject."

This posted, I sat down after breakfast and managed to break ground with a goodly portion of my Report to Government on the subject—how lamentably Shekawátie had been neglected since the removal from it of Forster's brigade; how over-run it was by banditti, a continuing pest to the country and a constant source of discord on our own frontier; and that the intervention of Government would be an act of humanity: "I was impressed with this in a late visit to the inhospitable region. I met with complaints throughout it. The people loudly cried against their being

Break ground with my Report on its condition.

thus left to the tender mercies of the cruel—dacoitie was rife in every direction—it was committed close by, right and left, as I marched along—there were daily reports of its occurrence—and their unchecked prosperity led the dacoits to extend their depredations much in every direction, but particularly towards the contiguous frontier British districts of *Sirsa*, *Hansi*, *Hissár*, *Rhotuck*, and *Bhewánee*, the border tracts in that direction of the territories recently assigned to the chiefs of *Nábha*, *Puttiála*, and *Jheend*, and towards our own possessions outlying Delhi and Goorgaon,—where, as in *Shahjánpore* in the latter district, in adjoining *Ulwur* territory, in *Jeypore* proper, and *Khétree* which too partly lies in *Shekawátie*—in *To'urwáttee*, and along all the frontier pointed to—they have located associates and confederation: 'We go hundreds of miles in safety in enterprises of trade and traffic,' said a man of the country to me, 'but are robbed of what we acquire, at our very doors in our own country.' Government is aware that the Mahájuns and traders of *Shekawátie*, sustain a high reputation for distant enterprise throughout India."

29th October.—My office people being still absent on their holiday, I went on without interruption, to the conclusion of the Report; very glad to have it off my mind. In respect to the robbers, Meenas more particularly, infesting *Shekawátie* and the region round about it, I have shown that they find no want of patrons among the local authorities, that they occupied *twenty-seven* villages within

I conclude
Report
upon the
Condition
of *Sheka-
wátie*.

Shekawátie itself and *thirty-two* in its immediate vicinity (Jalroo-Patun and Kote-Pootlee,) lying chiefly along under a range of intricate hills, bounded on one side by our own Delhi territory and on its other faces by the domains of *Tijára*, *Ulwur*, *Jeypore*, and the estate confiscated in the Mutiny from the rebel Nuwáb of Jhujjur; some of the said villages being more or less within each of those States, the several gangs from which, had been in the habit of penetrating far into Southern India, bringing back rich booties; and that Sleeman foretold that, though for some time then kept under by Forster's brigade, they would be found very troublesome if that special force were removed or rendered less efficient. I have added to this: "It has been my effort to show in this Report, that the withdrawal from Shekawátie of Major Forster's force (*vide* pp. 290, 293-94, vol. i.,) has been attended with the evil consequences predicted of it, as would be admitted by all acquainted with the circumstances. The picture has not been overdrawn. The country has been neglected, and is, at this date, infested by *Meena*, *Soolleidæ*, and other robbers, perhaps more than ever it was before; and they escape, too, from their distant raids to their haunts in it and in the contiguous tracts pointed to, with utter impunity. The few that have been seized by this Department, are far too few to check with any lasting effect the depredations of the multitude." I then proposed a remedy as an intermediate course for present adoption—the employment of a distinct officer with the necessary establishments,

The
Entrepôt
of Bhe-
wánee.

under the direct orders of the General Superintendent, to be posted at the capital of Shekawátie, as perhaps productive "of some prospect of the evil being more effectually coped with, or at least diminished." To this I have further added, in support of the proposition: "Shekawátie forms the high-road to the principal marts of India on this side or on that of it. Strings of camels laden with the merchandise of distant cities, constantly pass through it, or along the conterminous frontier of Bikaner, on their way to the great desert entrepôt of *Bhewánee*, which lies a couple of miles beyond its northern limits on the direct road to imperial Delhi; or caravans, arrived there from Delhi and other upper places, proceed from Bhewánee to the far cities beyond it. This remarkable place is situated at the edge of the great sandy tract which, locally called *Baugur*, stretches from our own frontier desert districts of *Hissár*, through Shekawátie on the one side, to remote *Pálee*, another entrepôt of the wilderness, and through Bikaner, on the other, to the utmost limits of Jesulmere. Not many years ago but a small village—described in 1809, when it was stormed and captured by a detachment of our troops, as a *small unimportant place*—it has now grown into a large and populous city, composed of rich Mahájuns or their *goomásh-tas* or agents. It is more, perhaps, the habitation of the latter than of the principals themselves. Its present population consists of 40,000 souls; the place is daily growing larger, and its many market streets or "gunges," are often blocked up with

bales of the commodities brought in upon camels arriving at it from different directions at all hours of the day and night. This merchandise presents an enterprise for dacoits, and the prosperity of the traffic, and indeed of the entire trade in that direction, obviously depends upon its safety in transit and immunity from plunder. It is, therefore, a matter of considerable importance to free those regions of the people who waylay those caravans and plunder both traders and travellers. *The regeneration of the country is a necessity*; for certainly people pass through it in great fear, and there is no security in it. This disorganization may chiefly be attributed to Shekawátie being partitioned among several chiefs, all holding sway over their respective possessions and scarcely confederated under, or at best owning but an unwilling allegiance to, any single Ruler. Of this system of co-heritage, of partition without reference to primogeniture, the *Soolleidæes* of Shekawátie (*vide* pp. 281, 286, vol. i.,) present a remarkable example of a community of robbers and freebooters sprung from the anarchy and confusion consequent on successive subdivisions of territory (*vide* pp. 232, 287, vol. i., and 309, 319, vol. ii.) They are descended from a branch of a family to which the country originally belonged in full possession. Too proud to labour, and too poor to live by honest means, they have long taken to the road, and like their partisans, the *Bidáwuts* of the Bikaner border (*vide* p. 287, vol. i.,) engage in adventures of robbery in far countries and at home,

The Soolleidæes of Shekawátie.

System of Co-heritage.

plunder everyone indiscriminately, and, like the *Meenas*, are a pest to the community. Government is aware, too, that the mineral and chemical products of the country are susceptible of developments which might infinitely contribute to its prosperity, of which the copper mines of *Khétree* and at *Birdásir*, the marble quarries of *Mukrána*, and salt-pans or *Uggurs* of *Deedwánah*, may be instanced. *Birdásir* is in Bikaneer territory, beyond the western frontier of Shekawátie, and *Deedwánah* and *Mukrána* are a little farther down on the confines of Marwár. In the above good work of renovation, the Rulers of Jeypore and Bikaneer will, if I may rely on their personal assurances to myself of co-operation, and on their expressed concurrence with the desire of the British Government for the effectual suppression of dacoits and marauders throughout their own and other Native States, be found, I think, heartily to join, if carried out without any undue interference with their own internal administration."

The
People of
Sheka-
wátie.

Then I spoke of the peculiarity of the country ; that it presented an inherent vitality inconsistent with its neglected aspect : "The people are industrious and strong to labour ; and although living amid lawlessness and rapine, they cultivate their sandy ground in a manner and with results which astonish a stranger ; and although their towns and villages are situated at long intervals, and are only to be approached over dreary wastes of undulating ridges and furrows of blown sand, with occasional intermediate *táls* or hollows, where stunted trees of

the *khéjra* and other camel forage are happily able to grow, still there is an appearance of sturdy perseverance on the part of the inhabitants, indicative of traditions of past prosperity and of latent good hopes for the future. This is particularly observable at Jhoonjoonoo, the capital town of the desert province, where several large but unfinished buildings may be seen, of palatial pretensions, all more or less left to be completed at some future, however remote, convenience, or still in a manner under construction (*vide* p. 305, vol. i. ;) while the *Bunyas* and other residents, *Hindoos* and *Káim-Khánees*, continue slowly to build new places, to add to their present abodes, or to embellish the suburbs with new mosques and temples, as if a hope of greater security or of better days was ever present to their imaginations." Then follows the details of the proposed arrangement.

30th October.—Sent off the Report to the Foreign Office. I have at least ventilated the subject, and endeavoured to show that, in such a cause, "masterly inactivity" was scarcely commendable : pace, clever Mr. Under Secretary, writer of *sua si bona norint!*⁵—Office clerks back at their work.

31st October.—An English-speaking Madras servant, whom I had brought up this season from the Plains as our "butler," and who and another

The expression
"Masterly inactivity."

Verbatim
Note from
a runaway
Servant.

⁵ N.B.—This was an official memorandum on the merits of British rule as compared with the Native modes of government (*vide* p. 247,) in which the above-quoted expression was first used in support of the policy of Sir John Lawrence.

Madrassee had behaved very badly, and together left my service without any warning, now humbly writes to me as follows, *verbatim* : “To Culnell Harrve, G. S. Tucky Departmint. Honorde Sir: I beg to inform your Lord Ships notus geaving understand that I am in wiry gret Distors. Thear’for I beg your Honor will kindly giave me any Emplainmant for me ; if your Honurobill giave me any call I shall be ridy to be the Time ; thear’for, I am Charly, ewry (ever ?) gretly thinsking of you, I am,

“ Sir, yours,

“ Master Obediand Sirvunt,

“ Charly.”*

Coldness of the Weather : *1st November.*—Weather very cold, so cold that the carpenters and other workmen at labour on our out-houses, feel too benumbed to be able to do anything except when the sun is well high up.

The Governor-General and his staff left Simlah to-day under the usual salute.

Colonel Keatinge appointed to Rajpootanah. *2nd November.*—Sir John has appointed Colonel Keatinge to officiate as Agent Governor-General in Rajpootanah for Colonel Eden, about to leave on sick leave. The former, a Bombay officer like myself, had recently left Gwalior, where he was Resident, for employment in Nimár under the Bombay Government, and he is now considerably brought back under the Supreme Government.—He is a Victoria Cross man.

* P.S.—“*Charley*” went into jail at Umbála shortly after this, for “obtaining,” a habit he was somewhat addicted to while with us.

3rd November, Sunday.—Passed the entire forenoon in a long walk in the Simlah woods. At evening scarcely anyone at church.

4th November.—Receive an inquiry from the Police Chief for the Central Provinces, whether *Brinjáras* “are in the habit of committing infanticide and of killing their women for infidelity”; also whether *Brinjáras* “have a *gooroo* attached to their *tándas*—what his status is and his duties, etc.”

I had, as Assistant General Superintendent for the Bombay territories some years ago, submitted to that Government a report of the habits of these people (*vide* p. 92, vol. i.) It was printed and circulated; and a proposal I then advocated, of attaching a local police supervision to each travelling *tándah*, and so to pass it on from district to district of its declared route, was approved of from home and attended with good results as a precautionary measure, not only in Bombay territory but likewise in Berar and Nagpore (then under Native rule,) where the same plan had been soon after adopted. The same system was last year resumed in reconstructed Berar, on the cession thereof to us by the Nizam. This was lately followed by a proposal from Captain W. Hudleston, the very energetic Deputy Commissioner down there, to *colonize* the *Brinjáras*, to whom I wrote, on the question being referred to me as General Superintendent, that in my previous notices of these people, I had always stated that it would only be *on the introduction of railways*, that they would be led to a more civilized

The Plan of placing Guardians with *Brinjárah Tándahs*.

Failure of Attempts to Colonize Vagrant Tribes.

mode of life, but that to colonize vagrant tribes—all more or less of criminal pursuits—the Thuggee Department had always hitherto found it futile to attempt it, as that when so located, they contrived to maintain an appearance of honesty without forsaking their secret vocation, for following which, too, they found better facilities as householders and settlers, than when they were mere rovers and were suspected—the astonishing fact being, I said, that they always managed to make their police guardians in such colonies, *their fastest and readiest allies and even their accomplices* : “ If you can manage to get over that one impediment, your scheme would be and is, a very excellent one ; but the danger is, that your own earnest endeavours to keep and induce such people to honest livelihood, would last, I fear, only while you lasted, and be likely, when you left, to relapse and not be so zealously sustained.” I also advised that he should take from the naiks or headmen of the several *tándahs*, what we in our Department called *sillsilla zámin*, that is, registered sureties for each other under heavy pains in case of default, a system which we always adopted with our approvers, from whom we sometimes also required hostages.

In regard, moreover, to these measures in the Berars, the great camping ground of the Brinjáras during the rainy season, I only lately recorded a remark in the Dacoitie Statements for those districts for the past year (1866,) to the effect that the same plan, of locating wandering tribes on waste lands, was adopted some years ago (1842,) by my prede-

cessor, the late Sir William Sleeman. He planted a colony of the Budhuck robber tribe, on some ground near a place called *Saligram*, close to Goruckpore, on the border of the Nipal Terae. He did so at the persuasion of the magistrate of the district (Mr. Bird,) who had been assisting him a good deal in operations against that tribe, and he did not like to oppose him, although he felt much hesitation in acceding to the proposal. It followed as he had feared, that the measure was attended with no good results (*vide* my Journal for 1860 :)—and that as to the precaution of attaching a guardian to Brinjárah tándas, the “guardian” was generally won over to become a dacoit himself—*quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* “The railway has now, however, so detracted from the occupation of the Brinjáras as carriers, that Captain Hudlestone’s plan of converting them into colonists is opportune, and may prove successful *if persevered in with sustained zeal and vigilance by all his successors*. The great obstacle to success is their deeply rooted prejudice against any but a life *à la bivouac*, from their having been a race of wanderers from time out of mind. The scheme failed in the matter of *Budhucks at Saligram*. Similar measures for restraining other kindred classes, as the *Bowries* of Moozuffurnuggur in the North-West Provinces, the *Sánseahs* at Sealkote in the Punjab (and the *Mhángs* on the Bombay side,) cannot be said to have met with any permanent success. To apply the objection to the Guardian scheme, to the present proposal also, it was, as the local chief of

police had observed of it, just one of those measures which would be successful so long as it was faithfully carried out, but likely to increase the evil it was meant to cure if not looked well after."

The Gôâr-
Brinjâras
in Berar.

5th November.—As I shall have to go well into the subject of these Brinjâras in framing my reply to the inquiry regarding them, I trouble myself with a further examination of my previous reports of them, to convey in this place some account of their habits and ways of livelihood. The inlying position of the Berars, officially designated the "Hydrabad Assigned Districts," the recession and restoration of which to the Nizam's administration, is the one ambition of *Salâr Jung*, the excellent Prime Minister of that sovereign, from its being the highway between the territories within which the province is situated (*vide* p. 94, vol. i.,) made them from time out of mind, the favourite abiding-place and the resort of many predatory tribes, but particularly of the *Gôâr-Brinjâras*, the remarkable race under consideration. For "Berar," as its name denotes, a place *to rest at*—a temporary sojourn—had always formed the "camping ground" of these inland carriers during the periodical rains; but whether the valley acquired the designation from that circumstance, or from its position as a half-way halting place between the countries which envelop it, may not be asserted, its ancient name having, I believe, been *Phitkunnur* (applied in some way, perhaps, to its *black cotton soil*.) It abounds with *shendee* trees thickly clustered in its nullahs and numerous

Berar
their
Halting
Ground.

depressions—those palms from which *toddy*, the common liquor of the country, is extracted—presenting at once sequestered shelter and *boozy-kens*; for these *rôdeurs* indulge in much drink.⁷ But it was a leap at one bound, although a reasonable anticipation, to designate the assigned territory, as lately it was called, “the peaceful valley of Berar” (*vide* p. 211, vol. ii. ;) for whatever the good results so far, of our present tentative administration of the province, it has long contained and continues to retain elements scarcely consistent with so favourable an opinion of it thus early, as abundantly, I think, already demonstrated in my several notices of the criminal habits of the races who have also resorted to it on crime intent, *Meenas*, *Rhatôres*, *Khunjurs*, *Mooltânees*, *Khaikârees*, *Tâkinkârs*, and who not? cattle dealers, cattle lifters, horse thieves, kidnappers, false money coiners, thugs, dacoits, burglars, and poisoners; and it was something accomplished to have already cleared out, as an outcome of the new administration, so many of such fellows as to make their *modus vivendi* in Berâr to be well thought out by them beforehand (*vide Postscriptum*, memo. p. 213.) But the *Brinjâras* still congregate there; and how convert or dispose of them? They are the chief criminals of the territory, and the time has admittedly arrived “for some decisive line of

⁷ P.S.—I look upon it that our slang expression *shindy*—a drunken broil or a row—(*ex gr.*, “Don’t kick up a *shindy*,”) came from India, and was derived from *shendee*, at once the palm and the liquor obtained from it, just as *boozy-ken* is derivable from the Persian *boosa-khîna*, a cup-room or *Trinkhalle*.

Dacoities
by Brin-
járas.

action regarding them." Twenty-three dacoities took place in Berar last year (1866,) of which nearly one half were ascribed to Brinjáras,⁸ and they thickly populate Berar.⁹ The indefatigable race are well known to be in the habit of conveying grain to the sea-coasts, and bringing back salt on their return. In the former capacity they are called *Brinjáras* (that is, *birrinj* or grain carriers;) in the latter, *Lambánees*, or properly *Lawánas* (that is, *lown* or salt carriers.) For the alternative commodity, they are in the habit of visiting the great salt lake at Sambhūr in Jeypore territory, the many other *uggurs* or salt deposits in other distant places, and the salt-pans of Deedwána and Bhurt pore (*vide* pp. 88, 91, 92, vol. i.): "They are, therefore," as a previous Report from me goes on stating, "attended for the purpose, sometimes by immense droves of pack bullocks, and their irregular march through the country, invariably presents a long straggling line of men, women and cattle. Their progress, too, being slow, and their encampments generally in some jungle tract

Their
general
Appear-
ance.

⁸ P.S.—The returns for the present year (1867,) showed nineteen acts of dacoities by Brinjáras in Berar alone. In 1868 this number was considerably added to. In 1869, the tribe, being more closely watched, was better behaved.

⁹ P.S.—According to the local Inspector-General of Police, there were 51,000 Brinjárahs in Berar. All the local district officers reported very unfavourably of them: "They have," reported the Chief of the Police, "great pluck, and the people of the country, who have none, never resist them. The trouble a few bad Tándahs give, is very great. They will not, if they can help it, encamp near a village, but choose remote spots in the midst of the jungle, where they can remain unwatched." (*Police Administration Report for the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for 1868.*)

or desert waste, they find ample opportunities for following their secret vocation of *dacoitie*. Some able-bodied men of their number are easily able to strike off from the direct line of their advance, rapidly perpetrate *dacoitie*, and rejoin the march or the encampment by the early morning with their booty, without detection. So often did this occur in the eastern districts of Bombay territory, marching along with the Nizam's frontier, that I found the plan of attaching escorts or guardians to them while in British limits, very considerably to check them in their evil habits, and the subsequent adoption of the same measure by my predecessor in these more central districts" (I was then writing from Jubbulpore,) "has had the same beneficial effect (*vide* p. 403.) The great difficulty, however, is in keeping the police guards from colluding with the robbers (*vide* pp. 191, 192 :) but in recently requesting the local authorities of Hyderabad and Nagpore, and of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, to persevere with the system, I suggested that as these people, when really engaged in honest purposes of lawful trade, could not object to any measure that would expedite them on their journey, the police guards made to accompany them, should only be on duty from beat to beat of their respective posts, and be desired to require each *tándah* or drove to accomplish the distance with every convenient haste. These are measures altogether necessary for restraining these otherwise very useful people in their more questionable habits, without checking them in what should

Facilities
for perpe-
trating
Robbery.

The Plan
of
Guardians
over
them.

Useful-
ness of
Brinjáras
as
Carriers
of Grain.

Their
resem-
blance to
other
Tribes of
similar
ostensible
Pursuits.

boná fide be their honest and lawful pursuits. Brinjáras are, in Southern India, more commonly called *Lawánas* or *Lumbánees*; both terms literally signify their ostensible vocation, namely, conveyers of grain and conveyers of salt (*vide* p. 408.) They form most valuable auxiliaries to the army commissariat with troops in the field. The late Duke of Wellington, as Colonel Wellesley, was dependent entirely upon them for supplies in his early campaigns in the Southern Mahratta country. They are in religion *Hindoos*; but in Central India there are two robber classes, who, although they are Mahomedans, closely resemble Brinjáras in appearance and occupation, namely the *Mooltánees* and the *Chügras*, both ramifications of one and the same tribe, but who do not intermarry, and they have their own distinct slang languages. Both, like the Brinjárahs, are wandering tribes. The *Mooltánees* chiefly convey grain, opium, and other articles of consumption, and visit the eastern sea-coast of Ganjam for salt, cocoa-nuts, etc. The *Chügras* bring salt from the inland salt lakes, and from the Surat sea-coast, and a portion of the latter tribe deal in cattle, with large droves of which they travel about in all directions. I have met them in Southern India: but when so engaged they are not to be identified with a race of similar aspect called *Cháruns*,¹ similarly occupied, and who again are *Hindoos*

¹ P.S.—The same race described to be in the habit of doing violence to their persons when under resentment (*vide* p. 19, vol. i.)

(*vide* p. 19, vol. i.) All these people are dacoits, more or less, as opportunity offers, and are included under the same system of surveillance and convoy proposed by me for the *Brinjárah*s."

And in an earlier Report I said : "Many again are cattle-stealers. Some sections of the tribe deal in cattle, stolen no doubt, with large droves of which they are often to be met, when the same facilities are presented for robbing and evading detection. Of these cattle-dealers several *tándas* have but very recently passed into the Southern Mahratta country from Khandeish. Others kidnap children, a part coin false money ; and some are Thugs.³ In short, they are everything in that way that opportunity will permit them to be. The *Brinjáras* form, however, a distinct race of

The "*Cháruns*" who travel about as traders pointed to in the text, were described by me as follows :—

"59.—*Cháruns* are traders, travelling about with large droves of pack bullocks. They visit the Konkun, where to make their purchases, which to convey and dispose of in the interior. They also bring down large herds of cattle from Guzerat and Malwa, which they sell as they travel along. They are also called *Hérah*s. A great many of them reside in Kattyawar. Each man is armed with a spear, a sword and a buckler. They have the same appearance as the *Brinjáras*." (*Vide No. 59 of printed List, prepared by Captain Charles Herve, Assistant General Superintendent, of Seventy-one Wandering Predatory Tribes, with their occupations, both ostensible and real.*)

³ Thugs of the *Brinjára* class, were in the habit of strangling their victims with the noose or *lasso*, which *Brinjáras* to the present day dexterously use in entrapping cattle. With unerring aim they fling this rope, a thick sort of whip-cord, over their horns, and thereby reduce the most refractory animal to immediate submission. My predecessor, Sir William Sleeman, believed that the robbers described by Herodotus to ensnare and strangle wayfarers by similar means, were the *Thugs* of those old days.

Brinjárah
Men and
Women.

beings, and are remarkable. Their quaint aspect and physiognomy must often occasion remark on the part of an European observer—the intelligent countenances and wiry, strongly-knit frames of the men, but ill according with their mean and scanty attire; while the fantastical, parti-coloured costume of the women—their arms generally from shoulder to wrist completely encased in bracelets of bone or ivory, or of a particular kind of wood-shells and coins curiously strung round their necks, and hair ornamented in like manner—gives a strange, flighty appearance to the natural wild air of their always expressive and sometimes good-looking faces. Except that owing to the circumstance of the two different quarters of the globe, their occupations may vary, I think these Brinjáras or Lumbánees are very much to be compared with the gipsies of Europe. I have never yet been able to learn from any of them as to their real origin, or from whence they came. They do not seem to be aware of any circumstance from which they can date either, stating that they have always, from generation to generation, been *khánah-buh-dôsh* ‘house on back,’ that is, *of no fixed homes*. Their marriage and other ceremonies differ from other peoples; their notions are odd, their religion undefined; they have a peculiar dialect understood only among themselves—twanging of Guzerattee—though generally, they can fluently speak the language of each tract they visit; they do not intermarry with other people; they live in no fixed abodes,

though they will often have their *tándas* or encampments, in a single neighbourhood for a long time together; they note the stars, take omens, and rigidly observe them; and their singular women would scarcely seem to belong to such men, from their very dissimilar appearance, but whose quaint dresses cannot be attributed to any vanity on their part, but rather as an index of the tendency of their minds, exhibiting a wildness of air, in harmony with the real condition of their habits and feelings. *As good wives and true, they are as remarkable as the Pindáree females were the contrary.*"

6th November.—Hugh's holiday over. He is now Personal. so much better. I buy the pony *Jim Crow* for him, and make him an advantageous offer if he passes the Higher Standard Examination in Hindostanee in *twelve* months hence, to be doubled should he do so in *six* months. His two young friends, Jones and Thompson, dined with us last night, as did Napier, Assistant Deputy Commissioner here, (the younger of the twin sons of Sir Robert Napier,) a great shikáree.

7th November.—Hugh packed, and ready to be off to rejoin his regiment at Morár. Write home to send his brother to the Royal Naval School, to be followed by-and-by by the next boy.*

* P.S. 1891.—It happened otherwise with both: nor did Hugh pass till long over time, but he was in the following year appointed on probation to the 1st Punjab Cavalry, now the First or Prince Albert Victor's Regiment of Punjab Cavalry, and to which he still belongs with Staff Corps rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Colonel
Malleeson.

8th November.—Good-bye, Hugh ! He left us to-day on his pony, accompanied by his two dogs *Pinches* and *Jim*, and by his big stag-hound. He looked fresh, strong, and in restored health. Walked with him as far as the *Gap* leading down the hill, and then turned in at Malleeson's, who lives at that far end of Simlah, where I stayed to luncheon. He took a prominent part in the Jervis case last year—was the thoughtful writer of the truth-telling *Red Pamphlet* on the outbreak of the Mutiny, but for which he got into trouble—is now at the head of the Sanitary Commission—and is establishing a reputation as an author, being engaged in publishing a work which will, I think, be very popular—"The French in India"—the proof-sheets of which he had just received from Longman and Co., and showed me.

One most concerned, was very tearful at the lad's empty seat at our dinner-table.

Manowl
Pheasant.

9th November.—Commenced dismantling our house preparatory to our own flight in the winter. Held office out in the sun. My European clerk, Mr. Clements,⁴ sent us a fine and very plump *manowl* pheasant which he had shot close by our house, a splendid specimen of that superbly plumaged bird.

10th November, Sunday.—At church our quondam

⁴ P.S.—This zealous young fellow, who as a child in the Mutiny, escaped the general massacre of all Europeans residing at Delhi, by hiding among the bull-rushes in the canal outside of the city walls, was subsequently drowned in the Ganges, in endeavouring, against advice, to swim across the rapids at Hurdwár.

Jubbulpore missionary, *Mr. Rebsch*, officiated at the service, and preached the sermon (with decidedly *German* accentuation.—A telegram from home announces that Garibaldi and his volunteers had been defeated with great loss by the papal troops close to Rome, and himself and 3000 of his followers taken prisoners.

