

THE IMPERIAL ARCHIVES

From Discovery to the Civilisational Mission

English Writings on India

VOLUME III

Domesticity, the Social Scene
and Leisure

Edited by

PRAMOD K. NAYAR



BLOOMSBURY

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FROM DISCOVERY TO
THE CIVILISATIONAL MISSION:
ENGLISH WRITINGS ON INDIA

Volume 3

Domesticity, the Social Scene and Leisure

Editor

Pramod K. Nayar

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PREFATORY NOTE

The archival texts have been retained in their original font, style and content in order to clearly show the environment of the time when these documents were produced. It is important to show in a book such as this the views held at that time and the profound effect they had on society. We acknowledge that several of the texts are derogatory about Indians, women and communities of different religious faiths like many hundreds of other colonial-era-based works. While these are clearly unacceptable to us today, we have not attempted to change any wording or redact the texts so that the contemporary reader may experience the rhetoric, attitude and ideologies that so clearly marked the Raj. In places, where the text had been smudged and rendered impossible to read, that specific segment has been deleted.

We would like to make clear that these are not the views held by the editor or Bloomsbury India and do not reflect our mission and values which are clearly stated on our website (<https://www.bloomsbury.com/in/connect/about-us/missions-and-values/>)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: ARCHIVE AND EMPIRE

That the British writings on India occupy over several miles of shelf space in the British Library, London, is an apocryphal tale, but one which *may* have substance, given that there was no aspect of the subcontinent that did not pique the curiosity of the British or generate some document or the other.

In his *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (1993), Thomas Richards demonstrated how the documentation (the subject of considerable work, notably in Bernard Cohn and others) and archivisation not only produced knowledge about the colonies but were also instrumental in generating the fantasy of absolute control. And yet, it is never easy to read these records produced by a diverse set of English, Irish and Scottish missionaries, administrators, men of leisure, nurses, teachers, wives and/or sisters of the men who occupied official posts in the colony, soldiers, mercenaries and others—many of whom, for many reasons, had their own dynamics and tensions with the *English*.

Several approaches to the imperial record exist, and this introductory chapter sets out some of them.¹ In the process, it also flags what the archive does in terms of the imperial structure and processes.²

The Power of the Archive

The archive is not a mere compilation of what John Malcolm (1823) advised his officers on the right approach to the native officers, or what Thomas Williamson (1808) described as the potential for the hunt in India. The archive is not a passive reflection of imperial power—it constitutes and constructs it. As diverse commentators—such as Cohn's work on the 'survey modality' (1997) and C.A. Bayly's *Empire and Information* (1999)—have pointed out, the Empire ran on information,

¹ I use the term 'imperial archive' throughout to refer to the corpus of published material across genres, as diverse as maps, geographical accounts, census reports, travelogues, administrative reports, ecclesiastical documents.

² These volumes work only with the print archive of British India, although a vast archive of visual material also exists, and has been the subject of significant studies. See, for example, Guégan (2011), Chaudhury (2012), Pinney (2014), Dohman (2017) on colonial photography, and Tobin (1999), De Silva (2011), Eaton (2013), among others, on colonial/imperial art and paintings.

and information-gathering constituted not just an act of power but was a *constituent* of the power structure. It classified, organised and legislated on the subject peoples, through the census, the geographies and anthropological studies. In the process, it defined who is counted as a subject/citizen. For instance, writing about the Todas or the Gonds, and then examining the numbers of Muslim students in schools, both the educationist and the statesman were constructing model imperial citizens who would benefit, resist or accept from ‘modern’ education. In other words, the imperial archive on education was not merely advocating ‘modern’ education: it was constructing *educate-able* citizens from among their colonial subjects while abandoning the others. Thus, archiving and informatisation were ultimately about the power wielded over the identity-making and rights of the subjects.³

Relatedly, the archive and the documentation also made the subjects *visible to themselves*. With ‘modern’ education, for instance, the Indian colonial subject in school or college came to identify themselves in particular ways. They learnt what it means to be a good citizen, to be modern, to develop and demand certain skills, etc. They recognised their location on the civilisational scale in the books they read and assimilated (*primitive* and *non-modern* as opposed to the modern European). In an argument that resonates with my claims above, Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr write about the power of the English book:

