APPENDIX 1

Occupational caste groups of Madras who offered assistance to the Government of Fort St. George in Madras for expanding the town.

1. Chuliar caste
2. Painter caste.
3. Husbandman caste
4. Cooly caste
5. Washers caste
6. Tailor caste
7. Barber caste
8. Pariyar caste
9. Komati caste
10. Oilmaker caste
11. Furniture caste
12. Shepheard caste
13. Potmaker caste ("Odayar" or "Wadiyar")
14. Moochi caste
15. Patamava caste
16. Telgu caste
17. Cavaree caste
18. Hugabumds caste
19. Palli caste
20. Goldsmith caste
21. Chitte caste
22. Weaver caste.

Source: Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultations Book, 1686, p.5.
APPENDIX 2

Abbe J.A. Dubios has given great description of caste in south India and its application on the all occupational castes. He talks about the crime and punishment regarding the caste system.

Expulsion from Caste. – Castes in which such Degradation is inflicted. – By whom inflicted. – Restoration to Caste. – Methods of effecting it.

Of all kinds of punishment the hardest and most unbearable for a Hindu is that which cuts him off and expels him from his caste. Those whose duty it is to inflict it are the gurus, of whom I shall have more to say in a subsequent chapter, and in default of them, the caste headmen. These latter are usually to be found in every district, and it is to them that all doubtful or difficult questions affecting the caste system are referred. They call in, in order to help them to decide such questions, a few elders who are well versed in the intricacies of the matters in dispute.

This expulsion from caste, which follows either an infringement of caste usages or some public offence calculated if left unpunished to bring dishonor on the whole community, is a kind of social excommunication, which derives the unhappy person who suffers it of all intercourse with his fellow-creatures. It renders him, as it were dead to the world, and leaves him nothing in common with the rest of society. In losing his caste he loses not only his relations and friends, but often his wife and his children, who would rather abandon him to his fate than share his disgrace. Nobody eat with him or even gives him a drop of water. If he has marriageable daughters nobody asks them in marriage, and in like manner his sons are refused wives. He has to take it for granted that wherever he goes he will be avoided, pointed at with scorn, and regarded as an outcaste.

If after losing caste a Hindu could obtain admission into an inferior caste, his punishment would in some degree be tolerable; but even this humiliating compensation is denied to him. A simple Sudra with any notions of honour and propriety would never associate or even speak with a Brahmin degraded in this manner. It is necessary,
therefore, for an outcaste to seek asylum in the lowest caste of Pariahs if he fails to obtain restoration to his own; or else he is obliged to associate with persons of doubtful caste. There are always people of this kind, especially in the quarters inhabited by Europeans; and unhappy is the man who puts trust in them! A caste Hindu is often a thief and a bad character, but a Hindu without caste is almost always a rouge.

Expulsion from caste is generally put in force without much formality. Sometimes it is due merely to personal hatred or caprice. Thus, when persons refuse, without any apparent justification, to attend the funeral or marriage ceremonies of their relations or friends, or when they happen not to invite the latter on similar occasions, the individuals thus slighted never fail to take proceedings in order to obtain satisfaction for the insult offered to them, and the arbitrators called in to decide the case usually pass a decree of excommunication. When a case is thus settled by arbitration, however, a sentence of excommunication does not bring upon the guilty person the same disgrace and the same penalties which are the lot of those whose offence offers no room for compromise.

Otherwise it matters little whether the offence be deliberate, whether it be serious or trivial, in determining that a person shall pay this degrading penalty. A Pariah who concealed his origin, mixed with other Hindus, entered their houses and ate with them without being recognized, would render those who had thus been brought into contact with him liable to ignominious expulsion from their caste. At the same time a Pariah guilty of such a daring act would inevitably be murdered on the spot, if his entertainers recognized him.

A Sudra, too, who indulged in illicit intercourse with a Pariah woman would be rigorously expelled from caste if his offence became known.

A number of Brahmins assembled together for some family ceremony once admitted to their feast, without being aware of it, a Sudra who had gained admittance on the false assertion that he belonged to their caste. On the circumstance being discovered, these Brahmins were one and all outcasted, and were unable to obtain
reinstatement until they had gone through all kinds of formalities and been subjected to considerable expense.

I once witnessed amongst the Gollavarus, or shepherds, an instance of even greater severity. A marriage had been arranged, and, in the presence of the family concerned certain ceremonies which are equivalent to betrothal amongst ourselves had taken place. Before the actual celebration of the marriage, which was fixed for a considerable time afterwards, the bridegroom died. The parents of the girl, who was very young and pretty, there-upon married her off to another man. This was in direct violation of the custom of the caste, which condemns to perpetual widowhood girls thus betrothed, even when, as in this case, the future bridegroom dies before marriage has been consummated. The consequence was that all the persons who had taken part in the second ceremony were expelled from caste, and nobody would contract marriage or have any intercourse whatever with them. A long time afterwards I met several of them, well advanced in age, who had been for this reason alone unable to obtain husbands or wives, as the case might be.

Let me relate another instance. Eleven Brahmins travelling in company were obliged to cross a district devastated by war. They arrived hungry and tired in a village, which, contrary to their expectations, they found deserted. They had with them a small quantity of rice, but they could find no other pots to boil it than some which had been left in the house of the village washerman. To touch these would constitute in the case of Brahmins an almost ineffaceable defilement. Nevertheless, suffering from hunger as they were, they swore mutual secrecy, and after washing and scouring the pots a hundred times they prepared their food in them. The rice was served and the repast consumed by all but one, who refused to partake of it, and who had no sooner returned home than he proceeded to denounce the ten others to the chief Brahmins of the village. The news of such a scandal spread quickly, and gave rise to a great commotion amongst all classes of the inhabitants. An assembly was held. The delinquents were summoned and forced to appear. Warned before-hand, however, of the proceedings that were to be instituted against them, they took counsel together and agreed to answer unanimously, when called upon to explain, that it was the accuser himself who had
committed the heinous sin and who had imputed it to them falsely and maliciously. The testimony of ten persons was calculated to carry more weight than that of one. The accused were consequently acquitted, while the accuser alone was ignominiously expelled from caste by the headmen, who, though they were perfectly sure of his innocence, were indignant at his treacherous disclosure.

From what has been said, it will no longer be surprising to learn that Hindus are as much, nay, even more, attached to their caste than the gentry of Europe are to their rank. Prone to using the most disgustingly abusive language in their quarrels, they, nevertheless, easily forgive and forget such insulting epithets; but if one should say of another that he is a man without caste, the insult would never be forgiven or forgotten.

This strict and universal observance of caste and caste usages forms practically their whole social law. A very great number of people are to be found amongst them, to whom death would appear far more desirable than life, if, for example, the latter were sustained by eating cows' flesh or any food prepared by Pariahs and outcastes.

It is this same caste feeling which gives rise to the contempt and aversion which they display towards all foreign nations, and especially towards Europeans, who, being as a rule but slightly acquainted with the customs and prejudices of the country, are constantly violating them. Owing to such conduct the Hindus look down upon them as barbarians totally ignorant of all principles of honour and good breeding.

In several cases, at least, restoration to caste is an impossibility. But when the sentence of excommunication has been passed merely by relations, the culprit conciliates with the principal members of his family and prostrates himself in a humble posture, and with signs of repentance, before his assembled castemen. He then listens without complaint to the rebukes which are showered upon him, receives the blows to which he is oftentimes condemned, and pays the fine which it is thought fit to impose upon him. Finally, after having solemnly promised to wipe out by good conduct the taint resulting from his degrading punishment, he sheds tears of repentance, performs the sashtanga before the assembly, and then serves a feast to the persons present.
When all this is finished he is looked upon as reinstated to his original caste. The sashtanga, by the way, is a sign or salute expressing humility, which is not only recognized amongst the Hindus and other Asiatic nations, but was in use amongst more ancient peoples. Instances of it are quoted in Scripture, where this extraordinary mark of respect is known as adoration, even when it is paid to simple mortals. (Vide Genesis xviii. 2; xix. 1; xxxiii. 3; xlii. 6; xliii. 26; 1. 18, &c., &c.) In the same way the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and other nations mentioned in Holy were acquainted with this method of reverent salutation and observed it under the same circumstances as the Hindus. As I shall often have occasion in this work to mention the sashtanga I will give it a definition of it. The person who performs it lies prostrate, his face on the ground and his arms extended beyond his head. It is called sashtanga from the prostration of the six members, because, when it is performed, the feet, the knees, the stomach, the chest, the forehead, and the arms must touch the earth. It is thus that prostrations are made before persons of high degree, such as princes and priests. Children sometimes prostrate themselves thus before their fathers. It is by no means rare to see Sudras of different classes performing sashtanga before Brahmins; and it often happens that princes, before engaging an enemy, thus prostrate themselves before their armies drawn up in battle array.

When expulsion from caste is the result of some heinous offence, the guilty person who is readmitted into caste has to submit to one or other of the following ordeals: his tongue is slightly burnt with a piece of heated gold; he is branded indelibly on different parts of his body with red-hot iron; he is made to walk barefooted over red-hot embers; or he is compelled to crawl several times under the belly of cow. Finally, to complete his purification, he is made to drink the pancha-gavia. These words, of which a more detailed explanation will be given later on, signify literally the five things or substances derived from the body of a cow: namely, milk, curds, ghee (clarified butter), dung and urine, which are mixed together. The last named, urine, is looked upon as the

---

1 Here and elsewhere the Abbe makes the mistake of interpreting sashtanga to mean 'the six angas, or 'parts of the body'; Sashtanga (Saashtanga) really means with the eight parts of the body, which are the two hands, the two feet, two knees, forehead, and breast. – E.D.
most efficacious for purifying any kind of uncleanness. I have often seen superstitious Hindus following the cows to pasture, waiting for the moment when they could collect the precious liquid in vessels of brass, and carrying it away while still warm to their houses. I have also seen them waiting to catch it in the hollow of their hands, drinking some of it and rubbing their faces and heads with the rest. Rubbing it in this way is supposed to wash away all external uncleanness; and drinking it to cleanse all internal impurity. When this disgusting ceremony of the pancha-gavia is over, the person who has been reinstated is expected to give a great feast to the Brahmins who have collected from all parts to witness it. Presents of more or less value are also expected by them, and not until these are forthcoming does the guilty person resumes all his rights and privileges again.

There are certain offences so heinous in the sight of Hindus, however, as to leave no hope of reinstatement to those who commit them. Such, for example, would be the crime of a Brahmin who had openly cohabited with a Pariah woman. Were the woman of any other caste, I believe that it would be possible for a guilty person, by getting rid of her and by repudiating any children he had had by her, to obtain pardon, after performing many purifying ceremonies and expending much money. But hopeless would be the case of the man who under any circumstances had eaten of cows flesh. There would be no hope of pardon for him, even supposing he had committed such an awful sacrilege under compulsion.

It would be possible to cite several instances of strange and inflexible severity in the punishment of caste offences. When the last Mussulman Prince reigned in Mysore and sought to proselytize the whole Peninsulas he began by having several Brahmins forcibly circumcised, compelling them afterwards to eat cows flesh as an unequivocal token of their renunciation of caste. Subsequently the people were freed from the yoke of this tyrant, and many of those who had been compelled to embrace the Mahomedan religion made every possible effort, and offered very large sums, to be readmitted to Hinduism. Assemblies were held in different parts of the country to thoroughly consider their cases. It was everywhere decided that it was quite possible to purify the uncleanness of circumcision and of intercourse with Mussulmans. But the
crime of eating cow's flesh, even under compulsion, was unanimously declared to be irredeemable and not to be effaced either by presents, or by fire, or by the panchagavia.

A similar decision was given in the case of Sudras who found themselves in the same position, and who, after trying all possible means, were not more successful. One and all, therefore, were obliged to remain Mahomedans.