11th November.—Laid up with a very bad cold, chest affected and very sore ; so, directly the office people knocked off work, I took a succession of Locock's Pulmonary Lozenges, recommended by a friend, shut up the house and went at once to bed.

12th November.—Rose, freed of the rheum ! The remedy proved infallible, but the inclination was to lie by.—A long visit at luncheon from a kind friend from the Park, to whom I displayed my wealth of *carbuncles*, collected here and there in my occasional visits to Rajpootanah.

13th November.—The house has been stripped of all curtains and carpets, furniture covered over and piled in the centre of each room ; store-room locked and sealed up ; also all wardrobes, cupboards and drawers ; and the whole premises put in readiness to be left in charge of the single man who is to keep watch and ward over all—generally only the gardener, a hillman ; and few ever have occasion to complain of any misfeasance on the part of those custodians during their absence in the plains.

A running kind of walk round Jako at evening, in the heel and toe fashion of foot racers—in my

The Rev
Mr.
Rebsch.

Personal.

House
dismantled.

Fidelity
of Hill-
Men as
House
Care-
takers.

case alike against time as against the cold ; for the air becomes frosty towards evening, and the day closes so early now, that it gets quite dark by the time I have reached no farther than the turn in the round by Chota Simlah.

A
Dacoitie
by Mháng
Village
Watch-
men
narrated.

Mháng
Rukh-
wáldárs.

14th November.—I have an anecdote of dacoitie to narrate. It has cropped up in researching some records in connection with the question of the Track Laws and responsibility of village watchmen for local robberies (*vide* p. 332, vol. i.) and will bear being here told. The particular outrage was the deed of some *Mháng Rukhwáldárs*, or *Jáglías* as they are also called, a class of village watchmen of low caste, hereditarily employed as such in the Mahratta districts of the Bombay Presidency, and reported by me, when Thuggee Officer down there, to be professional gang robbers of a dangerous kind, but to engage in the crime only occasionally, and then generally only when necessitated to do so, under the system which prevailed of compelling compensation from the hereditary village watch for robberies committed in their beat—a robbing of Peter to pay Paul withal!—a pernicious system, as compelling men to commit crime for the acts of others—and, as explanatory of it, I must, before I go on with the story, here give what I had officially stated of it: “What the Mhángs⁵ are in Southern India

⁵ P.S.—“The Mhángs have from the earliest period been held in the lowest estimation, taking their position in the social scale below the Dhêrs, from whose hands they will eat, but who, in return, hold themselves contaminated by partaking of food dressed by a Mháng. Association with one of their number entails pollution to all other castes. Of these the *Rukhwáldár Mháng* presents the

namely, *Rakhwáldárs* or village watchmen, the *Meenas* their congeners, however higher in social condition, are in Rajpootanah and in the country bordering on Ulwur, where they are the recognized village 'chowkeedárs,' and it was the same evil system that obtained in both countries, by which both *Mhángs* and *Meenas* were required to make good the property robbed within the limits of their charges, that originally led them to resort to the same means by which to be able to do so, that is, by *dacoitie*. My predecessor reported of that system, that, 'calculated to encourage crime, it was a favourite one among Native Rulers, as it relieved them from the trouble of investigation and furnished the means of reimbursing the plundered party if the subject of a Government powerful enough to demand it, without expense to the State.'

The
System
of Village
Responsi-
bility for
Robberies.

anomaly of exhibiting the worst and the best features of character. On the one hand he is, when persecuted, the most daring and restless; on the other, if well treated, quiet, faithful and obedient to orders. As his name implies, he is a *watchman*, and is supposed to protect from violence the village under his charge, as well as the *tánda* or caravan of pack bullocks whose escort he undertakes." (*Report on the Mhángs of the Kolhápoor territory by Lieut. Charles Barr of the Kolhápoor Infantry, 1852.*)

"Mhang Ramoosees or Rukhwáldárs, are village watchmen, receiving certain village *huks* or rights, for the performance of such duties. They undertake to track up all robbers, failing in which they had from old custom, to make good half the amount plundered, to be able to do which *they would go and rob elsewhere*. They are very dexterous in colouring and passing off brass and other metals for gold. Abounding everywhere in the Poona, Kolhapoor, Sattárah and Ahmednuggur districts, and in the Moghullai or Nizam's territories. Reported last year from this office, to be addicted to *dacoitie*." (*Wandering and other Predatory Tribes infesting the Bombay Presidency, by Captain Charles Hervey, Assistant General Superintendent of the Thuggee Department, 1852.*)

Evil
Results
thereof.

In a full report from myself of a prior date, of the Mhángs as dacoits, in which I questioned a measure which in a manner obliged men to rob others, by which to provide the means for paying compensation for robbery committed within the village limits for the safety of which they were responsible, the pernicious results of which were so evident, I expressed a hope that some modification might be introduced in a system that enforced compulsory payments from village watchmen, for robberies within their range, prompting them thereby to the crime, undertaken by themselves or through others. It may, certainly, be a question, whether the gradual wearing away of a system of absolute responsibility, such as exists in Native States, may not foster that very spirit of combination in robbery which I allude to. A gang formed of village watchmen, would be unlikely to despoil a village under the protection of their relatives and fellow-clansmen, so long as the loss must be made good by the latter, but the temptation would be greater when that inevitable compensation could be evaded or was remitted. But these men were not always restrained by such considerations. If they have refrained from committing robbery in a village under the charge of their fellow-watchmen, which, although generally the course of Meenas, has not always been the practice of Mhángs, there are numerous instances on record, as on the part of Meenas particularly, in which they have depredated in districts of which the village guards were not their clansmen. Our loss of hold over the

class naturally disposed to plunder, and the necessity to which individuals of it were driven to follow robbery by the resumption of their village rights, have been particularly dwelt upon in an earlier allusion to this practice of compelled restitution from hereditary village guardians,* and it may be worthy of consideration whether the inducements such as I have described, by which such persons are compelled to revert to crime, may not be removed. The attention of officers at the Courts of Native States in which compensation continues to be exacted from village watchmen, might be directed to the question, if it should not be desired to subject our own districts to their reprisals."—The above exemplifies one of the evils of the *Khôj* system, before animadverted upon in the present diary (*vide* pp. 314, 332, 333, 340, vol. i.:) and here then is the story.

A gang of hereditary village watchmen of the Sattarah country, was invited down into the Southern Concan by the *Sir-Náik* or headman of the *Mháng* watchmen of Chiploon, to plunder down there. The enticed robbers descended for the purpose by the pass leading into that lower country, called the *Byroo Ghát*. Two houses adjoining each other inside of *Elnêshwur*, a town in the *Rutnagherry* district, were indicated to them to loot, and they very soon accomplished the business, obtaining thereby a large booty, each dacoit appropriating whatever he had laid hands upon, as is

* Mountstuart Elphinstone on the territories conquered from the *Peishwáh*.

usual with this particular class of robbers. They were not pursued at the time, but were suffered to make their way back up the mountains by the same pass by which they had come down. Their plunder, which consisted principally of weighty articles, was so heavy, that, for the purpose of quicker escape, they engaged several men from a village at the foot of the pass, to assist them in its conveyance to the upper country. They had reached Tárlah in the Sattarah territory, when unexpectedly, five or six days subsequently, the said Sir-Náik appeared there accompanied by three parties of sepoy of the Line, and traitorously caused the arrest of several men of the tribe, who happened, however, to have had no part in the dacoitie—and along with them the seizure also of two females, one of whom was the young wife of an influential member of the gang, then himself quite a young man, who afterwards became a Náik of great celebrity among Mhángs. He assembled and harangued his people,—were they to be afraid of the sepoy, and no rescue of his wife attempted? They were persuaded by him *to try*—he would lead them!—The sepoy had encamped at a temple, within which they held their prisoners. They were attacked by an infuriate band at midnight. Upwards of one hundred of the tribe, with loud shouts, rushed resolutely upon them with drawn swords. Two of the sepoy were at once cut down, but the disciplined guard stood to its arms and opened a smart fire upon its assailants, two of whom were shot dead and a third badly wounded

at the first rush. This threw back the banditti, and put them to flight without succeeding in their object. The male prisoners were thereupon taken on to Sattarah and were there incarcerated for a short period ; but the women were prudently let to go by the wary Havildar of the guard. I brought forward this robbery, when it became known to me at a date long subsequent to its occurrence, in view to the conviction of the Náik or leader who had prompted the attempted rescue, and for the sake of an example to the tribe on my first taking up operations against it. The trial was beset with difficulties, owing to the lapse of time, and to the chief evidence as to the attendant circumstances, centring in the Jaghiredar of Tárlah, to summon whom to the Court at Belgaum of the Political Agent of the Southern Mahratta country, who tried the case, required consideration on account of his age and debility. Conviction, however, followed, and the dacoit was sentenced to transportation for life. The gang that committed the robbery, consisted of twenty-three village watchmen, who were ready enough, it will be seen, to perpetrate it in a place *out of their own and of the beats of their fellow clansmen above the Gháts*, in view to evade the inevitable payment of compensation if they should indulge in the pastime up there ; and that the motive of the Sir-Náik of the lower country *for procuring it*, plainly was, to secure reward for the anticipated easy arrest, with their booty, of those he treacherously had summoned to commit it, and with the additional hope too, that by

facing them with that inevitable requirement from himself (payment of which from him he felt sure would be foregone by the authorities in consideration of his own prompt action and affected zeal,) he might *squeeze* it from them, with the design, probably, of himself appropriating it !⁷

15th November.—A birthday duly observed by a present of a pair of earrings, made of tiny white river shells, from a design conveyed to a jeweller at Calcutta.

Departure
of Sir
William
Mansfield.

The Commander-in-Chief and staff, and Lady Mansfield—left Simlah to-day, the hills reverberating the Mountain Battery salute from Jutôgh.

Simlah
Workmen.

The masons and some of the carpenters at work on our out-houses, bodily absent to-day ! Like children from a day-school, they keep away on the merest whim or truancy of the moment. To-day the seven absentees had seven different reasons for not coming to their work : one had won a bet of four annas (sixpence,) and wished to spend that money ; a second desired to perform *shrâd* or pro-

⁷ P.S.—This system of *Khôj* and village responsibility has, I have already said, been compared to the custom of our Saxon progenitors, of holding the "Hundred" responsible for property plundered within their limits : "It has a tendency to excite the community to assist in preventing and detecting crime, as well as in restraining the inhabitants of villages from harbouring desperate characters . . . The inhabitants of a village, where a crime is perpetrated, are expected to exert themselves to detect and seize the offender, to pursue his tracks, to follow and bring him to justice, and when they fail to prove in a measure from whence he came, to be responsible for the proved value of property carried off, unless extenuating circumstances in their favour are elicited on investigation." (Footnote to Colonel Hervey's printed Report to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 1160 A., dated 30th November 1869, para. 132—" *Khôj* Rules an additional incentive to crime.")

pitiation of the *manes* of someone deceased, an oft-recurring sentiment however remote the lamented bereavement; a third had lost his wife and didn't know where to find her, generally a very blundering excuse; the fourth had a stomach ache, a common subterfuge, though a frequent occurrence; a fifth had been summoned by the police—what for he couldn't say; a sixth wished to stay away, a very sensible and the most believable plea; and the seventh didn't like to be spoken to by the head carpenter, who was no better than he should be—and certainly no better, as to that matter, than himself!

16th November.—His desk was next to mine in the study chamber, our last term at Addiscombe; a tall, light-hearted, joyous youth, full of hopes and expectations from the thoughts of our then soon going out to India. He passed out for the Infantry a few below myself, and joined the Bengal Army; myself that of Bombay. Six years later I met J—— C—— in Scinde, in the days before its conquest. I was pitched on the bank of the Indus outside of the Residency enclosure at Hyderabad, in command of Outram's escort of the Scinde Irregular Horse, to which corps I had then lately been nominated "second in command" (in the place of *Paget Clarke*, killed in the then recent disastrous action in the Nuffoosk Pass.) He had come down the river by boat from the upper country—in those early days the quickest way of accomplishing the distance down from Mooltan to Hyderabad, with the river in flood as it then was, though often hazardous; and

The Story
of a
fellow
Cadet.

quicker even, it may be, than in the hereafter by railway—and he passed a couple of hours in my tent before hurrying on his way down to Kurrachee and Bombay. He was doing well, in the fulness of life and of hope, bright and well-liking; was holding a political appointment in the Upper Provinces; on his way home now on leave, to bring back the joy of his heart. We were not thrown together again, and I saw him no more. Some years since, he committed suicide. A few days ago an English woman was found here lying dead, on a common *chárpái* or native bedstead, all alone in one of the small places behind the native bazaar, miserably clad, emaciated, pitiable, unkempt, and unwept. Presently piously attended to, and placed within a coffin, those remains were conveyed to sepulture in the cemetery away down there (*vide* p. 70.) The body was that of his widow. She had led a strange life, and few knew of her being up here, or of her identity. To-day her effects were sold by auction at the cutcherry—some rabbits and a couple of small dogs. *O vita misero longa! felici brevis!*

17th November.—Scarcely a dozen persons formed the congregation at church to-day. Mr. Slater, the Principal of the Jutôgh School, officiated.

18th November.—We learn of a heavy dacoitie on the highway in the Ahmedabad District, on the night of the 14th instant, in which treasure to the amount of 17,000 rupees was acquired, 2200 rupees being recovered, but no further particulars have been communicated. We were aware of two gangs

of Meenas being out in that direction, and we lay this affair to one of them, like the earlier case by the same class at the commencement of the year (*vide* p. 448.)

Captain MacGillivray, the Police Superintendent for Canara in Southern Bombay, reports: "I regret to state that dacoitie is very much on the increase in the Southern Mahratta country." He attributes this revival to the withdrawal of our executive agency from those parts; says that the Khaikaree and Lumbánee tribes had been particularly active; that several late bad cases of the crime in the Dharwár district, were committed almost entirely by Lumbánees, and that this tribe was at present *kept under no surveillance such as formerly existed, and the consequence was an increase of robbery* (*vide* pp. 403, 409, 411, vol. i.) "I trust," adds that officer, "that through the aid of your Department and its means of obtaining good information, these depredations may once more be put a stop to." This is complimentary. Our removal from those parts was occasioned on the reorganization of the local police, to whom exclusively, it was left to cope with the crime. Of the *Lumbánees* I have lately noted much (*vide* p. 403;) and of the depredations of the *Khaikárees* several instances have also been narrated earlier in the present year's diary (*vide* pp. 347, 350, vol. i., and 166, 257, 296, 392, vol. ii.) Similar references have come in from the Kulludghee and Dharwár authorities, as well as from Berár in respect to the Khaikarees infesting that police charge. In my first Report

Revival of
Dacoitie
by Khai-
karees in
Bombay
Territory.

Report on
the
Habits
and
Pursuits
of the
Khai-
karee
Tribes.

* *Vide*
footnote,
p. 348,
vol. I.

of the habits of this vagrant tribe as systematic dacoits, when, as Assistant-General Superintendent for the Bombay side, I first took up operations against them, and submitted a full account of the race,* I said : “ What will be regarded as the most astonishing feature in the system observed by these consummate robbers, is, the unbounded licence with which they have divided and subdivided the whole country into divisions and districts, a family or collateral branch of the tribe, being appointed to each division, and a leader to each district; and this he is able to call his own ‘ preserve,’ being that into which, according to their laws and restrictions, he alone is allowed to conduct a gang for the purposes of robbery, to the exclusion of everyone else. They do not, however, always confine themselves to a single tract of country, for being altogether a wandering class, they move about from district to district; but they will not attempt any affair in the quarter of another gang, unless able to do so clandestinely, that is, without the cognizance of the leader practising in that particular tract. Sometimes a gang not having met with very profitable opportunities in their own line of country, and getting information of a place promising booty in another, will, if they find they are not able to undertake the enterprise without the knowledge of the gang in whose subdivision the place may be, send word to the leader of the latter and apprise him of what they are about to do, when, perhaps, both gangs will join hands in the undertaking; or, in order to secure a share in the

booty, the leader to whom the particular 'district' appertained, will lend two or more of his own dacoits to the invading leader. Thus there is the spectacle of a rapacious people, most systematically and cleverly pursuing a trade of robbery unchecked, in the heart of our districts, to, I may safely say, a formidable extent.

Being led by the present references, to a recollection of a remarkable instance of the inveteracy of these Khaikárees as dacoits and robbers generally, and of the tenacity with which they held to the pursuit, I have a long hunt for it to-day in our records before sending these down the hill, as also through the old *misls* or files of our proceedings in Khaikáree cases, and I here give it. I frequently had occasion to bring to notice that nothing but the severest punishments would deter the vicious race from reverting to crime; that as often as released they had, *without exception*, returned to it; and that no severity short of perpetual banishment or imprisonment, was sufficient to daunt or intimidate them. A gang of nine persons of the tribe had committed a dacoitie on the house of a wealthy *Bunniah* at Karinjah in Berar, at that time under native rule. On their arrest with some of the plunder, the *Náib*, or chief native magisterial officer of the district, had *each man's right hand chopped off*, and then let them go. No sooner recovered, than, as stated in my Report, "they returned to dacoitie, and had been committing it ever since! Long known to the Thuggee Department as the 'Lop-handed gang' (*háth kúth*

The Lop-handed Gang.

girrôh,) they had contrived to evade every pursuit. But being last year in the neighbourhood of their haunts and obtaining information of them, I had the gang closely followed. The pursuit lasted for two months, till at length they were discovered in the heart of the Nizam's country. Some loose characters of a neighbouring village favoured the robbers, but the leader and one man was nevertheless seized; the rest escaped, and one man only of the lot had died. The leader, one *Sirsa Naique*, will now be a most valuable approver. The list of his robberies, *since he lost his hand*, is a long one." He was admitted to approvership.

19th November.—Have replied fully to the references about the *Brinjáras*, embodying the information of them already noticed (*vide* pp. 92, vol. i., and 403 to 413, vol. ii.) In regard to the inquiries directed to me respecting their females and the alleged practice of infanticide, I reply: "In one of my Reports respecting the tribe, I observed of their women, that as good wives and true they were remarkable (*vide* p. 413.) Thus either their code of honour must be good, or the penalty exacted from the unfaithful wife very terrible. Judging from general acquaintance with the subject, I should say that the punishment is, as among most barbarous tribes, death, and, according to my information, that the unfaithful wife is killed among the Goár Brinjáras of your provinces *when the birth of an infant has been the result*. This idea of satisfying revenge is a very refined one, which makes them wait to be able to take two lives instead of one, let alone

that of the adulterer if he is known. But I have not heard of any practice of their killing infants lawfully born, whether male or female. It may be that some may occasionally practise *female* infanticide, for I know that Brinjáras are ready purchasers of kidnapped children, particularly of girls; and I have often thought that I remarked that the physiognomy of their adult males differed materially from that of their grown women (*vide* p. 413,) and that this might be accounted for from their females being, perhaps, the offspring of other tribes or people. The transference to them of kidnapped children, is generally carried out when the *tándas* are out on their distant journeys with grain or salt. The *Nũths* of Hindostan, and their counterparts the *Bériahts* of the Central Provinces, of whom you also inquire (both itinerant show-people—males procurers, women courtesans,) are generally the kidnappers; but the Brinjáras themselves will do a little in that way too, when the opportunity is good, as their droves pass by inhabited places. Other *kidnappers*, so to call them, are the ‘Megphunnah Thugs,’ a class of wandering mendicants, who go about as *Byrágees* and Fucqueers, and strangle or poison parents for the sake of their children, whom they sell to the first string of Brinjárahs whom they may meet with. We have lately had instances of this kind of Thuggee, both men and women joining in such foul deeds (*vide* p. 127, vol. i.) In their villages these people are called *Náiks*, and have certain village duties to perform, as of watch, delivery of messages,

Kid-
nappers of
Children

As to
Children
carried
away by
Wolves.

etc. But in respect to the *Nuths* and their congeners the *Bériahts*, these prefer to dispose of the boys only whom they have kidnapped, retaining the *girls* to be reared to what their females are. I reported two or three years ago, that I attributed the most of the reported cases of the destruction of children in the Central Provinces, locally ascribed to *wolves* or *Bhériahts*, as the deed rather of *wolves in human form*, that is, of the people called *Bériahts*, whom I on my part regarded to be the real monsters, the returns of death 'by wolves' which I had instituted down there, showing that more *girls* were carried away than boys, whereas, it was well known that if wolves had a preference, *it would be for boys.*^{*}

"Bhériaht," a
wolf;
"Bériaht,"
a child-
stealer.

Hunting
with the
Cheetah.

* P.S.—Mark to what the difference between the aspirated B and the B without aspiration, in the above two words, may lead. The coincidence of similarity between the two designations, prompt a lackadaisical and remiss policeman, readily to attribute the bewailed loss of an infant, to an animal rather than to a man! And as to the *preference* among beasts of prey for male dainties over female, the cat in wait for birds will rather spring upon a cock bird, though female birds may abound nearer; and the fox will choose a gander from a pen full of geese, or preferentially select a cock from its roost out of the several hens on the same perch! So, when I have been out with a hunting *cheetah*, which I frequently used to be when quartered at Poonah, where two brother officers and myself joined in keeping one, it was always to be observed that the moment the leopard was unhooded and spied the herd of antelope we had been stalking for the sport, he singled out at a glance the finest buck of the lot—generally the sole lord of the troop—though hundreds of sleek does might pass frantically close to him when once he exposed himself to their view and declared his malefic purpose; for he would steadfastly reject them all, and only end the chase by the capture at last of the chosen victim appointed by him at first sight: not that he was always successful, for occasionally the nobly striving prey, whose "big round tears coursed one another down his innocent face in piteous chase" the while, would outrun and escape his terrible pursuer, and it would then be hazardous to approach the balked and now sulky beast, until his keeper should be able once more to hood him.

Then with regard to *Gooroos* (of whom too you ^{Brinjára}
inquire,) it is a common practice among ^{Gooroo.} Brinjáras to retain a family Brahmin or priest, whether *Gooroo*, *Gosden*, or *Byrágee*. This individual has a sacerdotal character and *status* among the tribe. He lives in the common *tánda* when they have settled in their periodical "Berárs" or camping grounds, and as he is born among them too, such persons are all but Brinjáras themselves. But there may be, and often is, when the tribe has numerously flocked to the same vicinity, a single 'consulting *Gooroo*' to two or even three *tándas*. He is resorted to by them on all occasions of importance, not only of a family nature, as of marriages, births, alliances, contracts, carriage, etc., but also as to the most propitious route to be taken when the season for travelling comes round, and as to their expeditions of dacoitie, etc. Thus these *Gooroos* are held in high estimation, and they thrive accordingly. But it does not follow that a *Gooroo* is necessarily kept up; but only that such a person should, as a general practice, be resorted to for counsel, if it is wanted to do anything *en règle*." *

* P.S.—In a Report to the Government of India of a subsequent date, I stated of these Brinjáras: "These once very formidable robbers have, by a system of convoy and surveillance, brought to notice in a previous Report (*vide* pp. 403, 409, 411,) been in a great measure restricted of late to their more lawful pursuits as carriers; but owing to the large number of men who accompany their droves, and to their wandering life and occupations, they often acquire, nevertheless, as observed by Captain Ward in his Report, peculiar facilities for committing robberies and conveying their booty to long distances in comparatively a short time, without detection. To restrain a people in other respects so very useful to the general community, is worthy of every effort, and I cannot too strongly

Bishop
Heber
regarding
Brinjáras

Having thus delivered myself of our "information," let it be from a tendency, perhaps, or call it what you will, that I have said so much *against* these people, it would be but fair to quote something here *in their favour*, from others not so biassed as possibly, imputed to myself from the nature of my duties. I will transcribe here, therefore, what good Bishop Heber had recorded of them: "We passed a large encampment of 'Brinjárees,' or carriers of grain, a singular wandering race, who pass their whole time in transporting this article from one part of the country to another, seldom on their own account, but as agents for more wealthy dealers. They move about in large bodies with their wives, children, dogs, and loaded bullocks. The men are all armed as a protection against petty thieves. From the sovereigns and armies of Hindostan they have no apprehensions. Even contending armies allow them to pass and repass safely, never taking their goods without purchase, or even preventing them, if they choose, from victualling their enemy's camp. Both sides wisely

advocate the measures of prevention already noticed. *When railways and other improved means of conveyance in progress in the tracts traversed by them, shall be completed, their occupation as carriers will, in a great degree, be gone, and to have impelled them meanwhile to forsake crime might greatly conduce to their not then reverting to it.* I have before stated that they do not inhabit any particular region, but may be said to roam over the entire continent of India. During the rainy season, however, their *tándas* or encampments may more generally be met with in unfrequented spots in Central India—in the Berárs, in His Highness the Nizam's territories—also along the eastern frontier of the Bombay Presidency."—(Taken from Colonel Hervey's Report to the Foreign Office, No. 1160 A, dated 30th November 1869, para. 78.)

agree to respect and encourage a branch of industry, the interruption of which might be attended with fatal consequences to both. How well would it be if a similar liberal feeling prevailed among the belligerents of Europe; and how much is our piratical system of warfare put to shame in this respect by the practice of those whom we call barbarians!" (*Ch. xxxiii., page 144, of vol. ii. of Heber's Journey.*)

20th November.—With very great regret I hear of the death, on his way down to the coast, of Colonel Eden, the very capable and much esteemed Chief of the British Agency for the States of Rajpootanah.

Our baggage carts left to-day, taking away the office records and our own belongings. My office people also went down at the same time, and the most of our servants. Bazaar shopkeepers stopped the way, however, clamorous for money owed by the latter for supplies, but for the wrangling created by whom till appeased, there might earlier have been some peace and quietness left us: yet even then forgotten things had to be sent off to catch up the convoy, and then at last the noise ceased, and silence reigned.

The trussing of our new kitchen range having been begun with to-day, the workmen claimed a distribution of sweetmeats, *for luck's sake*, on the occasion; but as this *buksheesh* was also claimed when the first doorway was put up, and the gift was thankless then, every one absented himself on the following day, I demurred to admit the

Death of
Colonel
Eden.

Servants
leave
Simlah.

The
Customs
of Native
House
Builders.

present right to the indulgence, owing chiefly to their repeated absences on the merest pretences, but it made them pleased to get it. For so it is—an oblation at the commencement of everything, whether when the first trench is dug, and so on as above; or when a journey is commenced, you put foot on a ferry-boat, or start upon any venture!

The appointments to the force for Abyssinia were received here to-day from Bombay.

The late
Colonel
Eden.

