

ACCOUNT  
OF THE ABOLITION OF  
**Female Infanticide**  
IN  
GUZERAT,  
WITH  
CONSIDERATIONS ON THE QUESTION  
OF  
PROMOTING THE GOSPEL IN INDIA.

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BY THE  
REV. JOHN CORMACK, A. M.  
MINISTER OF STOW.

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1815.

ABOLITION OF  
FEMALE INFANTICIDE  
IN  
GUZERAT.



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# CONTENTS.

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	Page.
PREFACE, . . . . .	vii
CHAP. I. General Views with which we should enter on the subject, . . . . .	1
II. Discovery of Female Infanticide—Origin—Con- tinuance—Causes of both, . . . . .	11
III. Prevalence of Infanticide among Barbarous and Heathen Nations in general—Among the Greeks and Romans—Conclusion from these facts, . . . . .	40
IV. Vicarious responsibility — Sitting in Dhurna— Tragga—Patriotic Suicide . . . . .	51
V. Manner of destroying Female Infants, . . . .	68
VI. Instances of Jahrejahs who saved their Infant Daughters, . . . . .	83
VII. How the Jahrejahs obtain Wives—Concubinage —Polygamy—Illegitimate Children, . . . .	101
VIII. Difficulties experienced by Colonel Walker from the Jahrejahs themselves, in the Abolition of Female Infanticide, . . . . .	120
IX. Progress of the Narrative—Colonel Walker's suc- cess—Universal engagement of the Jahrejahs of Guzerat to relinquish Infanticide, . . . .	152
X. Farther endeavours to abolish Female Infanticide in Kutch—Result of those endeavours—Re- flections, . . . . .	179
XI. Means taken to give effect to the engagements of the Jahrejahs in Guzerat to abolish Infanticide, . . . .	202
XII. How far expectation has been justified by the re- sult of the measures adopted, . . . . .	218
XIII. Effects of the abolition of Infanticide, in hu- manizing the general character of the Jahre- jahs—Anecdotes illustrative of this fact—Pros- pects afforded, . . . . .	233



	Page.
CHAP. XIV. The question of Promoting Christianity in India illustrated from the facts of the preceding Narrative, and others that bear upon it,	246
SECT. 1. Considerations on the pretended immutability of the character and customs of the Hindus, and other associated topics, . . . . .	250
2. The alleged danger of attempting to communicate the Gospel to our fellow subjects in India, considered, . . . . .	287
3. Encouragements to Christians to promote the Gospel in India, . . . . .	308
4. Duty of Christians to promote the Gospel in India, . . . . .	335
5. Manner and Spirit in which the attempt should be made and persevered in, till it be crowned with complete success . . . . .	358

## APPENDIX.

No. 1. Correspondence between Colonel Walker and the Jahrejah Chiefs, on the subject of abolishing Female Infanticide, . . . . .	377
2. Engagement of the Jahrejah Chiefs to relinquish Female Infanticide, . . . . .	389
3. Correspondence with Fattch Mahomed, relative to the abolition of Female Infanticide in Kutch, . . . . .	391
4. Illustration of the case referred to p. 224, being Colonel Walker's Note to par. 89 of his Report, . . . . .	404
5. Letter from Colonel Walker to the Hon. Jonathan Duncan, Governor, &c. stating the result of enquiries relative to the success of the measure of Abolition, &c. . . . .	408



## P R E F A C E.

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IN drawing up the following account of the Abolition, of Female Infanticide in Guzerat, the Author has been actuated by the desire of communicating to others, what afforded much pleasure to himself. The change, which the character of men must undergo, in their transition from that state, in which, with cold-blooded apathy, they extinguish the life of their offspring at its commencement, to that, in which they cherish their children with fond affection, must be a subject of deep interest to the philosopher, the philanthropist, and the Christian. The causes, to which that change is to be

ascribed, are interesting to the philosopher, as they enlarge the sphere of his knowledge, and add to the illustrations, he possesses, of the pliability of human nature, when apparently confirmed in habits, the most hostile to his purpose. The knowledge of the facts, which necessarily enter into such a narrative, warms the heart of the philanthropist and the Christian, as it exhibits the good that has been actually done, and prompts to the use of analogous means in the extension of analogous benefits.

In regard of materials, the Author has the satisfaction of stating, that he possesses all the information existing in this country on the subject of Infanticide, up to the date of publication. Colonel Walker's Report to the Bombay Government, with its accompaniments, forms the basis of the narrative. The author desires to make his



respectful acknowledgments to the Honourable the Court of Directors, for the readiness with which he has been furnished with the official documents, transmitted to and from India, to the latest date, on the subject of Infanticide. In other respects, also, he has enjoyed peculiar advantages, to which, although he would not, unauthorised, drag forth names to public notice, he may be permitted in this general way to allude.

It is proper, at the same time, to state, that, since Colonel Walker's return to this country, the author has had the pleasure of numbering him among the resident heritors of his parish. It is necessary to say how favourable, the intercourse thus afforded, must have proved to the full comprehension of his subject. This very circumstance, however, so advantageous to the work, and so gratifying to the Author, naturally gives



rise to a peculiar delicacy of feeling. The admiration of Colonel Walker's labours in the cause of humanity, with an intimate knowledge of his private character, has rendered it difficult to select on all occasions, those subdued and chastened modes of expression, which may accord with general feeling. It has been the wish of the writer to err in saying too little rather than too much. But knowing as he does, that any praise will appear to Colonel Walker to be too much, when he himself is the object of it; the Author begs leave, in this way, to intreat his indulgence, without hoping entirely to satisfy him.

The facts, exhibited in this work, rest on the authorities referred to, and which are obviously the most satisfactory and unexceptionable. For the reasoning, the Author holds himself alone responsible. The horrid nature of Infanticide is too apparent

to require illustration. It was thought of much more importance to show, that the Jahrejahs were not singular in this atrocity; and that there is little security against this inhuman practice, or others of an equally revolting nature where Christianity is unknown.

In the discussions respecting the promotion of the Gospel in India, it has been attempted to exhibit a fair statement of facts; and when these are known, it can scarcely be imagined that a difference of opinion should exist on the subject. The shocking practices, to which the Hindu system gives rise, are too well known to require particular illustration, and therefore the Author has merely glanced at them incidentally. It has been his study to avoid asperity of expression towards those, whose sentiments are different from his own, without meanly shrinking from the full and bold exhibition



of what he is convinced to be truth. As a minister of the church of Scotland, he is placed in a sphere, where the hopes and fears of ambition cannot act. To commend gives him pleasure; but he is not afraid to blame.

He conceived, that impartial statement required him to notice the proceedings of Lord Minto's government in India, in ordering home the Missionaries not otherwise employed in the Company's service. It appears, however, that his Lordship was sensible of the harshness of the measure, from the attention and kindness, which he afterwards showed to that order of men.—“Since the cruel sending of Brother Johns to Europe,” says Dr Carey, “we have met with no opposition; and I have some reason to think that step was the effect of some rash counsels, directed against the Gospel, at that particular time. However, here all



is mere conjecture. Since that, Lord Minto has paid us a visit, and gone through all our offices; has put two Javanese Princes to school under Brother Marshman; and has, in short, acted towards us with more than ordinary attention.” \*

It affords the Author sincere pleasure to add the testimony of Lord Minto to the literary acquirements and exemplary conduct of the Missionaries; as it reflects credit on the memory of that departed Nobleman, not less than on the merits of the body of men, who are the objects of his approbation.

“ I profess,” says his Lordship, “ a very sincere pleasure in bringing the literary merits of Mr Marshman and the other Reverend Members of the Serampore Mission, to the notice of the public, and in

\* Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Mission, No. 26, p. 284.

bearing my testimony to the great and extraordinary labours, which constancy and energy in their numerous and various occupations have enabled this modest and respectable community to accomplish.

“ I am not less gratified by the opportunity, which their literary achievements afford, of expressing my regard for the exemplary worth of their lives, and the beneficent principle, which distinguishes and presides in the various useful establishments, which they have formed, and which are conducted by themselves.” \*

If the severity, in the one case, and the commendation in the other, seem inconsistent, the Author cannot be required to reconcile them. Both have been communicated as facts, and he has considered it his duty to state them.

\* Periodical Accounts, No. 26, p. 326.



If any representation or expression, unfavourable to individuals or bodies of men shall be shown to be unfounded, the retraction of them will afford the Author peculiar pleasure. He knows that he loves all good men, to whatever order, or denomination they may belong; and he will be gratified with every instance, in which they shall be proved to be more numerous than he had previously reason to hope.

The object of the writer of this volume has been to subserve the interests of truth and humanity; and if that end be in any measure accomplished, he will find it easy to solace himself under the animadversions to which the imperfections of his work may give rise.

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CHAPTER FIRST.

*General Views with which we should enter on the  
Subject.*

IT is delightful to contemplate generosity even in fable; whilst it is lamentable to reflect, that it is only in fable that it is generally to be found. Ambition, revenge, and blood, almost continually mark the strain of the historic muse. Pride, selfishness, or revenge, dictate, actuate, and rule, the intercourse of cabinets; and when the standard is once unfurled, power is consider-

ed as the only measure of law, and success as the triumph of justice. Wearied with the detail of facts, which produce horror rather than surprise, and which diminish our happiness, in proportion as they increase our knowledge, we turn to the fictions of fable, and feel regret when the intrusion of reflection dispels the idle but pleasing dream.

Such being the general state of things, it must be no ordinary portion of delight that shall warm his bosom, who has it in his power to present to the feeling heart a picture drawn from fact, and not from fiction, in which the predominating tints are generosity, which insensibility and ingratitude in its object cannot extinguish; and philanthropy, which seeks no other reward than the communication of good.

It is with such impressions that the writer of these pages sits down to trace and narrate the origin, progress, and final triumph of the means employed for the abolition of female infanticide, in the department of Guzerat called Kattywar. Nor is



the satisfaction derived from these details to be limited to the contemplation of the good, that has been actually accomplished, and the justice of enrolling another name among the benefactors of mankind. It extends to the anticipation of future good to our race, originating in the power of example; and the encouragement, which the benevolent will derive, by the present narrative, from the ultimate success of perseverance.

Were we informed by a traveller, however respectable, that, in a certain district of country, where he had, for a time, resided, it was the custom of parents to put their female offspring to death, immediately when born, and to do it with remorseless apathy; we should do well to suspend our belief till we had carefully considered the nature and extent of the evidence, on which the fact rested. For such a custom is so abhorrent from those feelings, which we have always considered as inseparable from our nature, which are to be found in the wandering sa-

vage, as well as in the refined and polished, and which are independent of the slow and variable deductions of reason, that we cannot readily discover any common principle, to which we can trace its origin. On the other hand, when, as in the present case, the fact is established beyond all reasonable doubt, we should not be hasty in deciding what are the causes to which it owes its existence. An anomaly may be found in an individual; but whatever is to be found in many, is referable to some cause, which would probably operate the same effects upon others of the race, when placed in the same circumstances.

Instead, therefore, of labouring after the excitation of wonder, by detailing facts, and concealing their causes, it will be attempted, in the following pages, to connect the detail of facts, with the investigation and developement of the principles, in which they originated.

Human nature is every where, and at all times, essentially the same; but the phe-



nomena, which it exhibits are various, even to infinity. This is a position, which the uninformed and the unintelligent alone will dispute, but which may be established by an induction of facts, upon a foundation as solid and satisfactory, as the deductions of pure mathematics, though of a different kind. The varieties, or even the opposition of character, which men in different circumstances exhibit, form not the contradiction, but the proof of this statement.

We may contemplate particular and insulated facts in the history of our kind, till wonder be exhausted, and till nothing seem to be tenable but the adoption of this opinion, that there is not a single principle fixed and invariable in human nature, and upon the operation of which, in any given circumstances, we can depend. But an inference, so infantile and unfounded, will be treated with contempt by the matured and reflecting mind, which has explored the page of history with other views than the mere gratification of curiosity,—which has

carefully attended to its own operations— which has been accustomed closely to investigate facts, and minutely to trace every link of that chain, which connects the effect with its cause; till all farther view be cut off from the prying eye of mortals, by the clouds and darkness which surround the throne of the Eternal.

The truth is, that man is the child of those circumstances, in which he is placed; and as these, whether moral, political, or physical, vary in their nature and reciprocal influence upon one another, so will the appearances change to which they give rise. Hence it is that we perceive, and can explain, the varieties of character which are exhibited, not only in different and distant nations, but in the same people, living in the same country, at different times.

The genial climes of Greece nurtured, at one period, the dauntless sons of war, by whom every thing but military glory was deemed contemptible and mean. The effects of conquest were wealth, and lux-



ury, and leisure; and men of taste, and elegance, and philosophy, succeeded those hardy and intrepid veterans. Time elapsed, and the moral and political vicissitudes, which it brought along with it, changed the aspect, and, in appearance, the very nature of things. Instead of scientific pursuits and philosophical discussions, or valour and patriotism, we find the sons of Greece, in these days, busied in the repetition of the Koran, or the enumeration of the rosary, without learning, without honour; and, as if not one elastic spring of human nature remained unbroken, submitting, without an effort, to all the evils which are heaped upon them by a feeble and lethargic despotism.

Italy presents to us changes, not less striking, and evidently resulting from analogous causes. The fierce and lawless banditti, whose desperate circumstances induced them to attach themselves to the fortunes of Romulus, soon grey into a nation of heroes, and subjected the world to

their sway. Without stopping to mark, or analyse, the ever-varying shades, which the history of that people exhibits, as they pass along with the stream of time ; we behold, in a few ages, the sinews of war broken, the sceptre of dominion wrenched from their grasp, and every mental and moral energy enfeebled and relaxed. That nation of warriors and statesmen, whom the world acknowledged as its masters, and revered as its legislators, has since excited very different and opposite sentiments.

How different, also, has the character of the Spaniard frequently been, since the time when Horace celebrated him as,

*“ Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra ?”*

Our own country, likewise, has often exhibited the sudden and powerful effects of political change. The courage, which had so long repelled the Roman invader, was soon lost in the “ *Groans of Britons*,” imploring, in the most wailing and piteous strains, the aid of their foreign masters, to



drive back the fierce invaders of the north.

It should be remembered, in this country, that there was a time, when the progenitors of the Italians of the present day, looked upon Britons as incapable of any mental, or moral excellence; and when they viewed and treated England as a mart for purchasing slaves to the citizens of Rome. \* This consideration is calculated to teach humility to those, who confound the actual with the possible state of things; who imagine that their country has always been what it now is; and that the inhabitants of every other clime, must remain in the moral state, in which they at present exist; in short, that human nature is one thing in England, another in Italy, and a third in Hindustan. But the benevolent mind will rejoice in every additional proof, that the same causes will always operate the same effects on human nature, because human nature itself is, at all times, and in all places, essentially the same. Where degra-

\* Henry's Britain.

dation, arising from moral and political depression, has been removed, in one instance, it may be removed in another ; and, where actual experiment is wanting to stimulate and encourage the enterprise of the benevolent, analogy will generally supply its place, and often warrant both the same exertions and the same hopes as experiment itself.

It is presumed that it will not be thought too bold to affirm, that the abolition of female infanticide in Guzerat, both illustrates and justifies these sentiments, perhaps even more strikingly than any other details of modern history. And whilst the writer narrates the intelligent and persevering labours of Colonel Walker, tracing them progressively, and in connection, till they are ultimately crowned with success ; he would wish to fix the mind on the facility, which the advancement of one step afforded for securing the next. Curiosity should be rendered subservient to knowledge, and knowledge to the acquisition and circulation of happiness.



But there are few practices, perhaps there is not one, in the history of our race, so perfectly abhorrent, in its nature, from all that is amiable in human feeling, as that of the systematic destruction of children by their own parents. Shocking as human sacrifice itself is, and revolting as is the idea of devoting "the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul;" we can yet trace something like a reason for it, through the misconceptions and perversion of human thought, the misinterpreted appearances of nature, and the corruptions of early tradition. Besides, the destruction of human beings, in this way, was necessarily, but partial and occasional, among any of the people, by whom it was practised; and, instead of threatening the extermination of the race, like infanticide, was always imagined to avert the divine anger, or draw down divine blessings. For infanticide, indeed, no such palliatives have been, or can be pleaded. It is in direct opposition to the simplest and most obvious deductions

## CHAPTER SECOND.

### *Discovery of Female Infanticide—Origin—Continuance—Causes of both.*

OF barbarous and unenlightened nations, both the origin and peculiar customs are generally involved in the mists of fable, and ascribed to divine interposition. And even after the influence of civilization has begun to be felt, and the power of reason to prevail, it is with reluctance that men abandon pretensions, which flatter their vanity, and cherish their national prépossession. The shield of Mars, which was said to have fallen from heaven, was preserved at Rome with sacred and peculiar care; and the pretensions of the laws of Numa Pompilius, to divine inspiration, remained uncontradicted, long after thinking men were convinced of the falsehood and imposture, to which both of these stories owed their origin.



of reason ; and in respect of feeling, which comes before reason, in the order of acting, it is in direct contrariety to the parental affection, which is the most pure, the most tender, and the most constant, which God has implanted in the human bosom.

The practice, however, did prevail, (and we rejoice to speak of its prevalence as a thing that is past,) in several parts of Hindustan. And it is remarkable, that, while other practices, of a revolting nature, have owed their origin to some gloomy superstition, venerated under the name of religion; this has maintained itself without pretending divine authority, or even divine permission.

In accounting, afterwards, for this extraordinary fact, we shall be led to the exposition of a feature in Hindu superstition, perhaps not less extraordinary than the fact itself, and which, for the want of an appropriated term, we shall, at present, denominate *vicarious responsibility*.

The existence of the shocking custom

of female infanticide was first discovered in 1789 among a tribe of Hindus, called Rajekoomars, in the district of Benares, named Juanpore, bordering on the country of Oude. This discovery was then made by the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, at that time resident at Benares, and the fact was fully authenticated by the evidence and confession of the Rajekoomars themselves. Among this race, however, the practice of killing their female children was comparatively both partial in its operation, and limited in its range. Many families were found who had spared one, and some, more than one of their female offspring; and one whole village formed an exception to the practice. This custom, maintaining itself in opposition to natural affection, was likewise found to prevail, though less extensively, among a small tribe named Rajebunses in the same province of Benares. The sanctions of religion were not pleaded, and the feelings of humanity could not be pleaded, in favour of the prac-



tice. Yet was it maintained, with no little degree of tenacity, and its observance was considered as a privilege, which was finally yielded with reluctance.

But it is not our object to enter into a detail of the measures, to which female infanticide, in Benares, owed its suppression. Indeed, if it were ever so much our wish to do so, the scantiness of the materials supplied on the subject, would leave the account necessarily defective, or often conjectural. This, however, we have the less reason to regret, as the most copious materials are furnished by Colonel Walker, of those more extensive and more arduous labours in the same cause, in which he so zealously and successfully engaged in another quarter. And whilst we avoid being tedious, we conceive that it is impossible to be too minute in detailing every circumstance, bearing directly, or even indirectly, on the abolition of infanticide: for, as in a chemical analysis, or physical solution, no ingredient, and no power is to be neglected

which contributes to the general result ; so, in relating this moral experiment, we should be able, as much as may be, to perceive how far each cause separately, and in its combination with others, contributed to the final result.

In the accomplishment of this object, facts will be narrated, which cannot fail to shock the feeling and benevolent heart ; but the pang, which must be sometimes endured from this cause, will be abundantly compensated, when it is found that some of the most revolting practices, referred to, are now to be mentioned only among the things that have been.

The scene of Colonel Walker's labours, in abolishing female infanticide, was Guzerat, to which he went in the capacity of political Resident in the year 1801. This extensive country, though possessing the maritime advantages of a peninsular situation, being washed on three sides by the gulfs of Cutch and Cambay, and by the Arabian sea ; is yet, to no inconsider-



able extent, more rude and unpolished, than many other parts of Hindustan, placed in apparently less favourable circumstances. This remark is made, not as the preface to a disquisition on the causes of the fact; but to guard those, who are little acquainted with Indian affairs, against imagining, that all the inhabitants of the vast, and comparatively boundless, regions of Hindustan, are to be considered as justly characterised by the manners of a particular tribe, or the occupants of a limited district. It is to be kept in mind, also, that the country of Guzerat itself is by no means characterised by uniformity, either of moral or of physical aspect. Among its inhabitants is to be found almost all that variety, which is comprehended between the extreme points of civilization, from the rudeness of the pastoral life to the voluptuousness of wealth, and the luxury of cities. The wild and insubordinate tribes dwell principally in the western part of the peninsula, which is called Kattywar, and on the banks of

the great rivers, which, without being woody, contain numerous ravines and fastnesses. The tribes, who are thus circumstanced, have, for ages, maintained the same character, and a species of independence, amid every change of government, to which the country, in general, has, from time to time, been exposed.

It is to these ruder districts and more uncultivated tribes, that our attention will, in the sequel, be called ; and in passing, we may be permitted to remark, that the melioration, about to be presented, was effected where every thing conspired to render it least probable.

Colonel Walker's military and political duties in Guzerat, when considered apart, were such as must have fully occupied no ordinary mind ; yet, when we turn to his exertions for the abolition of infanticide, we should imagine, that it alone must have occupied his attention. When we reflect on the minute attention, which he bestowed on each particular fact, and the cir-



cumstances, in which it was presented to him, as well as the care, with which detached and insulated portions of information were examined and turned to advantage ; and when again we consider the length and accuracy of those official reports, which, from time to time, he transmitted to government, so honourable to him as a man of taste and letters ; and that these were written, not amid the luxury of literary ease, but amid the bustle of a camp, and the continual interruption and distraction of attention, to which these circumstances necessarily gave rise ; we shall no less respect his talents and industry, than we shall be delighted with his benevolence. Nothing is neglected ; and no one duty is permitted to interfere with another. Every object is kept distinct, and in its proper place ; and is prosecuted with as much ardour and interest, as if there were nothing else to engage attention.

The revenue and financial systems, if systems they might be called, of this people,

had fallen into such disorder, and the whole of their political economy was sunk into such confusion and inefficiency, that a politician of ordinary talents or perseverance would have speedily abandoned the thought of reforming what was apparently a chaos of contrarieties, defying melioration. For our present purpose it is enough to say, that a system, simple and efficient, was established by Colonel Walker, in the course of some years of labour and perseverance, after he began to reside at Baroda in Guzerat; a system, which relieved the natives from their embarrassments and insolvency, whilst it rendered the country more than a nominal possession to the East India Company.\* The able, disinterested, and

\* To speak of the country of Guzerat as a possession of the East India Company, is not correct, in the strict application of the term. We possess several considerable districts in different situations in the country, whilst the general government belongs to the native princes. With them, however, we are connected by such ties of alliance, as render them, in a great measure, dependent on our power and influence.



benevolent manner, in which the Resident conducted these transactions, was not unperceived by the natives, of whom suspicion and distrust might be allowed to be characteristics, without attaching to them much blame. They felt, even in the progress of these things, that they were receiving benefits; and they did not entirely withhold the return of esteem and gratitude that was due.

The mere statement of this fact is no ordinary praise; and, in the sequel, we shall perceive, that to the confidence of which the foundation was thus laid, we are to ascribe some, at least, of the facilities afforded for the abolition of infanticide.

The persons, by whom infanticide was committed in Guzerat, and the adjoining country of Kutch, are a race of Rajputes, called Jahrejahs. Though of pure Hindu descent, their ancient religion is blended with the fables of Mahomed, and legends of their own invention. They admit the adoption of children from other casts, a

practice not known to be allowed by any other Hindu tribe. In the article of food, they are little scrupulous.

The religion of the Jahrejahs, however, such as it is, by no means favours infanticide ; for the practice, as viewed by themselves, necessarily implies the existence of guilt, while it admits the transference of that guilt to others.\* This shocking practice, therefore, existed in opposition to feeling, reason, and religion.

The extent to which it prevailed, or, in other words, the number of female infants, annually destroyed, in this way, cannot be easily ascertained ; nor is it possible, perhaps, to make a very close approximation to the truth. The cause of this is to be ascribed, in some measure, to the secrecy, as well as indifference, with which the unnatural crime was perpetrated, and of which it will be necessary, hereafter, to submit to the painful task of giving a brief recital.

\* Colonel Walker's Report upon Infanticide, par. 193.



Hence it was that Colonel Walker, notwithstanding his utmost care in investigating the subject, could never hazard a statement of what should be considered the probable number of female infants, thus annually destroyed. The extreme numbers, including the Jahrejah families, both of Kutch and Guzerat, which he received, were 20,000, and 3,000 ; of which the first, he observes, is no doubt, a great deal more than the truth, as the last is certainly much less. \*

The data here afforded us, vague and uncertain as they are, founded not on principles of calculation, but the opinion of the natives, yet sufficiently testify, that this unnatural practice was carried to an extent, which it would have been uncharitable to imagine, till the fact was proved. "The extent," says the Colonel, "to which this horrid practice has been carried, affords a melancholy picture of human manners and depravity. The fact, which would scarce-

\* Report, par. 106—113.

ly obtain credit among the more civilized nations of Europe, is now established to demonstration.”\* And speaking of it, in continuance, he justly calls it “a custom as singular as barbarous, and as contrary to the general feelings of parents and humanity, as ever disgraced the history of man.”

It is time that we now turn our attention to the developement of those principles and circumstances, to which this unnatural custom owed its origin and continuance. A recital of the fabulous events to which the practice has been ascribed, is communicated by Colonel Walker, and is introduced in his Report, in the following words :

“ The traditionary and legendary accounts of the Hindus, although sometimes ingenious, are often the wild and extravagant fictions of a rude and superstitious people ; but the oral account of the savage and atrocious custom of infanticide, is com-

\* Report, par. 295.



prised in a simple narrative, and exhibits, under a slight disguise, a remote historical event.

“ The Jahrejahs relate, that a powerful Rajah of their cast, who had a daughter of singular beauty and accomplishments, desired his Raj-gur, \* or family Brahmin, to affiance her to a prince of desert and rank, equal to her own. The Raj-gur travelled over many countries, without discovering a chief, who possessed the requisite qualities ; for, where wealth and power were combined, personal accomplishments and virtue were defective. In like manner, where the advantages of the mind and the body were united, those of fortune and rank were wanting.

“ The Raj-gur returned, and reported to

\* “ The Raj-gur, otherwise called Raj-gooroo, is literally the priest, tutor, or preceptor, of a Rajah ; but the term is applied to the domestic Brahmin of any family in this country,” (Kattywar). “ The Katties, and even every individual of a cast, has a Raj-gur. In the peninsula, and Kutch, the Raj-gurs are a distinct tribe.”

the prince, that his mission had not proved successful. This intelligence gave the Rajah much affliction and concern, as the Hindus reckon it to be the first duty of parents to provide suitable husbands for their daughters, and it is reproachful that they should pass the age of puberty without having been affianced, and be under the necessity of living in a state of celibacy. The Rajah, however, rejected, and strongly reprobated every match for his daughter, which he conceived inferior to her high rank and perfections. In this dilemma, the Rajah consulted his Raj-gur; and the Brahmin advised him to avoid the censure and disgrace which would attend the princess remaining unmarried, by having recourse to the desperate expedient of putting his daughter to death. The Rajah was long averse to this desperate expedient, and remonstrated against the murder of a woman, which, enormous as it is represented in the Shasters, would be ag-



gravated when committed on his own offspring.

“The Raj-gur at length removed the Rajah’s scruples, by consenting to load himself with the guilt ; and to become, in his own person, responsible for all the consequences of the sin. Accordingly, the princess was put to death ; and female infanticide was, from that time, practised by the Jahrejahs.” From this narrative, it is well observed, “curiosity receives little gratification, and the mind no pleasure. It resembles the tales of infancy, rather than the grave history of a transaction, involving the fate of a numerous portion of the human race.” \*

This story, though clumsy and inele-

\* Report on Infanticide, 1808, par. 8—17. The passage here quoted, is contained in the number of paragraphs indicated above, according to the mode usually observed in official reports to the Company’s Government, every new sentence generally forming a new paragraph ; all of which, for the sake of distinct and easy reference, are numbered. In the transcript, this was deemed unnecessary.

gant in the invention, connects the origin of infanticide with high rank, Brahminical authority, and remote antiquity. It was, accordingly, in extensive circulation, and was frequently communicated in reply to queries proposed on the subject. But although the tale, taken as a whole, be more than improbable, it is yet, in some of its parts, founded in the views, characters, and customs, of the Jahrejahs.

They consider it to be a sacred and inviolable duty to have their daughters affianced, at an early age; and, that they should live in celibacy, they hold to be an indelible disgrace. Now, in one period of their history, as we shall immediately see, there was, no doubt, a very great increase of domestic anxiety connected with the education of female children; and to procure marriages for them, according to the extravagant notions, which they entertained of their own importance, may be pronounced to have been, not merely difficult, but absolutely impossible. But the respon-



sibility of the Raj-gur, absurd and irrational as it is, was probably that, without which, this unnatural practice never would have become general; and without which, it would not have continued beyond the duration of that factitious necessity, which their pride had created. This curious feature in their character, and which extended itself to other practices besides infanticide, scarcely less shocking, though less extensively destructive, merits separate consideration. In the mean time, we shall attend to the true, or at least a very probable account of the origin of this practice, with which the industry and investigation of Colonel Walker have furnished us. \*

From the ancient history of the Jahrejahs, it appears, that their first considerable establishment, so far as can be clearly ascertained, was in Scind; and, from their traditions, it seems probable, that, under different denominations, they had, at a still

\* Report, par. 29—43.

earlier period, extended over a great part of Persia. It is well known, that the great aim of the fanatical Khalifs, who succeeded to the authority of Mahomet, was to extend their creed and their power together, and that Scind became an early object of their ambition. By the superior force of arms, the greater part of the inhabitants of Persia and of Scind soon yielded a reluctant submission to the Mahomedan yoke, and, in appearance, to the Mahomedan faith.

It is not improbable, that in this event originated the custom of female infanticide among the Jahrejahs. Deprived of their independence, their ancient intercourse being interrupted, and their habits and feelings suppressed or disguised, the career of their degradation was certainly begun; yet, for a time, their notions of superiority, collecting fuel from their humiliation itself, would burn more intensely by being pent up in their own bosoms. Cut off from the intercourse of other Rajapute tribes,



whom alone they deemed worthy of obtaining their daughters in marriage, while indignation and revenge rankled in their ferocious bosoms, they would sacrifice natural affection itself to what they considered their honour and their fame.

These sentiments would, no doubt, be encouraged by their chiefs, who would be aware, that the mingling of blood by affinity, was calculated powerfully to allay, or even entirely to extinguish, former hostility. By their directing minds, looking forward to the first opportunity of shaking off the galling yoke, was probably suggested the expedient of transferring the responsibility from the actual perpetrators of female infanticide, to the Brahminical order; and men, seldom moved by the softer sensibilities of nature, and unaccustomed to moral and metaphysical discussion, would feel little difficulty in yielding to the suggestions of those, whom it was no degradation to consider their superiors,

Another account, analogous in its gene-

ral aspect, was obtained in the course of enquiry, and which, as it seems to have been founded on some remote historical event, it would be improper to omit, where evidence is scanty.

It is stated, that some of the early Musulman invaders, desirous of uniting the affections, by consolidating the interests of the Jahrejahs and their conquerors, requested the daughters of the Rajahs in marriage. The feelings of their pride, as well as the principles of their policy, were alarmed by the proposal ; and, fearful that force might be employed to extort what their inclinations refused, the Jahrejahs replied, that they did not rear their daughters. In this extremity, they listened to the counsel of their Raj-gurs, who proposed the expedient of putting their daughters to death, while they offered to become responsible in their own persons for the guilt incurred. It is said that, in these circumstances, female infanticide originated.

\* P. S. to Report, 15th March 1808.



An account, in exact consistency with this, was communicated to Colonel Walker, of one of the Rajahs of Noanuggur, in Guzerat, whose daughter the Emperor of Delhi demanded in marriage. It is said, that, in some period of the history of the Jahrejahs, one of the Jams had been despoiled of his country by the Emperor of Delhi, who offered to restore it to him on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage. Advantageous as the offer might seem, Jam rejected it with disdain, and transmitted his refusal by the Governor of Ahmedabad, through whom the proposal had been made.

After some time was allowed for reflection, however, Jam yielded to the advice of his friends, who suggested the expedient of an apparent compliance. It was proposed that he should set off for Delhi with his daughter, but that he might both evade the disgrace of the alliance, and recover his country, by putting her to death, and alleging that she had died of sickness

or fatigue during the journey. The scheme was adopted and carried into effect.

Whatever be the degree of credit, that should be attached to this account, which, like the rest of this people's history, rests principally on tradition, it affords us a very curious view of the Jahrejahs, both in a moral and intellectual aspect. That a subsidiary and subjected tribe should have cherished such extravagant notions of their own superiority, is an instance of the most unreasonable pride, that has been at any time related. Their notions of what constituted their degradation, are not less surprising nor less inconsistent. To avoid the infamy of an alliance with the Emperor of Delhi, Jam appears to have committed, without remorse, and without the disapprobation of his tribe, the crimes of fraud and of murder, in the most aggravated circumstances.

This narrative suggests another remark. In investigating the subject, it was found, that although infanticide was practised



without any disapprobation among the Jahrejahs, yet it was counted a very heinous crime to put to death a daughter, who had been permitted to live any time. The perpetrator of such a crime would probably be cut off from the social intercourse of his tribe, or be subjected to some pointed mark of their disapprobation or resentment. But the existence of the above narrative involves the admission, that circumstances may occur, which shall justify a departure from the general principle, and which shall not only warrant the murder of a daughter, who has grown up, but even render it meritorious.

These facts and circumstances in the political and moral condition of the Jahrejahs, at the period of the conquest of Scind, seem, with strong probability, at least, to point to the origin of female infanticide. To put their daughters to death, they, no doubt, considered to be a sin; but by the expedient of the delusive responsibility of the Rajgur, they conceived the guilt to be no long-

er attached to themselves : on the other hand, they imagined themselves chargeable, both with sin and dishonour, if they reared them in celibacy, or married them to husbands unworthy of them.

Had the Jahrejahs been able speedily to repel their Mussulman invaders, the feelings of nature might have returned with their independence. But all the political events in their history, for ages posterior to that invasion, were fitted to encourage and confirm into an established custom, this outrage upon human nature, rather than to counteract and repress it.

The country of Scind had been overrun, rather than subdued ; and the submission of the Jahrejahs to the Mahomedan yoke, was, in many cases, not even pretended, and was in no case sincere. This struggle between domination on the one hand, and freedom on the other, was long and strenuously maintained ; and whatever might be the partial sufferings and subjection of the Jahrejahs, during the contest, they



were occasional, rather than permanent, and such as were calculated to rouse and concentrate the energies of free-born men, rather than settle into servility and despair. In the progress of time, still unsubdued, yet unable to repel their haughty invaders, they migrated into Kutch and Guzerat, and there re-established their power and their religion.

The Jahrejahs were now settled among other Rajapute tribes, with whom they had been accustomed to intermarry, and from whom, generally speaking, their own wives had been obtained. But they had long been accustomed to stifle the softer endearments of parental and domestic tenderness, amid the din of arms; and they now considered infanticide, to which a factitious necessity at first gave rise, as a privilege and mark of honourable distinction. At all times fierce and uncivilized, the late events in their history were fitted more and more to eradicate from their bosoms whatever was calculated to soften and humanize,

and to attach respectability and honour exclusively to whatever was associated with the maintenance of their independence, and the acquisition of their new establishment. Every thing accordingly conspired to convert their pride into insolence, and their fortitude into ferocity. The systematic practice of killing their infant daughters, now become habitual, their Mussulman wars, and, finally, the circumstance of their settling by conquest in Kutch and Guzerat, all tended to keep up the distinctions, with which they entered the new territory, and to magnify and exaggerate their importance. Coming from a foreign country, also, much of their general manners would differ from those of the Rajaputes, among whom they now settled; and one thing of no mean importance, was the diversity of their Dewry or household god.

The history of the Jahrejahs, also, since their arrival in Kutch and Guzerat, strikingly indicates political imprudence, caprice, and incapacity for government; and



this being the case, little was to be expected from intellectual exercise, and the power of reason.

Such is the probable origin of infanticide, and such are some of the causes of its continuance. Other causes, however, little honourable to the Jahrejahs, were discovered in the course of investigation, to some of which is to be ascribed, in no small degree, the difficulties attending abolition. But before considering that subject, it may be proper to attend shortly to the nature of vicarious responsibility, as we have called it, the forms which it assumed, and the crimes which it occasioned. To the notice, also, which it may be thought fit to take of these things, shall be premised a few sentences on the existence and prevalence of infanticide in other ages and nations.

### CHAPTER THIRD.

*Prevalence of Infanticide among Barbarous and Heathen Nations in general—Among the Greeks and Romans—Conclusion from these facts.*

IT is not improbable, that not a few, who may inspect these pages, may consider the Jahrejahs, and the other tribes who have been ascertained to have been guilty of infanticide, as atrocious, and without natural affection, beyond the example of even the worst of heathens. By those who peruse the whole of this little work, it will never be imagined that the writer wishes to palliate the crime of infanticide, or in the slightest degree to become the apologist of what is so abhorrent from nature. Yet he imagines, that it is only doing justice to the



reader, and also to the character of the people, who must be so often mentioned in terms of reprobation, to shew, that they have not been singular in the perpetration of a crime, so shocking to human feeling. The evidence of this fact, likewise, may lay the foundation of a conclusion, of deep interest and importance in the age and circumstances in which we live.

It is not intended, in this place, to enter extensively upon the subject of the general prevalence of infanticide, in former and present times, but shortly to refer to facts and sources of information, for the sake of those, who may be disposed more largely and leisurely to explore them.

It may be stated, then, as a fact resting on incontrovertible evidence,\* that the crime

\* For the evidence on which these facts rest, it may be sufficient to refer here generally to the laborious investigations of Jacob Bryant, and to the elegant and able work of Malthus on the principle of population, a work which is characterised by peculiar felicity of illustration, and acuteness of remark. In so far as regards the ancients, the work of the late Dr Millar of

of infanticide, if it cannot be said to have been universal, may yet be affirmed to have been pretty common, wherever Christianity has been unknown, and to have been in some measure systematically perpetrated by the Greeks and Romans.

The motives, which led to this crime among different tribes, will be found to vary with circumstances ; but that which gave power and prevalence to any motives whatever, must necessarily be admitted to have been the want of natural affection.

Among the various savage or semi-barbarous tribes, to whom Malthus refers, and whom it is not intended here to particularize, we find that infanticide prevails according to the conveniency of parents ; and from the habits of many of them, it seems surprising that they have not long ago ceased to exist. To the disgusting habits and extreme wretchedness of the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, and New Hol-

Glasgow, on the Origin of Ranks, will supply not a little information, at once accurate and important.



land, it does not seem necessary to allude. The Mahomedan Tartars approve of polygamy, from the motive of having many children, whom they sell as slaves; and, when assailed by extreme poverty, they put them to death with probably no other feeling of regret, than that of inability to offer a very marketable commodity for sale.

In China, religion and interest concur in favouring the rearing of children; for the happiness of deceased ancestors is supposed to be increased by the honour done them by their descendants; and the law requires that children shall maintain their parents, in indigent old age. Yet, in the great cities of Peking and Canton, in particular, Sir George Staunton found the exposure of children to be very common. Among the Chinese, however, it is to be ascribed to the extreme poverty, which is so frequently occasioned, in that vast empire, by a redundant population, which,

even in years of plenty, presses close to the means of subsistence.