A Hindu, of whatever caste, who has once had the misfortune to be excommunicated, can never altogether get rid of the stain of his disgrace. If he ever gets into trouble his excommunication is always thrown in his teeth.

APPENDIX 3

Trial by ordeal its different forms of Indian caste based social structure.

When the evidence against a man accused of either a civil or criminal offence is not sufficiently strong to convict him, the Hindus often have recourse to trial by ordeal, this method of settling doubtful cases being a regular part of their judicial system. The principal ordeals are those by scales and weights, by fire, by water, and by poison. The following are the rules to be observed. The months of Chaitra, Vaisaka, and Margasira (April, May, and December) are the most favourable for ordeals, though that of the scales can take place at any time when there is not too much wind. The ordeal by fire should be practised during the rainy season, that by water in the hot weather and in autumn, that by poison in winter and in foggy weather. If careful attention is not paid to these points grave errors are liable to occur. An ordeal which took place at an unfavourable moment would be of no assistance in ascertaining the truth. The accused who is to be tried by ordeal prepared himself by fasting and ablutions. He then goes to a Brahmin purohita, explains the circumstances of the case, and receives his advice and instruction. After this he offers a sacrifice to all the Brahmins present, asking for the asirvadam (blessing), and then speaks as follows:-

'Say that this day shall be a fortunate one for me, a day of virtue, a day on which it will be recognized that I am innocent of the crime of which I am accused, a day on which I shall receive many blessings'.

To this the Brahmins reply three times:-

'May this day be a fortunate one for three, a day of virtue a day on which thy innocence will be proved, a day on which thou shalt receive many blessings.'

2 There are ten forms of trial by ordeal: - Tila 'the balance'; Agni, 'fire'; Jala, 'water'; Visha, 'poison'; Kosa, 'drinking water in which an idol has been washed'; tandula, 'ejecting chewed rice grains'; tapata masha, 'taking a masha weight of gold out of heated oil'; Phala, 'holding a hot ploughshare'; Dharma dharma, 'drawing concealed images of Virtue and Vice out of a vessel filled with earth'; tulasi, 'holding the leaves of holy basil.' This holy basil is sacred to Vishnu – Ed.
This preliminary ceremony, which is called the sastivassa, being ended, they offer homam in honour of the nine planets. The scales are then brought in. Over them is a little white flag and a stake is driven into the ground to support them. The purohita presiding over the ceremony takes a vessel containing water, rice, and flowers, and turning towards the east says:-

‘Glory to the three worlds’

‘Goddess of Virtue, approach this place, come near, accompanied by the eight divine guardians of the eight corners of the world, and by the gods of wealth and of winds.’

He offers puja to the goddess of Virtue, then turning successfully to the eight principal points of the globe, he says:-

‘To the east, ‘Glory of Indra!’ (the king of the gods).
To the south, ‘Glory to Yama!’ (the Hindu Pluto).
To the west, ‘Glory to Varuna!’ (the Hindu Neptune).
To the north, ‘Glory to Kubera!’ (the Hindu Plutus).
To the south-east, ‘Glory to Agni!’ (fire)
To the south-west, ‘Glory to Nairuta!’ (the Chief of the Devils).
The north-west, ‘Glory to Vayu!’ the wind).
To the north-east, ‘Glory of Isana!’ (the Destroyer).

He then offers puja to these eight deities. He also offers it to the eight gods of wealth, to the twelve suns⁴, to the Rudras, to the sixteen mothers, to Ganesha, and

---

³ The three worlds, called the triloka when spoken of collectively, are Swarga, Bhu Loka, and Patala – heaven, earth, and hell – Dubois.

⁴ Mitra is one of the most common names for the sun. It is also the Persian name for this luminary, which peculiarity strikes me as noteworthy-Dubois.
finally to the eight winds.\(^5\) He offers to Virtue the lesser puja, that is to say, sandalwood, flowers, incense, a lamp, and neiveddya.

Then follows the homam. The fire having been consecrated and purified by the purohita according to Vedic rites, and the gayatri mantram having been recited, they throw into the fire a hundred and eight, or twenty-eight, or at least pieces of the villi tree, dipped in a mixture of butter and rice. At this juncture presents must be given to the Brahmins.

Then the accused, who must be fasting and be wearing very damp clothes, is placed on that side of the scale which is towards the west. They often put bricks and darbha grass on the other side until a perfectly just balance has been obtained. The accused then leaves his scale and is sent to perform his ablutions without taking off his garments. During this interval the purohita writes in two lines of equal length, and each containing an equal number of letters, the mantram of which the following is a translation:-

‘Sun, moon, wind, fire, Swarga, earth, water, virtue, Yama, day, night, dusk and dawn, you know this man’s deeds, and whether the accusation is true or false.’

He then specifies below the offence which the accused is supposed to have committed. This writing must not be in black ink; ink of some different colour must be used.

The purohita places the writing on the head of the accused, and addresses the scales in these words:- ‘Scales, you know their vices and their virtues. What escapes man’s perspicacity is not hidden from you. Behold a person who is accused of a crime of which he declares himself to the innocent, and who desired to prove his innocence to the public. If he is not guilty, justice demands that you should pronounce in his favour.’

The duty of watching the movements of the scales must be left neither to a religious recluse, nor yet to a person of doubtful honesty. The former would be too

\(^5\) Amongst these winds there is one called anima, which I think, is also worth noticing.- Dubois.
likely to be influenced by compassion; the latter would not scruple to trifle with his conscience. A Brahmin of tried wisdom and virtue is, therefore, chosen to fill the office, and he, in his turn, makes this speech to the scales:

'Scales, they have appointed you to dispense justice to mankind and to reveal the truth. Show it, therefore, on this occasion; and if the man you are about to try is really guilty, do not allow him to preserve his equilibrium, but make the weight of his sin turn the scale against him.

The purohita then puts the accused again in the scales. He chants five times a stanza suitable to the occasion. If the scale on which the accused is standing forthwith drops, he is declared guilty; if the contrary is the case, he is declared innocent. If the scales remain equal, he is considered to be partially guilty; and if the rope breaks, he is reckoned altogether guilty.

The ceremony, as usual terminates with a distribution of presents to the assembled Brahmins.

In the ordeal by fire the first of all draw eight circles on the ground, each sixteen fingers in diameter, leaving the same amount of space between each. Fire is the presiding genius of the first circle. Varuna, the wind, Yama, Indra, Kubera, the moon, and Savirtu preside over the seven others.

These eight circles are arranged in two parallel lines. A ninth, placed by itself, is dedicated to all the gods. All the circles are purified by being smeared over with cow dung, on the top of which they scatter darbha grass. They then offer puja in turn to the deity presiding over each circle.

Meanwhile the person, about to undergo the ordeal bathes without removing his clothing, and while still quite wet places himself in the first circle of the line on the west side, his face towards the east. They then dip his hands into wheat flour mixed with curdled milk, and cover them over with seven leaves of the aswatta tree, seven leaves of choni, and seven stalks of darbha grass.
A blacksmith then heats a small iron rod in the fire to a red heat. The rod should be about eight inches long, and the weight of fifty rupees (in coins). Then the purohita places some fire purified according to the rites of his Veda to the south of the ninth circle and performs the homam. He invokes the goddess of Virtue in the same words as those used in the ordeal by scales. He throws the red-hot iron into water; and after it has been re-heated to the same degree of temperature, he speaks as follows:-

"Fire, you are the Four Vedas, and as such I offer you homam. You are the countenance of all the gods and you are also the countenance of all learned men. You take away all our sins, and that is why you are called pure and purifying. I am the greatest of sinners, but I have the happiness to see you. Purify me from all my sins, and if this man, who is about to undergo this ordeal is really innocent, refrain, for his sake, from making use of your natural power of burning, and do him no harm."

He finishes his discourse by doing homage to the power which this element possessed of penetrating into the inmost recesses of the human heart and discovering the truth. Then he says:-

"Glory to the three worlds!" and finally pronounces this evocation: 'O fire, come near! come near and stay here! stay here!' and he offers puja. The accused places himself in the first circle, and the purhotia, taking up the bar of hot iron with some tongs, says again: 'O fire, you know the secrets of men! Reveal the truth to us on this occasion!' At the same moment he puts the red-hot iron on the hands of the accused, who then, still keeping hold of the iron, runs over all the circles, in such a manner, as to place his feet alternatively on all. Arrived at the eighth circle he throws the iron into the ninth on to some straw, which should be set on fire by the contact.

In case of the accused dropping the iron before he has covered the whole distance, the trial would have to begin all over again. If, on an inspection of his hands, it is seen that the iron has not injured the skin, he is considered innocent. An accidental burn on any other part of his body would not count. To make quite sure that contact with the red-hot iron has produced no sensible effect on the skin, the accused is given
some unhusked rice, which he has to rub vigorously between his hands to separate the grains from the husk.

The preparatory formalities for the ordeal by water are much the same as the preceding ones. For this they draw a single circle in which they place flowers and incense. A stake is also driven into a tank or a river where the current is not too strong. Near this stake the accused must place himself, the water being up to his waist. The purohita with his face to the east, then speaks these words:-

'Water, you are the lift of all that has life; you create and destroy at will; you purify everything, and we may always be sure to learn the truth when we take you for judge. Settle the doubtful question which now concerns us and tell us whether this man is guilty or not.'

Some one is then told to go a certain distance and to return. During the time so occupied the accused must immerse himself completely, holding on to the bottom of the stake fixed close to him. If he raises his head above the water before the person returns, he is accounted guilty; if he comes up afterwards, he is declared innocent.

If both the accuser and the accused are condemned to undergo the ordeal, they must both under the water at the same time, and he who first comes to the surface to breathe is considered guilty.

The ordeal by poison is preceded by all the usual ceremonies. A little powdered arsenic is mixed in some melted butter. The purohita then says:-

'Poison, you are a harmful substance, created to destroy the guilty and impure. You were vomited by the great snake Vasuki to cause the death of guilty giants. Behold a person who is accused of a crime of which he declares himself to be innocent. If in reality he is not guilty, divest yourself of your injurious qualities and become to him as amrita (nectar).'

The accused then swallows the poison; and if, though he may feel unwell, he survives for three days, he is proclaimed innocent.
There are also several other kinds of trial by ordeal. Amongst the number is that of boiling oil, which is mixed with cow-dung, and into which the accused must plunge his arm up to the elbow; that of the snake, which consists in shutting up some very poisonous snake in a basket, in which has been placed a ring or a piece of money which the accused must find and bring out with his eyes bandaged; if, in the former case, he is not scalded, and in the latter is not bitten, his innocence is completely proved.

Appendix 4


BUILDINGS dedicated to religious worship are extremely numerous in India. There are few villages or hamlets which have not at least one. It is even a generally received opinion that no place should be inhabited where there is no temple, for otherwise the inhabitants would run grave risks of misfortune.

Among the good works expected of the rich, one of the most honourable and most meritorious consists in spending a part of their fortune in the construction and endowment of these sacred buildings. Such munificence, it is argued, is an infallible means of obtaining the protection of the gods, remission of one’s sins, and admission into an Abode of Bliss after death. But vanity, ostentation, and desire to attract attention are much more powerful factors, if indeed they are not the only ones that excite beneficence on the part of the wealthy.

Besides the temples with which all villages are provided, one finds many erected in isolated spots, in woods, on the highways, in the middle of rivers, on the borders of tanks and other large reservoirs, and especially on the summits of steep rocks, mountains, and hills. This practice of constructing buildings consecrated to religious worship upon elevated sites must have struck all persons who have travelled in India. In fact, there are few mountains, where a well or a spring is to be found, that are not surmounted by a building of this sort. The choice of sites like these does not appear to be a matter of caprice. We know that the same practice exists among the majority of Asiatic nations. Not only the ancient heathen peoples, but even the children
of Israel, always chose elevated sites for purposes of religious worship. When God ordered the Israelites to take possession of the land of Canaan, He commanded them, above all things, to destroy the sacred groves with which those buildings were surrounded, as are those of the Hindus to this day. Holy Scripture refers often to these high places and sacred groves.