The embodiment of English manly authority, the book was not simply ‘a surrogate Englishman in his highest and most perfect state,’ it was the very emblem of imperial sovereignty—with the rigorous spine a testimony to its singularity, its probity, its titular power ... books impressed themselves in the everyday lives of imperial subjects, manifesting the formal values of an elite or bourgeois self and modeling in their material form the coherence and commanding presence of British imperial power itself. (2014: 1–2)

The colonial subjects were told, through these English books, what kind of spiritual and moral training was required for them to ‘improve’.

³ It must be noted that it was not only the human subjects in the colony that became objects and subjects of the imperial archive. Fauna and flora, climate, landscape and topography—indeed the natural world in its entirety—were also archived. For studies, see Edney (1997) and Damodaran et al. (2015), among others.

As A.H. Benton of the Indian Civil Service wrote in *Indian Moral Instruction and Caste Problems*:

[The Indian] People are on the whole kindly, docile, alert, keen-spirited, high and low, one of the best-mannered peoples in the world, and they would appear to offer a very promising field for right spiritual treatment. (1917: 92)

The education archive, and especially its insistence on moral training and moral apprenticeship of the subjects as a *preliminary* to training for political citizenship, was built on the

founding assumption ... that the native readership of English texts, and the recipients of English education, were amenable to their teachings, which led them to abandon their traditional manners and disciplines. This necessitated a solid moral training to make them good citizens. (Nayar 2020: 142)

The archive also, frequently, captures the rift and fracture within the colonial subject's responses to, say, Western/English education. See, for instance, Syed Mahmood's anguish about the Indian Muslim's refusal to accept this education:

Such feelings of aversion towards English education entertained by the Mahomedans ... stand in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Hindu community.... This difference in the sentiments of the two communities towards English education, is the real key to the reasons of the vast disparity of progress of English education which the two nationalities have respectively made. The effects of this disparity have been most baneful to the interests of British India in general, and to the Mahomedan community in particular. (1895: 23)

In time, the colonial subject, convinced of the 'truth' in the power of the Englishman's word or photographic record, not only accepted the arguments about their inferiority but also welcomed the interventions in the form of the civilisational mission of the Empire. The archive had, therefore, produced the *willing* colonial subject.

In particular cases, such as Thuggee, the archive enabled the colonial structures of law enforcement and the judiciary to enact legislation and, in the process, demonise specific cultural practices. Examining the Thuggee archive, Alexander Macfie writes:

[W]hereas Sleeman and his colleagues tended to define the activities of the thugs in terms of wickedness, murder, deceit, cowardice and criminality, the thugs themselves tended to evaluate them in terms of courage, enterprise, bravery, daring, cunning, adventure and martial

skill ... in terms usually associated by both the British and the Indians with the heroic values of war. (2008: 396)

The Archive, the Coloniser, the Colonised and Cultural Exchanges

Shifting focus, Antoinette Burton has demonstrated how the imperial archive also fed into the coloniser's psyche, imagination and political imagination. A pithy summary of how the imperial corpus fuelled, inspired and controlled the social imaginary, policies, attitudes and responses of the Britons in the nineteenth century is available in Burton's *Empire in Question*. Victorian culture, writes Burton,

as a racialized landscape shaped by decades, if not centuries, of colonial peoples, goods, and ideas coursing through its highways and byways ... as always already imperial not just implicitly but as part of a pedagogical meta-narrative about the relationship of modernity to the world-historical phenomenon of colonialism in world history.... (2011: 2–3)

Burton proposes that English 'sensitivity' was shaped by Britain's imperial role and character, and its concomitant racialised hierarchies—thus makes the production and consumption of texts (and commodities) about and from the colonised peripheries central to the making of Britain itself (also see Hall 2002).

The archive also instantiates, other than the racialised power binaries (white/black, coloniser/colonised), cross-cultural *influences* and *exchanges*. Contacts across races, ethnic groups and the coloniser–colonised divide were frequent through the colonial period.

