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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXII.

April 1901.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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| 8.—The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. Arachnida. By R. I. Pocock. London : Taylor & Francis ; Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. ; Bombay : Thacker & Co. | ix. |
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| 11.—Supplement to Nesfield's Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis Book IV, consisting of appendices on Accent, Pronunciation, Structure of Sentences and Structure of Paragraph as required by the Matriculation, or Entrance and First Arts Courses of Indian Universities. Macmillan & Co., Limited ; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price three annas | ib. |
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 224—APRIL 1901.

ART. I.—QUILON, AN INDIAN PORT OF FORMER DAYS.

WHEN Lord Curzon, in his recent vice-regal tour in Southern India, visited the beautiful native state of Travancore, whose "exquisite scenery, old world simplicity and Arcadian charm" seem to have so attracted his lordship, the first glimpse he had of the natural beauty of the country was at Quilon, a thriving third-rate port on the middle of the Travancore seaboard, and the proposed terminus of the new Travancore Railway. Apart from its natural beauty there is at present but little at Quilon to arrest the gaze of the passing traveller ; but in point of historical interest the city has a record which few seaports in India could surpass. It was a place of note ever long before the voyage of Da Gama linked together the destinies of the East and the West. When Calcutta was a marshy jungle infested by wild beasts and Bengal ruled by a line of Hindu kings who held their Court at ruined Gaur, Quilon was one of the chief centres of Eastern trade. Eleven centuries have almost rolled by since it gave its name to the Malabar era current in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. In the middle ages it was an important centre of the Nestorian Christians, and was often visited by Catholic missionaries from the West who came so far to bring the erring Nestorians back into the orthodox fold. It was the seat of the first bishoprick which Rome founded in India. The land locked lagoon with its "fairy landscape" where a few days ago rival snakeboats flew over the waters to make a vice-regal holiday, was in the days of Friar Jordanus, the first and perhaps the only occupant of the See of Columbum ;* crowded with the shipping of all the East from Yemen to Cathay. Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller, found the port one of the largest in the world and its markets the finest in India.

A brief, albeit fragmentary historical sketch of the place

*The Latin form of Quilon. In Sanskrit also Quilon is called Kolanbanu, VOL. CXII.]

would be interesting, and would, I believe, have more than academic interest, as it is possible that with Railways and other modern conditions, and the great natural resources of Travancore, Quilon might attain a high position among the commercial centres of Modern India.

The Malabar era called after Quilon Kollam Era (Quilon is simply Kollam *anglice*) begins with 824 A. D., and the town is commonly supposed to have been founded about that date, to commemorate the beginning of a new era. But this view is not correct. The origin of all old towns is lost in obscurity. They grow up naturally in the East as elsewhere, and are deliberately founded and started on an urban career only in rare cases. A conqueror like Alexander founds them at strategic points with great natural advantages to cement his conquests and to spread the influence of a new civilization; or a Sultan like Mahomed Taglak founds a city and peoples it under compulsion in sheer wantonness of unbridled power. Quilon does not seem to have had any similar origin, and we have clear evidence to show the city was in existence long before the date of its alleged foundation. The first mention of Quilon we find in a document of the seventh century A. D. In an episcopal letter written by Jesu-Jabus of Adiabene, the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon to Simon, metropolitan of Fars (the old name of Persia) charging him with neglect of duty, he says "not only is India which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Fars to *Colon*, a distance of 1,200 parasangs deprived of a regular ministry, but Fars itself is lying in darkness."* This patriarch Jesu-Jabus died in 660 A. D. Quilon must thus have been a place of considerable importance and a centre of Nestorian Christians even at that early date. These Christians, the ancestors of the prosperous Syrian Christians who form a large and influential community in Cochin and Travancore, originally came from Persia before the fifth or sixth century A. D., and settled down in the leading maritime towns of Western India. Quilon must have been in existence for a century or two earlier before it could attain the celebrity of a geographical landmark of India in those days when voyages were so slow and risky.

The Malabar era beginning with 824 A.D. was founded according to tradition for the convenience of the people, and was called after Quilon, probably because the formal agreement of the Malabar Chiefs to adopt the new era, was entered into at Quilon which was undoubtedly at the time, the premier city in Malabar.† The city seems to have thriven fast, and

* Yule's Marco Polo. See note on Quilon.