21st November.—According to the *Times of India* of the 15th instant, Eden lately had a severe attack of apoplexy, but had so far recovered as to be able to leave Mt. Aboo with the intention of starting for England by the mail steamer of the 14th. He was obliged to suspend his journey at Ahmedabad, where he died on that very date. On the 13th his son arrived at Bombay in haste from Kurrachee, where his regiment was quartered, and left the same day by railway for Ahmedabad, but he reached that place possibly, but just in time to see his father die.—So the much-beloved and kind-hearted Eden is no more!

The
Recess.

22nd November.—It is pleasant, indeed, this treat of temporary relief; but as work of our sort may not sleep, I have kept back a *Mohurrir*, or native clerk, by whose assistance to go through and pass orders on all vernacular communications received by post, being able of myself to attend to any pressing English correspondence.

At a
Marriage.

23rd November.—We were present to-day at the marriage of the second daughter of the late General Swinley with Dr. Beatson, long an inti-

mate friend of the family—a handsome couple. What with the previous night's hard frost, and prevailing low temperature, it was very cold in the church during that part of the forenoon ceremony; but all were very merry presently at the wedding breakfast at the bride's home, situated on a hillside near our own—the sun shining brightly and strong, the forest-clad hill scenery backed by majestic ranges of the distant Snowy mountains, enchanting, and everyone joyous. Would that the happy young lady's father could also have been present (*vide* pp. 65, 66, 70, vol. ii.)

24th November, Sunday.—Very few formed the congregation at church to-day. Simlah, the bright, the gay, the lovely, has certainly put on a very deserted appearance; nearly every house closed and secured for the close season; the numerous, whole army of fancifully liveried Jánpánees gone to their mountain homes, and the fair burdens they were wont to convey about, vanished out of sight; the few natives remaining in the bazaar, cold and comfortless; and, withal, a prevailing silence all about where, but now, there were the world's three things, *men, women, and children*, and jocund merriness! For seldom more than half a dozen families stay out the winter at Simlah.

25th November.—A report comes in of an attack upon an officer while travelling on the high road to Indore, and that he was wounded in defending himself and plundered. This resembles the case of Lieut. Haig (*vide* p. 261.)¹

Simlah
nude.

A British
Officer
attacked
on the
High
Road by
Dacoits.

¹ P.S.—On the present occasion the officer was Quartermaster

Colonel
Brind,
Royal
Artillery.

Dined at evening *tête-à-tête* with Colonel James Brind, of the Royal (Bengal) Artillery, at "Harvington," his house round the other side of our hill; a very distinguished old officer, and who was President of the court-martial on Captain Scott Jervis. Mrs. Brind had preceded him to the plains. A previous wife was killed by falling down one of the steep *khuds* in this neighbourhood, of which there is a yawning one close by our dwelling. It was remarked with astonishment, how wonderfully he succeeded in scrambling down to the bottom of the terrible abyss where the shattered remains of the unfortunate lady lay, almost immediately after the calamity! These awful accidents every now and then occur (*vide* p. 388.) A gentleman named *Wilson* lost his life in that manner, some years ago, down our *khud*.¹

Holloway, of the 2nd Dragoon Guards. His property was recovered. This case was followed two months subsequently by an attack, in like manner, on Quartermaster Macartney, of the 4th Hussars, on the same road. The plunderers in both cases were supposed to be *Moghias*. So also on a later occasion, Colonel Hackett, of the 76th Foot, was waylaid and attacked while travelling to Secunderabad. He was wounded and robbed of some silver racing cups and other plate. For this, two persons taken into custody by the Nizam's police, were, on committal by Major Tweedie, A.G.S., sentenced to five and seven years' rigorous imprisonment on the general charge of dacoitie, but subsequently two others, who were *Mooltanees*, were, after I left the office, arrested for this robbery, to which they confessed. They were sentenced to transportation for life by the Resident at Hydrabad.

¹ P.S.—A very distressing instance of this nature took place at a later period. There was a marriage at Simlah at which I was an invited guest. The bridegroom was attended, as his best man, by a member of the same service as himself, who had come up specially for the occasion from Calcutta. It was said he had himself been a suitor for the hand of the bride, or had dumbly admired her. Yet he looked very contented and joyous at the

26th November.—Hard frost last night, and very cold throughout the day, except in the sunshine. Engaged to-day a curious, little, old, shrimp of a fellow, named *Shádee* (Anglice, “gladness,” “marriage,”) said to be a master mason, to superintend the construction, in our absence in the plains, of an archway between our dining and drawing rooms. Not only a skilful builder, he has also the reputation, among his folk, of being a sad dog as a *Lothario*. The fate of a contractor who failed to fulfil a previous like engagement, will, I shall hope, induce this man to look about him ; for it is a habit among *Simlah* contractors to do everything in a very unworkmanlike manner, and with inferior materials.

27th November.—The Past Master (not yet a “Royal Arch,” though arch enough if that means artful,) has commenced zealously by bringing a lot of workmen this morning to begin with, but I could wish he were less promiscuous.

celebration, was gaily dressed, and quite *débonnaire*-like. It was remarked that he was in the highest spirits ; and, being a great favourite, he was welcomed all round. Engaged to accompany some friends in a trip into the interior for a few days, he went with them accordingly the same afternoon. All were on horseback, and the road being narrow, they rode through the mountain windings in single file—in twos when able ; but when arrived near *Máhaseo*, about twelve miles inland from *Simlah*, a goat or something slid down the side of the crag by which he was riding, and, as was said, alarmed his horse. It suddenly shied just where the *khud* or mountain ravine was very cavernous, and into it both horse and rider at once disappeared. The party bringing up the corpse of the unfortunate young man, was viewed from a bungalow in the same neighbourhood temporarily occupied by the young couple, as it wound round the steep upon which the solitary dwelling stood.

Fresh
Dacoitie
in
Goruck-
pore.

A report reaches us of another dacoitie with murder, a few nights ago, in the Goruckpore district, which looks very much like the deed of the same gang which perpetrated a similar outrage last month in the same district (*vide* p. 391.) A trader returning with two servants, from a market bazaar, with some goods laden upon a bullock, was waylaid by a gang of robbers at an early hour of the night and plundered, the owner *killed*, and his two men wounded. This looks bad for Goruckpore ! And from Bendlekund comes a rumour of an act of poisoning, but of which we have to learn something more certain, two persons having been the victims³ (*vide* p. 273.)

A
Poisoning
Case.

Capture
and
Death of
Buksha
Meena.

29th November.—I have noticed how Tomandar Teekaram, of our Nujjeeb Force, lately detected a wanted man in woman's disguise (*vide* p. 233.) Here is a free translation of another report from the same officer, in Jeypore territory, of date a few days ago : " Yesterday our approver, *Hookma Meena*, proposed to me to send off some Nujjeebs to *Dhára-Suddurpoora*, where he had learnt that *Buksha Meena*, general number 7334, was hiding himself with his father, another registered man, and two or three others. I took up the suggestion and deputed four men, under Lance-Duffedar Azeem Khan, to go to that place, accompanied by a couple of scouts on the part of the approver; arrived near where, all lay hid at an hamlet short

³ P.S.—The Political Officer for Bendlekund said this was not of a "professional type." But the thug poisoner has a knack of doing a professional thing in a seeming unprofessional way.

of it, and sent on one of the scouts for three or four more men of their lot, on returning with whom all proceeded a little way. The arresting party was then advised to lie by while one should go on to feel the way. This man presently came back saying that *Buksha* and his father, had just together gone into the village for their meals, and it was proposed that some of the party should accompany him to a spot by the way, where they would be able to fall upon and seize both as they returned to their concealment. This was acted upon, and when the man *Buksha* singly came out of the village half an hour subsequently, our men waylaid him. He resisted and dealt one of them a blow on the head with his sword. The weapon happened to be a notched one, and thereupon they cut him down. Hearing them cry out that they had got their man, the Lance-Duffedar rushed out with his men from their ambush. *Buksha* was holding a naked sword and two men were trying to hold him down. He was at once disarmed and they were about to bind him, but, seeing he was badly wounded, they placed him upon a *chárpaí* and were about to lift him away, when the whole people of *Dhára-Suddur-poorá* turned out to rescue him. They were warned that the man was a *registered criminal*, and that we would not let them take him away if we could prevent it. He was carried thereupon to *Ruggo-náthghur*, where, owing to the severeness of his wounds, he was conveyed to the *Thanahdár* of the place, who took down his statement. The *Thanahdár* then sent the prisoner over to me; and I at

once had his wounds sewn up and his depositions taken. He declared that he had been wounded at the hands of *Khooshála*, one of the Meenas; that this man owed him a grudge, and would have taken his life if the Nujjees had not come up. I enclose his statement. Buksha's sword was covered with blood, and he has no doubt wounded one or more of those who first fell upon him; but these had left before the prisoner was crossed over to me, and they will probably keep out of the way through fear. I will report what further may happen, but Buksha is alive and conscious." (Memo. : He died two days subsequently, as also did the man *Kooshálah*, from the sword-cut he had received at his hand.)

Open Act
of
Plunder
at a
Railway
Station.

Perhaps the following, coming from Etawah, was more a case of trying 'prentice hands, than of downright marauding, and I only note it for retention sake. A few mornings ago, a couple of Marwárees who, with their wives, had been travelling during the night by railway, were put down at dawn at the Dibyapore Station. They were required to leave the platform, and as there was no serai near enough to go to at that early hour, they moved to a tree hard by, and there waited for the day to get later. Presently some men, assuming to be the railway police, came up to their bivouac, threatened and hustled them, and made off with the personal ornaments the frightened females hurriedly took off for them.

30th November.—It was stated in the adverse decision of the Puncháyt Court of the 16th October,

in the case of the complicity of the Jeypore Rajah's favourite courtier in the great Mohunpoora dacoitie (*vide* p. 386,) that it would be referred for the final decision and orders of the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajpootanah. It has been communicated to-day, that the recommendation of that intermediate Court, to quash the proceedings of the Lower Court and restore the courtier to place and favour, *has been assented to!* I suppose this was conceded shortly prior to Eden's death. *Futtehjee* will not, I think however, long refrain from renewing the profitable connivance.⁴

⁴ P.S.—On the 10th September, 1868, a *kuttár* or camel caravan of merchandise, was plundered by Meenas, near Bhowanee, the entrepôt described in my Report regarding the condition of Shekawatie (p. 398,) and a booty valued at 9500 rupees obtained. And on the 2nd November, 1868, a treasure convoy was, as in the Mohunpoora case, similarly plundered by the same people, near Bandárez in Jeypore territory, at a spot on the high-road from Agra, where the same gang had previously perpetrated a similar dacoitie on the 21st October, 1859. In that repeated dacoitie, the treasure plundered consisted of a quantity of English sovereigns to the value of 55,000 rupees, and Government rupees 20,000 in addition, the whole amounting to a booty of 75,000 rupees. The consignment had been remitted from Calcutta for conveyance to Sahoochar named *Kunnya Láll*, residing at Lutchmunghur in *Shekawatie*. The gang was composed, on both occasions, of Meenas from the British district of Shajánpore near Delhi, banded with others residing at *Dhára-Suddurpoora*, the same place of which the Meenas came out to rescue the man *Buksha*, as reported by Tomundar Teekaram (*vide* p. 438.) In this second affair near Bandárez, the plunderers were disguised in blue police uniform, a device adopted on other occasions, as has been shown (*vide* p. 429 to 434, vol. i.,)* and the robbery was successfully carried out, although "both horse and foot of the Jeypore service were posted there." The hour of the robbery was "at about one *páss* of the night," that is, at about 9 p.m., after the convoy had pulled up for the night. A man of the slender escort with it, was wounded, but the robbers scarcely met with any opposition. Our information was that this repeated act of plunder was procured by the same high

Reported Confirmation of the Reversal of the Sentence passed on the Courtier, *Futtehjee*

* *Post-scriptum*: Omitted to be so shown in the pages here quoted; but the File in the case referred to, (Mail robbery at Oomurgah,) shows that the leader of the gang was disguised in the uniform of the Nizam's Cavalry.

Account
of Colonel
Eden's
Death.

James Blair was married at Aboo on the 22nd ultimo, to a daughter of Arthur, who, as Persian interpreter, was on Sir James Outram's personal staff in Persia at the same time as myself. He is now Lieutenant-Colonel and is officiating as Resident at Baroda. Colonel Eden was staying with Colonel Arthur at the time at Mount Aboo, preparatory to the departure down the hill of the entire Rajpootanah Agency on the customary annual tour through some of the Native States, himself on sick leave to England. He had been present at the wedding, but on the 24th had two or three fits of apoplexy in succession while sitting at breakfast. "His illness" (writes Blair, his senior assistant as well as mine, from the Agency Camp at Erinpoora,) "was most unexpected, coming on the very day we were to march; he rallied in a most wonderful manner, and seemed quite strong

individual, now at once more powerful and more capable for such designs than before, from the fact of the triumph of his acquittal in the Mohunpoora case: "These repeated dacoities are committed fearlessly, through connivance on the part of Futtehjee Rhatore; but if what we tell you" (added our intelligencers) "should reach him, he would have us poisoned, and we pray you to think of that. He has obtained the release of *Dulla* and three other Meenas who were in the Maharajah's jail at Jeypore for theft, and, in order completely to destroy all clue to the real perpetrators of this fresh dacoitie, he has appointed those four persons to be false informers in it; but in point of fact, that treasure was impudently plundered by the gang pointed to, and that too *through the connivance* ('*bu-indiyut*,') of *Futtehjee Rhatore himself*." We later on arrested the two Meena leaders in this act of plunder, named *Jeewun* and *Shunkur*, a father and son, and both general number men. Both were, on conviction of habitual dacoitie, sentenced to transportation for fourteen years; but they remained close, and further research into the imparted information was reserved for a better opportunity.

and in health when Colonel Keatinge took over charge from him at Deesa, but suddenly relapsed and died at Ahmedabad. In many respects, a nobler fellow than poor old Eden never lived. I have never yet met any one with such tender feelings, so courteous, and so nice in all his dealings and perceptions."

Blair thinks the new Agent Governor-General is opposed to heavy sentences upon dacoits, except in rare cases, and that he considered seven years quite sufficient; and further, that he was inclined to look more to a specific charge of dacoitie as *in* which the arraigned individual took part, than to the fact of the *proved occurrence thereof* (irrespective of the man's part in it,) being only sent up by us to support the general charge of his "belonging to a gang of dacoits while engaged in dacoitie."—"I have, since he took charge" (added Blair,) "committed *Môhun* to be tried by him. The man has confessed to seven dacoities (besides one for which he had been already punished,) but of these only one has as yet been authenticated; and that one was the selected *specific act* with which to support the *general charge* against him. I doubt whether he will get from the Colonel even seven years! I mention this because I know you hold a very different opinion on this same question. I represented to him of how little consequence we deemed any one specific act when compared to the general charge, and he clearly told me he was against life imprisonment."

Supposed
Views of
the new
Head
Agent on
Thuggee
and
Dacoitie
Cases.

Proposed
Leniency.

I fear from this, that I shall have to go over the

Reflec-
tions on
the
Subject.

whole ground of my frequent explanations again. It is not that the gentlemen to whose tribunals these special cases are referred, lack the talents, the capacity, or the inclination to make themselves zealous in aiding Government by those talents and their intelligence, in suppressing a great evil, an evil springing from *combination* to commit evil—but because, as my predecessor also submitted, a judge or trying authority was required who was not predisposed to create or take advantage of technical impediments, but rather one who understood and could appreciate the full value of all evidence of whatever kind that might be forthcoming, and was admissible. To this I would add, that in minds so adversely predisposed, the scope, the meaning, the intent of the Legislature in devising the exceptional law which provides for the reception of the evidence pointed to, by which to be able to cope with those combinations, those associations for the purposes of crime, are not properly comprehended or taken in, until at length, with maturer reflection, but after many disappointments to the special department charged with the executive work of suppression, a correcter appreciation is formed; yet not without its drawbacks too, the tendency then being to run into the opposite extreme—in short, then generally to pass extreme sentences indiscriminately, as though “by order”!

It is, then, the comprehensive nature of the Law against “belonging to gangs of thugs, or of dacoits, or of robbers by profession, while engaged in thuggee, or dacoitie, or habitual robbery, as the

case may be, or of thuggee by means known to be likely to cause death," that is not rightly understood. What is association or combination for criminal purposes? It is a secret society centred in certain well-understood oaths and rules, that bind and guide all those admitted into it, as agents for carrying out unlawful deeds in combination one with another—members with members, tribal congeries with their congeners, leaders of gangs with leaders—all the threads of whose action are drawn into those set rules and customs (each tribe having its own distinctive modes of guidance and procedure,) as the *guiding centre* of each organization, all mutually depending upon each other, and, as well upon that "governing focus" (so to term those rules and the principles which guide all,) as between all the atoms of the several confederacies. If, then, there were no such organizations, the secret associations concerned, would crumble away; and it is to reduce them to that extremity, to that *effacement*, that the agents of Government, that is, *the special Thuggee Police*, are called into existence, themselves acting in like manner upon their own set rules, by which to enable them to do so. They find that the persons who perpetrate the outrages indicated, have a special way of making that null which would be evidence against them in Courts of Law under ordinary procedure, and that from the nature of their crimes, secret, darkly planned, esoteric, there is seldom any evidence, certainly none reliable, of *eye-witnesses*, except what may be acquired from *accomplices*—that there is none, in short, in any

The
Kernel of
all Secret
Societies.

specific act of the multitude committed by the particular association, by which to support any trial on that specific instance, *taken alone*; but on the other hand, *abundance* to prove *association*; and that it only remained to prove it by supporting a charge of "association," with authenticated instances of the actual occurrence of specific acts, such as the particular tribe to which the arraigned parties *belonged*, was in the habit of committing. The special law hereupon comes in, by its applicability to such unusual cases. It provides special punishments on proof, not of any specific act taken by itself, but of association *diagnosed* by proofs of the *occurrence* of certain specific cases, or in other words, and in the language of the special law, on proof of a *general charge*, that the arraigned party "belonged to a gang of habitual dacoits" (or thugs, etc.) "while engaged in dacoitie, etc.":—And so expansive is that special law (as well under the old Acts, as under the new Penal Codes which have taken their place,) that if the prosecution fails in one case, the prisoners may be repeatedly tried, till one after another (a seldom necessity,) the several specific instances of habitual crime, their complicity in which had been previously recorded against them, *have been exhausted*. Thus if the general charge, thus described, is proved, it is not competent to the trying authority to award any sentence upon conviction thereof, than what the special law lays down, irrespective of whether the convicted party was or was not present in any one

of the specific instances which supported the general charge upon which he was convicted. But some trying authorities have sometimes conceived to ignore the intention of the general charge, by turning to the adduced specific instance, and withal to acquit the prisoner under trial, because it had not been proved that he was present in that specific act of crime, or proved insufficiently, and because the attesting accomplices were not confirmed *aliunde* (which in a general charge is unnecessary, however otherwise it may be in a specific act of crime as a distinct charge,) holding, that such proof was necessary, *irrespective of association*, although it was for association *per se* that he had been sent up for trial! Thus a man is often acquitted, or some limited sentence passed upon him, and thus too, a hardened criminal is set at once at liberty, or so soon as his short sentence has expired, whatever the proofs of association had been, again to commit crime banded in the same companionship of which he was an enrolled member!

Such instances have often happened, and will continue to happen on every occasion of the nomination, to try these exceptional cases, of some authority not used to them, or of one by whom the scope of the special law in such cases is not sufficiently appreciated;⁵ and such decisions as often baffle us

Obstruction
exemplified.

⁵ P.S.—“It should be added, however, that judges have generally been found willing to receive the statements of approvers as good evidence, when care has been taken to satisfy their minds that, in recording their depositions, every care has been taken to make collusion next to impossible, and that no opportunity has been neglected of corroborating such evidence, whenever susceptible

Instructions of the Government of India to the General Superintendent.

in our efforts to put down these criminal societies. Thus it has happened that a man sentenced, say, to five or ten years' imprisonment, has offered to serve as an approver on the usual conditional terms (below repeated.) He gives us a narrative of his criminal career, admitting in it not only his actual presence in the specific act on account of which he had been leniently dealt with, but a long list of others similarly committed in confederacy with others. The orders of the Government of India are, that an individual, the offer of whose services are accepted by the head of the special executive department, to whom it appertains to do so if required, shall be put upon his trial upon those admissions: "You are authorized" (they run,) "to offer mercy to anyone from whom you may expect valuable assistance, on condition that he makes a full and ingenuous confession":—"The promise which you may make is not a promise of entire pardon. His Lordship has before him such strong proofs that offenders of this class are irreclaimable, that he cannot consent to let them loose on society, however long the period of their confinement may have been, or however unexceptionable their demeanour during that confinement may have been, or the value of the information given by them": "The mercy you are authorized to promise extends only to exemption from capital punishment and transportation, and to such indul-

of collateral proof by a careful local inquiry." (*Taken from Col. Hervey's Report to the Government of India, No. 199, dated 21st April, 1866.*)

gences in confinement, as may be compatible with the safe keeping of the prisoners. Every promise of this sort you may give, the Government will hold itself bound to perform, even though it should appear that, in giving such a promise, you have not exercised a sound discretion": "The promise you are authorized to make, may be made either to persons who have been convicted, or to persons who have not been tried": "His Lordship in Council directs that in every case in which you may think fit to promise mercy in the name of Government, to a thug or a dacoit who has not been convicted, you will commit him for trial. His conviction will, under such circumstances, be a matter of course. It will scarcely give any trouble to the Court by which he may be tried. It will leave him a competent witness, and he will be detained for life in confinement under an authority which can never be questioned, and in a manner strictly regular": And of such offenders my predecessor recorded, and I affirm, that being robbers and murderers by hereditary profession, "it was clearly unsafe to release them on society after trial, since they would all certainly return to their old trade, and it became necessary therefore, to provide for their safe keeping by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, to be suspended over them pending good behaviour, in whatever employment it might be found safe and suitable to provide for them." Through the exigencies of the special service, it has however, sometimes happened, that the trial contemplated in the above precepts, of a

time-expired convict, has been postponed. It had not been found convenient to send him up for the ordeal above enjoined in view to a sentence for all time, but he has nevertheless given evidence against many accomplices meanwhile, who moreover have, upon his evidence with that of other accomplices, been convicted and sentenced. At length the opportunity has come round to commit him for trial on the general charge. The Trying Authority, fortuitously new to such cases, acquits him, or declines to try him, declaring the man "could not be a second time tried on what (to his perception,) was the same charge as that upon which he was on the previous occasion tried and convicted"; and this, notwithstanding that the specific act of crime that has on the renewed occasion been instanced, whereby to support the charge of general dacoitie, was altogether a different one from that adduced when he was previously charged and inadequately sentenced. The result is, his former sentence having expired, he is released and set at large to revert to crime, join his old association, or if discarded there, to set up a new gang on his own account; or his life is taken at the fiat of the association against which he had given evidence.* This is no imaginary case. Misconceptions of the kind have occurred and continue to be conceived (*vide* Oomrao's case, p. 170 to 173, and particularly a memo. at p. 174, vol. ii.) and they are always to be regretted, for they impede our work.*

* For example—
James
Carey's
vide, p. 75,
vol. i.

* *Vide* Appendix E.

P.S.—As to the subject of the text (Thug and Dacoit Trials, and

1st December, Sunday.—Walk vigorously among the hills and woods round about throughout the forenoon. At evening to church, where the congregation numbered but a few only more, than that memorable one when Dean Swift exhorted his clerk, the sole member of it : “ My dearly beloved John, the Scripture moveth you and me in sundry places, etc.” Empty
Pews.

2nd December.—At eight o'clock our gong is sounded for the workmen to gather to their task ; and then, with a cessation for an hour for meals at noon, at 5 p.m. it beats their retreat from the labours of the day. Yesterday they were not, of course, required to come here, though some do employ native workmen of a Sunday, the reason being that our *Sunday* is not observed by natives and that they invariably take work elsewhere if excused where they are in daily employment. But though excused attendance of a Sunday, they claim wages Native
Workmen
of a
Sunday.

the *leniency of the sentences often passed upon the persons convicted in them* (p. 443,) the following Press information is opportunely announced from Calcutta, under date 15th June 1890, showing that the evil I had from time to time brought to notice while in employment in India, still continued, and was still complained of !—“ The despatch from the Supreme to the Provincial Governments on police administration, is attracting much attention. The Government has undertaken the difficult task of attempting to reform what is perhaps the most unsatisfactory of all Indian Departments. The Bengal Government for once is about to appoint a special commission for the purpose, under the presidency of a civilian of high rank. A separate despatch addressed to the Bengal High Courts, points to the *lenient sentences passed on habitual criminals as one cause of the inability of the police to cope with crime.*” This furnishes an apt commentary on the sentence passed by the High Court at Bombay on some *Sunnórah* thieves, narrated in footnote, p. 380 !

for it nevertheless, because, as they set up, they were ready to come if it had been so desired. This they know they seldom are—so that they get the day's wage here, and an additional wage for it elsewhere!—Snow-clouds gathering, darkening the sun.

3rd December.—We get Hugh's first letter since he left. He is on duty in the perched-up hill fortress of Gwalior, that bone of contention on the part of the Maharajah Scindiah.⁷

Receivers. 4th December.—In regard to Shekawátie, it is reported that certain persons residing at Kheawálee, a village in the Khêtree State, chiefly Meenas,

⁷ P.S.—This remarkable stronghold, the continued retention of which by the British Government, was always a grievous sore to Scindiah, was, at a subsequent period, restored, to his great satisfaction; for he had sought in vain for its relinquishment by us to his dominion, and he seemed to have lived only for the attainment of that one desire of his heart, for he died soon after. The bestowed favour greatly softened his habitual soreness towards us. His creation, at a prior date, to Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Star of India; and later on, his admission to the rolls of the British Army in the grade, *uno saltu*, of a Lieutenant-General, so grateful to his military proclivities, also very greatly gladdened him. This concession to his well-known aspirations, gracefully brought about, as it was, through the thoughtful and well-conceived recommendation of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, after the opportunity of a personal acquaintanceship with the Maharajah in India, acted like a balm to His Highness's spirits, already much ruffled by the limitation inexorably placed by the Government of India, upon the number of his troops, whom he loved to manoeuvre and used very ably to handle. During Lord Napier's memorable *camp of exercise at Delhi*, I overheard the Maharajah making some very shrewd remarks to his officers, on the disposition of our forces, as from the famed Delhi Ridge, he viewed *McMurdo's* Division, appointed to succour the Delhi garrison, opposing the attacking forces under *Travers* and *Tombs* advancing from two directions; and not less precise or critical were the observations offered in reply by one of His Highness's sirdars.