The English language took into itself words from their colonial subjects. They also sought to document the grammars of the languages of the subcontinent for their own officers and staff. As a consequence, a vibrant field of cultural exchanges opened up in the languages, with Indian pandits and English philologists and grammarians collaborating. The imperial archive in this domain shows mutual influences of English on Indian languages and vice versa (including Sanskrit [Naregal 2001]) but also the *organisation* of knowledge around the latter (Lelyveld 1993; Rao 2004; Mir 2010; Auer 2014).⁴ Scholars—the famous 'Orientalists'—translated texts from, say, Sanskrit into English. Organisations and societies, such as the Asiatic Society, the

⁴ A detailed annotated bibliography on these and other aspects of English colonial discourse on India can be found in Nayar 2021.

Zoological Survey of India, the Archaeological Survey of India, were spaces through which the English statesman, *memsahib* and trader encountered Indian temples, art, food practices, superstitions, systems of healing, among others.

English literary texts, as numerous commentators have shown (Leask 1993; Teltscher 1997), began to introduce Indian ‘themes’ and motifs, whether the *sati* or the wealth of the country’s landscape. This field of literary studies was one of contestation and adaptation (Vishwanathan 1990). Be that as it may, the circulation of the English novel in nineteenth-century India catered to the Indian audience attuned to the melodramatic and informed their own creative work (Joshi 2003). Other commentators like Harish Trivedi (1993) have noted how English literature was received in India and the transactional nature of this reception.

Local experts, *writers* and translators were an integral component of the East India Company and the British government. Even account and trade books were produced through a collaborative project (Ogborn 2007). In other domains, such as translations, Indian scholars like Kasinatha Bhattacharya enabled the work of Charles Wilkins (Davis 2015).

Manners, protocols of civic interaction and norms of social, interracial interaction were also sites where cultural exchange and mutual influence were visible. Even the idea of ‘civility’, as Anindyo Roy has argued, was treated by the native—and projected as such by *English* textbooks and teachers—as markers of ‘modern progress and mobility’ (Roy 2005: 11). Therefore, both English and Indian commentators (Webb 1915; El Edroos 1922) produced advice and courtesy books for Indians and Englishmen in India (Nayar 2016, ‘Civil Modernity’). These contained suggestions like:

Members of each class, without entering into political or official discussions and avoiding personal remarks, may have much pleasant intercourse by asking about and describing the manners and customs peculiar to each other’s nationality, or about their art, music, poetry and literature.... Talk about sport is most suitable at club. (El Edroos: 89)

The Archive and the Global

Another approach to the imperial archive chooses to see the archive as instantiating not just the sensibilities, attitudes and modes of the British

coloniser and the subcontinent's colonised, but as enabling *global and globalising imperial networks*. That is, the archive is seen as embodying not just the binary of an imperial 'centre' and 'periphery' (the colony), but a vast network of global connections. We see this interpretation in the work of John Darwin.

In *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970* (2009), Darwin shows how the 'interdependence' of various regions and colonies shaped the British Empire in four specific domains. First, there is the military interdependence of various geopolitical regions:

the most obvious forms of such inter-dependence were naval and military.... British ability to provide naval protection or to send reinforcements to the scene of a conflict would have been very limited without the resources the imperial system supplied. It was strategic control of the Cape Colony (whose economic value was derisory before 1870) that secured the naval gateway to Asia from European waters. The prime function of Egypt, occupied by the British in 1882, was to preserve British use of the Suez Canal and protect the 'Clapham Junction' of imperial communications. Malta, Aden, Ceylon, Singapore, Hong Kong, Esquimalt (on Vancouver Island), the Falklands and Halifax, Nova Scotia, formed the network of bases from which the Royal Navy patrolled the world's sea-lanes. India played several roles in the British world-system, but perhaps its critical function was to be the main base from which British interests in Asia could be advanced and defended. Indian soldiers and a British garrison paid for by Indian revenues were the 'strategic reserve' of the British system in Asia. Because India played this role, other British possessions and spheres east and south of Suez were largely exempted from the costs of defence—a fact of crucial importance to their economic viability. (3–4)