One can only offer conjectures regarding this custom of placing on elevated sites the temples dedicated to the sacrifices and vows which the people addressed to their gods. Some authors have remarked that the worship of the stars having always been more or less a part of pagan ritual, the heathen constructed their temples so as to face the east at a certain elevation, in order that the rising sun might flood the interior of the temples with its light and cast its rays upon the religious ceremonies which take place at that time of day. No doubt, too, they thought they were thereby approaching as near as possible to the heavenly powers whom they invoked. Furthermore, the duties of the soothsayers often necessitated such elevated positions, in order that they might see the heavens clearly.

Besides the temples of idols which one meets with at every step in India, statues of stone, of baked earth, and especially of granite, representing objects of popular worship, may be seen on the high-roads, at the entrances of villages, near the choultries, on the borders of tanks, near rivers, in the market-places and elsewhere. The Hindus also delight in placing these idols of stone under the shade of leafy trees, especially of those reputed sacred, such as the aswatta, the alai (banian), the vepu (neem), etc. Some of these idols are placed in shrines, and others in the open air.

Most Hindu temples present a very wretched appearance, being more like barns or stables than buildings consecrated to the gods. Some of the Hindu Temples are used as places of public assembly, courts of justice, or rest-houses for travelers. There are many, however, which as seen from a distance have an imposing effect and excite the

---

6 The ceremonies performed in honour of the infernal deities took place at sunset; and it is believed that the entrances of the temples of these divinities faced towards the west. – DUBOIS.

7 The Ficus religiosa, the Ficus indica, and the Melia Azadirachta. – E.D.
admiration of the traveller. They recall to mind those ancient times when architects had
an eye for posterity as well as for their contemporaries, and were much more intent on
making their works durable than on securing elegance at the cost of solidity.

The structure of the large temples, both ancient and modern, is everywhere the
same. The Hindus, devoted as they are to ancestral customs, have never introduced
innovations in the construction of their public edifices. Their architectural monuments,
such as they exist today, are probably better examples of building as practised by
ancient civilized nations than the ruins of Egyptians and Greeks, concerning which
European scholars have so much to say.

The entrance gate of the great pagodas opens through a high, massive pyramidal
tower, the summit of which is ordinarily topped by a crescent or half-moon. This gate
faces the east, a position which is observed in all their temples, great and small. The
pyramid or tower is called the gopuram.

Beyond the tower is a large court, at the farther end of which is another gate,
opening like the first through a pyramid of the same form, but smaller. Through this
you pass to a second and smaller court, which is in front of the shrine containing the
principal idol.

In the middle of this second court and facing the entrance to the shrine, you
generally see upon a large pedestal, or within a kind of pavilion open on all sides and
supported by four pillars, a coarsely sculptured stone figure, either of a bull lying flat
on its belly, or of a lingam, if the temple is dedicated to Siva; or of the monkey
Hanuman, or of the serpent Capella, if it is a temple of Vishnu; or of the god
Vigneshwara; or maybe of some other symbol of Hindu worship. This is the first object
which the natives worship before entering the shrine itself.

The door of the shrine is generally low and narrow, and it is the only opening
which allows a free passage of air and light from outside, for the use of windows is
entirely unknown in the Peninsula. The interior of the shrine is habitually shrouded in
darkness, or is lighted only by the feeble flicker of a lamp which burns day and night by
the side of the idol. One experiences a sort of involuntary shock on entering one of
these dark recesses. The interior of the shrine is generally divided into two parts, sometimes into three. The first, which may be called the nave, is the largest, and it is here that the worshippers assemble. The second is called the adytum, or sanctuary, where the idol to whom the shrine is consecrated is placed. This chamber is smaller and much darker than the first. It is generally kept shut, and the door can be opened only by the officiating priest, who, with some of his acolytes, has alone a right to enter its mysterious precincts for the purpose of washing and dressing the idol and presenting the offerings of the faithful such as flowers, incense of sandalwood, lighted lamps, fruit, butter, milk, rich apparel, and jewels.

Some of the modern Hindu temples are vaulted, but most of them have flat roofs supported by several rows of massive stone pillars, the capitals of which are composed of two heavy stones crossed, on which are placed the beams, also of stone, which extend through the length and breadth of the building. The beams again are covered horizontally with slabs of stone strongly cemented to prevent leakage. Whether the object be to make these buildings more imposing and solid, or to preserve them from the danger of fire, wood is never employed except for the doors.

The adytum, or sanctuary, is often constructed with a dome, but the building, as a whole, is generally very low, and this destroys the effect of its proportions in a striking degree. The low elevation; the difficulty with which the air finds a way through a single narrow and habitually closed passage; the unhealthy odours rising from the mass of fresh and decaying flowers; the burning lamps; the oil and butter spilt in libations; the excrements of the bats that take up their abode in these dark places; finally, and above all, the fetid perspiration of a multitude of unclean and malodorous people; - all contribute to render these sacred shrines excessively unhealthy. Only a Hindu could remain for any length of time in their heated and pestilential precincts without suffocation⁸.

⁸ The Abbe nowhere remarks on the burning of camphor, which plays so conspicuous a part in all Hindu worship, and which acts at the same time as a disinfectant. - E.D.
The principal idol is generally placed in a niche. It is clothed with garments more or less magnificent, and on great festivals is sometimes adorned with rare vestments and rich jewels. A crown of gold set with precious stones often adorns its head. For the most part, however, the idols of stone wear a cap like a sugar-loaf, which imparts to the whole figure the appearance of a pyramid. The Hindus, by the way, appear to have a special fancy for the form of a pyramid, which perhaps is due to some symbolical notion. We know that various nations of antiquity, among others, the Egyptians, regarded the pyramid as the symbol of immortality and of life, the beginning of which was represented by the base and the end or death by the summit. The pyramid was also the emblem of fire.

In vain are Hindu idols decked with rich ornaments; they are not rendered thereby less disagreeable in appearance. Their physiognomy is generally of frightful ugliness, which is carefully enhanced by daubing the images from time to time with a coating of dark paint. Some of the idols, thanks to the generous piety of rich votaries, have their eyes, mouth, and ears of gold or silver; but this makes them, if possible, yet more hideous. The attitudes in which they are represented are either ridiculous, grotesque, or obscene. In short, everything is done to make them objects of disgust to any not familiar with the sight of these strange monsters.

The idols exposed to public veneration in the temples are of stone, while those carried in procession through the streets are of metal, as are also the domestic gods which every Brahmin keeps and worships in his house. It is forbidden to make idols of wood or other easily destructible material. I know only one, that of the goddess Mariamma, which is of wood. For this image the wood of a certain tree is employed, the trunk of which is red inside, and which, when cut, exudes a sap the colour of blood, a characteristic which accords well with the merciless nature of this cruel divinity. It is true, one also often sees statues of clay or of masonry, but these are not of much account, and inspire very little veneration.

No idol can become an object of worship until it has been duly consecrated by a number of ceremonies. It is necessary first of all that the deity should be invoked, in order that it may fix its abode in the idol, and be incorporated with it; and this must be
done by a Brahmin purohita. New temples are also subjected to a solemn inauguration, and all objects destined for their service must be formally consecrated. Both temples and idols are liable to be desecrated on many occasions. If, for example, an European, a Mohamedan, or a Pariah, unfortunately, entered a sanctuary or touched an idol, that very instant the divinity would take its departure. And in order to induce it to return, all the ceremonies would have to be begun over again, and performed more elaborately and at greater cost than before.

Besides the idols which are to be found inside every temple, the walls and four sides of the supporting pillars are covered with various figures. On the façade of the building niches are arranged, to contain symbolical figures representing men and animals, for the most part in indecent attitudes. Furthermore, the walls of the temple enclosure, which are no less thick and solid than the actual buildings, are also sometimes covered with these obscene or grotesque images. Outside the shrine, opposite and close to the entrance door, and sometimes in the middle of one of the courts, there is commonly seen a granite pillar, from forty to fifty feet high, octagonal in shape, and square at the base of the shaft; on each side of the lower part figures are sculptured. The pedestal is a solid mass of hewn stone. The capital of the column ends in a square cornice, at the four angles of which small bells are usually suspended. Above this, again, is a chafing dish in which incense is burnt at certain times, or else lighted lamps are placed there.

The traveller often sees on the roads, and even in remote spots, lofty columns of this kind, on which certain devotees place lamps from time to time. During the feast of Deepavali, of which mention has been made above, and which is apparently held in honour of fire, lamps are to be seen burning every evening on such columns. Sometimes the pillars are wreathed with pieces of new cloth, which are finally set on fire. These details favour the view that the pillars, constructed as they always are in places exposed to the east, are consecrated to the sun or to the element of fire.

Temple offices are held by persons of various castes. Nevertheless, all posts of any importance, and especially those which confer profit and dignity, are always held by Brahmins.
Among the numerous officials in Hindu worship the sacrificers occupy first rank; then come the consultative committees, the directors of ceremonies, the collectors of temple revenues, and the treasurers. Besides these, there are hosts of subordinates who assist in the administration of the temple funds, and in the supervision and direction of religious observances.

Sometimes, but not frequently, the high functions of sacrificers are performed by common Sudras and even Pariahs. At one of the most famous temples of Mysore, called Melkota, during the great festival which is celebrated there annually, the Pariahs are the first to enter the sanctuary and to offer sacrifices to the idol, and it is only after they have finished that the Brahmins begin their sacrifices. I have already remarked that the Sudras are the only persons holding this office in temples where it is usual to immolate living victims.

A fact worthy of remark is that the officiating priests wear no special costume in the exercise of their sacerdotal functions; they are dressed in their ordinary clothes, which are, however, newly washed for the purpose.

In most of the temples the oblations and sacrifices are confined to the simple products of nature. The offering of lamps is also specially in vogue. Sometimes thousands may be seen burning around the idol and in the enclosure of the temple; they are filled with clarified butter (ghee), which is a much more acceptable offering to the gods than oil.

Hindu priests offer up sacrifices regularly twice a day, morning and evening. The idol to which the sacrifice is offered is first thoroughly washed, and the water used for this purpose is brought from the river with much pomp and ceremony. In some of the great pagodas it is brought on the backs of elephants, preceded by dancing-girls and musicians, and escorted by a great number of Brahmins and various attendants. In other temples the Brahmins themselves go with a similar show of ceremony to fetch the water morning and evening, bringing it on their heads in large brass vessels. The water that remains after the idol has been washed is called tirtham (holy water), which is served to the devotees sacredly.
As soon as the task of washing the idol is over, the priest performs its toilet, which consists in putting on its clothes and tracing on its forehead one of the signs which the Hindus are accustomed to wear on their own foreheads. Puja is then offered to it. During these ceremonies the officiating priest tinkles a little bell, which is held in his left hand, the object no doubt being to call the attention of the worshippers to each stage in the ceremonial which is taking place inside the shrine and out of sight.

After completing his mysterious duties which must be concealed from profane eyes, the priest appears and distributes to the people who are assembled in the hall of the temple fragments of the offerings made to the idol. This prasadam (sacred gift) is received with eagerness. If it is frit or some other nutritious substance, it is eaten; if it is flowers, the men stick them in their turbans, while the women entwine them in their hair. Last of all, the priest pours into the hollow of each person hand a little tirtham, which is drunk immediately. After this all the worshippers retire.