Shekâwuts, Bedâwuts, and Bowreas, are the general receivers of the goods plundered in that direction. Such receivers are called Thángees by the profession, and we have several such in our criminal lists. But offenders of that sort are so very pre-cautious, that it is difficult to gain conviction against them. When Thuggee Officer down Bombay, I tentatively sent up for trial a Sahoocar of Ahmednuggur, on a charge of aiding and abetting dacoits by receiving property plundered in dacoitie, on what I had regarded to be conclusive evidence thereof; but the committal was to a Regulation Court, and I signally failed, the evidence of approvers *not being accepted*.

The day closed very gloomily. The evening set in heavily, with sleet and hail, and by nightfall it came on to snow. A peep out of window at bedtime, showed the ground and hill-sides and our lawn, overlaid with snow. Servants shivered with cold, and white mice pets were in throes of extremity. Snow at Simlah.

5th December.—Oh! the sight of snow everywhere about you, to those who have lived long in the plains in India,^s and oh! the recollections of

^s P.S.—A long time as regarded myself, although latterly each hot weather has been passed at Simlah. Excepting a visit of a fortnight or three weeks to *Máhábleshwur* at an early period of my career, I was *twenty-seven years* in India before residing at a hill station. But I remember the lamented Lord Elgin wisely remarking on this question of the habit of going to the hills, *that one was quite right to go there as often as he could*. “And no fool he,” replied he of an officer of whom it had been observed (not very kindly,) that he was “always going to the hills.” The privilege was certainly very great that admitted such an advantage, and the boon of it was very considerably yielded.

home it brings to your mind—aye ! and of the rejoicings there in snow season ! Jáko mountain, and indeed all our side of Simlah, was covered with a white mantle when we rose this morning ; to us a very novel sight—that is, to myself who had not seen *domiciled* snow, snow with habitation, where men inhabited—for so many years, except, I should say, at *Whôttoo*, when on a short excursion to the interior hills four years ago. Much of it, however, soon melted away to-day in the glorious noon sunshine.

Bad Case
of Rob-
bery at
Rhôtuck.

6th December.—A bad case from Rhôtuck, of the dwelling of a woman being forcibly entered at midnight by a small gang of plunderers a few nights ago, who strangled her, and escaped with all her property. Two of the local police are said to have been wounded by the robbers on their offering to resist them. It is refining closely, to declare this to be “only a house trespass with murder,” rather than a deliberate act of dacoitie ; only, too, it seems, because the plunderers numbered no more than five persons ! *

* In the
Indian
Penal
Code soon
subse-
quently
enacted,
five or
more per-
sons were
declared
to con-
stitute a
“gang.”

The Cold
at Simlah.

7th December.—Our white mice were discovered this morning in their comfortable enough it seemed but all too cold nests, contorted round about each other and dead, save one small “lively one.” Winter would be a sorry lot to us and our belongings of birds and pets to weather, up here.—Dined impromptu last night with the Courtenay-Scotts, who stay on here till spring ; but it was quite a business to get back along the slippery ways from their *châlet* “Hainault.” Fortunately it was moon-

light, all the brighter for its "sleeping upon snow."
—The office and baggage carts having reached Umbálah, we prepare to catch up the convoy at Delhi.

8th December, Sunday.—Mr. Baly preached a clever sermon at the morning service to-day on the Advent.—The afternoon employed in packing up in readiness to start early to-morrow.

9th December; Kyáree Ghat stage bungalow.—We left Simlah this morning. The air was sharp and frost-full as we descended the steep way, and long icicles hung down the rocky sides wherever water rills had oozed. The roadway down the steep was being considerably widened, and shaggy *Ladákhee* labourers were at the work all the way down, blasting and cutting away the mountain-sides—a strange set of people and of wild aspect, their long streaming but slender locks escaping from under grimy scull-caps, their persons quaintly clad in the coarsest and blackest woollen clothing, and sandals on their splay feet—strong, sturdy, unwieldy fellows, inured to the severe mountain climate in winter, good-humoured withal, but of silent disposition, and perfect oxen at labour. No porters to equal them except those I have seen in Persia! They lift the heaviest of loads, and have a way of having their burdens strapped on to their broad backs. I have met them thus *harnessed*, conveying in this manner, from the interior hills along the Thibet road, astonishingly large and heavy logs or beams of pine-wood, that stretched right across the narrow way, avoiding obstruction at intricate or

We leave
Simlah.

Ladákhee
Labourers

Their
Women.

winding parts of it, by slanting their bodies sideways, and in like manner to let wayfarers pass by; and, when coming to a too steep declivity, sitting down and letting themselves slide down it, loads and all, as boys do down sloping rocks on our sea-coasts at home—nor will they cease from the toilsome tramp as long as daylight lasts. Their women, of similar grotesque presence, and carrying long conical baskets, called *kilta*, filled with “all sorts” upon their backs, might pass for the men but for their plaited tails of hair, entertwined with curiously strung *slabs* (so to describe them for their bigness,) of malachite-resembling stones of turquoise. I have, from time to time, collected a few specimens of these green turquoises, though obtained with some difficulty; for they are prized, and the grim old girls are not so ready to part with their ornaments. In severe weather the male *Ladákhee* wears a rough black blanket thrown across his chest and shoulders, and fastened exactly after the manner our Highlanders don their tartan wraps.

As usual in a first day's march, everything is behind time, servants straggle in irregularly, under various excuses, glad although all are to leave the too cold place behind them; and of method, however precisely pre-arranged, there is not a symptom.

Solon.

10th December; *Solon bungalow*, 14 miles.—Our people got away with the baggage coolies betimes this morning, but could not do so quietly. We breakfasted before starting, enabled to do so by

the bungalow attendants, and so got here leisurely. I walked as far as the "Krôle," a huge mountain, which, on account of its numerous indentations (*curls* as they might be written,) closely hugging which the road winds, has to be tediously circum-ambulated before Solon, lying only on its opposite side, can be reached. The heights round about, are just now occupied by detachments from the several European regiments quartered at neighbouring hill stations, now out here for the usual annual Enfield rifle practice, butts for which have been conveniently ranged in the vicinity. On some of the hill-tops field fortifications have been thrown up, which, with groups of small tents here and there, and shelter places behind parapets, give the several pickets posted round about an appearance of occupation in force of some strategical position.

As we are travelling on the postal line, our letters are made up into a separate packet marked "outside the bag," to be left by the ^{Dák} runners as they speed by our halting-ground. A packet was thrown down for us during the night accordingly, with a shout from the carriers as they hasted by. A letter from a friend says the Supreme and Bombay Governments were not in accord on the subject of the troops for Abyssinia, the former wanting more to be sent from the Bengal side. This was naturally resisted by Bombay, to whom it belonged to furnish all the requirement, for the invasion of a country which fronted their sea-board (*vide* p. 354.) Writes my correspondent : "The Bombay Govern-

Rifle
Ranges.

Dák
Runners.

The
Supreme
versus the
Bombay
Govern-
ment.

ment are quite capable of managing the business, and I am not sorry to see the Supreme Government resisted on this point. I think, however, they are blundering in this Abyssinian matter. If I could have been consulted, I would have counselled to send no more than two or three thousand men upon it, for the present, under *Merewether* as the commander, who could be supported with more if the demonstration did not serve to bring about the immediate release of the captives."—A very large force is certainly being called out for the projected invasion, if we should consider that the Portuguese were able, two hundred or so years ago, not only to invade Abyssinia, but even to march upon its capital and occupy it, with a force numbering *no more than four hundred men and some cannon!* For it is stated that our only object is to effect the prompt release of our countrymen, and not to hold the territory.

Dacoitie
in Jessore

We have from Bengal an instance in Jessore, on the night of the 6th inst., of a gang burglary converted into a dacoitie. The robbers attempted to effect a noiseless entrance into a house, but failing, did so with open violence. This is a very common practice, as I have shown, on the part of certain professional robber classes, *ex gr.*, of the *Khaikarees* in Southern India and Madras (in the latter territory more ordinarily called *Kôrchurs* and *Korwurroos*—*vide* p. 25, vol. ii.) and last year there were similar cases in Jessore, where indeed a race much resembling the *Kôrwurroos* exists, called *Bêdeas* and *Bydeas*, who although Mahomedans

The Local
Criminal
Races.

(which the Korwurroos are not,) like them ostensibly are basket-makers from the leaves of the date-tree, and like them, too, are locally well known to be expert night burglars. The present case is ascribed to common local thieves ; but with the presence in Jessore (as also in Dacca and Mymen Sing,) of the persons above described, and with their ascertained character for robbery, the habit is too readily followed on such occasions by the local police, of reporting what is perpetrated in that way, as acts of *simple burglary only*, the “ deed of *common local criminals* ;” for local although *Bédeas* are, and *Keechucks* and other such classes to be met with in the Lower Provinces, in the Presidency division particularly, in which Jessore is situated, they are *organized robbers* addicted to crime, and should be prosecuted as such. It is, moreover, to be observed and noted, that although professing to be *Mahomedans*, these *Bédeas* or “mere *Shikârees*,” (as are also the noted Pârdhee robbers of Berâr, before described—*vide* p. 205,) worship and make offerings, as Khaikarees and other predatory classes do, to *Kali*, the tutelary deity of them all, and it is almost a sure indication of their being a criminal class who do so. During the preceding two or three years, certain organized robbers styled the *Jenida* and the *Mochee* gangs, were put down by the special local Dacoitie Department in Jessore and neighbouring districts, and why not now these *Bédeas*, or for the matter of that the gangs from “*Lohagáda*” and “*Bághirhát*,” to whom it is the fashion to ascribe so many of the

robberies, though with detection out of proportion to their excesses?

Dhurrumpore.

11th December; *Dhurrumpore bungalow, eleven miles.*—We left Solon, as yesterday, after breakfast, and got here in the middle of the day, very pleasantly, the sun's warmth taking off the chillness of the air. The hill station of Subáthoo we have left long behind; but here we are in the neighbourhood of that of *Dugshai*, rather bleakly situated atop of a high scarped rock, and planned, laid out, and perfected, by Sir Robert Napier when he was the Executive Engineer for the Sirhind Division. Its drawback is not only the difficult ascent to it, but that its water-supply is at the base of the hill, and might be cut off.—One of the baggage carts was a long time delayed. The Nujeeb in charge had, against orders, allowed eighteen bundles belonging to followers, which had been apportioned among the several carts, to be packed upon it, in addition to its own appointed load. The poor bullocks were thus overweighted, so the delinquent had to submit to a fine.

Dugshai Hill Station.

Before leaving the last stage, I narrated to some officers there present on rifle practice, who were staying at the Solon bungalow (one of whom had exchanged from Madras, and was curious on the subject, he having been present at the station on the occasion,) the story of the murder some time ago at Bellary, a Madras station, of *Mr. Horsley*, the local magistrate, by a gang of those very *Korwee-Khaikaree* burglars (incidentally alluded to in footnote at p. 94,) and how the man who

The Story of the Murder of Mr. Ralph Horsley.

struck the fatal blow, was eventually detected and punished, and I here transcribe the account of it from my report of the occurrence to the Government of India: "I reported last year, that the murder of Mr. Ralph Horsley, of the Madras Civil Service, in his house at Bellary, on the night of the 4th July, 1856, had now been traced by this Department, to a small gang of *Khaikárees* alias *Kôrwurroos*. The occurrence had been incidentally mentioned to me by a friend of the Madras Presidency, who happened to be passing through Jubbulpore, and was my guest. This officer's wife was at Bellary when the occurrence took place, and she related to me at this visit, the horror it had occasioned throughout the station. I was struck with some of the particulars she had narrated, and I felt persuaded in my mind of *the particular class* of persons to whom the outrage might be traced, notwithstanding the general local belief, of which I was also told, that it had been brought about with a view to obtain possession of certain bonds connected with a case then under investigation, or of some other official documents referring to a case of torture then recently under the lamented gentleman's magisterial inquiry, to abstract the private box in which they were supposed to be deposited, the robbers had been hired. I communicated at once on the subject with Mr. Hearn, who had succeeded me as Assistant General Superintendent at Belgaum, and desired him separately to examine certain of his approvers and prisoners *whom I named*,

and the result was that my suspicions were confirmed.

“Mr. Ralph Horsley resided with his brother (also a member of the Madras Civil Service, and then but recently joined,) in a bungalow somewhat detached from the other dwellings of the station (at a lonely spot close by a small temple.) They occupied opposite sides of the house, and that evening two young military friends from the cantonments had dined with them. On their departure the two brothers parted for the night: ‘The deceased retired to his dressing-room, where he undressed, and, after reading and praying, as was his practice, he called his servant, gave him his candle, and lay down on his bed.’ At midnight, when all was hushed, a servant sleeping in the verandah, was aroused by a sharp cry from his master, proceeding from an inner apartment, on his entering which he found him lying on his face weltering in blood. A stab on the back, inflicted from behind, had extended to a vital part of the chest, and death had already taken place. The consternation was great—the younger brother’s distress indescribable. As reported by the senior magistrate of the district:—‘The perpetration of this atrocious act, excited feelings of horror and indignation throughout the whole community, for the amiable young man was respected by all and beloved by many.’

“From the spot where the body was discovered, it was evident he had detected the presence of the robbers, for he had risen from his bed, deliber-

ately put on his slippers, and followed them into a room at the other end of his apartment, and was there set upon and deprived of life.

"I have in former Reports described the habits of robbers of this class, and that in gang burglary the leader particularly of the gang, was always armed with a knife or a dagger.

"Because a writing-box was carried off from under the deceased's bed, containing official papers, it was considered, as above stated, that the possession of those papers was the object for the robbery; and because a gardener or bullock-cart driver in Mr. Horsley's service, stated he had, when the alarm was taken up, perceived some men hurrying through the premises, he was suspected of complicity, arrested, confined for an indefinite period, and, it has been said, died in the interval. *But the box and the papers were found in some broken ground in the outskirts of the place, but not the more valuable contents, and the depredators were Korwee-Khaikarees, who never commit robbery associated with local parties.*"

A further clue was acquired in this way: A Khaikaree prisoner had been sent to Mr. Hearn at Belgaum, from the Toomkoor jail in Mysore, to be confronted with approvers. The evidence, on his being recognized, of general dacoitie, being strong against him, he confessed, and in the course of his examination, let out that a leader of the tribe named *Hunoora*, was concerned in the murder "of an European gentleman at Bellary." On being further questioned, the period of the murder was

elicited. An arresting party was thereupon sent out to search out Hunoora. Narrowly escaping apprehension, he was next heard of as having recently committed a gang robbery on the far side of the frontier of Mysore territory, and later on he was apprehended by the Mumlutdar of Kooshálnuggur in the Coorg country, but from whose custody he escaped just before our own detectives had come up. Our information was that he had also murdered his wife and a jail chupprasse; had committed a long list of open dacoitie and gang burglary; had twice effected his escape from Mysore jail after conviction; and twice from police parties in whose custody he was. And it strangely turned out, that when myself Assistant General Superintendent at Belgaum, I had this very *Hunoora* arrested in Madras territory for dacoitie on Bombay ground. He escaped on that occasion from a party of *the local police*, while under their escort to my camp. This was subsequent to the murder of Mr. Horsley; for of that event I was not even aware, as I was absent from the country at the date of its occurrence, and, indeed, I only learnt of it for the first time six years after the date of it, accidentally from my guests at Jubbulpore, as above stated, after my appointment to the head of the Department.

The discovery was finally arrived at in this manner: I had, when I was Sir William's Assistant at Belgaum, for some years conducted operations against the Khaikarees, and was well acquainted with their habits and peculiar ways of committing

crime, and of which I had submitted a full report to the Bombay Government (*vide* p. 426.) I had been giving some anecdotes about them to our guests at the dinner table, when the much-esteemed lady I have above alluded to, musingly said, "I wonder who it was who killed poor Mr. Horsley!" a remark which excited my curiosity; whereupon she related the particulars—thinking out which during the night, I read out to her at breakfast next morning, my notes of our conversation the previous evening, and inquired whether they tallied with what she had said of the murder; being satisfied upon which point, I telegraphed to Mr. Hearn, my Assistant at Belgaum, immediately to place certain of his Khaikarees whom I knew, in the strictest separate confinement without possibility of communicating with each other, and to await further instructions by post; and by post I supplied him with a list of questions (not any one of which was a leading one,) and requested him *himself* to put them very carefully in the order of their succession, to each one of the confined individuals in his place of close confinement; further, to restrict himself to those questions only, *himself take down each man's distinct reply thereto*, and to send off the results to me by post. All this precaution was, to prevent the possibility of any trumped-up story by the examined men in collusion with each other. The replies were satisfactory: each man knew that a "*Sahib*" was murdered a time back by a gang of the tribe; three independently stated the period, two the place of the occurrence, one the gang con-

cerned, and one claimed the leader of it, whom he named, as his accomplice in dacoitie, *as had been already recorded by him in the narrative of his own criminal career*; while yet one similarly claimed another of the gang, whom too, *he had previously named as his accomplice in robbery*; but none of the deponents personally "belonged to the gang" on the occasion of the murder. Thus we had evidence of the time, the place, the occurrence, and the names of two of the persons stated to have been concerned, all separately and independently elicited; and our registers showed that the two named persons were brothers, and that one of those two had been in our custody before, as I have said, and was let to escape by the local police (p. 464;) that he was the *leader* of the gang on the occasion of the murder; and further, that they both (the declared leader and his brother,) were claimed as accomplices by two approvers, each in a distinct act of authenticated dacoitie previously recorded by them, each in his own distinct narrative of his career. And although all this was not direct evidence, it was, from the manner in which it became divulged, sufficient for me, in so special and calamitous a case, to take action upon it. Connecting my knowledge that among Korwee-Khaikarees, when engaged in gang-burglary, the person who first crawls into the premises burglariously entered after their manner, is, as a general custom, the *leader* of the gang, and that he is always provided with a knife (*choorree*,) held generally in his mouth, with which to cut away hanging bundles, or for the purposes of defence

should the occasion arise ; connecting those items with the fact that Mr. Horsley was *stabbed*, I felt sure of *the hand* by which that deed was done, and it was for the leader *Hunoora* himself, therefore, that I was resolved to search ; on the additional ground also, that he was a fugitive who had escaped in a manner from my own custody. On the back of all this followed the additional information presently divulged by the prisoner received from the Toomcoor Jail (p. 463 ;) and so a pursuit was started accordingly, with the additional result that we now got into a hotter scent of the man. *He was at length found and captured.* Many of his misdeeds then came to light, *one being the murder of his wife.* He had been in jail undergoing imprisonment with hard labour. When the period of it had expired and he was liberated, he on rejoining his people became suspicious of the fidelity of his wife during his incarceration. He slew her out in the open country, tied up her body in a date-leaf matting, and cast the bundle down a well. On a subsequent occasion of imprisonment, he was for some reason—I think of transfer to another place of custody—sent away under the charge of a single peon or jail warder. As the two journeyed, the day being very hot and both athirst, they stopped by the way at a well, one of those led down into by a flight of stone steps to the brink of the water. The warder, in his haste to drink, thoughtlessly divested himself of both his belt and his sword, deposited them on a step, bid his prisoner take care of them while he slaked his thirst, “ when it would be his turn to

Hunoora
the Mur-
derer.

do so," descended to the water and stooped to drink. The ruffian followed, slew the poor man with his own sword, cast the corpse into the water, knocked off his fetters, threw them also into the water, and the murdered man's belt and brass breast-plate, appropriated the sword, and made off. We committed Hunoora for trial, in view to a capital conviction, to the Court of the Chief Commissioner for Mysore. He was convicted, but *Mr. L. Bowring*, who held that high office, demurred to pass the extreme sentence upon him, for want of an eye-witness to the act of stabbing, and the punishment awarded was transportation for life. We afterwards arrested his brother also, and had him successfully tried on the general charge as a professional dacoit. He also was convicted and similarly sentenced. From him we learnt more circumstantially how Mr. Horsley lost his life. It was thus: The gang consisted of *three* persons only, so the brother asserted. They had lurked in the ruined temple near which Mr. Horsley's bungalow was situated for some days, intent on robbing it directly the dark nights should be on. All houses in India are kept open to the air directly after sunset, particularly in the hot weather. The robbers watched it that night when the two officers from the cantonments came there to dine with the two brothers Ralph and William Horsley (p. 462.) The elder brother had certainly lately been investigating a torture case in his Court, the papers connected with which he used to put by in his despatch-box, an usual practice with many officials, as it is my own; and

this box used to be taken away after cutcherry hours, and placed under the gentleman's bedstead, as the robbers had perceived. That bed-room being led into through an open archway from the verandah, as also another sleeping apartment beyond it, and a bath-room similarly passed into from it, a full view into those apartments could be obtained by anyone standing outside, as also into the spacious dining-room and other chambers of the bungalow. Within the above inner sleeping room, a framework of netting stretched upon it, had lately been constructed over a low bedstead or *chárpáee* inside thereof—or a *muchurdánee* as such a contrivance is called, a kind of gauze or net covered room, for protection against mosquitoes—and beyond it was a cupboard in which the household plate was deposited of a night. It is a habit also with some, as it was on this melancholy occasion, to keep an oil night-light burning in the bath-room. When smoking had succeeded at the table after the removal of the dinner things, the conversation turning upon curiosities and such topics, the elder Horsley desired his peon or *chupprásee*, to fetch his despatch-box from under his bedstead, that on which he slept in the adjoining bed-room. This done, he opened it, and produced a fine silver snuff-box, which he showed to his young guests as being some gift or family heirloom. Again locking up which, he sent the box to be deposited in its customary place. All this was observed by the watchful robbers lurking in the dark outside. By-and-by “the two *Sahibs* rode away upon their

ponies." Ralph went into his room to undress and retire; his younger brother with a lighted cigar took the round of the grounds, visited his dogs, went to his brother's room, wished him good night, and went to bed on his side of the residence. And now soon, everyone was asleep; and nothing preventing, the robber leader crept into the bedroom softly through the arched entrance, noiselessly lifted the despatch-box, handed it to his brother, and he to the man outside. One next stole softly towards the farther sleeping apartment. Something or other roused Ralph Horsley. By the dim light of the lamp in the side little room, he perceived a man, *not Hunoora* but his brother *Hunmunta*, stealing towards the other room, and at once divined, as we suppose, that the robbers' object was *the plate cupboard*, as indeed it was. He quietly thereupon slipped on his slippers, rose, followed the man (being himself the while as stealthily followed by *Hunoora*,) entered the other room by its open archway, and flinging his arms round the man closed with him, but was instantly sprung upon by the other and *stabbed by him with his knife from behind deeply down into the chest*. Uttering a piercing shriek, he fell through the mosquito frame and perished. The disturbed robbers at once decamped. Breaking open the tin despatch-box in some covert ground hard by, and abstracting from it *the coveted silver snuff-box*, they cast the box away then and there, and all its scattered contents, and hurried away with their only prize, that silver snuff-box, but

with murder upon their brows. For the man said they were never at rest, always fearful, knowing full well that the murder of a *Sahib* would be surely followed out sooner or later.

I have always thought of this success with much satisfaction. Mr. L. Bowring, who tried the case, belonged to the Bengal Civil Service, a highly talented gentleman, the Private Secretary (*vide* p. 189,) of the grandly toiling, overwrought, Canning throughout the period of the Indian Mutiny, that troublous time when all eyes were turned upon the Governor-General of the convulsed country. No small or ordinary labour was that endured by Bowring in the service of that overtaxed nobleman. His guerdon for the time, was appointment to the Chief Commissionership of Mysore, a province to be held during the Rajah's minority, under the administration of the British Government, an extensive and an important charge. Although somewhat scrupulous in the case of Hunoora, and hopeful of the ability of the Mysore Police to cope with the robbers of the class to which that convict belonged, overrunning Mysore and Coorg (and the Madras Presidency also,) Bowring was one of those well-sighted men who could take a practical view of, and place due weight upon, evidence such as that we sent up, by the reception of which only it was possible effectually to put down such associations. He afforded us valuable assistance within the limits of his territory, and was always ready to co-operate with us in the pursuit of

Mr. Lewin
Bentham
Bowring.

criminals. He sent me a photograph of Hunoora, which I still possess,—of a stark, unhangd villain.*

Kalka.

12th December; Kálka, Hotel “*Brahminee Bull*,” 15 miles.—Jones, the Police Officer, rode up from Kalka and dined with us last night at Dhurrumpore, and also breakfasted with us there this morning. We were sorry to come away from that always enjoyable spot, its Dák bungalow being pleasantly situated, and all its surroundings agreeable.—The post brought in a heavy packet, containing, among other intelligence, a report of a dacoitie at Dhooráya in Nowlghur, committed at the unusual hour of 3 a.m., which, as not admitting of sufficient time for getting far enough away by dawn of day, leads to a supposition that the perpetrators may be discovered to have come from the neighbourhood—date, 7th instant—booty, 897½ rupees; and as Meenas have no want of patrons among local authorities, it can be conceived why that hour should be chosen by them if they were the perpetrators.

Dacoitie at
Dhooráya.

We left Dhurrumpore soon after breakfast. I walked eight miles of the way;—and on horseback the rest of it, was accompanied by an old soldier upon a pony, of the 8th King’s Own, now belonging to the 104th. He was going on leave to Agra

* P.S.—I have also photographs of *Ameer Alli*, who assassinated Mr. Norman, the Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta; of *Shere Alli*, who barbarously slew noble Lord Mayo exactly in the same manner as Mr. Horsley’s life was taken; also of *Rush*, *Palmer*, *Constance Kent*, and *Dr. Pritchard*.

to spend Christmas with his son, a signaller in the telegraph office. An old campaigner, he was a fine specimen of a steady soldier, and wore four good conduct badges.—After an early dinner at this “Hotel,” the sign-board of which displays a hugely-humped *Brahminee Bull* (the *nom-de-plume* of Herbert Edwardes, his graphic communications to the newspapers always bearing that quaint signature,) we got into a Dák Gháree early in the afternoon, and in that way travelled the forty-five miles to Umbalah, reaching it at midnight by a full moon. The poor little post-horses were much jaded, owing to the numerous requisitions for conveyances by travellers coming away from Simlah, but as there were relays at every five miles, and the different posts well supplied—not usually so when the demand is greater at the beginning of the Simlah season—we got on fairly well, the weather, too, being cold; but there was no accommodation for us on arrival at the Umbálah Dák bungalow, so we slept out the night in our post carriages.

