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1905.

ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

WAS HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON
MONDAY, JANUARY 16TH, 1905.

GENERAL HALLIDAY IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following candidates were elected :—

LIFE ASSOCIATE :—Rev. Oswald J. Hogarth, M.A., Rondebosch, S. Africa.

ASSOCIATES :—Rev. Joseph Lampe, D.D., Professor, Presbyterian Theological College, Omaha, U.S.A. ; H. Neville Harris, Esq., India Civil Service (retired) ; Rev. D. Årnström, Aneby, Sweden.

The following paper was then read by the author :—

THE RAJPUTS AND THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA.

By Colonel T. HOLBEIN HENDLEY, C.I.E., Indian Medical Service (retired).

THE Rajputs have attracted so much interest in India, that no fewer than 177 separate works upon them and their country are included in the Bibliography which is attached to the *Medical Gazetteer* of Rajputana alone, yet even in some of our principal encyclopædias only portions of a column of print are directly devoted to the subject. The Rajputs, or sons of kings, and the land of Rajputana, or Rajasthan, as it is more classically termed, the chief seat of their power, cannot, therefore, be adequately studied in a single address, so that I propose, after giving some account of the people and of their country, to consider, as being more properly fitted for discussion by this Society, the causes which led to the establishment of a most interesting race, for more than a thousand years in the same region, during which period they flourished with little real disturbance by the paramount powers of India, which changed no fewer than at least seven times in the same millennium. Valuable lessons may be learned from the study of the history, customs, and peculiarities of such a noble, manly, and interesting

race, lessons which may serve to guide us into the true way of preserving empire, a way that can only be based on upright, just, and honourable, and hence, truly scientific, principles. It was the failure to recognize these principles which in time led to the downfall of the great Moghul empire, and also prevented the Mahrattas from establishing themselves upon its ruins.

It is unnecessary to dwell long on the remote origin of the Rajputs, who have been said either to be the direct descendants of the Kshatriya, or warrior caste of the earliest Indian writers, or to represent them as a mixed race, which took a name to which they had little title, or to refer to their alleged invasion of India at a much later period from Central Asia. It is sufficient to note that powerful rulers of this great tribe were established for a long period in early times in North India, who were gradually driven out from the plain country into the more inaccessible and less fruitful districts which are now known under the names of Rajputana, Malwa, and even Gujarat, in the first of which they have made their special home, and in which they have maintained themselves to this day.

Rajputana is in the north-west of India, and lies between the Punjab on the north, Sindh on the west, the united provinces of Agra and Oudh on the east, and Malwa and Gujarat on the south. Its area is nearly 133,000 square miles, or about 11,500 more than that of the British Isles.

The Aravalli mountains stretch diagonally across it from near Delhi down to the south-west border towards Gujarat, dividing it into two regions, of which that to the north-west, containing about three-fifths of the area, is generally sandy, ill-watered and unproductive, approaching even to desert as the west is reached, while that to the south-east, or two-fifths of the whole, has a fertile soil with forest tracts, and in the south is more or less covered with hills which are well-clothed with woods, both the latter tracts being well watered. Such is in brief the description of the country which is given by Colonel Abbott in his census report for 1891. The states of Marwar, Bikanir, and Jaisalmer, all Rajput, lie in the larger region; those of Meywar, with its offshoots, Dungarpur, Partabgarh, Banswara, and Sirohi are in the south, leaving the rest of the province for Jaipur, Alwar, Karauli, Kishengarh, and the Haraoti states of Bundi, Kotah, and Jhalawar, if we regard only the Rajputs to whom the country belonged for so many centuries; but we must add to complete the whole the two Jhat principalities of Bharatpur and Dholpur, part of the Mohammedan state of Tonk, and last, but not least, the British district of Ajmere, which lies

in the centre of the country, and was one of the principal residences and capitals of the Moghul Emperors.

As the physical conditions of a country, including the geology and meteorology, undoubtedly exercise a very important influence upon the inhabitants, whether it be on their history or their character, an influence which I believe to have been especially marked in the present case, a somewhat careful study of these points must be made.

Geologists inform us that the Aravalli mountains differ from the other great ranges of India in being entirely composed of disturbed rocks, with the axes of disturbance corresponding with the direction of the chain, the formations in them belonging to the Archæan rocks, and being of great antiquity and quite unfossiliferous. North-west of the mountains alluvial formations, also unfossiliferous, extend across part of Marwar; Vindhyan rocks, a similar series, being found on the south-east border of the province. Valuable points related to the geology are the kinds of building materials associated with the strata; the nature of the soils; and the influence of these factors on the climate, the communications, the animal and vegetable products, and the development, health and happiness of the people, as well as the effect they have had upon their relations with the outside world. In the eastern and central parts of Rajputana the soil is light, assimilating to that of the United Provinces, and it yields good crops of cereals. The rich loams of Haraoti and parts of Meywar supply large quantities of wheat, sugar-cane, cotton and opium; this district, under Zalim Singh, the famous regent of Kotah, having been a hundred years ago the granary of the centre of India. On the sand of the north and north-west one annual harvest, instead of two as elsewhere, is reaped and is chiefly made up of millets. There is, therefore, a great difference of foods depending upon the nature of the soil to a large extent; thus, for example, where the staple is millet the food is coarse, and this fact, added to the scarcity of good fodder, which is due to the irregular rainfall, makes life very hard in the desert tracts for both man and beast.

Yet this very difficulty has its compensations, because it compels the inhabitants who are strong and hardy to seek their fortunes abroad, thus following the law of movement so forcibly enunciated by Buckle.

These remarks are not only true of the Rajput warrior, but of the mercantile classes, who under the names of Marwaris, Baniyas, Seths, or bankers, reside for a time in the rich towns and villages of the whole of North India, and even far beyond,

in these days of safety, in such places as Hongkong or Zanzibar; and also of Brahmans, who go to distant parts to act as priests to the scattered members of the desert clans; and unfortunately also of highway robbers, or dakaitis who used to make raids far and wide in India, returning to their homes with their spoil.

All alike however hope to die in the Rajput land, and to bring up their families in it so that the strength and independence of the race may be kept up.

In most parts of the country stone is available for building substantial houses, but in others, where the soil is clayey and wood is cheap, tiles and bricks are in general use, and in the hills wattle and mud walls with grass roofs are common. The Rajput was therefore always comfortably housed, but the abundant quantity of marble and beautiful sandstones of different colours in some districts rendered it possible for the chiefs to construct most charming palaces, handsome temples, and, what was much more useful to them, strong forts and town walls. Few minerals except salt have been worked, but even this and the ornamental building stone, although they added to the wealth of the people, have not been regarded as unmixed blessings, because they attracted the covetous eyes of the Moghuls.