The courtesans or dancing-girls attached to each temple take their place in the second rank; they are called devadasis (servants or slaves of the gods), but the public call them by the more vulgar name of prostitutes. And, in fact, they are bound by their profession to grant their favours, if such they be, to anybody demanding them in return for ready money. It appears that at first they were reserved exclusively for the enjoyment of the Brahmins. And these lewd women, who make a public traffic of their charms, are consecrated in a special manner to the worship of the divinities of India. Every temple of any importance has in its service a band of eight, twelve, or more. Their official duties consist in dancing and singing within the temple twice a day, morning and evening, and also at all public ceremonies. At first they execute with sufficient grace, although their attitudes are lascivious and their gestures indecorous. As regard their singing, it is almost always confined to obscene verses describing some licentious episode in the history of their gods. Their duties, however, are not confined to religious ceremonies. Ordinary politeness (and this is one of the characteristic

---

9 In most temples these mysterious duties are performed behind a curtain drawn between the worshippers and the idol. – E.D.
features of Hindu morality) requires that when persons of any distinction make formal
visits to each other they must be accompanied by a certain number of these courtesans.
To dispense with them would show a want of respect towards the persons visited,
whether the visit was one of duty or of politeness.

These women are also present at marriages and other solemn family meetings.
All the time which they have to spare in the intervals of the various ceremonies is
devoted to infinitely more shameful practices; and it is not an uncommon thing to see
even sacred temples converted into mere brothels. They are brought up in this shameful
licentiousness from infancy, and are recruited from various castes, some among them
belonging to respectable families. It is not unusual for pregnant women, with the object
of obtaining a safe delivery, to make a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to
devote the child that they carry in their womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the temple
service. They are far from thinking that this infamous vow offends in any way the laws
of decency, or is contrary to the duties of motherhood. In fact, no shame whatever is
attached to parents whose daughters adopt this career.

The courtesans are the only women in India who enjoy the privilege of learning
to read, to dance, and to sing. A well-bred and respectable woman would for this reason
blush to acquire any one of these accomplishments.

The devadasis receive a fixed salary for the religious duties which they perform;
but as the amount is small they supplement it by selling their favours in as profitable a
manner as possible. In the attainment of this object they are probably more skilful than
similar women in other countries. They employ all the resources and artifices of
coquetry. Perfumes, elegant costumes, coiffures best suited to set off the beauty of their
hair, which they entwine with sweet-scented flowers; a profusion of jewels worn with
much taste on different parts of the body; graceful and voluptuous attitude: such are the

---

10 This custom is certainly not observed at the present day. — ED.

11 In these days female education is slowly extending to all classes, and the prejudice which formerly
existed no longer applies to women learning to read and sing, though dancing is still restricted to the
professional dancing-girls, and is not considered respectable. — ED.
snares with which these sirens allure the Hindus, who, it must be confessed, rarely
display in such cases the prudence and constancy of an Ulysses.

Nevertheless, to the discredit of Europeans it must be confessed that the quiet
seductions which Hindu prostitutes know how to exercise with so much skill resemble
in no way the disgraceful methods of the wretched beings who give themselves up to a
similar profession in Europe, and whose indecent behaviour, cynical impudence,
obscene and filthy words of invitation are enough to make any sensible man who is not
utterly depraved shrink from them with horror. Of all the women in India it is the
courtesans, and especially those attached to the temples, who are the most decently
clothed. Indeed they are particularly careful not to expose any part of the body. I do not
deny, however, that this is merely a refinement of seduction. Experience has no doubt
taught them that for a woman to display her charms damps sensual ardour instead of
exciting it, and that the imagination is more easily captivated than the eye.

God forbid, however, that any one should believe me to wish to say a word in
defence of the comparative modesty and reserve of the dancing-girls of India! Actions
can only be judged by their motives; and certainly, if these Indian women are more
reserved in public than their sisters in other countries which call themselves more
civilized, the credit is due not to their innate modesty but to national prejudice. In fact,
however loose the Hindus may be in their morals, they strictly maintain an outward
appearance of decency, and attach great importance to the observance of strict decorum
in public. The most shameless prostitute would never dare to stop a man in the streets;
and she in her turn would indignantly repulse any man who ventured to take any
indecent liberty with her. The man who behaved familiarly with one of these women in
public would be censured and despised by everybody who witnessed the scandal. Is it
the same among ourselves?

After the dancing-girls come the players of musical instruments attached to the
service of the temples. Every pagoda of any importance always has a more or less
numerous band of them. They, as well as the dancing-girls, are obliged to attend the
temple twice a day, and to fill it with discordant sounds. Their presence at all feasts and
ceremonies is likewise obligatory. Moreover, they cannot be dispensed with during the
great family feasts and ceremonies. The Hindu taste for music is so marked that there is not a single gathering, however small, which has not some musicians at its head.

Those who are regularly attached to a pagoda receive a fixed salary. The instruments on which they play are for the most part clarionets and trumpets; they have also cymbals and several kinds of small drums. The sounds produced by these instruments are far from pleasing, and may even appear hideous to European ears. The Hindus recognize a kind of harmony, however, in two parts: they have always a bass and a high counter-tenor or alto. The latter is produced by a wind instrument in the form of a tube widened at its base, the sounds of which have some resemblance to those of the bagpipe.

The vocal part is executed by a second band of musicians, who take turns with the dancing-girls in singing hymns in honour of the gods. Sometimes the Brahmins and other worshippers form the chorus, or sing separately sacred poems of their own composition.

The nattuva, or conductor, is the most remarkable of all the musicians. In beating time he taps with his fingers on a narrow drum. As he beats, his head, shoulders, arms, thighs, and, in fact, all the parts of his body perform successive movements; and simultaneously he utters inarticulate cries, thus animating the musicians both by voice and gesture. At times one would think he was agitated by violent convulsions.

The whole musical repertoire of the Hindus is reduced to thirty-six airs, which are called ragas; but most of the musicians hardly know half of them.

Hindu music, whether vocal or instrumental, may be pleasing to the natives, but I do not think it can give the slightest pleasure to anyone else, however little sensitive be his ear. Hindu musicians learn to play and sing methodically; they keep excellent time; and they have as we have, a variety of keys. In spite of all this, however, their songs have always appeared to me uninspiring and monotonous, while from their instruments I have never heard anything but harsh, high, and ear-splitting sounds.
However, I admit that the chief reason why a European forms an unfavourable opinion of Hindu music is because he judges it by comparison with his own. To appreciate it rightly, we must go back two or three thousand years and imagine ourselves in those ancient times when the Druids and other priests used in their civil and religious ceremonies no other music but dismal cries and noisy sounds, produced by striking two metal plates together, by beating tightly stretched skins, or by blowing horns of different kinds.

We must remember that Hindu music at the present day is the same as it has always been; and that, as in the case of their other arts, it has undergone no alternation and has not been improved in any way. We shall then feel obliged to be more indulgent; indeed we may even feel astonished that Hindu music attained such perfection at the very beginning. For its is almost certain that the scale used at present by the Hindus has existed from the earliest times. It bears moreover a striking resemblance to ours, being composed of the same number of notes, arranged in the same way, as follows:-

\[
\text{Sa rig a ma pa da ni sa}
\]

\[
\text{Do re mi fa sol la si do.}
\]

Are we then to deny the merit of this invention to Guy of Arezzo? And is John de Meurs, or whoever it was that perfected the system of the learned Benedictine, to have no other credit than that of having borrowed with discernment from the same source? We know that Vossius maintained that the Egyptians had a musical scale similar to ours many centuries before Guy of Arezzo published his own. This question I must leave for others to solve.

There is nothing, as I have already shown, into which the Hindus do not introduce some superstitious notions, and it would have been a miracle if music – a diversion of the gods themselves – had not furnished them with means of satisfying their taste in this direction. Every note of the Hindu scale has a mark characteristic of some divinity, and includes several hidden meanings deduced from its particular sound or from something similar to it. There are also notes expressing joy, sadness, sweetness,
anger etc. And Hindu musicians take great care not to confound notes intended to express these varying passions of the human soul.

All the musicians who play wind instruments are taken, as I have already remarked, from the low barber caste, the profession being handed down from father to son.

Heathen worship being very expensive, the priests and servants of the temples have, necessarily, various sources of unfailling revenue. In some districts a kind of share is collected out of the whole produce of the harvest; in others, every temple has in its absolute possession extensive lands which are exempt from all taxation, and the produce of which is exclusively assigned to the maintenance of the temple and of its numerous staff. I have mentioned that in the case of these persons perquisites are of no small importance. The offerings of rich devotees, which are divided among them in proportion to their rank and dignity, are sometimes so considerable, in the principal temples, that they have aroused the cupidity of the princes of the country, particularly of Mohamedans. These latter, as a sort of compensation for tolerating a religion which they abhorred, thought it fit to take possession of more than half of these offerings.

There is no trick which the Brahmins will not employ in order to excite the fervor of the worshippers, and thus to enrich themselves by their offerings. The most obvious means generally produce the best results. In the foremost rank we must place the oracles, a rich mine of wealth which pagan priests of other countries worked long ago with great success, and which the lapse of ages has not yet exhausted for the heathen priests of India. Here it is the idol itself which addresses the dull and profoundly attentive crowd of worshippers, who are unable to understand that some cunning rogue, concealed inside or close by the god of stone, is speaking through the mouth of the idol. The idol, or its interpreter, also undertakes to foretell the future; but these oracles, like those of ancient Greece, contain some ambiguous or double
meaning. Consequently, whatever the issue may be, the Brahmins always find some
way of making it agree with their predictions\textsuperscript{12}.

If the flow of offerings by any chance decreases, the idol will inveigh
vehemently against the indifference and meanness of the inhabitants of the district,
proclaiming once for all that if this state of things continues, it will withdraw its
protection from them, and will even resort to the expedient of decamping in search of
other more grateful, and especially more generous worshippers\textsuperscript{13}.

Or perhaps the devout mob will someday find the hands and feet of their
cherished idol bound with chains. Cruel creditors, it is announced, have brought it to
this humiliating condition because it could not pay certain sums of money which it had
borrowed in times of need; and they have sworn not to restore it to liberty until the
whole sum, capital and interest, which is due to them shall have been repaid. Touched
with compassion, the devotees will hasten to consult together and exact contributions
from all possible sources until the sum necessary to liquidate the liabilities of their deity
has been furnished to the Brahmins. As soon as the money is secured, the chains of the
idol fall off, to the great satisfaction of everybody. In some famous temples, such as
that of Tirupati, they use silver instead of iron chains to bind the sacred limbs of the
idol.

There is another expedient to which the Brahmins frequently have recourse. All
of a sudden it is proclaimed abroad that the idol has been attacked by a dangerous
disease caused by the grief it experiences on seeing the devotion of the people abating
from day to day. The idol is taken down from its pedestal and carried to the entrance of
the temple, where it is exposed to the public gaze. Its head and temples are rubbed with
sundry lotions; drugs and medicines are placed before it; the priests from time to time
feel its pulse with a display of the gravest uneasiness. Still the symptoms of the disease
develop from day to day, and the priests begin to despair of the recovery of the idol.

\textsuperscript{12} These false oracles are confined to temples dedicated to the inferior deities. – ED.

\textsuperscript{13} This remark also applies only to the temples dedicated to the inferior deities. – ED.
This alarming intelligence is bruited abroad, and presents and offerings soon arrive from all sides. At sight of these the idol's strength begins to return little by little; then it becomes convalescent; and finally it is cured and restored to its place.

Fear and awe are also means which the Brahmins turn to good account in order to renew the wavering faith of the people. They engage certain confederates, into whose bodies they affirm the angry god has sent a pisacha, or demon, in order to avenge some outrage which it has received from wicked men. One frequently meets with charlatans who fall into dreadful convulsions and make contortions and grimaces calculated to frighten the stoutest heart. In their calmer moments they give a piteous and detailed account of their misfortunes, which they attribute to the just resentment of the god, who is punishing them for their indifference towards himself and his ministers. They gabble phrases in many dialects, asserting that it is the demon who inspires them, and who has imparted to them the gift of languages. They eat all sorts of meat, drink intoxicating liquors, and observe none of the rules of caste.