14th December; Umbálah Dák bungalow.—Up ^{Umbálah} very early, and walked about the cantonments—all so clean swept and neat—particularly “Paget Park,” a recreation ground enclosed with an ornamental wall, and laid out by Lord George Paget when he commanded here. A heavy post kept me busy through the day. It brought me a reply to my late Report about the condition of Shekawátie. Of old never very friendly to our Department, although on the whole now favour- <sup>Government
Reply to
my Report
on Sheka-
wátie.</sup>

ably, I think, disposed towards it, Sir John Lawrence "sees no valid reason" why all that is necessary should not be accomplished *by the local political officers*. My statements are considered "vague and general," but a special arrangement in the sense of my proposal, under the control of the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajpootanah, "might be found desirable," and a reference would be made to that officer.—I am not so discouraged by this reply, for I perceive in it a spirit of concession, abrupt though the tone should be, and I do not fear the result of the reference to Colonel Keatinge, or to any one capable, after local investigation, of forming an opinion upon what I had submitted of the truly luckless and unhappy region.¹

Kurnál. 15th December; Sunday, Kurnál Dák bungalow.—We left Umbálah at 8 p.m. last night, and travelled the forty-five miles to this place by Dák, very comfortably, arriving here at 6.30 this morning; but the poor post-horses on this side of the route, had been working double tides, and in some parts of the carriage journey, had to perform two stages together without changing.—Visited the old town, and walked all about the extensive place.

¹ P.S.—I anticipate by this footnote what will presently be confirmed in due course of the narration. The Agent to the Governor-General, to whom my Report and the above reply thereto were referred, himself reported in return, to the effect that the condition of Shekawátie was worse in all his experience hitherto, of the worst conducted provinces, and he quite agreed with me in the necessity for the special measures I had advocated, and which were indeed adopted, as may be read farther on.

16th December ; Delhi, 75 miles.—We left Kurnál ^{Arrival at Delhi.} at 1 p.m. yesterday. At nightfall we pulled up at thirty miles for a scratch dinner in the open behind a hut, the woman of which rowed her husband for letting us have some of their fire-wood; and then, in a flood of moonlight, we drove rapidly on. The night air was very cold as we dashed through it. Towards morning my carriage suddenly collided against a huge heavily-laden cart. The coachman was thrown off his seat and hurt, and the springs of the conveyance broken. This happened close to the ruinous suburb gateway of old Delhi. ^{Carriage Accident.} Hailing the wife's carriage, which had run on, to stop, we together completed the rest of the distance in it, and alighted at our tents in the "Metcalf Gardens" an hour before dawn. Our camp had been comfortably pitched, all the office boxes ranged, the several writing-tables set and supplied, all *bustas* (the tied-up bundles of vernacular papers wrapped in cloths being so called,) laid out upon spread-out carpets for the mohurrirs or native writers, and everything held in readiness for the renewal of work, the establishments having also arrived. And to work we all set directly breakfast was over, and the office people had gathered.

Choona Meena was always a consummate rogue. ^{Attempted Arrest of Choona Meena.} He had too long escaped detection. A registered dacoit, and a very notorious robber, he had always managed to baffle pursuit, and to dodge our arresting parties. We have a report now from *Tomandar Teekaram*, on command at Kote-Pootlee,

dated the 11th instant—the same Nujeeb officer who so successfully ran down *Agurjee* and *Buksha* (*vide* pp. 233 and 438,)—describing how narrowly the man had escaped arrest. The Tomandar reports he got tidings of the said Choonā and three other general number men, being at Burrōde, a village in Ulwur territory: “I handed over the guard to my ‘lance,’ and started for that place, accompanied by approver Hookma Meena, and by some of his people and of our own Nujeebs. Concealing ourselves before the day broke, outside of the village, I secretly sent a Nujeeb with a request to the Jemadar of the place, to come out to us with some horsemen, but what did he do? He immediately sent word to the fugitives to look out, and then coolly came out to our concealment, as if to assist us! The horsemen next affected to help us in closing exit from the Meena quarter. Our object was to prevent those in it from coming out to help Choonā should we find him in his house, but, on the contrary, they hinted to them to rush out to rescue him if we found him, for all these fellows are all one with the Meenas. As I came up to Choonā’s dwelling, the two scouts sent out by the local Jemadar to forewarn him, emerged from it. They declared they did not know whether Choonā was within or not. We forced the door and got inside. It was just dawn, and as I came up and went in, lo! there was Choonā himself confronting us. Hookma’s men cast down their shields and swords, and flung themselves upon him. He slipped from their grasp and was pushing away

when I threw myself upon him and enclosed him in my arms. We wrestled, and in doing so we together passed into Choona's own room. Some men now flung stones from the top of the house at our party below outside, and this made them leave the spot, one of the Nujjees having been badly hit with a stone upon his head. The Nujjeeb fired at them, but got another blow and fell stunned. Within the place, however, Choona was now upon the ground under me, and I over him, holding him tightly. Upon this his son *Sheodán* attacked me sword in hand. I warded off his blows with my spear. I had received several such blows upon it, when *Sheodán*, seeing he could not prevail or wound me, seized me by the hand and bent my fingers backwards, while Choona's wife rushed at me and bit me on the thigh. They together wrested the spear from my grasp, and I received three sword-cuts on my right arm, a cut over my left eye, and another across my left collar-bone. Choona and his son did this—and then Choona managed to get away from me. He was not pursued by the horsemen, nor did they even come to assist us.³ As to our Nujjees, they had

³ P.S.—It was a long time before we had the same chance of getting hold of Choona Meena again, though we pressed him hard. He continued to be a very active dacoit. He took part in a subsequent heavy treasure dacoitie of English sovereigns at *Bandárez*, on the night of the 2nd November, 1868, mentioned in the footnote at p. 441; and in the early part of the following year (1869,) plundered the Government mail carts running between Agra and *Bhurtpore*, *four times in quick succession*; and, in order to ward off suspicion as to what he was about, he impudently offered to give information as to the perpetrators of

to look after their approver. I was wounded, I might say in the very presence of the horsemen and their commander, yet they did not endeavour to seize the runaway. I asked the local Jemadar to send someone to dress my hurts; he said there was no one there able to do so, and when I asked him and the commander of the horsemen for means to get back to my post, they declined to let me have any. And when at last I had managed to set out with my men on our return to Kote-Pootlee, and had reached Bôdnee, two koss distant from Burrôde, we were overtaken by the Tuhseeldar and the Thanadâr of the latter place, with a body of about fifty horsemen, and charged with plundering the village, and that we must go back with them, or they would compel us to do so. We explained that it was not so, but that we had come there to arrest registered criminals. The Thanadâr hereupon abused approver Hookma roundly for bringing us there; and it all ended in our being made prisoners and taken back to Burrôde, and there at evening my wounds were sewn up.

“And I am even now at Burrôde, and yet alive by the favour of Government, although both Choona and his son Sheodân did their best to slay me. My wounds are three sword-cuts on my

the leading two of these affairs, while preparing to carry out, as he did, the other two! His offer was on a condition of pardon, but on reference thereof to myself, I declined to accept anything but *unconditional surrender*. He also was arrested at last, and both father and son were *convicted* on the general charge of professional dacoitie, and sentenced to transportation. The son Sheodân was subsequently taken as an approver.

left arm, one being sewn up with five stitches, one with three, and the other with one; three sword-cuts on the right arm, one sewn up with seven stitches, one with three, and the other with one; a sword-blow on the collar-bone sewn up with four stitches, but the bone is broken; and a sword-cut over my left eye." *

17th December; Camp at Delhi.—I write to Blair Remonstrance against the threatened short Punishments. on the subject of the threatened leniency towards prisoners convicted on the general charge of dacoitie (*vide* p. 443.) I have requested him to represent to Colonel Keatinge that, should he award only short punishments, he would, I feared, but help to perpetuate the system; more especially if he should do so in the cases of *approvers*, as that in regard to them we should not have that hold over them in the matter of their evidence, which

* P.S.—Tomandar Teekaram was sixty-five when he received these wounds. He had served Government many years very zealously, and had too, saved my predecessor, Sir William Sleeman, from assassination. An offended Nujeeb fired off his rifle at that officer, but the bullet missing him killed a native officer standing by him. The infuriated man then ran *amuck*, and sword in hand rushed at Sir William and had slain him but for Teekaram, then the Colonel's orderly. He tackled the man, disarmed him, and others running up, the ruffian was arrested and eventually hanged. On my vacating office, Government was pleased, upon my recommendation, to sanction the presentation of a heavy gold-bead necklace to the Tomandar as an honorary distinction. My wish was also to obtain for the meritorious officer, admission to the "Order of British India," but under the hard and fast rules of the Order, he was not eligible for the distinction. I did not quite see this, unless a stricter observance of the rules had meanwhile been directed: for Tomandar Khyroollah Beg, another officer of Nujeebs, was, for services during the Mutiny, admitted to the Order in the grade of "Buhadoor," and on my becoming General Superintendent, I had myself obtained from Lord Canning, his admission to the allowance attached to that grade.

we possessed over a life sentenced man (*vide* pp. 124, 449, and Appx. F. ;) that the worst that could befall an approver under a limited sentence, when detected in giving false or partial evidence, was to have to fulfil the period of that punishment, at the termination of which he felt he was certain to be set at liberty : he was also able to repudiate his approvership, should he be weary of it, whenever the whim seized him ; or to screen his guilty friends or relatives, or accuse his innocent enemies—to tell, in short, any *lie* he liked, conceal anything he pleased, to run away or attempt to do so, with no fearful punishment awaiting him for so doing, other than patiently to undergo the rest of his present term of punishment, and *then go back to his friends*, not only rejoicing, but assured of their friendship and countenance because he had been true and loyal to them, and false to the Sircár ! But that, on the other hand, the *life* sentenced approver, had, if he played a false part in any one of the above particulars, the prospect only of reverting to his life-long sentence, with no other hope before him but of a weary servitude beyond the seas ; and he was thus obliged to adhere to his compact of true and faithful service, the alternative being terrible ; and, if he were rash enough to run away while serving as an approver, he was liable to be assailed, if not killed, by his former companions, for his sin in having consented to become an approver against them ; and that for the *effectual* suppression of professional criminals banded together for the purposes of

secret crime, nothing short of life-long incarceration by which to render them impotent for future mischief for all time and the example that fate furnished to others, was sufficient: "It is not the actual punishment of the individual prisoner as affecting himself only, and no one else, that we look to and which every *law* looks to, but its deterrent effects upon others which we hope for, knowing as we do that every born dacoit invariably reverts to his profession, however long the restraint he may have been under" * (*vide* p. 450.)

In the matter of the reply to my Shekawátie Report, I say to Blair, our assistant with Keatinge, I might have sent in with it a list, as I was able to do, of the excesses to which I had adverted in my Report; but that as to any *vagueness*, I did not suppose I had left *any doubt* as to the facts of what I had stated, for that I very directly had said what I thought *and had found*: "Not only a personal visit to the tract, but previous conversations with British frontier authorities, and a careful research into what had gone before, quite confirmed me in every previous information of Shekawátie, and I shall not be afraid of the result of the reference to the present local chief authority, however unpalatable my statement may be. I take it that it will be left to Colonel Keatinge to propose the

On the
Sheka-
wátie.
Question.

* Contrary to our apprehensions we discovered in Colonel Keatinge a very valuable supporter. The man *Móhun* (*v.* p. 443.) was sentenced to life transportation (whom I admitted to Approvership;) our representations received consideration; and the able officer's advocacy was enlisted (*v.* footnote, pp. 474, 498, 499, 501, vol. ii.).

alternative appointment of an assistant Political Agent for Shekawátie, who shall be, as usual, only an *ex officio* assistant to myself; but even that, although still leaving me short-handed, will be a good step in a right direction. In proposing a distinct assistant to myself, my aim was his *undivided* attention to *our* work; but under present circumstances, I must be content, impressed as I am with the importance of the duty, to take with good heart whatever crumbs are allowed me for its performance."

18th December; Delhi.—Engaged nearly the whole day in wading through a pile of vernacular papers.

19th December.—Walk out at morning to the site of the old cantonments, and along the "Ridge" and the positions of our troops during the siege of Delhi, all described in previous journals. The European parts of Delhi and the Fort are kept beautifully clean, and the roads are carefully watered. The climate too, at this season, is charming.

The
Metcalf
Estate at
Delhi.

20th December.—The spot chosen for our tents, lies, by permission, within the grounds called the "Metcalf Gardens," an estate covering several acres of ground, pleasantly stretching along the high bank of the Jumna river, a stone wall separating it on the opposite side, from a road-way which runs from the city walls direct to the site of the old Delhi cantonments that were burnt down by the mutineers. The numerous trees and its turf-covered grounds, give the deserted enclosure the appearance of a large park, some deer only wanting to complete the illusion; the still standing walls of the grand old mansion being visible from

our camp, through peeps and vistas throughout the shaded wood. But the shell only of the spacious buliding remains, the splendid dwelling having been sacked and burnt out on the outbreak of the Mutiny and massacre here enacted in 1857. The pillage was the deed of the *Goozur* inhabitants of *Chundurwál*, a village lying close outside of the farther end of the property near my present encampment, yet to whom the late owner, who laid out and formed the estate, had ever been gracious and very kind. When order was in some measure restored after the siege, and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, that gentleman's son, had resumed his position of Deputy Commissioner or local magistrate of Delhi, he traced the leading *Goozur* village members concerned, four chief men among whom were hanged for the rebellious act, on trial and conviction thereof. He had himself escaped with bare life when the outbreak first occurred, the *Lumberdár* or headman of the village at the *Kootub-Minár*, where his father had a country house, having concealed and sheltered him. The *Goozurs*, those residing round about Delhi especially, have always been a turbulent and thievish lot. I take it that their original country was Guzzerat. The late Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe died before the Mutiny, and lies buried within an elaborately carved tomb of pure white marble, surrounded by a screen of very elegant lattice-work of the same lovely material, situated close to the church inside of the Cashmere Gate (*vide* p. 402, vol. i.) The mutineers and city *bud-maashees* offered no harm to the beautiful structure,

although they desecrated the church itself, and also, it was said, the fine tomb inside of it, of rich mosaic work, in which rested the remains of the famed Colonel Skinner, of Delhi notoriety *vide* p. 402, vol. i.)—Memo. : This was afterwards denied by the family.

Our own convoy of carts, horses, dogs and birds, arrived this morning. Some followers had got upon one of the carts at night, and while asleep had overlaid a litter of five bull terrier puppies, our much distressed Vicky's little ones, killing them all.

21st December.—I thought to propose George Coleridge for the Shekawátie appointment, but understanding there might be some objection to this, he being in the service of the Bikaner Government, and Bikaner and Jeypore not being over friendly with each other, I write to-day to the Political Agent at Jeypore, that I would forego to do so, and be glad of the nomination of anyone if only it shall be *someone*. For Shekawátie is under Jeypore suzerainty. I also inquire of him whether his conviction of the ten Meenas tried by him in the *Mohunpoora dacoitie* case (*vide* p. 232,) had or not, after all, been upheld, and his sentences upon them confirmed; and tell him that it was whispered about that no expense was spared in getting their sentences altered, this being ascribed, I said, to the machinations of the man Futtehjee Rhatore, who feared that some of the convicts might turn approvers, and so disclose the whole matter.

[*Post-scriptum.* Memo : This inquiry was put by

me before the decision in the case of the Higher International Court referred to had been officially received, although the substance of it had been communicated (*vide* pp. 386 and 441.) The reference drew forth the document itself, dated 16th October, 1867, already recorded (*vide* Appendix D.) It confirmed the previous information. The tables had been turned; all the sentences of the court of trial *annulled*; and the *Mookhbirs* or local informers, who gave evidence on the trial, took the places in jail, of the dacoits who had been convicted.]⁴

Mohun-
poora
Trial Pro-
ceedings
quashed.

22nd December, Sunday.—The church at Delhi is situated within the city walls close by the Cashmere Gate. It has a dome over it and a ball and cross like St. Paul's, and it was erected by the famous Colonel Skinner, in fulfilment of a vow to do so when badly wounded in an action (*vide* p. 401, vol. i.) There was a full congregation at the service in it to-day.

23rd December.—From Meywar comes a report that bands of Môghya plunderers (*vide* p. 386, vol. i.) ravage the country right up to the walls of Oodeypore, the capital, committing very daring dacoities unchecked, and that this is in a manner

Môghya
Ravages.

⁴ P.S.—“Whenever a Meena is arrested, subscriptions are readily raised among themselves for his release, acquittal, or the amendment of the sentence which may have been passed upon him; and so certain is this course in the Rajwára or Native States that a Meena or any wealthy criminal, may, in the words of a great writer (Gibbon,) obtain ‘not only the reversal of the sentence by which he was justly condemned, but may also inflict whatever punishment he pleases on the accusers, the witnesses, and the judge.’” (*Taken from Colonel Hervey's Report to the Foreign Office, No. 1160 A, dated November, 1869, para. 95. (quoted in footnote, at p. 33, vol. i.)*)

licensed owing to the changes introduced by the ruler, now no longer under the same restraint Col. Eden used to exercise over him while British Political Agent at his Court, whose death, too, and the retirement from Oodeypore of Colonel Nixon, his successor there as Political Agent, gave the Rána the opportunity to be oblivious of their wise counsels, and to do what he liked. The information further states that he meditates the disbandment of the mounted police, which Eden had organized for him, advised to do so, it is said, *by his Thakoors*, so many of whom harboured the dacoits and shared in their plunder (*vide* pp. 308, 311, 317, 321.) The salutary reforms and checks so admirably introduced by Eden during the Rána's minority, have since this chief's installation as ruler, now two years only ago, been one by one rescinded. The Thakoors lord it over him, and misrule and lawlessness are the sure results.

Dacoitie
by Mô-
ghyas in
Meywar.

24th December ; camp at Delhi.—The intelligence recorded yesterday, was very quickly followed by tidings of a heavy dacoitie, committed by those very Môghyas. This was in Oodeypore territory, at some place situated on the bank of the *Bunás* River, about fifteen miles from the celebrated rock fortress of Chittore. The particulars of this dacoitie (communicated at a subsequent date, and here added on,) were, that it was committed upon the dwelling of a *Seth* or wholesale merchant, under the conduct of three brothers of the tribe. They came upon the expedition mounted upon camels, and, harboured at Bhilsa, in Nimbhaira of

Tonk, the interlaced districts before described (*vide* p. 373 and footnote, and p. 389,) there acquired the information upon which they undertook the deed, from a local resident. The gang, stated to have numbered from forty to fifty men, included two or three Meenas. The booty consisted principally of *opium*, to the value of about 16,000 rupees, besides some jewellery, in value about Rs. 7000 more. Hour of the robbery, midnight; casualties, none reported.

25th December, Christmas Day; camp at Delhi.—A walk along the bank of the river flanking the position which was held by the Puttiála and other Native levies under *Dick Lawrence* (Sir John's brother,) during the famous siege, led me to a dilapidated minaret and a *Tukkya* or *pillow* (as a reputed holy man's place of burial is called,) situated in solemn silence on a plain beyond *Chunderwál* the Goozur village of ill-fame hard by which my tents are pitched (*vide* p. 483,—) a deserted and uncultivated spot yielding only a scanty pasturage to goats daily led out to the waste from within the city walls. The decayed minaret is the sole remaining one of four that stood at the four corners of a crumbled Musjid, of which, too, scarcely the traces remain. The *Tukkya* was the shrine of a Mahomedan saint, but is now no longer resorted to, where to invoke the dead man's blessings and intercessions; for it now only serves as the "Müth" or lowly tenement, occupied by some Sikh *Sádhoo*s or devotees, sacred personages, and presumably good, but who are not

Musjid in
Ruins. A
Sádhoo as
to Sir
John
Lawrence
at Delhi.

Mahomedans. One of them was present—a tall, slim, one-eyed individual, wearing his hair in tangled folds wound around the top of his head—ash-besmeared; nude all but, and not nice company it seemed, yet pleasant speaking, communicative and friendly. He told me of how the locality flourished and was peopled when the British cantonments, “hard by across the Ridge over there,” were in occupation. And then he gave an account of the first arrival of our troops upon the Ridge, come to avenge the massacre at Delhi; and, flinging about his right arm as though brandishing a sword, how a battery was rushed and captured, of guns which the mutineers had established at the *Flag Staff Tower*, “over there, as though to stop you,” and the rebels driven headlong within the city defences; and, pointing to a house now scarcely recognizable, on an acclivity beyond the now deserted and void *Camp Magazine*, he exclaimed it was built and dwelt in “by this very *Ján Lawlence Sahib*,” when only a “*Chota Sahib*” in a subordinate position at Delhi. The house now comprises mere bare and broken walls, but he who erected and lived in it, the implied Junior Sahib, was at this moment in the zenith of power as *Viceroy and Governor-General of all India*—at whose bidding, too, those avenging troops had come from the Punjab to retaliate and to conquer!

Christ-
mas Day
in India.

Christmas is but a sorry time in India, a kind of travesty on merriment, a sort of mock joyousness. “I-will-be-merry,-who-says-I-am-not” kind of thing; and though plum-pudding, turkey and

roast beef abound, you are befilled without pleasure, and you joy unsatisfied for the want of the heartiness that is its accompaniment at home. To be sure, there is gathering at church on the occasion, and the usual salutations, but all else is make-believe, except however, that native friends certainly do try to make you forget your home and the presents there of the day, by their own abundant Christmas gifts of fruits, sweetmeats, groceries and sugar candies—nay, even of fine rich Christmas cakes sent for all the way from Calcutta—and by their own kindly expressed good wishes on *Sahib's Burra Din* or great day! The *shūmmeeána* in front of our double-poled tent, was piled to-day with such offerings, and with pistachio nuts and dried fruits from Affghanistan, and drums of cotton-packed grapes, not a few. (A *shummeénah* is a tall carpeted awning erected upon four poles in front of a tent, flat at top and enclosed with sundry *chiks* or hanging screens made of split bamboos; or with *kunnáts* or tent walls, removable at pleasure. It forms a very convenient outside compartment for the reception of visitors and for early *chôta-háziri* or snack-breakfast.)

26th December.—More information of the excesses of Môghyas; a complaint from Gwalior that from Meywar they had extended into that territory, and were committing depredations there.

27th December.—Another dacoitie in the Goruck-pore district, upon a house, by an armed gang bearing lighted torches. The inmates of the dwelling were ill-treated, but owing to a scare, the robbers hastily retreated without booty. Also one

Môghya
Plun-
derers.

Fresh
Dacoitie
in Goruck-
pore.

And in
Mysore.

in Shemôga of Mysore, the deed of a mixed gang of *Wuddurs*⁵ and *Lumbánees*; value of the property carried off, 15,065 rupees, recovered 6241 rupees. (P.S. Memo.—Several men were arrested in this latter case. They attempted to break away from the jail. Two of them were killed in the scuffle, and several were recaptured, of whom some were sentenced to limited imprisonment for breaking from jail, and some were acquitted.)

Captain
Dennehy
and his
Thuggee
Police.

28th December.—Captain Dennehy, always our zealous coadjutor, took over charge, on appointment to Deputy Inspector-General of Police for the North-Western Provinces, of certain approvers and Nujeebs transferred by us for employment under the local police authorities in those districts. Finding the little use that had been made of them, or indeed the little use of which they had become from change of masters, and that they had been kept together in one place, he proposed to distribute them about the country in order to “probe about” for information, and that we should exchange

⁵ P.S.—“*Wuddurs* are quarriers, dig wells, and are employed in earthworks, but many of this useful people are very expert robbers, both by night and in the daytime; by day on the highways, and at night in gangs upon houses. Some join the *Kul-Korwees* (*Khaikarees*), in acts of night burglary, in committing which they are, from their habits as diggers, great adepts. But there are entire families of the tribe who subsist by honest livelihood and do not mix with the robber portion. These form a distinct set of persons bearing the name of *Bhundi-Wuddurs*, who besides being *bona fide* quarriers, also earn subsistence by making and selling millstones. The robbing portion of the tribe are styled *Sunki-Wuddurs* and *Mun-Wuddurs*.” (Taken from a *List of Seventy-one Wandering Tribes of Predatory Habits, prepared for the Bombay Government by Captain Charles Hervey, Assistant General Superintendent.*)

them for new hands. I write to him to-day, that we had not any *new* approvers who had depredated within his police limits, but I would supply him with some others of the same people who had engaged in dacoitie in his present range: "Your plan of distributing the establishment is what I had long ago advised, and I could never understand why it was always kept cooped up at the *Táj*. It is by sending these people about (*always accompanied by Nujjees*,) that we succeed in picking up their *confrères*, who in their turn tell us of new cases and newer men; and so we go on from one generation to another of the criminal associations we are concerned to keep up information of."

The existence of a set of organized thieves of mixed classes, was learnt of some years ago by Chamberlain, when Assistant General Superintendent at Lucknow,⁶ whose head-centre was in the

Pádsháhee
Chor, or
Imperial
Thieves.

⁶ P.S.—I have frequently had occasion to mention the late Captain Thomas Hardy Chamberlain in the course of the present Journal. He was a most hardworking and conscientious public officer, and did excellent service as a Thuggee officer, particularly in Mutineer Investigations entrusted to the special department on my appointment to General Superintendent, in which were brought to light, in a connected form, the barbarous manner in which the most of the terrible tragedies of that troublous period, the Mutiny, were perpetrated. The capital conviction of several criminals for some of the most atrocious of those massacres was obtained, notwithstanding the difficulties the investigations were beset with. In speaking of his labours in a public Report bringing, on a memorable occasion, this meritorious officer to the special notice of the Government of India, I said of him that he was "not the least worthy of the four noble brothers who adorn the Army and Service of India." Of these Sir Nevile Chamberlain and General Crawford Chamberlain, C.S.I., survive. The fourth and youngest brother, the late Colonel Charles Chamberlain, C.B., who commanded the 23rd Pioneers in the engagement with the Abyssinian troops before Magdála, was equally conspicuous for dash and energy.

neighbourhood of Bungur in the Hurrôdee district of Oudh. They were described to extend their depredations to distant parts of the country, somewhat after the manner of *Sunnôreas* (*vide* p. 266,) but who did not, like them, comprise a distinct tribal race of professional robbers. One of these rogues came into our custody, who, among several like cases, described how he, in a gang of fifteen others like him, committed several robberies one dark night in the camp of Lord Canning when halted near the Martinière at Lucknow. I remember a similar night visitation when encamped on the strangers' ground at Bombay; and again of a very frosty night when pitched in the marching camp at Sealkote of the Commander-in-Chief in India the late Sir William Gomm, and the great outcry and hubbub on each occasion, something being missed from almost every tent; in one case a Staff officer being deprived of his trousers (amusingly recovered soon after by my detectives;) and again another, finding himself, when waking up at morning bugle call, lying upon the ground, and both boxes at each end of the box-bedstead upon which he had slept, lid-open and rifled. The man I refer to made no secret of his exploits, and boasted of them as an "Imperial trade," probably doing so either from having successfully plundered in a *Viceroy's camp*, or from a feeling of pride at his hitherto unbroken successes. He was of the number transferred as above, for duty with the local police, and as he had not bestirred himself to do anything, the particular confederacy to which

Some of
their
Deeds.

he had belonged having in point of fact collapsed and dissolved with his arrest, and as it consisted, moreover, of a set of mere extemporized pilferers only, I have advised *Captain Dennehy* to return the man to the Police at Lucknow, the principal field of his nocturnal depredations : " You had better send back the ' Padsháhee Chôr ' or imperial thief, *Mungul Khán*."