The geographical and geological features of Rajputana are most important factors in determining its meteorology. A large portion of the north-west is occupied by the great Indian desert, which is covered with sand hills shaped in long straight ridges, and is ill-watered. The south-east of the Aravallis is more elevated and fertile. It is very diversified, and contains extensive hill ranges, valleys, plateaux, and woodlands. It is traversed by several large rivers, and there are numerous isolated rocky eminences. Sir John Eliot, who kindly wrote a description of the meteorology for my *Rajputana Medical Gazetteer*, observes that the meteorological features of the two divisions of Rajputana differ greatly, depending partly upon its physical configuration and on its proximity to the Arabian Sea to the west, and to the great river plains of Northern India to the east. There are two seasons, viz., the south-west or wet, and the north-east or dry. The former lasts from about June to September, and gives on an average about 13·47 inches of rain to North-west Rajputana, and 25·32 inches to the south-east. Much of the rain comes from the Bombay current in moderate showers, but in some years a good deal is received during the passage of cyclonic storms from the west. October and November are usually fine and dry, though there

are occasional cyclonic storms, and here I may mention, in passing, that this is the time at which the warlike races began their military expeditions. The north-east monsoon Sir J. Eliot divides into a cold weather season from December to February, and a hot season from March to May or June, when the rains begin. The diurnal range of temperature in the former is very large, and there are usually storms which pass from the north-east towards the Gangetic plain, and are followed by a remarkably bright and clear state of the atmosphere. They are sometimes accompanied by hail. In the hot season, hot winds blow over the greater part of Rajputana, and the relative humidity is very low, being sometimes as little as 2 or 3 per cent. Excessive dryness of the air, high temperature, with large diurnal ranges, and hot, dry, westerly winds are the chief normal features of this period. The total yearly rainfall for the north-west is 15·26 inches, and for the south-east 27·19 inches. The daily range of temperature is sometimes between 25° to 32°, and very high temperatures are noted, in the end of May for example being as much as 123° F. On the other hand, the thermometer falls in the cold weather as low as 30°.

The climate is a very prominent factor in the making of the Rajput, and in preserving his health. The cold months are usually very delightful, and the bracing air is most invigorating; the hot season, on account of the dryness of the atmosphere and the frequent winds, can generally be well borne, and the monsoon period affords a welcome relief to both man and beast. On the whole the public health is good. Dust and glare account for a great prevalence of eye affections, and there is much malarial fever, strangely to say in the dry city of Bikanir being more prevalent than in the more moist districts of the east of the province, and so much so is this the case in certain years that in the west it has been sometimes difficult to gather in the autumnal harvest, and military operations would under such circumstances be long delayed. On the other hand, although smallpox and cholera are common enough, they do not spread so widely as in other parts of the empire, on account of the free movement of air, its dryness, and the fine open country round the hills. The climate, especially of the north-western tracts, is indeed very favourable to the growth of a hardy, manly population, and the comparatively long cold season recuperates the forces of all but the most feeble, thus, notwithstanding many untoward conditions, the Rajputs, and even the peasantry of other tribes,

have through many centuries been noted for their bodily strength and for those qualities of mind which should accompany such a state of health. Where they have failed it has been due to want of union and good leaders and to incapacity to adapt themselves to modern conditions, which their more quick-witted adversaries, under foreign influences, have not been slow to understand and follow. The fact that Rajputana is one of our best recruiting grounds proves that the material is still one of the best, and, if properly led, second to none in India. Most unfortunately the Rajput despises the pen, though he feels and recognises its power, which has often been exercised to his detriment; but, where physical force, bravery, and loyalty alone are required, he is always to be depended upon, though he cannot easily realise that personal courage, with faithful devotion to his liege lord, are not sufficient to ensure Imperial rule in these days, in which strategy and well considered plans must accompany discipline, and when force alone cannot rule the world. Many of my Rajput friends, who despise the learning of the scholar and the schools, which they associate to some extent with trickery and with the possession of additional fangs to enable a man to prey upon others, have bitterly regretted to me their powerlessness to prove their loyalty by using their swords on behalf of the paramount sovereign. It may be that this noble, if somewhat mediæval, spirit may yet some day be used for the good of the empire. The Pax Britannica has, however, already converted the Meenas and the Jhats, the strongest of the peasantry, as well as many Rajputs, into ordinary citizens, who seem to have forgotten the arts of war, though as yet, I fear, they have not sufficiently so learned the arts of peace as to be able to defeat the pleader, or astute petty lawyer, to whom all of them are ready to fall a prey, or the *baniya* or small trader, from whom they recklessly borrow, so that in many cases they lose to the one or to the other their lands and fortunes.

I think that I have shown that to some extent the progress, ancient success, and present position of the Rajputs and their sovereignties, have been due to the geographical, physical, and climatic conditions of their country. I shall now therefore deal with other important considerations. I repeat that the fact that the same race has remained dominant, in what would appear at first sight an unsatisfactory and unpropitious country and environment, from the date of its first appearance there fifteen hundred years ago, points to conditions which are indeed worthy of the most careful study. Assuming that the ancestors

of the Rajputs came, as tradition asserts they did, from beyond the Himalayas, and then spread out on the easily conquerable plains of the north of India, from which they were themselves in turn evacuated by more disciplined conquerors, and that the best of them then retired to lands which were better suited to their martial instincts and modes of life, where finally they fully established themselves, we may go on to ask why Rajputana fulfilled the conditions which were necessary. The Rajputs were brave, hardy, and above all extremely desirous of possessing land which they could hold without being under the strict direct rule of a supreme court. They were fond of the chase, in which they could maintain their strength and learn the arts of stratagem in peace, which, in early ages, were much the same as in war; while at the same time they did not lessen their devotion to their tribal chiefs, whom they regarded as the patriarchal heads of their families, whose interests were similar to their own, whom they were always willing to acknowledge and die for as the first amongst equals, the preservation of whose rights was the same thing as preserving their own, but whom under ordinary conditions it was wiser to keep at a distance. A country studded with mountain ranges and isolated hills, at the feet of which were many fertile valleys and plains, admirably met all these and many other wants of such a people, not only because it became easy to construct forts from which the plains could be dominated, but on account of the alternations of wood and cultivation, and the mountain streams which furnished excellent cover and food for game. Moreover, the extended cold season renewed the vigour of the men and kept up their full powers, which enabled them, in days when standing armies, and particularly infantry, were of little value, but when personal courage counted for so much, not only to hold their own, but to extend their possessions, or at least to provide for their sons. It was not the aim, as it was not the genius of the Rajput, to promote commerce, though there are instances of great wealth having been obtained under their protection in the more settled districts, as is evidenced by the riches of the banker and merchants, especially of the Jain sect, which enabled them to build such famous shrines as those of Abu and Sadri, and to erect splendid mansions in such out-of-the-way places as Bikanir, Jodhpore and Shekhawati, or huge temples at Mathura and elsewhere. The usual position and history of a Rajput capital, or of the home of any Rajput Thakur or noble, points to the truth of my conclusions. Let us take for example the capitals

of any of the modern states. The chiefs of Meywar, when they were driven from the plains of Gujarat, settled in the innermost recesses of the Aravalli mountains; they then conquered the Mori chief of Cheetore, and for a thousand years his fortress remained their capital, from which, when they were opposed to the disciplined hosts of the Moghul Empire, they had, after a very hard struggle, extending over many years, to withdraw again into the rugged district in which they founded the new and present capital of Udaipur, the City of the Rising Sun. So also at Jeypore the earliest capitals were Kho and Kuntalgarh, in almost inaccessible hills, then at Amber, still in the hills, and finally at Jeypore in the plains, but even now under the shadow of the mountain range, which is crowned with forts for the protection of the city. Again, the capital of Marwar, when it first became an important state, was at Mundore in the hills, and it was then removed, more space being required, to the plains beyond, though it was there also dominated by a noble fort high up on a grand scarped rock. Without exception the Rajput chiefs, even if their present capital does not stand in the hills, have some inaccessible fastness to which they can retire, as well as some game preserve in the hills close by. The homes of the nobles are similarly situated, and if there are no mountains there are wide extents of sand which serve a similar purpose, or, as at Kotah, a broad river which admits of easy defence of the place. Of course in process of time it became no longer so easy to provide for those who separated from the parent stem, so that they had to be satisfied with less typical sites, but the traveller will be surprised to find in Rajputana how few are the villages of the nobles which have not close by some stronghold, which is built on a rock or near some low hills, or some woodland out of which to make a game preserve. Villages in the open owned for their lord him who had the longest arm, and when the inhabitants were in danger or were oppressed they withdrew to his fort for shelter.