But this is not imputed to them as a crime; it is all laid to the charge of the devil that possesses them. The multitude are filled with fear at the sight of one of these impostors, and prostrate themselves before him, worshipping the demon who has taken its abode in him, and offering him oblations and sacrifices, in order to propitiate him and prevent him from injuring them. The demoniac is given his fill of meat and drink; and when he departs he is accompanied by much pomp and music to the next village, where he plays the same trick and finds just as many dupes. When he is pleased to come to his senses again, he exhorts his sympathetic audience to profit by the terrible example which he affords them, to show more faith in their god than he did, and to ensure the god's favour and protection by numerous gifts and offerings.

Miracles, again, are a most profitable branch of business for Brahmins. They have all kinds, and suitable for every disease. The blind recover their sight, the lame walk, the dead come to life again. But the most popular miracle is that which gives fecundity to women. One continually hears of women whose pious devotion has obtained for them the signal favour of bearing children. I have already remarked that
barrenness is the greatest possible curse to a woman in India, and the most dreaded of all the misfortunes that can befall a Hindu family.

Other nations which are very proud of their enlightenment and morality suppress the natural desire of seeing oneself born again in one's numerous progeny from considerations of personal interest and ambition, and regard the fruitfulness of their women with aversion. They are moreover not ashamed of resorting to wicked and disgusting means of reducing or destroying it altogether, thus outraging the most holy instincts of nature in order that they may not deprive themselves of the means of satisfying their ambition or of procuring the luxuries of life, as if the love of a father for his children were not the greatest of all pleasures. Animated in this respect by the noblest and purest sentiments, the Hindus consider a man happy in proportion to the number of children he possesses. Among them, indeed, children are considered to be the blessing of a house. However, numerous a man's family may be, he never ceases to offer prayers for its increase.

The children, it is true, soon become useful to their parents. At five or six years old they begin to tend the calves, while those a little older take care of the cows and oxen. And as soon as they are strong enough they assist their fathers in tilling the fields or help in some other way to maintain the family.

There is a superstition, admirable enough in its way, which is a powerful factor in keeping up in the mind of a Hindu this ardent desire of seeing his race prolonged. In his eyes there is no misfortune equal to that of not leaving a son or a grandson behind to perform the last duties in connexion with his funeral. Such a deprivation is regarded as capable of preventing all access to an Abode of Bliss after death.

Hence it is that we see women who are slower in conceiving children than they would wish, hastening from temple to temple, and sometimes ruining themselves in the extravagant gifts which they offer in order to obtain from the gods the inestimable favour of becoming mothers. Expert at reaping profit from the virtues as well as the vices of their countrymen, the Brahmans see in these touching impulses of nature merely a means of gaining wealth, and also at the same time an opportunity of
satisfying their carnal lusts with impunity. There are few temples where the presiding deity does not claim the power of curing barrenness in women. And there are some whose renown in this respect is unrivalled, such, for example, as that of Tirupati in the Carnatic, to which women flock in crowds to obtain children from the god Venkateswara\textsuperscript{14}. On their arrival, the women hasten to disclose the object of their pilgrimage to the Brahmins, the managers of the temple. The latter advise them to pass the night in the temple, where, they say, the great Venkateswara, touched by their devotion, will perhaps visit them in the spirit and accomplish that which until then has been denied to them through human power. I must draw a curtain over the sequel of this deceitful suggestion. The reader already guesses at it. The following morning these detestable hypocrites, pretending complete ignorance of what has passed, make due inquiries into all the details; and after having congratulated the women upon the reception they met with from the god, receive the gifts with which they have provided themselves and take leave of them, after flattering them with the hope that they have not taken their journey in vain. Fully convinced that the god has deigned to have intercourse with them, the poor creatures return home enchanted, flattering themselves that they will soon procure for their husbands the honour of paternity.

People who have not sufficiently reflected upon the extremes to which the superstitious and fanatical credulity of a people may be carried, have regarded as untrue the stories which Father Gerbillon, Tavernier, and other travellers have told of the Dalai-Lama. His excrements are carefully preserved, dried, and distributed as relics to pious Tibetans, who, when they fall ill, make use of them as an internal medicine, which is considered to be a sovereign remedy for all diseases. The fact I am about to relate, which, although even more revolting, is yet quite true, will render any similar stories credible enough. It is not without shame that I enter upon an account of the disgusting incidents which I am here to describe. I would have passed them over in silence if the very nature of this work had not imposed upon me the painful duty of telling everything.

\textsuperscript{14} One of the names of Vishnu.
At Nanjangud, a village situated about ten leagues south of Seringapatam, there is a temple famous throughout Mysore. Among the numerous votaries who flock to it are many women, who go to implore the help of the idol in curing their sterility. Offering and prayers are not the only ceremonies which have to be gone through. On leaving the temple the woman, accompanied by her husband, has to go to a place where all the pilgrims are accustomed to resort to answer the calls of nature. There the husband and the wife collect with their hands a certain quantity of ordure and form it into a small pyramid, which they are careful to mark with a sign that will enable them to recognize it. Then they go to the neighbouring tank and mix in the hollow of their hands the filth which has solid their fingers. (But I will spare my readers the rest.) After having performed their ablutions they retire. Two or three days afterwards they visit their pyramid, and, still using their hands, turn the filthy mass over and over and examine it as carefully and as seriously as the Roman augurs scrutinized the entrails of sacrificed animals, in order to see if any insects have been engendered in it. In this case it would be a very good omen, showing that the woman would soon be pregnant. But if, after careful search, not even the smallest insect is visible, the poor couple, sad and discouraged, return home in the full conviction that the expenses they have been put to and the pains they have taken have been of no avail.15

At Mogur, another village situated a short distance from the former (Nanjangud), there is a small temple dedicated to Tipamma, a female divinity, in whose honour a great festival is celebrated every year. The goddess, placed in a beautifully ornamented palanquin, is carried in procession through the streets. In front of her there is another divinity, a male. These two idols, which are entirely nude, are placed in immodest postures, and by help of a piece of mechanism a disgusting movement is imparted to them as long as the procession continues. This disgusting spectacle, which is worthy of the depraved persons who look upon it, excites transports of mirth, manifested by shouts and bursts of laughter. Nor is this all. A Pariah, who has made a special study of all the obscene and filthy expressions to be found in the Hindu

---

15 We believe that no such disgusting practice exists nowadays. — ED.
language, is chosen; the goddess Tipamma is then evoked and takes up her abode in his person. Then anyone who wishes to hear foul expressions stands before the man, and he is certain to be satisfied. As it is supposed to be Tipamma who speaks through the mouth of the Pariah, the devotees, far from being offended with him, are quite pleased with the goddess for having deigned to overwhelm them with insults. Even high-caste Hindus are to be seen at this festival seeking to obtain the coveted honour.

The goddess Tipamma of Mogur is not the only member of her family. She has six sisters, who are not in any way inferior to her in point of decency and politeness. Each one of them has her own temple, in which like ceremonies are performed. In the whole of Southern Mysore, from Alambadi as far as Wynnaad, for a distance for more than thirty leagues, these abominable revels are held in the highest esteem.

There are temples in certain isolated places, too, where the most disgusting debauchery is the only service agreeable to the presiding deity. Their children are promised to women who, laying aside all shame, grant their favours to all persons indiscriminately. At such places a feast is celebrated every year in the month of January, at which both sexes, the scum of the country-side, meet. Barren women, in the hope that they will cease to be so, visit them after binding themselves by a vow to grant their favours to a fixed number of libertines. Others, who have entirely lost all sense of decency, go there in order to testify their reverence for the deity of the place by prostituting themselves, openly and without shame, even at the very gates of the temple.

There is one of these sinks of iniquity five or six leagues from the village where I am writing these pages, on the banks of the Cauvery, in a lonely place called Junginagatta. The temple is not striking to look at; but the January feast is celebrated there with the utmost refinements of vice.

People have also pointed out to me a temple of the same description near Karanadai, in the district of Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu and another not far from Mudu-dorai, in Eastern Mysore. I have before remarked that these dens of debauchery are always situated in places far removed from all habitations.
According to Herodotus and Strabo, every woman among the Assyrians and Babylonians was obliged to prostitute herself once in her life in the temple of the goddess Mylitta, the Aphrodite of the Greeks. This tradition so flagrantly defied the principles of modesty with which nature seems to have endowed even the majority of brute beasts that many modern writers, and among them Voltaire, have called its truth in question. What would they say of the infamous festivals of which I have just drawn a sketch? The authority of husbands in India is moreover such that it is impossible for debauchery of this kind to be carried on without their consent. But does superstition know any bounds? Many Hindu religious practices afford irrefutable proofs of the truth of similar incredible details which ancient historians have handed down to us.

Here the scene changes. It is no longer a question of licentious libertines profiting by the vicious tendencies or the stupid credulity of women in order to satisfy their passions. It is concerning the silly fanatics who make it their task to torture themselves and to mutilate their bodies in a hundred different ways. It is not uncommon to hear of Hindus, in case of a serious illness or of some imminent danger, making a vow to mortify some important part of their bodies, on condition of recovery. The most common penance of this sort consists in stamping upon the shoulders, chest, and other parts of the body, with a red-hot iron, the marks symbolical of their gods—brandings which are never effaced, and which they display with as much ostentation as a warrior does the wounds he has received in battle.

Devotees are often seen stretched at full length on the ground and rolling in that posture all round the temples, or, during solemn processions, before the cars which carry the idols. It is remarkable sight to see a crowd of fanatics rolling in this manner, quite regardless of stones, thorns, and other obstacles. Others, inspired by extreme fanaticism, voluntarily throw themselves down to be crushed under the wheels of the car on which the idol is borne. And the crowds that witness these acts of madness, far from preventing them, applaud them heartily and regard them as the very acme of devotion.

16 This has now been prohibited by law. — ED.
Chidi-mcri is another torture to which devotees submit themselves in honour of the goddess Mari-amma, one of the most evil-minded and bloodthirsty of all the deities of India. At many of the temples consecrated to this cruel goddess there is a sort of gibbet erected opposite the door. At the extremity of the crosspiece, or arm, a pulley is suspended, through which a cord passes with a hook at the end. The man who has made a vow to undergo this cruel penance places himself under the gibbet, and a priest then beats the fleshy part of the back until it is quite benumbed. After that the hook is fixed into the flesh thus prepared, and in this way the unhappy wretch is raised in the air. While suspended he is careful not to show any sign of pain; indeed he continues to laugh, jest, and gesticulate like a buffoon in order to amuse the spectators, who applaud and shout with laughter. After swinging in the air for the prescribed time the victim is let down again, and, as soon as his wounds are dressed, he returns home in triumph.\footnote{Hook-swinging,' as this is called, is still practised in the Madura district (T.N.). Though the magistracy have orders to do all they can to prevent it, by dissuading men from offering themselves as victims, still, as it is not under ordinary circumstances a criminal offence, it cannot be prevented by legal process. – ED.}

Some votaries, again, are to be met with who make a vow to walk with bare feet on burning coals. For this purpose they kindle a large pile of wood; and when the flames are extinguished and all the wood consumed, they place the glowing embers in a space about twenty feet in length. The victim stands at one extremity with his feet in a puddle expressly prepared for the purpose, takes a spring, and runs quickly over the burning embers till he reaches another puddle on the other side. In spite of these precautions very few, as one can imagine, escape from the ordeal with their feet uninjured. Others, whose weak limbs do not permit of their running over the hot embers, cover the upper part of the body with a wet cloth, and holding a chafing-dish filled with burning coals, pour the contents over their heads. This feat of devotion is called the Fire-bath.