29th December, Sunday.—To purchase the grounds of the Metcalfe estate would be a good speculation, now that the railway line to the Punjab approaches completion. Delhi is undergoing a complete metamorphosis, and will soon be worthy to be again called *Imperial Delhi*. So much was cleared away within the city walls to create space for an extensive railway station, the once awful seclusion of *Selimghur*, an important outwork, being pierced by a railway to run right through it, and the inviolable Jumna even spanned at that point by a railway bridge from its opposite bank, it would puzzle former inhabitants to recognize the place now, and sorely trouble the old Emperors by the wonder of the sight and of the mighty changes undreamt of in their day.

30th December.—Referring to the conviction of several Meenas, found gathered inside of Ajmere, preparatory to committing dacoitie, and to the threatened release of the whole number on the recommendation of the judges of the High Court of the North-West Provinces (*vide* p. 250,) that measure has now indeed been proposed, and, as I thought it would, been referred to me. Blair

Metamor-
phosed
Delhi.

Regard-
ing the
Release
of the
Dacoits
arrested
lurking
within the
City Walls
of Ajmere.

truly remarks in his letter to me on the subject, that "it will be a great public misfortune if the punishment awarded to this band of Meenas, be remitted as is in contemplation." The reference shows that in the opinion of the judges, it was of no consequence to prove, as we did, that the prisoners were discovered *at a great distance from their homes*, that they were *Meenas*, that Meenas were *notoriously robbers*, and that these men came to Ajmere from a district (Shajánpoor) *where Meenas were well known to reside*. Those high authorities would seem, on the contrary, to rest their recommendation for their release, on the circumstance that the imprisoned men were found "assembled merely" in different parts of the city; that "to be found assembled" was not sufficient proof of "preparation to commit dacoitie," the charge under which they were tried and convicted; and it was pointed out by them, that "*the possession of arms and evidence of other readiness*" should also have been shown. This is not correctly to understand the system observed by professional robbers. The knowledge of the requirements of such a *sine qua non* in our laws of evidence, is a distinguishing proof of the aptness of their device to make that null which ordinarily would be evidence against them in our courts of law. It is their studious care to allow *neither stolen goods nor arms to be found in their possession*, and it was on that ground chiefly that the "Approver system" was adopted against such associations. And if it was their studied part to put away their arms, how much more necessary was it to do so in a place where, *as*

in Ajmere, it was *unlawful* to be armed? It has, in some of the cases recounted in the present Journal, been amply shown that it is the practice of professional dacoits carefully to keep their weapons out of sight or observation, to hide them in some unsuspected spot outside of the place they halt at, in some nullah or broken ground, and even to bury them near the scene of the dacoitie on hand (*vide* p. 108, vol. i.) But some arms and camels *were* indeed found in the premises the leaders of the gang had lodged in on the present occasion!—It is, moreover, urged by the Agra High Court, that the plan observed *in the recent Fenian trials at home* should have been followed in the present case. I must submit to this that there does not exist in India, at present at least, the machinery by which individual conduct or individual movements can, as at home, be so minutely traced from place to place in such vast and unsupervised regions as these dacoits are wont to traverse.⁷ It happened, too, that at the time the arrests under consideration were made, the operations taken up by us against these Meenas, had *only just begun*, and we had not then the fuller information against them which we now possess. The local magistrate was therefore left, for want of criminating evidence against each individual of those taken by the Ajmere police into custody, to proceed against the whole number in a body, *on the one charge of unlawful assemblage*, upon the only available evidence for proving it; and he was not

Fenian
Trials.

⁷ *Vide* Postscript, Appendix F.

possibly able to determine what criminatory evidence pertained to each individual beyond the undeniable fact that each man was of the assembled body. I have also something to add in respect to the advocated *Fenian trials* as the course we ought to have pursued, and I must strenuously protest against the release, incontinently, of any of these persons. I had regarded their arrest as both fortunate and timely; their conviction was an unlooked-for event, for I had supposed they would as usual, be released at once. But Major Davidson, the magistrate of Ajmere, had the courage of his convictions,—and now to set these fellows at large, would be tantamount to letting fifty-four born robbers at liberty to commit dacoitie and rejoice. They had, as stated in my previous notice of the occasion (*vide* p. 251,) recently committed two dacoities in neighbouring territory, at *Dántree* in Jeypore, and in Kishenghur (booty, Rs. 18,000 and 8000 respectively,) the latter on the highway; and had two other enterprises on hand when they were arrested in Ajmere, one upon a treasure convoy then about to be despatched from Ajmere by the Treasurer of the Agent Governor-General for delivery at Kôtah, and the other upon the *kôthi* or strong dwelling-place within Ajmere of the Treasurer himself. These circumstances were then unknown to us—they have leaked out in the meantime; but it is noteworthy that the banditti came into Ajmere, when there arrested, in small parties, almost immediately after the date of the aforesaid dacoitie at *Dántree*! The excuse given by them on arrest,

for coming into Ajmere, was inimitable—"there had been robberies in the neighbourhood, and the roads were not safe," they themselves having committed them !^a

31st December, 1867.—I quite rejoice to be able to say on this last day of the past very busy year,

^a P.S.—The whole of these prisoners were nevertheless, subsequently released under the orders of the Government of the North-Western Provinces (March, 1869 ;) but *eight* of the number were at once re-arrested by us upon charges of cases that had not transpired when they were first taken into custody, and being brought to trial, were more or less sentenced. The other enlarged men were also, sooner or later taken up for dacoitie, and variously disposed of. Three of the number *were discovered to be important leaders*. The following was intermediately recorded of their release in our diary of intelligence : "Sookha Meena, of Shájánpoor, left some time since to commit dacoitie in Málwa, with a gang of thirteen Meenas, dressed up in the blue police uniform.* * *Vide footnote, p. 441, vol. ii.* Jeewun Meena has now again left Shájánpoor with sixteen men for Málwa and Guzerat. This year not so many Meenas have left Shájánpoor itself as from the Meena villages round about it. The tribe is encouraged by the proposed release of so many of them by order of the High Court, for all are now acquainted with the amount of evidence which is required for their conviction, namely, that except there are two or three approvers who have actually committed dacoitie with them, they cannot be sentenced, and that so they may go on committing dacoitie without fear." (Taken from the information communicated by the Thuggee Police scout Thundoo.)

"Of the fact that the Meenas of Shájánpoor have felt themselves encouraged by the removal of the restrictions to which they were subjected previous to the interposition of the judges of the High Court, the extracts from the Diaries of Intelligence regarding their movements, embodied in the cover noted in the margin (Enclosure 22,) will convey ample evidence; and if those papers should be examined with careful research, further evidence would be obtained that *dacoitie* was the object, as it was the result of those movements; and that no restraint, much less any punishment, has attended the license which has thus been accorded to these men to go where they pleased." (Taken from Colonel Hervey's Report to the Foreign Office, No. 1160 A, dated 30th Nov., 1869, para. 84.)

Am supported by the Agent Governor-General in what I had Reported of Shekawátie.

* For the researches into the records of Shekawátie, vide p. 306 to 309; 310 to 314; 315 and 316; 317 to 319; and 320 to 322.

The Appointment of a Special British Officer to Shekawátie allowed.

† The same efficient officer who acted for James Blair (v. p. 36.)

Captain James Blair on leaving the Thuggee Department.

that the trouble I took in drawing up my Report on the condition of Shekawátie (*vide* pp. 395 to 400, vol. ii.,)* was not in vain. I have been supported in all that I have stated of that unhallowed region, and of the duty to reclaim it. Colonel Keatinge has, or is about to report, that its condition was worse than all his experience hitherto, of the worst conducted province, and he quite agreed with me in the pressing necessity for some measure of security against such a state of things in the sense I have advocated. Colonel Charles Blair, one of his assistants,† proceeds to assume the supervision of the province, though not yet as an "Assistant General Superintendent."—This is but a half measure, but it is something gained, and with this success I close my Journal for 1867 with much content, as Pepys would say.

Later.—With the close of the year, I lose my able assistant, Captain James Blair. He has been advanced to the political charge of *Tonk*, the sole Mahomedan State of the eighteen forming the congeries denominated the "States of Rajpootanah." He writes very agreeably: "I am sorry to leave the Department, and I thank you very warmly for your kind and steady support, as well as for the consideration with which you have always treated me."⁹ In his Report to me for the year, he writes: "The necessity of some special measures for the

⁹ This estimable and greatly lamented young officer—of high mark and promise—died soon after of pneumonia at *Kurronlie*, to the political charge of which province and its contiguous States in that direction he had meanwhile been transferred.

suppression of violent crime in Shekawátie, and the border districts of Jeypore, Márwár, and Bikaner, has at length, on your representation, met with the attention of Government."

[*Post scriptum*.—As this subject of Shekawátie was one in which I took great interest, and it concludes my Journal for the year, I here add the following from a General Report to the Government of India of a subsequent date, referring to that country and to the measures adopted for its closer supervision. It will show that in the end the officer appointed to the duty, was, though yet with some restrictions connected with the exercise by him of political relations with the neighbouring State of Bikaner, constituted, after all, an assistant to myself, and this, too, at the request of the Agent Governor-General ! (*vide* footnote, p. 474.)

My Proposal for the appointed Officer to be an Assistant General Superintendent, is supported by the Agent Governor-General and conceded by Sir John Lawrence

"I submitted, in my Report on the condition of Shekawátie, that dacoitie was everywhere rife in it in every direction ; it was committed close by, right and left, of my line of march ; there were daily reports of it ; and that their unchecked prosperity led the dacoits to extend their depredations much in every direction. To confirm this general observation, a variety of particular instances might have been alleged, but I did not then consider it necessary to state them (*vide* p. 481.) The territory was well enough known to me by repute, and it was to satisfy myself of its real condition in respect to the criminals who infested it, that led me to travel in the inhospitable region before I should submit any report on the subject ; and I now

only give the following extracts from the journal of my visit to the country, in reference to the reply which was directed to me." (Here followed the extracts referred to.)

"This personal experience, and the really *bedouin* behaviour of the people met with in the dreary spaces between the inhabited parts of the neglected region (for I had travelled in other desert countries, in India and out of it;) the wild and frightened demeanour of the village traders; the terrified looks of those on whom the robbers were wont to prey; when they ventured, which they did in secret, to tell me of the oppression under which the Province laboured; the fear for their lives or safety which marked the countenances of all those who had anything to lose; the close watchfulness which had to be maintained by ourselves in bivouac or in camp; the apprehensions of my baggage attendants; the plunder of several of my camels when feeding uncertainly upon the rare trees or bushes, or at best their unaccountable disappearance; the hurried movements of the occasional convoys; the weird looks of travellers, and other painful indications, made me quite sure, with the information already possessed, that there existed here a state of things *which demanded the intervention of the British power*; and it was in a faithful discharge of duty that I presented myself to Government with my Report, and proposed the special and *distinct* appointment to the territory, of an officer subordinate to myself as an *Assistant General Superintendent*.

“ My Report was referred to the Agent Governor-General for the Rajpootanah States for inquiry, and I had been almost glad, if, possibly, it could have been shown that I was mistaken. But that officer reported, after a visit on his own part to the territory, that he had found it in *a most disgraceful state*, robbery not being confined to outlaws and unknown persons, but being, by public repute, the profession of whole communities, and that *no such general absence of law or order had yet come under his observation in India*, robbery being considered in that district, it seemed, as an *honourable profession*. The Political Agent for Márwár, the confines of which territory in the direction indicated, terminated at Shekawátie, reported at the same time, that it was an undoubted fact that the plundering expeditions there formed were, in most instances, organized by the chief Thákoors of the locality, and were connived at and sheltered by all the Thakoors and residents of the border (*vide* pp. 307, 311, 316, 317, 319, 321,) and that their depredations were not confined to the territory, but had grown into an *organized system*, which only *active and uniform treatment could remedy*. These Reports, with the enclosures submitted with them, entirely corroborated what I had represented of the country. They agree also with what has been submitted of the general habits of the robbers of Rajpootanah in the present Report and in the accounts of the several dacoities committed by them in different parts of India, contained in its enclosed two Statements so frequently referred to

in it. Thus confirmed, the appointment of an officer to the triple boundary of Márwár, Jeypore and Bikaneer (the regions indicated,) 'for the suppression of dacoitie,' was sanctioned by Government. But owing, as I believe, to the introduction of a political object in the duties of the appointment, *which I had not designed for it*, namely, the requirement of a 'resident officer,' through whom to carry on business with the Bikaneer Durbar, the appointed officer was *not* placed under my orders at all, *but nominated solely as an Assistant to the Agent Governor-General*. A year subsequently he was, on the proposition of the Agent Governor himself (Colonel Keatinge,) *also appointed an assistant to myself, with the same office establishment allowed to the Assistant General Superintendent for the Lower Rajpootanah States*. . . .

"If further testimony were required to the real condition of the misgoverned Province, it would be found to abound in the pages of the Administration Reports for the Rajpootanah States since published. I quote below a few of the passages" (memo., eight quotations given,) "and I would, in conclusion of this subject, submit to Government, that the measures which have been adopted for the suppression of the predatory system in that direction are, perhaps, *not yet complete enough*, or sufficiently inviolate, for effecting that purpose."—*(Taken from Colonel Hervey's Report to the Foreign Office, on the Operations of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department in Native States, No. 1160A., dated 30th November, 1869, paras. 82 to 86.)*

APPENDICES.

EXTRA APPENDIX.

(REFERS TO LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA AND THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, IN CONNECTION WITH THE SUPPRESSION OF SUTTEE AND OTHER CRIMES. VIDE PP. 73 AND 214, VOL. I. OF "SOME RECORDS OF CRIME.")

P.S. 1892.—Finding while the Work was in the Press, the opinion independently expressed by me in it as to the chief cause for the practice of Suttee (*vide* p. 213, Vol. i.,) to be further more potently supported, and believing that the subject may interest some Readers, I give below what I have gleaned of it from some old Numbers of the "Asiatic Journal" obligingly lent to me from the Library of the India Office.

(*Speech of the Hon. Hugh Lindsay, Chairman of the Court of Directors,* on proposing the health of Lord Wm. Bentinck at a Banquet given by the Directors of the East India Company at the London Tavern on the occasion of the nomination of His Lordship to be Governor-General of India, 17th October, 1827:*)—"He has this day taken the oaths as Governor-General of India, and he has undertaken the mighty task of governing one hundred millions of British subjects in the East; and from the well-tried and acknowledged talents of the noble Lord, his indefatigable application and attention to whatever is committed to his charge, we have the most well-grounded reason to believe, that he will execute the duties of this high and important trust, with the greatest benefit to the East India Company and credit to himself, and that he will eminently support the honour and dignity of the noble house from whence he is sprung, and to which he himself adds lustre. I have now only to express my sincere hope, that the noble Lord may be blessed with health to perform the arduous duties of his high station, and that in due time he may return to his native country to enjoy the fruits of his labour and the increased approbation of his countrymen. I beg to propose the health of Lord William Bentinck, and success to his Government." (*Vide* p. 74, vol. i.)

(*Speech of Dr. Phillimore, one of the Commissioners of the*

*Personal:
The
Author
and his
two
deceased
brothers,
owed
their
cadetship
to the
Hon.
Hugh
Lindsay,
who was
their
guardian
from their
boyhood.

Board of Control, in answering the Chairman's toast of Mr. C. W. W. Wynn, the President of the Board of Control, who was absent from this Banquet :—"The manliness of his conduct on all occasions of public service, the valour with which he had conducted himself on the Continents of Asia and of Europe, and the noble principles by which he was always known to have been actuated, all contributed to render him (Lord William Bentinck,) peculiarly well adapted to the exclusive and difficult superintendence of Indian affairs, and excited a persuasion that he would promote the happiness and prosperity of the most extraordinary Empire that ever the sun had shone upon (Cheers.) None could have been more desirous of the appointment of the noble Lord, than those who constituted the Board of Control" (*vide* pp. 670, 671, 672, vol. xxiv. of the "*Asiatic Journal*" for November, 1827.)

(Motion of Mr. Poynder, a Proprietor of the East India Company, in the Debate at the India House on the subject of the practice of SUTTEE :—"That this Court taking into consideration the continuance of human sacrifices in India, is of opinion that, in the case of all rites and ceremonies involving the destruction of life, it is the duty of the paternal Government, to interpose for their prevention; and therefore recommends the Honourable Court of Directors, to transmit such instructions to India, as that Court may deem most expedient for accomplishing this object, consistent with all practical attention to the feelings of the Natives."—Motion put and carried by a large majority, there being no more than five hands held up in the negative (*vide* the eloquent Debates on the subject, pp. 356, 409, 526, 621, 671, 689 and 696, vol. xxiii.; and pp. 240, 277, 405 and 498, vol. xxiv. of the "*Asiatic Journal*.")

(A reason for the practice of Sutte.)—"A sort of superstitious delusion. Some women of warm imaginations, delude themselves into a belief, that in a prior state of existence, they have already once or oftener performed this rite, and that when they shall have repeated it seven times, they will then be admitted into a state of perfect everlasting beatitude." (*Vide*, page 66, vol. xxvii. of the "*Asiatic Journal*.")

(Motive for the introduction of the practice of Sutte :—"Whatever may be the true origin of this strange and barbarous custom, whether the report which is given of its motive by the classical writers of Greece and Rome, that it affords a guarantee against domestic treason, be true or not,

this inference cannot but be admitted, that it must have taken its rise from some very powerful consideration, and must have connected itself with some of the strongest prejudices of the human mind, to have become popular, or even tolerated, amongst a people proverbially remarkable for their tenderness towards animal life in all its forms" (*vide* page 258, vol. i. of the New Series of the "Asiatic Journal.")

(*Reason given for the institution of the practice of Suttee:*) —When asked what the *Shastras* said on the subject, it was replied that the wily Brahmins, who had declared the act was praiseworthy, upheld the practice, for the preservation of their own lives against poison at the hands of their wives (*vide* p. 260, vol. i. New Series of the "Asiatic Journal.")

(*Per contra, the honour a widow is held in, exemplified in China.*)—"The Chinese Emperor, *Kang-he*, introduced a law that every widow who had not married a second time, should receive a sum of money for the erection of a triumphal arch, with the inscription upon it—"The door of chaste longevity." (*Vide* page 263, vol. i., New Series of the "Asiatic Journal.")

(*Intention announced of the abolition of Suttee:*)—"We hope to announce the abolition of the cruel and inhuman practice of Suttee under the British Government. We have every reason to believe, as we hope, that the intelligence will be received by our native subjects, with feelings of gratitude and delight. Should the present administration (of Lord William Bentinck,) be marked by no other great event, the truly humane one of accomplishing an object so universally recommended, will give it a most distinguished and honourable place in the annals of British India." (*Vide* p. 207, part ii. vol. i., New Series of the "Asiatic Journal.")

(*Regulation abolishing Suttee, May, 1830:*) Commences —"The practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive widows of Hindoos, is revolting to the feeling of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined in the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary, a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widow, is more especially and preferably inculcated, and by a vast majority of that people throughout India, the practice is not kept up nor observed; in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked." Here fol-

The Law
finally
abolishing
Suttee.

lowed the enactment prohibiting the practice. (*Vide* p. 38, vol. ii., New Series of "Asiatic Journal" for June, 1830.)

(*Extract from an address to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India—16th July, 1830—from 300 Hindoos, and from others of Calcutta, saying :*) "their hearts were filled with deepest gratitude by the abolition of the gross stigma hitherto attached to our character as wilful murderers of females and zealous promoters of suicide," adding—

"*Excessive jealousy of their female connexions, operating on the breasts of Hindoo princes, rendered those despots regardless of the common bonds of Society, and of their incumbent duty as protectors of the weaker sex, insomuch that, with a view to prevent every possibility of their widows forming subsequent attachments, they availed themselves of their arbitrary power, and under the cloak of religion, introduced the practice of burning widows alive under the first impressions of sorrow or despair, immediately after the demises of their husbands.*" (*Vide* p. 213, vol. i.)

The petitioners added: "The practice was in defiance of the most sacred authorities, such as the *Opanisháds*, *Vedas*, and the *Bhāgvud Gēta*, and it was also in direct violation of the direct commandment of Menu, the first and the greatest of all legislators, conveyed in the following words: 'Let the widow continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing austere duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, &c.' (ch. v. 51, v. 8.)"—*vide* pp. 138, 139, vol. ii. New Series of the "Asiatic Journal."

(*Extract from the address of the European community of Calcutta, to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India :*)—The practice of Suttee "had been too long the reproach of the country, and the astonishment of other nations. We entertain no apprehension, that an act of beneficence which will be commemorated as one of the proudest events in your Lordship's administration, and as one of the most signal blessings that has yet been conferred on India, sanctioned as it is by the prayers and applause of the most enlightened among our Hindoo and Mahomedan fellow subjects, can be misconstrued into a disposition to infringe the established principle of toleration, or to deviate from the candid and indulgent respect for religious and civil rites, usages, and customs, of all classes of the native population, which we trust will ever continue to be an attribute of the British Government."—This petition further characterized the practice as "immolations which

outraged the tenderest feelings and strongest ties of nature" (*vide* letter of thanks and congratulations from the Christian Inhabitants of Calcutta, to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, p. 75, vol. ii., New Series of the "Asiatic Journal" for June, 1830.)

(*Petition to the House of Commons from the Hindoo community of Calcutta, bearer, Ram Mohun Roy :*) Extract—"That your petitioners cannot permit themselves to suppose that such a practice" (as Suttee) "abhorrent to all the feelings of nature, the obligations of society, and the principles of good government, will secure the sanction of your Honourable House, much less that, having been abolished, the British name and character will be dishonoured by its re-establishment" (*vide* p. 21, vol. iv., New Series of the "Asiatic Journal.")

(*Petition presented for the Hindoo community by Ram Mohun Roy to the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord President of a special Royal Committee, 17th July, 1831 :*) states, "their decided conviction after looking into the *Shastras* and *Védas* was, that the inhuman custom which had been abolished, was not authorized by the Hindoo religion. They observed that it was first instituted by certain Hindoo Princes for private and personal reasons, and they further declared that one of the most important injunctions of Menu, was, that widows should live in the observances of purity and virtue after the death of their husbands—that they should lead a life of chastity and austerity—but that they should not destroy themselves. In this opinion every humane mind must rejoice. Many who had ruled in India, were, he believed, shocked that a practice of this description prevailed and themselves without the power to prevent such disgusting scenes." (*Vide* p. 230, vol. iv. New Series of the "Asiatic Journal")

(*Extract from a letter to the Court of Directors, from the Governor in Council of Bombay, 13th March, 1830 :*) "The supreme and Madras Governments have abolished the practice of Suttees; and the measure has not, so far as we have yet heard, been attended with any expression of discontent, on the part of the Hindoo population, calculated to give alarm" (*vide* p. 107, vol. iii., New Series of the "Asiatic Journal.")

At the Court of St. James, 11th July, 1832.

Present—The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas there was this day read at the Board a Report from a Committee of the Lords of His Majesty's Most

Honourable Privy Council, dated 7th July instant, in the words following, viz. :

"Your Majesty having been pleased, by your order in Council of the 11th May, 1831, to refer unto this Committee, the humble petition of certain Hindoo inhabitants of Bengal, Berar, and Orissa, etc., setting forth that " (here was inserted their petition praying against the Regulation passed by the Governor-General of India in Council, prohibiting the practice of Suttee;) "the Lords of the Committee, in obedience to your Majesty's said order of reference, have taken the said petition into consideration; and having heard Counsel for the petitioners thereupon, and also in behalf of the East India Company, their Lordships do agree humbly to report as their opinion to your Majesty, that the said petition should be dismissed."

"His Majesty having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by, and with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the said petition, be, and the same is, hereby dismissed this Board." (*Vide* p. 224, part ii., vol. x., New Series of the "Asiatic Journal."

APPENDIX A. (VOL. I. P. 370.)

GWALIOR TERRITORY AS A SHELTER TO FREEBOOTERS.