Then there is the commercial interdependence and linkages:

Both colonial territories and 'informal' colonies had to compete for investment and credits from London to expand their economies ... with the grand exception of the United States (which had received one-fifth of British foreign investment by 1913), British capital was shuttled by the City of London between the various sectors of its commercial empire (a vast global realm among whose key provinces were Canada, Argentina, India, Australia, Southern Africa, China and the Middle East), employing a calculus of prospective return and speculative gain. (4)

The third domain of such connections would be the demographic interdependence:

Although two-thirds of British migrants went to the United States up until 1900, almost all the rest were distributed between the four main settlement zones of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Indeed, their economic development was usually seen as being closely dependent upon drawing labour and skills from the British supply.... Between 1834 and 1937, India exported some 30 million people to other British possessions as indentured labour, and perhaps one-fifth remained as permanent settlers. In the tropical empire (which British migrants avoided) they supplied much of the labour and business expertise to promote commercial expansion. (4–5)

Finally,

the spheres of British expansion were progressively linked by a complex system of communication. From the 1840s onwards, this was provided by subsidised mail services, telegraph wires, undersea cables, an expanding rail network, fast passenger steamers and (in the twentieth century) imperial air routes. (5)

In consonance with the work of Darwin, other commentators have mapped these global connections and interdependencies of the British Empire. Thus, Tony Ballantyne, Jonathan Hyslop, among others, in their contributions to the *New Imperial Histories Reader*, map racial imaginings and knowledge formations, working-class presences across the Empire, from India to Australia and Southern Africa. The migration of people and goods in the 1850–1914 period, argue Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson in *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914* (2010), was instrumental in the making of an international economy. This, of course, put tremendous pressure on the colonised peoples but also made “transnationalism”—living in and identifying with more than one country or place—a normal way of life for many British people in the half-century before 1914’ (5); an argument that resonates with that of Antoinette Burton about Victorian England cited earlier.

Alan Lester’s work in the field of imperial humanitarianism and the ‘civilisational mission’ has made similar connections to argue for a trans-imperial history. Through the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, notes Alan Lester, we can discern the rise of a ‘moral geography of the globe’, where the Europeans felt responsible for ‘distant strangers’ (2000: 278). Thus, imperialism intersected with, fed

into and drew from humanitarian ideologies and thought in *different* parts of the world/Empire. Subsequently, Lester et al.'s work focused on not 'national boundaries' (Britain's) but on 'transnational and trans-imperial connections' (2020: 2). They argue that 'the principles of freedom, civilisation and liberalism that motivated them were dissolved in a solution of violent racism through which British power was applied' in *various* colonies and geographical locations (2). Through a reading of three years—1838, 1857 and 1879—and the archive of Victorian imperialist statesmen and legal luminaries like James Stephen, Lester et al. demonstrate the linkage and common foundations (ideological, racism, etc.):

[T]he ending of slavery and the rise of free trade doctrine, repeated Indian famines and the Uprising of 1857, the First and Second Afghan Wars, the First and Second Opium Wars, the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing and the Anglo-Zulu War, mass emigration from the British Isles, the self-governance of settler colonies in North America, Australasia and southern Africa and the devastation of Indigenous societies. (11)⁵

The Archive in 'New Imperial Histories'

The modes through which the archive has been read and employed have come in for criticism in the *new imperial history* turn. Nicholas Dirks summarises the problem with the slide between the production of the imperial archive and the production of the historical events within imperialism. Dirks writes:

Begins the histories behind and beneath the production of the kinds of primary sources that have represented colonial knowledge even as they have been used to determine and justify colonial policy. The archive has enshrined, in [Michel] Foucault's sense, this raw material

⁵ Philippa Levine and John Marriott in their Introduction to the massive *The Ashgate Research Companion to Modern Imperial Histories* (2012) argue that for many commentators, such as C.A. Bayly, 'modernity' in Europe itself is a consequence of its imperial actions—'The putative simultaneity of Europe's imperial ascent, globalisation and the birth of the modern world has led many to see an intimate interconnectedness.' (2)