It is, however, of more importance to ascertain, in this respect, the practice of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to whom we have been taught, in our boyish days, to look up with so much reverence and admiration. "It is probable," says Malthus,\* "that the practice of infanticide had prevailed from the earliest ages in Greece."—"And when Solon permitted the exposing of children, it is probable that he only gave the sanction of law to a custom already prevalent."—The source of the crime, with individual perpetrators, was, no doubt, apathy and convenience, whilst the object of the state was to check a redundant and unproductive population.

Of all the states of Greece, the Thebans are mentioned by Ælian, as the only exception to the general practice of exposing infants at the will of their parents.† The

\* Vol. I. p. 275.

† Ælian. Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 7.



destruction of children, in this way, was prohibited by the Theban law, which provided, that, when extreme poverty rendered it difficult for parents to rear their progeny, they should carry them to the magistrate, who, having brought them up at the public expence, afterwards sold them as slaves to reimburse the national coffers.—Schefferus, in his annotations on this passage of Ælian, remarks, that “this conduct of the Thebans was contrary both to the law and the practice of the rest of the Greeks, and particularly of the Athenians. \*

By the other states of Greece, infanticide was sanctioned and regulated by law. Some legal provisions, indeed, for the regulation of this practice, seem to have been thought requisite by the most profound and able philosophers of Greece. In the republics of Plato and Aristotle, according-

\* “*Contra morem legesque reliquorum, Græcorum, et imprimis Atheniensium.*”

ly, we find very special enactments suggested on the subject ; and with as much apparent apathy as if parental feeling and natural affection were unworthy of man. The period of marriage was to be fixed in regard of either sex ; the children of poorer citizens were to be destroyed at their birth ; and the children of parents, of whatever rank, who had attained a certain age, were never to be allowed to appear. These two philosophers agreed in one principle, which appears to have been the great political maxim with Greek legislators, that there should be kept up an effective population, proportioned to the wants and resources of the state ; and to this object were to be sacrificed every feeling of humanity, and every thing that renders man worthy of his nature and his name.

In this respect the Romans were not superior to the Greeks. It may be proper here to quote the words of Dr Miller, who will not be suspected of prejudice against that celebrated people. “ By a law of Ro-



mulus," says he, "parents are said to have been obliged to maintain their male children, and the eldest female, unless where a child was, by two of the neighbours, called for the purpose, declared to be a monster. A regulation of the same nature is mentioned among the laws of the twelve tables ; but there is ground to believe that little regard was paid to it ; and even under the Emperors, the exposing of new born children, of either sex, appears to have been exceedingly common."\* It is well known also, that, according to the laws and customs of the Romans, the father had anciently an unlimited power of putting his children to death, after they were grown up, and even officially employed by the state, and likewise of selling them for slaves.

To allude, even slightly, to the practices of the Romans, on this point, would fill the reader with disgust and horror ; and

\* Miller on Ranks, 4th edit. p. 131-2.

satisfy him that the picture of them drawn by St Paul is, by no means overloaded. "Vicious habits of every possible kind," says Malthus, "preventive of population, seem to have been so generally prevalent, at this period," under the Emperors, "that no corrective laws could have any considerable influence." \* From these statements it appears, that infanticide, in one way or other, has prevailed, not in barbarous nations alone, but generally speaking, over all the heathen world; and that so far was it from being prevented by the boasted wisdom, civilization, and refinement of

\* Malthus, vol. i. p. 291.—In a note in the preceding page, he says, "How completely the laws relating to the encouragement of marriage and of children were despised, appears from a speech of Minucius Felix, in Octavio, cap. 30. "*Vos enim video procreatos filios nunc feris et avibus exponere, nunc adstrangulatos misero mortis genere elidere: Sunt quæ in ipsis visceribus medicaminibus epotis originem futuri hominis extinguant, et parricidium faciant antequam pariant.*"

"This crime," adds he, "had grown so much into a custom in Rome, that even Pliny attempts to excuse it; *quoniam cliquarum fecunditas plena liberis tali venia indiget,*" l. xxix. c. 4.



Greece and Rome, that these very qualities were employed in cherishing, regulating, and perpetuating the crime. The conclusion, which seems to be warranted by these facts, is, that we have little security against infanticide, or any other crime against nature, where Christianity is unknown.

By Christianity, as here used, we are to understand that, which is properly so denominated. If it exist nominally among barbarians, who have never been instructed in its principles, it cannot be expected to produce any effect at all. If it exist in a corrupted state, as it now does in Abyssinia, and as it did in Europe, previously to the Reformation, it may produce as much evil as good, by sanctioning error and palliating iniquity. But wherever the people at large possess the sacred Scriptures with the ability to read them, the communication of which, was the great object of the reformers, benefits the most solid, extensive, and durable, may be expected.

But it is time to turn to the more direct subject of this work; and, first of all, to some of the particular notions of the Jahrehjahs, connected with the practice of female infanticide.



## CHAPTER FOURTH.

*Vicarious Responsibility—Sitting in Dhurna—  
Tragga—Patriotic Suicide.*

W HATEVER might be the political causes, in which an imaginary necessity for female infanticide originated, it certainly did not derive any direct countenance from the religious system of the Hindus. In a *sloke*, or verse, quoted from the Shasters, the crime of killing a female child is aggravated almost beyond enormity itself. “To kill a hundred cows,” it is said, “is equal to killing a Brahmin; to kill a hundred Brahmins is equal to killing a woman; to kill a hundred women is equal to killing a child; to kill a hundred children is equal to telling an untruth.”

This is a literal version from the original sloke, as found, we are informed, in the *Dherma Shashtra*. We are, however, by no means, to understand this graduated scale of moral guilt, in a very strict and literal sense. In the progress of the narrative, we shall find, that deceit and falsehood, instead of exciting the horror, which this passage would lead us to anticipate, form, by no means, a rare feature in the Hindu character, nor a feature that is beheld with much abhorrence. But, however they may regard falsehood, the crime of putting a child to death, as will appear by the engagements, into which the Jahrejahs afterwards entered, as represented by their books of authority in religion, is a crime, for which the perpetrators of it shall suffer a particular species of torment, in the hell called Kule-Sootheela.

Many of the Jahrejahs were, no doubt, ignorant of these denunciations ; but they were all convinced that infanticide was a crime, of which the guilt must attach some-



where ; and to remove it from themselves was a thing, which, by the expedient of the Raj-gurs, appeared to them as easy and efficacious, as it was desirable.

The Jahrejahs, whilst they considered themselves exonerated of all culpability for the crime of infanticide, which they were daily committing, were fully persuaded that their Raj-gurs were suffering for it ; and that the proof of this suffering was exhibited in the poverty and disrespect, into which they were generally fallen.

The notion of the Brahmins, taking the responsibility of the perpetrators of this crime upon themselves, appears, at first sight, to be one of the most extraordinary ideas, that ever was countenanced by the meanest exercise of reason. After a little reflection, however, I am persuaded, that absurd as the notion seems, and extravagant as the credulity, which it involves, is deemed ; it will be found to pervade other customs of this people, and to be associated, if not actually identified, perhaps, with

an idea of no mean origin, and which is as universal as the human race.

The notion referred to is what, in the language of theology, is termed vicarious suffering. The expression implies the transference of guilt from the actual perpetrator, to another being substituted in his place ; so that upon this last is inflicted the punishment due to the former. Upon this notion, which has been found as universal as men possessing the idea of a Supreme Being, rests the practice of sacrifice of every kind, and even of human sacrifice itself.

That human sacrifice prevailed more or less, through the heathen world, is a fact, of which no one is ignorant ; yet the full extent, to which the abomination was carried, is, by no means, generally known. It was practised to a degree, of which few are aware, among the Canaanites, the Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Gauls, and the Celtic nations in general. Tales of horror, of which, however, the truth is in-



disputable, are presented to us, of hundreds of the most fair and noble, being sacrificed, at once, to the sanguinary deities of these deluded votaries. \* Both in Homer and Virgil, we have accounts of human sacrifices, communicated, in such a way, as indicates no abhorrence in the poet, and was meant so inspire none on the part of his reader.

Cæsar informs us, that it was a prevalent maxim among the Gauls, that the Deity could not be appeased, unless the life of one man, which had been forfeited by guilt, were atoned by the life of another, who was innocent. † Cicero speaks of the prevalence of human sacrifices among the Gauls in terms of just reprobation; but he was not ignorant, that the practice existed even among the Romans. Nay, Cæsar, who speaks of the custom among the Gauls, as something rare and extraordinary, is

\* Bryant.

† De Bel. Gal. l. vi. c. 15.

affirmed to have afforded an example of it on the day of his triumph.

Dion \* having told us, that, on that occasion, the celebrated Gallic leader Ver-  
cingetorix was put to death; states that  
two other men were afterwards sacrificed,  
the reason of which he had not learned.  
He indicates something like surprise, or  
curiosity, when he remarks, that this sacri-  
fice had not been ordered by the Sibylline  
oracle, or any similar authority. Yet, says  
he, these men were sacrificed in the Cam-  
pus Martius, and by the priest of Mars.  
It was not the nature of the sacrifice itself  
that excited in him any degree of wonder;  
but the performance of it, without any ac-  
knowledged and competent authority.

The Hindus, also, of whose real charac-  
ter, so little is generally known in Europe,  
and of whose extreme sensibility to the suf-  
ferings of the meanest animals, we have so  
often heard, are, by no means, wanting in

\* Dion, lib. xliiii.



examples of human sacrifice. Of the extreme sensibility of those, who, without any apparent emotion, can sacrifice a fellow creature ; and, if we apply the remark to the Jahrejahs, who with perfect apathy, can put their own infant progeny to death ; we have certainly a good right to suspend our belief ; whatever we may admit, concerning their abhorrence of killing a cow, or treading upon a reptile.

Sacrifice of every kind derives its origin from the notion of the transference of guilt already committed ; whereas the responsibility of the Raj-gur authorises, the commission of it in the future. Very extraordinary, however, and very absurd, as such a notion seems, and certainly is, it bears a marked resemblance to that involved in the indulgences granted by the Roman see ; the extravagant abuse of which, first roused the attention of thinking men, and, by the divine blessing, issued in the glorious reformation from Popery. They both agree in being prospective in their power of can-

celling guilt. They differ in this, that the indulgence granted by the Raj-gur extended to the commission of only one species of crime, whilst that of the Vatican extended to all; the pope drew from the hoarded stores of righteousness and good works, that had been accumulated by the saints of former ages; but the Raj-gur engaged to endure, in his own person, the punishment, to which infanticide exposed the perpetrator, but to the cancelling of which, he pretended to no previous accumulation of merit.

When men in this country, then, have wondered sufficiently at the absurdities, of which Hindus and their Raj-gurs are capable, it may be edifying, and may be favourable to their humility, to reflect, that a great part of Christendom, that their own progenitors, at one time, yielded to a delusion, which differed from this, chiefly in being more extravagant; and that, whilst the folly in the one case, was an outrage upon human reason; it was an outrage in



the other case, both against reason and revelation. Taken as a whole, it might, perhaps, be satisfactorily proved, that popery, in its utmost corruption, was superior to Hinduism ; but it is not at all intended to compare the systems ; but incidentally to notice that one of the most extravagant dogmas of the Eastern system found a parallel, in Europe, in a delusion equally preposterous.

The notion involved in the responsibility of the Raj-gurs, however, is neither limited to that order of men, nor restricted to the power of obliterating the guilt of infanticide. It is not only to be traced in other customs, but even appears to be the basis on which some of them rest. Of this kind, particularly, are the patriotic suicides, practised in some parts of Guzerat ; and the efficacy of sitting in Dhurna, which are known to be prevalent in other parts of Hindustan, particularly in Benares, as well as in the peninsula. What may be called the essence of both of these practices, consists in

what, for the want of an appropriated term, we may call the power of inflicting guilt upon another.

The Dhurna is instituted to exact a debt, to enforce an obligation, or to obtain justice, when it is withheld by a person in authority, and whom the ordinary course of justice cannot easily reach. This is called sitting in Dhurna, because the person, who has recourse to it, seats himself in the presence of the person, against whom he wishes to make good his claim, or as near him as he can. The Dhurna is more or less rigorous according to circumstances; but both parties continue fasting till one of them yields. If the person establishing the Dhurna become the victim of abstinence, the guilt of his death is transferred to him whose refusal, to perform the obligation of justice, had been the cause of it. It is commonly instituted for the redress of a personal injury, and is practised by all casts.

Analogous to Dhurna is what is called



Tragga, but still more cruel and violent in its nature, and less extensively approved. Its observance is generally to be found among the more rude and uncivilized tribes. Among these the securities for almost every species of engagement, or contract, are an order of men called Bhats, for whom the natives have a peculiar reverence, and who resemble, in many respects, our ancient bards. They are poets, panegyrists, and chronologers. Upon the failure of every application for redress, they proceed to wound themselves; and if this fails to produce the desired effect, they have recourse to the last extremity, and die by their own hand. In some cases, the life of the Bhat is saved by the substitution of another victim, which, however, must be voluntary. The death of the suicide, or the murder of the victim, is laid to the charge of the person, who was guilty of the oppression, which caused the complaint.

The Bhats form a connecting link between the native governments, and the

more rude and turbulent tribes.—This custom, so barbarous in its nature, Colonel Walker had the merit of abolishing. Shocked at the cruelty and revolting nature of the practices, connected with Bhat security, and the actual execution of the pledge, he represented to the Guicawar government the propriety and policy of prohibiting the commission of Tragga. As the person, then at the head of the Guicawar army, was a man of intelligence and humanity, the Colonel met with no opposition in carrying his benevolent views into effect.

To the Bhats, the measure was by no means disagreeable. They were now enjoined, after the influence of their own characters, and endeavours had failed of success, to report the circumstances to government, and, without committing any violence on themselves, to await the instructions of the constituted authorities. The evils attending Bhat security, therefore, it is reasonable to hope, are now for ever done away; without losing the influence



and agency of the order, which are congenial to the habits, the manners, and the prejudices of those rude tribes, over whom their influence alone, would probably in their present state, be of avail. \*

\* It may be proper to advert more particularly to the circumstances of the Bhats, and to the interposition of Colonel Walker in the case alluded to.

The Bhats were originally Brahmins, but were expelled their cast for neglect of duty. Being outcasts, and without the means of subsistence, they are said to have supplicated the goddess Chandee, who conferred on them the "Kubbut Wida," or art of composing poetry. This talent they employed in celebrating the achievements of contemporary chiefs and warriors. From their profession of soothing with praises, and exciting agreeable emotions, they received the name of Bhât, a Sanscrit compound, signifying a person who is attendant on joyous occasions.

The practice of Tragga was first forcibly brought to Colonel Walker's notice by an occurrence at Mallia, where a Bhat had become security on the part of Dossajee, the Rajah, or chief of that district. When the time of payment arrived, Dossajee refused to fulfil his engagement. Having had recourse, without success, to every expedient, which could be supposed to move the compassion, or justice, of the chief, he resolved on the commission of Tragga, by putting one of his own children to death. He spent the night preceding the horrid act, in religious ceremonies, in company with a

Under the name of Tragga are known also what we have denominated patriotic suicides. They differ from the former in this, that they may be committed by any

friend. In the morning he called his daughter, a fine girl of eight years of age, and desired her to prepare for being a sacrifice to save her father's character from dishonour. Sensible of the necessity under which her father was laid, she yielded herself a voluntary victim. After bathing and purification, she placed herself in an attitude, in which her father's sword could easily reach her neck; and while she was holding aside her long hair with both her hands, he, with one stroke of his sabre, severed the head from the body.

This transaction was related to Colonel Walker in a public Kutchery, in the presence of several hundred auditors, by the father himself, who minutely described the particulars with feeling and sorrow. His feeling and sorrow, however, did not arise from the idea of having contracted guilt, but of the hardness of his fate, and the injustice of Dossajee, which had compelled him to be the executioner of his own child. On the head of Dossajee, he considered her blood as resting. Colonel Walker took advantage of this public recital to impress the assembly with the turpitude, infamy, and immorality of an act, so horrid and inhuman, and soon procured the engagement mentioned in the text.

Tragga, however, is not always the last extremity. In ordinary cases the Bhat effects his purpose by cutting and wounding himself.



person, and by women as well as men. The object of them, is not, like the other, to redeem a pledge ; but to deter robbers and marauders, from the commission of depredations, by the dread of being rendered responsible for the self-murder.

Suicide, committed in such cases, instead of being regarded as disgraceful, is viewed as a generous and patriotic deed. It is associated, in the mind of the Hindu, with that elevation of character, which constitutes the hero, who perils his life for the freedom of his country ; and on his tomb are inscribed his name, and the manner and cause of his death.

Of these inscriptions, Colonel Walker has brought many with him from India. They are very simple, and very similar to one another. They state, that here lies such an one, who died by his own hand, on the occasion specified. \*

\* The event is commemorated by engraving on stones, which are called *Pallia*. A pallia is erected to those only, who suffer a violent death, whether by their

It is hoped that the analogy in principle between sitting in Dhurna and Tragga, and the vicarious responsibility of the Raj-gur, will be deemed a sufficient reason for the introduction of these notices concerning them, in this place ; and, that one of these customs has been abolished in the Peninsula by means of Colonel Walker, is an additional motive for saying something of it in an account of his labours in putting an end to infanticide.

It may be worthy of remark, that Tragga is not universally approved by the Hin-

own hands, or those of others. The inscription mentions the date and occasion of the event, with the name of the person. The inscription is generally accompanied by a figure, illustrative of the manner, in which the person suffered death, whether on horseback, in a carriage, or on foot — *Pall* is the name of the embankment of a tank. *Pallia*, therefore, metaphorically represent those, who have died in protecting a village, as its embankments, or ramparts ; and in attacking a place, an enemy will calculate the resistance he is to expect, by the number of *pallia* previously erected, to the valour or patriotism of its inhabitants. *Pallia* are the boast of a family or a village.—These monuments are also erected to women, who burn with their husbands.



cus; and it will obviously occur, that this custom in its several kinds, as well as sitting in Dhurnā, owe their existence, perhaps, solely to the partial administration of justice, and the vague and inefficient manner, in which evidence is expiscated, and proof led, among a rude and uncivilized people. To the same cause, no doubt, in connection with ignorance and superstition, are to be traced the modes of trial termed the *judgment of God*, practised in Europe, during the middle ages, and of which a very accurate and interesting account will be found in the preliminary volume of Robertson's Charles V. Of these practices, the barbarism of duelling still remains the stigma of an enlightened age, notwithstanding its condemnation by the law of the land, and the reprobation, with which it is treated by every well-principled reflecting man.

But we now return to the more immediate subject before us, and from which, it is presumed, that no temptation to digress will afterwards occur.

## CHAPTER FIFTH.

### *Manner of destroying Female Infants.*

**T**HE bare fact, unconnected with illustration or detail, that there are human beings, so lost to every principle and feeling of our common nature, as to destroy their own infant offspring; is calculated to fill the mind with horror, and make the blood run cold. To pry farther into the shocking mysteries, and to tear off the veil, that would cover them with congenial darkness, may appear to some to be an unnecessary, if not an impious, laceration of human sensibility. It is enough, it may be said, to know, that there are, or that there have been, perpetrators of such crimes, although we be not doomed to note all the parts of the systematic procedure.



If any reader of such sentiments and feelings should honour this work with a portion of his attention ; it is to be naturally inferred, that the title of this Chapter will warn him to pass it over without a perusal. But the matter will be viewed differently by minds, that have risen above such morbid sensibility, and that are fitted for encountering the rough realities of human life. Curiosity is the necessary stimulus to the acquisition of knowledge, and men are prone to gratify it, though the knowledge acquired should diminish, instead of increasing, their felicity. The traveller is not contented with sating the eye on the more lovely and gentle scenes of nature ; and with dwelling on the limpid stream, the sloping lawn, and the flowery mead. With deeper interest and keener excitement, he seeks the roaring cataract, ascends the lofty and precipitous mountain, surveys the awful cliff, or ventures to penetrate the cavern, whose recesses have remained yet unexplored.

In such contemplations, there is a species of pleasure, which predominates over the terrific ; and, although in the survey of what is analogous in the moral world, there be little, if any thing that deserves the name of pleasure ; there is yet a satisfaction in the knowledge acquired, which is compatible, at least, with the purest benevolence. This satisfaction alone is all that is to be at present expected. For in the details, now to be offered, we can promise nothing pleasing to allay what is painful, and nothing attractive to diminish disgust. For these reasons, our statement shall be as concise as perspicuity will admit.

It deserves to be remarked, that Colonel Walker found the Jahrejahs by no means communicative on the immediate subject of this Chapter. The practice of infanticide they avowed ; but they regarded, or affected to regard it, as a mark of honourable distinction. But although they spoke even with levity of the deed, it was



with extreme reluctance, that they were induced to explain the manner, in which it was perpetrated.

Not to dilate, however, upon the difficulties encountered and overcome, in acquiring the needful information, but to proceed to the communication of it, we may begin by stating, that the time, when the female infant is put to death, is immediately upon its birth. Its immediate destruction is considered as a matter of course; and seems to excite no feeling greater, or less, than indifference. The transaction, as might be expected, is private; but that privacy is not meant to favour concealment, as no shame, nor punishment, is connected with the crime.

According to the accounts of the Jahrejahs themselves, however, the destruction of the infant immediately upon its birth, is necessary to the innocence of the action. Were the child permitted to live a day or two, and then be put to death, the perpetrator would be viewed and treated, even

by the Jahrejahs, as barbarous and unfeeling. But although instances of this cool and deliberate infanticide were rare, Colonel Walker is of opinion that they did sometimes occur; and his opinion is founded upon the evidence of a Jahrejah, who was reported to him as chargeable with the crime. \*

But there is no need of supposing them to form nice moral distinctions to account for the rarity of protracted infanticide. The commission of it immediately upon the birth of the child, naturally grows out of the cause, in which the crime originated. If trouble and expence were to be avoided at all, they were to be avoided in all their extent; and we can imagine no reason for sparing the child for one day, if it were to be destroyed the next.

We can easily suppose them, to imagine a degree of barbarity, in the one case, which does not exist in the other. But then we

\* Report, par. 89.



should consider it, not as the result of moral discrimination, but of that instinctive feeling, which pervades all living nature, and with which the God of nature has warmed the fierce bosoms, even of the hyæna and the tiger. When the infant offspring is immediately destroyed, the parental feeling has not had time, nor opportunity, to operate; but when the maternal bosom has been employed in affording the means of life and nourishment to the helpless victim, even for the shortest assignable space of time, there is, and there must be, an elevation of the voice of nature, which cannot be altogether silenced.

*“Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.”*

The birth of a daughter, indeed, among the Jahrejahs, is an event that is passed over in silence, as if nothing had occurred; whilst that of a son is the occasion of ostentatious joy and festive hilarity. This is marked by a striking peculiarity of phrase. If one of that tribe, upon the birth

of a daughter, he asked what his wife has brought him, his reply is, "Nothing;" an expression, which, in the language and idiom of the country, is considered a full and definite answer.

From the result of Colonel Walker's enquiries, it appears, that female infanticide was not always committed in the same manner. The truth is, that perfect uniformity was not to be expected in a deed, which might be substantially perpetrated in various ways; and especially when that deed, as in the present case, was entirely unconnected with any species of ceremonial. When the feelings of nature had been mastered, the material act was easy; and considering all the circumstances of the case, would be effected without a struggle, and perhaps without pain, on the part of the infant sufferer. It was in allusion to this facility, that one of them, upon being repeatedly interrogated about the manner of committing infanticide, vaguely replied, either to evade a definite answer, or to in-



dicating that he thought the question idle, "Where is the difficulty of blasting a flower?"

In answer to the Colonel's enquiries, he obtained from Wassonjee Eswarjee, "a Nagur Brahmin, who attended the camp in the quality of *vakeel*\* from the Gondal chief," a written statement, of which the following is a translation.

"When the wives of the Jahrejah Rajaputes are delivered of daughters, the women, who happen to be with the mother, repair to the oldest man in the house. This person desires them to go to him, who is the father of the infant, and to do as he directs. On this the women go to the father, who desires them to do as is customary, and so to inform the mother.

"The women then repair to the mother, and tell her to act in conformity to their usage. The mother next puts opium on the nipple of her breast, which the child inhales with the milk, and dies."

\* *Vakeel* signifies an agent.

“The above is one custom, and the following is another. When the child is born, they place the navel string on its mouth, in consequence of which it expires.”\*

From conversations, which the Colonel had with several of the Jahrejahs, he was of opinion, that the above is by no means a very accurate statement of the fact; and that of the various ways in which female infants are put to death, Wassonjee Eswarjee has not given an exact account of any. It appears that opium is put into the mouth of the child, and that farther barbarities are thus rendered unnecessary. It may be, however, that, in some cases, the fatal drug has been administered in the way described by Wassonjee; and that hence has originated the story, that the Jahrejahs drown their infant daughters in a vessel of milk. From careful investigation of the fact, it did not appear, that ever infanticide was committed literally in this manner; but the notion of the child imbibing poison with the

\* Report, par. 66.



milk, might easily give rise to such a report, among a people, who are proverbially fond of exhibiting the simplest fact, in the gaudy drapery of allegory and figure. This notion might also derive some countenance from the expression ascribed to the father, "who, with brutal equivocation," says to the attendants, who inform him of the birth of a daughter, "*Dhood pelauna*," that is, let her drink milk.

"This," says the Resident, speaking of Wassonjee's account of the matter, "this is but a popular story; and, independent of the circumstance of few infants suckling immediately on the birth, the placing of opium upon the nipple would effectually prevent it."

Upon the whole, it appears, that two modes of committing infanticide were prevalent; the one, by putting opium into the infant's mouth, and the other, by drawing the umbilical cord over its face. In the one case, the vital spark was speedily ex-

tinguished, and in the other, respiration was stopped almost at its commencement.

Well may it be said of such parents, that "cruel are their tender mercies;" yet in some cases, it appears, that female offspring were the objects of still less pity. Sometimes natural debility and neglect were permitted to do the whole deed; and at other times the feeble victim was laid on the ground, unheeded, or left on a plank to expire. When the infant was in any way destroyed, (and the Jahrejahs do not seem to have cared much what was the mode, provided it were efficient,) it was carried out naked in a small basket, and committed to the dust, as unceremoniously, as it had been unfeelingly deprived of life.

In Kattywar it is considered of little consequence who performs this last office. It is generally assigned to any female attendant without distinction. In Kutch, however, it is connected with a certain species of ceremony, or perhaps we should rather say, of official privilege, which leads back



the mind to the origin of the custom, and seems, in some degree, to confirm the account of it, which has been already given. In that country, the interment of the infant remains, is the duty, or the privilege of the Raj-gur, who receives a *koree* \* and a meal, as the hire of office ; while the female Raj-gur, and not the mother, is the executioner of the infant victim.

In this, we admit, that there is a comparative decency and respect for nature. But the agent generally employed in this bloody deed, is characterised by a relation, which is associated with the highest and purest affections. For, “ to render this deed,” says Colonel Walker,\* “ if possible more horrible, the mother is commonly the executioner of her own offspring. Women of rank may have their slaves and attendants, who perform this office, but the far

\* A *koree* is a small coin, equivalent in value to the third of a rupee, that is, ten pence sterling.

\* Report, par. 75.

greater number execute it with their own hands."

Besides the written statement from Wassonjee Eswarjee, and the more accurate information, obtained by conversations with the Jahrejahs, of which the substance has been detailed, Colonel Walker, who lost no opportunity of perfecting, as far as possible, his knowledge of the subject, received a communication of considerable length, and apparent accuracy, from Jahrejah Dadajee, chief of Rajcote.† It is valuable, as confirming what has been already related, rather than as containing much new matter.

Dadajee, who himself had a daughter alive, when he made his communication to the Resident, states, that, in Kutch, many of the Jahrejahs preserve their female offspring. When this is to be done, the father intimates such a wish to the mother previously to her delivery, and his pleasure is invariably obeyed; but the wish of the

† Report. Appendix, No. 19.



mother, unless where she has great influence over her husband, is of itself of no avail.

If the father has made no previous intimation to spare a female child, it is almost invariably put to death, immediately upon its birth. This chief relates, that there is no fixed mode of terminating the existence of these feeble and unresisting victims; but that, in general, agreeably to the accounts already given, it is effected by opium, or by suffocation with the umbilical cord. The short life being thus dispatched, they are buried in the state in which they were born, without being wrapped up in any kind of clothes, and without undergoing any purification. It was Dadajee, who, upon being farther interrogated relative to the mode of committing infanticide, replied: "What difficulty is there in blasting a flower?"

We have now brought to a close the information, which it seemed proper to communicate, on this unpleasant subject. We shall not occupy our pages with represent-

ing all the possible variety of emotions, which the preceding details may have produced; yet we cannot help picturing the tender and enlightened mother in these happy lands, as pressing her infant daughter, with double fondness, to her bosom, and heaving the aspiration of gratitude to the Father of mercies, for her favoured lot and refined enjoyments, for the pure pleasures of present parental endearment, and all the fond hopes of the future. We would follow her a little farther, and imagine her, instead of hurling the unmitigated censure of condemnation against her less favoured sisters in the East, giving vent to the throb of pitying emotion, accompanied with the ardent wish, that they may soon enjoy all the advantages, to which alone her own superiority is to be traced.



## CHAPTER SIXTH.

*Instances of Jahrejahs, who saved their Infant Daughters.*

WHERE custom, interest, and prejudice are in favour of a rule, and where its observance is farther enforced by the terror of the "world's dread laugh," we cannot expect the instances, in which it will be neglected, to be many. Nature, it is true, is, in the present case, in favour of exceptions; yet, when her authority has been once superseded, the ingrafted habit is generally found to be more powerful than even the original principle; and hence the proverb, that "custom is a second nature." When we allow, therefore, their due weight to custom, and other concomitant circumstances, in determining the general tenor

of human conduct, we shall be prepared to ascribe no ordinary degree of merit, of firmness and decision of character, not to speak of the gentler virtues, in which they originate, to such of the Jahrejahs as, in the general prevalence of female infanticide, saved their daughters. And, amid the gloomy and dreadful scene, what a relief must such instances prove to the eye of moral sensibility ! We are touched with the modest elegance of the violet, even in the cultured garden, where it is surrounded by a rich variety of all that is sweet and beautiful in nature ; but how would all its attractions increase, were we to find it amid the lone and arid waste !

To the reader, who has followed us through the unpleasing details, from which we have just escaped, we imagine there will be an analogous pleasure, in contemplating the assertors of human nature, who saved their daughters, amid the general prevalence of a contrary practice. Whilst, however, some of the instances to be re-



corded, must be ascribed to purity of parental feeling, and firmness of character; others, it will be perceived, originated in very different, and less honourable, causes.

From the evidence laid before him, Colonel Walker concludes, that the practice of female infanticide has been relinquished, with the exception of one tribe, by those Jahrejahs, who continue in Scind.\* When we consider the circumstances, to which this relinquishment is to be ascribed, we shall be constrained to qualify the approbation, with which we should otherwise connect it.

The great object of the Jahrejahs, in migrating southward from Scind, was to shake off the Mahomedan yoke, to which they had been subjected, and the profession of the Mahomedan faith, which had been extorted from them. Let us disapprove then, or despise, as we will, the peculiarities, which they valued, and which they used such ef-

\* Report, par. 93, 94.

forts to preserve, we must respect that mind, of which the love of freedom is a prominent characteristic, and in which there is courage to defend what it deems valuable. Now, if we cannot but praise the principle, in which the general migration originated, we shall have no approbation to bestow on those, who, by not joining in it, deserted the cause of their brethren, and the cause, which they themselves could not but approve. Those who settled in Kutch and Guzerat, continued infanticide from pride, convenience, and custom; and those who remained in Scind, abandoned it, because it was contrary to the Mahomedan faith, which, without conviction, they had embraced, and the customs of the people, among whom, from a dastardly spirit, and not from affection, they had been induced to live.

We must regard, in a very different light, those who have abandoned the unnatural crime of infanticide, while living in a country where it is respected; and where,



with the small exception of themselves, it is universally practised. It appears, that there are a few such Jahrejah families in Kutch. Some of them have relinquished the practice partially ; but in the case of others, the abandonment has been complete.

The names of those who have entirely and systematically (so far as could be ascertained,) discontinued the horrid custom, Colonel Walker has inserted in his report to Government ; and although the mention of them cannot serve the same purpose in this country, which it might do there, still they should not be forgotten.\* To us, it is true, they are merely barbarous sounds ; but they will come softened and sweetened on the ear of philanthropy, by the circumstances now related.

\* The Jahrejah families in Kutch, who preserve their daughters, are Bulach, Bottan, Sar, Kubbur, Hottee, Ubra, Jarria, Guffun, Murasee, Mokarra, Kaya, Retreca, Mor, Row, Jessa, Dessa, Danrar, Deteea, Joreea, Adreea, Verai, Kunderde, and Veem. Par. 96. Some of these are families of respectability.

In the Peninsula of Guzerat, no such large exceptions were to be found. Occasional instances occurred of individuals saving their female offspring; and what is not a little distressing to the friend of humanity, few of these instances could be traced to purity of principle, and decision of character. By the acknowledgment of these Jahrejahs themselves, they had not been led to rear their daughters from the influence of natural affection, or parental feeling, but from personal and selfish considerations. For the persons, among whom these instances occurred, are Shravuck Banians, or disciples of Jena, whose creed is distinguished by the rigid maintenance of the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul through various orders of animal existence, till it be purified from all its guilt. This sect consider it a sin to kill any living thing, however mean and even noxious; and therefore, we discover, at once, why infanticide should be relin-



quished by the few followers they have among the race of Jahrejahs.\*

Besides the exceptions to the prevalence of infanticide, originating in the doctrine of Jena, a very few individual instances were discovered, of which we shall see that some only are to be ascribed to more honourable causes.

The first case that shall be mentioned, although it originated in the influence of con-

\* The Stravucks are a numerous sect in Guzerat, though there be not many instances of their making proselytes among the Jahrejahs. Living among a warlike and turbulent people, they maintain extensive influence, without having recourse to the use of arms. Following the profession of merchants, they acquire considerable wealth; and by lending money, which they always do at the most usurious interest, to the ferocious chiefs in their neighbourhood, they are frequently able to controul their schemes. - The origin of what is peculiar and striking in their character, is to be traced to their belief in the transmigration of the souls of men into the bodies of beasts. So powerful is the operation of this principle among them, that, besides their own personal abstinence, they bribe the chiefs to deny to themselves and their subjects the use of fish for food, and to protect them in the rivers and tanks, and even in some parts of the sea on the coast of Kattywar.

science, is, in every respect, very singular:—The Jahrejah Mokajee of Anundgur, one of the Byaud\* of the Gondal chief, after living, for a short time, in the relation of husband, abandoned all conjugal intercourse, lest he should become the father of a daughter. As a Jahrejah, he was zealous for a practice, which he connected with the honour of his tribe; but he had adopted the principles of a sect, which were incompatible with that inhuman custom. In short, Mokajee had adopted the tenets of the Kubeer Punts, a sect of Berajees, † so named from Kubeer, the founder of it, a reputed saint, who flourished about three hundred years ago.

Considering his circumstances, the attainments Kubeer had made, were certainly respectable. Rejecting the Shasters and Vedas, his followers assert the unity and indivisibility of Deity; and maintain, that, in this One God is centred every attribute,

\* Brethren, brotherhood, or fraternity.

† A numerous religious sect, followers of Vishnu.



ascribed by the Hindus to innumerable divinities. The Avataras, or incarnations, they reject, together with the authority of the books, where the accounts of them are found; and having emerged so far out of the darkness and mists of fable, it was to be expected that they would renounce all confidence in the ceremonial of Hindu worship, and particularly in the purification of the soul, by washing the body in their great rivers. This sect place their hope of acceptance, in the sincerity, and not in the ceremonies of their devotion; in connection with good works, with which the practice of infanticide is obviously incompatible.

Being a high-minded Jahrejah, and a zealous Kubeer Punt, Mokajee was impelled by motives, which counteracted one another, and led him to adopt that state of wedded celibacy, to which we have referred. Against this resolution, his friends and relatives urged him repeatedly, but in vain. They at length assembled for the purpose of devising some method, by which

the misfortune, as they deemed it, of his dying childless, might be prevented. The result of this consultation was the following expedient : Kombajee, the late Gondal chief, as Teclaat, or head of the family, enjoined him, publicly and solemnly, to preserve his infant daughters.

What Mokajee formerly considered a duty, which he owed to the honour of his tribe, had now changed its nature ; and the principles of his creed were allowed their full sway, without any counteracting influence. He returned, accordingly, to the conjugal relation, which he had abandoned, and became the father of four daughters in succession. This again exposed him to the ridicule of the Jahrejahs ; but he, who could maintain a principle, which he approved, in opposition to his natural and obvious interests, could experience little difficulty, in philosophically supporting a sneer, especially when he had the approbation of conscience, and the pleasure of parental feeling, on his side.



The daughters of Mokajee were alive when the report, on which this narrative is founded, was written, and were then married to the chiefs of Drangudva, Wudwam, Limree, and Wancaneer.

In the character of Mokajee, there is certainly something great. To the man that could perceive and abandon the weak superstitions, in which he had been educated, and which had been fostered by early associations, for the tenets of a purer and sublimer creed, in connection with the circumstances already related; we must ascribe no ordinary degree of penetration, and no vulgar degree of magnanimity. But there is no principle, on which we can account for the manner, in which he viewed the necessity of infanticide, previously to the command of his chief.\*

\* Concerning the head of the sect, whose principles Mokajee had adopted, we are told: "Kubeer himself was a Mahomedan, by cast, and a weaver, by profession. His disciples may be either Mahomedans, or Hindus. On his death, the Mahomedans claimed a right to bury him, the Hindus to burn him, in conse-

The next instance, which comes to be related of an individual saving a female child, amid the prevalence of infanticide, is that of the chief of Kersura. A daughter, whom he brought up, was, when the Resident's report was written, wife of Wujee Sing, eldest son of the Thakur \* of Bhownaggur. But, in the chief of Kersura, it was neither natural affection, nor the claims of unbending principle, to which his daughter owed her preservation. On the part of the father, the material act was unquestionably good; but the motive, in which it originated, was, as unquestionably, mean and mercenary. It was, in fact, the very

quence of which, they quarrelled, and placed a sheet over the corpse, which, when they withdrew, they found the upper part of his body to be metamorphosed into a Toolsee plant, the favourite nymph of Krishna; the lower part into Rehan, an odoriferous herb of a green colour, the colour of the prophet Mahomed."—Report, par. 125.

\* *Thakur*, a dignity inferior to a Rajah. It is one of the names of God, and, in a profane sense, is used synonymously with our word Lord, when applied to a nobleman.



same principle, to which infanticide owed its continuance, if not its origin. For the preservation of this lady is to be ascribed to an Arab Jemadar,\* who presented to the chief, on the express condition that he would save his daughter, all the arrears of pay, which he had earned in his service, and of which the amount was considerable.

Of the individual instances hitherto recorded, of parents preserving their daughters, in opposition to the prevalence of a contrary practice, among the Jahrejahs, we have found little to commend, as true to the feelings of nature. It is gratifying to have now others to notice, which originated in principles, that claim our simple and unqualified approbation.