P.S.—It would be explanatory of the Bedowreah incident (murder of some members of the Thuggee Police,) and of those Bedowreah marauders so easily finding shelter in Gwalior territory, to quote here, what I had occasion to say of the country and its inhabitants in a Report to the Government of India at a subsequent date. In speaking of the Central India States generally, and of Gwalior particularly, I said: "Covering an area of about 84,000 square miles, with a population of about 7,700,000 souls, and consisting of *seventy-one* States of various dimensions, and of importance varying with the power or the influence of their Rulers—each too, with its own peculiar form of rule or government, justice rudely administered and no defined procedure, and all with jurisdictions so intermixed, that except in that part of Gwalior territory north of the Parbutty which is not so much interwoven with other possessions, the complications which evolve are often most difficult to unravel—the region comprising the States of Central India, presents features which

are as remarkable for their variety as the races are by whom it is peopled. Proceeding northwards from the sub-montane tracts on either side of the Nerbudda comprising the possessions of the *Mowásce* chieftains, the wilds and jungle intricacies of the Satpoora Hills, the safe asylum of the lawless and untameable Bheel, differ as greatly from the cultivated table-lands of Malwa which extend beyond them, chiefly peopled by busy husbandmen, but occupied also by the dispossessed and often outlawed *Grassia* and by the proclaimed *Sondia*, as the latter country with its seldom occurring hills or jungle does from the districts of *Rággurh*, *Nursingpoor*, and *Kilcheepoor*, which together forming the territory known as 'Oomutwára,' and abounding in their turn with hills and forest, are the possessions of another race of Rajpoot plunderers, who, emigrating some centuries ago from Oodeypore, rose into consequence during the decline of the Mogul Empire, and under direction of two brothers possessed themselves of the territory and gave it their name—these several predatory tribes, *Grassia*, *Sondia*, etc., being only more civilized than the Bheel, inasmuch as that while all are lawless, the former may, when not driven to be predatory and to maraud, be induced to labour at the soil which the *Bheel* will disdain to turn his hands to, or will do so only by compulsion and then solely to cover the occupation more congenial to his nature of robbery and brigandism. Approaching Gwalior proper (*Gird Gwalior*), we come upon tilled uplands and defined fields curiously deranged by hilly wastes, or confined by impenetrable jungle, this teeming with an occupied people, that solemnly owning the absence of population or almost wholly unpeopled; while the open and wide-stretching plains in and around Gwalior itself, with their river boundaries and occurring wastes and forests, hills or wilderness, whether on their border or occasionally interplaced among them (of which I have submitted accounts in previous Reports,) give abiding-place to high-born races, turbulent but impoverished *Rajpoot* and truculent *Bedowreah*, the representatives of ancient nationalities, starving *man-at-arms* or bold *free-lance*, soldier or robber, here interchangeable terms, as troublesome to the local Government as many of them sometimes were, and some still occasionally are to the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, of whom the *Bedowreah Thakoors*, spoken of in a former Report, are its most implacable foes:—And last, but not the least remarkable or dissimilar portion of this remarkably diverse coun-

try, we come to the forest and hilly tracts of *Bundéلكhund* and *Baghéلكhund*, abounding with States and Jaghires, of which the chiefs of *Jhansi*, *Duttia*, *Rewáh*, and *Punnah* were as friendly to the Department as those of *Jáloun*, *Kootee*, and *Banda* used to be the reverse. Ruled, unlike Malwa, generally by Rajpoots themselves, and inhabited by fierce and turbulent people—*Bondélas* and *Baghélas* (the latter so called from the word *Baghéل*, which signifies a tiger's cub,) spurious races of Rajpoots and Brahmins sprung, it is stated, from illegitimate intercourse with the Mahomedan invaders of the country—these possessions stand distinct from the other States of Central India. I submitted of Bundéلكhund in a former Report,¹ that 'from its many peculiarities, its divisions of territory, diverse jurisdictions, and wild and jungly nature, it continued to be the resort of many lawless people. The predatory had from old, always a secure retreat in its many fastnesses and strongholds, and *Dacoits* had, like *Thugs*, always good shelter in it and asylum, and the Department, therefore, continued to pass and repass through the territory in every direction.' Now rocky and sterile, now grand and picturesque, 'the gháts bold and abrupt and clothed with luxuriant foliage' in respect to Bundéلكhund proper, the hilly nature of which is acquired from the lower ranges of the *Vindhya*s stretching into it, or with plains of great fertility but to a vast extent desolate and unreclaimed in respect to that portion of the province which, commonly called *Baghéلكhund*, forms the rich territory of the Ruler of Rewah, of which the people, fierce however much they should be, are described by Colonel Meade to be both indolent and untrustworthy and less civilized than the inhabitants of the sister province—the *Baghéls* of Rewah and the *Bondélas* of Bundéلكhund, like the Rajpoots of Gwalior and Malwa, are justly described by the same officer to have, however widely different in other respects, one characteristic which was common to all—'a dislike to labour or service away from their homes, taking little part in the cultivation of the soil, which was left as a rule to the servile classes which abounded in either country, and seldom entering the military service of the British Government.'

"Although possessing great local influence, which their high birth and their descent from the former rulers of the

¹ Report on the Operations of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department in Native Territory, No. 199, dated April 21st, 1866, Foreign Department.

territory give them a claim to, and to which the circumstance of their still being the leading members of the town and village communities considerably contributes, the *Rajpoots* generally of the Central India States, while dangerous as they are proud, are notwithstanding, both slothful and inert. Keenly feeling the presence among them everywhere of the hated *Mahrattas*, the usurpers of their country,* and their means not commensurate with their requirements or support, the condition of many of this discontented people has been described to be most miserable—but that there was a strong feeling of clanship among them all, which could not be too warily watched. Thus circumstanced, while all secretly hope with one assent, for some opportunity to throw off the detested Mahratta yoke, and the most look forward to do so in moody silence, *there are many among them who too readily consort or connive, which their influential position enables them to do, with those whose only occupation and profession it is to plunder and to rob, of whom there are so many ready to hand through the country.*

“The police arrangements of the different rulers throughout the Central India States, are, moreover, weak and inefficient, and unequal to the repression or prevention of serious crime; while the intermixture of jurisdictions and the lax and venal mode of administering the law, *offenders being generally able to compound for their offences by payment of a consideration*, afford facilities to the predatory classes, which, with the general insecurity of the roads, are at once the great difficulty the special Department has to contend with. In the period under report, the *Government Mail*, to speak of that species of dacoitie only, was robbed or attacked as *many as forty times*, in Gwalior limits alone. No regular reports are, however, made to the Durbar itself, *much less supplied by it to ourselves*, of the crime committed in this range of territory.

“A country thus circumstanced, and so governed, must afford ample shelter to the maurauder and dacoit, of whom, therefore, a great many of various denominations, abound throughout it, or roam through its vast extent. *Thug, Bheel, Khunjur, Sânsya, Mewâtie or Meo, Meena, Môghya, Grassia, Sôndia, Budhuck, Bedowreah, Brinjârah, Gwârriah, Mooltânee, Chuggra, Khaikâree*, and in Bendlekund the *Sunnôria*—all robber classes, each with its own exclusive system and caste distinctions, all having crime at heart, yet none regarding it as criminal, of all of whom the special Department under me has from time to time reported, the

* Sir Lepel Griffin, sometime Agent Governor-General for the Central India States, supports this statement, where in his account of Indian Princes, he says: “Scindiah and Holkur are detested by the Rajpoot gentry. they had overwhelmed, and whom they still daily persecuted” (vide Times, 19th June, 1889.)

whole being, moreover, associated more or less with or countenanced by local parties." (Colonel Hervey, General Superintendent, to the Foreign Office, dated 30th November, 1869, paras. 17, 18, 19 and 20, printed Report, 1872.)

APPENDIX B. (VOL. II., P. 298.)

MADRAS POLICE REPORTS.

P.S.—Although the Madras Police bureau has not been in the habit in its periodical Reports of particularizing the details of the robberies perpetrated under that Presidency, little being to be gleaned of such particulars from the numerous police returns annually printed, it in a manner "classifies" the several acts of plunder (a course not pursued in any other police province.) The Madras figured Returns for the year 1867 exhibit, for instance, 533 cases of dacoitie; number of persons killed or wounded not shown; property plundered, 99,903 rupees; persons arrested 1699, hanged 1, life transportation 22, limited imprisonment 511, released 1163, died 2, recovered property, 17,148 rupees (not shown in how many of the cases;) separate police action in each case not exhibited; nor the amount of property plundered in each; supposed number of dacoits engaged, 5919 (the number of offenders actually present in the robberies being, of course, far less, for where professional criminals so much abounded it was not to be supposed that each offence was committed by an entirely distinct gang.)

Madras
Presi-
dency in
regard to
the
Korwee
and other
Dacoits.

These 533 cases of robbery were "classified," then, in the following order:—

"Torchlight gang robberies"	65
In "houses or villages"	80
In "fields or jungles"	212
On "highways or thoroughfares"	176

The "robber tribes" representing the perpetrators (separately considered from the mixed classes, as "Pariahs" and "other low castes,") were described to be "Yeddiars and Gôlâwândloos;" "Oopârus and Wuddurs;" "Yerrakullers and Yenâdies" (*Khaikarees*); "Brinjâras;" and "Koravers, Murravers, and Kullers" (these being more or less *Korwee-Khaikarees*, in Madras further also called "Kôrchooroos," "Korâwurroos," etc.), *all local dwellers*.

In another compendium, styled "Criminal Statistics" for the Madras Territory for 1867, all the above cases were drafted, on the other hand, under *two* heads only, "dacoity," and "dacoity aggravated." The latter being cases in which death or grievous hurt is inflicted or attempted, of which *there were only twenty-nine* lumped together without distinct specification,—and yet in the previously noticed *analysis*, as many as sixty-five cases were numbered off as *torchlight robberies* in the same period, 1867, "against an annual average" (as it was described,) "of 165 for four years past," declared to be the lowest number on record "of this *hideous crime* ever yet exhibited in the police annals of the Madras Presidency," further described in another Madras Police Report as "this *dearly cherished* crime of Southern India." In 1868 that description of dacoity in Madras territory numbered sixty-eight, and fifty-nine in 1869. I have not seen any statistical returns of the crime for any later period; but the above *réchauffé* of the *gleanings* to be acquired from the Madras Police reports sufficiently shows that dacoity at the period of the present Journal, prevailed throughout the districts of that vast territory, the deed of local or "*home-made*" robbers.

But, to go on: the "house-breaking cases" (or gang burglary, as these offences are termed by the special Thuggee and Dacoitie Department,) amounted to 6883 in the districts of Madras in the year 1867, of which 6168 cases were *by night*, "the deed mostly (quoting from my own general report,) of the particular professional classes—*Korwee-Khaikarees*—who infest the Madras Presidency, and who consider that description of offence as the *masterpiece* of their vocation of robbery, committing it, as they do, in preference to open dacoitie with violence, not only because there is less chance of pursuit and capture, but because it brings a larger amount of plunder to be shared among a smaller number of persons. The amount plundered in 'dacoitie' in Madras in 1867 was 99,903 rupees, in 553 cases divided, say, among 5919 persons, that being the number 'supposed to be concerned;' and in 'gang burglary by night' it was 418,615 rupees, in 6168 cases, divided among 9304 persons similarly 'supposed' to be concerned therein. Taking the above to be the locally supposed number of the perpetrators, each robber may be said to have got a share of 17 rupees in the division of the booty in 'dacoitie,' but of 45 rupees in 'gang burglary.' The probability, however,

is, that the actual number of robbers was far less, and each man's share therefore considerably more."—In another place I said that "home-made" (the contention of the Madras Police,) was a very exact description of the offences, whether "dacoitie" technically so called, or "gang burglary by night," the deed of professional criminals ("wandering gangs,") infesting the Madras Presidency—"whose abiding-place was, I added, "in *Madras districts*"—and that that conveyed all that was ever said of them.—(Taken from Colonel Hervey's Report to the Government of India on Dacoitie throughout British India in the year 1867.)

APPENDIX C. (VOL. II., P. 299.)

DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING TRIALS ON THE GENERAL CHARGE IN THE BOMBAY REGULATION COURTS.

Diff-
culties
attending
Dacoit
Trials in
the
Bombay
Regula-
tion
Courts.

P.S.—Several dacoits from Hindostan found depredating in Bombay territory, committed by myself for trial to a Bombay Sessions Court on the "general charge," under the special Dacoitie Act, of being "dacoits by profession and belonging to gangs of dacoits while engaged in dacoitie" (the occurrence of certain instances thereof being specified,) having been acquitted by the judge on the ground chiefly of the evidence of approvers not being sufficient under the Bombay Laws for their conviction, I reported the occasion to the General Superintendent, the late Sir Wm. Sleeman. He brought the subject to the notice of the Bombay Government, and complained that Bombay judges should be slow to adopt the evidence in such cases of accomplices, and, unless their testimony should receive such ample corroboration as would be required in any ordinary case of mere gang robbery, the deed of local criminals, they should be disposed to acquit and discharge prisoners brought before them; and in lamenting the occasion, he apprehended that the late acquittals would very much impede and retard the success which might otherwise attend the attempt of his special department to put down the system over the Bombay Presidency. At that early period of our dacoitie operations in that directions (I being then Colonel Sleeman's sole assistant for that

circle, and hitherto charged with the suppression of Thuggee only,) "dacoitie" was understood by Bombay officials generally, as a more systematic plan of plunder and violence than was pursued by those who committed "gang robbery" down Bombay, or rather than was then locally known or suspected to be so committed; for we were able later on to show, that "dacoitie" as practised in Upper India, was very extensively followed throughout the Bombay districts by professional robbers, and very systematically carried out. A long correspondence ensued between the judges of the Bombay Suddur Adawlut of those days, and the Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the Judicial Department—a gentleman of high ability, afterwards a Member of Council at Bombay.* He supported our contention, but was strongly opposed by all the judges, with a single exception, who, on the contrary, strenuously argued on our side of the question. The latter gentleman, who was another able member of the Bombay Civil Service, and a practical man, was at a later date sent round to Calcutta as the Legal Member of the Council of the Government of India for Bombay.†

* The late
Mr. James
Lumsden,
of the
Bombay
Civil
Service.

† The late
Mr.
Phillip
Le Geyt.

The majority of the judges of the Suddur Adawlut argued that the Bombay Law required that the word of an independent Bombay accomplice should be corroborated, and, *a fortiori*, therefore, the word of an approver who was not independent must be corroborated. Under the view taken, on the other hand, by the dissentient member of the Board, it was contended that the argument would be, as both accomplice and approver were similarly situated and the word of the former must be corroborated so also must that of the latter, "the weight of the contention was diminished by that of the *a fortiori* and nothing more."

Such was the style of argumentation in this case of "Bombay Judges *versus* Bengal Judges." The latter were regarded by ourselves to be the more practical, Sir William Sleeman observing of the proceedings of the former that he feared the impediments offered by the judges of the Bombay Suddur Foujdari Adawlut "were insurmountable." He directed me in the dilemma, to adopt the *alternative* course in respect of Bombay, of committing my cases to the specially constituted courts pointed to in Act I. of 1849, in preference to sending them for trial to any of the Regulation Courts of the Bombay Presidency, a course which I followed, selecting for the purpose the Politico-Criminal Court of the

Political Agent for the Southern Mahratta country, where my head-quarters were situated (*vide* footnote p. 225, vol. ii.) As soon as any of the prisoners who had at that time been already sent up by me for trial in a Bombay Regulation Court, were acquitted and discharged, I re-arrested them in succession outside of the jail gate, and sent them up for trial to the court indicated, on fresh charges (for the dacoities recorded against them were numerous;) and with comparatively a few exceptions only, I obtained convictions and sentences of life transportation *upon them all*, as shown in the text, with the confirmation moreover of the Bombay Government; the result being, *that dacoitie by the professional classes rapidly ceased in the Western Presidency.*—The versatility in procedure in the Bombay Regulation Courts of the period, was specially exhibited in a case of a batch of dacoits committed by me for trial to a Regulation Court—the Sessions judge who tried it and had convicted the arraigned and passed the extreme sentence of transportation for life upon them all, was, on his advancement meanwhile to the Higher Court, one of the Appellate body by whom *his proceedings were quashed* and all the prisoners ordered to be discharged *nem. con.!*

APPENDIX D. (VOL. II., P. 388.)

BEING THE DECISIONS (1) OF THE LOWER COURT OF WAKEELS, AND (2) OF THE HIGHER OR APPELLATE COURT OF WAKEELS, IN JUXTAPOSITION WITH EACH OTHER, IN THE CASE OF FUTTEHJEE RHATORE, THE JEYPORE COURT FAVOURITE, IN THE MOHUNPOORA DACOITIE TRIAL.

Free translation of the decision and award in Urdu, of the Lower International Court of Wakeels in the Mohunpoora Dacoitie Case in reference to Futteh Sing Rhatore, dated 25th July, 1867.

Extract from the decision passed by the Higher International Court of Panchayet, on a review of the Proceedings of the Lower Court in the Trial of the Mohunpoora Dacoitie, dated 16th October, 1867.—(Free Translation.)

“The complicity in this

“It is not believable that

dacoitie of Futteh Sing, a *Házirbásh* (attendant on the person) of the Jeypore Ráj,¹ is shown in several ways, and it is proper that his conduct should be seriously noticed: (1st) the criminals declared at the time of committing the dacoitie, that they belonged to Futteh Sing's Camel Corps, and under the pretence of examining the property in the charge of the convoy, on the ground that a duty was payable upon it, they plundered it,—this is proved upon the evidence of five men of the escort, and on the fact of the convicted parties belonging, indeed, to Futteh Sing's Rissálah, Futteh Sing having himself declared that none of his Rissalah were able to be absent *without his leave*, and it following that if men from his corps were present in the dacoitie, they were there *with his permission*; (2nd) it is deposed by *Kishna*, the Patel of Nángul, that when the gang was assembled in the jungle of that village, looking out for the arrival of the convoy, a mounted camel sowar in the employ of *Futteh Sing*, continually communicated with it; (3rd) the pardoned accomplice, *Rám-bux*, has declared that when

Thakoor Futteh Sing Rhatore, a person who has access to the Sovereign, and is his confidential attendant (*Hooz-zoor-russ aur Mookurrub*), should, in opposition to the wishes of the Ráj, thus openly have consorted with the informers and the complainants in this case. For the Ráj had from the first been averse to the pardon of any of the culprits, as was to be seen in the evidence given by the man *Rámbhuggut* himself, dated 28th June, 1867. *Rámbhuggut* is there shown to have declared that on *Shuffee Meean* telling him that whereas on his own proposal to the *Buksheejee* (Paymaster-General)¹ to release two of the criminals in view to the recovery through them of the plunder, he had been informed in reply that owing to the Jeypore State being the home of the robbers, and to their having committed the present act of robbery so close to Jeypore itself, no one would be released, it would be better for *Rámbhuggut* himself to submit that proposal to the *Buksheejee*. On his presenting himself to that officer accordingly, the latter summoned *Shuffee Meean*, and

¹ Ráj is the guarded expression used throughout the proceedings, for the Ruler himself.

¹ The person holding this office (*Bukshee*), also acts in the capacity of the Minister in attendance on the Ruler.

the robbers subsequently sorted out (or as some stated, *divided* their spoil), which they did in a field belonging to *Kána* and *Govinda*, Brahmins, inhabitants of *Nángul*, they said that 'it was to be taken to *Futteh Sing*;' (4th) *Rám-bhuggut*, the *Gomáshta* of the plundered Firm, deposed that when the convict *Pursa* was deputed by the local Suppression Department or *Gírráee* in the service of the *Ráj*, to go with himself to *Pragpoora* in search of other accomplices, he proceeded straightway to the said *Futteh Sing* himself, and did not go to search for any criminals, for *Futteh Sing* forbade it, lest by their arrest the matter should be revealed, and the property have to be restored; (5th) *Futteh Sing* appointed *Pursa* as a *Mookhbir* (Informer,) and, acting independently of the special local Suppression Department, sent him through the *Ráj* to the Political Agent himself for *purwanahs* and *Chupprasees*, through whom to arrest the criminals, his object being to screen those of the gang who were in his own service;—if *Futteh Sing* was not himself concerned, it was not for him to take any part in the inquiry, aware as he was that the properly constituted autho-

ordered *him* to obtain the restoration of the plunder, as that whatever he should recommend in furtherance thereof, would be attended to—whereupon *Shuffee Meean* spent 200 rupees among the *Mookhbirs*. It was thus evident that the *Ráj* only thought of redress to the plundered parties, and of punishment to the offenders. We, therefore, consider that it was highly irregular for the members of the Lower Court, to aver that the *Ráj* endeavoured in several ways to prevent the criminals being forwarded to the Political Agent, and to keep matters from transpiring, for it can never be supposed that the *Ráj* should, from any consideration for such criminals, not be desirous of their punishment (*moozzurrut ke khwahán nuh hón*), a course so likely to give occasion to evils of a thousand sorts! Moreover, if *Futteh Sing* believed that these persons were guilty, and he was desirous to obtain a pardon for them, he was able, as a person who had access to the Sovereign, and as his near attendant (*hoozzoor-russ aur mookurub*), to have asked for their pardon, and to have obtained it—particularly when he had in fact been commissioned by the *Maharaja* himself to investi-

rities of the *Girráes* and *Foujdárees* Departments, were then engaged in doing so; (6th) that Futteh Sing promised the Gomáshta, Rám-bhuggut, to restore the plunder, is stated by the Gomáshta himself, and by *Hurree Sing Mookhtyar*, as well as by the six Mookhbirs in the case,—if he was not an accomplice, or had not the property in his own possession, how should he have promised its restoration, or have forbidden Rám-bhuggut from complaining to the Agent, as is also proved by *Bormull* and two others?—(7th) when *Daloo* and *Roopla*, two criminals in the case, were arrested, Futteh Sing kept them by him for three days in his Camel lines,—the inference to be drawn from this being, *that he instructed them not to reveal the real circumstances*; (8th) when Pursa was deputed to Ulwur with purwanahs supplied by the Political Agent for the purpose of effecting the arrest of his accomplices, he, Futteh Sing, kept him back, and deputed him upon his own business—and in this matter, in addition to his thus preventing the arrest of the criminals, he was further guilty of interfering with a positive order—for Futteh Sing has acknowledged that he sent Pursa

gate this case and obtain some clue to the robbery, as to be gathered from Futteh Sing's deposition, and from the written communications on the subject directed by the Ráj through its Wakeel. It is, therefore, plain that the part taken in the case by Futteh Sing, was by the express orders of the Ráj itself! If the Political Agent had submitted any inquiry on this subject to the Maharaja, it is certain that the Members of the Court of Trial would have immediately foregone to decide so unfavourably on the conduct of the said Thakoor (Futteh Sing.) Moreover, we consider that what the Court of Pancháyet, presided over by the Political Agent, has recorded in the matter of the criminals declaring at the time of perpetrating the robbery that 'they belonged to Futteh Sing's Camel Corps,' to constitute indeed, for certain reasons, *some proof of his innocence!* (1st) The alleged declaration was the statement of parties to the suit on the side of the complainants themselves, and ought not, therefore, to be believed; (2nd) the men composing the escort are shown in their statements, *as originally recorded before the Political Agent*, to have

on some other business; (9th) *Sáwunta*, *Rámchundra*, *Sheodán*, and others, being *general number* criminals in the lists of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, as the perpetrators of certain other heavy dacoities, and being also accomplices in the present robbery, it could only have been Futteh Sing's purpose when he admitted such men into his *Rissálah*, to get them to commit dacoities and reap the benefits himself; (10th) Futteh Sing desired the *Gomáshta Rámhuggut*, in the presence of *Mohunjee* and other witnesses, to obtain *purwanahs* of pardon for the criminals;—if he was not a party to their crime, What concern should he have in their pardon? (11th) When *Sheodán*, one of the prisoners in this case, was arrested by *Tomandar Teekaram* of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, in the *Johurree Bazaar*, as an important criminal in another case of dacoitie, why was the *Tomandar* opposed by Futteh Sing's men in view to his rescue? It plainly denoted his complicity and the protection he afforded such criminals (*vide* p. 178, vol. ii.)

"Moreover, as Futteh Sing had not only the right of *Entrée* (*hoozooruss*), but was a near attendant at the

said that the culprits at first declared that they were *Gunga-Báshees*, or pilgrims from the Ganges, and this the pardoned criminal, *Rám-bux*, did not confirm.* If, therefore, it was not true that the criminals said that they were *Gunga-Báshees*, it was equally *not* true that they said that they belonged to Futteh Sing's Camel Corps! (3rd) We have never heard it to be usual anywhere for this class of robbers and criminals to certify their names and address, as if with the very purpose to lead to their arrest, but it is, on the contrary, a well-known fact that, in order to conceal their identity and to mislead, they on such occasions declare themselves to be 'in search of service;' (4th) if the real criminals belonged to Futteh Sing's *Rissálah*, they would not have divided the whole plunder among themselves, as would seem to have been declared by several witnesses, whether the servants of the plundered parties, the *Mookhbirs*, or other evidence.

"It is proved, moreover, from the evidence of the pardoned accomplice, *Rám-bux*, that the *Thakoor* had no

* What *Rám-bux* affirmed was that *Sáwunta*, *Pursa*, and other prisoners in the case, were in the service of *Futteh Sing*.

Court (*mookurrub*),² the Ráj was of course aware of his complicity in this case; and as it was considered that his misdeeds would be revealed if the criminals in the case should be sent to the British Agent, the Ráj, in view to screen him, resorted to certain courses to prevent their being forwarded, by which to keep matters close; as for example, the Ráj in one instance wrote in reply to the several *kyfeuts* (representations) which had been addressed to it in this case by the Political Agent, that there was something which prevented *Gopála* and *Bhára* (two of the criminals,) being sent—but the excuse was unreasonable (*pooch*;) ³ for there was really no obstacle to their being sent. It was again stated that the plaintiffs and defendants were the subjects of the State, but in point of fact the property

complicity whatever in the robbery, for Rámbox has himself stated that two months subsequently *Gopála* and others told him that as the matter had become known it was necessary that all the plunder should be conveyed to Futteh Sing without it undergoing any division, whereas no evidence has been adduced to prove that it was so taken to Futteh Sing! ³ It was, moreover, stated by Rámbox and others, that the plunder was divided, so what was there which could be taken to Futteh Sing Rhatore, or how can his complicity in the crime be said to be therefore established? If the members of the Lower Court suspect the complicity of Futteh Sing in the robbery from the circumstances of some of the prisoners belonging indeed to his service, we consider such a belief to be monstrous—for the fault or crime of a servant cannot without strong proofs be laid to the charge of his master. For example, the British Government have many Meenas, Bheels, Dhers, and Coiners in their Regiments, who notoriously are robbers, and who while thus serving

² These two expressions, *Hoozoor-russ* and *Mookurrub*, may on other occasions be differently interpreted, but, as applicable to the person of the Sovereign, I think the meaning here given to them, conveys the sense in which they were used in the vernacular text.

³ Perhaps the proper English significations of this word (*Pooch*) are *evasive* and *absurd*, but it would sound harsh to apply either to a Ruler, although the vernacular text would seem to imply both.

³ *Memo.* — Rambux deposed, however, that the whole of it was taken to the house of Futteh Sing.

which was plundered had been despatched by a firm at Calcutta! It was then requested that some proofs be furnished of the guilt of the prisoners. Thus, in short, the Ráj itself endeavoured by such resources to screen *Futteh Sing*, for the criminals who were asked for belonged to *Futteh Sing's Camel Corp*, and *Futteh Sing* has himself stated that the Ráj not only did not summon them, but that it issued no order to send them.

"The *Misul* or File of Proceedings first received from the Superintendent of the local Suppression or *Girraee* Department, would, moreover, show, that the evidence recorded in it went to establish the case against *Futteh Sing* and the other criminals, but the *Misul* now received from that Department through the Ráj, contains a statement purported to have been made by the Mookhbir *Motee*, which he declares he never gave! He asserts that the statement he really made was signed by himself—for he is able to write Hindee, and has signed several depositions in the Agent's Office accordingly; but his evidence in the *Misul* alluded to, does not bear his signature!*" Further, the

the State, sometimes revert to their criminal vocation, and on being proved guilty are punished accordingly—but no charge is laid to their officers on such an account! The man *Pursu* has, moreover, stated that he went to Tirwa to seize the prisoner *Dhokul* by the orders of the *Buksheejee* himself, and he has further declared, for reasons which he has given on the subject of the ill-feeling which existed, that *Motee* and the other Mookhbirs were at enmity with him, and it would be no wonder, indeed, that they should bear him no good will, seeing that he had for a long time been himself a Mookhbir in the service of the local *Girraee* Department.*

"On a consideration, therefore, of all the above circumstances, we are of opinion that *Futteh Sing* is innocent of the charge, and that the recommendation for his dismissal was unreasonable. We also regard the evidence against the other prisoners, as viewed by the Lower Court, not to justify their conviction, and we, therefore, consider the sentences which have been passed against them to be unjust,—not, however, that

* One *Shuffee Meean* was the *Mohhtummin*, or Superintendent

* It is not clear what relation this bears to the preceding arguments.