However the trouble with this reading is, they note, 'that not only did Europe (or the west if we include the Americas) continue to display significant characteristics that might be regarded as pre-modern, but many of the features identified as modern were to be found equally in societies beyond and often unconnected to Europe.' (2)

for subsequent historical representation. In the Indian case, the archive is both the precipitate of the history of conquest and rule and the basis on which that history has been written by colonial administrators. (2010: 95)

This ‘colonial history’ most notably in the ‘Cambridge School’ of historians, argues Dirks reading the archive of John Seeley and others, was in fact ‘colonial fiction’, which forwarded the idea that ‘Indian politics emerged as a direct reflex of administrative initiatives set in motion by colonial rule’ (95). Dirks continues:

[such colonial histories argued] that local elites, the very groups that had been the collaborators for British rule, turned nationalist—in the context of participation in the progressively enlarged electoral arenas of provincial and municipal politics—when they realized that more of the pie could be obtained through autonomous political institutions than through colonial ones.... (95)

This meant

[The Cambridge School] proved its arguments by using colonial sources—frequently police records and confidential files—that documented the spurious activities of nationalist figures in what was a large-scale colonial effort to track, contain, and debunk the very politics that sought to overthrow colonial rule. (96)

More recent readings have shown how colonial and imperial legacies and their discursive remains, even in the postcolonial era, turn to and retain its ideologies and representational modes. Nadine Attewell writes in *Better Britons*:

[in] the afterlife of empire insofar as the projects of nation building with which it is concerned ... sexual reproduction [is the] key to, and a potent figure for, the (re)constitution of the national body after the ‘end’ of empire. (2014: 6)

This implies that the archive and the historical record—even as we debate what counts as the historical record—is very much an active constituent of the present postcolonial thought and actions as well.

*

The volumes here are only a small sample of the imperial archive. The range and depth of the archive are impossible to encapsulate in a few volumes. While I have made attempts elsewhere to capture some of this variety (Nayar 2007; 2009; 2013; 2016 [*Siege and Prison Writings*]; 2017; 2019), much more is required and possible. For example, the visual archive of the Empire, with its modalities and aesthetic grammars of

'composing' the subcontinent, whether in photography or painting (some of which may be found in Archer 1972), requires much more presence in the form of collections.

The present volumes focus on select aspects of the imperial archive: the accounts of 'discovery' and exploration—flora and fauna, geography, climate—the people of the subcontinent, English domesticity and social life in the subcontinent, the wars and skirmishes—including the *Mutiny* of 1857–1858—and the *civilisational mission*. It excludes legal documents and the many Acts and laws enacted by the British government.

Volume I consists of documents that deal with England's *discovery* of India, its exploration and mapping of the Indian land. This volume includes material as diverse as the letter from India of Thomas Stephens, often called 'the first Englishman in India', chorographic and cartographic accounts from geographical, meteorological, archaeological surveys that the various organisations and societies established for the purpose produced.

Volume II includes English studies of Indian languages and the social order. Ethnographic surveys of the subcontinent's people and cultural practices were published from the late eighteenth century. Practices like female infanticide, sati and thuggee, seen as emblematic of the 'barbarous' Oriental, received special attention in the documentation. The characteristics of various tribes and ethnic group were also mapped in considerable detail.

Volume III shifts the focus entirely to the English home and social life. The documents include advice on gardening—an integral part of the English home—and on housekeeping. In the latter, the English were given instructions on how to monitor the domestic economy and manage the servants. Advice manuals on hunting and field sports were also published. Given the interracial dynamics at work, officers were issued manuals on etiquette and behaviour. Accounts of hill-stations and camps, and the social life in the Presidencies make up the rest of the volume.

Volume IV is a collection of accounts of a very different British life in India: as prisoners, under siege and in conditions of war. Starting with the notorious *Black Hole* of Calcutta to the 1857 *Mutiny*, the English wrote about being assailed, besieged and tormented in their war journals and prison accounts. These documented physical and

emotional suffering, the losses of families and lives, even as they strove to depict British grit and determination.