The first we shall mention is the case of Dadajee, who has been already mentioned, as having made important communications to Colonel Walker, on the subject of infan-

\* Jemadar, or Jamadar, a military officer. The commander of a body of troops.

ticide. This person, a Jahrejah of distinction, and chief of Rajkote, preserved the only daughter, so far as is known, that ever he had; and his conversation and manners impressed the Resident with the full conviction, that his conduct, in this respect, was to be ascribed, solely to the operation of principle and parental affection.

The case of Hootajee, the chieftain of Kotara Sangane, is yet more interesting. Hootajee, who has saved all his female offspring, "is," we are told, "a professed robber," with whom sentiment and feeling might be supposed to be strangers." His profession did not prevent Colonel Walker from having frequent intercourse with him; and, from the account of him, contained in the Report, it is probable, that the philanthropic and inquisitive mind of the Resident seldom received, in Guzerat, so much gratification, as in the conversation of Hootajee. \*

\* The union of the characters of a chief, and of a pro-



With the rough aspect, and manners of a barbarian, Hootajee possessed that high-toned feeling, and decision of mind, which raised him above the brutal, but deep-rooted prejudices and practice of his tribe. He had two daughters, who, in 1808, were from six to eight years of age. They were, at that time, brought to the camp in Kattywar, where they were vaccinated. Besides the peculiarity of their circumstances, which could not fail to excite the sympathy of a feeling heart, there was something very interesting in their persons and manners. “I observed,”—says Colonel Walker,—“I observed their father caressing them with pleasure, and exulting”

fessed robber, seem, no doubt, to be discordant; and it may not be easy to present a precise idea of it. The best illustration of a person uniting robbery with the capacity of leader, may perhaps be found in the Mahomedan states on the borders of the Mediterranean. A near resemblance may be traced, also, in the *black mail* chiefs of ancient times, in the Highlands of Scotland, and on the southern border. The existence of such a character implies a rude state of society, in which persons and property are but partially protected by law.

in them with true parental satisfaction." Who would wish to call that man his friend, who could read, unmoved, these simple lines ! \*

That the destruction of their female offspring was connected, by the Jahrejahs, with the point of honour, 'seemed more strikingly marked, by some circumstances, in the character and dress of these girls, than by any thing else, that was brought to notice. They wore turbans, and in every other respect, were habited like boys. Of their sex they seemed to be ashamed ; or to connect the apprehension of danger with the avowal of it ; and accordingly they assured Colonel Walker, that they were not girls, and appealed to their father for the veracity of their statement.—Alas ! that ever the idea of crime should be associated in the human mind with obedience

\* These interesting children, it is understood, have both died since the period now referred to.



to the dictates of nature, and the appointments of Heaven !

The only other instance, which came to Colonel Walker's knowledge, of a Jahrejah preserving his daughters from the systematic destruction of infanticide, is that of the Chief of Mallia. And in connection with this fact, it will, no doubt, excite surprise, that this very man should have been one of the last, who subscribed the document for abolishing the horrid practice. The daughter of this chief, however, owed her preservation to a more mixed principle, than that, which we discover in the two preceding cases. It originated in the influence of her mother. But where the female character is, in general, so much depressed below the level, which it ought to hold, we should honour the man, by whom it was respected.

Such is the whole knowledge\* which,

\* In speaking of exceptions to the practice of female infanticide, we must be understood as speaking only of

by a minute and careful investigation, Colonel Walker acquired, on this important subject. We owe him much for ascertaining the fact, of female children being preserved, amid the prevalence of infanticide; and yet more for determining, with as much philosophical precision, as the case would admit, the motives and principles, to which the exceptions are to be ascribed. By the philosopher of human nature, these exceptions will be valued as important facts, extending the knowledge of his species; and, by the philanthropist, they will be viewed with feelings of peculiar interest. They will be regarded as the gleanings of genuine feeling in the wilds of moral desolation.

legitimate daughters. Towards the female children of Rackeels, or mistresses, they acted with more apparent, and less real regard, as we shall have occasion to notice, in the next Chapter.



## CHAPTER SEVENTH.

*How the Jahrejahs obtain Wives—Concubinage—  
Polygamy—Illegitimate Children.*

THE preceding narrative will naturally suggest to the intelligent reader several interesting and important enquiries, of which the solution cannot fail to throw some additional light upon the principles of our common nature.

We have contemplated a race of human beings systematically destroying their infant offspring of one sex ; and thereby, as we should, at first sight, imagine, providing the means of their own speedy and final extirpation. But they have continued the practice for ages, and still they exist.

How is it, then, that they obtain wives ? For, that they do obtain them, is manifest from those very outrages on human nature, with which they are chargeable. That they do not experience much difficulty, in the acquisition, is likewise apparent. For, leaving all consideration of human feeling out of view, for the present, and referring to the principles of cold and calculating convenience alone, by which the conduct of the Jahrejahs seems to be regulated ; the problem reduces itself to a simple arithmetical operation, to ascertain whether there be more trouble and expense in rearing their daughters, by which all difficulty in obtaining wives is removed ; or, in obtaining them in some other way, by which the necessity of yielding to the parental impulse is superseded. The disgusting facts, to which our attention has been directed, do not permit us to doubt, on which side of this dilemma, the Jahrejahs imagined their interest to lie.

It is obvious, however, that female infan-



ticide cannot prevail among the people, with whom the Jahrejahs intermarry ; and, therefore, it is natural to imagine, that the practice must be held in abhorrence by them. Is it, then, from a feeble, subjugated, and unresisting race, that they obtain wives, who are reluctantly torn from more gentle society, and from parents, whose bosoms are warmed by more kindly feeling ? Or, do they, like the fierce followers of Romulus, whilst yet unconsolidated into a state, sally forth upon the unsuspecting, and carry off their women, as other marauders do common booty ? But, having obtained them, in any of these ways, or in any other way, how is it that the female heart, so peculiarly the seat of sensibility, can be brought to submit to that laceration of feeling, to which the knowledge of her circumstances must give rise ? At the prospect of those horrors, which must present themselves to maternal affection, does not the heart wither away with wretchedness ? does not life become painful beyond

endurance? and, by excess of unutterable woe, bring to a speedy termination such extremity of anguish?

In Europe, and particularly in our own happy country, where the female character is evolved in all the loveliness and attraction, which conspiring art and nature can communicate, these questions and conjectures must be unavoidably suggested; but they would not occur to one, who is somewhat familiar with the people of Hindustan. Men are prone to judge of every country by their own, and of the whole human race, by that portion of it, with which they are conversant; to confound the results of education with those of nature; the effects of moral culture with the spontaneous suggestions of the untutored mind; and to overlook the distinction between mere possibility and actual attainment. But an enlarged view of the matter will render the conclusion unavoidable, that the superiority of one race of mankind over another is to be ascribed, not to nature,



which has bestowed her favours equally on both, but to the political and moral circumstances, in which they are placed.

In reply to the queries, suggested by the circumstances of the Jahrejahs, we have no occasion for curious theoretical speculations. The actual state of things is presented to us in a few simple facts, admitting of no dubiety of interpretation, and pointing, for their origin, to the moral condition of the people themselves. Were we placed in their circumstances, we would act as they do; and were they in ours, they would be as much astonished at our conduct, as we now are at theirs.

The Jahrejahs experience no difficulty in obtaining wives. Nor do they find it necessary to have recourse to subject tribes. —In reply to enquiries, which Colonel Walker made on this subject, he was early informed, that the difficulty the Jahrejahs experienced in obtaining wives was so great, that they had been frequently reduced to the necessity of marrying slaves, and

women of spurious birth. This answer, being strongly supported by probability, would have appeared to most men to be quite satisfactory; but it would have been as remote from the fact, as error can be from truth.

Colonel Walker's unostentatious communications to Government are valuable, on account of the philosophical accuracy, which directed his philanthropy. And, indeed, had the one of these qualities existed without the other, we should have had little knowledge of the real character of the Jahrejahs; and, what we did possess under the form of knowledge, would have been merely false principles, on which false conclusions alone could be built.

Having obtained the information, which has been stated, the Colonel enquired of Jusajee whether it were the fact, that the Jahrejahs generally married women of spurious birth. But, instead of regarding this as a question which merited a reply, he seemed to view it as an intentional and



pointed insult, and to be moved only with indignation. When the benevolent querist, however, had removed his misapprehension, and convinced him that nothing was more remote from his intention, than the thought of giving him just cause of offence, Jussajee assured him, that no temptation can induce a Jahrejah to form matrimonial connections with women of illegitimate origin; and that even the poorest of them are solicitous to avoid the taint of blood, which, they conceive, would be communicated by such an alliance. He acknowledged that the Thakur of Banwur, influenced by political motives, had been affianced to such a daughter of Meroo Khawass; but the contract had never been completed; nor the woman admitted into the Thakur's house.\* Indeed it appears, that, as the Jahrejahs have a repugnance to such connections, so they have no temptation to form them. For they obtain the

\* Report, par. 144, 145.

daughters of any of the numerous races of Rajputes, and even find their facilities such as to allow of their being nice in selecting from the most respectable families. \*

It is obvious that these tribes had it in their power to abolish infanticide among the Jahrejahs, by refusing their daughters

\* They are furnished with wives by the Jhalla, Wagela, Goil, Churassumma, Purmar, Surveys, Soda, Jaitwa, Wala, and Wadal tribes; but there seems to be a general preference in favour of the Jhallas.

From the Jaitwas, the Jahrejahs cannot have obtained any wives for a long time; as it is more than a century since any grown up daughters have been seen among them. This fact is to be accounted for only by admitting, that female infanticide was prevalent among them. Of this, indeed, there seems no reason to doubt; for, although they allow that the practice is sinful, and do not openly avow it, they signed the instrument of abolition, as well as the Jahrejahs. Among them, however, this outrage on human nature is of comparatively recent origin; and may, without much hesitation, be ascribed to the example of the Jahrejahs, in concurrence with base and mercenary motives. "The influence of example and communication," says Colonel Walker, (and the remark is of a cheering, as well as of a saddening nature,) "is capable of procuring converts to the most criminal and flagitious courses." Report, par. 164—169.



in marriage, except upon the condition of their rearing their female offspring. Instead, however, of adopting a remedy, so simple and sure, they seem never to have thought of it ; or rather, to have been subject to the same apathy as the unnatural perpetrators of the crime. Not only, indeed, have they not discountenanced it ; but they have knowingly allowed their daughters to be the murderers of their own offspring.

Betrothed at an early age, the future wives of the Jahrejahs are imbued with prejudices in favour of the habits and practices of their destined husbands ; and are prepared for being murderers, before they are mothers. Capable of the same refinement of sentiment and feeling as those of their sex, in our own country ; they not only transgress that law of nature, to which they owe "their own existence ; but, as we shall have occasion to notice, in the sequel of this narrative, they have, in some instances, actually become advocates of the

horrid practice. But of the female character it would be improper to judge, when placed in circumstances, in which blind, indiscriminate, and unreflecting acquiescence is deemed its highest ornament, and most indispensable qualification :—in circumstances, in which woman is not the companion, the counsellor, and the friend ; but the slave of man.

In pronouncing upon the characters of those tribes, who bestow their daughters upon the Jahrejahs ; we are not to rest in imputing to them the guilt of being indifferent spectators of the crime of infanticide. We must charge them as participants, both in the motive and the deed. That the abolition of the practice was in their power, we have already seen. Why, then, did they not avail themselves of the power they possessed, to enforce the dictates of nature, to which, in their own practice, they yielded obedience ?

By the documents before us, we are borne out in answering, that they failed to



enforce these dictates of nature for the very same reason that the Jahrejahs violated, and that they themselves obeyed them. They reared their daughters from mercenary motives ; and from mercenary motives the Jahrejahs destroyed them. The Jahrejahs destroyed their daughters to avoid the expense and trouble, connected with rearing them, and procuring for them husbands, according to their exaggerated ideas of their own importance ; and the other Rajputes did not discourage the practice, on account of the facility it afforded them of disposing of their own daughters. This abandonment of human sensibility, and disregard of their religion, (for crude as it is, it condemns the practice,) they attempted to excuse, or, at least, to palliate, by urging the usages of cast, and the impropriety of interfering with those of the Jahrejahs. \*

This is obviously an instance of reason-

\* Report, par. 57—61, and 76, 77, and 142.

ing from inclination, and not from conviction; and of superseding the paramount claims of truth and humanity, by the base considerations of convenience and interest. Would that this disposition to deceive, and to be deceived, were confined to the race of the Rajputes, or even to the vast regions of Hindustan !

It is not the object of this work to give a full length portrait of the Jahrejah, arrayed in all the costume of his moral, intellectual, and social habits. Yet to communicate accurate notions of infanticide, which is the leading object, it is necessary occasionally to advert to associated topics, of which the connection with the main subject may not, at first sight, be apparent. In a landscape, there must be distance, as well as fore ground, and shade, as well as light; and even the principal object must be indebted for a part of its dignity to its association with others of inferior note.—As we have been naturally led, accordingly, to advert to the manner, in which the



Jahrejahs are furnished with wives; we may be permitted to say a few words on their views of polygamy, concubinage, and illegitimate children.

It was not ascertained, that the Jahrejahs are limited, by any law, in the number of their wives. While the legality of polygamy, therefore, is admitted, convenience and inclination alone must dictate the extent, to which it shall be carried.

Concubinage, as well as polygamy, is common among this people. \* In the selection of a Rackelee, or mistress, however, the Jahrejah is not influenced by the pride of alliance, as in the selection of a wife. The Rackelee may be of any cast; and even of Mahomedan, as well as of Hindu, origin. We are told, that, at the death of Rao Lacka, grandfather of the present chief of Kutch, fifteen of these females, of whom two were Mahomedans of the country, and one a Seeden, sacrificed themselves

\* Report, par. 146, 147.

at his funeral pile ; but that none of his wives imitated the example. This revolting deed, we are informed, is less expected of the wives, than of the Rackelees. The last consider it a point of honour, and often appear keenly emulous of priority in the dreadful deed of self-immolation.

Polygamy and concubinage being contrary neither to law, nor custom, are, of course, not discreditable, in the intercourse of life. It should be noticed, however, that the man, who limits himself to one wife, is considered as exemplary and respectable.

It is worthy of notice also, that a custom prevails among them, and indeed among the Hindu tribes in general, which has the force of law, and which, no doubt, originated in ancient political enactment, that a Jahrejah shall never be without a wife, beyond the age of puberty. Of this law, or custom, the letter and form are never neglected ; although its spirit and object be frequently evaded. Instances have



occurred, where, upon the death of his wife, the father of a family, when feeble and old, has admitted into his house, under the name of a wife, a child, incapable of comprehending the relation, in which she was nominally placed; and needing the care, which it is one of the objects of that relation to extend to others. In her name, however, as mistress of the family, the various domestic transactions are conducted.

In adverting to the subject of concubinage, we have seen that the Jahrejah is little solicitous in the selection of a Rackelee, in so far as regards descent and connections. This relation is not, like that of a wife, considered as at all involving the honour of his family, or affecting ~~the~~ blood of his progeny. The children, indeed, who are the result of such intercourse, are not viewed as belonging to the father's cast; and hence the principle of pride, which is so powerful as to prevail over nature, in regard of his legitimate daughters, not mak-

ing the same demands upon his expenditure, in the case of spurious offspring, is not affected by their preservation. Although instances to the contrary have been known, therefore, the general fact is, that these female children have been preserved; and afterwards married to Mussulmans, or Hindus of an inferior cast. It is not, however, to affection, or any worthy principle in the father, that their preservation is to be ascribed; but to a total apathy and disregard, which render him indifferent to their persons, and callous to their fate.\*

Yet notwithstanding the point of view, in which women of such origin are held by the Jahrejahs, some of them, of illustrious paternal descent, have obtained exalted alliances, — and of one in particular, of distinguished beauty, we are informed, that she was affianced to a Mahomedan, who was king of Scind. †

\* Report, par. 156.

† One of this origin was married to Damojee Guicawar, son of the family, which at present holds the



Such, in so far as more immediately regards the subject of this work, were the circumstances, the character, and the prejudices of the Jahrejahs, in 1801, when Colonel Walker became Resident at Baroda in Guzerat.

In proceeding to contemplate Colonel Walker's labours in the abolition of female infanticide, it will be proper to quote an extract of a letter from the Government of Bombay to the Supreme Government, in India, in reference to this subject; and it would be gratifying to bestow the same praise upon the answer, which the application merits.

“Another object,” say the Bombay Government, \* “which the expedition might have in view, would be an attempt to reform the manners of several, of these chief-tains, who, in common with the Jahrejah tribe, in the contiguous country of Kutch, put their female children generally to death

chief authority in Guzerat. The lady was lately alive, and resided with her own relations in Kutch.

\* May 15, 1806.

as soon as they are born. Of this fact, we have received too many concurrent testimonies to admit of hesitation in the belief of its prevalence. The accompaniment marked \* \* \* will be found to contain such official proceedings, as we have hitherto held, respecting a discovery, so deplorable and humiliating to the human race."

To this the Supreme Government reply, (31st July, 1806.)

"We cannot but contemplate with approbation, the considerations of humanity, which have induced you to combine with the proposed expedition, the project of suppressing the barbarous custom of female infanticide. But the speculative success even ~~of~~ that benevolent object, cannot be considered to justify the prosecution of measures, which may expose to hazard the essential interests of the state; although, as a collateral object, the pursuit of it would be worthy of the benevolence and humanity of the British Government."



We shall now follow the Resident through the difficulties and opposition, which he had to encounter, till he was rewarded by the triumph of humanity. This will be the most interesting and important part of the work ; and as the reader attends Colonel Walker, step by step, he may anticipate both pleasure and instruction. At the same time, whatever may be thought of individual acts of some of the departments, it is but doing justice to the Company's government to say, that its spirit has been, as much, perhaps, as could be fairly expected, friendly to humanity, science, and civilization.

## CHAPTER EIGHTH.

*Difficulties experienced by Colonel Walker from the Jahrejahs themselves, in the Abolition of Female Infanticide.*

WE now enter upon the more interesting part of this work; and the details to be presented, cannot fail, it is presumed, to suggest important hints to the practical friend of mankind. We have hitherto seen what was to do; we are now to mark how it was done. The moral dawn, indeed, mingles so faintly, at first, with the prevailing darkness, that its existence is scarcely perceived; but it progressively beams brighter, till every shadow is dispelled.

The first aspect of the difficulties presented to Colonel Walker was such as



might be allowed to stagger the stoutest heart, that had espoused the cause of humanity, without the impeachment of its courage; and the facts to be presented will not leave it a matter of doubt, whether it were to unwonted perseverance and zeal, that we owe his final triumph.

From the feeling of benevolence, of which he was conscious in himself, and which had so powerfully prompted his efforts, the Colonel seems to have been led to suppose its existence in the Jahrejahs, in a degree, which experience did not justify. Happy were it for the world, that the mistakes of men, in estimating the characters of one another, originated in causes, so honourable to themselves. But although the predominance of benevolence, in connection with the unconquerable desire of accomplishing this favourite object, had led him to form more sanguine hopes of success, than the character of the people warranted; he was resolved not to abandon his enter-

prise, so long as the possibility of its completion remained.

Not only was every direct endeavour prosecuted with ardour, till it either succeeded, or was proved to be inefficacious ; but every thing of a collateral nature, however remote might appear to be its influence ; in short, every species of transaction with the Jahrejahs, and the native government, was made to bear, in one way or another, upon the great and paramount object. Of this fact, the report to Government furnishes proofs, which are as unostentatious as they are convincing ; as will appear by the passages, to which in the progress of this narrative, we shall have occasion to advert.

The following we shall give in the Resident's own simple and comprehensive language :—" I entered on this undertaking," says he, " with sanguine expectations of success, but which were, for a long time, disappointed ; and I must own, that the natives had formed much more just opi-



nions on the subject, when they foretold the difficulties that would attend the attempt, which few of them thought could be overcome, but by the Company's making a conquest of the country.\*

“ I conceived that reason and feeling would effect the relinquishment of a barbarous custom, unconnected with the principles of society; and which all the passions of the human mind, and all the forms and maxims of religion, were combined to destroy. As it was evident, also, that the most disinterested humanity had led the Honourable Company to interfere for the abolition of female infanticide; I conceived, that this reflection, and the respect, due to their mediation, would have disposed the Jahrejahs to comply with a request, which it was scarcely to be supposed would

\* The connection between the Company's government and Guzerat, originates in our alliance with the Pashwa and Guicawar, who possess the sovereignty over that country. Between the Company's government and Kutch, there merely subsists a good understanding without any positive alliance.

be at variance with their own sentiments. But sentiments of nature and humanity have no influence on the Jahrejahs ; and I was soon, however reluctantly, obliged to relinquish the favourable expectations I had formed of success.

“ The difficulties were many and formidable. I had been several years in habits of friendly correspondence with Jehajee, the chief of Moorbee, and he had continually expressed a strong desire to cultivate the favour of the English government. The artifices of this chief and his Vakeel, who resided in camp, deceived and amused me, for some time, with promises, which proved fallacious. I availed myself of the agency and influence of Soonderjee Sewajee, after his arrival in camp, but with no better success.

“ At last, Jehajee transmitted a paper, in which he offered to accede to my wishes, by preserving his daughter, provided I would reduce Mallia, and restore the village of Hūralla, of which he had been de-



prived by the Guicawar government. The possession of this paper, I considered of importance, as it discovered the selfish and mercenary motives that attached the Jahrejahs to infanticide.” \*

When the passage, now quoted, was written, the veil of illusion, which the Resident's benevolence had spread over the character of the Jahrejahs, had been rent asunder; and this was no inconsiderable step in the progress of his enterprise. As a cause cannot operate beyond the measure of its native energy, nor a force act in a different direction from what it has received: so the power applied to overcome a resistance, which inhered in the character of the Jahrejahs, would have been exerted in vain in any other direction. The forester, whose object it is to level the oak, which has gathered strength amid the tempests of ages, does not hope to accomplish his aim, by the destruction of some of the

\* Report, par. 220—227.

branches. To effect the moral improvement of ourselves, or others, we must labour to ascertain the true nature and extent of the evil to be counteracted, amid the varying and evanescent forms, which it frequently assumes.

The Jahrejahs had been imagined to be a simple people, to whom nature would not lift her voice unheeded; a people, whose moral delinquencies were to be ascribed to their prejudices, and their prejudices to their ignorance. But the fact turned out to be this, that the deep-rooted depravity of human nature, of which all are equally partakers, had in their case gathered peculiar strength in one direction, and finished off a character, in many respects revolting, by giving paramount prominence to whatever is mean, mercenary, and selfish.

With a wise moral physician, it will never be deemed a good general maxim, to counteract one evil by cherishing another. Sometimes, however, where the authority of divine revelation is unknown, nothing



more can be accomplished; and the only choice then left, is that between two evils. It was on this principle, accordingly, that the moralists of ancient Greece and Rome generally proceeded.

The avarice of the Jahrejahs, which was so powerful as to stop the ear against the most tender pleadings of nature, may well be supposed incapable of increase. Yet were it successfully employed, (supposing it afterwards to continue in all its strength,) in the abolition of female infanticide, it was unquestionably rendered the instrument of good. But the exercise of parental affection, involved in the relinquishment of this shocking practice, is evidently hostile to that disgusting excess, to which avarice and selfishness had been carried by the Jahrejahs; so that, whilst the claims of nature were allowed, the foundation was laid, to a certain extent, at least, for general humanization of character. If this be not all that we might desire, it is certainly all that, in the circumstances of the case, could be

accomplished, and more than could be fairly expected.

Having discovered, that the shocking practice of infanticide owed its continuance, much more to the base principle of avarice, than to any other cause; and being prepared, as far as the nature of the case would admit, to render that principle subservient to his designs; the Resident certainly beheld the prospect brightening on his view. If the authority of religion, or the prejudices of cast, should be pleaded at all, it was evident, from the offer of Jehajee, that they would present but a minor, and by no means an irresistible force. It was soon ascertained, indeed, that the principles of their religion were hostile to the practice: and, as to cast, it is well known, in India, to present a far less formidable front than is generally imagined in Europe.

In connection with turning the principle of avarice to advantage, the influence of example was wanted; and of example the power will always be proportioned to the



respectability of character, whence it proceeds. With savages and children, its force supersedes, and triumphs over argumentation ; and, according as men rise from this state, till they reach that, in which, resting upon the light of their own minds, they decide for themselves ; its authority will become, more or less, a principle of action. When it is remembered, that there was an age, in which philosophy consisted in uttering dark and dogmatic sayings, which it would have been profanity for vulgar minds to question, or discuss ; when it is recollected, that the disciples of Pythagoras, after listening in silence to his lessons for years, presumed not, at length, to soar higher into the regions of independent thought, than by alleging the authority of their master, in support of their argument ; we shall see no cause for wondering that the savages of Africa,\* and the half civiliz-

\* See the Sixth Report of the African Institution, p. 115.

ed Jahrejahs of Kutch and Guzerat, bowed so submissively to the authority of example.

The negative sort of promises to relinquish female infanticide, which were, at first, with difficulty, procured, were always clogged with the stipulated condition, that the example should be first set by some nominated chief. It became of prime importance, therefore, to gain over to the interests of humanity, some person, whose respectability and authority were most extensively acknowledged.

The Resident was aware, that, to procure the example, in the first instance, from a person, connected with his own camp, and dependent on himself and the Company's Government, might prove prejudicial, instead of subservient to his design. With these impressions, accordingly, he turned his thoughts to the Rao Saheb, Rajah of Kutch, who was head of the senior family of the Jahrejahs, and whose character and



condition seemed, if he could be gained over, to promise the desired success.

Still more effectually to secure his object, Colonel Walker addressed himself to Fatteh Mahomed, whose authority, he had then reason to believe, was paramount in the country. Besides the authority, also, of which he was supposed to be possessed, this person seemed, from apparent circumstances, to be in every other respect, fitted for being the willing and efficient instrument of the benevolent design. Being a zealous Mahomedan, the crime of infanticide was incompatible with the principles of his religion, as well as repugnant to the dictates of nature; and, had his power been as extensive, as it was then imagined, disappointment could not have been reasonably anticipated.

Regarding the matter, accordingly, in that light, which was favoured by every circumstance and fact, that had come to his knowledge; the Colonel addressed, in writing, to the Jamadar, Fatteh Mahomed,

every argument and motive, from reason, religion, the feelings of nature, and even the principles of self-interest, which might be supposed to influence his conduct. He wrote, also, a short letter to Rao Saheb, referring him, at the same time, to the more copious one addressed to the Jamadar.\*

But how common is disappointment, even in cases where there does not appear to be "a loop to hang a doubt upon!"—Colonel Walker afterwards found, that he had been mistaken, in regard both of the character and influence of the Jamadar. Raised from an humble occupation, he was extremely illiterate; and, instead of possessing paramount authority in Kutch, his compliance with the humour of the people was necessary to his retaining the situation which he held, and the semblance alone of power, with which it was adorned.

In such circumstances, little reliance was to be placed upon his exertions, and

\* For these letters, see the Appendix, No. I.



little good was to be hoped from his influence. But the Jamadar's real character and condition were not known to the Resident, when, in answer to his application, he received a letter containing a long, inflated, and furious defence of infanticide, in which are particularly pleaded the antiquity and inviolability of the practice. This coarse document, of which a complete copy will be found in the Appendix, concludes thus :—"God is the Giver, and God is the Taker away. If any one's affairs go to ruin, he must attribute his fortune to God.—No one has till this day wantonly quarrelled with this Durbar,\* who has not in the end suffered loss.—This Durbar wishes no one ill; nor has ever wantonly quarrelled with any one.—Every thing that may happen is from God.—I bow obedient.—Do not again address me on this subject."—

It was not till a considerable time after-

\* Durbar—the door of admittance—the hall of audience—a Rajah's palace—the Government House, &c.

wards, when Fatteh Mahomed wrote in answer to another application of the Resident, of which we shall, in its place, notice the occasion and the nature; that the cause of the apparent indifference and real inefficiency of the Jamadar was ascertained. In that communication, he says, "It is not proper for me to say any thing on the subject to the Jahrejahs; and it would not have effect, nor ever will."

This acknowledgment is sufficiently unequivocal; and the full extent of its import, was afterwards illustrated by a conversation, which the Colonel had with an agent of Fatteh Mahomed. It appears that the precarious circumstances, in which he is placed, render it necessary for him to be cautious and conciliatory, in his intercourse with the Jahrejahs. Even the semblance of power, which he possesses, is connected with many humiliating and degrading circumstances. Whenever he sits on the *Gaudee*, or throne, he must have a young Jahrejah in his arms. It was not



till lately, when wounded by an assassin, that he received, as a mark of kindness from Rao Saheb, permission to use a palanquin;\* and, when in camp, he is not allowed to sleep on a cot, which the Jahrejahs claim as an unalienable privilege. As to the practice of infanticide, the Jamadar neither commits nor justifies it; and the letters, addressed nominally from him to Colonel Walker, were written under the influence of the Jahrejahs by a Nagur Brahmin.†—Whatever, therefore, may be the Jamadar's culpability and demerit in other respects, he must be acquitted in a case, in which he was, from necessity, the passive instrument of others.

Leaving, however, for the present, the farther consideration of Fattah Mahomed's character and condition; let us turn to the

\* The liberty of using a palanquin is the gift of a sovereign to a subject, and is generally accompanied with a pension to defray the expense. In this respect it is analogous to some of the honourable distinctions in Europe.

† Report, note to par. 276.

effect, which his communication was calculated to produce on the Resident's mind. The influence of high example was absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of his generous design ; that example he had solicited from a quarter, whence it could not fail of efficiency ; and in circumstances, in which disappointment could scarcely be anticipated. If he did not succeed in this case, where could he again apply with greater, or even with equal probability of gaining his object ?—Nothing could be more pointedly discouraging than the Jamadar's language, in reference to the subject. It was insinuated that the application itself must have been intended as the ground of a quarrel, and that its repetition would be considered as the signal for a rupture. “ No one,” it is said, “ has till this day, *wantonly* quarrelled with this Durbar, who has not in the end suffered loss.” And the letter concludes with these significant words : “ Do not again address me on this subject.”



Had Colonel Walker terminated here all his exertions in the cause of abolition; had he transmitted to Government, and published to the world, all the papers connected with the subject; and on them grounded the conviction, that every future attempt, like the past, must prove fruitless unless the existing powers were crushed by an overwhelming force; Government, we imagine, and the public, would have acquiesced in the justice of the conclusion, and applauded the wisdom of his attempts, whilst they would have numbered the execution of them among the things that had been proved to be impossible.

But let not the man, who has the improvement of his species at heart, be easily discouraged; nor let him rashly apply the epithet impossible, to that, which is only difficult. Let him learn from the details, now to be presented, that few things are impossible to perseverance, directed by wisdom.

While the attempts, of which the nature

and issue have been related, were making with Rao Saheb, and Fattedh Mahomed, the Resident was assiduous, in his endeavours, to attach to his interests, Jehajee, the chief of Moorbee. With the character of this Rajah the reader is not entirely unacquainted. He was the first, whose good offices had been solicited towards the abolition of this outrage on humanity; and, independently of other considerations, that alone rendered his concurrence important.

This chief had himself destroyed two infant daughters.\* Jehajee had continually expressed a desire of cultivating the favour of the English Government; and we have no reason to doubt his sincerity, where his interest was so deeply concerned. This the Resident naturally considered as a propitious circumstance. For a time, this Rajah, by means of Sunderjee Sewajee,†

\* Report, par. 247.

† Sunderjee Sewajee was a merchant at Manduvie, in Kutch, and had a contract for supplying the Company's cavalry with horses. Both by cast and educa-



who resided in the Colonel's camp, amused him with fallacious promises, which he never intended to fulfil. By interested motives, however, Jehajee was at length induced to transmit a paper of considerable importance, to which we have already alluded; and which throws great light upon the cause, to which infanticide owed its continuance.\* In all communications on the subject, however, he discovered a disgusting combination of apathy and selfishness, and a desire to sell, at the highest price he could obtain, every concession which he made to humanity.

Colonel Walker, knowing the importance of Sunderjee's good offices with this interested chief, and desirous to revive the reality, along with the appearance of

tion, he was hostile to infanticide; and, being universally respected, as well as known in Kattywar, his agency was deemed of importance to the Resident's object.

\* This document, as well as all the correspondence with the chiefs on the subject, will be found in the Appendix, No. I.

natural affection, insisted through him, that "the relinquishment of the custom of infanticide should be unconditional. It must be clear," adds the Resident, writing to Sunderjee Sewajee, "it must be clear and from the heart. The advantages to the Rajah would be many, besides those arising from humanity, from religion, and from the natural affection of parents to children. It will ensure him the friendship and favour of the Company's government. The Thakur must not expect the friendship of the Company, if he continues this practice, and nothing will be ceded, on this point, to induce him."\*

In the correspondence originating in this subject, † Sunderjee writes, that Jehajee had assembled his mother and brethren to deliberate on the proposed relinquishment of infanticide, and that, of this council the result was an agreement to abandon the practice, "according to the

\* Report, Appendix, No. 3.

† September 1807.



conditions, to which Rao Saheb of Kutch, and Jam, may agree.”—It is immediately added: “Before them, nothing will be concluded.”—In a few days the application was made to Rao Saheb, and in about a month after \* was found to be hopeless.

In this state of things, Sewajee promised to use his endeavours with Jehajee; but did not flatter the Colonel with hopes of success. He stated it, indeed, as his decided opinion, that nothing but open force would avail. “If the relinquishment of infanticide,” says he, “is a question assuredly to be effected, by the Company, its accomplishment must be effected by force, which would be but advisable, and proper. But, in future, whatever is your pleasure, I am your servant.” †

The receipt of Fattah Mahomed’s communication, about the end of October fol-

\* The letter of Fattah Mahomed is dated 21st Oct. 1807.

+ Dated 26th Sept. 1807. Report, Appendix, No. 16.

lowing, rendered the prospect of success more distant than ever. Every effort was, for a time, followed by the discovery of new difficulties, and the multiplication of obstructions.

In this critical and discouraging state of things, an expedient occurred to the Resident, which could not fail to flatter him with the hope of success.

The Chief of Moorbee's mother was a woman of distinguished reputation for talents, benevolence, prudence, and propriety of conduct; and her influence over her son was known to be great. It was considered, also, that she must be aware of the importance of the Company's favour to Jehajee, in the present embarrassed state of his affairs. In connection with her wisdom, benevolence, and influence over the Rajah, was to be remembered the sympathetic tenderness of her sex.

What mind is there, so little sanguine, but would, in such a case, have delighted itself with remembering instances, in which



the ardent and unextinguishable zeal of female character has been displayed, especially where the softer affections have been powerfully touched?—instances in which, fertile of expedients, it has extricated itself from a labyrinth of seeming difficulties, and braved danger and death in all their varying and hideous aspects, till the acquisition of its object, has crowned its labours with triumph. Nor are we to limit the prospect, opened up by this expedient, to the mere personal exertions of an individual. It was natural to imagine the impulse given from the commanding situation, occupied by this distinguished lady, universally spreading, till every individual female bosom had been inspired with the same enthusiasm, in the sacred cause of natural feeling and parental tenderness.

It would not fail to be suggested to them—and if it did, yet they could not but remember—that, had this shocking practice been observed by the tribes to which they owed their existence, they could not have

been now wives and mothers. How too, must these thoughts have gathered the strength of unalterable resolutions, at the recollection of the pangs, which they themselves endured, when their helpless and unpitied babes were barbarously butchered at their birth? Being themselves embarked in the cause, we imagine the soft and endearing persuasion, by which they influence their husbands. They cannot fail to urge the motives derived from parental feeling and domestic happiness; and as an argument, which also might be suggested, though of much inferior weight,—the countenance and favour, which they might anticipate from the Company's government.

How far these anticipations would have been well founded, will immediately appear. Colonel Walker addressed to the Jahrejah's mother, those motives and arguments, which were most likely to touch her feelings, and influence her conduct. The fame of her own talents and virtues, he did not



fail to notice. He stated the wish of the Company to abolish a practice, so abhorrent from human nature; and referred to the opposite conduct, observed by her own parents, and in consequence of which, she then lived and was a mother. "Should you not do as I request," he adds, "what answer can you return to your God?—Should you fully consider this business, you will perfectly observe the impropriety of it. Should other casts do as the Jahrejahs, how could the Jahrejah race exist?—What more can I write?"—\*

The immediate effect of this appeal to wives and mothers, was calculated to console the Resident for the many disappointments, which he had hitherto experienced in the cause. "My overtures to this lady," says he, "were at first received with the feelings natural to her sex; and she seemed disposed, with the rest of the women, (of Jehajee's family,) who held several

\* Report. Appendix, No. 10.

consultations together on the subject, to unite their influence for the abolition of infanticide.”\*

Painful as is the recital, however, truth requires us to add, that these cheering prospects were momentary and evanescent. The ebullitions of genuine nature soon subsided. The women, it appears, had proposed the abolition; the Jahrejahs immediately took the alarm; and, to be brief, the women themselves became advocates for what was deemed “the ancient privilege of the cast!”

It is painful to dwell on the contemplations, which these facts suggest to the mind. It is very painful to contemplate woman, to whom we look for every thing gentle and endearing, from whom we expect, and generally experience, the solace of our cares, incentives to benevolent exertion, and comfort in distress;—it is very painful to behold her espouse and advocate a ferocity,

\* Report, par. 240.



unknown to the beasts, that prowl in the desert. Yet whilst we must condemn, let the sentence be dictated by justice and discernment. In pronouncing upon an act, let us attend to the principle and the motive, whence it proceeded. Was the ferocity, which appeared in these women, on this occasion, habitual, and what they felt pleasure in cherishing?

It confessedly was not; for their first and spontaneous feeling was expressive of an eager concurrence in the benevolent object of the Resident. Nay, more; they did not allow the sentiment to remain inactive, in their own bosoms; but proceeded to give it all the efficiency, which their persuasion and entreaty could command.—But then, they soon relapsed into sentiments of the most inhuman and ruthless apathy.—Take it even according to this statement, (although a distinction should be made between sentiment and prudential compliance,) let it be considered in what this sudden and unamiable change originated. It

was in deference to their husbands; it was in a desire to allay the alarm, which, they perceived, they had excited; it was in diffidence of themselves, and, (imagining their efforts would be fruitless,) an aversion from disputing with those, whom they considered it their duty and their honour to obey.

Such, at least, were their views of the matter; for, according to the notions of the East, and, without limiting the remark to Guzerat, or even to Hindustan, it is held; that the obedience of a wife to her husband should be unlimited and implicit. The reader will be aware of the difference between the statement, and the justification, of a sentiment. It is here mentioned as a mere matter of fact, to account for a disappointment, which Colonel Walker must have felt severely at the time.