Another kind of torture consists in piercing both cheeks and passing a wire of silver or some other metal through the two Jaws between the teeth. Thus bridled, the mouth cannot be opened without acute pain. Many fanatics have been known to travel a
distance of twenty miles with their Jaws thus maimed, and remain several days in this state, taking only liquid nourishment, or some clear broth poured into the mouth. I have seen whole companies of them, men and women, condemned by their self-inflicted torture to enforced silence, going on a pilgrimage to some temple where this form of penance is especially recommended. There are others, again, who pierce their nostrils or the skin of their throats in the same way.

I could not help shuddering one day at seeing one of these imbeciles with his lips pierced by two long nails, which crossed each other so that the point of one reached to the right eye and the point of the other to the left. I saw him thus disfigured at the gate of temple consecrated to the cruel goddess Mariamma. The blood was still trickling down his chin; yet the pain he must have been enduring did not prevent him from dancing and performing every kind of buffoonery before a crowd of spectators, who showed their admiration by giving him abundant alms.

There are a great many ordinary forms of penance, which elsewhere would appear more than sufficiently painful; but devout Hindus do not rest satisfied with these; they try unceasingly to invent new methods of self-torture. Thus, for example, a fanatic self-torturer makes a vow to cut half his tongue off, executes it coolly with his own hands, puts the amputated portion in an open cocoanut shell, and offers it on his knees to the divinity.

Then, again, there are others who, apparently having nothing better to do, bind themselves to go on a pilgrimage to some distant shrine by measuring their length along the ground throughout the whole distance. Beginning at their very doors, pilgrims of this description stretch themselves on the ground, rise again, advance two steps, again lie down, again rise, and continue thus till they reach their destination. Considering the length of their journeys and the fatigue of such exercise, it is easy to imagine that the pilgrims do not go far off the route to sleep at the end of the day. Persons have been seen attempting to measure their length in this way along the entire road which runs between the sacred town of Banaras and the temple of Jagannath (Puri), a distance of more than two hundred leagues. I should not like to swear, however, that they really accomplished such a feat.
This tendency of Hindus to submit their bodies to severe and often cruel tortures, or to spend their means in costly offerings, is manifested whenever they find themselves in critical circumstances, and particularly in times of sickness.

There is not a single Hindu who does not in such cases make a vow to perform something more or less onerous on condition that he is delivered safe and sound from his unfortunate predicament. The rich make vows either to celebrate solemn festivals at certain temples, or to present to the pagoda some gift, such as a cow, a buffalo, pieces of cloth or other stuffs, gold or silver ornaments etc. If the eye, nose, ear, or any other organ be afflicted, they offer to the idols an image of it in gold or silver.

Among the numerous offerings which this superstitious mania causes to flow into the temples of the Hindu gods, there is one common enough, but which, without the perquisites which accompany it, would contribute very little to increase the wealth of the Brahmin priests. It consists in offering one’s nails and hair to some divinity. It is well known that men in India are in the habit of shaving the head and leaving only a single small tuft of hair to grow on the crown. Those who make the particular vow referred to refrain for many years together, from cutting their nails and hair. Then, at a certain fixed time, they proceed in state to the temple and there, with great ceremony, get rid of the superfluous growth of hair and nails, which they lay at the feet of the divinity whom they wish to honour. This custom is practised only by men; it is chiefly recommended to those who believe themselves to be possessed with a devil\textsuperscript{18}.

We must do justice to the Brahmins by remarking that they are never so silly as to impose on themselves vows of self-torture. They leave these pious pastimes to the stupid Sudras. And even the Sudras who practise such penances are for the most part men of low birth who do so to gain beginning to grow old or are no longer pleasing to him, he signifies through the priests his intention of divorcing them. A mark is branded on their thighs or breasts with a red-hot iron, representing the god Venkateswara, and they receive a certificate showing that they have faithfully served a certain number of

\textsuperscript{18} This custom is also practiced among Sudra women. - ED.
years as legitimate wives of the god, and are, therefore, recommended to the charitable public. Then they are dismissed, and provided with their certificate of good conduct they go about the country under the name of Kali-yuga-Lakshmis (the Lakshmis\textsuperscript{19} of Kali-yuga). Wherever they go their wants are abundantly supplied.

This system of procuring wives for their idols is not a peculiarity of the temple of Tirupati. The priests of many other temples have found it convenient to have recourse to it, as for instance those in charge of the temple of Jagannath, Religious ceremonies are conducted in this temple with the greatest magnificence. It is situated near the sea on the coast of Orissa. The principal divinity worshipped there is represented under a monstrous shape without arms or head. What particularly distinguishes this pagoda is that it is a centre of union among the Hindus. Although it is specially consecrated to Vishnu, there are no distinctions between sects and castes. Everybody is admitted, and may offer worship in his own way to the presiding deity. Accordingly pilgrims resort thither from all parts of India; the disciples of Vishnu and of Siva frequenting it with equal zeal. The Bairagis and the Goshais from the North, the Dasarus and the Jagamas from the South, lay aside their mutual animosities when they approach this sacred place, and it is perhaps the only spot in India where they do so\textsuperscript{20}. While sojourning there they seem to form but one brotherhood. It is at this temple especially that one sees the religious fanatics, of whom I have already spoken above, throwing themselves before the car of the idol and allowing themselves to be crushed beneath its wheels.

Several thousands of persons, chiefly Brahmins, are their livelihood; or else fanatical sectaries of Siva or Vishnu, actuated by religious mania, or more often by an inordinate desire of securing the applause and admiration of the public.

Apart from ordinary superstitious practices which flourish everywhere, there are certain temples which, in this respect, enjoy special privileges; such, for example, as

\textsuperscript{19}Lakshmi is the name of the wife of Vishnu. – DUBOIS.

\textsuperscript{20}Tirupati is the same in this respect. – ED.
that of Tirupati in the south of the Peninsula. This temple, which is in the Carnatic, is
dedicated to Vishnu under the name of Venkateswara. Immense multitudes of pilgrims
flock to it from all parts of India, bringing offerings of all sorts, in food, stuffs, gold,
silver, jewels, costly cloths, horses, cows etc., which are so considerable that they
suffice to maintain several thousands of persons employed in the various offices of
worship, which is their conducted with extraordinary magnificence.

Among the noticeable peculiarities which distinguish the great feasts of this
temple there is one which I must not pass over in silence. At a certain time of the year a
grand procession is formed, which attracts an immense crowd of persons of both sexes.
While the image of Venkateswara is borne through the streets on a magnificent car, the
Brahmins who preside at the ceremony go about among the crowd and select the most
beautiful women they can find, demanding them of their husbands parents in the name
of Venkateswara, for whose service, it is asserted, they are destined. Those husbands
who have not lost all commonsense, understanding, or at least suspecting, that a god of
stone has no need of wives, indignantly refuse to deliver up theirs, and bluntly speak
their mind to the hypocritical rogues. The latter, far from being disconcerted, proceed to
apply to others who are better disposed, for some of the men are delighted at the honour
conferred upon them by so great a god in condescending to ally himself with their
family, and do not hesitate to deliver their wives and even their daughters into the
hands of his priests.

It is thus that the seraglio of Tirupati is recruited. When the god takes it into his
head that some of his wives are employed in the performance of the religious
ceremonies of the temple. The crowd of pilgrims never abates. Those from the South
who go on a pilgrimage to Kasi, or Benares, always take the jagannath (Puri) road up
the coast in order to offer en route their respectful homage to its presiding deity. Those

---

21 Tirupati is now in Andhra Pradesh.

22 Such proceedings would hardly be tolerated in the present day. — ED.
from the North who go to the temple of Rameswaram, which is situated on a small island near Cape Comorin, also take this road\textsuperscript{23}.

I have made mention elsewhere of a tank or reservoir of sacred water which is found at Kumbakonam in Tamil Nadu, and which possesses the virtue once in every twelve years of purifying all those who bathe in it from all spiritual and corporal infirmities and from all sins committed during many generations. When the time for this easy means of absolution draws nigh, an almost incredible number of pilgrims flock to the spot from all parts of India.

At Palni, in Tamil Nadu, there is a famous temple consecrated to the god Velayuda (Kartik). whose devotees bring offerings of a peculiar kind, namely large sandals, beautifully ornamented and similar in shape to those worn by the Hindus on their feet. The god is addicted to hunting, and these shoes are intended for his use when he traverses the jungles and deserts in pursuit of his favourite sport. Such shabby gifts, one might think, would go very little way towards filling the coffins of the priests of Velayuda. Nothing of the sort: Brahmins always know how to reap profit from anything. Accordingly, the new sandals are rubbed on the ground and rolled a little in the dust, and are then exposed to the eyes of the pilgrims who visit the temple. It is clear enough that the sandals must have been worn on the divine feet of Velayuda; and they become the property of whosoever pays the highest price for such holy relics.

It does not enter into my calculations to offer a complete account of all the extravagant absurdities which abound in the idolatrous worship of the Hindus, or of all the tricks and subterfuges, more or less clumsy, by means of which the hypocritical and crafty priests foster the faith of the people while they increase their own comfort. A subject of this nature would be inexhaustible, and in order to treat it fully I should require many volumes. I believe I have said enough, however, to give a fairly good idea of the rest. But I must add a few words concerning the religious processions of the Hindus, which in their eyes are a matter of no small importance.

\textsuperscript{23} The temple of Jagannath being one of the most celebrated in India, I have given in Appendix VI some details about the myths and traditions relating to its origin. – DUBOIS.
There is not a single temple of any note which has not one or two processions every year. On such occasions the idols are placed on huge massive cars supported on four large solid wheels, not made, like our wheels, with spokes and felloes. A big beam serves as the axle, and supports the car proper, which is sometimes fifty feet in height. The thick blocks which form the base are carved with images of men and women in the most indecent attitudes. Several stages of carved planking are raised upon this basement, gradually diminishing in width until the whole fabric has the form of a pyramid.

The above is only a slight sketch of the religious ceremonies of the Hindus. Such is the spirit of piety which animates them! Whatever may have been the shameful mysteries, the revolting extravagances of paganism, could any religion be filled with more insane, ignoble, obscene, and even cruel practices?

It is true that human sacrifices are no longer openly tolerated in India. But what matters it? If the female victim does not fall under the sword of the sacrifice, she is so misled by the perfidious suggestions of the priests that she perishes of her own free will and accord on the funeral pyre, or, what is more horrible, by the very hands of those who have given her existence! Are not they also human victims, those unhappy widows on whom superstition has imposed the obligation of burning themselves alive? And what name shall we apply to the destruction of a number of innocent girls condemned to death at their very birth?

These self-same Brahmins, who are afraid of breaking an egg for fear of destroying the germ of a chicken, have they ever expressed the slightest indignation when they have seen parents, more ferocious than tigers, sacrificing all their daughters and preserving only their sons?

---

24 This execrable custom is prevalent among certain castes of Rajputs and Jats in the North of India. Happy, the efforts made by the Government nowadays to extirpate it have succeeded in making these infanticides less frequent. – DUBOIS.

The Census Report for 1891 states: It is pretty certain that the deliberate putting to death of female infants is a practice that in the present day, at all events, is confined to exceedingly narrow limits. ... on the whole, even in Rajputana, the Census returns show that the practice must be very restricted in its
Others, again, with feelings no less unnatural, either drown or expose to wild beasts children who happen to be born under unlucky stars. Furthermore, have they ever, these Brahmins, represented to the people over whom they exercise such paramount influence, how shamelessly they violate nature by placing the sick, whose recovery is despaired of, on the banks of the Ganges, or of some other so-called holy river, so that they may be drowned by the floods or devoured by crocodiles? Have they ever attempted to restrain the frenzy of those fanatics who, in their mistaken devotion, foolishly allow themselves to be crushed under the wheels of the cars of their idols, or throw themselves head-long into the stream at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna\textsuperscript{25}?