Reals and the sword which were recovered from the stolen property, were recognized (Rámbhuggut declares) in the said Gírráee Department by himself and by the man to whom the sword belonged, and to whom it had been shown when placed among several other swords, —but not only are their statements not recorded in the Misul (now received,) but it contains no allusion whatever to that matter! It is thus evident that all these matters have been brought about by the Ráj itself, out of consideration for Futteh Sing, and in view to save him.

“From all the above circumstances, the complicity of Futteh Sing is clearly established. It was because he was their accomplice that he undertook to shield the criminals, and it is not advisable that such a man should any longer remain within the State, lest an increase of crime be occasioned, a ground for committing further oppression be afforded, and an idea of misgovernment be created. We, therefore, consider that it would be expedient that

of the Special local Department here referred to, and he was superseded by the Maharajah for this “over-officiousness” in the case.

they are *entirely* cleared of suspicion. The man Pursa, in giving the reasons for the ill-will which existed, declared that if the Sircar should even now be pleased to accede to the terms of his offer, he would still be able to produce the criminals and the stolen property; and as the inquiry into the case on the part of the Ráj remained unfinished, owing to the Misul or file of its proceedings being sent for by the Political Agent, the defendants and complainants being moreover still in charge, and the scene of the crime lying in Jeypore territory, it will be proper, we think, that the doubt which these proceedings have created, should now be finally cleared up. We would, therefore, consider that it would be advisable to transfer the case, and the prisoners in it, to the Ráj for further inquiry and for completion, in view to redress to the plundered parties, and to the punishment of the guilty, in accordance with the customs of the State. The Ráj ought, however, to send to the Political Agent those of the prisoners whose names are in the *general list* of the Thuggee and Dacoitie Department, should they still be wanted. Two other points may also be brought to

Futteh Sing should be struck off from the service of the Ráj, and not be permitted to remain within the State.

"Compensation to the plundered parties in a sum of 32,860 rupees, and sentences upon the criminals of transportation for twenty-one years and other periods, having now been awarded, and the expulsion of Futteh Sing from the State recommended, the case is referred to the Agent to the Governor-General for confirmation."

special notice, first, the imposition or excess (*zyadutee*) of which *Bishárut Khan*, the Chôbdar of the Political Agent, was guilty; and next, that the transfer of the prisoners in the case to Ajmere, before the consent of the Agent to the Governor-General had been communicated, was contrary to Rule 59 of the Regulations of International Courts, as was duly complained of at the time by the Wakeel of the Jeypore Court. These proceedings are, therefore, now referred for the final decision and orders of the Agent to the Governor-General."

APPENDIX E. (VOL. II., P. 450.)

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE TRIALS OF THUG AND DACOIT CASES, AND OF THE LENIENCY OF THE SENTENCES OFTEN PASSED UPON THE PERSONS CONVICTED IN THEM.

Postscriptum : Having shown in the quotations from the instructions of Government given at page 448 to 450 of the Journal, the peculiar circumstances under which it is not necessary to consider whether a man sent up for trial on the general charge of "belonging to a gang," took part, or took any part (beyond the "belonging," in the actual perpetration of the specific act of crime adduced to support that "General Charge," I add in this place, by way of a further memorandum on the subject, and as appropriate to the contention, what I submitted in regard thereto at a subsequent period : "Limited sentence men make very indifferent approvers, and the usual course is to place such

persons when candidates for approvership, or for continued employment as such, upon a fresh trial on the *General Charge*, that is, upon a charge other than that, or otherwise supported than that, for which they were previously tried; and this is done in view to obtaining a sentence upon them for all time. For it should be remembered, as I have often had occasion to explain, that these trials are not confined to one or a few criminal acts, like those we are accustomed to, but comprehend the transactions of a *whole life*. This course at once secures the best services of such persons as approvers, the sentence passed being held in abeyance during the faithful discharge of their stipulated duties. This plan of re-trying limited sentenced men employed as approvers, has, however, been occasionally postponed, and they have only been sent up for the new trial on fresh charges, on the expiration of their sentences, the object for such new trial being, to secure a legal authority for their continued detention and employment. Their trial was, however, objected to in some recent cases in Central India, on the ground that it was to be presumed that the trying authority on their previous trial, knew who they were when he passed short sentences upon them, and on the further untenable ground that the specific acts of crime now to be investigated by which to support the general charge, had been "mentioned" in the previous proceedings. Permission to hold them in continued detention under requisitions for security, was also declined; and they were consequently set at liberty and their further services *lost*. They had, of course, been *mentioned* and several other acts of crime besides, throughout the previous proceedings—but they formed no part of the *specific act* on the former trial. If the prosecution had failed against *Palmer* for the murder of *Cooke*, it was the intention of the Crown to try him for other cases of poisoning in succession, and to continue to do so as often as the prosecution failed and until the catalogue was expended—yet all were casually *mentioned* or adverted to in the first trial! The persons thus released were three in number, and one of them has frequently applied to me for restoration or employment, as that he was afraid of the *revenge of his tribe if he went back to his people*." (From Colonel Hervey's Report to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 1526, dated Delhi, December 31st, 1873, para. 51.) Memo.—He rejoined his people.

* *Vide*
P.S. foot-
note,
p. 459,
vol. ii.

Again : "I would now advert to the leniency of the sentences some high Political Officers are disposed to pass upon the persons committed by our officers for trial in the Courts presided over by them. This leniency deserves the serious attention of Government if it is desired ever to put a final check to professional dacoitie.* It is always difficult to steer between an indulgence which encourages criminality, and a severity which prevents the awakening of those very feelings on which all real reforms depend; but the experience is old which teaches us that timely chastisement is more merciful than to spare. A man who has been born from dacoit parents, and brought up a plunderer by profession, *never* forsakes the occupation—he is unfitted by habit for any other pursuit—and since the good food, easy life, and absence of all terrors during imprisonment in any of our jails, are rather incentives to, than checks upon crime, we may fairly conclude that he will return to his old trade the moment he is free to do so. I do not know of a single instance to the contrary. *Every professional criminal reverts to his criminal vocation as soon as ever he is at liberty and obtains the opportunity.*" (Quoted from para. 54 of *idem*.)

+ *Hostes*
humani
generis.

And : "On the accession of the late Colonel Eden, an officer of no mean ability, to the office of Agent Governor-General for the States of Rajpootanah, the Political Officers serving under his orders, were directed by him to use their influence in trials held by the International Courts of Wukeels, in having convicts punished in a manner commensurate with their crimes, and that it would be their duty to see that dacoits, 'who were alike enemies to every class and state,'† met with punishment proportionate to the heinousness thereof; and he further submitted on the subject in his Administration Report (for 1866—67,) that in criminal cases 'the tendency of the sentences was towards excessive leniency rather than of severity.' The ill effects of such leniency have often been pointed to by myself. Experience has shown that a professional dacoit is not deterred from crime by confinement for any period short of for life. As I have before explained, the rules of the gang provide for the protection and maintenance of his family throughout the term of his imprisonment, and on his liberation he is invariably found to revert to the active exercise of his profession 'with a zest increased by the temporary

interruption.' So assured was the Bombay Government of this, for instance, during the operations against the *Korwee-Khaikárees* dacoits of Southern India, conducted by myself as Assistant General Superintendent for Bombay Territory, that they eagerly sought, through special legislation, the course which should be adopted to prevent or at least abate the evil consequences which were certain to result from ill-judged or undeserved acquittals (*vide* Appendix C, p. 514.)—A feeling of distrust too, in the evidence of approvers, would seem to have been revived, which is not the least of the difficulties the Department has to contend with. The peculiar nature of such evidence and the weight it was susceptible of, were well explained in the Minutes of Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General quoted in a previous Report from me on the Operations of the Department in Native States (No. 247, dated April 21st, 1864.) The feeling alluded to, may perhaps be attributed to some over-scrupulousness, or refinement, engendered by a greater familiarity with the requirements of the 'Law of Evidence,' and a consequent undue attention to its technicalities—or through less weight being attached to such evidence, than has been declared by some of the most eminent jurists and professors to belong to it (*vide* the opinion of Professor J. R. Young on the subject of the evidence of tainted characters.) It was very strong in our earlier operations, both in Bengal and on the Bombay side, and required the utmost efforts of the officers of the Department to combat it (*vide* Appendix C.) From the peculiar nature of the evidence, and the fact that the most of our judicial officers were unused to it, some time was necessary before it could be appreciated by a trying authority; and thus the first cases tried by each successive judge, generally resulted, as they still result, in acquittals, or in minor punishments being accorded to convicted parties. And when a judge began to understand the nature of the evidence produced by us on thug and dacoit trials at his Court, and to form some acquaintance with the peculiarities of the people by whom it was given, he was unfortunately, probably succeeded by some other who was equally new to the work as the other had been; and thus the contest was time after time renewed, and former arguments again and again put forward with various successes, but always terminating at first in several ill-judged acquittals, or in undue leniency towards

the criminals (*vide* P.S. footnote, p. 450, vol. ii.) Some judges were so distrustful of approvers, *the only evidence that can be produced in such cases*, that their native officials, always so ready to turn to advantage the peculiarities of temper or disposition discovered by their superiors, became so *interested* in screening the offenders, that it was often next to impossible to secure convictions against the most atrocious and the worst of the criminals sent up by us for trial. It is always difficult to find any other evidence to the actual presence of professional dacoits in any particular act of crime, than that to be obtained from their *associates*, or, in other words, *than that of approvers*. Their system is organized upon a knowledge of what evidence had been deemed sufficient for their conviction, and what not; and it was the most essential part of it to remove or nullify all that the authorities by whom they were generally tried, would consent to admit according to ordinary rules,—or as it was better put by my predecessor, ‘their system was formed upon the experience of their ancestors in the most successful modes of defeating the law by suppressing proofs found necessary for their conviction in the ordinary Judicial Courts.’ Explanations of this nature had constantly to be repeated and still again submitted.* When the difficulties which the Department had to contend with, and the trouble taken by it in preparing cases for trial, became at length to be appreciated, technical impediments were less frequently met with as long as the same judge retained office, and he began to understand (in respect of eye-witnesses other than accomplices,) that dacoits more generally *attacked at night, and in such disguises that no one was able to recognize them*. It had frequently been discovered by the Department, that where men had been sentenced under ordinary police action on the ‘recognition’ of sufferers in dacoities, *they were innocent and had nothing to do with them*, and it has on its part, therefore, declined such evidence. The accused had been suspected or feared in the neighbourhood, and their names were at once given up, the sufferers being too easily persuaded that they saw them *in the act*, when the real offenders probably lived many hundred miles off and knew nothing about them. In the dacoitie statements received in this office from Bengal and some other provinces, it is often stated that the perpetrators were *recognized*, and men have not infrequently been arrested on such evidence and

* *Vide*
p 443,
vol. ii.

even convicted. *It is not fair to ask a sufferer whom he suspects, although the very common practice of the native local police to do so; for on every occasion of any sudden calamity, the native mind is already too prone to attribute its occurrence to the device or deed of some real or imagined enemy, not to be at once prepared to swear to it.*" (*Quoted from para. 55 of the same Report.*)

Further: "It should be borne in mind, that these associations are only vulnerable through accomplices. . . . The rules by which the Department is guided in recording evidence and the strictness with which they are enforced, were fully detailed in the Report referred to" (paras. 12 and 42 to 47 of Colonel Hervey's Report No. 247, dated April 21st, 1864,) "and the fatal results to be expected from lenient sentences also sufficiently indicated" (para. 131 of his Report No. 1160 A, dated November 30th, 1869.) "If an earnest wish is entertained, and which, it may supposed is entertained, to co-operate with this Department in putting down this unmitigated evil of systematic dacoitie, some sounder and more practical view might be formed of the value of the only means by which it is to be checked, and a more discerning view too, of the end and the object for which those means are employed. It is indispensable, moreover, to ultimate success, that dacoits be tried on the general charge. Long experience has shown that it is of no avail to attempt to connect them with isolated instances of dacoitie, except through the gangs to which they 'belonged' and by which dacoitie was committed, or (except on very extraordinary occasions,) through any other means than the evidence of accomplices. If this is borne in mind, the impression so obstructive to our operations which dacoits are now imbued with, arising from acquittals or undeserved leniency, namely, that they have only to abstain from confessing at the final trial to secure impunity for their offences, would be effectually removed. The persuasion not to confess, or to deny confession, combined with the rejection of the proofs to such confessions when these are occasionally made, constitute, as my predecessor also declared, the greatest difficulty to be apprehended in putting down the system, and I earnestly hope that the best attention of the high political functionaries to whose courts our cases are committed for trial, may be directed to the subject, as affording some fair prospect of

success to the operations of the Department; and they will not, I am sure, take it out of part, if to such a request the injunction be added, that such trials ought rather to be conducted by themselves, than delegated to assistants who cannot exercise the discretion which so eminently belongs to themselves." (*Para. 55 of the same Report from Colonel Hervey.*)

APPENDIX F. (VOL. II., P. 495.)

TRIALS OF DACOITS IN INDIA AS COMPARED WITH THE FENIAN TRIALS AT HOME.

P.S.—In replying officially to Captain Blair's reference a few days subsequent to the mention of it in the text, I said on this subject: "In respect, however, to the late Fenian trials, it might be urged that the course pursued by the Ajmere police in arresting these dacoits, *resembled indeed, very much that of the police at home.* Fenians were seized at home in various bodies at different houses, upon intelligence received from informers, and it was only owing to the excellence of the police and the assistance they were able to get from the great bulk of the people on the side of law and order as compared with the bulk who in India sympathize with or are apathetic in regard to the breakers thereof, that they were able to trace out the movements of each man and prove them. *But as in the late Fenian trials,* there also happened, in this one in India, to be witnesses who could *overdo* the case against the arraigned. We read in the report of the trial at home of the man *Groves*, who was charged with the murder of the soldier *McDonnell*, that at a time when it was doubtful whether the accused was really guilty of that crime, a person named *Mrs. Jarman* came forward and gave evidence to the effect *that he was certainly the murderer*, but in a manner so inconsistent with probabilities ('so conflicting, so untrustworthy,' as the evidence of the two witnesses in the present case, *Choonie* and *Laljee*, was declared by one of the honourable justices to be,) *as ensured his release*, and it was observed of that person's testimony, that had it been her object to frustrate justice, 'she could scarcely have adopted more effectual means

for the purpose;’ was there any reason to be sure as to what Mrs. Jarman’s object was? The Fenians must be, it was said, as well aware what a capital defence an overproved case made, and that one witness like her, was worth a dozen *alibis*. It was not contended that they acted upon that knowledge, but that it was just possible that they might have done so; and if it was that witness’s clever device, it might similarly be supposed that the two men in the Indian trial, Chupprassee Choonie Sing and Constable Laljee, upon whose evidence chiefly the whole number of these men were convicted—who were related to each other and whom we now know to have been their *allies*, *did purposely say too much of them and too little of themselves*, with a view to their release, if not then, at least at some future period of appeal or petition! For it is a remarkable circumstance that the petition upon which this case happened to be reviewed by the High Court, *came from their imprisoned fellow constables and not from the distinct Meena prisoners themselves*. If such was the aim of those two men, successful as it has been in the case of some of the prisoners whose release has, I regret to observe, been assented to,* we may trust the local Government will demur similarly to release the rest of them merely because those two allied witnesses were ‘inconsistent’ in their evidence as viewed by the High Court; for I think it will be seen from the information which has now been further recorded in this case, that not only were those two individuals deeply criminated, as the judges themselves frequently suggested they were, and as Major Davidson, who tried the case, had himself some suspicion of, ‘good and honest’ although he pronounced the conduct of the Chupprassee Choonie Sing (one of the two) to have been, but that their evidence now bears an explanation or construction, from the further light now thrown upon it, which before was hardly to be commanded. It is in this manner that what appear to be incongruities in an account of a matter, often turn out to be conformable with truth and fact, and to help you in replying to Colonel Keatinge’s reference, I send you my own office copies of Major Davidson’s proceedings in the case and the comments thereon of the Judges of the High Court, with my own remarks in the margin of both, explanatory of the case. Pray return both these documents to me. . . .

The immediate release” of six persons, three being Police Constables and the rest other Local Allies, was, under the orders of the Government N.W.P., at once carried out upon the recommendation of the High Court, and the release of all the rest of the fifty-seven convicts followed at a later period, our persistent action against whom upon their release, and its successful results, have been narrated in the footnote at page 497, vol. ii.

"You will perceive that there is now evidence on the general charge against nine of the prisoners including the three constables. . . .

"If the punishment of these men by the local magistrate was 'illegal,' as suggested by the High Court, we are to suppose *their arrest was also so*. But if the local police had refrained from arresting them under any impression that it would be 'illegal' to do so, a feeling by which it is so likely they may be swayed on a future occasion should these men be now released, it would be hard to declare upon whom the responsibility would have rested for the *dacoities* which the robbers were about to perpetrate, and would have perpetrated had they been left alone" (*vide* p. 251.) (*Taken from Colonel Hervey's letter to Captain T. Blair, A.G.S., No. 47, dated Delhi, 14th January, 1868.*)

Memo. : As a great deal was said on the subject of this unlooked-for termination of this case, I here add to the above remarks, what I further reported of it to the Government of India at a later date: "The Deputy Commissioner of Ajmere sentenced the whole of these fifty-seven men to rigorous imprisonment for seven years, and they had been transferred to the Agra jail where to undergo it, when the case was reviewed by the High Court at Agra, upon petitions presented by three men of the local police force who had been convicted of aiding and abetting them. The judges recommended the remission of the sentences of the entire number, on the ground of wrongful imprisonment without any legal or sufficient evidence of guilt, which, after some further local inquiry, was complied with by the Government of the North-Western Provinces. Owing to our having at the time of their arrest, then only recently taken up operations against the Meenas, and to acquaintance with the Shajánpoor Meenas on the part of the two only yet admitted approvers of the tribe being very limited, the evidence which the Thuggee Department was able to produce against these men was of little moment, further than that several of the prisoners were declared to be '*Meenas of Shajánpoor.*' But the police constable who conducted the Meena roll-calls and the headman of Shajánpoor, were able to claim several of the number as residents of that place, of whom they pointed out *five* to be Meena leaders; and three of these (*Gára, Suddasookh, and Sheoláll,*) have since become known to us as important leaders, against whom several

dacoities have been registered by members of the tribe since admitted to approvership.

"The judges observed that the then recent *Fenian trials in Ireland*, held before a commission of three judges, afforded examples of the course which ought to have been pursued in the present case, in which a large number of persons were similarly simultaneously charged with the same offence. The charge upon which the present prisoners were arraigned, was, *assembling and making preparations to commit dacoitie*, and the Deputy Commissioner of Ajmere, who tried the case, considered that charge to have been fairly substantiated against them. But the judges, on the ground that it had not been satisfactorily shown that all were Meenas (it was subsequently deposed by one of their own number, *that all were Meenas* except two who were Thakoors,) and that it was not a crime to be Meenas, nor a proof of a crime, held, that the mere fact of their being congregated at Ajmere, and having some of them swords, and others sticks, or a few camels and horses, was not sufficient for their conviction under the particular Laws under which they and their abettors had been tried. By *making preparation* they considered that the Indian Penal Code intended something more than the mere *assemblage* of persons for the purposes of committing dacoitie, and that proof was necessary of some *arming or equipment* for the special purpose of committing dacoitie, or some other act besides the *mere assembling*, having as its object the preparation of dacoitie, of which, in their opinion, there was no evidence, or that the different parties of Meenas had any common *felonious* object in assembling at Ajmere. An acquaintance with the habits of such criminals would have led me to reply to these observations, * N.B.—that *dacoits* certainly *assemble* preparatory to committing dacoitie, that to preserve secrecy they naturally conceal their weapons near the scene of the intended act of crime, or put them away somewhere where they might be readily found, and that they are generally only *armed* when actually perpetrating the offence:—And further, that the fact of these men secreting themselves in different parts of a city at so great a distance from their homes,* unable when discovered, to give any satisfactory account of themselves, those who were recognized being ascertained to have changed their names, their castes, and their places of

Some hundreds of miles over wild and sandy regions, where there were no stage conveyances, nor then yet any railway!

residence, was of itself a fair proof of no good intention, and that considered with the circumstance that it was well known that Meenas were habitual dacoits, *their being away from their homes in a body* was a reasonable enough proof of felonious intent when taken with the other circumstances under which they were detected.

"The local authorities had congratulated themselves on the successful arrest and prosecution of these Meenas at Ajmere, and the good which they had hoped would result therefrom, and they could have little anticipated that all would eventually be released! The enclosure will further show the endeavours on the part of this Department to avert, if possible, the mischance of their release, and that I ventured at an early period of the inquiry to go far into the case and to submit to notice that the course which a perfectly organized police machinery was able to pursue at home in proceedings against Fenians or other secret societies, was hardly to be accomplished among communities such as those of which the people of this country were composed, whose sympathies led them to side with criminals rather than to act against them, in tracts too, so vast and so scantily supervised like those which the professional dacoits of India traversed and combined in, or Meena robbers infested. But, as already stated, the Government of the North-Western Provinces decided that all should be released.

"So that neither does roll-call prevent the Meenas from quitting Shajanpoor, nor may they be punished if they absent themselves from it; and if they should be found anywhere else, they are, except *flagranti delicto*, equally exempt from punishment or from blame! It is as vain to hunt and to detect them, as it is to restrain them. The design to reclaim them by recourse to a mild and reasonable pressure, the characteristic of which is its marked forbearance, is, alike by the operation as by the disability of the laws, rendered impracticable and without effect; and thus a wicked people, incapable of conceiving the useful restraints of law and order, become yet more dangerous to the public safety from the immunity their weakness insures to them!

"It might be inquired what was the remedy? The aim of the present report has been to show that the danger of professional dacoits gaining head was not an imaginary

one, that it was in proportion with the difficulty of their detection, and that the precautions taken against the Meenas particularly of *Shajánpoor*, situated in a British district, whose example was so pernicious to the rest of that turbulent race, were not always sufficient to curb or to check them; and further, that the lawlessness they enjoyed was the recrimination of the Native Rulers and the chief difficulty of this Department in its general operations against the tribe in Native territory. The peculiar configuration of the border where *Shajánpoor* is situated, invites consideration. It exhibits the remarkable feature, that *Shajánpoor* and the villages comprehended under it, are completely surrounded by Native territory, and form, as it were, five distinct *oases*. The surrounding territory is characteristically called "*Be-amildíree*" or *without Government* by our Native policemen, upon whom devolves the arduous duty to watch the Meenas who inhabit *Shajánpoor*. The criminals have only to step over the boundary to be free from molestation, or if pursued, to be safe from arrest. For the immediate neighbouring six villages and a great many others in Native territory, are all *Meena villages*, when pursued to any of which, the fugitives are certain to find a secure retreat. This fact has suggested to some a *re-distribution of territory*, by which *Shajanpoor* and its troublesome inhabitants should be excluded from British possessions, and a portion of the Native territory which projects into our frontier be taken in exchange. But the proposition may at once be rejected as incompatible with the dignity and the intention and aim of British Rule, and I would prefer to leave the reclamation of the Meenas inhabiting *Shajánpoor*, and the good example it would set to Native Rulers in managing their own unruly subjects of the same race, to the surer process of a *stricter law for their effectual repression*.

"A *special law* placing *Shajánpoor* under police surveillance, and Meenas, *Bowreas*, and other predatory tribes, under special police surveillance, and legalizing their compulsory registration and enforced presence, would disarm the question of the illegality of punishment for unauthorized absence from roll-call of its present difficulties, but it would not effectually prevent Meenas from absenting themselves notwithstanding. An *ordinance* removing *Shajánpoor* from the ordinary criminal jurisdiction of the province,

or removing the Meenas who inhabit it from its process, and placing them under special administration and superintendence, access to them for the purposes of their arrest or pursuit in *Shajánpoor*, being extended to this Department, would meet more readily the exigency. The special Thuggee and Dacoitie Department would gradually effect the rest. . . . As was observed in the case of the Budhucks, another class of equally formidable robbers whose suppression was entrusted to this Department *and by which they were suppressed*, it is not the local magistracy, and perhaps still less the local Native police, to whose office the responsibility of the duty of adequately punishing so organized a banditti is attached, or within whose competence it is placed if left to accomplish it under the operation of only the ordinary laws and agencies at their disposal. That authority alone which possesses the power of coercion over dependent and influence over friendly States, and the prerogative to adopt and promulgate special measures to meet special exigencies, is able to effectuate their extirpation, or at least their permanent suppression, and relieve alike our own and the subjects of other Powers from the scourge. The application of the limited means at the disposal of a magistrate can only be of the nature of an expedient, but if the evil may not be fostered by continued impunity and success, some distinct officer might with advantage be appointed to the border indicated, armed with powers commensurate with the occasion ; and I submit in conclusion of the subject, the great importance of which will, I trust, be accepted as my excuse for the attention I have thus persistently endeavoured to gain for it at such length in this place, that the object can only be promoted by the adoption of some special measures of the nature I have ventured to advocate. In the language of the other occasion, I have aimed to point out the *dignus cindice nodus*, and the means are, I humbly conceive, in the hands of the Government of India."

Memo. : In a footnote to the above it was stated that before the introduction of the Indian Penal Code into the Punjab, no difficulty was experienced in restricting the predatory tribe called *Sánsyas*, to their colony at *Sealkote*, but that owing to the unbounded license which had been conceded to that people arising from the objections of the local High Court to the restraints imposed upon them (for

the Punjab High Court took the same view of the question which that of Agra had done in the matter of the Meenas captured at Ajmere,) the colony had lost all its restrictive advantages as a reformatory, and that the Sânsyas now plundered as much as they formerly used to do; also that the same difficulty attended the colony of the *Bowreas* established at *Moozuffernuggur* in the North-Western Provinces, who too, had reverted to robbery just as much.

Post-scriptum: My reference regarding these incorrigible Meenas, resulted in the enactment of the "*Criminal Tribes Bill*," which made it punishable to the extent of imprisonment for seven years, for men belonging to tribes of notorious criminal habits, to be found at a distance from their homes without good cause, in framing which special law I was distinguished by being consulted by *Sir James Stephen*, at that time Legislative Member of Council to the Government of India who introduced it. I attended too, the ceremoniously conducted *debate* on the subject of its enactment (for Lord Mayo was very formal and *parliamentary* in presiding over the meetings of his Council, and as authoritative as "Mr. Speaker" himself.) The object of the proposed provision, was to make these predatory tribes more *amenable* to law and order. A facetious but highly respected member of the Governor-General's Council, now no more, passed round a slip of paper reminding members that they were discussing *A Meena Bill!*

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