The abolition of female infanticide had now, for a time, continued to be "the daily subject of letters, messages, and con-



ferences." \* Yet not only had no certain advantage been gained from the exertions that had been made, but even circumstances, which had lately seemed propitious and promising, now wore a discouraging aspect. What might, in loose language, be called the friendship of Jehajee, certainly promised something, and the importance to him of the Resident's favour, still more. The Vakeel, Sewajee, might be indifferent to the tender sympathies of nature; yet, in the same proportion, we should suppose him alive to his own interests; and these were evidently connected with his subserviency in promoting the cause of abolition. In addition to all these considerations, much was to be expected from the interposing influence of the women. From the Rajah, however, the utmost concession, that could be obtained, at the very time that he was soliciting Colonel Walker's good offices, in regard of pecuniary arrangements, was a

\* Report, par. 235.

promise to abandon infanticide, on the almost hopeless condition, that the example were first given by Jam Sahob.\*

Sewajee, indeed, promised his services, but despaired of their success. And the mother of the Rajah, to whom it was so natural to look with hope, even whilst she petitioned the Resident to use his good offices, in retrieving the embarrassed affairs of her son, requested that he might be excused, as to the abandonment of infanticide, for which she pleaded the antiquity of the practice, and, for farther particulars, referred to the letter of Jehajee himself.†

Excited by Colonel Walker, however,

\* Jam is an appellation peculiar to the chiefs of Nawanuggur, or of Hallaun, which is the name of the territory under their jurisdiction. It is a title which has descended from their ancestors. The word is susceptible of two interpretations: 1st, Jam is a Sanscrit word, signifying "fixed," and, in this sense, is supposed to allude to the permanent situation of the Hindu sovereigns, after the dispersion of the Koehutree. 2d, Others derive Jam from Jamshed, a famous hero, and King of Persia.

† Report, Appendix, No. 11—13.



Sewajee was induced to continue his endeavours with the Rajah, although he was perpetually expressing his despair of success.\* In one of his letters, he suggests the propriety of using coercive measures, as those which alone would prove successful, and recourse to which was justified by the nature of the case. The opinion of Sewajee was so far from being peculiar to himself, that it seemed to have been generally held by the natives. But surely it is unnecessary to add, that, to butcher a number of fellow-creatures, in order to inspire and imbue men with the feelings of human nature, was too preposterous in the eyes of the Resident, to admit of a moment's consideration.

\* Report, Appendix, No. 14—16.

## CHAPTER NINTH.

*Progress of the Narrative—Colonel Walker's success—Universal engagement of the Jahrejahs of Guzerat to relinquish Infanticide.*

**T**HE narrative has now been brought down to near the end of September 1807, and the horizon seems still to lower, instead of brightening on the eye of hope. No chief, however needy and dependent, had hitherto promised compliance with the solicitations of the Resident. Even an interested Vakeel, whose selfishness induced the promise of subserviency, had not dared to flatter with a single hope of success, except by the adoption of means, which were utterly incompatible with benevolence, as well as with the principles of justice and sound policy.



Whatever might be the aspect of things, however, in the eyes of unreflecting men ; a powerful, though latent, cause, had now begun to operate. This was no other than that attention to the subject of female infanticide, to which the Resident's persevering efforts had given rise. Hitherto the Jahrejahs had acted as their fathers had done ; and, among a people unaccustomed to argumentation and discussion, nothing can be a more secure defence of any error, folly, or vice, than the ability to plead its antiquity. Besides its antiquity, also, they had been accustomed to associate the practice of infanticide with those false ideas of pre-eminence, by which they conceived themselves exalted above other tribes. And it is possible to imagine the additional weight thrown into the scale, by supposed self-interest, without having recourse to the peculiar notions of the Jahrejahs.

When we consider the power of habit, and the influence of traditionary customs and maxims, among the most enlightened

and enquiring people, we should not greatly wonder at the tenacity, with which they were maintained by a rude and half-civilized tribe ; to whom enquiry is unknown, and who are prone to regard whatever is ancient, as hallowed by time, and the wisdom of their forefathers.

Now, however, doubts had been thrown out on the subject. It had been suggested, that, what they had hitherto considered a just cause of pride and pre-eminence, should be regarded as a ground of real degradation, and merited opprobrium ; and that, instead of being exalted above others, by the systematic murder of their own female offspring, they had rendered themselves unworthy of the name and the privileges of men.

Among the marked characteristics of men in their condition of society, suspicion ever holds a distinguished place. However little accustomed they may be to enquire on other subjects, whenever what they consider to be an innovation is proposed, they



immediately suspect the innovators to be actuated by that selfishness, of which they feel the operation to be powerful in themselves. The slightest probabilities are magnified into competent and conclusive evidence, for what they are previously disposed to believe. Here, then, their attention would be sufficiently scrutinizing and vigilant.

“What advantage,” they would say, “can the East India Company derive from the abolition of infanticide? What benefit will it confer on the Governor-general? And especially, what good can result from it to Colonel Walker, the Resident? Of the Company’s motives, and those of the Governor-general, we may not be so competent to judge; but how the abolition of this practice is to benefit the Resident, is utterly inconceivable! How has he acted to us, in other respects? It was by him that our revenue system has been arranged in its present order. It was in consequence of this, that we are relieved from the most

oppressive exactions, and that our whole condition is so much ameliorated. Now, from all this, he certainly derives no additional emolument :—nothing but labour and anxiety.

“ It is true, we have never previously known any character of this kind ; and cannot very readily admit the idea of a man, a powerful Thakur, more mighty, in many respects, than even our own Rajahs, giving himself so much trouble for nothing ; yet if he has any secret, and selfish motive, he must be very dextrous in concealing it. For a man to take so much trouble, for the mere pleasure of doing us good, we must admit to be sufficiently strange, and sufficiently simple. Yet, strange and simple as it does seem, it appears, in this instance, to be the case. But still, if it were the fact, that he were to gain something, (although we cannot conceive how,) by inducing us to save our daughters ; it is possible that it may, at the same time, prove advantageous to ourselves. Of this, at least,



we are certain, that every project, which he has hitherto carried into effect, has been clearly, and greatly, for our benefit. He professes to be our friend: and as yet, we must allow, that we have always found him such.” \*

\* Since writing the above, I have met with a very sensible paper, the writer of which had been a considerable time resident in India, and the coincidence of whose remarks, founded in observation, with the reasoning, which the subject suggested to my mind, afforded me considerable gratification. The object of the writer is to defend the Anglo-Indian ladies against the attack made on them by Maria Graham: and, in so far as any thing of mine may acquire publicity, I should be happy that it promoted the interests of truth, justice, and Christian charity, by which the author alluded to, seems to be animated. It must be highly gratifying to every well-disposed and pious mind, to learn, on very satisfactory evidence, that many ladies in India adorn the profession of the gospel, with those good works, which are the best evidence of true faith.

“ In my humble opinion,” says the writer, “ founded upon opportunities of personal observation, amiable female characters among the British peculiarly impress the minds of the natives of India with high respect towards our nation; for, to all that is praise-worthy and superior in the other sex, they are prepared to impute more or less sinister motives. They do, indeed, perceive that European gentlemen possess more persever-

Without imagining the Jahrejahs to reason very closely or philosophically on the subject, we may yet suppose, such ideas as these, to have passed through their minds; ideas, which were unavoidably suggested by the amelioration of their circumstances, and the daily incidents and intercourse of life. It is impossible to develop the various considerations, which influenced their minds, and the accumulating energy, which

ing purpose and activity of mind than themselves; but they will suspect that some latent self-interest must sway their most laudable conduct. Not, alas! being capacitated to trace the influence of pure religion, they naturally suppose, that love of money or fear of punishment, are, in the minds of our countrymen, the two master impulses, which stimulate to good, or restrain from evil. But to purity and excellence in our females, they can impute no such motives. Ladies are engaged in no money transactions; and, however they may act, 'no suspension' from the service, no reprimand of Government, or ——— hangs in *terrorem* over them. Even are they uninfluenced by all degrading fear of their own husbands! How, then, do the wondering natives see them use their Christian liberty, and not abuse it? It is in a manner, which impresses them with some perception of the TRUTH." *Christian Observer*, October 1814, p. 639.



these considerations acquired, from the time the first proposition on the subject was made, and the most stout and stubborn resistance to it offered, till the intensity of that opposition was gradually relaxed, and finally changed into compliance. This, however, we know, that the discussion of the subject among themselves was favourable to the cause of humanity, which the Resident had espoused. "By discussing the subject," says the Colonel, "frequently in the public Kutchery,\* and exposing the enormity of the practice, as contrary to the precepts of religion and the dictates of nature, every cast came to express an abhorrence of infanticide, and the inveterate prejudices of the Jahrejahs began to be shaken. The maxims and passions, which favoured infanticide, were probably, for the first time, canvassed and censured with freedom. The progress of this system was slow; but it was insensibly

\* Court of Justice.

spreading its influence, and became a subject of universal conversation. The novelty of the attempt, and the extraordinary nature of the subject, also attracted general attention.\*

For nearly a month † we have no written communication from Jehajee, or his Vakeel, on the subject of infanticide. In the mean time, however, the cause of humanity was gaining strength; and the Rajah at length transmitted a note to Colonel Walker, expressive of less resistance, than formerly; and though still requiring, that the first example should be given by others, yet willing to relax in the particularity of the persons, whose example should be followed.

The whole of the note referred to, is as follows: "From motives of friendship, the Honourable Company are urging me to preserve my daughters. To this I agree, if

\* Report, par. 244—246.

† From 26th September till 21st October.



the Nowanaggur and Gondal Wallas agree. If they do not preserve them, I will not do it." \*

" This," says Colonel Walker, " was the first considerable step towards the attainment of this great object ; and the writing appeared to reduce the question to a kind of point of honour, or respect for antiquity, in setting the example of sanctioning an innovation on a general habit." †

In the letter and form, this offer differs from those, which the Resident had previously received from the Rajah, only in the nomination of the chiefs, whose example was required. But, in the present instance, this difference was virtually equivalent to that between a negative, and an affirmative answer.

This short, but important note, was the result of previous and mutual agreement. In the communications, which took place, on this subject, we are told, that Jehajee

\* Report, Appendix, No. 17.

† Report, par. 249.

proposed the insertion of the names of the Rao of Kutch, and Jam of Nowanaggur; but, aware that this was promising almost nothing, the Resident positively refused the paper, unless it contained the name of Dewajee of Gondal.\* Jehajee's concurrence with the Resident's request was considered as an indication of a more favourable disposition, and that his reluctance to abandon infanticide had, at all events, ceased to be extreme.

In this state of things, the detachment, commanded by Colonel Walker, in the course of their operations, had occasion to traverse the country, which regarded Jam as its chief, and, in a short time, arrived at Kundorna. The circumstances were favourable to the Colonel's project; and the reader may imagine with what eagerness and delight, every such opportunity would be improved for the promotion of the great cause.

\* Report, par. 251.



Besides the obvious advantage, afforded by this station, for communicating with Jam; there was another of an incidental nature, not less propitious to the great design. Wassonjee Eswurjee, Vakeel of the Gondal chief, (who, it will be recollected, was the other chief, whose example was required by Jehajee,) then resided in camp. Thus the Resident had many opportunities of conversing with him, on the subject, in which he felt such deep interest; and of urging the employment of his good offices with his chief. The Vakeel was a respectable Brahmin, of good understanding and moral sensibility. The application was not in vain. He was easily induced, we are told, to unite his influence with that of the Resident, in order to prevail on his master to enter into a formal obligation, to abolish infanticide.

While every thing was thus brightening on the view, the transaction of affairs, connected with the revenue, required the presence of Wassonjee at Gondal. Previous-

ly to his departure, however, he privately gave the Resident assurances, in which the latter thought, he might safely confide, that he should return with authority from his master, to enter into any engagement, that should be deemed necessary, for the abolition of infanticide, in that district of country, in which his power was acknowledged.

As formerly, one difficulty and discouragement seemed merely to prepare the way for others; and to crowd in such close succession, as might well fill the most sanguine mind with despondency; so now, the time appeared to be equally prolific of propitious events. Among his coadjutors, in this important moral enterprise, the Resident mentions, with peculiar regard and gratitude, Wittol Row Dewajee, commander of the Guicawar army. "It is with great pleasure," says he, "that I mention his cordial and zealous assistance, in this and every endeavour for suppressing infanticide."—"This officer," he adds, "with the peculiar ardour of his character, em-



braced every occasion of exposing the enormity of the crime ; and of promoting, by his arguments and influence, a detestation of the practice." \*

While relating this gratifying incident, we left Wassonjee on his mission to the chief of Gondal ; and the reader is, no doubt, now looking with impatience for his return. In due time, he was again in the camp. He began by expressing the reluctance of his master at being the first to give an example, which might expose him to the reproach of his cast.—But why protract the suspense of the benevolent mind ? and it is to the benevolent alone that suspense will, in this case, be painful.

The Vakeel's relation of what had passed on the subject, ended in his executing, on the part of his master, a deed of the most solemn, effectual, and binding nature, by which is, RENOUNCED, FOR EVER, THE PRACTICE OF INFANTICIDE.

\* Report, par. 260.

The mind that has felt interested by the preceding narrative will now be relieved from the suspense; and from the alternations of hope and fear, which a general knowledge of the issue could not entirely remove, and, uniting curiosity with calmness of reflection, will be in a state favourable to the perusal of the document now noticed, of which a copy will be found in the Appendix.\*

Thus far, then, after many misgivings of heart, and evil forebodings, we have arrived within view of our destined object. Filled with admiration and delight, we are disposed to pour forth our thanks and congratulations, to the ardent and persevering friend of humanity, from the success of whose labours, our pleasure is derived.

The indulgence, however, of a disposition, so grateful to our feelings, we must be contented, for a little, to suspend. Pleasing and important as are the advantages already gained; we must not hope to contemplate their completion, till we have at-

\* See Appendix, No. 2.



tended Colonel Walker through the unexpected mortifications, disappointments and opposition, which yet await him.

Of the two chiefs, whose example was required by Jehajee, as the condition of his relinquishment of infanticide ; there still remained one, whose concurrence had not been obtained. That chief was Jam Jussajee. His conduct affords a striking instance of the trouble and vexation, with which the weak and unworthy may sometimes encumber the accomplishment of great designs.

His character was marked by whatever is disgusting and degrading. Arrogance and meanness, cruelty and cowardice, abject submission and treacherous intention, insolence and timidity, are kindred qualities, whose union was eminently displayed in the conduct of this chief.

The deed of relinquishment, executed by the Vakeel, Wassonjee, had not yet received the signature of the Gondal chief. That this, however, would be obtained, there ap-

peared to be no rational cause to doubt ; and upon the faith of it all the Jahrejah chiefs, in that district, with the single exception of Jam, declared their ready and cordial concurrence. But now that it appeared probable, that the cause of feeling and of nature would speedily triumph over all opposition ; not only had he recourse to every subterfuge and artifice, to evade the obligation himself ; but, by messengers and letters, he used every effort to dissuade Dewajee of Gondal from giving validity to the instrument of abolition. But, in the turpitude of character, which he expected to find, or create in Dewajee, he was happily disappointed. The deed received his ratification, and, immediately after, that of the other chiefs.

Shame is seldom felt poignantly, where the cause for it is great. It implies the existence of virtuous sentiment, whatever be the aberrations of actual conduct. So feeble was its influence on Jam, however, that he found himself perfectly competent



to pursue his craft, and selfishness in all the forms, in which they still appeared practicable. Perceiving his designs upon Dewajee to be frustrated, finding that this chief had ratified the engagement, and that the example would be immediately followed by the rest, he naturally, though reluctantly, anticipated the necessity of his own concurrence.

Although, however, it now became impossible to avoid altogether his concurrence in the deed of relinquishment; he imagined, that, by a little dexterity, invigorated by a due proportion of effrontery; he might procure such a modification of his engagement, as would leave himself personally, little, if at all, affected by it. Fully furnished, accordingly, with all the mean and base qualities, requisite on the occasion, he “proposed, that neither himself, nor his own offspring, should be included in the engagement, but that he should bind himself for his relations, and their offspring, only to renounce infanticide.”

Colonel Walker was aware, however, from the beginning, that any species of modification might prove fatal to his object. At a time when his hopes were most faint, at a time when we should not have accused him of want of perseverance, though he had for ever abandoned his generous project, and, at a time, therefore, when the temptation to concession was great; Jehajee promised the relinquishment of infanticide, on condition of receiving certain valuable considerations, which he specified. But even then the Resident resisted the proposal; and while he gave assurances of general friendship, both on his own part, and that of the Company's Government; he pointedly refused any thing direct and stipulated. It was not to be expected, therefore, that what had been formerly so strenuously resisted would now be conceded; and Jam was accordingly informed, that his proposal was inadmissible, as it was incompatible with the first principle in



the engagement, which was that of unqualified and unconditional relinquishment.

Now, driven from every subterfuge, he saw nothing remaining for him, but implicit concurrence. Finally, therefore, like the rest of the Jahrejahs, he affixed his signature to the deed of abolition.

The reader may naturally suppose, that, now, at least, we have done with Jam Jus-sajee ; and we shall forgive him, should he charitably imagine, that the dark shades upon his character have been laid on with too broad a pencil. We have, however, one trait still to add, and a trait, which, it is to be feared, will deepen, instead of lightening, the previous shades. It shall be given in the words of Colonel Walker : “ It is sufficient,” says he, “ to expose the unworthy motives of this chief, to mention, that, after he had agreed to the engagement for renouncing infanticide, he had the effrontery and meanness, to solicit an abatement of his revenue, in order to reimburse the expence, which, as he alleged,

he should, in future, be liable to, in consequence of bringing up his daughters.” \*

Amid the general unanimity to abolish infanticide, which now prevailed, there still remained another person of influence, from whom resistance was experienced. This was no other than Dossajee, the chief of Mallia, of whom it has been already stated, in its proper place, that he had spared a daughter. The act of mercy, it is true, did not result from the spontaneous exercise of parental feeling ; but still it originated in an amiable principle : it was a concession to the wishes of his wife. Besides this auspicious fact, there were other circumstances, which taught the Resident to place some measure of reliance on this chief. He had given direct, and repeated assurances, by his Vakeel, of his readiness, to renounce or himself, and to co-operate, in abolishing among others, the abominable practice of female infanticide. It deserves, also, to be stated, that, when the chief of

\* Report, par. 268.



Moorbee communicated the written engagement to abandon the practice, if the example were given by the Nowanaggur and Gondal Wallas ; Dossajee granted a similar writing. Contrary to the expectations, however, which these facts warranted ; when it came that he was required to sign the final and formal deed of renunciation, he used every artifice, and evasion he could contrive, to avoid, or defer compliance.

The probability is, that, at first, he considered the project of abolition to be perfectly visionary and impracticable, and the difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, altogether insurmountable. He would consider, that it was wise to conciliate the friendship of Colonel Walker, when he could do it by promises, which cost him nothing, as he should never be required to fulfil them ; and that, on the same principle, it would be folly to hesitate, in granting a written engagement, similar to that of Jehajee, since neither the

one nor the other should ever be required to do any thing more.—It would appear that Jehajee was aware of the consequences of nominating the Gondal chief, as an example; otherwise he never would have hesitated, when his name was proposed. Dossajee, on the other hand, less acquainted with his principles and character, did not hesitate in promising to follow the example, because he never imagined it would be given.

The case, now, however, was become a very plain one. Dossajee stood engaged, both by word and writing, to act in conformity to a certain specified example: that example had been already given, and had likewise obtained universal imitation; farther delay on his part, therefore, which must finally prove fruitless, he now perceived to be idle; and he accordingly subscribed a deed of the same nature with that, which had obtained the signatures of the other chiefs. \*

\* Dossajee, the Jahrejah chief of Mallia, was one of



We now behold the completion of Colonel Walker's successful labours in the abolition of infanticide, throughout the pe-

the most unprincipled and profligate of his tribe. The depredations and robberies, which were committed under his authority, obliged the Company, at a subsequent period, in the year 1809, to send a force against him, under the command of Colonel Walker. His fort of Mallia was, accordingly, attacked; and, after a practicable breach had been effected, was carried by assault; but not until every expedient and argument had been previously exhausted, to induce the chieftain to submit, and refrain from depredations.

The following is an extract of the orders issued by Colonel Walker, on that occasion; and which will explain the extent of the mischief and pillage, which, for many years, these robbers had been in the habit of committing:

“ Camp at Mallia, 8th July, 1809.

“ The necessity, to which the obstinacy of the people of Mallia had reduced the commanding officer of attempting the place by storm, has imposed upon him the obligation of paying that tribute of gratitude to the detachment, which is so eminently due to their zeal, energy, and exertion. By the conspicuous exercise of those qualities, so nobly displayed in the proceedings before the fort, and the subsequent storm, a numerous and desperate gang of robbers, has been rooted out from the country, and a considerable portion of their numbers annihilated, who, for nearly a century past,

ninsula of Guzerat. In that country nothing was wanting to render the triumph of humanity perfect. The Resident had ob-

have plundered and laid waste the surrounding territory, and hitherto defied all efforts for their subjugation.

“ The devastated extent of country, through which the troops have marched, is a sufficient evidence of their depredations ; but this bears but a small proportion to their actual extent.

“ The extirpation of this nest of banditti has been reserved for the zeal and gallantry of British troops, and the memorable example which has been effected in the assault of yesterday, it is hoped, will have a most salutary impression on the country.

“ As the assault took place in the presence of several of the Brahmins and of the Vakeels of the chieftains of the country, a military spectacle of a column of British troops, marching in open day, to the attack of a fort, against which batteries had not long been opened, was exhibited, of which they could have entertained previously no just conception ; but which could not fail to establish, in the minds of those spectators, and throughout the country, sentiments of the highest respect and admiration. In fact, the commanding officer is well assured, that this effect was produced, in proportion to the reputation, which the desperate banditti of Mallia, had acquired, in their repeated success, in repulsing the operations of powerful native armies, and their daring defiance of every restraint of lawful authority,” &c.



tained formal written deeds, with the signatures of every man possessing any share of influence or power. "The list,"—these are the Colonel's words—"the list contains not only every chieftain of note, but every inferior Jahrejah chief, who enjoys the least share of independence, and comprises, within its obligations, every Jahrejah family, inhabiting the peninsula of Guzerat."\*

The originals of these documents are deposited in the Company's treasury at Baroda, both for security of preservation, and for facility of reference and appeal. Copies of them were, at the same time, communicated to the commander of the Guicawar army, in Kattywar, of whom honourable mention has been already made. A copy translated of the engagements of the Jahrejahs to relinquish female infanticide, is given in the Appendix, together with a list of the chiefs, whose signatures were subjoined to

\* Report, par. 272.

it. \*—The deed itself cannot fail to be perused with deep interest; whilst its contents will serve to humanize the barbarous names of those chiefs, now returned to the feelings of nature, who stand pledged for their accomplishment.

\* See Appendix, No. 2.



## CHAPTER TENTH.

*Farther endeavours to abolish Female Infanticide in Kutch—Result of those Endeavours—Reflections.*

**D**ISTINGUISHED success renders even the phlegmatic sanguine, and the timid courageous. Generally speaking, men can do what they think they can do ; and if difficulties dwindle not into insignificance, they at least, diminish in number and magnitude, in the eyes of him, who greatly desires the accomplishment of his object.—If these things be so ; how must distinguished success nerve with vigour that mind, which is stimulated to new efforts by opposition itself ; and on which, disappoint-

ment, in one quarter, has the effect of prompting new enterprise and new energy in another?

From the facts detailed in the preceding narrative, it is evident, that Colonel Walker considered the abolition of female infanticide, as a thing that could not be purchased too dearly. Till the enterprise should be fairly proved to be impracticable, he was resolved to regard it as what must be accomplished; and of its impracticability, no proof was to be admitted as fair and full, till every imaginable expedient had been attempted, and till all the influence and energy, which he could command, had been thrown into action, and the result ascertained. Instead of considering the cause as hopeless, because he had been disappointed in one attempt, or because one expedient had failed, he considered how the disappointment and failure might be turned to advantage. For contrivance and personal exertion, in all their variety, and in all their extent, were considered as well



and wisely bestowed, where the object was the re-assertion, on so large a scale, of the cause of humanity.

In Guzerat, his hopes had now been realised beyond all that he had ventured to anticipate. His designs had been ultimately carried into effect, with unimagined celerity; and he had now the happiness of regarding the cause of nature and of human feeling, as having gained a sure and final triumph. To Kutch, therefore, he now naturally turned his eye; and recent experience seemed to warrant his anticipating, with confidence, in that quarter, also, the accomplishment of his object.

It has been already noticed, that, about the end of September 1807, Colonel Walker had addressed letters to Rao Saheb, Rajah of Kutch, and to the Jamadar, Fattah Mahomed; and that the answer to them resembled all the communications on the subject, which had been then received, by being in the greatest degree discouraging. But now that his wishes, more

properly than his hopes, had been accomplished in Guzerat, the renewal of his efforts in Kutch seemed to promise a similar result.

On the 9th of January, 1808, accordingly, Colonel Walker again addressed Fattah Mahomed by letter, urging his good offices for the abolition of female infanticide, by every motive, which self-interest, humanity, and the principles of the Mahomedan faith could furnish; and while endeavouring to convince his reason, he did not fail to address the Jamadar's vanity, by referring to the fame of the great character, which he bore in the country of Kutch, for humanity and the love of justice.—“I feel,” adds the Resident, “a strong desire to write you much at length on this subject; but to the wise a hint is enough.”\*

The communication of October preceding was sufficient to secure Colonel Walker from carrying his admiration of the

\* See the whole letter in the Appendix, No. 3.



Jamadar's wisdom to any undue excess; but he was still unavoidably led to over-rate his power. To this letter we have already adverted, as well as to the political situation of Fatted Mahomed, in which that extraordinary production originated. To the Resident's last communication, an answer was received about the middle of February following, containing a great deal of similar matter.

It breathes the same spirit of Jahrejah principles, and defends the abhorrent practice of infanticide, as inviolable, on the ground of its antiquity, and the universal deference, with which it had been treated.

It had been sanctioned, it is pretended, by the lapse of five thousand years, and uniformly respected by every government, with which the Jahrejahs had been connected. Every thing in this letter exhibits the special pleading of a Jahrejah for the abominable practice of infanticide, except a reference to that principle of Islamism, which deprives men of free agency,

as well as free will, and renders them incapable of evil, as well as of good, by ascribing every event whatever to the irresistible, and irreversible decree of Heaven.—“It is the decree of Heaven—God the merciful, the King of the two worlds, be praised!—Every one is pleased with his own faith.”—

In this last clause, we find him again relapsing into the Hindu superstition, which represents it as equally rational, that men should have different religions, as that they should inhabit different countries.—“On this account,” continues the epistle, apparently of the Jamadar, but really of the Jahrejahs,—“On this account, and as the Jahrejahs are the relations and brothers of Rao Saheb, and I am an adherent of this Durbar, it is not proper for me to say any thing on the subject to the Jahrejahs, and it would not have effect, nor ever will.”

The conclusion of this paragraph discovered, what was afterwards more definitely ascertained, that the Jamadar's power, in



Kutch, had not only been over-rated, but was, in fact, almost merely nominal. \* It was found, indeed, that this letter had been dictated by Jahrejah chiefs, to whom a Brahmin acted as amanuensis ; that there was not a more dependent man in Kutch, than Fatteh Mahomed ; and that whatever hopes might be cherished of abolishing in-

\* A few sentences will be requisite to communicate just notions of the Jamadar's situation.—In some respects his power is paramount in Kutch. He holds the person of his sovereign in confinement, and exercises the government in his name ; but actually at his own discretion. The rest of the Jahrejah chiefs in Kutch submit to this usurpation ; as, in times of public disorder, they have the means of increasing their own power and consequence. Thus their privileges and the sphere of their jurisdiction are extended ; which their own sovereign, in possession of power, or at liberty to exercise it, would be disposed to curb and restrain. In this situation, however, Fatteh Mahomed holds his power only by the sufferance of the chiefs, and dares not attempt so great an innovation on the fundamental customs of the Jahrejahs, as the abolition of infanticide. His feelings, too, are, no doubt, blunted, by seeing this crime against nature, so generally committed by those, whose favour it is his interest to cultivate, and on whose pleasure, in fact, the continuance of his power depends,

fanticide in that country, little was to be expected from the Jamadar.—“It appears,” says the Resident, “that the Jah-rejah Byaud of Kutch could easily overturn the usurped authority of Fatteh Mahomed, and that they only sanction, or submit to it, in consideration that they have acquired thereby an extension of their own authority, and many illegal possessions; but it is generally understood, that, if this Jamadar attempts to deprive them of any of their privileges, or to circumscribe their unjust acquisitions, they could, without much difficulty, deprive him of his own power. Under these circumstances,” he adds, “we cannot, probably, indulge any strong hope, that the suppression of infanticide will soon be attained in Kutch, and in the actual state of affairs in that country, they may afford some apology for Fatteh Mahomed, appearing as a constrained advocate, perhaps, for the unnatural crime of infanticide.” \*

\* Report, par. 275, 276.



In a short time after the period, to which we have now referred, Colonel Walker left the country, and with deep regret we must add, without being able to extend to Kutch the blessings he had conferred on Guzerat. He left it, however, in the hope, that what he had begun would be completed by his successors. To them he communicated the lights he had acquired; and although personally absent, his mind has been ever present to the great design, receiving with characteristic interest the communications made to him on the subject, suggesting expedients, and watching over the progress, and weighing the results of every new attempt.

Of the persons, to whom this interesting and favourite object of Colonel Walker's was committed, and who entered with feeling into his views, one has gone the way whence mortals do not return.\*

\* Captain Greenwood. He died at Cambay on the 21st November, 1810, in the prime of life; and was equally deplored by his friends and the Company's Go-

The accounts transmitted to this country, since Colonel Walker's return to it, relative to the exertions to abolish infanticide in Kutch, must be allowed to be scanty and imperfect. What is communicated, however, reflects credit on the philanthropic views of the Honourable Court of Directors at home, and the benevolent efforts of their servants in India. Among the things, in the papers alluded to, which cannot fail to gratify the readers of these pages, are the well-merited encomiums passed on the labours of Colonel Walker.\*

However we may be disposed to appreciate the prospects before us, one thing, certainly pleasing, is, that the Bombay Go-

vernment. In the Indian newspapers of that year, he is spoken of in very high terms, as a gallant and enterprising officer, advancing rapidly to public eminence in his profession, and the service, in which, in recent years, he had been engaged. As a man, he was distinguished by the benevolence of his heart and the superiority of his talents, by the urbanity of his manners, and above all, by the warmth and sincerity of his friendship.

\* These papers will be found in the Appendix, No. 3.



vernment continues to take a deep interest in producing, in Kutch, the same happy effects, which are now in operation in Guzerat. Notwithstanding the discoveries made of the real situation of the Jamadar, Fatteh Mahomed, it is still thought necessary to have recourse to him, as the organ of communication with the Rajah of that country. It is by no means gratifying to add, that his writing bears, with wonderful exactness, all the characters, which we had occasion previously to notice.

In a letter from him, in the beginning of 1811,\* he admits infanticide to be a "horrid cruelty," contrary to the "doctrines of Islamism and Christianity," and also to the "religious institutions of the Hindus." He then repeats his old defence of the practice, on the ground of its antiquity, asserting it to have existed for the 5000 preceding years. He next pleads, in very peculiar phraseology, the respect, with which

\* Dated 15th January, 1811. See Appendix, No. 3.

the barbarous custom had been treated by every "Persian, or Arabian sovereign, who has flourished on earth;" and adds, "it must be accordingly inexpedient and improper in me, who have been cherished by his Highness, to discuss this subject with the Jahrejah people." In conclusion, he offers his unreserved services, on all suitable occasions, always, however, excepting from this character, the particular point in question; but regarding future correspondence on other subjects, as the "height of human felicity."

Although previous disappointment had checked the more sanguine aspirations of hope; the substance of this letter was as discouraging, as was, even in these circumstances, to be anticipated. With a man, who will fairly look an argument in the face, (if the expression be allowed,) there is reason to expect, that the cause of truth and humanity will finally prevail. But when every appeal to the understanding and the heart, and the yet more awful con-



siderations, which involve the approbation, or disapprobation of Him, who trieth the heart, and who will finally decide upon the secret thoughts, as well as the outward act, are met by mere jargon and a jingle of words, there is felt something more discouraging than decided opposition itself, where that opposition retains any thing open and candid.

There seems to be just reason for apprehending, that the Jamadar feels not the least assignable interest in the abolition of infanticide; and that, for the accomplishment of it, he would not risk the smallest chance of suffering in his individual interests. At the same time, it is evident, that he is desirous of subserving any views of the Company's Government, provided his more immediate interests remain unaffected. This unquestionable fact holds out encouragement for perseverance; and, indeed, after the difficulties already encountered and overcome in Guzerat, nothing

but demonstrated impossibility should relax the efforts of philanthropy in Kutch.

Impressed, no doubt, with such views, the Bombay Government, zealously persevere in the noble enterprise. From their late President, indeed, the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, we should naturally expect whatever wisdom and benevolence could effect; and we cannot be insensible to a species of consecrated admiration, when we contemplate this venerable man devoting his last labours to the promotion of this good cause. Towards the end of March, 1811, he addressed another letter to Fatteh Mahomed, characterised by a zeal and ardour worthy of his object.\*

Among the motives suggested for the Jamadar's consideration, Mr Duncan refers to Colonel Walker's exertions in Kattywar, and the success, with which they were crowned. And it is very gratifying to observe the terms, in which he is able to

\* See Appendix, No. 3.



mention his own labours, in the same cause, many years before, in the Zilla of Juanpore in the province of Benares, among the Rajpoot tribe of Raj-Koomars. "Since which," adds he, "the acts of these Raj-Koomars have remained unsullied with such barbarous and unnatural deeds, as the murder of their own offspring.—I inclose," he continues, "a translation of the engagement, which these Raj-Koomars, on that account, entered into, under date the 17th December 1789. And the respectable Captain Carnack, Resident at Baroda,\* will forward a transcript of the engagement to the same effect, entered into with Colonel Walker, by the Jahrejahs of Kattywar, both which writings I recommend your confidentially imparting, together with copies of my former and present letters to you on this important subject, to some of the most discreet of the headmen of that tribe in Cutch, and

\* To this Gentleman, who has succeeded Colonel Walker, it is natural to look with eager expectation.

on whom, I cannot doubt, the perusal and consideration thereof will produce a salutary effect, and awaken their feelings to a sense of the murderous habitudes, to which they and their ancestors have been thus long inured."

Of this application we have not yet learned the result. That little immediate advantage was derived from it, appears from the fact, that, up to the date of October following, it had received no answer. In the political letter from Bombay of that date, there is a reference to the continued prevalence of the practice in Kutch, with promises on the part of that Presidency to persevere in so worthy a cause, till their efforts issue in the accomplishment of their object.

It would be idle to enter more particularly into the detail of measures, which have hitherto proved inefficient. It will naturally be imagined, that they bore as near an analogy to those which were successfully adopted in Guzerat, as the circum-



stances of the case, and particularly the barbarism of the people, and the difference of the political relation of that country to the Company's government, admitted. Our influence there is no more than what may arise from a general good understanding, without any direct political connection.

But whilst we contemplate the state of Kutch with regret, we should by no means contemplate it with despair. Were we told that the abolition of infanticide, in that country, is impossible, we should regard the assertion, as one of those, which have been contradicted by experience, and as contrary to all that we know of man, and of human things. The proud and presumptuous vaunt of the Medes and Persians, that their laws were immutable, has now, for thousands of years, been enrolled on the record of human follies; and is told as one of the vanities that were. Not less unalterable did the Jahrejahs of Guzerat pronounce the horrid practice of infanticide

among themselves; and that too has yielded before wisdom and perseverance.

That the production of the same effect in Kutch is difficult, we readily admit to be evinced by experience, and by the facts, to which we have alluded. But what then?—Are we to abandon the mighty enterprise, because we cannot accomplish it, whilst lolling on the lap of indolence, and indulging the somnolency of intellect amid the shades of inglorious ease?—If such minds there be, we rejoice to say that we hold no sentiment in common with them.—We think of the name of Howard, and wonder at the almost infinite labours of an individual, from whose vocabulary the word impossible seems to have been excluded. We look to the wilds of Africa, now made glad, and pour our blessings on the heads of Wilberforce and Clarkson, whose immortalized names shall be bright for ever on the annals of philanthropy. We look to Guzerat, and to the accomplishment there, of what had been pronounced to be impos-



sible ; and, catching from all one mighty emotion, justified and inspired by fact and experience, we declare, unhesitatingly, the conviction, that the extension of the same blessing to the neighbouring country is merely delayed, that it is now in progress, and will soon be realized.

As we shall not have occasion to resume the subject, in the sequel, in so far as it regards Kutch, we may be permitted to state some of the grounds of our hope, as well as, respectfully, to suggest some hints, which may not be unworthy of the consideration of those, on whose exertions our expectations are founded.

That the abolition of female infanticide, in Kutch, is now in progress, may be inferred from what we know to have been of great importance in Guzerat, and that is, the free discussion of the subject : That which had not been questioned for ages, and which for that reason had been practised without remorse, and considered as the badge and privilege of cast, has now been

doubted and disapproved, reprobated and abandoned, by the Jahrejahs of Guzerat. Although this be not of itself sufficient to accomplish the desired object in Kutch; yet, in connection with other measures, we may calculate, as considerable, the collateral aid arising from the joint influence of free discussion and respected example.

The applicability of hints must depend upon circumstances. It is true, that, at present, we have no direct political connection with Kutch, and our influence therefore must be indirect. Had we such an alliance with that country, as we have with Guzerat, the difficulties would be greatly diminished. In that case, there should be superior marks of trust and confidence, extended to those Jahrejahs, who have abandoned the practice.—Such political offices, or advantages, as it might be thought fit to bestow on natives at all, should be bestowed on no Jahrejah, who had not relinquished infanticide: persons so trusted, or honoured, should be discouraged from hold-



ing intercourse with such as continue the practice. The sentiment should gain as extensive currency as possible, that we can never entrust our interests, our property, or the administration of justice, even in the most trifling degree, to persons whose avarice is stronger than their natural affection; and that neither our lives, nor any thing that renders them comfortable, can be considered as safe, with persons, who have the barbarity to destroy their own offspring. As things now are, the Jahrejahs of Guzerat should be discouraged from giving their daughters in marriage to families, who have not abandoned infanticide, except upon the express, and stipulated condition, that their female progeny should be preserved. So far, also, as our political influence extends, we should discourage those tribes, from whom the Jahrejahs of Kutch obtain wives, from continuing to do so, till they have relinquished infanticide. They should be represented as having more than an equal share in the guilt and dis-

grace of the practice, by doing that, without which, the practice itself must necessarily cease.

The sentiment should be continually echoed, also, that little affection can be expected by the wife of him, who commands the murder of her children. These tribes should ever be reminded, that their present conduct degrades them even below the Jahrejahs; that they alone are chargeable, both in the sight of God and man, with all the guilt, which the horrid crime of infanticide involves; and that, by simply refusing their daughters to them in marriage, they should necessarily put an end to that foul outrage on human nature.

While these suggestions are offered for consideration, it is readily perceived, that they can be but of little value to those who can turn them to advantage. Wisdom, perseverance, a deep insight into human nature; a benevolence, ardent and vigilant; a temper characterised by that equanimity, which permits not itself to be



fretted by disappointment, and which, instead of being irritated by ingratitude, shall render even that ingratitude subservient, by nobly rising superior to it; and (as circumstances may suggest,) continuing or increasing the benefits, to which the receiver had been hitherto insensible; for the evidence of disinterestedness has a powerful charm to every mind.—Such is the combination of qualities, to which, in connection with political influence, we may look for ultimate success.—But, above all, he who shall earn the wreath of humanity in the country of Kutch, must sedulously study the labours of Colonel Walker in the peninsula of Guzerat.—And it is with pleasure that we now turn to consider the manner, in which his triumphs have been secured.

## CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

*Means taken to give effect to the Engagements of the Jahrejahs in Guzerat to abolish Infanticide.*

**T**HE suddenness, with which the Jahrejahs ultimately fell in with the measure of abolition, when the example had been given by the chief of Gondal, cannot, as Colonel Walker observes, be satisfactorily accounted for on any principles of human conduct. The opposition which he had experienced was intense and general, and in some cases, obstinate and pertinacious in the extreme; yet the relinquishment was at last prompt, universal, and apparently cordial. In the preceding part of this work, it has been attempted to develope as naturally, and with



as much simplicity as possible, the causes to which this happy event is to be traced.

The writer of these pages pretends not to a deeper insight into the agency of causes, than the enlightened and benevolent character, whose successful labours, he has felt much satisfaction in attempting accurately to delineate, and justly to appreciate. But he imagines that the Resident would have had less difficulty in accounting for the result, if another had achieved the splendid enterprize, and if some of the causes of success had not been personal and peculiar to himself.

We have already adverted to the power of example over the mass of a population, who resigned to their chiefs the dictation of their sentiments, as well as the rule of their persons. We have also noticed the influence of free and public discussion, where custom has been considered as law, and antiquity, as the criterion of rectitude. The procurement, in addition to these, of respected example, appears to have invol-

ved the final accomplishment of the philanthropic project.

Not again to enter into minuter views of the subject, we may conclude, from the preceding details, that there exists between the Jahrejah population of Guzerat and their chiefs, a bond of union similar to that, which formerly constituted the spirit and essence of the feudal system in Europe. The chief enjoyed all the power of a despot, without the odium and insecurity attached to the name. Nothing could exceed the promptitude and extent of obedience, which he experienced, nor the sincerity of attachment, whence it proceeded. The meanest vassal considered himself as promoting his personal interest and honour in those of his chief: the same blood flowed in the veins of both; and of both the paramount object was the honour of the clan. This system involved the most complete subjection, in union with the loftiest sentiments of independence and freedom.

Such a state of society presents a power-



ful barrier to improvement, or even to change. To maintain the pleasure of the chief against another clan, or even against the sovereign himself, was identified with the point of honour, which was personal to each individual vassal. When the spirit of clanship exhibited itself in acts of insubordination to regal authority, legislative enactment was found to be futile, and of no avail. If kingly power were employed to crush a single clan, its pretensions, be they ever so unjust, were immediately supported by other clans, however rancorous had been the feuds, which formerly existed between them. Reciprocity of interests, in similar exigencies, constituted a claim, which never was urged in vain, and a bond of union, which superinduced the temporary oblivion of former differences.

Those who possess the least smattering of knowledge in the history of our own country, know with what difficulty this closely compacted system was broken in Scotland. But it was broken; and there

is nothing human, of which invincibility and immutability can be predicated. To produce the first impression, constituted the great difficulty. This being accomplished, the rest followed with more rapidity than the apparent durability of the materials seemed to promise.

It is obvious, that, in the Scottish clans, we have selected a strong case, with which to compare the state of the Jahrejahs in Guzerat. In this last country, the spirit had long been broken. The Rajahs were themselves, to no inconsiderable extent, in a state of vassalage. Consolidation of power, and union of interests, existed no more. Sentiment, prejudice, and particularly the associations connected with consanguinity, formed the only basis, on which the authority of the chieftain rested. Before the influence of knowledge, and the perception of other interests, his power must gradually dwindle into debility, and his authority into a name.

When the Rajah no longer possesses the



power to protect, and no longer glitters in the barbaric pomp of obsequious retinue, he must cease to be regarded with wonted reverence. Formerly, he was the source of every human benefit. Honour and infamy, punishment and reward, attended upon his undisputed will. It is now found, that there is a power superior to his, to which he himself submits, and on which, in a great measure, he depends. Those whom he formerly ruled, yield, as a matter of course, to that authority, which he himself acknowledges, and is unable to resist. A new source of benefits, therefore, is now opened. The current of hopes, and of fears, flows in unwonted channels; and the interests of individuals are now separate, and independent of their chiefs.

When, therefore, in the abolition of female infanticide, the consent of a respected chief was obtained—and we have seen the difficulties, with which this was attended—the accomplishment of the great moral enterprise soon followed. The resistance of

the mass of the population was not to be anticipated, as both the sources of authority, between which their submission and reverence were divided, that of their chiefs, and the Company's government, were now combined.

To some, perhaps, these remarks may not appear to bear very directly upon the subject immediately before us, which was announced to be a view of the means taken to give effect to the engagements of the Jahrejahs. It is presumed, however, that closer inspection will satisfy the ingenuous inquirer, that the facts, by which these observations have been suggested, guarantee, in a great measure, the security and efficiency of the more detailed and palpable means, which were adopted for that purpose, as well as open up yet more extensive moral prospects.

Having adverted to these general principles, we shall now attend to the nature and extent of those particular engagements, into which the Jahrejah chiefs en-



ters to relinquish female infanticide. The obligations of the deed, which was ratified by every chief, possessing the smallest degree of independence, extend to every family in the peninsula of Guzerat. Female infanticide is represented, in this document, as a crime, blackened with every imaginable aggravation, as contrary to the Hindu faith, as involving the greatest guilt, that can pollute the nature of man, and, exposing the perpetrator to the severest and unimaginable horrors of hell in a future state. In this deed, in short, is brought together, in one view, whatever can appal and horrify the mind against a crime, committed in defiance of reason, of feeling, and of religion. The divine vengeance is represented as pursuing the guilty in this world, as well as in the world to come, as withholding earthly prosperity, and poisoning the springs of every human comfort. The subscribers to the deed, accordingly acknowledge their compliance as induced by a re-

gard to the honour of their religion, and to their present and future welfare.

To the sanctions of religion is added that of expulsion from cast: an infliction, which, though less awful and tremendous than Europeans have been generally taught to believe, is yet sufficiently great to guard men against the incurrence of it on slight grounds. Supposing, therefore, the bosom steeled against all the tender emotions of nature, and parental affection, a thing which is not to be imagined, in ordinary cases; and, supposing the degraded, and brutalized mind, to regard the rearing of female children, only in reference to the expence, which it involves; still that expence, or, which is the same thing, the privations originating in it, will, even when exaggerated to the utmost, appear slight and trifling, compared to the evils of expulsion from cast, the reprobation of their brethren, and other temporal inflictions, which are yet unnoticed.

Now, in the engagement, all this is pro-



vided, in such a way, as to give it full effect. The concluding, and that which may be termed the enacting, clause runs thus: "We Jahrejah Dewajee, &c. do hereby agree for ourselves, and for our offspring, as also we bind ourselves in behalf of our relations, and their offspring for ever; for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindu faith; that we shall, from this day, renounce this practice; and in default of this, that we acknowledge ourselves offenders against the Sircars. Moreover, should any one in future commit this offence, we shall expel him from our cast, and he shall be punished, according to the pleasure of the two governments"—meaning the Guicawar government, and that of the English Company—"and the rule of the Shasters."

From the conclusion of the preceding extract, it appears, that a legal right is acknowledged in the two governments to enforce the accurate observance of the stipulations. The perpetration of infanticide is

become a crime and an act of hostility against the constituted authorities. The punishment to be inflicted, also, in cases of delinquency, has been, in part, wisely left undefined. There is something, which is certain, definite, and unavoidable; and there is something more, which is unknown, and entirely at the will of the judges. In consequence of this wise arrangement, every motive is employed on the side of nature; as there is no extremity of human evil, to which the guilty may not be subjected.

In so far, therefore, as stipulation and enactment can go, there is nothing left for us to desire in the present case. That the Jahrejahs, also, regarded any engagement, into which they should enter, as what would be certainly carried into effect, appears from their intense and pertinacious opposition to the Resident's proposal in its early stages. If they could have perceived the means of rendering such an engagement a dead letter, by evading its practical



operation, a regard to their interests would have prompted a speedy compliance in form. It was evidently in a conviction, that this was impossible, that their opposition originated. Their final concurrence, therefore, not resulting from the hope of evasion, nor from any sudden impulse; we have reason to connect the measure of abolition with the return, of reason and sentiment, and natural feeling.

In a letter from the chief secretary of the Bombay Government,\* acknowledging the receipt of Colonel Walker's Report, and its accompaniments,† after the expression of high encomiums on the Resident's zeal and success in the cause of humanity, the Governor in Council, the honourable Jonathan Duncan—a name that will not be soon forgotten by good men—suggests several hints, well calculated to give efficacy to what had been atchieved. To ascertain the extent, to which the Jahrejahs observe

\* Dated 31st March, 1808.

† Dated 15th March, 1808.

their engagements, accordingly, regular periodical returns are required to be made of the visible operation of the new system; and it is enjoined, that, during the first years, in particular, minute and special attention be paid to the accuracy and regularity of these returns.—“ You are accordingly,” continues the letter, “ desired to concert with the Guicawar government, the best means for obtaining periodical notices of the operation of the obligations: making it, also, a rule to submit, (exclusive of such intermediate reports as may become necessary,) one general statement on the last day of each year, how far the amended system has been acted on and observed; what deviations are known, or suspected, to have been made from its rules, and what measures pursued for their enforcement: the whole to be accompanied with an estimate of the number of lives, that may, under the blessing of divine Providence, be thus ultimately saved to the community.”



Although the nature of the case precludes the possibility of perfect accuracy, in the detection of delinquents; yet the number of female children, in every Jahreh family, will afford general evidence, which will derive subsidiary confirmation from several collateral circumstances. It was proposed, that, in cases, in which the violation of their engagements had been ascertained, "a moderate fine should be always imposed, with the privity of the British government," through the Resident; and "the amount of it applied to the relief of those among the more indigent classes of the Jahrehahs, who should be known to fulfil and adhere to the letter and spirit of their engagements."—If, however, cases should occur, in which pecuniary penalty might not be deemed the most efficacious, recourse might be had to "the infliction of such different description of penalties as the local authorities might deem the most impressive, and likely to ensure the attainment of an object, so highly sa-

lutary, and indispensable in all respects, as is the extirpation of the baneful practice of infanticide, from all the districts of Kattywar, with an ultimate view to the same humane object in Kutch."

The requisition of periodical returns was obviously judicious; but the most effectual mode of administering what was now happily become law, as obviously depended much more upon the wisdom and zeal of the local authorities, than upon the Bombay government; and on their discretion and energy, accordingly, much will ultimately depend.

In reviewing the means adopted to give efficiency to the abolition of the atrocious and unnatural practice of infanticide; it will be allowed, that they promise as much success, as any expedients, which we might fairly anticipate from human wisdom and foresight. What was formerly deemed an honourable distinction and privilege of the Jahrejahs, now draws upon them infamy and disgrace: what was once associated



with their temporal interests, may now involve the ruin of their affairs: what, by a perversion of human reason, had been regarded as the characteristic of becoming pride and pre-eminence, is now become the crime of the base and mercenary. In short, female infanticide is now a deed of darkness, which withdraws from the perpetrator all human pity, which visits him with positive evils in this world, and subjects him to the indescribable vengeance of offended Heaven hereafter.

Such being the theoretical nature of the means employed, we shall now enquire how far their probable tendency has been realized by experience.

## CHAPTER TWELFTH.

*How far Expectation has been justified by the result of the Measures adopted.*

WE now proceed to contemplate the actual result of those labours, of which we have already attempted to describe the nature, and appreciate the wisdom and value.

Notwithstanding all human caution to provide against unfavourable contingencies, and to give security to the good that has been achieved; it seldom happens, that our most chastened anticipations are fully justified by the issue. When human nature, shooting wild and luxuriant, amid all its native and contracted corruptions, forms



the materials, on which we have to operate; it is generally found, that there is so much of the intractable and inflexible, left out of view in our calculations, and for the counteraction of which, accordingly, no provision has been made, that, in the moment of expected triumph, defeat and disappointment paralyse our efforts, and extinguish our hopes. In such a work of reformation, therefore, as<sup>o</sup> has occupied our attention, to have anticipated success, in every individual instance, would involve great ignorance of human nature. But when it is considered that the portion of human nature, on which the experiment was to be made, was such as is exhibited in Hindustan, where we have been accustomed to hear it so stoutly maintained, that every thing is immutable, and must for ever remain as it now is, we might be excused for considerable misgivings of heart, and for cherishing hopes of a very undaring nature.

The result, however, has warranted us to say, with an elevated and decisive tone,

“Let us hear no more of Hindus, as if possessed of a nature different from other men.” To such as are disposed to persist in telling us, that the amelioration of Hindustan is chimerical, and impossible, we point to the peninsula of Guzerat, and bid them contemplate the labours and success of Colonel Walker, one individual human being, and to retract a dogma, so much at variance both with reason and experience : we invite the friends of the human race to contemplate the same facts, and, trusting in that gracious Providence, which always favours good designs, “not to be weary in well-doing,” but to be assured, that, “in due time, they shall reap, if they faint not.”

Indeed, the success of Colonel Walker’s efforts has been much greater than could have been fairly expected, as if intended by Providence to silence for ever that ignorance and insensibility, which, under a pretended affection for the Hindus, would leave them to all the moral evils of their present degraded condition.



Agreeably to the suggestion of the Governor in Council to make periodical returns of the operation of the engagements of the Jahrejahs, Colonel Walker transmitted a letter to Bombay, containing the result of his investigations during the preceding month.\* In the accompaniments are exhibited the names and residences of the families, where daughters had been born, together with a statement of their ages. The returns made at this period extended only to a small district. It was to be expected, also, that, in the incipient operation of the new system, more instances of departure from it would occur than afterwards. Even at this period, however, the instances discovered were so few as three; and in the investigation of one of these cases, there was some uncertainty

\* For this letter (dated 16th December, 1808,) see Appendix, No. 4.

† See Note to par. 89 of the Report, quoted in the Appendix, No. 5.

whether the infant's death were natural, or violent.

The light in which we are to view these exceptions, will obviously depend on the number of cases, in which the agreement had been observed. According to the limited investigation made, the births discovered were twenty-nine, the natural deaths two, and those which were either known, or suspected to be violent, three.

The Colonel's informant in Moorbee mentions four persons of his acquaintance, who, agreeably to their engagement, had saved their daughters, and then adds, that "many others have followed the same practice, and that it has become universal."

Notwithstanding this last gratifying remark, perhaps the numbers above stated may be considered as pointing out the fair proportions both of the observers and violators of the engagement, throughout Guzerat, in the early period of the abolition.

It will be considered as not a little re-



markable, that the Chief of Gondal should be numbered among the delinquents. Yet so it was. He, who first set the example to others of relinquishing the barbarous practice, was the first, also, who was convicted of violating the agreement. Whatever had been his merit in the first instance, it was now cancelled and to be forgotten, in conduct, which admitted of no palliation, which had become contrary to law, and exposed him to punishment. He was subjected, accordingly, to a considerable pecuniary fine, which was destined for the benefit of those who had saved their female infants. The punishment, thus inflicted, obviously originated in disinterested benevolence ; and the natives could easily perceive, that the Resident's object, in the whole of this affair, was solely their own benefit. And nothing certainly can operate so powerfully on the minds of such men in particular, as clear and indubitable proof, that their own good alone is intended. That it did so act upon their minds,

we have sufficient evidence, which will be partly exhibited in the sequel.

The instance alluded to, as uncertain whether the infanticide were perpetrated or not, was examined with all possible care : as it was wisely deemed of great importance to be peculiarly vigilant at the commencement of the new system. The evidence exhibited, however, although it might not wipe away all suspicion, did not appear to justify the infliction of punishment.\*

When the period for the next annual return arrived, Colonel Walker still found himself under the necessity of presenting the result of an investigation in a small district. The difficulties, indeed, in India, of a minute and comprehensive return, embracing every individual case, are such as cannot be imagined by one, whose ideas on the subject, are derived only from the arrangements in our own country.

\* See a relation of the curious circumstances connected with this case in the Note to par. 89 of the Report, quoted in the Appendix, No. 5.



Towards the close of 1809, Colonel Walker had made a halt at Dherole, where such an investigation was instituted, as circumstances admitted. The instances, reported in his list, "fell," says he, "under my own direct observance. On my halt at Dherole," he adds, "I had all those in the immediate neighbourhood, who were capable of attending, brought to my tent; and many were too young to be brought to any distance. It was extremely gratifying, on this occasion, to observe the triumph of nature, feeling, and parental affection, over prejudice and a horrid superstition; and that those, who, but a short period before, would, as many of them had done, have doomed their infants to destruction without compunction, should now glory in their preservation, and doat on them with fondness."\*

The list referred to contains the names

\* Colonel Walker's letter, dated Baroda, 25th Dec. 1809.

of thirty-two families who had daughters born to them within the period, to which the engagement extended, and then alive. It is peculiarly gratifying to add, that they had been all preserved; and that no instance of a contrary nature had been discovered. The parental tenderness displayed on this occasion, will be afterwards noticed more particularly in illustration of another topic.

In the list, now mentioned, occur the names of several Rajahs, and of other families of respectability and distinction; in the united influence of whose example and authority, we may regard some of the best securities for the entire extinction of the horrid practice of female infanticide.

It will be recollected, that, among the means suggested for giving validity to the measure of abolition, one was to bestow presents on the more needy, and, therefore, more meritorious, of those, who had saved their daughters. The fines levied on those, who had violated their engagements, were



to be appropriated to this use.—The second accompaniment of the Resident's letter, already noticed, consists of a list of families, who had received such presents, of which the whole sum amounted to fourteen hundred rupees, forming part of the fine, inflicted upon the chief of Gondal, who has been mentioned as the first transgressor.

The accounts, which have been transmitted to this country, since Colonel Walker left India, and with copies of which, the writer of these pages has been favoured by the Honourable Court of Directors, are very general; yet, so far as they go, satisfactory and gratifying.

In the political letter from the Bombay Government of the 29th August 1810, is mentioned, with high satisfaction, “the prospect afforded of completely extirpating from the Peninsula of Guzerat, a custom that has been so long prevalent, to the disgrace of humanity.” It is added: “Lieu-

tenant Colonel Walker's perseverance herein, is entitled to our highest commendation."

It will be gratifying to the reader to see the opinion of the government at home, formed from the whole evidence before them, on this important subject. It is contained in their political letter of the 26th October of the same year. Referring to the various papers transmitted on the subject, they add: "Wherein we find, that the arrangements adopted by Lieutenant Colonel Walker, for the prevention of this barbarous custom, have been attended with success, and that the reform, in the habits of the people, among whom the practice obtained, *had completely taken root*, and that natural affection, and parental feelings, had so far begun to take place of prejudice, and superstition, *as to leave no doubt of the abolition of this inhuman practice, being finally effected*; and we cheerfully acknowledge Lieutenant Colonel Walker's merits in having



so successfully exerted himself in the general interests of humanity."

The last official letter from Bombay, in which the subject is mentioned, speaks of it in general terms, expressing satisfaction at what has been done, promising vigilance in carrying the measure of abolition into effect, and promising the continuance of their exertions in Kutch.

Upon the whole it would appear, that the Bombay Government consider "the reform, as having completely taken root," and that, instead of the unremitting vigilance, at first necessary, a general watchfulness is now sufficient. If this inference of their sentiments be fairly deduced from the papers, they have transmitted, they may be considered in some measure as justified in holding them, not only from the success, which they know to have attended the measures adopted in Guzerat; but also from the success of those of a similar nature in Benares. On the latter, Governor

Duncan remarks,\* that, at the distance of twenty-two years from their adoption, “the acts of these Raj-Koomars have remained unsullied with such barbarous and unnatural deeds.”

We trust that the same account may be given of the Jahrejahs. In the last communication, which adverts to the subject, we are told, that the late President, Mr Duncan, “ever contemplated his success in Benares, as one of the happiest incidents in his life.” It is natural that Colonel Walker should regard his labours in Guzerat, in the same light. It is not easy to conceive, not to speak of describing, the deep interest, with which he must watch over the progress of a measure, so dear to his heart.

He has done what could be done. He has given effect to the abolition of infanticide, by legal enactment; and all that is

\* In his letter to Fattah Mahomed, 25th March, 1811.



now required, to secure every thing that the friend of humanity can desire, on this subject, is, merely to administer among the Jahrejahs, what they themselves have acknowledged and subscribed as law. The responsibility, therefore, rests wholly with the Bombay Government, and especially to them, with the local authorities in Guzerat.

Of the humane views and feelings of that particular Presidency, we have no reason to doubt. Every thing that has come to our knowledge is highly to the praise of their enlightened philanthropy, in which, we know, that they are warmly supported by the government at home. We look to them with hope—we look to them with confidence :—but still we would repeat, that mankind will hold them responsible for the administration of the laws enacted and in operation, for the entire extirpation from Guzerat of the horrible crime of female infanticide. All that is required of them is vigilance, with the wise and firm admini-

stration of a law, which the objects of it themselves have acknowledged to be just, and to be founded in nature, and reason, and religion.

These remarks do not originate in suspicion, and far less are they intended to indicate reproach; but they are suggested by a deep anxiety, that the tone of natural and moral feeling, already produced, should be maintained, not only as a blessing in itself, but also as the preparative for still more extensive benefits.



## CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

*Effects of the Abolition of Infanticide, in humanizing the general Character of the Jahrejahs—Anecdotes illustrative of this Fact—Prospects afforded.*

THE return of parental tenderness to the bosom, where it had formerly been suppressed, must obviously involve a great melioration of general character. In a letter of the Directors at home to the Bombay Government, this is stated, in regard to the Jahrejahs, not as an inference founded in probability, but as a fact resting on indisputable evidence. In the political letter,\* already quoted, the Honourable Court

\* Dated 26th October, 1810.

having observed, that the arrangements made by Colonel Walker, "for the prevention of this barbarous custom; have been attended with success," they add, "and that the reform in the habits of the people, among whom the practice obtained, had completely taken root, and that natural affection and parental feelings had so far begun to take place of prejudice and superstition, as to leave no doubt of the abolition of this inhuman practice."

The conclusion contained in this passage is valuable, on account of the respectable source whence it proceeds, and the official documents, on which it is founded. We are warranted, therefore, in assuming it as a fact, that the abolition of female infanticide has been, as it was natural to expect, the cause of a general melioration in the feelings and habits of the Jahrejahs.

This conclusion, however, is obviously to be understood generally, and not as a rule without exceptions. In the most polished country 'on earth will be found men of rude



and uncultivated habits ; and where moral and religious principles have attained the greatest purity, and been most generally extended, individuals will be found on whom they have no influence,—“ who neither fear God nor regard man.” Hence it is, that even in Britain, instances of child-murder occur; and till much more has been done for India, than has yet been attempted, we cannot expect its inhabitants to equal those of our own country. That the fact already stated, however, is generally true, will be regarded by the friend of humanity, as highly gratifying in itself, and fraught with encouragement to exert himself in the extension to them of other benefits.

With the fact of the general humanization of character, produced by the abolition of infanticide, we are to connect another, also, of a most promising and auspicious nature ; and that is, the currency of general sentiment, which will naturally flow in favour of the English. The gratitude ex-

cited immediately towards Colonel Walker will extend, though more faintly, to the government, by whom he was employed; and, in proportion as the natives find the servants of that government, actuated by a disinterested zeal for their good, these sentiments will become more general and intense, and extend to the British as a nation. In illustration of what has now been stated, we may notice one or two incidents, which, it is presumed, will not be perused without interest.

The scene at Dherole has been already described in the language, which the unobtrusive modesty of the Resident permitted him to use. The female infants, who had been preserved in that neighbourhood by his wise and philanthropic exertions, were presented to him at his tent by their parents, who now, he says, "gloried in their preservation, and doated on them with fondness." What heart could be unmoved, at such a scene, even as described in the unambitious language here adopted! and



where shall we imagine, on earth, such exquisite, unmingled, overwhelming delight, as must then have filled his own philanthropic bosom!—But there were heightening circumstances in the scene, for our knowledge of which, we are indebted to another source.

Being merely on a halt at Dherole, on his way to Baroda, economy of time, and not ostentation, suggested the expediency of having the children, whom he had been the happy instrument of saving, brought to his tent. The knowledge of the fact, of course, acquired publicity, and collected to this interesting spectacle, such English officers and gentlemen as were then in the neighbourhood. An approximation may be made by imagination to what followed, but it is beyond the power of description. To say, that parents, accustomed to murder their female infants without compunction, at their birth, now “gloried in their preservation, and doated on them with fondness,” is still an inadequate account of the

actual scene. The rapturous bursts of parental feeling and tenderness, the transports of maternal affection for the little babes, torn as it were from the jaws of death, acquiring immeasurable excitement from seeing, now, for the first time, the person, who had conferred on them so many benefits, constituted altogether something truly grand and affecting. Overcome with affection and gratitude, the mothers brought forward their children, and placing them in Colonel Walker's hands, called them his children, for, that to him they owed their existence, and invoked Heaven and him to protect them.

Another touching little incident mentioned by a respectable private correspondent in India, should not be omitted in this place. It is shortly this: The female children of some families, were taught, as the first articulate sounds they uttered, to say, "COLONEL WALKER SAVED ME." \*

\* In the native language: "Baker Saheb umneh Jeewaria."



These authentic and incontrovertible facts are here introduced, not for the purpose of affecting the ever-throbbing pulse of morbid sensibility ; but for that of stimulating the moral enterprise of the true and practical friends of mankind ; as well as for laying a solid foundation for particular inferences, in regard of the innumerable inhabitants of Hindustan. To speak of the people of those vast regions, as justly characterised by the people of a limited district, may be objected to, as unfair and inconclusive. A case might occur, in which the objection were tenable ; but instead of being so, in the present instance, the sober and reflecting mind will clearly perceive, that its tendency is exactly in the opposite direction. All that is generally distinctive of the Hindu character, is to be found in the Jahrejah. But this is not all : Whatever of intractable, arising from moral or physical causes, that is to be found in the inhabitants of that region, exhibits a peculiar prominence in the character of this

race. Their pride, and exaggerated ideas of their own dignity and importance, were early noticed, and in the course of the narrative, have received sufficient illustration. These notions, again, have been peculiarly cherished, by the physical aspect of their country. Besides that it holds out few temptations to foreign cupidity and conquest; it affords, by its mountains, ravines, and fastnesses, uncommon facilities of defence, retreat, and concealment, and is in every way calculated to inspire and sustain the spirit of daring, of turbulence, and of ferocity. From these facts, which every one at all acquainted with the subject, knows to be indisputable, we desire to draw no other inference than this: that the whole race of Hindus may be regarded as at least equally tractable with the Jahrejahs, and that the means, which have been found able to move and meliorate them, will be found equally so, when applied to any of the other inhabitants of Hindustan.

Now it is not intended, at present, to



apply the inference deduced, to all the cases to which it is applicable, but chiefly to notice, in a general way, the effect of disinterested generosity, on the minds of this people. Gratitude could not be more marked, than that which has now been noticed. The name of Colonel Walker, it is apparent, will never be forgotten in Guzerat. That name, lisped in the days of infancy, and the tale of individual preservation, associated with the earliest recollections, will be repeated, and taught, and transmitted, with maternal fondness and gratitude, from generation to generation. It was computed, that, previously to the abolition, five thousand, annually, were the victims of infanticide. What numbers to celebrate the æra of female preservation among the Jahrejahs, and perpetuate the name of their preserver!

Let the scene at Dherole testify the susceptibility of the Jahrejahs to gratitude. Hitherto they had been unaccustomed to kindness. Rapacity, oppression, and in-

sult, had characterised the acts of their successive masters ; and if they expected any change, it was only in the measure and the mode of the iniquity, of which they were the objects. Till lately, also, the name of England could be associated with few pleasurable emotions, by the native inhabitants of British India.

From the more generous measures, however, of recent years, from the more fair and prompt administration of justice and redress of grievances, and from the many salutary and benevolent regulations, introduced by the Company's Government, our native subjects of Hindustan have already begun to view Englishmen with a more favourable eye. The mildness and equity of British measures in that quarter, we have reason also to trust, are only in progress. There is no doubt, that the interests of humanity and the Company's Government will be, at the same time, subserved by such procedure ; and especially by the gradual extension to the natives



of a certain share of subordinate confidence and official favour. And it is with much pleasure, that we announce it as a fact, that such a measure, is, at this moment, in the contemplation of the Court of Directors; and that investigations are making, and the opinions of those best able to judge are in requisition, relative to the policy and probable consequences of so doing.

By entrusting a certain minor department in each Kutchery, or Court of Justice, to native judges, from whose decisions there may always be an appeal, very many advantages will follow. The redress of grievances will be always more speedy, and often more equitable. Several causes may be satisfactorily adjusted in the time occupied by one, in present circumstances, when the judge, little acquainted with the customs, and as little with the language of the natives, must often decide upon conjecture, as well as conduct the whole proceedings, through the medium of an interpreter.

By the proposed measure, much time

would be saved for other business, to men in high official situations. The natives thus intrusted, and thus honoured, would feel a new principle of attachment to the Company's Government, of which the influence would gradually pervade the mass of the population. English power would in some measure take root in the affections of the people, and facilities be thus afforded for schemes of still more extensive melioration.

Let it never be forgotten, then, that our success, in bending to our purposes, the millions of India, will depend upon the disinterested principles of our procedure, more than upon any other cause. The suspicions of the natives, and their prejudices against us, are already diminishing. Let philanthropic views be united to those of a wise, liberal, and enlightened policy; let Colonel Walker's success in Guzerat be generally followed up, with the same generous, persevering, and indefatigable efforts, and the



prospect before us will become bright and boundless.

There is one comprehensive blessing, however, which some gravely tell us, the Hindus are incapable, and ever will continue incapable, of receiving. The reader will be aware, that the Christian religion is here meant. A fair and temperate consideration of this question, which has, of late, been so much agitated, will complete the plan of this volume. It is not intended, however, to discuss every topic, which has been, or could be, introduced on the subject; but chiefly to apply to it the leading facts in the preceding narrative, in connection with others of an analogous nature, which, it is presumed, the candid mind will consider to be decisive of the question.

## CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

*The Question of promoting Christianity in India, illustrated from the Facts of the preceding Narrative, and others that bear upon it.*

THE details of authentic history may be regarded in the same light as facts in experimental philosophy. The science of physics, in its different departments, lays open to us, what had formerly remained the mysteries of nature, subjects them to our scrutiny, and constitutes them the instruments of extending our discoveries. The science of mind, it is true, has not attained, and may probably never attain, to that species of evidence, called demonstration, of which the properties of material



substances are susceptible; yet, of late years, it has certainly made great advances, and has not meanly rewarded, nor feebly stimulated, philosophic pursuit.

Whatever opinions may be formed, however, with regard to the recondite subjects of metaphysics, it will be acknowledged, that the active powers of man, regarded as a being, capable of being impelled, or deterred, by adequate motives, are the objects of no doubtful science. Similar combinations of circumstances having produced similar results, we have reason to expect corresponding results, from the same given circumstances. All that is necessary to the fairness of this conclusion is, the admission, that human nature is every where, and at all times, essentially the same, but capable of being infinitely modified, in its aspects, by the circumstances, in which it is placed.

Now, this is a fact, which, in this age of the world, and in the present state of science, we should not be required to prove.

Yet the negative of it seems to be palpably involved in the sentiments of those men, who make it a question, whether Christianity can be diffused among the natives of India. For any doubt on this subject, certainly suggests the query, "Are the Hindus human beings?"

By those who need the solution of this question, it will be found in the preceding pages. And in a work, touching so directly on the master-springs of Hindu action, and exhibiting the mode of their operation; it will naturally be expected, that something should be said on a subject of such vast importance, and, at present, of such deep and general interest, as that of promoting the Gospel among the millions of India.

In stating a few thoughts on the subject, it is the writer's desire to maintain the candour and composure, which become so righteous a cause; leaving anger to those who have failed in argument, and abuse to those who have been foiled of every other weapon. Those who, without enquiry, are



contented to be implicitly led by the prejudices of a party, and to condemn, where they do not understand, the author hopes not to convince ; but—although he does not enter very minutely into the subject, and leaves many topics entirely untouched,—his expectations are very different with regard to those, who are willing to find, and to follow truth.

Where facts, rather than argumentation, are concerned, neither anticipation nor repetition, can be always avoided. Whilst this point, however, does not seem to merit much solicitude, the subject will, generally speaking, be unfolded in the following order. First will be considered the pretended immutability of the character and customs of the Hindus ; and the alleged danger of attempting to communicate the Gospel to them will next claim our attention. We shall then advert, in order, to the encouragements afforded to Christians to make the attempt, and their duty to do so ; and, lastly, to the manner and spirit, in

which the attempt should be made and persevered in, till it be crowned with complete success.

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### SECTION FIRST.

*Considerations on the pretended Immutability of the Character and Customs of the Hindus, and other associated topics.*

THE impossibility, or, which is the same thing, the impracticability of evangelizing India, whatever ignorance of human nature, and of other subjects, it may involve, is yet the most decent form, in which the negative of the question can be asserted before a Christian nation. There was, however, a previous question, which some men did not think shame to ask, and which is even yet occasionally whispered. The question is this:—"Do the Hindus need Christianity? And would they be the better and happier, if they were actually, at



this moment, Christians?"—Without seeming to be in jest, and without having professed their own renunciation of Christianity, some have told us, that they would be neither better nor happier. Nay, a man there was found, hardy enough to declare, before a British House of Commons, that, "indeed, the Hindus stood already higher than ourselves in respect to general character."

Without stopping to notice how the value of any man's opinions, or knowledge of the subject, must be affected, by such an assertion, it is obvious, that the declaration draws after it a very comprehensive suspicion, and unavoidably prompts the enquiry, "is, or is not Christianity a good thing?"—It is a fact, whatever surprise it may excite in those, if there be any, to whom it is new, that men professing themselves to be Christians, have answered thus: We admit Christianity to be a good thing; but so, we affirm, is also the religion of the Hindus: it breathes a spirit of gentleness

and humanity, of benignity and benevolence ; and every attempt at interference, on the subject, with the natives of Hindustan, would be to injure the happiness of that simple, happy, and innocent people, as well as to attempt what never could be accomplished.

Had this been reported to us as the language of an Indian Brahmin, as he unrolled his Shasters, we should have regarded it as precisely what was to be expected. But it has been held, not by Brahmins, but by Britons, and British legislators. We have heard it, on the same day, that we have shuddered at the recital of female immolations, and the doctrine of meritorious suicide, of human sacrifices, the horrid crime of infanticide, and the blood and the abominations of Juggernaut.

The import of such language is sufficiently unequivocal, and forcibly reminds us of the mode, in which the deistical controversy, as it has been named, was conducted in this country, a century ago. The



assailants of Christianity, in those times, were the unintentional causes, that there were erected, in honour of it, so many splendid and durable monuments to the genius, learning, and talents of its votaries. The attack was not open and avowed. Not a few compliments were paid to the religion of Jesus, even by those, whose hostility to it was the most rancorous. Besides the necessity they might see, for going thus far, in the presence of a people, professing Christianity, they perceived it needful, also, for the credit of their own understandings. The religion of Bacon and Boyle, of Newton and Locke, and of the wise and good of all ages, since its first promulgation, must be treated with some marks of decent respect. As in the case of its divine Founder, therefore, it was thought advisable to "betray it with a kiss."

That system, whose germ was deposited in the ungenial soil of Judea, which sent forth its stem, its leaves, and its blossoms, amid the blighting and cankering influence

of Jewish malignity, and heathen hostility; which, in short, had now spread its branches wide over the earth, and had been gathering strength, and increasing in fruit, amid the blasts of continuous ages; was not to be rashly and unceremoniously assailed. Hence the expressions of respect for it, which accompanied the attacks on Christianity, in those times.

Its assailants then, however, were, generally speaking, men of considerable talents and learning, and, (which was not less necessary,) they possessed a good deal of measured prudence. Yet, as every one, who was a Christian, not in name and profession only, but in heart and principle, was then confident, and, in regard of all similar attempts, will ever be confident, they failed. Whether so much can be said for the talents, and learning, and prudence of those who now advocate the cause of Hinduism at the expense of Christianity, it is left for the reader to decide.

But however we might be disposed to re-



gard, in other respects, the men who oppose the promotion of Christianity in India, there was one thing, which compelled and chained down our attention. This was their declared willingness to rest the merits of their cause, on the "local knowledge," which they should advance. This was a matter, of which candour demanded the fair and impartial consideration—and it has received it. That local knowledge, of which the value and the weight were so mightily vaunted, has been duly appreciated. The proposition to be proved by it, may be comprehensively enounced in these words:—"The character and customs of the Hindus are immutable." The subject was discussed throughout the nation. One pamphlet after another saw the light, and expired. The matter, at length, engaged the attention of the legislature; and a mass of evidence was laid on the tables of the British Parliament, and there received the consideration, which its unspeakable importance demanded.

The world knows the result. The local knowledge, with which the cause of Christianity in India was menaced, proved the most harmless thing, that ever was the offspring of a threat. Nay, not only was it perfectly innoxious in itself; but it was the mean of bringing forward other counteracting "local knowledge," by which itself was proved to be pre-eminent ignorance. No reader, it is presumed, will deem this language harsh, when he recollects, that a gentleman, who had spent thirty years of his life in India, during thirteen of which, he had a seat in the supreme Council of Bengal, actually declared, at the bar of the House of Commons, that he had never heard of the existence of a single native Christian, in India; and that it was not till his return to Britain, that he became acquainted with the fact. Now all this from such a man, in connection with our having known so long, in this country, that there are many hundreds of thousands of native



Christians in India, must greatly diminish our respect for "local knowledge."

The distinguished knowledge of the subject, displayed on that occasion, by those who supported the diffusion of Christianity in India, forms a striking contrast to that of their opponents. The discussion is now before the British public, and every good man must wish it widely circulated.

He, whose name will be for ever blessed by the swarthy sons of Africa, acted, on this occasion, a part, worthy of himself; and that is a part, which common epithets cannot adequately characterise. His extensive and accurate knowledge of the subject, equalled the ardour of his zeal, and the resplendent eloquence, with which it was adorned. Although he has never breathed the air of India, where is the man, by whom he was surpassed, in what may be properly termed local knowledge? And by whom were facts ever carried home to their legitimate conclusion, more directly,

irresistibly, and triumphantly, than by Mr WILBERFORCE, on that occasion?

In support of the mutability of the customs of the Hindus, and, therefore, the practicability of evangelizing India, he referred to the labours of Colonel Walker, in the abolition of female infanticide, with the consciousness of having advanced an argument, in the form of a fact, which precluded the possibility of an answer.—“I will adduce,” said he, “another instance, to show, that the honourable Baronet,” (Sir Henry Montgomery,) “is not correct when he represents the prejudices of the Hindus as invincible. When Colonel Walker told the Jahrejah chief, that the practice of female infanticide, which prevailed among them, was inhuman, and recommended its abolition, he was answered, that the practice had been established in India for 4900 years; that it had been sanctioned by all their great kings; that it had never been objected to before; and that the King of the world himself had approved of it. Co-



lonel Walker, however, was not to be discouraged. He steadily pursued his object, by informing the minds, and removing the prejudices of the people. The result was, that, within a year, the same chief, who held the above language, together with all the other chiefs, came to a resolution, that female infanticide should no longer be practiced; and, from that time, it has ceased in this district."