Tod refers to seeing near Reah in Marwar the cenotaph of the Thakur of that place, who fell in 1749 in defending the town walls against the Mhairs, having first put to death his wife in order to save his honour, and he adds that "there was scarcely a family on either side of the Aravallis whose estates lay near them which had not cenotaphs bearing similar inscriptions, recording the desperate raids of the mountaineers; and it may be asserted that one of the greatest benefits we conferred on Rajputana was the conversion of the numerous banditti . . . into peaceful tax-paying subjects. We have now, moreover,

metamorphosised several corps of them, from breakers, into keepers of the peace." The work of building strong forts and town walls was much facilitated by the abundance of excellent building materials. In North India, below the Himalayas, Rajputana alone fulfilled the important conditions which I have named. These are found, however, in other parts of the Peninsula, and in such situations the Rajputs, or the people who resembled them, also established themselves; thus, for example, in the neighbourhood of Rotasgarh, on the Soane river in Bengal, and in the adjoining hill states of Chota Nagpur, there are many petty chiefs, who assert their descent from the genuine Rajput stock, though it is no doubt very much diluted by admixture with inferior aboriginal blood. The great Mahratta Chief, Sivaji, and the Rulers of Nepal also claim Rajput origin, and that from the noblest stock, none other than the royal house of Udaipur. The rule is almost universal, though it is true that in early times, when they became paramount, the great chiefs of India, from whom the present rulers believe they are descended; even the deified king Rama himself; and the lords of Balabhi and Kanauj, respectively the reputed ancestors of the chiefs of Jaipur, Udaipur and Marwar, lived in the plains, but they did not thoroughly establish themselves there. Thanks to their possession of Chitor, the famous rock fortress, and of the hill countries near it, the chiefs of Meywar after Rana Hamir were paramount for more than two hundred years in Rajputana, notwithstanding that they had against them the power of the great sovereigns of Delhi.

I will now quote at length from one of the appendices to the famous *Rajasthan*, or "*History of the Rajputs*," a remonstrance which was addressed to Colonel James Tod, its author, when he was Political Agent in Meywar, by the Sub-vassals of Deogarh, because it is most typical of the ideas of the Rajputs as regards their duties to their liege lord, and still more so of his obligations to them, and then I propose to give some illustrations of the peculiar qualities of the race, qualities both good and bad, to which, in my opinion, they owe not only their successes, but their failures.

Remonstrance of the Sub-vassals of Deogarh against their chief, Rawat Gokal Singh. (Appendix, Tod's *Rajasthan*.)

1. He respects not the privileges or customs established of old.
2. To each Rajput's house a *Charsa* or hide of land was attached; this he has resumed.
3. Whoever bribes him is a true man, who does not is a thief.

4. Ten or twelve villages established by his vassals he has resumed and left their families to starve.

5. From time immemorial sanctuary has been esteemed sacred ; this he has abolished.

6. On emergencies he would pledge his oath to his subjects, and afterwards plunder them.

7. In old times, it was customary when the presence of his chiefs and kindred was required, to invite them by letter ; a fine is now the warrant of summons, thus lessening their dignity.

8. Such messengers in former times had a *takka* (a copper coin) for their ration, now he imposes two rupees (64 times as much).

9. Formerly when robberies occurred in the mountains within the limits of Deogarh, the loss was made good ; now all complaint is useless, for his *faujdar* (military commander) receives a fourth of all such plunder. The Mers range at liberty ; but before they never committed murder, they slay as well as rob our kin, nor is there any redress, and such plunder is even sold within the town of Deogarh.

10. Without crime, he resumes the land of his vassals for the sake of imposition of fines, and after such are paid, he cuts down the green crops, with which he feeds his horses.

11. The cultivators on the lands of the vassals he seizes by force, extorts fines, or sells their cattle to pay them. Thus cultivation is ruined, and the inhabitants leave the country.

12. From oppression the town magistrates of Deogarh have fled to Ráipur. He lays in watch to seize and extort money from them.

13. When he summons his vassals for purposes of extortion and they escape his clutches, he seizes on their wives and families. Females, from a sense of honour, have on such occasions thrown themselves into wells.

14. He interferes to recover old debts, distraining the debtor of all he has in the world ; half he receives.

15. If any man have a good horse, by fair means or foul he contrives to get it.

16. When Deogarh was established, at the same time were our allotments ; as is his patrimony, so is our patrimony. Thousands of rupees have been expended in establishing them and improving them, yet our rank, privileges, and rights he equally disregards.

17. From these villages, founded by our forefathers, he at times will take four or five skins of land, and bestow them on

foreigners; and thus the ancient proprietors are reduced to poverty and ruin.

18. From of old all his Rajput kin had daily rations of grain; for four years these rights have been abolished.

19. From ancient times the vassals formed his council: now he consults only foreigners. What has been the consequence? The whole annual revenue derived from the mountains is lost.

20. From the ancient allotment of the brotherhood the mountaineers carry off the cattle, and instead of redeeming them, this *faujdar* (of lies) sets the plunderers up to the trick of demanding blackmail.

21. Money is justice and there is none other: whoever has money may be heard. The bankers and merchants have gone abroad for protection, but he asks not where they are.

22. Refers to their being fined when they attempt to do themselves justice, and recover their cattle when they have been driven to the hills, thereby leading to loss of dignity; to failure to investigate feuds, whereby the Rajput is obliged to abandon his patrimony, there being neither protection nor support.

They add that the chief is so supine and so regardless of honour, that he tells us to take money to the hills and redeem our property; foreigners are all in all, and the home-bred is set aside. Dekhanis (Southerners) and plunderers enjoy the lands of his brethren. Justice there is none.

Our rights and privileges in his family are the same as his in the family of the Presence (the Maharana). What crimes have we committed, that at this day we should lose our lands!

We are in great trouble.

The recital of the wrongs of those poor people seems like reproducing a page out of ancient Semitic history.

The courage of the Rajputs, whether it is considered under its personal or its tribal and collective aspects, during the period of their greatness, was undoubted. Where every page of their history seems full of instances of both kinds of courage it is difficult to quote special cases. The most powerful incentives to bravery amongst them are perhaps pride of race and devotion to the immediate tribal lord rather than love of country. The ordinary Rajput thinks it quite sufficient to introduce himself by saying, "I am a Rajput," the son of a king, and the proudest boast of his wife is to be the mother of a Rajput. Many a man of this race has been encouraged by his women to return again and again to fight the enemy and to perform the most heroic deeds. Even their taunts were not wanting, though these were rarely needed. The Emperor Akbar caused effigies to be put

up of Patta Singh and Jai Mal, one of them a mere lad of sixteen, who both fell fighting on the slopes of Chitor, before his own palace, figures which are in existence to this day, as a testimony to his admiration for their valour.

We are told that the mother and bride of Patta Singh accompanied him, and that both fell fighting near the spot. I have myself seen the monument erected to his memory, and from the tower of Victory of Kumbhu Rana which crowns that noble hill of Chitor, have heard the representative of his name and honours speak with pride of his forefather's bravery and patriotism, both of which it was easy to see he would willingly emulate.