Volume V documents England's *civilisational mission*. These documents offer a glimpse into British opinions and strategies on diverse subjects. It includes Macaulay's (in)famous Minute of 1835, accounts of medical missionary activities, views on establishing missionary activities and the British views on women's education.

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INTRODUCTION

Domesticity, often a fraught exercise for the ‘memsahib’, carried on with the assistance of a retinue of Indian servants, meant tackling corruption, inefficiency and the all-pervasive social hierarchy of the colonised. Advice books were produced to aid the memsahib for this purpose. The Steel-Gardiner guide to housekeeping, which was a bestseller in its day and is excerpted here, was indispensable in the length and breadth of its coverage, from the care of children to the right wages for the servants. Diver’s text, likewise, also demonstrates how running the home was difficult and has a resonance with the (male) dominion of running the Empire. These texts exhorted the Englishwoman to practise thrift, control and managerial skills, to be aware of the natives’ penchant for dirt and indolence and the caste-community dynamics that inform the servant-class.

Entertainments of various kinds, from the ‘nautch’ that the men were particularly fond of to the shikar (of pigs, bison, tigers) and polo, were introduced and assiduously cultivated by the British in India. The archive is full of accounts of such hunts and recreational activities, such as Thomas Williamson’s and Stebbing’s accounts here. The thrill of the chase and the tedium of the wait are all documented. Practical advice on weapons, tents and skills required, traps to be laid are made available for specific game as well. Advice on gardening, such as Frederick Pogson’s excerpted here, was always available for the memsahib. The kitchen garden as an integral component of the domestic economy was often highlighted.

The social life of the English, whether in the camp, the hunt, the ‘station’ or the hills of Shimla, was vibrant and had its fair share of romance, social tensions and amusements, as Edward Buck’s detailed account of the hill station demonstrates. Co-opting the natives as assistants was necessary, but playing with them was a social manoeuvre that required considerable tact and diplomacy, as the British discovered. To ensure that the wheels of social and interracial interactions moved smoothly, instruction manuals, such as John Malcolm’s excerpted here, and etiquette books were published for both colonial masters and the colonised.

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Thomas Williamson

***Oriental Field Sports.* London: W. Bulmer,
1808. 2 vols.**



PLATE I.

GOING OUT IN THE MORNING.

THERE being no inns, nor houses of a description suited to the accommodation of Europeans, in any part of India, it is usual for each gentleman to be provided with one or more tents, to which a suitable conveyance, either of elephants, camels, or bullocks, is usually attached. On account of the extreme heat of the climate, these tents are necessarily constructed on a large scale, with many apertures, and having a space of perhaps four or five feet between the inner shell or marquee, and the fly, which generally is three or four feet every way more extensive than the shell; making by this means a large awning or pavilion, for the accommodation of servants, and for the security of baggage.

The tents in question are made either of canvas, or of a narrow kind of coarse and cheap cotton, called *guzzee*. The former are for the most part lined with perpers, or baize. The latter being thin, is composed of many folds, perhaps four, five, or six, and lined either with the same kind of cloth dyed of any colour, with printed chintz, of which an immense

quantity is manufactured in all parts of India, of beautiful patterns, or with a red cloth called *curroch*, which should be coloured with a dye made of shell lac, and receive its tint previous to being woven; the same as what are in England termed cloths-in-grain. The ropes are usually of cotton; and if made of the new material, are extremely durable. The rope makers, however, if not closely watched, are apt to mix a large portion of decayed cotton, collected from old tents, quilts, &c.; the tapes are also of cotton, and the quantity used would surprise an European tent builder. They are laid in the middle of the folds of guzzee which may be in any direction liable to strain. A tape proceeds from the peak of the tent, to every place where a rope is affixed, as well as all around the edge, and accompanies every bamboo, or lath, inserted in the walls for the purpose of sustaining the exterior of the shell, or marquee, at its proper height; which is commonly from five feet ten inches, to six feet four inches perpendicular; so that a tall person may walk all around within the area of the tent with his hat on. The walls lace on by means of loops of cotton line, which passing through eyelet holes made in the upper edge of the walls, and being looped through each other in succession, brace them up to the shell very close and firm. Wherever there is a bamboo in the wall, a short loop is affixed to the bottom, secured to the work by a strong piece of leather, stitched on with great neatness and strength, for the purpose of receiving a wooden pin, of about a foot long; which being driven into the ground,

prevents the walls from being blown in by the violent gusts of wind that generally prevail for many hours daily.