In regard of material facts, the reader knows the above statement to be correct, and will perceive the conclusion to be irresistible, that the prejudices of the Hindus are not invincible. Were any exception taken to our reasoning from the inhabitants of a single province, to those of the immeasurable regions of Hindustan; we refer to the preceding Chapter, by which it will appear, that the conclusion is strengthened by the argument *à fortiori*.\* The present question, however, regards all the Hindus, as they resemble one another in a single

\* See p. 239.

point ; namely, their attachment to the Brahminical superstition. At all events, therefore, it will follow legitimately, that, in so far as the arguments will apply to the inhabitants of any district, they will apply to all ; since the prejudice to be removed is common to them all.

Now, of the customs of the Hindus, there is none that threatened more to be invincible, than that of female infanticide. The practice was so ancient, as to be involved in the almost impervious mists of fable. Consecrated by the veneration, inspired by antiquity, the savage custom found mighty co-adjutors in the mean and mercenary motives of selfishness. How firmly the apparently invincible prejudice, (if it may be called by so gentle a name,) was rooted, appears from the resistance made to its abandonment. The Jahrejahs had submitted to British arms, and British influence. They were actually paying tribute to Britons ; and to the correction and amendment of Britons, their system of finance



had been subjected. In short, the tenure of their lands, the administration of their laws, and many things of vital importance to their system, had been changed, and are now changing. All this, too, went on quietly and submissively. But, when the proposition to abandon female infanticide was made, this people, so compliant in general, immediately assumed a tone of firmness and decision; and, without the least hesitation, told Colonel Walker, that the practice never could, and never would, be abandoned.—Not only, however, has the happy change been effected; but it has been effected in a way, that has endeared the name of Britain to the people, and will cause that of Colonel Walker to live among them for ever.

This fact is valuable, precisely on account of the inveteracy, and apparent invincibility in which it seemed to be entrenched; and which,—let it be remembered—were never exhibited, in any other case. Now we maintain, that one such

fact is equal to a thousand in deciding the question of immutability, on which, weak as it is, rests the whole of that regarding the practicability of evangelizing India. Had those, who still so unaccountably tell us of the immutability of the customs and the creed of the Hindus, been required, in the beginning of 1807, to prove their position by a case, we have no doubt, that they would have triumphantly pointed to the practice of infanticide. And, supposing them in possession of the sentiments of the natives in addition to any sagacity of their own; we cannot imagine them to have fixed upon a case more propitious to their cause.—Let us hear no more, therefore, of the immutability and invincibility of any thing, that is Hindu, or of any thing, that is human. The Medes and Persians once boasted that their “laws alter not;” but thousands of years have now elapsed, since the saying has been enrolled among the memorials of human extravagance and folly.



In support of the present argument, we have more than the mere sentiments of that liberal and enlightened Governor General of India, the Marquis of Wellesley:—we have his acts.—The public are acquainted with that distinguished act of his government, by which the sacrifice of children to the Ganges was prevented “at Saugur and other places.” It was ascertained, that, during the month of January, 1801, no less than twenty-three children had been sacrificed at Saugur alone, by drowning, or exposure to sharks and crocodiles, in consequence of the vows of their parents. His Lordship listened with patient attention to all that could be advanced in favour of the practice, and concerning the danger of interference, and his deliberations on all the difficulties and perils of the case issued in an enactment, “declaring the practice to be murder, punishable by death.”\* Now, what followed?—

\* The title is, “A regulation for preventing the sacrifice of children at Saugur, and other places: passed

What commotions—what rebellions ensued?—How long did our Eastern empire survive the shock, thus rudely given to the immutable and invincible customs of the Hindus, in a point so vital?—Not a murmur was ever heard.—Not a whisper of discontent was ever breathed.—And what is more and better, not a single repetition of the barbarous rite has ever since been known, or surmised.

Here, then, is the abolition of another practice, by which an incalculable number of lives is saved; and, what is worthy of special notice, is, that the custom was, strictly speaking, a religious observance. Now, it is to be remembered, that we are not to regard the relinquishment of any one of their practices, as a separate and insulated fact, leaving all the rest entire. To take a very homely, because plain similitude: the abolition of these practices does not resemble the pulling down of two

by the Governor General in Council on the 20th of August 1802."



or three houses in a village, a thing, which cannot affect the stability of those which remain :—it resembles as many practicable breaches, made at the most impregnable points of a garrison, which render us masters of the whole.

With the nature of Dhurna, Tragga, and Bhat security, the reader is already acquainted; and has already shuddered at the tale of horror, which first brought to Colonel Walker's notice, in Guzerat, the frequent and dreadful consequence of these kindred practices. The fact of its abolition, also, by that gentleman, has been noticed.\* Now, this custom appears to have connected, and even identified itself with their notions of the administration of justice.

Are we now told, that although the invincibility of Hindu customs, in regard of domestic and civil life, must be abandoned; yet the position is tenable, in regard of religious institutions? First of all, we answer,

\* See p. 61—64.

that the sacrifice of children to the Ganges was strictly a religious rite ; and we must next add, that all the civil, domestic, and religious customs of the Hindus, are inseparably blended together ; and that, therefore, there is not one of their institutions but may, with propriety, be termed religious.

But to come to the single and exclusive point of religion, where shall we find greater fluctuation and change, than among the Hindus?—Where shall there be pointed out to us greater diversity of religious sects, and opinions, than among that people ? Of these sects, not a few have been alluded to in the course of the preceding narrative. The Shravuck Banians, or disciples of Jena, a numerous sect in Guzerat, have been noticed, with some particularity. They are distinguished by the doctrine of metempsychosis, and the many singularities, which it involves.\* In speaking of Jahrejah Mo-

\* See p. 88, 89.



kajee of Anundgur, we had occasion to advert to the followers of Kubeer, whose doctrines nearly coincide with those of Deism.\* It is to be remarked, also, that the adoption of his new creed subjected Mokajee to no suffering. Nay, his friends continued to watch over his interests, with kindly solicitude; and no attempt was made to induce him to change his opinions.

There is a sect of Brahmins, called Kur-rada, inhabiting the Cokan, whose tenets and principles are as opposite, as extremes can be, to some of those already mentioned; and to what is commonly asserted of the Hindu religion, in general. To Colonel Walker we are indebted for a particular account of them.†

“The object of their worship,” says he, “is Maha Lackshmi, to whom human sacrifices are acceptable, and the more so if the victim be a Brahmin, learned in the

\* See p. 90.

† In the Postscript and Notes to his Report of March 15. 1808.

Shasters. The public performance of this sacrifice has, long since fallen into disuse; but a sect of the Kurrada Brahmins are accused of effecting, by the secret operation of poison, that object, which they dare not publicly avow.”\*

After writing the above passage, the Resident collected a number of memoranda, relative to the practices of this sect, “which,” he says, “would seem clearly to establish, that they have been, and probably are now, addicted to a superstitious idea, that the goddess is to be propitiated by the destruction of a human life.—They are supposed to be under the influence of Vishara Boot, or the spirit of poison. In order to appease the wrath of this wicked demon, they administer poison to their guests and friends. By this means the spirit is gratified, and, in return, extends her protection to them.”—A little after, the Resident, who was personally acquainted with some of

\* P. S. par. 9—11.



them, says:—"there can be little doubt, but that formerly, this sect indulged their prejudices, in this respect, to a considerable extent, though,"—and let the reader mark the important words,—"*though now, like many other customs of the Hindus, the observance of this*" (practice) "has, from various causes, *relaxed.*"\*

The following anecdote, in illustration of the savage and shocking practices of this sect, is too important to be omitted. It rests on the authority of "several people," by whom it was communicated to Colonel Walker.

"It is related that the wife of a certain Kurrada Brahmin made a vow to her god, that, provided she obtained a particular end, she would gratify him by a human sacrifice." Having obtained her object, it was necessary that she should find a victim; but the secrecy and danger attending it, obliged her to select the object from her own family.

† Note to par. 10. of P. S. to Report.

“ The victim, she selected for this purpose, was the destined husband of her infant daughter. The design was known only to this child, who was entrusted with the fatal secret, for the reason that appears in the sequel. According to custom, the young bridegroom was invited to partake of the nuptial feast, at his father-in-law’s house. This was the occasion, on which the woman had fixed, for administering the poison. Every thing was prepared, and the drug mixed with the portion of food, intended for the boy ; and, according to the Hindu custom, put apart. The portions of the two children were close together ; and the mother is said to have entrusted her daughter with the secret, to prevent mistake, and to lead him to his particular share.—The child, however, terrified at the prospect of misfortune, and her future misery, wilfully guided her young husband to another portion, and saved his life, but at the expence of her father’s. The mother observed the conduct of her daughter ; but she was com-



pelled to remain silent; and, the rest of the guests sitting down indiscriminately to their victuals, the fatal portion fell to the lot of her own husband."

Does not this anecdote render it probable, that there are many abominations of a similar nature, of which we have never heard; and that, black as is the authenticated catalogue of their enormities, the extent of them at least is unknown?

We are told farther, that "the term Kurrada is derived from a village, or a tract of country in the Cokan, and comprehends a numerous tribe, who are divided into several sects, or classes and subdivisions."—The account of this sect is introduced by a very remarkable and very important passage.

"Mr Bryant," says Colonel Walker, "does not appear to be aware of the existence of human sacrifices among the Hindus; and it is melancholy to add to the list of human infirmities, by citing the translation of the Rudhiradhyaya, from the Calica

Puran by Mr Blaquiére, as an evidence of this barbarous rite being *sanctioned by the Hindu legislature*. It was not only enjoined, but, in the ancient rites of the Hindus, was frequently practised, under the denomination of Ner-Med, or Wud,—the sacrifice of a man.”\*

Now, let the proper use be made of these facts, and let the conclusions, to which they legitimately lead, be honestly deduced. The shocking characters of the superstition, no man can deny, who is not shamefully ignorant; and on this point, therefore, it is quite unnecessary to say one word. But to keep to the topic immediately before us, can any thing be more strikingly characterised by fluctuation and change, than the customs and the creed of the Hindus? In the followers of Jena, on the one hand, and the Kurrada Brahmins, on the other, we have two extremes, each marked, in its different way, by excesses beyond what would

\* P. S. to Report, par. 7, 8.



have occurred to the most fertile imagination. In the one, we perceive men, parsimonious of animal life, even to scrupulosity and absurdity. The Yati, or priest of the order, furnished with his "Raju-hurrin, or broom made of cotton threads," sweeps the ground lest he should unconsciously extinguish the life of an insect. In the Kurrada Brahmins, again, we perceive principles and practices, characterised by every thing horrible and revolting. To destroy, by poison, the unsuspecting guest, who, at their desire, comes to share their hospitality, reposing on their affection and friendship, is surely carrying all that can be conceived of the bloody and the abominable to the last pitch of diabolical perfection. Let us, at the same time, note, with marked particularity, the grand characteristic of the Hindu religion, as a whole; and that is, the practice of human sacrifice, as "sanctioned by their legislature." The conclusion, to which this fact leads, and a fact too resting on the authority of their ancient

sacred books, is plainly and palpably this : That the Hindu religion, in so far as it has been preserved entire, identifies itself in the leading feature, with that of the Kurrada Brahmins:—and, in so far as it has not been preserved entire, it is—certainly something else than immutable. Now, if it be very different from what we find it originally was, (which is the only legitimate conclusion,) it has, of course, undergone a great and radical change, and consequently prepared the way for changes still greater.

It appears, then, that the character and customs of the Hindus have undergone great changes, and perhaps, in some respects, have been improved. Speaking of the bloody rites of the Kurrada Brahmins, Colonel Walker adds: “these superstitious practices must now be considered as *declining, or wholly abandoned*, among the Hindus. They have followed the progress of civilization and humanity in India, as well as in Europe; and disappeared in both countries with the improvement of manners



and society." We know, that in this country, it was the introduction of Christianity, that put an end to the bloody rites of Paganism ; and that, to the blessed Reformation, we are to ascribe the high state of civilization and learning, which distinguishes the nations of Europe. And it is only by the operation of the same causes, that we can expect the extension of the same blessings to our fellow men and our fellow subjects in Hindustan. From all that we know of that people, they seem ripe for some great moral improvement. That they are changed, and are changing, we have the testimony of an accurate observer, of one who lived thirty years in the country, who actually made a great moral experiment upon the people, and that, too, upon a tribe, the most fierce, high-minded, and tenacious ; and in a case, also, in which they, and all who were acquainted with their characters and habits, affirmed, that every attempt to alter their practice, would prove fruitless and unavailing.

Of the causes of error concerning the character and customs of the Hindus, one, no doubt, is, that some, retaining the same impressions, which they had received many years ago, talk in the same way they did then, and for which, at that time, there was some appearance of reason, without advert-  
 ing to the altered aspect of the subject, and the flood of light, which has recently been poured upon it. “Twenty years ago,”—said Mr Wilberforce, in the House of Commons,—“twenty years ago, we were accustomed to hear even from such men as Sir William Jones, that no improvement, in the jurisprudence of India, could or would be made. But when we consider the great improvements, that have taken place, since that period, that the whole tenure of their lands has been altered, and that other changes, no less important, have been successfully attempted; we must feel how erroneous such opinions were, and must anticipate a similar result, as to the statements of the present day.”



To the facts, now before the reader, it is known, by those acquainted with the subject, that many might be added. Akbar, who ascended the throne of the Moguls, about the middle of the sixteenth century, investigated the religious and political institutes of the Hindus, with an accuracy and assiduity worthy of a great philosopher and statesman; and the result furnishes us with innumerable details all leading to the same conclusion.\* To the facts and authorities, already produced, we shall add the testimony of Dr Leyden, that bright and resplendent genius, whose early loss will be long and deeply deplored. In his illustrations "on the Rosheniah sect," he assigns its origin to the "turbulent and sanguinary period, which preceded the accession of Acbar to the throne of India," which he characterises as "a period, when an extraordinary ferment pervaded the minds of men in the East; and when it is

\* See the "Ayeen Akbary."

difficult to say, whether civil or religious matters were in the most changeful and uncertain state.”\*

There is just one other position, to which we can at all imagine the assertors of Hindu immutability to retreat, and that is the distinction of casts. Now, this must be allowed to be the greatest barrier to innovation, or change, that ever the ingenuity of man devised. It has answered that purpose long, and to a great extent. But, like every thing that is human, it must decay, and will continue just so long, as those who are the objects of it, do not find a motive sufficiently strong to break through its restraints. The springs of this mighty political engine, however, have, generally speaking, already lost their elasticity; and, on several great and important occasions, have been completely counteracted by opposing forces. What has been done may teach us this, that, if what remains unaccomplish-

\* Asiatic Researches, vol. xi. p. 364.



ed be not very easy, it certainly does not appear to be very difficult.

Pour in light upon the Hindus: lead them to reason: present to them their actual, compared with their possible state; and the fetters of cast will soon be burst asunder. This distinction, being purely ideal, and existing merely in opinion, all that is necessary to its annihilation is, to bring the people to the conviction that such are its properties. When the perception of this fact exists even faintly in the minds of the inferior classes, the classes that are most numerous, and physically the most powerful, it will find mighty co-adjutors, in the principles natural to every man; and which will never allow him to remain quiescent and stationary, when the means of bettering his circumstances, and, as in their case, of actually rising in the scale of being, lie before them. From the facts already noticed, it is evident, that the people of Hindustan are every moment going on to this point of light and conviction; and when

they have reached it, the work is done. And blessed will be the memory of every man, who is instrumental in accelerating this emancipation, and in accomplishing an object, so unspeakably glorious in its consequences!

Let us now attend to some of the facts, by which our reasoning is justified,—by which that, which we have been authoritatively enjoined to believe impossible, is shown to have been done frequently, and on a grand scale, and—which is more to our purpose, than we should have previously expected—is shown to have been done almost without the intervention of an apparent cause. One fact, then, is, that the Jahrejahs, who remained in Scind, have renounced cast. Another fact is, that throughout Hindustan, there are fifteen millions of Mahomedans, most of whom were originally Hindus, who have abandoned their creed and their cast. To these are to be added the followers of Buddha, by whom the distinction is abolished. We pass over the people recently discovered



without cast, to the east of Calcutta; that we may come to the grand and comprehensive fact, involved in the present state of the Sikh nation.

It cannot be supposed, that there are many, who are entirely unacquainted with the interesting history of this people, for which we are under great obligations to Sir John Malcom. They occupy vast regions, and the most fertile in India.\* Now, these

\* “The country now possessed by the Sikhs, which reaches from latitude  $28^{\circ} 40'$  to beyond latitude  $32^{\circ}$  N. and includes all the Penjab, a small part of Multan, and most of that tract of country, which lies between the Jumna and the Satlej, is bounded to the northward and westward, by the territories of the king of Cabul; to the eastward by the possessions of the mountaineer Rajas of Jammu, Nadon, and Srinagar; and to the southward, by the territories of the English Government, and the sandy deserts of Jasalmer, and Hansya Hisar.”

—That we might have some notion of the immense resources of this mighty people, our author states, that the province of Lahore alone, according to Mr Bernier, “produced, in the reign of Aurungzeb, two hundred and forty-six *lacks*, and ninety-five rupees; or two millions, four hundred, and sixty-nine thousand, five hundred pounds sterling.”—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 249. The “*Sketch of the Sikhs*” was published separately in 1812.

millions of human beings, spread over the fairest portion of India, are of Hindu origin; yet they have renounced the creed of their ancestors, and, along with it, the distinctions of cast. The founder of this sect, which has now grown to a mighty nation, was Nanac, an obscure individual, born in the year of the Christian æra 1469. His doctrines spread rapidly, without the intervention of any other power, than that of mild persuasion. His tenets comprise a system of Deism and superstition blended together; and the most striking difference between his followers, and those of Kubeer, in this respect, consists in the renunciation, by the Sikhs, of cast, and their assertion of the natural equality and rights of all men.

It is quite foreign from our present purpose to mark the changes, superinduced upon the tenets of this people, by their successive leaders, or the subdivisions of sect, which exist among them. It is enough to observe, that they are very different from what they were; and that, in progress of



time, they acquired, under Guru Govind, a military character, and are now the most warlike people among the native inhabitants of Hindustan. The completeness of the change cannot, perhaps, be more strikingly marked than by the following maxim, delivered by Govind to his followers:—"It is right," said he, "to slay a Muhammedan wherever you meet him. If you meet a Hindu, beat him, and plunder him, and divide his property among you. Employ your constant effort to destroy the countries, ruled by Muhammedans. If they oppose you, defeat, and slay them."\*

To what has now been said of this extraordinary people, shall be added a few sentences from the most distinguished literary journal of our time, the writers of which will not be suspected of any undue bias in favour of the object of this chapter. In a review of the "Sketch," from which the above statements are taken, they say,†

\* Asiatic Researches, vol. xi. p. 288.

† Edinburgh Review, vol. xxi. p. 437.

“It is not nearly of so much importance to know what they now believe, and how they act, as to know that they believe and act very differently from what they recently did.”—“That very part of the Hindu system, which has been represented as constituting its chief strength, is that which contains the seeds of its dissolution. The institution of casts exposes it to destruction. It presses on the great mass of the population, with so galling a weight, that they are ready, it seems, to hail its dissolution with transport. It is an opinion generally diffused among the Hindus, that a time is destined to arrive, when this union of the casts will be universal. This, it is easy to see, is one of the prophecies, which may be expected to operate its own fulfilment.”

To this extract, we shall merely add the following just and memorable words:—

“But the truly remarkable, and truly instructive feature of this story, is, that the Hindus of this extensive region, a people,



whom we are daily taught, or rather commanded to believe absolutely unchangeable, have undergone a more entire revolution, in religion, in manners, in social and political institutions, than, in so short a space of time, and with the application of such ordinary means, has any where else been known among mankind." \*

We shall now, it is presumed, be warranted to conclude, that not only are the Hindus, like all other human beings, changeable in their character, and in their religious, and political institutions; but that they are so in a great degree: that they are distinguished by all the varying shades of superstition, from the most abominable and bloody rites, to as near an approximation to just notions of one Supreme Being, as we have ever found to exist, where the Divine revelation has been unknown. We have found, that what, previously to experience, would have been deemed a very inadequate

\* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxi. p. 435.

power, has produced mighty and permanent changes; and that, whenever an attempt at innovation has been made, it has produced effects greater, than could have been fairly expected. We have found, that cast presents, upon the whole, but a feeble barrier, and one that has been frequently, and to a great extent, surmounted. The nature and causes, also, of the great changes, to which we have adverted, warrant us farther to conclude, that the only reason, that can be assigned, why changes, yet greater and more magnificent, have not taken place, is, either that they have not been attempted at all;—or, that the means employed, have been manifestly inadequate, or have been checked in their operation, by some countervailing power, extrinsic of the Hindu character and institutions.—In short, this temple, deemed of adamant and imperishable materials, has frequently received concussions, which, although they have not yet reduced it to an entire ruin, have taught us, that its splendour is fa-



ding, and the term of its duration approaching.

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## SECTION SECOND.

*The alleged Danger of attempting to communicate the Gospel to our fellow Subjects in India, considered.*

THAT what has been advanced of the Hindus as an unchangeable people is quite untenable, has, it is presumed, been satisfactorily evinced. Less uniformity, indeed, cannot easily be imagined, than exists among that people. Now, as the invincibility of their prejudices must be abandoned, so, as a matter of course, must all that has been asserted of the impracticability of communicating to them the blessings of Christianity. All that can, with any plausibility, therefore, be now maintained, is, that there may be difficulty, or even danger, in the attempt. The considerations,

however, already before the reader, in a great measure, repel both of these allegations.

With regard to the difficulty, who is there that engages in any enterprize whatever, but expects to meet with it, in a greater, or less degree? Colonel Walker experienced more of it in the abolition of infanticide, than any other man, so far as we know, who has effected a change among that people. But, resolved that the thing should be done, and holding it as a maxim, that it could not be purchased at too great an expence, of perseverance and patience, directed by benevolence, he scorned the mean and dastardly insinuations of difficulty; and as to the impossibility of success, of which he was frequently assured, he regarded it as an idle phantom, the creation of indolence and of ignorance.—How his views were justified, the world knows; and we fear not but the world will also know soon, what experience already proves to a considerable extent, that equally well



founded are the views of those, who would communicate the everlasting gospel to the millions of India. Let those who tremble at the difficulties, with which the enterprise seems to them to be fraught, hush to rest the terrors of their troubled bosoms, and retire to the congenial haunts of torpid inactivity and indolence. We expect not, and we ask not, their aid. But men there are, who heed not difficulties; and who, whilst they would beware of increasing them, and would not meet them unprepared, yet approach them undismayed, trusting in the faithful promise, and in the almighty power of Him, whose cause they have espoused. That the difficulties to be encountered, however, in the conversion of the Hindus, are fewer, and less appalling, than in any other land of Heathens that has been brought to the knowledge of the truth, appears partly from what has been already said, and the evidence will become brighter, as we advance.

Finding that the threatening of difficul-

ties made no impression on the friends of Christianity in India, their opponents next attempted to conjure up the huge and gigantic phantoms of danger, of most immeasurable dimensions, and of aspect most menacing and terrific. The part of the scene, which first rises into view, is nothing more appalling than a Brahmin on the banks of the Ganges, reclining at his ease, with an English newspaper in his hand. For a time, all is sweet and tranquil; but at length this important personage advances to the parliamentary discussions, relative to the extension of Christianity in India; and then, what a scene is exhibited! Rising in wrath, he seizes the torch of discord; and in a moment, the flame of rebellion, quick as winged thought, flies from the one end of Hindustan to the other; and in a moment more, all that is visible, is poor Britannia weeping over her shivered trident, the loss of thirty thousand of her hapless sons, and the ashes of her Eastern empire, scattered to the four winds of heaven!



This representation made the impression, which it ought to make on thinking men. The period of threatened peril is now past; and it would be idle to say what happened among a people, who are passive in a degree, to which we have no parallel; and who, if they were the most inflammable of the human race, are yet completely deprived of the means of resistance.—It is right, however, that the reader should bear in mind, that the friends of the measure, never thought of employing, in the diffusion of the gospel of peace, any means, calculated to irritate the irascible passions: nothing but the powers of persuasion, and of brotherly kindness and love.

Of the dangers of which we have heard so much, we have no evidence, except a few assertions, which seem to be entitled to just as much respect, as those which affirm the immutability of the Hindu character.\* An attempt, indeed, was made to

\* The talent for discovering danger, not merely in embryo, but even in the potentiality of existence, seems

convince the world, that the mutiny at Vellore went to prove this point. The advocates for Christianity were sternly commanded never again to open their mouths upon the subject. Let the mutiny at Vellore, it was said, convince them, if they are

to be possessed by some men, in a degree, altogether unimaginable by ordinary minds. It appears indisputable, however, that, at the head of this order, should be placed the Right Reverend Dr Law, Lord Bishop of Chester. In the last charge delivered to the clergy of his diocese, he says: "It is my decided conviction, that, by joining the Bible Society, you may, though unintentionally, endanger the interests of the church and state."—How could his Lordship have reached this conclusion, unless one of his premises had been, that the Bible is a bad book? He immediately adds,—“But that you will, *most unquestionably*, render service to both, by giving your *undivided* support to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.”—The whole mystery of the matter, however, is this, that the Bible Society acts on the liberal and enlightened principle of admitting the co-operation of all good men, of whatever denomination of Christians; and his Lordship of Chester seems to hold all men of a different communion from his own, as “heathen men and publicans.”—Happy is it for the church of England, that such are not the general sentiments of her mitred heads, and that they are less likely than ever to be adopted by her most faithful sons.



capable of being convinced, that any attempt to convert the natives, will be received by them, as the signal for the overthrow of our Eastern empire. For our political security, in that important quarter, therefore, let the Missionaries be immediately silenced, let nothing be allowed to issue from their press, let themselves be expelled from the country, and for ever more let our ports be shut against them.

We shall have occasion afterwards to advert, to the fulfilment of these threatenings, in the expulsion of Missionaries. But at present, let us enquire, what was the fact of this case? What were the real nature and origin of this mutiny and massacre?—As the developement of the real nature of the case has now put an end to all controversy on the subject, a simple statement of it is quite sufficient.—So it was, then, that the whole mischief that ensued, arose from a very inconsiderate and foolish military order to the native

troops, consisting of Hindus and Mahomedans, to shave their whiskers, to substitute a cap for a turban, and a little more military foppery, which, however trifling, in our eyes, involved the annihilation of all those distinctions, on which the troops placed the highest imaginable value. Now, these orders were issued to men with arms in their hands;—to men possessing the physical power of commanding the good faith of the British, which it was now attempted to violate, and which was pledged, not only to hold sacred, but to protect them in the enjoyment of what they valued.—Most galling, however, as the nature of the case was to those natives, they submitted long and patiently; and before any symptoms of mutiny appeared, they endured the most revolting coercive measures. A regiment was broke, many individuals were tried, and two had been sentenced to receive nine hundred lashes on their bare backs.—As to Missionaries, however, there was not one



within a great distance of them ; and, since we know from himself, that a gentleman could be thirteen years a member of the Supreme Council in Bengal, without knowing that there was a native Christian in India, it is no great stretch of imagination to suppose, that these native troops might be equally ignorant of the existence of European Missionaries in the country.

With regard to the calumnious tale, first circulated, in India, (for an attempt had been made to circulate it there,) it is gratifying to quote the following memorable words of General Hay M'Dowall. " It may occasion some degree of surprise," says that officer, " that the people of this country," (India,) " should be brought to believe, that those, who apparently conduct themselves with so much apathy, in respect to what concerns religious worship, should have formed any serious scheme for converting whole nations of different casts and persuasions to the Christian faith. None but the weakest and most superstitious

could have been deluded by so improbable a tale.”\*

Having noticed, and repelled this calumny, let us now attend to the assertion, so often made, of the danger of intermeddling, in the slightest degree, with the religion of the natives ; and let us compare the assertion with facts.—There was a tract written by a native Christian, and published at Calcutta, which made much noise at the time, which greatly alarmed the government at that place, was the cause of a great deal of official writing and wrath, which issued in the transmission of the tiny production to the government at home, and was finally laid on the table of the House of Commons. The whole sin charged home upon the author, it seems, was that of abusing, perhaps indiscreetly, the Hindu Avataras, and daring to call the prophet Mahomed a false prophet. This was re-

\* See his letter of 19th November 1807, being No. 194. of East India papers, published by order of the House of Commons, also in “ Buchanan’s Apology.”



garded as a matter very awful and portentous.

The facts of the case, however, turned out to be these. Three hundred copies of the obnoxious tract had been circulated in Calcutta and the vicinity; and never a syllable heard of them more, nor would more have been heard of them, had it not been for the circumstance, that one had been purchased by a Mahomedan merchant, who brought it to one of the native Pundits, connected with the college of that place, requesting him to answer it, and vindicate the honour of the prophet. This was all fair. The Mahomedans expected no more than to be heard in their turn, and the merchant, perhaps, to make a little profit by the matter. But the unlucky tract fell, somehow, thus into the hands of an English Christian, and was finally honoured with the notice and castigation, to which we have alluded, to the great astonishment, no doubt, of both Hindus and Mahomedans.

When the constituted authorities, however, saw the means of gaining something by acting otherwise, they exhibited conduct of a very different nature. They pushed coercion, and restraint, far beyond what we should have conceived the verge of danger, till the actual experiment has proved that we should have been wrong ; and that the Hindus are the most unresisting, passive, and patient people on earth. This appears from the manner, in which they have been taxed in performing their purifications in rivers, and some of their pilgrimages, and idolatrous acts.

At the junction of the Ganges and Jamma, at Allahabad, the natives believe that they receive advantages of a spiritual nature by bathing, and are removed to the abodes of blessedness by drowning. Profiting by the credulity of these poor superstitious people, and having the power in their hands, our rulers levy a tax on the occasion ; and those, who desire the higher privilege of drowning, must pay accordingly.



Such was the number assembled there in January 1813, that it was calculated that the tax would yield 250,000 rupees.\*

It was stated in evidence before the House of Commons, by Mr Graham, president of the Board of Revenue, that the tax levied on the pilgrims to Gyah yielded the immense sum of one and a half lacks of rupees. These sums are pocketed by persons calling themselves Christians, whose boast is, that they are natives of Britain, the land of freedom, and toleration; and the payment is enforced by those, who would have us believe, that it would be dangerous to attempt to convert the natives to Christianity, by the use of the most gentle means, and affectionate persuasion.

To these facts, which for ever put an end to the question of danger, we are to add the enactments lately made by our Indian Government, for the regulation of the temple of Juggernaut in Orissa. The

\* Report of the Church Missionary Society, 1814.

impurity and blood, which characterise the worship of that idol, are well known in this country. None of the "regulations," alluded to, however, were intended either to terminate, or mitigate, these abominations. So far was this from being the case, that legal provision was made for supporting the idolatry, and for continuing with it certain attractions, which, we blush to think, could have been contemplated with indulgence by British rulers, and that the fact should be so notorious, as to preclude the possibility of doubting, or denying it. Bad, however, as all this was, it threatened no danger. Yet this was the mere preparation for the most direct and intolerant interference; and if danger were to be apprehended at all, interference of the most dangerous kind. As in the other cases, a tax was levied from all the pilgrims, who resorted to the temple, and a tax, which operated to the exclusion of many. That no friend may doubt, nor enemy deny this fact, we shall exhibit the ultroneous evi-



dence of a gentleman, immediately connected with this source of revenue. This gentleman, too, talked of the danger of interference.

In a letter, addressed to the Court of Directors, with a view to its being ultimately laid on the table of the House of Commons, Mr Buller throws great light on the subject; and, among other things, thus substantiates the above facts. . “I know not,”—says he, nor is there any other person, probably, that knows,—“a more powerful means of *restraint* and regulation, than is afforded by the tax. I can speak,” he adds, “from my own knowledge of the fact, that the imposition of the tax, so far from operating as an encouragement to persons to resort there, has had a direct contrary tendency; for during the time that access was allowed, without the tax, the throng of people at the place was so great, and such a number of the poorer classes took that opportunity of visiting the temple, that I was informed, that several persons perish-

ed from actual want of subsistence. The scenes on the road were, I am told, truly shocking; *but since the tax has been continued, the numbers of the pilgrims, particularly of the lower classes, have considerably diminished.*"\*

Here then is restraint, even to prohibition and exclusion; but not a word of danger. The most remarkable feature, however, and the most intolerant of all is, that there was a different rate of tax established, according to the ability of the pilgrims; whilst, according to the "Regulation of 1809," no less than seventeen classes of the lower orders were absolutely excluded. Besides all this, the opportunities of devotion were measured according to the sum paid, by those, who were admitted. Those of the first order were allowed to go out and in, and do as they pleased for sixteen days together; whilst those of the inferior

\* Letter from Charles Buller, Esq. M. P. to the Honourable the Court of Directors, 19th May, 1813. Buchanan's *Apology*, p. 161.



orders, were put under the restraint of an attendant, and had their time of toleration more and more limited, according to the graduated scale of cost.

Now, unless all this had been proved by incontestible evidence, and official documents, the British public would no more have believed, that the rulers of our Eastern empire would have dared to do such things, than they would have adopted the Indian theory, that the earth is supported by a huge tortoise. We leave Mr Buller to reconcile these things with the following sentence of his letter, the object of which, we are told, is to repel the charge of encouraging idolatry, brought against the Bengal Government. "If," says he, "an anxious desire, on the part of Government, to remove all unlawful impediments from out of the way of the *Hindus worshipping with ease and convenience to themselves*, be construed into an encouragement of idolatry, in that case, I apprehend the Bengal Government must plead guilty to the charge."

The value put by the natives upon admission to this temple, we take from Mr Buller's own voluntary declaration. To obtain this object, he tells us, "the pilgrims come from all parts of Hindustan, *from upwards of sixteen hundred miles distance;*" in consequence of which, he has seen some of them "exhausted by their long journey, and almost starving." Now having Mr Buller's own testimony, that the Hindus value the accomplishment of this pilgrimage so highly, as to subject themselves for the sake of it, to the dreadful privations and sufferings, which he acknowledges, they endure; since they are so passive as to submit, after paying a vexatious, inquisitorial, and intolerant tax, to have their observances clogged and circumscribed, in the manner noticed; and some of them, from exhausted finances, and numerous classes of others, merely on account of the place they hold in society, to be entirely excluded; and all this too without any attempt to resist, or overturn the



government, is surely more than could have been expected from human nature. Is there a man, who, after all this, shall tell us there is danger in proposing Christianity to the acceptance of the Hindus?

To the decisive facts and testimonies, already adduced, we shall add, in the writer's own language, the following luminous remarks; and surely if local knowledge be entitled to respect, it is here, eminently due. "The objections raised at home," says Mr Corrie, writing from Agra, "to the evangelization of India, on the score of political danger, are founded in entire misapprehension of the subject. It seems not to have occurred to either the friends or, foes of the measure, that there are none among the natives, who have the means, whatever might be their will, of resisting the British Government. Almost all the ancient reigning families, are reduced to a state of dependence; nor, at any time, did ever the zeal of the Hindus lead them to any formidable opposition, even to the in-

tolerant, and avowedly proselyting Mahometans: so that neither do past experience, nor present probabilities, oppose any difficulty in the way of publishing the Gospel in India.”\*

Now, it is no mere speculatist, who holds this language. It is a man who has engaged in the work, one who has been instrumental in converting both Hindus and Mahomedans to the Christian faith, who says—not merely that there is no danger, and that the circumstances of the people render the notion of it absurd; but also, that we do know, and have experienced, that there is *no difficulty* in the way of publishing the Gospel in India. He affirms also, that “there is no Heathen country where a Missionary can do so much good, with so little personal inconvenience.”

A fair examination, then, of what has been alleged, of the immutability and in-

\* Church Missionary Report; or Christian Observer for 1814, p. 805.



vincibility of the Hindu character and customs, and of the dangers of attempting their conversion; proves exactly the opposite of these positions to be true, and affords the most cheering encouragement to the friends of Christianity. These investigations shall now be followed up by an examination of actual attempts to communicate the Gospel to the natives of India; the result of which will exhibit to us the most direct and powerful encouragements to increase our energy and zeal, till the good work be crowned with complete success. We have no doubt of convincing every candid and enquiring mind; and beyond those of this description, we never were so sanguine as to extend our hopes.

## SECTION THIRD.

*Encouragements to Christians to promote the Gospel  
in India.*

THE conclusions deducible from the examinations, into which we have been led, in the two preceding Sections, lay the foundation for establishing the subject of this. We now come to the development of encouragements, more pointed and direct. Facts of this nature, however, are so numerous, and of late, in particular, have grown into such a body of evidence upon the subject, that whilst some of the more prominent are noticed, others must be entirely omitted, or merely glanced at, in a general way.

The great number of native Christians in India, is a fact of a very cheering nature. By a gentleman\* much interested in the progress of the Gospel in that quarter, they

\* The Reverend Henry Martyn.



were computed, Ceylon being taken into the account, to amount to nine hundred thousand. There was no man, certainly, better able to guard against error, in his results, and whose calculation should weigh with us more strongly. Now it must seem not a little surprising, that there should be so many in that country, who profess the Gospel, when, we consider what impediments and obstructions have been, of late years, thrown in the way of Missionaries ;\*

\* A measure of this nature, unexampled perhaps for indecent severity, characterised the last acts of Lord Minto's government in India. On the 12th March, 1813, a communication was received by Dr Marshman from the public Secretary, in the name of the Governor General (Lord Minto,) in Council, requesting him to inform the Missionaries, Messrs Johns, Lawson, and Robinson, that they were ordered to return to Europe by the fleet then under dispatch. This was followed by an order from the magistrate of police at Calcutta, requiring them to appear before him next day. Mr Robinson was gone to Java a few days before the order was issued. Mr Lawson and Mr Johns appeared. They were required by the magistrate positively to sign an engagement, to embark in one of the two ships, then under dispatch. Dr Marshman stated, that, as they had not been made acquainted with the order

and that natives who profess the Gospel, instead of being cherished by our Christian Government, have been actually subjected to disabilities, in consequence of holding the same tenets with ourselves, and are in-

twenty-four hours; that as consequently they had been unable to make any arrangements for themselves and their infant families, they were desirous of representing their case to Government; and that though willing to sign an engagement to obey their ultimate decision, yet the engagement to embark might be pleaded against them on their appeal:—To be brief, Mr Lawson, on hesitating to sign the engagement, was immediately sent under an escort of Seapoys to prison. By the good offices of Dr Marshman with Government, the other engagement, which he proposed, was substituted. On a representation to the Governor General, that Mr Lawson had begun a fount of Chinese types, he was permitted to remain. The application in favour of Mr Johns was in vain. The order for his return was peremptorily confirmed; and he was informed, that if he did not immediately take his passage, he would be *apprehended* and carried on board the vessel. Next day Mr and Mrs Johns and their child embarked, and have since arrived in England. It was announced, at the same time, by the public secretary, that Mr Robinson would be sent home from Java.

Writing on the 25th of the same month, Dr Carey says, "I can assign no reason for this measure; certainly nothing on the part of our brethren has been, or



admissible to offices, for which Hindus, remaining Heathens, are deemed qualified.