What a consoling contrast does the sublime religion of Jesus Christ offer to him who knows how to appreciate its blessings! How inestimable do its holy precepts, its sweet and pure morality, appear in comparison with the hideous and degraded doctrines which I have here so reluctantly sketched! Of a truth, it is God Himself who has not permitted His Divine attributes to be attached to a false religion.

But some will say that the iniquities which have roused my indignation are due far more to vicious conditions of civilization than to perversity of religious principle. But I may reply, what is then the object of true religion, if it is not to correct such vices? The priests of a religion who advise, encourage, or permit crimes to be committed which they could prevent; take upon themselves the whole responsibility for the evil. And in this the modern Brahmins are so much the more to blame because they have done their best to distort and render unrecognizable the primitive religion of which they constituted themselves the guardians, and which, however imperfect it may have been, was far from possessing the monstrous character which it acquired later in the hands of its avaricious and hypocritical interpreters. The Hindu system of religion is nothing more than a lever of which the Brahmins make use habitually for influencing operation. ... But many a girl is allowed to die unattended where medical aid would be at once called if the son were attacked. – ED.

\textsuperscript{25} Attempts at suicide are now punishable by law. – ED.
the passions of a credulous people, and turning them to their own advantage. Instead of bending the moral character of the nation under the yoke of the primitive creed, they have invented a sham religion suited to the natural propensities of the people. Quick to recognize the special predilections of their fellow-countrymen, they know that everything which is strange and extraordinary, everything which exceeds the bounds of reason, is calculated to please them; and they have omitted no opportunity of using this knowledge to their own profit.

It must be confessed that the imagination of the Hindus is such that it cannot be excited except by what is monstrous and extravagant. Ordinary objects produce not the slightest impression upon their blunted intellects; it needs giants or pygmies to attract their attention. However little one may be acquainted with them, it is easy to convince oneself of this truism. If you attempt to amuse or instruct them, they will listen to you with distracted indifference unless you intermingle with your discourse some extravagant story, some absurd fable, or some fiction that would overturn the whole economy of the universe. During the conversations which I have frequently held with Brahmins on the subject of religion, if I spoke to them of miracles wrought by the power of God, they saw nothing extraordinary in them. If I related to them the exploits of Joshua and his army and the wonders they performed through the intervention of God in the conquest of the land of Cannan, they would reply with an air of triumph by citing the prowess of their Rama, and the wonders, marvelous in quite another fashion, which attended his conquest of the island of Ceylon. According to them, Samson had no more strength than a child as compared with Bali, Ravana, and other giants. The resurrection of Lazarus was, in their opinion, quite unworthy of remark; for, they said, the Vishnavites daily perform similar miracles during the ceremony of pavadam.

What conclusion must be drawn from all this? It is that a wise and reasonable religious belief cannot be evolved by human agency alone. God alone is the Supreme Lawgiver. God alone can interpret His mysterious will to His Prophets and His Church. Without His grace reason is at fault, and is lost in the uncertainty of idle imaginings. False teachers of idolatry may invent dogmas and systems, but they can never reconcile them or build upon them any stable structure of religion.
If, for inscrutable reasons, which it is not given to us to know, God has not been pleased to reveal Himself till now to a people whose civilization dates back to the darkest ages, we at any rate should congratulate ourselves on having been chosen as the objects of His favour.

Many Europeans who visit India are struck by the incoherency of ideas that prevails in the religion professed by its inhabitants, and by the variety of its doctrines and ceremonies; and being far from robust in their own faith, they end by endorsing one of the favourite axioms of modern philology, namely, that all religions are equally agreeable to God and lead to the same good end. But to me the strange and disquieting picture of Hindu religion has always presented itself in quite a different aspect. The sight of such an extraordinary religious cult, far from shaking my faith, has on the contrary greatly contributed to confirm it26.

Certainly, every time that I compare the grand simplicity of our Holy Scriptures, the sublime teachings of our Gospel, the solemn splendor of our religious service, with the inconsistent and disgusting myths contained in the Hindu Puranas and with the extravagant, barbarous, and often terrible religious ceremonies to which the Hindus are addicted, I cannot help feeling that the Christian religion shines with new splendor. I cannot help experiencing an irresistible feeling of gratitude for the blessing of having been born in a part of the globe to which God's divine light has penetrated. It is then that I echo the words of the holy Lawgiver of the Hebrews contained in Deuteronomy IV. 8. Some so-called philosophers of modern times have maintained that the mind of man alone is able to conceive a just notion of the divinity. They have dared to attribute that which they themselves have conceived it to be to the efforts of their own critical

26 A Tartar king, recently converted, having communicated to Louis IX his intention of prostrating himself at the feet of the Pope, who was then at Lyons, the saintly monarch dissuaded him, for fear that the dissolute manners of the Christians might weaken the belief of this stranger in the sanctity of the Catholic religion. This precaution was no doubt wise. Nevertheless, another traveller, who was a witness of the immorality of the Roman people, left his faith strengthened, and came to the conclusion that there could be only one true religion that could be upheld by God's omnipotence amidst such terrible corruption. For my part, I cannot conceive how any Christian can consistently ignore his religious duties when he becomes closely acquainted with an idolatrous people and with the perverse infatuation and extravagant unreasonableness which distinguish an idolatrous cult. – DUBOIS.
faculties, as if this power itself had not been imprinted on their minds in the first instance by the Christian education which they received in early youth.

Where, indeed, are there to be found any philosophers, ancient or modern, who have arrived without the assistance of Revelation at trustworthy notions of God and of the worship due to Him? Socrates, the most renowned of all, spoke of the Supreme Being in a manner worthy of Him. Yet even he was unable to shake off entirely the fetters of pagan superstition. After drinking the cup of hemlock and addressing to his friends a sublime discourse upon the immortality of the soul he again returned to the vain imaginings of pagan worship, and addressing Crito, told him he had vowed the sacrifice of a cook to Aesculapius and begged him to accomplish this vow on his behalf.

The Hindus, like all idolatrous nations, originally possessed a conception, imperfect though it was, of the true God; but this knowledge, deprived of the light of Revelation, grew more and more dim, until at last it became extinguished in the darkness of error, of ignorance, and of corruption. Confounding the Creator with His creatures, they set up gods who were merely myths and monstrosities, and to them they addressed their prayers and directed their worship, both of which were as false as the attributes which they assigned to these divinities.

Nevertheless, such is the moral obliquity of this people that nothing even to this day has been capable of shaking their faith in their idols, or of persuading them to believe in the more reasonable religion of their conquerors. The Christians have vainly endeavoured to introduce their creed by persuasion. And if the Mohamedans have succeeded in making a fairly large number of proselytes, it is only by employing here as elsewhere bribery or violence. But in spite of the honours and dignities offered by the latter to those who, renouncing their national religion, embraced the Moslem faith, Mohamedan missionaries have obtained only partial success and Mohamedanism has not become predominant in any single province of India.

The Christian religion, to which European owes its civilization – that blessed and humane religion, so well adapted to alleviate and improve the condition of a
wretched people crushed under the yoke of oppression: that religion whose manifest truths have softened the hard hearts of so many barbarous nations – has been preached without success to the Hindus for more than three hundred years. It is even losing day by day the little ground which it had once gained, against a thousand obstacles, through the zeal and persevering efforts of many virtuous and zealous missionaries. The seed sown by them has, in fact, fallen on stony ground. It must be acknowledged that the conduct of the Europeans who have been brought up in the profession of Christianity, and who are now to be found all over India, is too often unworthy of the faith which they are supposed to profess; and this scandalous state of affairs, which the natives of India can in no way explain, is a powerful factor in increasing the dislike of the latter for a religion which apparently its own followers do not themselves respect.

As a matter of course, the taint of corruption which characterizes all the religious institutions of the Hindus has duly left its mark on their social morality. How, indeed, could virtue prevail in a country where all the vices of mankind are justified by those of their gods? It naturally follows that their religion and their morality are equally corrupt, and this confirms in a certain sense the reflection of Montesquieu, that, in a country which has the misfortune to possess a religion that does not proceed from God, it necessarily follows that the religion is identical with the system of morality which prevails there, because religion, even when it is false, is the best guarantee that men can have of the honesty of other men.

Some few articles of the Hindu faith, if freed from the absurd trammels with which Brahmin deceit has surrounded them, would be capable of offering successful resistance to the inroads of corrupt influences. For instance, the fear of the punishments reserved for the wicked in hell, the hope of the reward apportioned to the blessed in the Abodes of Bliss, and even the strange doctrine of metempsychosis which grants to the man who is neither altogether virtuous nor altogether vicious the prospect of a new birth more or less advantageous and proportionate to his deeds, would be so many incentives, which, if inculcated in the minds of the people by disinterested teachers and men of good faith, would contribute powerfully towards bringing them back into the paths of righteousness. But how different is this way of looking at things from that of
the Brahmins! The punishments of hell, exclusion from the Abodes of Bliss, and regenerations in vile bodies are reserved only for those who have done some injury to these hypocritical and selfish persons, or who have not helped to enrich them. Robbers, liars, murderers – indeed the greatest criminals – are sure of immunity after death, provided they give presents to the Brahmins, or contribute in some way to their worldly comfort.

The only real good which the Hindu religion does is to unite in one body under its banner the various castes and tribes of India, the differences between which are such as would otherwise constitute them, so to speak, different nations. Without this common tie it may reasonably be presumed that only disorder and anarchy would prevail.

It is quite true, therefore, that a religion, however bad and absurd it may be, is still preferable to the absence of any religion at all. Unquestionably, in my opinion, the worshipper of the Trimuti is much less contemptible than the free-thinker who presumes to deny the existence of God. A Hindu who professes the doctrine of metempsychosis proves that he has infinitely more common sense than those vain philosophers who utilize all their logic in proving that they are merely brute beasts, and that death is merely an eternal sleep for the reasoning man as well as for the animal which cannot reason. But whatever I might say on this subject could in no way excel the logical conclusions which I might quote from Montesquieu, who refutes a paradox expressed by a man more celebrated for his genius than for the purity of his religious principles.

---

27 I say who presumes, because there cannot be an atheist by conviction. This would mean a man who, by making use of the reason.