Where every local history teems with instances of personal courage of both sexes, and it is almost impossible to find a coward, it would be invidious to quote more examples, I shall, therefore, go on to the collective bravery of the race, which has been the subject of comment of all historians. When the Rajput finds his case hopeless, he assumes saffron coloured robes, and putting to death the females of all ages, rushes headlong into the ranks of the enemy, and committing terrible havoc, there finds the death which he seeks.

No fewer than three times was this awful sacrifice made in the history of Meywar, when, headed by the highest of the queens, the wives and daughters of all the nobles and the remaining females of the clan went down into the caverns on the side of the mountain, and there were suffocated or burned; for if this had not been done, they would have become the lawful prey of the captors, as was the case with the Jews of old and the nations with whom they fought.

In a beautiful valley cleft in the hill I was shown the sacred spot where is the entrance to the cavern in which the last and, perhaps, all of these fearful sacrifices took place. In front of it is a sacred fountain, and around it are grouped some small temples in which the manes of the dead are propitiated, and where the Rajputs pray for courage to imitate the example set by their illustrious ancestors, to which indeed they need but little incentive, the flames being abundantly fed by their bards and historians from their earliest days. Nor indeed are the women less backward than the men in all that is chivalrous. Taught from their infancy that pious wives should accompany their husbands to the realms of the dead, they arm their sons for battle, and follow their lords, in many cases, as the annals testify, most gladly, to the funeral pyre. Nor is this surprising, because the lot of a widow is by no means a pleasant one, as custom prescribes many hardships that she must go through if

she wishes to preserve her reputation for honour amongst her fellows. The sacrifice of the Johar was not confined to great national occasions, but was an accompaniment of even small intertribal conflicts. The whole story turns upon the Rajput's jealousy of his honour, a feeling of which the following extract from the memoirs of James Skinner affords a good illustration. Fraser, who writes his memoirs, says, "If we seek for a picture of chivalrous gallantry, unswerving fidelity, and fearless self-devotion, we have only to turn to the cavalry of the Rajput states; particularly to that of the Rahtores. We shall find there acts of resolute heroism that have not been surpassed by the troops of any age or country. In the history of their own wars we find repeated instances of bodies of their horsemen dashing against lines of spears and bayonets in the field, and against batteries bristling with cannon, regardless of the havoc in their own ranks made by grape and steel, while in defence of their fortresses we find them dying to the last man, rather than accept quarter from their assailants on any terms but such as they deem consistent with military honour, for it is the *Izzat*, the *Abru*, of the Rajput which is dearer to him than life, which instigates him to imperil that in its defence; while his devotion to his chief and clan, like that of the Highlanders of yore, makes all sacrifices easy when these are in peril." Skinner gives an instance of a small garhi or petty fort in the Doab which was threatened by a detachment of the British army. The thirteen Rajputs who held it agreed to surrender to Skinner if permitted to go free and carry off their arms; but when the younger officers told them to give them up (as Skinner had promised), they said it was against their custom. Unfortunately, in spite of Skinner's remonstrances, they were refused, and then turned back. They opposed the twenty men sent against them and killed or wounded as many in number as themselves, and finally all died in the little post, surrounded by three or four times the number of their assailants dying or dead around them. The famous La Borgne, or Count de Boigne, who was such a prominent and good specimen of the military adventurer, who was the means, thanks to his training of the infantry of the Mahrattas, of doing more harm to the Rajput cause than perhaps any one else, bears testimony to the gallantry of the Rahtore horse. At the renowned battle of Mairta they charged and recharged up to the very muzzles of the guns. Again and again they charged, each time with ebbing effort and weaker effect; again and again they flung themselves against that hedge of bayonets with merciless

madness. There is a limit to human endurance, but to-day that limit was death. So the ghastly sacrifice was consummated, until only fifteen remained alive, and these, steadfast to the end, returned for the last time to the shambles of self-immolation, and found the death they sought. Baber, who was the conqueror at Biana, owed that victory, which gave him India, to his artillery and to the treachery of some of the supporters of his valiant antagonist, Sanga Rana of Meywar, and perhaps to the want of general discipline of the foe, and not to any decay in their courage, for which he had the greatest admiration. All writers up to the end of the eighteenth century speak in similar terms, but when the new century dawned the incursions of the Mahrattas, aided as they were by internal dissensions of the Rajput princes, and strengthened by the infantry and artillery under the European adventurers, who had trained them, completely demoralised the race, so that Skinner, who saw "the brave Surajbanses, or the children of the Sun," in their prime in 1798, in 1832 says, "How much are they now fallen. Chiefs, no longer brave leaders, but either boys or men sunk in vice or debauchery, guided by women or Kāmdārs or agents—Udaipur the only exception." Very shortly afterwards Dr. Irvine of Ajmere wrote of the courage of the Rajput as having been very much overrated, and as having been at all times due in a great measure to the use of opium and other stimulants, but their bravery was a matter of common knowledge long before opium was in use according to Tod, and was exercised under circumstances which were quite independent of such adventitious support. The Rajput takes a dose of opium before an engagement as an almost sacramental right and in part, as a valiant man of the race told me, for medical reasons.

Be that as it may, I think no one who knows the people would not be glad to lead such men in a charge, being certain that he would be followed to the death. The Rajput is impulsive, easily deceived by a wily foe, as the emperors knew well, having on several important occasions detached chiefs from the cause of their own enemies by the stratagem of allowing misleading, or forged, letters to fall into their hands. He is too prone to take offence and will fight with his brethren for land as well as for every insult, whether it is true or false, so unreflecting is he, but he is generous to the foe, often giving away advantages in a reckless fashion. He has no idea of discipline, but he will die for the most quixotic and trivial reasons in defence of his honour and of that of his immediate

lord, or for any cause which the latter takes up, though he does not so readily fight for country as we regard the word. Tod tells us how the Rajput regards the honour of the clan, or of his own family, as the most pressing of all duties.

Two illustrations will suffice to enforce the above remarks. The Maharana of Udaipur had the son of the great Moghul, Aurungzeb (Orme says it was the emperor himself) in his power in the mountains, as well as a favourite queen. Although their detention would have been of the utmost value to him, he let both go without making any terms. Two great nobles claimed the right of leading the van in war. The chief, not wishing to offend either of them, said that he who was first inside of a town which was then being besieged should lead in the future. One advanced to the wall, the other tried to enter by the gate, but the latter finding his elephant would not attempt to burst it in on account of the long spikes of iron with which it was studded, and stimulated into frenzy by the distant sound of the war cry of his rival, threw himself upon the sharp points and commanded his mahout, or elephant driver, to press forward through his body, but in the moment of death he had still the mortification of hearing that his antagonist was already within the walls.

It is a noble sight to see the Rajputs in full martial array on the open plain. Some faint idea of their splendour I witnessed thirty years ago when, after his father's death, the late Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar, accompanied by the whole of his court and his nineteen brothers, went out of Jodhpur to escort the then Chief of Jaipur, Maharaja Ram Singh, into his capital. The young nobles were mounted on camels or horses decked with the gayest trappings, and with the tails of the wild ox fastened in front of their saddles. Elephants carried the royal standard and insignia of Mārwar, and before the chiefs and those who accompanied them ran crowds of horse and foot, while from all sides were heard the plaudits of the people, accompanied by the discharge of muskets and similar weapons and the booming of cannon from the fort walls. Such is the ceremony of the Peshwai or Istakbāl. Something of the ancient glories was seen at the famous Imperial Assemblage of Delhi, and a faint, though modernized, version of them in the same capital at the Coronation Darbar of 1903, when an unfortunate chief, who wore the national dress, the garb of the Moghul Court, as he ascended the Vice-regal dais, excited the mirth of the unthinking crowd.