The depressed circumstances, in which they have been generally kept, and particularly the want of the Sacred Scriptures in the native languages, have been very unfavourable to themselves personally, as well as to the extension of their principles. These evils, thanks to a kind interposing providence! are now, in a great measure, removed. To that best of all human institutions, the British and Foreign Bible Society, is to be traced the greatest, and the most comprehensive of these blessings. The Sacred Scriptures are now in circulation in twenty different languages of India; and how the treasure is prized, let the following words of Dr Carey bear witness:—  
 “The increasing and pressing demand for  
 can be alleged by them as a reason. Indeed, the sweeping clause of the charter, which requires all Europeans, not in the service of the King, or Company, to be sent to England, is the alleged reason.”—See Appendix to *Christian Observer* for 1813, p. 836, 837.

the Holy Scriptures," says he, "is so great, that, though we have ten presses, constantly at work, the demand cannot be supplied." \* It is not a matter now of probability, but of experience, that the circulation of this divine book, in the native languages, is productive of the happiest effects, in illuminating and confirming those, who, profess the Gospel, and in adding daily to their number. It has, indeed, quite changed the aspect of things in India. The Bible has dispelled the doubts and the darkness, that brooded over our prospects. The Sun of Righteousness now appears rising bright and resplendent, communicating vitality and vigour to the divine seed of the word, and preparing the East for a harvest rich and abundant, beyond what we had dared lately to hope. That every tribe and nation on earth should finally be made glad by the tidings of salvation, the

\* Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1814. Dr Carey's letter of 10th December 1813. Appendix.



Christian never could doubt, as it is enrolled among the revealed purposes of Him, who bends the inclinations of men at his pleasure, makes even their wrath to praise Him, and restrains those ebullitions of it, which are not calculated to subserve his gracious designs. But when the bright æra should arrive, we knew not. The “signs of the times,” however, now speak a language of no doubtful interpretation.

Every thing that favours discussions relative to Christianity, is propitious to its introduction. The civilization of India, too, though by no means so high, as some have affirmed, is yet sufficiently great to prove favourable to reasoning. We have seen the effects of it in Guzerat, in regard to infanticide. Particular instances of it in various other parts of Hindustan, and the happy issue of them in the reception of Christianity, are far too numerous to admit of being even glanced at; and the encouragements which they afford, are direct and cheering. Such instances, however, it

would be improper altogether to withhold. The following is directly illustrative of the statement now made.

“ There is,”—says Dr Carey, of whose learning, piety, and wisdom, the world is furnished with so many satisfactory proofs,—“ there is a general spirit of enquiry about the Gospel all over the country ; and this enquiry increases more and more.—Five natives of high cast, not far from Serampore, have lately been baptized, who have been brought to a knowledge of the truth, without any communication with us. They met with Bibles and tracts, and God wrought by them. These men had begun to sanctify the Sabbath, and meet for Christian worship, before we knew them. They have boldly owned the Saviour ; and meet the persecutions of their idolatrous relations, like Christians. They say there are nearly a hundred, who are only detained from publicly acknowledging Christ, by family opposition, and who, it is hoped, will be enabled to make a profession in due



time.”\* What numbers there may be in the same circumstances with those here alluded to, who having reached conviction, without acquiring the decision of character requisite to the avowal, we know not; but that they are very many, it would be unreasonable to doubt.

In the late “Periodical Accounts” of the Baptist Mission in India, we have a succinct view of their progress for the three years preceding the close of 1812. † During that period, the number of their stations had increased from six to twelve, and the number of their members from *one hundred and ninety-one*, to about *five hundred*. The establishment of a Lancastrian school at Calcutta, has produced a great impression in that place. At Calcutta and Serampore, one hundred and sixty persons have been baptized within this period. At the very seat of the abominations of Juggernaut,

\* Missionary Register, vol. i. p. 424.

† No. 25.

in Orissa, the Bible has been circulated, and even a church formed, consisting of between thirty and forty members. In Jessore, the number has increased from thirty to eighty. Churches have been formed likewise, at Bheerboom, Agra, Digah, Patna, and Dacca.

Under the head of Serampore and Calcutta, we have the gratifying information, that, in an institution for the instruction of poor children, there are upwards of three hundred boys and girls taught in distinct apartments; and as the numbers were increasing beyond their hopes, and beyond the accommodation provided, a new building had been erected in 1812, capable of receiving eight hundred children. How delightful to the benevolent mind of the Christian, are these interesting youthful seminaries!

In preaching on various occasions, and in different places, many listened to the Missionaries, with deep attention; and although, as in the case of the Apostles,



there were occasions when "some mocked," yet others believed, and, among all, the spirit of enquiry was promoted. Among the instances of conversion, is that of a Faqueer, who, after attending the preaching of the Missionaries for three weeks, came and professed his faith in the Gospel. With his own hands he tore away the beads, and the charm, given him by his guru, and, renouncing his mendicant habits, he with his wife and child were emulous to render themselves useful to the Christian society, of which they now constituted a part. It is obvious, that nothing but strong conviction could have led him to act in a way so disadvantageous to his temporal interests. Among recent facts of an encouraging nature, the following will be regarded as striking and memorable. To be concise, it was this: a head guru, to whom many subordinate gurus looked with implicit reverence, lately embraced the Christian faith; and he, with about thirty of his disciples, consisting of Brahmins and other classes, gave

the most decisive proof of abandoning cast, by eating with the Missionaries. "We will no longer," said he, "preserve the distinctions of cast, but seek to possess the true religion, in which there is no cast. His disciples all desired instruction from him, and assured him of a ready obedience." To one of the Missionaries, he said: "I assuredly know that there is one God, one religion, one Saviour, and no more."\*

Among those, whose personal labours are employed in diffusing the Gospel in India, is Abdool Messee, whose conversion from

\* Periodical Accounts, No. 25. p. 25. To what is stated in the text, may be added the following sentences, on the same authority.

"It is a fact, which has frequently been adverted to in the progress of our mission, that large bodies of Hindus have gone off from the ancient forms of idolatry, and formed different sects among themselves. They all profess a great reverence for their spiritual guides, and are strongly inclined to a hospitable and friendly mixture of all casts. This schism, having thus turned the minds of many from the Brahmins, as a body, to the particular religious guides, under which they have ranged themselves, has opened a wide door for the entrance of the Gospel."—*Ibid.* p. 25, 26.



Mahomedanism, was connected with striking and peculiar circumstances. He has been instrumental in converting many distinguished Mahomedans, as well as Hindus, to the Christian faith. Of this description was a physician, then attendant on the royal family at Jondpore. \*

While men have been disputing in Great Britain whether they should allow those, who are desirous of doing it, to carry the word of salvation to the Heathens of India, the natives there, on first hearing the nature of the Christian scheme, have expressed their surprise, that it had never been previously made known to them. Let those who have been hitherto able to contemplate the millions of India “perishing for lack of knowledge,” consider, with a wakeful conscience, the following narration.—“During my address,” says one of the Missionaries, “an inquisitive Hindu inter-

\* For most of these particulars, and others of a similar nature, see Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1814.

rupted me, by asking me, where our Lord Jesus Christ, the new Saviour, that I declared to them, had been for so long a time, that he had only now heard of him? I told him, that the Saviour I preached was no new Saviour, but the only one appointed of God, against whom we had 'sinned; and that to him alone all the ends of the earth are exhorted to look and be saved. If he then be a Saviour for all the world, *how is it that the Europeans, who appear to have had him revealed to them, did not, all this time, make him known to us?*"—This was an emphatic question; and what a pity, that it admitted of no other answer than the Missionary gave it! "I told him," says he, "this did not lessen the truth of my assertion; for that all the Europeans, whom he saw in India, were not Christians."

Next to the open hostility, which the Missionaries have had to encounter,—not from the natives, for there they experience none, but—from Europeans, calling themselves Christians, the greatest impediments



to their success have been the unchristian lives of our own countrymen. This obstacle has been experienced by every Missionary, from the days of Swartz to the present time. Abdool was, on one occasion, addressed thus: "It is in vain to pretend, that what you teach is Christianity; we see nothing of it in the Christians. The Sahibs take all manner of women into their houses,—their care is only about wine and banqueting, and hunting and gaming. Never say that your doctrine is theirs; you have made up a religion for yourself."\*

Ungrateful as the subject is, we cannot withhold another illustration of the same fact, which occurred in the course of a very interesting scene, which took place at Monickpore, between Abdool, and an aged man of great reputed sanctity, and who is the proprietor of several villages. In passing, it is worthy of being remarked, that this

\* Abdool's Journal, under date June 26, 1813, in Church Missionary Society's Report for 1814.

respectable person treated the distinction of cast with contempt, and received Abdool with much kindness.—“ Pray,” said he to Abdool, “ have the English any books besides histories and books of amusement ?” —The question being answered, he added : “ Well, I never knew that before :—And have the English any kind of worship among them ?” \*

It is most gratifying to add, that such is, by no means, universally the character of our countrymen in India. Not to speak of those, who, from time to time, have returned, there are many in India, who adorn the profession of the Gospel. Such proofs of this fact have lately appeared, as must be ranked under the head of direct encouragements to the friends of Christianity in our Eastern empire. Not to speak of private and individual exertion, we have lately seen several Bible Societies establish-

\* Abdool's Journal, under date February 5, 1813, in Church Missionary Society's Report for 1814.



ed there. The British and Foreign Bible Society, that parent of good, having seen its example followed, as if by acclamation, throughout the greater part of the world, has the happiness of now finding imitators in Asia.

The Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, whose first Report was published in 1812, was then supported by the liberal contributions of more than 500 persons, of all ranks and denominations. To this is to be added the very encouraging information lately received, that, before the end of the following year, Lord Moira, the Governor General in Council, had granted ten thousand rupees towards the expense of printing various translations of the Sacred Scriptures.\* This we hail as an auspicious omen of that Nobleman's rule in India. At Bombay, in 1813, a similar institution was established, in consequence, as they ac-

\* "Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society," No. 27. p. 398.

knowledge, of the example given them at Calcutta. Among other distinguished names, connected with large contributions, it is very gratifying to mark that of Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor of Bombay, attached to the subscription of a thousand rupees. While writing the second Report of the Calcutta Society, \* Dr Carey states, that another was then forming in the Isle of France. In addition to these facts, we have to notice the Auxiliary Society at Colombo in Ceylon. A most promising characteristic of this institution, is its being patronized by the Governor and Council of the Island.

Ceylon, it should be remarked, also, has been always distinguished by the happy peculiarity that native Christians, instead of being depressed below their Heathen neighbours, have been regarded with the favour, which it became a Christian government to extend to them, and are eligible

\* December 10, 1813.



to offices, which others are considered incapable of holding. What we should naturally expect as the consequence of such procedure, has been realized in Ceylon. A member of the institution at Colombo writes thus :—" You must also know, that, in this settlement, the Christian religion is already professed by all the chief native inhabitants, and highly respected by the natives of every description."

Through the medium of these facts, we perceive the horizon of India brightening on our view. Every thing, at this propitious period, concurs to stimulate the endeavours of Christians, and to point peculiarly to the East as the scene of their efforts. In connection with the late legislative provision for the protection and encouragement of Missionaries, the melioration of Anglo-Indian character, exhibited in endeavours to circulate the Bible, give us reason to hope, that the cause will soon cease to exist, for that reproach which has been so frequently and so justly cast upon the

conduct of Europeans in that quarter. The men of most exalted power in India appear to favour the diffusion of the Sacred Scriptures, and they have many coadjutors in the righteous cause. We hope also, and still more earnestly desire, to be convinced, that in many cases, the opposition and hostility exhibited to the diffusion of Christianity in India, have originated in an ignorance of the facilities afforded for its accomplishment in the circumstances of the natives, and in a total misapprehension of the spirit, in which the friends of the measure have it in view to extend the dominion of the Gospel of peace.

Although this part of the work will extend beyond what was anticipated, it would be improper to pass to another topic, without adverting to the labours and the success of Mr Swartz. He may be considered, in a great measure, as laying the foundation, as well as rearing the most difficult part, of that superstructure, which is now rising into magnificence. He has pointed



out the proper mode of procedure, and the success of his labours affords us the most substantial encouragement. Amid the multitude of important facts, which crowd upon our notice, a few shall be selected from an authority, which never yet has been questioned, which is his own; and from the testimony of the Court of Directors, drawn forth purely by admiration of his character, and gratitude to his memory.

Instead of what we have been accustomed to hear, of rebellion and the overthrow of our Eastern empire, marching in the train of a Missionary, it is well known that the credit, in which this man was held, by natives of every condition, from the Rajah, and Brahmin, down to the meanest Sudra, often healed her wounds, and propped her tottering cause. What the power of British arms, the wisdom of British councils, and even the sacredness of treaty could not effect, was accomplished by the mere word of Mr Swartz. "Beloved and honoured by Europeans," say the Directors,

“ he was, if possible, held in still deeper reverence by the natives of this country,\* of every degree and every sect ; and their unbounded confidence in his integrity and truth, was, on many occasions, rendered highly beneficial to the public service. The poor and the injured looked up to him, as an unfailing friend and advocate : the great and powerful concurred in yielding him the highest homage, ever paid in this quarter of the globe to European virtue.”

The inhabitants of the Tanjore country abandoned it, on account of the unendurable oppression to which they had been subjected. The land was desolate, and cultivation had ceased. “ Every one dreaded the calamity of a famine. I entreated the Rajah,” says Mr Swartz,† “ to remove

\* India, where a monument, with the inscription of which this is a part, was to have been erected. But the monument, actually sent out in 1807, has not been erected. Will not the order be enforced ?

† See his letter of Apology in answer to a speech delivered in the British Parliament, in 1793, by Mr



that shameful oppression, and to recal the inhabitants. He sent them word that justice should be done to them; but they disbelieved his promises. He then desired *me* to write to them, and to assure them that he, at my intercession, would show kindness to them. I did so. All immediately returned." As months of the season for cultivation had been already lost, he exhorted them to diligence. They replied: "As you have showed kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent it: we intend to work night and day, to show our regard for you."—And they did do.

Apologizing, now that he feels himself put upon his defence, for using language, which, by the plainest statement, must resemble boasting, he says,—“No inhabitant,”—we cannot advert to the interesting facts, with which the quotation is connected—“No inhabitant has suffered by Christians; none

Montgomery Campbell, and published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

have complained of it. On the contrary, one of the richest inhabitants said to me ; Sir, if you send a person to us, send one who has learned all your ten commandments. For he and many hundreds had been present, when I explained the Christian doctrine to Heathens and Christians.”—Do the men, who oppose the diffusion of the Gospel in India, know these facts, and others of a similar nature? And if not, why do they not endeavour to understand, before they attempt to discuss, the subject?

It has been affirmed, that the venerable man, so justly named the apostolic Swartz, was a mere politician, and that never in his life, had he converted a Hindu to Christianity.—The following facts, known to our Indian government, render any remarks unnecessary.—When the Collaries, or villages of thieves and robbers in the Tanjore, had plundered to a great extent, and committed dreadful outrages, the Sepoys were sent by government to adjust mat-



ters ; but in vain. Mr Swartz was then requested by government to use his influence. He did so ; and with complete effect. “ At last,” says that venerable man, “ some of those thievish *Collaries* desired to be instructed. I said, I am obliged to instruct you ; but I am afraid that you will become very bad Christians. Their promises were fair. I instructed them ; and when they had a tolerable knowledge, I baptized them. Having baptized them, I exhorted them to steal no more, but to work industriously. After that, I visited them ; and having examined their knowledge, I desired to see their work. I observed with pleasure, that their fields were excellently cultivated. Now, said I, one thing remains to be done ; you must pay your tribute readily, and not wait till it be exacted by military force, which otherwise is their custom. Soon after that, I found that they had paid off their tribute exactly. The only complaint against those *Christian Collaries* was, that they refused to go upon

plundering expeditions as they had done before."

Mr Swartz had occasion to refute the allegation, which still continues to be repeated, that the converts to Christianity were of the lowest orders, outcasts, parriars. This reminds us of the charge brought by the Pharisees against our Saviour, that publicans only became his disciples. The reader has not forgotten Dr Carey's incidental testimony on this subject; and that all the evidence before us leads to a contrary conclusion. Mr Swartz writes thus; "Neither is it true, that the best part of those people, who have been instructed, are parriars. Had Mr M. Campbell," the gentleman who made the attack in the House of Commons, "visited even once, our church, he would have observed, that *more than two-thirds were of the higher cast*; and so is it at Tranquebar, and Vepery."

Facts both of a general and particular nature have now been stated, and the con-



clusion, to which they lead, is uniformly the same. And consistently with all that has been advanced, Dr Carey says, in January 1814, "the news from all quarters is more or less encouraging." As illustrations of this fact, we are informed, that a mission has been established at Ava, the capital of the Burman empire, and likewise a printing press, conducted by the Missionaries, all under the immediate favour and patronage of the Emperor. At Amboyna there are twenty thousand Christians; and it is to be noticed among propitious circumstances, that the Resident at that place, feels so much interested in the diffusion of divine truth, that he wrote to Dr Carey, intreating that Missionaries might be sent thither.\*

In India, then, every thing is encouraging. Every thing invites the increased exertion of Christians in diffusing the Gospel, in that quarter: the great number of

\* Periodical Accounts, No. 27.

native Christians ; the spirit of enquiry existing among the people, and increased by the circulation of the Scriptures : their comparative openness to conviction, which has so extensively issued in their conversion : the high respect, in which the character of a Christian Missionary has been, and is held by native princes, as well as the mass of the people ; the protection now afforded by the legislature to those, who engage in this good work ; the evident amelioration of European character in India ; and the institutions, recently established there, for the diffusion of the Sacred Scriptures : these are encouragements, to which it is surely unnecessary to add any more than the comprehensive one contained in the promise of the Great Head of the Church, to such as engage in the sacred cause—" Lo ! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."



## SECTION FOURTH.

*Duty of Christians to promote the Gospel in India.*

THOSE who may be expected to attempt, with any degree of ardour, the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian faith, must be themselves Christians. By Christians, are here meant, of course, not those, who are such merely in name, but who are such in heart, principle, and endeavour. From others, little, if any thing, is to be hoped for; but their exertions we are to regard as a matter of course. It would be absurd, then, to prove to them a duty, of which the description of their character involves the admission. They may need to be stimulated, but not to be taught.

The selection, however, of a particular scene of exertion, is a matter which must depend upon the nature of the encouragements afforded. Now, whilst opportunities

of advancing the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom are to be no where neglected, so far as we possess the means, it appears, from what has been already advanced, that India affords peculiar encouragements and facilities for the promotion of the Gospel. "The fields are already white unto the harvest."

As to those who profess to be Christians, and yet instead of promoting, would impede every effort for the diffusion of the Gospel; we may be surely allowed to doubt of their consistency, and would solicit their attention to some considerations, on a subject, which they must admit to be important. Those who tell us, that the conversion of the Hindus is impracticable, may be merely ignorant, and although, from their ignorance, entirely unfit at present to speak upon the subject, the removal of that ignorance may be the removal of all their prejudices. 'With respect to those, who tell us, with an emphatic "indeed," that "the Hindus stand already higher than ourselves



in respect to general character," we extend to them our pity, and, as a matter of course, expect not their co-operation. Of the degradation of Hindu character, and the abominations, which characterise their idolatrous superstition, it has not been thought necessary to speak largely in this work, since there is such a mass of clear, consistent, and unimpeachable evidence, on that subject before the public, and with which every enquiring mind must be familiar. Nor shall these pages be polluted with any comparison of Christianity with Hinduism, nor the reader be insulted with what must prove so revolting to the ear of a good man.

When adverting to the duty of endeavouring to convert the millions of India to the faith of the Gospel, one cannot help recalling to mind the discussions, which once agitated this country, with regard to the duty of abolishing the African slave trade. Gentlemen in the British Parliament affirmed—without any symptom of shame—that to continue the slave trade

was the kindest thing we could do to Africa; and with regard to the slaves themselves, "torn from home and all its pleasures," the wretched victims of agony and despair, chained, driven with the lash, and often dying of the wounds, barbarously and wantonly inflicted on them,—with regard to them, we were told, that they were quite happy. Nay, when a doubt of the truth of such assertions has been hinted, these defenders of West-Indian barbarism, have been seen to redden into wrath. Youths of the present day wonder at the recital of these facts; and marvel greatly that men would presume to speak so on British soil, of which the very touch communicates freedom to the slave.

The following passage from the pen of Mr Boswell appears very extraordinary in these times. Speaking of Dr Johnson's sentiments on the subject, he adds:—"But I beg leave to enter my most solemn protest against his general doctrine with respect to the *slave trade*. For I will reso-



lutely say,—that his unfavourable notion of it was owing to prejudice, and imperfect or false information. The wild and dangerous attempt, which has, for some time, been persisted in, to obtain an act of our legislature, to abolish so very important and necessary a branch of commercial interest, must have been crushed at once, had not the insignificance of the zealots, who vainly took the lead in it, made the vast body of planters, merchants, and others, whose immense properties are involved in that trade, reasonably enough suppose, that there could be no danger. The encouragement, which the attempt has received, excites my wonder and indignation; and though some men of superior abilities have supported it, whether from a love of temporary popularity, when prosperous, or a love of general mischief, when desperate, my opinion is unshaken. To abolish a *status*, which in all ages God has sanctioned, and man has continued, would not only be robbery to an innumerable class of our fellow subjects,

but it would be extreme cruelty to the African savages, a portion of whom it saves from massacre, or intolerable bondage in their own country, and introduces into a much happier state of life; especially now when their passage to the West Indies, and their treatment there, is (are) humanely regulated. To abolish that trade would be to

“ — shut the gates of mercy on mankind.” \*

Such a passage is fitted now to excite simple astonishment. Animated by a spirit of blind rage, the author deals out as much abuse as he was capable of expressing. We have zealots, and their insignificance, and the love of temporary popularity and general mischief, which animated such as possessed any superiority of talent! On the other hand, we have the exquisite sweets of slavery; and horror at the bare thought of shutting the gates of mercy on

\* Boswell's Life of Dr Samuel Johnson, vol. iii. p. 221, 222.



mankind, which would bar their access to such unmingled happiness !

The youths of the next generation, we have no doubt, will read, with equal amazement, of the opposition, which has been given to the communication of the Gospel to the natives of India ; and of the hard names and contemptuous epithets, bestowed on those, who are the honour of our nature, and the bright examples of that holy and heavenly system, by which they would bless and exalt the whole world.

In reference to the consistency of professing Christianity, and being hostile to the extension of it to the inhabitants of any land, I shall take the liberty of suggesting to those more immediately concerned, the following striking and luminous passage from the pen of Dr Johnson. Though the letter, of which it is an extract, was written half a century ago, it bears so directly on this, and kindred questions, still agitated, that it is unnecessary to say any thing of the occasion by which it was prompted.

“ I did not expect,” says Dr Johnson, “ that it could be, in an assembly, convened for the propagation of Christian knowledge, a question, whether any nation, uninstructed in religion, should receive instruction ; or whether that instruction should be imparted to them by a translation of the holy books into their own language. If obedience to the will of God be necessary to happiness, and knowledge of his will be necessary to obedience ; I know not how he that withholds this knowledge, or delays it, can be said to love his neighbour as himself. He that voluntarily continues ignorance, is guilty of all the crimes, which ignorance produces ; as to him that should extinguish the tapers of a lighthouse might justly be imputed the calamities of shipwreck. Christianity is the highest perfection of humanity ; and as no man is good, but as he wishes the good of others, no man can be good in the highest degree, who wishes not to others, the largest measures of the greatest good. To



omit for a year, or for a day, the most efficacious method of advancing Christianity, in compliance with any purposes, that terminate on this side of the grave, is a crime, of which I know not that the world has yet had an example, except in the planters of America, a race of mortals, whom I suppose no other man wishes to resemble."\*

These are the sentiments of a Christian, and sentiments, which no man being a Christian, can controvert. Persons, with whose feelings they do not coincide, may be assured, that they have yet the most valuable of all knowledge to acquire; and the most pure and perfect sources of human happiness yet to attain. Nor let it be said, that this assertion rests on the single authority of the individual, weak and imperfect like themselves, whose hand now traces these lines, and must soon moulder in the dust. It rests on the experience

\* Letter to Mr William Drummond, Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 28, 29.

and the testimony of millions, through many successive ages ; and if they believe, as they profess, that the Bible is a divine revelation, they must allow, in addition to all this, that it rests upon the authority of God himself, and that, in their opposition, they “ may be found to fight even against God.”

Much were it to be wished, that to the immovable mass of co-incident facts, on which the excellence and divine origin of the Scriptures rest, the testimony of their own happy experience were added. Then would they understand what that was which rendered him, who was once the persecuting Saul of Tarsus, the heroic supporter of the cause, which it had been formerly his endeavour to destroy : which enabled him to encounter persecution, in every appalling form of danger and death, undismayed ; and left not in his bosom a single desire or care, except what regarded his faithfully “ testifying the Gospel of the grace of God.” Then would these men understand



what is the principle, which has prompted, and what the benevolence, which has continued and increased the mighty moral enterprise of extending the Gospel over the whole world, till “the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.”

Now, it is a thing of which no rational mind will require a proof, because it is evident, from the very nature of the case, that no Christian can call the religion of Brahma, or any religion whatever, good, compared with his own. If he did so, in the sincerity of his heart, it is clear, that, now at least, he is not a Christian; but— if attached to any religion—the votary of, that other system, say of Hinduism, which he considers good, compared with Christianity. From such persons, opposition to every effort for propagating the Gospel was to be expected, as a matter of course. What the friends of Christianity, accordingly, desire, is, to allow men to go to Hindustan, without discouragement, or obstruc-

tion; and there, in the spirit of Heaven-born love and peace, to discuss the matter, and leave the issue to Him, whose cause they have espoused. But of the duty of him, who is a Christian, there can be no doubt.

Were we satisfied, that the thing were impracticable, which is just another word for impossible, it would be evident folly to persevere. This point, however, has been largely considered; and received, perhaps, more ample refutation, than the hardihood of the assertion merited, and the demonstrated ignorance (not to speak of other principles,) in which it originated. But, on the supposition, that we are reasoning with Christians, we must reply, that the language of magisterial dictation, to which we have alluded, betrays gross ignorance of the religion, which they themselves profess; and that, being ignorant of their own religion, we have good reason to infer their ignorance of that of the Hindus. For, in the book, which they profess to receive as



a divine revelation, we are assured, that a time is approaching, “when the kingdoms of this world shall,” by the universal reception of the Gospel, become “the kingdoms of our God, and of his Christ;” and that it shall then be unnecessary to “teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know the Lord; for,” it is added, “all shall know him from the least unto the greatest.”—Now, if they be ignorant of these truths, which is the only way we can view their opposition, as at all consistent with their being, in any degree Christians; we must then renounce them as most ignorant and dangerous guides, on any subject, since they are so palpably deficient in the knowledge of that, which it imports them so much to know.

With regard to the reception of the Gospel by the natives of India, then, the Christian is convinced, that it is a thing which shall take place; and, as he has been enjoined by the highest authority to pray, “thy kingdom come!” so must he be satisfied of

the duty of following up his prayers with his endeavours, as “a worker together with God,” till the glorious period, long predicted, shall arrive, when love, and peace, and joy shall fill the universe, and when the restored bliss of Eden shall render this earth the emblem of heaven.

But let us advert to the evangelizing of India, as distinct from religious faith. Let us regard it in merely a philosophical light, and consider it in reference to the resistance offered, and the means proposed to overcome that resistance. General benevolence, in that case, should prompt the endeavour, if it be practicable.

Viewing the question in this aspect, we might begin, by demanding (as the enquiry would then be reduced to that concerning the practicability of the measure,) is human nature different in Hindustan from what it is in every other quarter of the globe? Is the breast of the Hindu, alone, incapable of being moved by what has moved every one else?—of being warmed and touched,



by what warms and touches all beside?— Shall the Hindu remain unaffected by that, which, with the cords of heavenly love, drew our own savage ancestors from their Druid oaks, their bloody rites, and impious abominations; and which, by the progress of its holy operation, has now rendered their descendants, the most distinguished, enlightened, and generous people, whom the air and the light of heaven visit?—Has Brahma, a human being, with the weakness of other men, been able to frame and to impose a code, of which alone, of all earthly things, immutability may be predicated, which has resisted, and shall resist for ever more, all power human and divine? In short, is Hindustan peopled by a race of beings who have merely the shape of men, and nothing else that is human?

Unless all these questions be answered in the affirmative, we cannot, in fairness, be required to admit the impracticability of converting the natives of Hindustan to the Christian faith. If any man, heedless of

the credit of his own understanding, should affirm these questions, we must refer him back, for a parallel to his wonders, to the days of Aulus Gellius, and of Pliny the elder. In their works he will read of men with one eye in the forehead, and of others without heads altogether. If he be prepared to affirm the above questions, he may be equally prepared to credit these tales.

Till this question was agitated, it did not seem too sanguine to hope, that the time was blown by, when it should be necessary to prove, that the principles of human nature are every where originally the same. It was hoped, that the Christian traffickers in human blood, who told us, with the expectation of being believed, that the Africans are a species of brute beasts, incapable of improvement, should long ere now have ceased to obtain imitators. They may be assured, however, that their endeavours will have a similar issue. They have both mis-



taken the ground they occupy in this country of thinking men and of Christians.\*

There is sufficient evidence before the reader, to convince any rational man, that not only is the conversion of the Hindus

\* In the allusions, which occur in the course of this work, to the abolition of the African slave trade, no reference is made to the late treaty with France, by which the continuance, or rather, the re-establishment of it for five years, has been permitted to that Power. The causes, in which that article originated, we have not yet learned; and would therefore not be hasty in pronouncing upon them. Yet it does not seem harsh to say, that there were not, and that there could not be, any reasons, sufficient and satisfactory. That the cause of humanity should have thus been sacrificed by the dash of a pen; and so much shame and sorrow mingled with our national joy, our triumph, and our thanksgivings to Almighty God; is enough to make the blood of even a phlegmatic man to boil within him! The British nation now looks to Lord Castlereagh to undo at Vienna, what he did at Paris. And, supported, and urged on as he is, by the burst of national feeling, to which the mournful, the bloody, and the sinful article gave rise, we trust he will never,—never abandon that point, which not only involves his own honour, but the honour, and, it may be added, the good faith of the British nation, as well as the cause of bleeding humanity.

not impracticable, but that it does not promise to be very difficult. Even on the general principle of benevolence, then, it becomes the duty of every man, who does not hold the extravagant and insulting language, that the religion of Brahma is as good as our own, to attempt the communication of what he admits to be good.

Political interest calls upon our rulers to favour this good work. The formidable aspect of the Sikh nation, extending its dominion and its creed together, calls upon them to inspire the millions, whom they govern, with principles of attachment to them, stronger than at present exist. They have already done much for them, and thus increased the facility of doing more. Let them prove yet greater benefactors, by favouring the introduction among them of the everlasting gospel. General benevolence points out this duty; and the duty has been clearly acknowledged and strongly expressed by the mingling voices of many hundred of thousands of our countrymen,



which, from every corner of the land, have reached the legislature; and called upon them, by every sacred consideration of duty, and even of interest, and of policy, in renewing the Charter of the East India Company, to provide the means of extending the blessing of Christianity to the inhabitants of these dark, distant, and immeasurable regions, which Providence had subjected to their sway. Never was there a more universal expression of national feeling than on that occasion. The question was investigated with the care which its importance demanded. To enter into any detail of the proceedings, would be entirely unnecessary. The resolution so triumphantly carried in both Houses of Parliament, fully recognized the duty of promoting the gospel in India. \*

\* In the House of Commons, 89 voted for the resolution, and 36 against it, leaving in favour of it the great majority of 53. The resolution, having been duly communicated to the House of Lords, was soon (24th June 1813) brought under their consideration;

The British nation, and the British legislature, having now recognized the duty of promoting the gospel in India, Missionaries can no longer be treated like pestilential innovators, as they have recently been. \*

and, to the honour of that Assembly, be it recorded, it passed through the Committee, and then through the House of Lords, without one dissenting,—without one disapproving voice! The petitions presented in favour of the measure were upwards of nine hundred in number.

The Resolution is as follows:

“ That it is the duty of this country, to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted, as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement: That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded, by law, to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

“ Provided always, That the authority of the local governments, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved, and that the principles of the British government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.”

\* From all the evidence before him, the author has



It is now the duty, recognized by the legislature, of all possessing power in India, to favour the means used for the dissemination of sacred truth. It is the duty of

been led to consider the Honourable the Court of Directors, as, upon the whole, favourable to the promotion of the gospel in India. Facts evince that they were so, when it was a matter of choice with them. Certainly we were not prepared, then, to expect an attempt at contrary measures from them, now that the iron hand of oppression has been restrained by the law. As the author has been laid under the obligations to the Honourable Court, which he has already acknowledged, he feels a reluctance, which nothing but a paramount regard to truth could overcome, in introducing the following statement. If it be capable of an interpretation, different from the obvious one, (a thing which he is endeavouring to ascertain), it would afford him peculiar pleasure to do justice to the Honourable Court. It is highly gratifying to find the Board of Controul acting a part so worthy of men in power.

“ A respectful application was made to the Court of Directors of the Honourable the East India Company, for permission to send out Mr Yates; but notwithstanding the facilities provided by a late act of Parliament, they peremptorily refused it: and when the application was repeated, the refusal was also repeated. On application being made, however, to his Majesty's Government, permission was immediately granted. A letter of thanks was sent to the Right Honourable the

every Christian to contribute, as God has blessed and prospered him, to the means of the various associations which have for their object the accomplishment of this glorious work. A little of their substance, accompanied by their fervent prayers, is all that, generally speaking, is required. Every one knows, also, that nothing can be managed with more economy, than the funds raised for the furtherance of the gospel in India and other places. Those, to whom the application of them is entrusted, are men exalted far above suspicion. They are wise and good men; and among their number are the names of many distinguished by their political situations, their high rank,

Earl of Buckinghamshire, President of the Board of Controul, for the candid and liberal treatment we had received from his Lordship relative to this business. Mr Yates left England in October" (1814) "in the *Earl Moira*, belonging to Captain Kemp, a member of the church at Serampore, and who generously furnishes a free passage for our young brother."—*Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society*, No. xxvii. p. 406.



and noble talents. The Reports, also, which are regularly published, not only inform us how the funds committed to them are applied, but likewise inform us of the good that has resulted, or is likely to result, from the application.

As it is impossible to imagine any true Christian, then, doubting of his duty, on this head, let the intensity of his ardour increase. Let one mighty emotion, extending to all denominations of Christians, prompting them ever to keep in mind the great and essential matters, in which they agree, and to forget the comparative trifles, in which they differ, animate them more and more in the prosecution of a work, which is destined to fill the world with peace, which communicates joy to the angels in heaven, and is beheld with complacency and approbation by God himself.

## SECTION FIFTH.

*Manner and Spirit, in which the attempt should be made and persevered in, till it be crowned with complete success.*

THE success, with which the Gospel is offered to the natives of Hindustan, will, under the divine blessing, depend much upon the manner and the spirit, in which it comes recommended to them. Among the friends of the measure, there seems to be no difference of opinion concerning the means to be employed in the accomplishment of their object. They belong, indeed, to various denominations of Christians; but they are all characterised by that liberality, which induces them to merge the distinctions of party, in those grand and essential principles, which are common to them all.

The establishment of schools for the instruction of the young, the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures, and the labours of



Missionaries, are the means which, for some time, have been in operation, and to which it does not appear, that any reasonable objection can be made. Schools were established with success in the days of Swartz; but it is obvious, that their efficiency must greatly depend upon the facility, with which copies of the Bible can be obtained in the native languages. The joint operation of these two means has but recently taken place; and for the combination of them, to any extent, we are indebted to that noblest and most unexceptionable of human institutions, the British and Foreign Bible Society. Besides the direct instruction, which reading the Scriptures communicates, it is highly favourable to that spirit of enquiry, which is already so general among the natives of India, which is increasing with unimagined celerity, and which is preparing the people for a more universal and happy change, than the silence of its operation, and particularly the impediments, with

which, till lately, pious endeavours have been clogged, seemed to promise.

The way in which education has been connected with reading the Scriptures, is unexceptionable; and exhibits nothing that can offend the natives. Many, accordingly, who are themselves Heathens, send their children to Christian schools, on account of the learning to be there acquired. Heathen schoolmasters, also, are, in some cases, employed, to instruct the children in reading the Bible; and they have shown great readiness in satisfying the enquiries of persons concerning the Christian Scriptures. Of such procedure, the happy consequences have been often strikingly manifested.

The other great mean, in addition to the circulation of the Scriptures, and the education of the young, to which we are to look for the accomplishment of this great and good end, are the labours of Missionaries, ascertained, as far as may be, to be men of sincere piety, good sense, and dis-



cretion. If possessed of acute minds, and a deep insight into the springs of human action, the pure benevolence and long-suffering under contradiction and disappointment, which true religion inspires, with an indefatigable zeal for the salvation of men; in short, if they be such men as are at present engaged in that holy work, we have nothing to fear, and much to hope, from their labours. We are not necessarily required to identify the characters of those, whom we would send, with those who have been sent. To say, what has now been said, however, is a mere act of justice.

With some, it has been very fashionable of late, to load the character of the Missionary with a great deal of obloquy, and to exaggerate the slightest trifle in regard of expression, or of action, into a very serious matter. Whatever is really deserving of blame, the true friend of Christianity will never defend. But it may be stated as a fact, which cannot be disproved, that never has less of human imperfection been known

to adhere to the characters of men, than has marked the Missionaries of India, of whatever denomination; and that nothing can be charged home against them, beyond what might be fairly disputed as a matter of taste or opinion.

The venerable and apostolic Swartz, was an example of the combination of every quality that could be desired in a Missionary. He has finished his bright career; and both the Company's government, and the natives of India, are reaping, in one way or another, the rich fruits of his labours. With no other means, than his known integrity and veracity, he accomplished what rulers, and generals, and armies attempted in vain. He found favour in the sight of all men, and he numbered among his converts, many persons distinguished for their talents, high cast, and respectability. Those who now occupy the same field, have not been unworthy of succeeding him. The nature of their pursuits leads them to study the character and literature of the natives.



much more particularly than any other order of men ; and they have recently thrown a degree of light upon both, which redounds much to their own honour, and that of the cause in which they are engaged, as well as the nation to which they belong. Whether that nation shall reap from their labours, the harvest of rich fruits which they are calculated to yield, must depend upon itself.

To place this just testimony in favour of the Missionaries of India beyond the assaults of ignorance, prejudice, or malignity, we shall here quote the statement of the Marquis of Wellesley, a Nobleman whose liberality, and knowledge of the subject, must silence every doubt in regard of it. In an able and luminous speech, which he delivered, when the question was under the consideration of the legislature, he stated, in regard of Missionaries, that “ he never knew of any danger arising from them. He never heard of any convulsions, or alarms produced by them. Some of them

were learned men, and had been employed in the College in Bengal. He had always considered them, as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body; and he had employed them in the education of youth, and in translations, and more particularly in translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. He had issued no order, however, for the dissemination of these translations among the natives. He had thought it his duty to have the Scriptures translated into the languages of the East, and to give the learned natives, employed in the translations, access to the sacred fountains of divine truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could do no less, and that a British Governor could do no more.”\*

If an ideal picture of a Missionary had been drawn, and if any calumny could, at

\* *Christian Observer* for 1813, p. 266.—The reader will find some good papers on the subject of promoting the Gospel in India in the work now referred to, and in the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, particularly vol. vii. p. 259, vol. viii. p. 32, p. 100.



the same time, have been fixed upon those actually engaged in the work in India ; we should, no doubt, have been told, that we were to expect nothing better than we had experienced. It is highly gratifying, therefore, to refer, upon the high authority now quoted, to the characters of those actually employed ; and to say, such are the men, whom we wish to send from time to time, and in greater numbers, than we have been yet able to send them, to India, to bear to the natives, the unspeakable blessings of Christianity, and all the humanization of character, and progress in learning, and the useful arts, of which Christianity has ever been the fruitful parent.