The peaks or caps at the top, are made of two or more layers of strong leather, manufactured in India; of late years to great perfection. All the leather work is covered with guzzee, if on the outside of the tent; but all within the tent is covered with the same colour or pattern as the lining. By this means great neatness is preserved.

Most tents are furnished with *veraudahs*, or flat projections, proceeding from the edges of the shell in two or more parts, so as to increase the interior of the tent. They do not project beyond the fly, as they would thence be subject to wet from rain; which from their horizontal position they could not throw off. The doorways are made either in an arched form, or with square corners above as well as below. Some contrive them to shut by means of extra length in the walls; which, being brought to lap over, close them perfectly. This is certainly the securest mode, as well as the most comfortable; but the most convenient method is to have *pardahs*, which are hangings composed of the same materials as the tent, rather larger than the doorways, and kept extended to their due breadth by horizontal bamboos, which also prevent them from being blown in by the wind. These *pardahs* are rolled up when the doors are required to remain open, and are tied up by means of cords fixed to their centres for that purpose.

The tents are mostly furnished with *cheeks*, which are

applied to the doors in the same manner as *purdahs*, and are usually hung upon the edge of the shell or marquee between the wall and the *purdah*. These *cheeks* are made of small strips of bamboo, about the thickness of a crow quill; they are kept together by threads worked in various patterns, but commonly in checquers, and are sometimes bound round at their edges with tape or coloured cloth. *Cheeks* are extremely useful; they admit a moderate portion of air; keep out the glare, which is highly distressing during the heat of the day in every situation; render the interior private, though a person within can distinctly observe all that passes without; and serve to keep out a large number of the insects, frogs, &c. which, during the rainy season in particular, become an excessive nuisance after sunset. *Cheeks* roll up in the same manner, but in much less compass than *purdahs*.

Many circumstances render it expedient that all Europeans who travel; or go on parties of pleasure, should be accompanied by small guards of seapoys. The habits of all the natives of power or opulence have created in the minds of the inferior classes an opinion, that to be without such a retinue proceeds from a want of dignity, or from a want of importance, and produces, on many occasions, very unpleasant dilemmas. Frequently the head of a village, who is supreme within his own limits, will deny himself; will refuse to furnish supplies, though the money be tendered; and will behave with the greatest insolence. He will, perhaps, refuse to protect the party in the usual manner, by *chokeydars*, or nightly watch-

men; while on the other hand, he will, not unfrequently, send some of his own gang to plunder the camp during the night.

However, the presence of a small guard, nay, even of a single seapoy, generally obviates these difficulties, and proves the means of not only protecting, but of amply providing the party with every requisite the country affords.

The guards usually sleep under shelter of the fly; in fair weather, under a tree; or occasionally in the open air; one or more sentries are stationed, which with the aid of the *chokeydars*, for the most part prevent the approach of thieves, belonging to other villages; though this profession is brought to such perfection in India, as to completely eclipse the feats of our European sons of Belial! If, however, the weather be not of the best, the guard, as also the servants, who partake of the same shelter, throw their small *satringes*, or carpets used to sleep on, empty pin-bags, &c. over the ropes of the fly, and thus keep off the rain, or the heavy-dews; and in the day time, screen themselves by the same means from the scorching rays of the sun. Some, perhaps, are accompanied by their *goorgahs*, or menials, who carry their quilts, and cooking apparatus, consisting in general of a *lootah*, or water pot, containing about a quart, a *deckchee*, or boiler, equal to nearly a gallon, and a *tussilah*, or flat platter, of about a foot or fifteen inches in diameter, with a side or rim about an inch high, and nearly perpendicular: the use of this last is to contain victuals when dressed, which the natives all eat with their right hands; taking up their viands with their fingers,