Most terrible is the picture drawn for us of the condition

of Rajputana when the British first became intimately connected with it.

Broughton, in his letters from a Mahratta camp, describes how the army of Sindeah passed systematically over the lands of all the villages which did not buy him off. His troops deliberately traversed the fields of wheat and barley where the ear was just ripening, with no more remorse than if it had been a desert, the Mahrattas tearing up the corn and loading themselves and their cattle with it. Risalas (troops of cavalry) occasionally halted in the midst of a particularly flourishing spot to allow their horses to get a good feed. Even the beams and thatch of the houses were carried away. They tore and destroyed that which they did not want, so that it was no wonder that the peasantry were raised against them and cut off all they could. These miscreants, if they had a grudge against a village, would march over and trample down the growing crops. He laments the degeneracy of the Rajputs, who were formerly so eminently distinguished for their chivalrous courage and high sense of honour, which now seemed to have quite deserted them, and, as an instance of the spirit which formerly animated them, he mentions that when the Chief of Bhurtpore marched in defiance through the Jeypore country, the nobles rose up and with their followers drove him off with fearful loss. This writer, and many others at the time, refer to the manner in which the English abandoned the Rajputs under the most unfortunate and disastrous policy of the East India Company that was carried out by Sir George Barlow, at which time, for our own convenience, we abandoned this brave race, not only to the Mahrattas, but even to those still worse foes, the awful Pindaris, who are described as despotic marauders and savage barbarians, who were prowling about the country in immense hordes, being composed of the worst men of the Mahrattas and Musalman armies, and of all other scoundrels of the lowest class whom the civil wars and troubles of the period had driven to obtain a livelihood by preying upon their fellow creatures. These Pindaris, another writer says, ranged over the countries of Malwa and Rajputana as if they were their common prey. Miserable indeed was the condition of the land, not only from the ravages of these savages, but from the excesses of the no less ferocious chiefs and princes who disputed for power upon their soil, so that the greater portion of them was utterly ruined and depopulated; and the natives have given to that period (1800-1818) the expressive name of *gardi-ka-wakt*, that is, the time of trouble. "The poor Bhils,

whom the Mahrattas could not keep in order, were treated by them as outlaws, and they permitted their lowest officers to take their lives without trial. Torture was freely used. Exposed to the sun with his nose slit and his ears shaved from his head the Bhil was burned to death, chained to a red-hot iron slab. Hundreds were thrown over a cliff at Antur, and large bodies, assembled under a promise of pardon, were beheaded and blown from guns. Their women were mutilated, or smothered by smoke and their children dashed to pieces against the stones." At this time they too came under the protection of the British. The country never suffered in this way from the Rajputs, who if they did fight with each other, or with the common foe, protected the peasant, and were on good terms with the wild Bhil.

It is not wonderful that the Mahrattas and the Mohammedans lost empire. As to the latter, when the intolerant Aurangzeb imposed the polltax on all who were not Musalmans, he lost at the same time the support of the Rajputs, and the Moghul Empire soon fell to pieces, but even, at their best, the Moghuls after Akbar did not know how to treat a brave people. The emperor Jehangir, for example, writes of his efforts to put down what he calls the robbers of these countries, and mentions as a proof of the difficulties of the task, that in his own lifetime half-a-million of them had to be put to death, but without much result.

It was some time before Malwa and Rajputana recovered from this terrible strain, and even now the recollection of the past must go far to reconcile the inhabitants to the rule of a humane paramount power, even although it is not of their own faith or race.

The immense improvement in the masters of these regions is shown by the opinions of those who saw something of the horrors of the past; thus, for example, Sir John Malcolm, the great Political Officer and historian of Central India, says, "the unbounded liberality of the East India Company is quite unknown in England, and indeed in the more remote parts of Hindustan. Their munificence is proverbial amongst the whole of the native powers with whom they have been concerned; their extreme liberality and good faith in all treaties, which has never been tarnished, establish them on a rock which no power can shake." It can easily be imagined with what relief the mild rule and non-interference of such a power must have been received after so much oppression and misrule, and after the unfortunate Barlow period there has been nothing to shake this confidence as far as the treatment of the natives of those pro-

vinces is concerned. With not very great exceptions the Rajputs stood the test of the mutiny and were loyal. Most of the states have recovered, and, though a bad ruler is not unknown, the people generally are happy, and even the Rajput nobles, who cannot now obtain new land at the expense of their neighbours and friends, are at least secure in the possession of that which they already hold, which can only be alienated by their own fault. Here, however, family pride, which demands, as they think, very heavy outlay for marriage and funeral expenses, and general improvidence, often lead to serious loss and even ruin. In the good old days the moneylender was kept somewhat under control, because he was not allowed to go too far, or to collect his debts by too legal measures, nor to spend too much on himself, as he was restrained by sumptuary laws. Some states have taken special precaution to protect the noble against his own folly in both respects. The *Walterkrit Sabha*, a social organisation which was founded on the recommendation of the late Colonel Walter and of other officers, with the support of the chiefs and sympathy of the Government of India, has helped the nobles and better classes of Rajputs to reduce the enormous marriage expenses, particularly by making it punishable to spend too much on such occasions. The chief bards and others who profited most have loyally co-operated in this very useful reform. Personal pride, family honour, and jealousy of each other, which were inflamed by the bards, and all of those who were interested in shearing the unfortunate noble, made it very difficult to escape from lavish outlay, so that the friendly intervention and support of a third powerful party, on whose broad shoulders all the odium and blame could be thrown, was of infinite value at this time, nor indeed should a paramount power shrink from performing such an important if temporarily unpleasant duty, and happily our Government does not shirk its responsibility, and has not the desire nor is it under the necessity of adopting the *Macchiavellian* policy of the Moghuls, which led the emperors to believe that it was all-important to divide if they wished to rule. It was unhappily far too easy to sow dissension amongst the Rajputs, whose hunger for land, jealousy of each other, and impulsiveness, as I have already shown, were always so apparent! History is full of instances of the advantages the old paramount powers sought and obtained from these sad divisions, though, on the other hand, it is not wanting in examples of combination which lasted long enough to prevent their enemies from completely destroying them.

Such ill-judged action as that of Aurangzeb, when he fined

and punished all Hindus on account of their religion, or the invasions of their country by the numerous Mohammedan invaders of India, from a sense of common danger, led to general resistance of the foe, but so loosely knit were the discordant elements of these combinations that failure often occurred on the eve of victory, or the ultimate advantages of victory were lost to the race. As an instance of the former, the defeat of Sanga Maharana at Biana by Baber from the defection of one of the principal Rajputs may again be mentioned.