We shall close these remarks, by advertising to the spirit, in which our endeavours to convert the natives should be conducted. The religion of Jesus naturally rejects every approximation to coercive measures ; and the most warm and zealous supporters of its extension in India, have never desired more in its favour than that it should be

permitted silently and peaceably to find its way to the understanding and the hearts of the people. It never was desired that our rulers in India should take any prominent and active part in favour of Christianity ; and certainly it is not too much to require of them, that they take none against it. The arms of the Christian warfare “ are not carnal but spiritual.” So far, however, as the personal example, and demeanor of our rulers can go as Christians, we have a right to expect their influence. We have a right to say, let not their conduct be such as to excite among the wondering natives the enquiries which have been actually put, “ Have the English any books, but those of amusement ? Have the English any kind of worship among them ? ” We have a right to say, and the legislature now tells us that we have a right to say, let not the peaceful Missionary of Christianity be persecuted and treated as an evil-doer. All that we ask of men in power, then, is the absence of evil ; and that there be no infliction of



punishment where there is no evidence of wrong.

What we wish for the Missionary of Christianity, we wish also for the votaries of idolatry in India. Let all experience the blessings of a free and enlightened toleration, admitting of no boundary but that of the safety of the subject, on the one hand, and of the state, on the other. Generally speaking, the government should know men in no other capacity than that of citizens or subjects. It is a principle of every enlightened government, that in return for the protection and security, which it affords to the subject ; that subject owes to it, in return, the benefits, which his condition is fitted to yield to the state, during the natural term of his life. If that period be abridged by the violence of another, it is punished ; if by the individual himself, his memory is covered with infamy. So far, therefore, as the rites of religion shall interfere with the claims of the state ; the government has a right to interpose its restraining

arm. This is a leading principle in the British Constitution, the best that ever human wisdom devised ; and it is of such easy comprehension, that its reasonableness is immediately perceived. On this principle, the Marquis of Wellesley put an end to the sacrifice of children at Saugur ; and there is little reason to doubt, that, had that Nobleman continued some time longer at the head of our Eastern empire, female immolations would ere now have been brought to a termination. It is probable that measures analogous to those adopted in the abolition of infanticide might answer the end. And under the distinguished Nobleman now at the head of our Eastern affairs, we look with hope.

These remarks are connected with the subject, only in so far as they are suggested by the true principles of an enlightened toleration, of which the only just limits are the lives and safety of the subject. On this principle no government should derive emolument from the performance of pil-



grimaces, and the practice of any idolatrous rites ; far less should it sell to the subject the right of terminating his own existence by drowning, or any other means.

Within the limits now described, let every man's conscience direct him. If any man, Heathen, or professing Christian, be discovered to be an " evil-doer," let him receive the award of law ; and of a law which knows no man's tenets, which interferes with no man's conscience, which is incapable of distinguishing any thing but overt acts. It is natural, at the same time, and not inconsistent with what has now been stated, that the government should confide its offices of trust to men, whose sentiments are in unison with those of its own members. On this principle, the government is administered in Ceylon. As we should punish no man, who is not proved to be a bad citizen ; it is natural to confide our interests to those, whose principles afford us the greatest security for their probity. It is on such principles as these,

indeed, that we found the reasonableness of an ecclesiastical establishment.

But whatever be the principle, on which the government shall act, there is no doubt concerning the spirit which should animate the Missionaries. Conciliation and kindness, long-suffering and forbearance, should characterize their whole intercourse and procedure. With respect to the government, they should continue to act as they have hitherto done; and that is, to take no part whatever in regard of its measures, except when requested to employ the respectability attendant on the characters of good men, to promote the interests both of the natives and their rulers. The example of Swartz comprehends every thing. With instruction in Christianity, should be connected a regard to the temporal interests and comforts of the people. Improvements in the useful arts of husbandry, and others of an analogous nature, should be suggested, along with the principles of religion. The natives should feel, as well as hear,



that we have their best interests at heart. Along with the principles, which shall produce peace of mind and domestic comfort, together with the sweet hope of eternal life; we should show them that we delight in seeing the amelioration of their temporal condition. Before they are able fully to enter into all the symmetry, if we be allowed the word, and the sublime doctrines of this heavenly system, we should present to them some of the happy results of it in the promotion of present benefits. Such are many of its precepts, which teach us to be diligent in "business, while we are fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

As the truth of the religion of Christ involves the falsehood of every other system, there is no compromise to be made of a single tenet or principle of it. The idolatry of Brahma, and the imposture of Mahomed, must be unequivocally avowed. This, however, may be done with discretion, and so as to cause no offence. And the promotion of Christianity has been, and

is so conducted. "Our method," says Mr Corrie, "is to state the plain truths of the Gospel, with little or no reference to any other system called religion. By pointing out the scripture doctrines of man's fall, through the transgression of Adam, and his recovery by the Lord Jesus Christ, with appeals to matters of obvious and general experience; usually such a sensation is produced, as leads some one or other to examine the foundation he rests upon."

Such, then, is the manner, and such the spirit, in which we should proceed in the diffusion of the gospel in India. Let wisdom, pure in its philosophical principles, and warmed and animated by heavenly love, guide and rule all our endeavours. And let Christian exertion never cease, till it be crowned with complete success. Let the arm that is stretched forth in the cause of heaven and of human kind, never be unnerved. Let the tongue never falter that speaks the message of God to men. Let not the ambassador of the King of



kings, and the Lord of lords, ever tremble or be dismayed in the full, fair, and unequivocal declaration of his commission. Let every friend of the measure, that is, every one who consistently claims the name of Christian, persevere in affording such assistance as is in his power, unmoved by the coldness, or it may be ridicule, with which some men may treat his exertions. Let every one, who believes the Bible to be the word of God, remember, that it is upon its indisputable authority that we found our firm conviction, that this cause will, and must finally prevail, and that "the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." And let our hearts be animated in the midst of occasional discouragement, disappointment, or opposition, by remembering, that "GREATER IS HE THAT IS WITH US, THAN ALL THEY THAT CAN BE AGAINST US."

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APPENDIX



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APPENDIX.

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# APPENDIX

No. 1

Correspondence between Colonel Walker and  
the Japanese Consul on the subject of  
abolishing foreign influence

## APPENDIX

Extract of a letter from Major  
Walker, to Japanese Consul, dated Camp  
Green, 13th September, 1857.

Another indispensable article is the religious  
sent of the custom of female infanticide.

This is a concession to the Company, it is ne-  
cessary to ensure their regard, and will render  
the character of Japanese institutions, for abolishing  
practices which all civilized people so strongly  
condemn.

Extract of a letter from Walker, to Major  
Walker, dated 20th September, 1857.

The state of affairs here, and that having led  
to interview with Japanese Consul, some time



# APPENDIX.

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## No. I.

*Correspondence between Colonel WALKER and the JAHREJAH CHIEFS, on the subject of abolishing Female Infanticide.*

1. *Extract of a Letter from Major Alexander Walker, to Sunderjee Sewajee, dated Camp at Gootoo, 13th September, 1807.*

ANOTHER indispensable article is, the relinquishment of the custom of female infanticide.

This is a concession to the Company ; it is necessary to ensure their regard, and will render the character of Jehajee illustrious, for abolishing a practice, which all civilized people so strongly condemn.

2. *Extract of a Letter from Sunderjee to Major Walker, dated 20th September, 1807.*

The state of affairs here, are, that having had an interview with Jehajee Thakur, some time

elapsed in making him acquainted with my message ; by his answer, it appeared, that the relinquishment of infanticide will not compose an article of the Fil Zamine ; but he will give a separate writing to this effect into my hand, provided you will cause the village which Babajee has taken, to be restored when you leave the country to go to Baroda ; then his consent to the relinquishment of infanticide is given.

3. *Extract of a Letter from Major Alexander Walker, to Sunderjee Sewajee, dated 20th September, 1807.*

In respect to the Thakur Jehajee, I am very sorry to observe, that the full assurances, which I gave you and Bhanjee Mehta, have been lost. I did not expect the objections, which have been made, and all the trouble which I have taken may now prove fruitless.

The relinquishment of the custom of infanticide must be unconditional ; it must be clear and from the heart, and without any reservation. The advantages to the Rajah would be many, besides those arising from humanity, from religion, and from the natural affection of parents to children : It will ensure him the friendship and favour of the Company's government.

The Thakur must not expect the friendship of the Company, if he continues this practice, and nothing will be ceded on this point to induce



him. It must be relinquished, as the only terms on which the Honourable Company's favour and friendship can be obtained; but there is no objection to the engagement to relinquish it being expressed in a separate paper.

Since writing the above, I have received your second note: but its contents cause no alteration in the sentiments I have above written, further than, you may tell the Rajah, that I do not know how the Honourable Company can become bhanderry for any civil obligation of men, who appear to disregard the most sacred of all obligations—that of protection to offspring.

4. *Translation of a Letter from Sunderjee Sewajee, to Major Alexander Walker, dated 20th September, 1807.*

I related, this morning, the conversation I had yesterday with the Thakur Jehajee, with which you will have become acquainted. At present, the mother of the Thakur, with the brethren of the Rajah, having assembled, they represented, that the relinquishment of female infanticide will be agreed to, by us, according to the conditions, to which Rao Saheb, of Kutch, and Jam Saheb, may agree to; before them, nothing will be concluded by us.

If Major Walker should cause the village taken by Babajee to be restored,—it is well,—otherwise he is a free agent; but according to

the adjustment which Rao and Jam may make, not to commit infanticide, we will agree.

The same day, a note, of which the following is a translation, was received from the Thakur Jehajee.

5. *From Jahrejah Jehajee, to Major Walker, dated 4th Bhadurpud Vud, 21st September, 1807.*

“ You have often urged me to adopt some cause to preserve my daughters, and I am convinced you look upon me as your own, when you desire me to do this; but the Jahrejahs have, from ancient times, killed their daughters, and I cannot set a new example first.

“ I am much annoyed by Mallia; if, therefore, you reduce Mallia, and keep it subject to the Company, or give it to me, as well as restore Hurralla: if you should favour me so much, my present distress will be removed, and I will meet your wishes in preserving my daughters. This is my petition.

6. *From Sunderjee Sewajee, to Major Alexander Walker, dated 22d September, 1807.*

Having arrived at Moorbee, and had an interview with the Rajah, until I saw that no clear answer could be obtained, without threats, notwithstanding that, according to the best of my ability, I used both soothing and warm language;



yet I grasped the wind, and nothing but dregs remained in the cup. The arrangement respecting the children, in particular, appeared helpless.

7. *From Sunderjee Sewajee, to Major Walker, dated 23d September, 1807.*

I yesterday wrote the particulars of my interview with the Thakur, and his refusal to relinquish infanticide.

Affairs are thus:—That what I yesterday wrote, is still the language of to-day; therefore favour me with an answer to yesterday's and the present communication, for to wait longer without effect, would be discreditable; but I am subject to orders.

8. *From Major Alexander Walker, to Sunderjee Sewajee, dated 23d September, 1807.*

Your notes of yesterday and to-day are both received, and understood; I delayed to answer the first, in expectation of the second. I have now the pleasure to send you two letters, one to the Rajah and one to his mother; that to the Rajah being delivered first, observe what effect it has, and then, if you think it will prove of any use, deliver the other to his mother.

If this should induce any alteration in the Rajah's mind, you will, of course, make the most of it; but if it do not, we can only regret, that our

efforts should be unattended with the effect we wished.

It will, however, be still proper to keep open the gate, so that this business may be hereafter resumed; and you may therefore suggest to the Rajah, the propriety of answering my letter, in terms of friendship, with this view.

9. *From Major Walker, to the Rajah of Moorbee,*  
*Dated 23d September, 1807.*

I have learnt, with much dissatisfaction, from the respectable Sunderjee Sewajee, that notwithstanding the assurances, which I have given him and Bhanjee Mehta, that you still continue to persist in refusing to contract an engagement to relinquish female infanticide.

If the custom is a bad one, it cannot require any person's example to leave it off; if it is a good one, no person's example ought to be sufficient to cause its abolishment.

But it is universally allowed to be unnatural, and against your religion, and the objections you urge against it are unbecoming your rank and situation. The friendship and favour of the Company, can only be procured by leaving off a practice so contrary to the usage of mankind.

I am well disposed to serve you, but my support to you must depend on your's to the cause of humanity.

On this subject, and on the adjustment of your



future Jamma, hear the advice of Sunderjee, to whom I have communicated my sentiments.

10. *From Major Walker, to the Mother of Jah-rejah Jehajee, of Moorbee, dated 23d September, 1807.*

The army being in the neighbourhood of Moorbee, I have unavoidably learnt a number of circumstances, and I have heard of your wisdom and prudence with great pleasure.

The Sircar is very anxious, that the very cruel custom of female infanticide should be abolished by your advice and assistance. Do you, therefore, by every means in your power, endeavour to persuade your son to desist from this practice. I hope you will labour in this affair, for it is very unnatural for a mother to allow her own offspring to be put to death.

Your father and your mother have nursed and brought you up; wherefore then should it hurt you to rear up your daughters? Should you not do as I request, what answer can you return to your God?

Should you fully consider this business, you will perfectly observe the impropriety of it.

Should other casts do as the Jahrehjahs, how could the Jahrehjah race exist?

What more can I write?

11. *From Sunderjee Sewajee, to Major Alexander Walker, dated 24th September, 1807.*

Your kind letter, with its two inclosures, with which you favoured me, arrived in proper time. They were both delivered. After four hours had elapsed, the Thakur came to my quarters, and appeared very submissive; but although I pushed the point as far as possible, he never consented to abandon the practice of infanticide; but he said thus much, "that whatever Jam may conclude in this business, it has also my consent. Before that, I cannot engage for any thing, therefore let this subject be dropt; but the Company are powerful."

12. *From Major Walker, to Sunderjee Sewajee, dated 24th September, 1807.*

I have received your letter, and I understand its contents; but to day being Wittepad,\* which is an unlucky day, I therefore am unable to write a particular answer until tomorrow; I beg you to wait. Still I request you will not slacken your endeavours, until you have accomplished the point of obtaining a renunciation of infanticide.

This object is for the good of Thakur Jehajee,

\* Wittepad, an unlucky day in the Hindu Calendar, in consequence of which the officer commanding the Guicawar troops did not come to camp.



and your reputation will be increased in the opinion of Mr Duncan by gaining it.

13. *From Jahrejah Jehajee of Moorbee to Major Walker, dated 24th September, 1807.*

Your letter, Sir, I have received, in which it is written, to rear up and protect our daughters; but the circumstances of this case are, that, from time immemorial, the Jahrejahs have never reared their daughters, nor can it now be the case. This is my petition.

My situation and circumstances are all known to you, Sir; and I now, Sir, with folded arms, make my petition,—that if, Sir, you will continue to observe the same course of favour towards me as you have hitherto done, I may then hope to secure my ends, and to meet the demands upon me. I have agreed to a sum of jammabandy, even beyond my actual means, and let your protection so extend, that I may be able still to walk with rectitude, and be able to pay my dues.

*From the Mother of Jehajee to Major Walker.*

Your letter has been received, and its contents understood. You have called upon Hoer Jehajee to rear up his daughters; but it is so, that, for many years past, none of the Jahrejah tribes have ever reared their female offspring. Further particulars of this concern, you will learn from Hoer Jehajee's writing; and you must excuse him on

this score. As Hoer Jehajee has attached himself to you, let his jammabandy be so settled, that his credit will be preserved.

14. *From Major Walker to Sunderjee Sewajee, dated 25th September, 1807.*

Should any thing wear a favourable appearance, I request you will let me know. The former and strong aversion to renounce infanticide, appears now to be less.

Do you, on this account, keep Thakur Jehajee assured of my friendship.

15. *From Major Alexander Walker to Sunderjee Sewajee, dated 25th September, 1807.*

I have received your note, and understood its contents; but I request you will again take the trouble to explain to the Rajah Jehajee my concern, at the difficulty, which appears to exist to persuade him, and the obduracy, with which he resists every argument to relinquish the practice of female infanticide.

What can induce the Honourable Company to make such efforts; and what can induce me to request from you the utmost exertion of your abilities in this respect, except the cause of humanity; and the desire of the Honourable Company to put a stop to a practice, which will rebound to the advantage and credit of the Rajah Jehajee?



6. *From Sunderjee Sewajee to Major Alexander Walker, dated 26th September, 1807.*

Your letters of the third and second days past, have been received; the second, at about eight o'clock at night, when the Thakur was with me, who saw the Peon. Before I received this letter, I had been engaged, in strong conversation, with the Thakur, but without effect. The difficulty still remains; and this practice will not be relinquished by the Thakur Jehajee. "Whatever Jam agrees to, I will," and that which I before reported, the same is still dwelt upon. What was communicated by you, saying, that, should the Thakur agree to relinquish the practice of infanticide, it would be a source of advantage to him, and the cause of increase of reputation to me in the opinion of Mr Duncan; but, Sir, your servant has come to Moorbee, solely on the Honourable Company's account; and, in whatever he may attempt, he is not that person who will not exert his best ability. Other business has arrived at a point of conclusion; but to the infanticide relinquishment, consent is not procurable; and my further detention here is unnecessary; but as you say, that, owing to the rain, the Dewanjee had not arrived, but that I should receive an answer to-day, I accordingly await its arrival. Pray favour me with it before the close of the day.

If the relinquishment of infanticide is a ques-

tion assuredly to be effected by the Company, its accomplishment must be effected by force, which would be but advisable and proper. But in future, whatever is your pleasure, I am your servant, and your orders, whatever they may be, will be conformed to.

17. *From Jahrezah Jahejee, dated 21st October, 1807.*

From motives of friendship, the Honourable Company are urging me to preserve my daughters. To this I agree, if the Nowanaggur and Gondal Wallas agree; if they do not preserve them, I will not do it.



## No. II.

*Engagement of the JAHREJAH CHIEFS to relinquish Female Infanticide.**The following is a Translation of this Instrument.*

“Whereas the Honourable English Company, and Anund Row Guicawar Sena Khaskel Sumsher Bahader, having set forth to us the dictates of the Shasters, and the true faith of the Hindus; as well as, that the Brahma-riaiverteka Purana declares the killing of children to be a heinous sin; it being written, that it is as great an offence to kill an embryo as a Brahmin; that to kill one woman is as great a sin as a hundred Brahmins; that to put one child to death is as great a transgression against the divine laws, as to kill a hundred women; and that the perpetrators of this sin shall be damned to the hell Kulesootheela, where he shall be infested with as many maggots as he may have hairs on his body; be born again a leper, and debilitated in all his members: We Jahrejah Dewajee and Hoer Nathu, Zemendars of Gondal, the custom of female infanticide having long prevailed in our east, do hereby agree, for ourselves, and for our

offspring, as also, we bind ourselves in behalf of our relations, and their offspring, for ever, for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindu faith; that we shall, from this day renounce this practice, and in default of this that we acknowledge ourselves offenders against the Sircars. Moreover, should any one in future commit this offence, we shall expel him from our cast, and he shall be punished according to the pleasure of the two Governments, and the rule of the Shasters.

“ The above writing is duly executed.”



## No. III.

*Correspondence with FATTEH MAHOMED, relative to the abolition of Female Infanticide in Kutch.*

*Letter from Major Walker to Fattah Mahomed, dated 28th September, 1807.*

It is now a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you; it is proper, that, in contradiction to the past, you should favour me with friendly letters.

The object of my present writing to you is, to disclose a plan, which the Honourable Company are very desirous of seeing adopted, and which would redound to your credit and honour.

It is known to you, that the tribe of Jahrejah Rajputs, who are very numerous in the country of Kutch, do not rear their female offspring; but, under the blind influence of prejudice, suffer their female infants to be destroyed in their childhood.

This practice is no less contrary to the laws of the Gospel, than it is to the precepts of the Koran; and it is also equally and fully prohibited in the Shasters and ordinances of the Hindus, which the Jahrejahs ought to respect,

Then you will observe, that no motive of ambition, interest, or advantage, can prompt the Honourable Company to wish to see a practice so contrary to every law abolished.

Their desire, in this respect, can arise solely from humanity, and a wish to inspire the tribe of Jahrejahs with that affection for their female offspring, which parents ought to possess.

But what argument can be necessary to prove to you, the advantage and credit which will attend your co-operating in this useful and humane attempt, to which you are invited by every consideration of humanity and religion?

Your effectual aid and assistance in this respect, will secure the respect and consideration of all persons, and I feel a confidence, that you will exert your best endeavours.

Accordingly, as his Highness Rao Saheb is the senior of all the tribes of Jahrejahs, it is highly probable, that all this tribe will not hesitate to follow an example, that is set them by the head of the family; especially, as they do not appear averse to it in other respects, and some of them have laudably broke through the custom.

To make this custom, however, universal, it requires, that it should be formally renounced, and that the separate independent heads of the Jahrejah families should give some public document of its abolition.

I have therefore written, upon this occasion, a



letter to his Highness Rao Saheb, and trust, that his answer may be in conformity to the above, and be productive of the very desirable result of terminating the practice of infanticide.

*From Major Walker to Rao Saheb, Rajah of Kutch, dated 3d October, 1807.*

In these parts, it is represented, that all is well; gratify me, by writing me accounts of your welfare; and in the terms of friendship, that subsist between you and the Honourable Company.

Just now, whatever is most profitable to your interest, and to the welfare of your family and race, in the opinion of the Honourable Company, has been written to Fattedh Mahomed, and that respectable and worthy person will disclose the whole to you for your consideration. I am satisfied, that you will reply conformably to the wishes of the Honourable Company's government, and friendship will, from this cause, be much increased.

*From Fattedh Mahomed, Jemadar, to Major Walker, without date, received 21st October.*

(After compliments, and recapitulating the contents of Major Walker's letter to him, which, he states having received at a fortunate moment, and that it afforded him much pleasure, it proceeds,)

It is notorious, that since the Avatara of Sri

Krishna, these people, (the Jahrejahs,) who are descended from the Jadus, have, during a period of 4900 years, been in the habits of killing their daughters; and it has no doubt reached your knowledge, that all of God's creation, even the mighty Emperors of Hindustan, Shah Jehan, Aurungzebe, and Ackbar, who have successively reigned in Hindustan; those of Khorasan, and Iran, and the Rajahs of the four quarters of Hindustan; besides all others, the conductors of the affairs of this world, who have existed from time to time, have always preserved friendship with this court, and never acted in this respect (female infanticide) unreasonably.

Even the king of the world, who is protected by God, the king of Rum, descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, who have reigned over that country from the earliest time, and in whose dominions is situated the inestimable and glorious Mecca, never once thought of putting a stop to the custom, which prevails among the Jahrejahs, of killing their daughters; but, on the contrary, has preserved friendship at all times with this Durbar; and merchants, possessing lacks of wealth, belonging to his country, reside here: and people of equal wealth, of this country, are there; but he never once uttered any thing on this subject.

But you, who follow the paths of the king, and who are an Amir of the great Sirkar, the



Honourable Company having written me on this subject, I have derived much uneasiness; for it does not accord with your good character.

You should reflect, that though the authority of many Kings and Rajahs, the King of Rum excepted, has decayed or passed into the hands of others, still the Government of this country has remained unmoved, from the period of the Avatara of Krishna till this day; and this country contains so many brothers of one heart, descended from a common parent, as is not to be found in any other quarter; but they have not, to this day, departed from the habit of female infanticide. They have, however, approved of two good customs: 1st, In this country neither birds or animals are killed, goats excepted, and but few even eat them; and 2d, Charitable places for Fakirs, going and coming from Mecca, and Hindus performing pilgrimages, are so strongly planted, that they suffer no annoyance.

This Durbar has always maintained friendship beyond bounds with the Sirkar of the Honourable Company, and notwithstanding this, since you have acted so unreasonably in this respect, I am much distressed.

God is the giver, and God is the taker away; if any one's affairs go to ruin, he must attribute his fortune to God. No one has, until this day, wantonly quarrelled with this Durbar, who has not, in the end, suffered loss. This Durbar

wishes no one ill, nor has ever wantonly quarrelled with any one. Every thing that may happen is from God. I bow obedient. Do not again address me on this subject.

*From Major Walker to Fattih Mahomed, dated  
9th January, 1808.*

The Honourable Company's government, impressed with horror at the inhuman practice of female infanticide, in existence among the Jah-rejah tribe, was induced to take measures to put a stop to it.

The designs of great men are always in concordance with the secret will of the Divinity, and that secret assistance of the Omnipotent, which (praise to his name!) always attends the victorious standards of the army of the Honourable Company, has, in this instance, in a short period, crowned the wishes of their government with success, and extended and confirmed their reputation for humanity.

The fame of the great character which you bear in the country of Kutch for humanity, and your love of justice, has not remained a secret to me. Do you, my friend, put a stop to the custom of infanticide in Kutch, and you will perpetuate that name by an act, which will ever be remembered with delight; and be assured, the reward of so good an action will await you in the other world. I am fully satisfied, that you will



exert your utmost influence to do away this horrid practice, and thereby entitle yourself to the gratitude of your fellow mortals, and the most perfect bless in the next world : for the Almighty has bestowed on you the power to do this.

I have heard, that all the Jahrejahs who have become converts to Islamism, have renounced this practice. True it is, that it is contrary to the dictates of Mahomed, and the religion of Jesus Christ, as well as the sayings of the Purans and Shasters of the Hindus ; indeed it is, according to all these, the most heinous crime and sin.

I feel a strong desire to write you much at length on this subject ; but to the wise, a hint is enough.

My friendship requires me to desire you always to write me accounts of your welfare, and of the advancement you may make in the attainment of the object of my present letter.

*From Fatteh Mahomed, Jemadar, to Major Walker, without date, translated 13th February, 1808.*

Your other letter is expressive of the grief of the Honourable Company, on account of the horrid practice of female infanticide among the Jahrejahs ; and stating, that you would derive much pleasure from the abolition of this custom, which you have urged, on account of the friendship, which subsists between this Sirkar and the Company, and supported by several arguments, well

composed, from the perusal of all which, I have derived much pleasure.

The reputation of your Government, and of mine, are now long established; and this is known to the whole world, and, God be praised, it will daily increase.

Previous to this, I wrote you on the subject of female infanticide, and from that you must have learned every thing. What can I now say on this subject? for this custom has prevailed for 5000 years, since the incarnation of Krishna. And thus it has been, and is now practised.

This is not a practice confined to a few, that it can be dispensed with. Every one, also, who wishes to nourish his daughter, is at full liberty; and he who wishes to kill them, at their birth, has full powers so to do.

In this world, none of the Kings of the seven countries, occupying the four quarters of the world, or the Kings of Arabia and Ajum, who have reigned in this world, have ever written on this subject; but, on the contrary, have always preserved the connections of friendship. And this Government has, with these kings and rulers, always maintained amity, which I also preserve; and it is not fit with true friends, such as we are, constantly, on this subject, to create any ground of uneasiness.

It is the decree of Heaven; God the merciful, the King of the two worlds, be praised! every



one is pleased with his own faith. On this account, and as the Jahrejahs are the relations and brothers of Maha Rao Saheb, and I am an adherent of his Durbar, it is not proper for me to say any thing on the subject to the Jahrejahs, and it would not have effect, nor ever will.

Therefore, this business excepted, I beg you will write me on any other, that I may, from performing it, show to you my regard, from which we will derive mutual advantages; and to say more than this to a person of your wisdom, would be as foolish as to teach knowledge to Tukman.

*Extract Bombay Political Consultations, the  
27th March, 1811.*

*Extract Letter from Fetteh Mahomed, dated 15th  
January, 1811.*

With regard to what you have urged, founded not only upon the doctrines of Islamism and Christianity, but also upon the religious institutes of the Hindus, against the custom of the destruction of females, as in practice among the Jahrejah Thakurs, I have read what you have stated on the subject of this horrid cruelty. Truly, the mediation of those, whom God has exalted, are derived from supernatural inspiration. The truth is, that, among the Jahrejahs, descended from the

Jaroo tribe, the practice of female destruction has been handed down from generation to generation, for the last five thousand years. It constitutes, in fact, nothing new. Some do not practice it, whilst others do, at the birth. Every person is vain of his own faith, as the Almighty has declared. Every tribe is gratified with its own tenets; and in the chapter of the "Beekrut" is the following divine saying: "When you shall have witnessed the good, as well as the evil, of any particular religion, there will be found to exist nothing disgusting therein;" and hitherto no attempt has been made, since the world has been divided into four quarters, and subdivided into seven distinct religions, by any Persian or Arabian Sovereign, who has flourished on earth, to interdict the custom among the chieftains in question; and it cannot be unknown to you, that this class of people are either connected by the ties of brotherhood, or by relationship, with his Highness the Muha Row, my master, (may his shadow be extended!) and it must be accordingly inexpedient and improper in me, who have been cherished by his Highness, to discuss this question with the Jahrejah people, in concurring with the following divine command:—"It will not be competent to you to bring into the right path every person, to whom you may be attached, though the Almighty be able to direct in the way of truth whomsoever he wishes." This .:



at, therefore, excepted, I request you will unreservedly command my services, in this quarter, on all suitable occasions ; and I shall discharge the duties of a good wisher in the accomplishment thereof ; not doubting, at the same time, that you will always consider me as one of those who desire you well, and afford me the pleasure of your correspondence, such as I shall esteem the height of human felicity.

*Extract of a Letter from the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq., Governor of Bombay, to Fatteh Mahomed, Jemadar, dated 25th March, 1811.*

I have of late had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you, on the subject of the fortunate consequences that attended the deputation of the late most worthy character, Captain Greenwood, to Mundavy ; and respecting your reluctance to interpose for the prevention of the nefarious observance of female infanticide, as being a long established custom, that has prevailed among the Jahrejahs of your quarter, and of which, although you cannot yourself but disapprove, you wish to decline interfering in, for fear of giving offence to your superiors. You should, however, consider, what a high religious merit you must acquire, in the sight of the Almighty, by proving the happy means of putting an end to so immoral and detestable a practice, as must, by all the world, be acknowledged to be, the one

here alluded to, and which might gradually be suppressed, and, in time, entirely rooted out, by pursuing the same conciliatory means, for that purpose, as was followed three years ago, in Kattywar, by the respectable Colonel Walker, who, after some amicable discussion, obtained, under the instructions of this Government, written agreements and obligations from all the Jahrejah chieftains in that region, to abandon so abominable a custom, in like manner as I had previously done, two-and-twenty years ago, from the Rajput tribe of Raj-Koomars, in the Zilla of Juanpore, in the province of Benares, since which the acts of these Raj-Koomars have remained unsullied, with such barbarous and unnatural deeds, as the murder of their own offspring.

I inclose a translation of the engagement, which these Raj-Koomars, on that account, entered into, under date the 17th December, 1789; and the respectable Captain Carnac, Resident at Baroda, will forward a transcript of the engagement to the same effect, entered into with Colonel Walker by the Jahrejahs of Kattywar. Both which writings I recommend your confidentially imparting, together with copies of my former and present letters to you, on this important subject, to some of the most discreet of the head men of that tribe in Kutch, and on whom, I cannot doubt, the perusal and consideration thereof, will produce a salutary effect, and awaken their feelings



to a sense of the murderous habitudes, to which they and their ancestors have been thus long inured, such as I cannot suppose they will desire to persevere in, after knowing, that it had been relinquished by so many of their brethren, both in the West and in the East, when they can, I trust, no longer desire to continue the solitary instance of such atrocity. In which case the Almighty will no doubt forgive the past, as being founded in their ignorance, and in those prejudices of education, which it is difficult in all countries to get the better of; whereof, if they wilfully persist thus to put their own infants, systematically to death, in defiance of the salutary example set to them by their brethren, it is to be dreaded, that the divine vengeance may one day overtake them, and their country, in like manner, as the history of other nations contains marked manifestations of such as, I hope, they will arrest in time, and seasonably shield themselves from, by the renunciation thus solicitously desired of them. Nor can you, in particular, perform a service so agreeable to me, as by contributing, by all the weight of your own influence, to the attainment of an object so highly interesting to humanity, respecting which, I shall therefore wait your further report,\* with an anxiety proportionate to the importance of the reformation thus in view.

\* Not received.

## No. IV.

*Illustration of the case referred to, p. 224, being COLONEL WALKER'S note to par. 89 of his Report.*

THE instance alluded to here, was, a Jahrejah who was reported to have murdered his daughter, after she had been preserved for some days. This circumstance also illustrates another superstitious ceremony of the Hindus.

A Jahrejah of Raj-Kote, was accused of causing, according to the custom of his cast, his infant daughter to be destroyed. This was just at the period, when most of the chiefs had subscribed to an engagement for renouncing the practice.

Although this deed was supposed to have been committed before the penalties of the engagement could be enforced, I conceived it necessary to notice the circumstance, and to embrace every occasion of marking, with disapprobation and horror, the commission of this unnatural crime.

The circumstance also was related to me as attended with uncommon barbarity. It was stated, that some time previous to the delivery



of the Jahrejah woman, the chief of Raj Kote had caused it to be intimated to her, that if she should be delivered of a daughter, it should be preserved. At the time of delivery, the husband was abroad, and his wife, who happened to give birth to a daughter, followed the injunctions of his chief, and no doubt her own inclination, by saving the life of the infant. Two or three days after this event the husband returned, and with the most brutal rage threatened to kill his wife, and immediately ordered his daughter to be destroyed. In this manner, the circumstances were related to me; and Dadajee, the chief of Raj-Kote, who resided in my camp, confirmed the fact of the delivery, and the injunctions, which he had issued for preserving the offspring.

The attendance of the Jahrejah was obtained; but as he affirmed, with appearances also in his favour, that the child had died a natural death, we were contented, in a case, where complete evidence could not be procured, to have recourse to the expedient of deciding the question by lot.

This extraordinary mode of appeal to the Divinity, may be traced among most nations; and it is still practised among the Hindus.

The appeal being supposed to be made in the presence of the Divinity, it is attended by religious rites and ceremonies, and when it happens to be a case of importance, nothing is spared to give the trial a solemn appearance.

The parties assemble and proceed to a place of worship, accompanied by their friends and Brahmins. After the necessary poojas and ceremonies are over, chits or notes are made out in the name of the Deity, unto whom the appeal is made. One of them implores, that, if such a one is innocent, the Dhurum note, or note declaring him innocent, may come forth; the other, that the Pap note, if he is guilty, may come forth.

These notes are thrown into a cloth, or into a vessel, and the parties, or those whom they may appoint, draw the tickets, which are to decide the contest.

The following is another instance of recourse to the trial by lot, in the decision of a civil case, but the dubious nature of which was not decided thereby. The object was, to ascertain whether some words in a will were original or forged.

This case has been referred to arbitration; but the arbitrators were not able to say, whether those words were the hand-writing of the deceased or not; however, they determined to put six tickets before the god, viz. three in favour of the complainant, and three in favour of the defendant, to know whether the words in question were in the hand-writing of the deceased or not? The first time the ticket was in favour of the defendant, and two subsequent times in favour of the complainant. If the three tickets had been



in favour of either party, he would have had the  
s decided in his favour.

The following are translations of the notes  
which were used in the instance of the Jahrejah.  
It is unnecessary to add, he was acquitted.

1. Prosperity !—Sree Runchoorjee is infallible !  
—If Rajajee Kurcherawalla killed his daughter,  
let the Pap \* chit, or note, declaring the sin he  
has committed, come forth.

2. Prosperity !—Sree Runchoorjee is infallible !  
—If Rajajee Kurcherawalla's daughter has died  
a natural death, let the Dhurru † note, or note  
declaring him innocent, come forth.

\* Pap. Sin or crime.

† Dhurru. Justice, religion, charity, innocence.

## No. V.

*Political Department.*

*To the Honourable Jonathan Duncan,  
Governor, &c.*

Honourable Sir,

*Bombay.*

ADVERTING to the chief Secretary's letter of the 21st March, 1808, I have great satisfaction in submitting, for your information, the accompanying copy and translation from Suoram Sadashe, the native agent in Kattywar, with its inclosure.

It is little more than a month ago, since I directed Sewrum Sadashe to direct his inquiries, to ascertain the number of females, which he might learn had been preserved in the Jahrejah families, in consequence of the engagements for refraining from infanticide, and the satisfactory nature of the information, which he communicates, from a very limited portion of the Jahrejah territory, seems to promise, that the humane expectations of the Honourable Company's go-



ent will not be disappointed in the re-

I have also the honour to transmit another memorandum, verbally communicated, from a Jahrejah who came to Baroda from Moorbee, some time since, and I have no doubt, that subsequent inquiries will greatly extend the list of those lives, which the interference of the Honourable Company's government have saved from the early death, to which a barbarous superstition had doomed them.

When it is recollected, that, with a strict inquiry during my progress in Kattywar, not more than four or five instances of daughters being preserved, could be traced for years past, the importance of this reform, will be estimated by the number which have been saved in the few months, that have elapsed since the engagements were executed.

The number of lives, which are ascertained to have been preserved, under a very limited inquiry, is a decisive proof of the beneficial nature of those engagements; but the effect, which they have had on the minds of the Jahrejahs, is probably shewn in a prominent light, by the circumstance of one of the Jahrejah's, mentioned in the inclosure, under the Bhyaud of Dherole, being the same Jahrejah Jessagee of Jallia, noticed in the 92d paragraph of my Report, of the 15th

March last, who had already destroyed daughters.

It is probably difficult to prove the fact of any female children being put to death; but in a country where this act has never been considered criminal or disgraceful, and where every person avowed it, without scruple or compunction, the circumstance of three infanticides only being ascertained, and one of these resting on report, deserves notice, as tending to prove, that the practice is decreasing, or that public opinion now views it in a different light than formerly.

For those that have been ascertained, I have suggested to the Guicawar government, the mode of punishment, which Mr Warden's letter recommends.

I trust, the information I have now the honour to forward, will prove satisfactory, and afford you, Honourable Sir, the pleasing hope, that the horrid practice of female infanticide may be eradicated from Kattywar.

I have, &c. &c.

*Baroda, 16th December, 1808.*

Then follow the inclosures referred to, containing the names of the villages, in which inquiry had been made, and of the persons in them, who



daughters born within the period of the enactment. The sum of the whole is contained in what follows:—

Female children who have been preserved,	20
Died a natural death, . . . . .	2
Put to death, . . . . .	3
	—
Total, . . . . .	25

By an inquiry of one month, the aforementioned information has been acquired; but these people are great vagabonds, and it is with great difficulty that they can be discovered in putting their female issue to death.

I have, however, taken proper measures to ascertain all particulars on this interesting subject.

*Baroda, 10th August, 1808.*

According to the information of the Jahrejah Jeytajee of Moorbee, the following families have saved their daughters, since the agreements for abolishing infanticide.

Jahrejah Moorgee of Dherole; Janajee of Nagrawar; Ramabay of Rajcote; and Sheethany of Dherole.

These four, Jeytajee observes, have reared their daughters, who are of his acquaintance;

but that many others have followed the practice, and that it has become universal.

The particulars regarding a future investigation, which also was on a limited scale, are mentioned in the text, p. 225, &c.

FINIS.