28 Esprit des Lois, xxiv. 2.
And I may fitly terminate these remarks by drawing attention to the testimony of Voltaire, a man whom nobody can accuse of too much partiality in the matter of religion.\textsuperscript{29}


\textsuperscript{29} Traite de la Tolerance, xx.
## Appendix 5

### LIST OF AGENTS, PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, AND DEPUTY GOVERNORS OF FORT ST. GEORGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Assumed Office</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Andrew Cogan</td>
<td>20 Feb., 1640</td>
<td>Cogan and Day arrived at Madras 20 Feb., 1640. Agency transferred from Masulipatam to Madras 24 Sept., 1641. Cogan resigned 27 Aug., 1643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Francis Day</td>
<td>27 Aug., 1643</td>
<td>Agent. Sailed for England 4 Aug., 1644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Ives</td>
<td>4 Aug., 1644</td>
<td>Arrived from Bantam as Agent. Sailed for England 1649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Henry Greenhill</td>
<td>23 Sept., 1648</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Aaron Baker</td>
<td>1 Sept., 1652</td>
<td>Arrived from Bantam as President. Sailed for England 1655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Henry Greenhill</td>
<td>20 Jan., 1655</td>
<td>Madras reduced to an Agency, under Swart, dir. 1656. Greenhill died at Madras 1659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Chamber</td>
<td>4 Jan., 1669</td>
<td>Agent. Dismissed 1662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. William Blake</td>
<td>1 Aug., 1662</td>
<td>Provisional Agent. Transferred to the Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Charles Proby</td>
<td>27 Aug., 1662</td>
<td>Provisional Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edward Winter</td>
<td>22 Sept., 1662</td>
<td>Arrived from England as Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. George Foxcroft</td>
<td>22 June, 1665</td>
<td>Arrived from England as Agent. Arrested by Winter in Sept., 1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edward Winter</td>
<td>16 Sept., 1665</td>
<td>Usurped the Government. Yielded Fort St. George to Commissioners in 1668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. George Foxcroft</td>
<td>22 Aug., 1668</td>
<td>Reinstated and appointed Governor. Langhorn arrived 1671. Foxcroft sailed for England 1672</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The names of temporary incumbents are entered in italics.
2 In Cogan's absence at Masulipatam during part of 1640, Day remained in charge at Madras. Day sailed for England at the end of 1640, and returned in 1642.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Assumed Office</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir William Langhorn</td>
<td>13 Jan., 1677</td>
<td>Agent and Governor. Master arrived 1672. Langhorn resigned 1678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Streynsham Master</td>
<td>27 Jan., 1678</td>
<td>Agent, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Joseph Hynmers</td>
<td>1 Aug., 1679</td>
<td>Deputy Governor during Master's absence in the Bay Superseded 1681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. William Gyford</td>
<td>25 Jan., 1680</td>
<td>Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fort St. George. In 1684 appointed President and Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Elihu Yale</td>
<td>8 Aug., 1684</td>
<td>Provisional Governor during Gyford's absence in the Bay Superseded 1687 Returned to England 1688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. William Gyford</td>
<td>26 Jan., 1685</td>
<td>President and Governor. Superseded 1692. Sailed for England 1699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Elihu Yale</td>
<td>25 July, 1687</td>
<td>President. Superseded 1692. Sailed for Bengal 1693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Nathaniel Higginson</td>
<td>23 Oct., 1692</td>
<td>President. Appointed Lieutenant-General of India 1694. Resigned 1698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir John Goldsborough</td>
<td>5 Dec., 1692</td>
<td>President and Governor. Superseded 1700. Died at Madras Oct., 1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Nathaniel Higginson</td>
<td>29 July, 1693</td>
<td>Died at Madras Oct., 1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Pitt</td>
<td>7 July, 1698</td>
<td>Died at Madras Oct., 1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Glolston Addison</td>
<td>18 Sept., 1709</td>
<td>Provisional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Edmund Mountague</td>
<td>17 Oct., 1709</td>
<td>Provisional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. William Fraser</td>
<td>3 Nov., 1709</td>
<td>President and Governor. Returned to England 1717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Joseph Ceilet</td>
<td>8 Jan., 1717</td>
<td>Resigned 1725. Superseded 1720. Returned to England 1731. Resigned 1725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Francis Hastings</td>
<td>18 Jan., 1720</td>
<td>Resigned 1725. Superseded 1730. Returned to England 1731. Resigned 1735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Nathaniel Elwick</td>
<td>15 Oct., 1721</td>
<td>Resigned 1734. Fort St. George capitulated to the French to Sept., 1746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. James Macrae</td>
<td>15 Jan., 1723</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. George Morison Pitt</td>
<td>14 May, 1730</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Richard Benyon</td>
<td>23 Jan., 1733</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Nicholks Morse</td>
<td>17 Jan., 1744</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the surrender of Madras the Coast administration fell to Mr. John Hinde, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. He died on 14 April, 1747, and was succeeded by Mr. Charles Floyer, who became President and Governor at Fort St. David on receipt of the Company's orders of 24 July, 1747. On 21 Aug., 1749, Madras was restored under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Assumed Office</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Admiral the Hon. Edward Boscawen</td>
<td>21 Aug., 1749</td>
<td>Received possession of Fort St. George. Administered Madras with the aid of three Commissioners. Sailed 12 Oct., 1749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Stringer Lawrence</td>
<td>11 Oct., 1749</td>
<td>Administrator. From 11 Nov. became Deputy Governor of Fort St. George</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Richard Prince</td>
<td>6 Dec., 1749</td>
<td>Deputy Governor of Fort St. George. Resigned 1752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Richard Starkes</td>
<td>31 Jan., 1749</td>
<td>Provisional Deputy Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Saunders</td>
<td>1 March, 1752</td>
<td>Presidency transferred from Fort St. David to Fort St. George. Saunders resigned 1755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. George Pigot</td>
<td>14 Jan., 1755</td>
<td>President and Governor. Resigned 1763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Robert Palk</td>
<td>14 Nov., 1763</td>
<td>President and Governor. Resigned 1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Charles Bouchier</td>
<td>25 Jan., 1777</td>
<td>Resigned 1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Josias Du Pré</td>
<td>31 Jan., 1779</td>
<td>Resigned 1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alexander Wyche</td>
<td>1 Feb., 1773</td>
<td>Superseded 1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George, Lord Pigot</td>
<td>10 Dec., 1775</td>
<td>Arrested by the Majority of Council 1776. Died in confinement 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. George Stratton</td>
<td>24 Aug., 1776</td>
<td>Usurped the Government. Suspended 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Whitehill</td>
<td>31 Aug., 1777</td>
<td>Provisional Governor. Resigned 1780. Afterwards dismissed retrospectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Rumbold</td>
<td>8 Feb., 1778</td>
<td>Provisional Governor. Suspended 1780, and subsequently dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Whitehill</td>
<td>6 April, 1780</td>
<td>Provisional Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Charles Smith</td>
<td>8 Nov., 1780</td>
<td>Resigned 1785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George, Lord Macartney</td>
<td>22 June, 1781</td>
<td>Provisional Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alexander Davison</td>
<td>8 June, 1785</td>
<td>Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Resigned 1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell</td>
<td>6 April, 1786</td>
<td>Provisional Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Holland</td>
<td>6 Feb., 1789</td>
<td>Provisional Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Edward John Holland</td>
<td>13 Feb., 1790</td>
<td>Provisional Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General William Medows</td>
<td>20 Feb., 1790</td>
<td>Governor and Commander-in-Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Turing</td>
<td>17 May, 1790</td>
<td>Provisional President during Medows's absence on field service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Morgan Williams</td>
<td>14 June, 1790</td>
<td>Provisional President during Medows's absence on field service</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 President Floyer was dismissed 2 July, 1750. Lawrence then became Provisional Governor of Fort St. David until the arrival of Saunders from Visagapatam on 18 Sept., 1750.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Assumed Office</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir Charles Oakley</td>
<td>15 Oct., 1799</td>
<td>Provisional President during Medows's absence on field service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General William Medows</td>
<td>21 April, 1792</td>
<td>Resigned Aug., 1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Charles Oakley</td>
<td>1 Aug., 1792</td>
<td>Resigned 1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert, Lord Hobart</td>
<td>7 Sept., 1794</td>
<td>Sir Alured Clarke, Commander-in-Chief, sat as President during Hobart's brief absences on tour. Hobart was recalled in 1798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant-General George Harris</td>
<td>21 Feb., 1798</td>
<td>Provisional Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward, Lord Clive</td>
<td>31 Aug., 1798</td>
<td>President and Governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard, Lord Mornington</td>
<td>31 Dec., 1798</td>
<td>Sat as President in virtue of his office as Governor-General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward, Lord Clive</td>
<td>5 Sept., 1799</td>
<td>Resigned 30 Aug., 1803</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix 6

List of Commanders of the forces at Fort St. George

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Jermin</td>
<td>1640-1649</td>
<td>Died about 1649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Richard Minors</td>
<td>1649-1651</td>
<td>Appointed locally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain James Martin</td>
<td>1651-1654</td>
<td>Sent from England via Bantam. Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Richard Minors</td>
<td>1654-1655</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant Timothy Sutton</td>
<td>1655-1658</td>
<td>Officiating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Roger Myddellon</td>
<td>1658-1660</td>
<td>Transferred to Surat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant William Hull</td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Thomas Axtell</td>
<td>1663-1664</td>
<td>Appointed from England. Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Francis Chuseman</td>
<td>1664-1668</td>
<td>Returned to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Timothy Sutton</td>
<td>1668-1673</td>
<td>Discharged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Philip O'Neale</td>
<td>1673-1680</td>
<td>Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The evidence of this officer's command is indirect.  2 Conjectural.
During the French occupation of Madras, the command at Fort St. David was held by Captain John De Morgan from 1746 to 1747, and by Captain George Gibson, R.N. (sent by Commodore Griffin) from 1747 to 1748. Major Lawrence then assumed command, but was taken prisoner in 1748. Until he was exchanged in the same year, Captain John Holland officiated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Captain James Bell</td>
<td>1686-1692</td>
<td>Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Francis Seaton</td>
<td>1693-1707</td>
<td>Transferred from Bengal. Dismissed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Gabriel Poirier</td>
<td>1707-1716</td>
<td>Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major John Konch</td>
<td>1716-1719</td>
<td>Dismissed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Alexander Fullerton</td>
<td>1720-1723</td>
<td>Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Alexander Sutherland</td>
<td>1723-1724</td>
<td>Superseded. Died at Madras in 1725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major John Roach</td>
<td>1724-1729</td>
<td>Transferred to the Civil Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major David Wilson</td>
<td>1729-1738</td>
<td>Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Peter Eckman</td>
<td>1738-1743</td>
<td>Superseded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Charles Knipe</td>
<td>1743</td>
<td>Appointed from England. Died at Madras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Peter Eckman</td>
<td>1743-1746</td>
<td>Captured at Madras by the French</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Stringer Lawrence</td>
<td>1749-1750</td>
<td>Proceeded to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Rodolphus De Ginges</td>
<td>1750-1762</td>
<td>Proceeding during Lawrence's absence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Stringer Lawrence</td>
<td>1753-1754</td>
<td>Superseded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant-Colonel John Adle-</td>
<td>1754-1757</td>
<td>Returned to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant-Colonel Stringer</td>
<td>1757-1759</td>
<td>Returned to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Cholmondeley Breten</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Officiating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel Eyre Coote</td>
<td>1759-1764</td>
<td>Proceeded to Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel John Cailland</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Officiating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General Stringer Law-</td>
<td>1761-1766</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier-General John Call-</td>
<td>1766-1767</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier-General Joseph Smith</td>
<td>1767-1770</td>
<td>Superseded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General Eyre Coote</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Returned to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier-General Joseph Smith</td>
<td>1770-1772</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher</td>
<td>1772-1773</td>
<td>Returned to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier-General Joseph Smith</td>
<td>1773-1775</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier-General Sir Robert</td>
<td>1775-1776</td>
<td>Died at Mauritius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier-General James Stuart</td>
<td>1776-1777</td>
<td>Suspended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel Ross Lang</td>
<td>1777-1778</td>
<td>Officiating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

480
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major-General Sir Hector Munro</td>
<td>1778-1782²</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General James Stuart</td>
<td>1782-1783</td>
<td>Dismissed and deported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant-General Ross Lang</td>
<td>1783-1785</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant-General Sir John Dalling, Bart.</td>
<td>1785-1786</td>
<td>Returned to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell</td>
<td>1786-1789</td>
<td>Also Governor. Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier-General Matthew Horne (Company's troops)</td>
<td>1789-1793</td>
<td>Officiating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel John Floyd (King's troops)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General William Meadows</td>
<td>1790-1792²</td>
<td>Also Governor. Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel John Brathwaite</td>
<td>1792-1796</td>
<td>Superseded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General Allured Clarke, R. Harris</td>
<td>1796-1797</td>
<td>Transferred to Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant-General George Harris</td>
<td>1797-1800</td>
<td>Resigned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major-General John Brathwaite</td>
<td>1800-1801</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>