The love of land is an overwhelming passion with the Rajput, and has often tempted him to despoil his neighbour, and to take advantage of his difficulties. It has thus come about that although the tribe has remained firmly established in Rajputana, the same clans do not always hold the same possessions, nor have they the same boundaries as formerly. It was the custom at each succession, for example, for a new Maharana of Udaipur to make a raid into a neighbouring State, and so begin a struggle for extended dominions. Each of the more celebrated septs has thus in turn come to the front. The brave Chohans once held very extensive sway, so did the equally renowned Tuars, both having at one time been rulers at Delhi, but the one is now represented by a noble in the Alwar State, and the other, as a Jaipur chief, holds his little court at Patan in North Jaipur, where in a small house, within sight of a great fort above on the hills, I was received on several occasions by him as if he had still in his possession the lordship of the Imperial city, which was given up 700 or 800 years before, showing how much men such as he live on the glories and traditions of the past. The history of the abandonment of the upper fort is characteristic. A former lord had killed his own father, being eager to enter into possession, but was soon overcome by remorse as his fears led him to believe that the place was haunted by the defunct, and so persistent was the vision, that he went to live in a hut on the plain, and from that day none of his descendants have ventured to take up the old home. Both Jaipur and Jodhpur have been stained by crimes of this nature, and these have been due to the love of possession, which was driven into crime of the worst kind by the evil suggestions of the Delhi power. In these, and similar cases, the deed has been execrated by the Rajputs themselves, and the superstitious fears of the murderer have made his life a burden to him.

Superstition and religion are very much allied in the Rajput. Every state has its tutelary divinity, who at some critical

time has appeared, it is believed, for the preservation of the ruler or of his race. All firmly believe in the truth of these stories, and act upon them. While the Rajput is professedly a follower of Shiva, the destroying form of the divinity of the Hindus, he is actuated more, perhaps, by the milder tenets of the votaries of Krishna, whose cult is much favoured by the women ; and the Jains, who as bankers have always flourished in Rajputana, have also been influential in leading the chiefs to treat their people with humanity. The fact that, if oppressed, the cultivator will at last abandon a village, and the knowledge that the large extent of waste land needs men to work it, and that dissatisfied persons will soon find others ready to welcome them, also tends to induce the nobles to make themselves good landlords. The custom of modified domestic slavery, which prevails in Rajputana to this day, is another proof of the mildness of Rajput rule. The present Chief of Jaipur, in speaking to me on this question, said that, even in the days of his poverty, and he at one time lived in exile with very scanty means, his *chelas* or his servants born in his own house, to use the Scriptural or more correct phrase, were never hungry though he often was. A Rajput, he said, would rather die than see such persons suffer, and the fact is true that no man or woman need now remain in such servitude in these days of railway communication.

It is the custom when a young Rajput, or his sister, the young Rajputni, is married, for a number of *chela* boys and girls to accompany the young people into the new home, and to be married at the same time, the marriage expenses of the servant being paid by the lord, and so well is this understood that the boys and girls are kept unmarried for such an occasion. Some of these *chelas* rise to high position in India. These people, as indeed do all his clansmen, join in all the pleasures as well as in the sorrows of the lords. In some states, every Rajput retainer receives a portion of grain from the state granary every day. This is of course convenient in a country in which most of the revenue is paid in kind, but it goes deeper than that, being an illustration of the custom of looking to the lord for everything.

I have often been told, when I hinted at the propriety of rich men giving subscriptions to hospitals, that they were not needed, because it was the duty of the chief to provide all such things for his people, and it would therefore be insulting to distrust him. In turn the chief expects assistance to be given to him, and that when required, up, of course to a certain

limit, he should be able to have the first call upon anyone for his skill, thus, for example, the goldsmith or the armourer must execute work for the Maharaja in preference to the subject, whatever the necessities of the latter may be.

These customs are but the extension of "mutual aid," the earliest form of human society, as Kropotkin has pointed out, but, side by side with this practice, we have the village systems of India, and the Trade Guilds, all working together with a not unsuccessful harmony. Interference with the individual is on well-known lines, and is, therefore, easily borne.

Cooperation in danger, even though imperfect, and independence in the home go hand in hand, and although they may sometimes press somewhat heavily in special cases, it is very doubtful if a different system would be more successful. So secure have the people of Rajputana been in the belief that, on the whole, the conditions of life around them are the best for them, that they have been tolerant of others, and thus in that country there has been little difference between the prospects of the Hindu and the Musalman, and, if it were not for the misrepresentations of foreign members of the Brahmanical faith from Bengal and elsewhere, it is probable that Christians of Indian races would meet with the same toleration, though in their case the Paramount Power does not, under us, exert any influence in their favour, although they have, if I remember correctly, once been described by an Anglo-Indian judge as the first of all castes.

Although I have given many reasons why I think the Rajputs settled in Rajputana, I have only incidentally referred to the conditions under which they maintained themselves so long in the province. They could not have done this unless their rule over the people, especially over those who were not of their own clan, had not been mild, and if their conduct towards them had not been generally just and benevolent. As regards the powers which sought to conquer them from the outside, although the Rajput did not always win he always made himself felt, and his prowess was so respected as to make his enemies not only fear him, but afraid to attack him without the most serious preparation.

In respect to their relations with their retainers and the people generally, many things conduced to good feeling, loyalty, and success. The retainers are men of the same clan, whose ancestors followed their tribal chief to war and victory, and amongst them he divided the lands which they had conquered together, and which were, therefore, the reward of their mutual toil.

and prowess. The noble held, as he still holds, his petty court of ceremony and justice just as his sovereign did; he settled disputes in a truly patriarchal way; he punished crime; he protected the poor, and even fed his clansmen, as, indeed, everyone else in times of famine and scarcity; he helped on such occasions as marriages and deaths with money to meet the additional expenditure of such occasions; and in return the lord expected and received similar support at the time of domestic events in his own family, and, more than all, faithful help when he had to serve the common sovereign, whether at his court or in time of war.

If these bonds were broken on either side there were discontent, rupture, and transfer of allegiance to another noble, who, as I have already observed, had a strong interest in getting more men to till his waste lands, but an even stronger one in securing the services of additional horsemen to follow him into the field of battle, or to aid him in any struggle with his own superior should he find it necessary, in turn, to change his allegiance.

There were therefore many reasons why a noble should be just and conciliatory. The remonstrance of the sub-vassals of Deogarh which I have given, shows some of the various grievances which may arise, and proves how an unjust noble may soon lose his power, his influence, and even his estate. A Hindu will not, however, lightly leave his holding, his *Bhum*, or the land of his fathers. Outside many a village is the shrine of a Bhumia, that is of a man who has died in defence of his rights in the land, and who in consequence is thought to haunt the scene of his former life, and who, if he is not propitiated, may greatly trouble his descendants or the village people. A light is, therefore, kept burning inside the little shrine, or garlands are placed near the painted stone within, which represents the departed, whose soul is still unappeased. The Bhumia sometimes, it is believed, lives near the spot in the form of a huge cobra, which, if offended, will kill someone in the place. There are many families that have remained for untold generations in or near the same hamlet, and nothing struck me more, in recording the names and history of persons who were detained in cholera or plague camps, than the narration of such pedigrees as this. When passing through the large town of Sojat in Marwar two or three years after the great famine of 1868-9, I saw whole streets of houses and shops which were locked up, but were untenanted by newcomers because it was believed that the owners, or someone representing them, would surely return from Malwa into which

they had fled under stress of hunger. Such facts as this show how the native of India clings to his land and home, and what a great amount of wrong is required to drive him away for good, yet it also points on the whole to a just and paternal treatment.

What tended most to preserve such a rule was a common religion, which, while it allowed much elasticity in some ways, such as variety of sect and local practice, did not usually persecute for such divergencies, and its very humane nature which permitted a man to do so many personal things without hindrance that, in perhaps better regulated and more straitlaced communities, are prohibited. Thus, for example, a man will shut up a street if he wishes to give a caste feast on some family occasion; he will get the loan of horses, elephants, camels, furniture, and even of a few soldiers when he has a marriage in hand, and desires to shine a little before his neighbours; and he will have the right to a seat, or at least a standing place, in the little court of the noble, even if he is only a small shop-keeper: and he may as the head of his guild or fraternity, sit in judgment on his caste men in petty disputes, and lastly, his body may be carried sitting up instead of in a recumbent position to the cremation ground, his chief being present. Then again, if he is one of the nobles or officials, he will have something to say when his sovereign dies as to the succession.

The rules of succession to position and property in Rajputana have had very much to do with the permanency of Rajput rule. Unlike the Mohammedan Emperors, whose rules for themselves and their nobles as well as officials were most irregular, the Rajput had fixed principles which were followed at every succession both of a chief and of his nobles.

All were therefore equally interested in keeping these regulations and in preserving the system which admitted them. Mohammedan successions were far from regular. The strongest, or most unscrupulous, won in the almost inevitable struggle which followed upon the death of the last sovereign, and his death was not always waited for, as for example in the case of even the great Akbar himself, whose grandson Khusru strove to obtain the empire to the prejudice of his father Jehangir. This scheme some authorities say even the emperor attempted to stay by giving the rebel's own supposed supporter Raja Maun Singh of Jaipur, poisoned *pān* or betel with his own hand, which, however, he took by mistake himself, thus causing his own death. So also Aurangzeb, by cunning and fighting, won the empire from his brothers and actually deposed his father Shan Jehan, the deed

of blood being amply revenged upon his descendants, of whom 21 out of 27 died violent deaths. The evil existed in all ranks, because upon the demise of a noble or high official his possessions passed to the crown, his natural heirs only receiving enough to live upon. Can it be wondered then that the Rajputs and the people generally preferred a system which had some elements of permanency in it, and that not even the Mohammedans were wholly in favour of regulations which destroyed all the natural incentives of working for a man's own family and of founding a home and keeping in memory a name.

Ordinarily then the succession in Rajputana was hereditary, but when there were no sons the Hindu laws, which admitted of adoption of some lad of the royal line, were followed. This practice admitted of the choice of the most promising scion of the family who was at the moment capable of adoption.

Of course there was not unfrequently much scope for intrigue, but on the whole if the main stem had proved unworthy, there was a change for the better, and the ancient lineage was always preserved. Such a case occurred while I was at Jaipur. The Maharaja was the last of the direct line, and on his deathbed it became necessary to inquire whom he wished to succeed him, he replied, "The next of kin according to the Shastras," or Hindu Scriptures. This would have led to some dispute, because tribal and local customs and state views might have given rise to differences of opinion, so that a few minutes later he was induced to speak more definitely, and then named a young man, who was of the family, and who, being the second son, was not required to perform his own natural father's funeral rites, and was therefore capable of being adopted by another. This youth succeeded, and is now the capable, though conservative and popular chief of the state who came over to England for the coronation of our King. There were several important considerations however that arose in this case that are illustrative of the subject, as, for example, the facts that the widows of the chief had also a voice in the matter as well as the nobles and the members of the state council, all of whom agreed. In case of a death without nomination of an heir the same principles will be followed, but the widow would nominate by the advice of the other parties.

The Paramount Power has always, certainly since Moghul times, held, and exercised as far as it could, the right of final approval. The Moghuls, it will readily be surmised, would interfere the more often in order to back up their own system of succession, and to enable them to keep down their most truculent opponents

by threatening them in their dearest aims. One of the measures which has tended, perhaps, more than any other to ensure the lasting loyalty of the Rajput has been the grant of the right of adoption to the chiefs of that race, and the anxiety of the great families was extreme when the failure of direct heirs at Karauli before the great Mutiny led to this matter being thoroughly threshed out, and an ultimate decision being given in their favour. Had it not been so, even in my own time, many of the great Rajput chiefships would have been at the disposal of the paramount sovereignty. Even the loyal and wise chief of Jeypore, Maharaja Ram Singh, felt it necessary on his deathbed to say to me, when nominating his successor, that he looked to the Government, in recognition of his uniform loyalty, to see that his wishes were carried out, and that the independence of his country was maintained, and his line preserved. Nor indeed is this fixity of tenure confined to the ruling race, which numbers only about five per cent. of the whole population, but it is the rule throughout all classes.

There are, for example, bankers in the northern parts of Jaipur, in Bikanir, and in Marwar, whose ancestors have been settled in or near the same places for many centuries. The facts which I have mentioned point to community of interest, to fixity of tenure, and especially to preservation of land in the regular line of succession, but there are other privileges which are of equal value to the ordinary human being which the Rajputana system ensured. Provided a man did not interfere in high politics, he could do many things which fostered his love of independence in his own home and affairs which a less elastic and, perhaps, over-legislated rule would not admit of.

He could till his own lands without much interference, especially if he bribed a tax-collector, and, with the exception of caste control to which all were accustomed, he could do pretty much as he liked, and then too, there was the chance, under personal rule, of rising even to the position of a prime minister by natural acuteness, rather than by the arts of the scribe, which all in their hearts abhor. Crowning all was the mutual aid which every one was prepared to render if the interests of the clan, or of the immediate lord, were attacked. On the side of the Rajput noble there were many things which tended to keep him up to the mark. The bard recited deeds of honour, but on the other hand he could describe in scathing verse any acts which were contrary to the accepted standard of uprightness. I remember how the name of a noble was execrated because in a time of dire distress from famine he

vowed he would not part with his huge stores of grain until the price in the market rose to a certain very high rate, and how every one scoffed when, on the arrival of the longed-for hour, and his grain pits were opened, it was found that the contents were rotten, and the sanitary authority condemned them as being unfit for human consumption. So also a noble who lends money at usury, like a Baniya, is despised by his brethren, while the liberality of another, not always wise though it may be, is lauded to the skies.

Some of the most beautiful illustrations of the care of the Rajput princes for their people are to be found in Rajputana. I refer to the wonderful artificial lakes which have been formed by throwing across streams, as they emerge from the hills through the passes, huge dams, some of which are constructed of marble and are crowned with magnificent halls and temples which have been usually dedicated to Vishnu the preserving deity. The coffers of the chief and of his nobles have been freely opened for such public works, and most beautiful and useful are the results of such munificence. The great dams at Deybar and Kankrauli in Meywar, with the broad expanses of water behind them, are things to dwell for ever in the memory, as also are many of the lesser works in the capitals of many other states. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the magnificent and striking palaces of the chiefs have led to the outlay of much money, thus supporting many trades and occupations, and that a Rajput palace is not a possession which is intended or used for the benefit of one man or for a single caste. The palace includes the courts and public offices to which all have access, and the Darbar Halls are frequented by men of every class when the numerous darbars or receptions are held, of which there are at least a dozen at most courts to commemorate some royal or religious anniversary as the year rolls round. The great Bishop Heber, in one of his letters writes as follows, "There are two palaces, Amber and Jaipur, surpassing all which I have seen of the Kremlin, or heard of the Alhambra; a third, Jodhpur, is said to be equal to either; and the Jain temples of Abu, on the verge of the western desert, are said to rank above them all." In another place, he remarks that "For varied and picturesque effect, for richness of carving, for wild beauty of situation, for the number and romantic singularity of the apartments, and the strangeness of finding such a building in such a place and country, I am able to compare nothing with Amber." Fraser, the Editor of Skinner's Memoirs, says, "India cannot produce

a more splendid view than that of the wide plain of Jaipur, as seen upon the road from Amber, with its noble city in the distance, and the foreground studded with palaces, shrines, temples, tanks, and multitudes of villages thick with groves and gardens. There are few places in Upper India better worth seeing than these two cities and their environs." Tod describes the glories of Jodhpur, "within whose noble fort, situated high up on a mole projecting from a low range of hills so as to be almost isolated, surrounded by strong walls with numerous lofty towers, are many splendid edifices and the Raja's residence, composed of many palaces which were constructed by his ancestors."

Of Bundi he says, "The *coup-d'œil* of the castellated palace of Bundi, from whichever side you approach it, is perhaps the most striking in India; . . . throughout Rajwarra, which boasts many fine palaces, the Bundica Mahl is allowed to possess the first rank; for which it is indebted to situation not less than to the splendid additions which it has continually received."

The valley of Udaipur he thought the "most diversified and most romantic spot on the continent of India," and who is there who has seen its marvellous palaces, both on the waters of the Peshola Lake and on its beautiful shores, its temples and its Mahasati, or abodes of the dead, its wood-clad embracing hills, its wayside shrines, and its interesting inhabitants, who shall differ from him?

The Jain Temple of Vrishabdeva at Mount Abu, is, according to him, "Beyond controversy the most superb of all the temples of India, and there is not an edifice besides the Taj Mahl which can approach it. The pen is incompetent to describe the exuberant beauties of this proud monument of the Jains, raised by one of the richest of their votaries (by whose name, and not that of the pontiff enshrined within, it is still designated), and which continues to attract pilgrims from every region of India."

Time would indeed fail us if we were to tell of all the glories of this romantic land, but I would mention that it is not only the princes who have such beautiful homes, but in Bikanir, Jaisalmer, and Ajmere, and many another spot there are similar palatial residences of bankers, priests, and other rich men, most of these towns being adorned with buildings which are carved from top to bottom of their walls with most intricate lace work in red sandstone and marble. Moreover every picturesque rock in some parts of the country seems to be the

site of some charming little shrine, and every hill is crowned with some romantic castle, all such buildings giving the lie to the idea that the Hindu does not love beauty, and, in choosing the situations of his buildings, that he is only moved by considerations of comfort or perhaps of coolness or security. Some of the views which are shown to-day will, in a faint measure, help those who look at them to realize the beauties of a few of these places.

Few countries can produce such a long roll of eminent men as Rajputana. To begin with Meywar, there have been few greater warriors than Sanga Rana, who at the time of his death was only the fragment of a man, having lost an eye and an arm, besides having received no fewer than eighty wounds in the cause of his country. No less great was Kambhu, of whom the Mohammedan historian, after relating his victory over the King of Malwa, dilates on his greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty, not only without ransom but with gifts. The life-long struggle with the Moghul empire of Partap will never be forgotten by his race, and the beautiful letter of Rana Raj Singh to Aurangzeb, remonstrating on behalf of his nation against the intolerant persecution of that bigot, has often been quoted with admiration. Marwar produced so long a line of valiant princes that an exception is almost unknown. Especially famous were Sur Singh, Gaj Singh, Jaswant Singh, and Ajit Singh. Some of these were viceroys of the emperors in distant lands and patrons of art and literature, but in the latter capacity none equalled the famous founder of Jaipur. Siwai Jai Singh, who reformed the calendar, wrote histories, built observatories the remains of which exist to this day, and was, in addition, one of the most skilful generals and greatest politicians of his age. Raja Man Singh of the same royal house was, in succession, viceroy for the Moghuls of Kabul, Bengal and Orissa. In two battles twelve of the royal blood of Bundi and Kotah died, with the heads of every Hara clan, to maintain their promised fealty to the Delhi house. It is unnecessary to pursue this theme, but one can only wonder that it was followed by so much decay. That this was due, in a very large measure, to the shrewd action of the Mahrattas in employing European adventurers to organise their forces on modern principles cannot be doubted, but the folly of the Rajputs led, in the first instance, to the interference of the Mahrattas themselves in Rajputana affairs, and the beginning was due to the jealousy of the rulers of Jaipur and Marwar, who were both candidates for the hand of Krishan Kumari, the beautiful daughter of the Maharana of Udaipur.

This struggle led to the invitation of the foe to interfere, and not only to the ruin of the country, but to the death of the innocent princess, who was compelled to take poison, though she was not unavenged. A patriotic noble of Mewar cursed the instigator of the deed, and foretold that no chief of Udaipur should ever again have a son who would directly succeed him.

The late Sir Edward Arnold recited a beautiful ballad describing this sad history, in my own house, which was formerly the residence of the minister of Jaipur, one of the states concerned in the events which he eloquently narrated, and I would strongly recommend all who are interested in the Rajputs to read his charming verses, as none can do so unmoved.

Had time permitted I would have written of the wonderful resemblances of many of the Rajput customs, practices, and ceremonies to those of the ancient Semitic races and particularly of the Jews, but failing this opportunity would point to the suggestiveness of many of the portraits of Rajput princes which I have brought for your inspection, which may perhaps be considered of double interest in view of the little that is known of the remote history and the date of the first appearance of the tribe in India. I think, moreover, that some account of a living people which seems so allied in customs, history, and in many other ways to the ancient Biblical nations of Asia cannot fail to be of special interest, from many points of view, to the members of this Society.

In conclusion I will briefly recapitulate as the causes of the long possession of power in the same regions of the Rajput race:—A climate and physical conditions which were best suited to the growth and maintenance in strength of both mind and body of a manly people, which could not have been kept up, as the history of other inhabitants of India has shown, in the hot plains of the peninsula. The presence in Rajputana of excellent situations and materials for building forts and places of refuge, and above all numerous inaccessible hills or deserts into which a secure retreat could be made in case of severe pressure. The patriarchal and tribal system which permitted of much personal freedom, while adequate provision was made for cooperation and united action if threatened by a foreign power. A common religion. Just and well understood laws of succession. Benevolent treatment of the commonality and competition for tenantry which the wide extent of land ensured. A patriarchal system of justice. A fairly wide-spread toleration of the religion and customs of the

people of other faiths than their own. And lastly occupation, in peace as well as in war, of a manly race as afforded by the amount of game and the numerous preserves, without any great pressure from unrighteous forest laws, which could not press in any case very seriously when most of the people did not require game for use as food.

The very failures in ensuring absolute success prove, I think, that, on the whole, these conclusions are correct, but, if there were not justice and manly strength, none of the causes which I have enumerated would have been of any avail, and so I would end my paper with the motto of the famous prince Siwai Jai Singh of Jaipur, "YATO DHARM STATO JAI"—Where there is virtue (or all the great virtues—whether religious or virile—for such is the comprehensive meaning of the word *dharm*): "THERE IS THE VICTORY."

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN remarked on the extreme interest of the paper; and thanked the author for the trouble he had taken in the preparation both of the coloured pictures and the excellent lantern slides of the beautiful buildings and rich surroundings of the cities of Rajputana, and called for observations from those present.

The SECRETARY wished to associate himself with the views of the Chairman regarding the great interest of the paper and the beauty of the illustrations. No one was better qualified than Colonel Hendley for giving a true description of this splendid dependency of the British Empire, owing to his long residence in Jeypore, his intimate relations with the late and present Maharajah, who showed his loyalty to the Crown by his presence at the Coronation of King Edward VII. It should also be recollected that Colonel Hendley was instrumental in bringing together into one Museum at Jeypore a large collection of Indian works of art, and of setting up a meteorological observatory; in all of which undertakings he had the support of the Maharajah and of the British resident. He, the Secretary, thought these were points which ought to be mentioned on the present occasion.

The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the meeting, cordially thanked the author for his most interesting paper, and the proceedings terminated.