† Malabar is used in the wider sense including the District of Malabar and the Native States of Cochin and Travancore.

fresh colonies of Nestorian Christians came there attracted by the trade. In 822 A.D. two Nestorian Persians, Mar Sapor and Mar Peroz arrived in Quilon with a large following and settled there. Two years after, in 824 A.D., King Sthanu Ravi Gupta anxious to secure pecuniary assistance from the rich Christian merchants in his efforts to repel an invasion of Malabar by the Rahakutas granted the copper-plate grant known as the Second Charter. In this grant the king gave permission to Mar Sapor to transfer to the Tarasa Church and community at Quilon, a piece of land near the city with the hereditament usual* at the time of several families of low caste slaves attached to the soil.*

Quilon had already become one of the most important ports in India. The merchant Soleyman of Siraf in Persia who visited Malabar and the East in the first-half of the ninth century A.D. found it was the only port in India touched by the huge Chinese ships on their way from Canton to the ports on the Persian Gulf. The Chinese whose intense conservatism and hatred of all foreign influence have given rise to the most serious political problem at the dawn of the twentieth century were, in those days, an enlightened and pushing race, and the ocean trade of the East was entirely in their hands. Civil dissensions in China led to its decay for a time, but it rose again to pre-eminence under Kublai Khan and other energetic Emperors of the Mongol dynasty.

Soleyman in his book called *Chaine de Chroniques*† written about 852 A.D., says the Chinese ships on their homeward voyage left Siraf on the Persian Gulf for the Coast of Oman. They touched at Muscat whence they sailed with the monsoon across the Arabian Sea to Quilon. With a moderate wind the journey from Muscat to Quilon took thirty days. At Quilon the Chinese ships paid a heavy port duty of 1,000 dinars. The Chinese ships though large were flat bottomed and required only a small draught of water. They could with ease cross the bar at Quilon and enter the lagoon which formed so fine a harbour. Ibn Batuta gives a good description of the Chinese craft. "Chinese ships only," says Ibn Batuta,‡ "are used in navigating the Sea of China. There are three classes of these: (1) the large which are called *Junks*; (2) the middling which are called *Zao*; and (3) the small called *Kakam*. Each of the greater ships has from twelve sails down to three. These sails are made of bamboo laths woven into a kind of mat; they are never lowered and they are braced this way and that as the wind may blow. When these vessels anchor

* Rae's Syrian Church in India.

† Reinaud's *Voyages par les Arabes et les Persans*.

‡ Extract from Ibn Batuta by Deffremery and Sanguinetti Paris.

"Hight the last king was Serama Perumal,
 Who 'neath one sceptre held the kingdom all.
 But as this region there and then was sought
 By other races from the Arab Bight,
 Who Mahometic worship with them brought.
 It hapt their wisdom and their prayers so wrought
 Upon the Perumal, and lit such light
 That to the faith convert with fervour high
 He only hoped a saint in it to die.
 He mans his ships and loads with merchandise
 And many an offering, curious rare, and rich
 And there religious life to lead he hies,
 Where lies our Prophet who our Law did preach."

Canto. VII, 32-33-34.

One of the early missionaries sent by Cheraman Perumal from his death bed at Zaphar was Malik Ben Habeeb who went from Cranganore where he had landed with the rest of the party, to Quilon. He built a mosque and settled there, and with Quilon as his centre went on preaching expeditions to all the cities around.

This according to Zeenudeen was the origin of the Mahomedan Colony at Quilon, who soon displaced the Chinese and almost monopolized the trade of the port until the arrival of the Portuguese.*

In 1324 Friar Jordanus of Severac, afterwards Bishop of Quilon or Columbum, the first Catholic See in India, came to Quilon and spent some years in mission work among the Nestorians. His interesting work *Mirabilia descripta*† written on his return home after his first journey to the East, gives us a glimpse of the country at the time. The King of Quilon was a Nair Lingayet, and the commercial wealth of the port had made the kingdom powerful and extensive. Jordanus found several Nestorian Christians at Quilon and other towns on the coast. He built a Church, St. George's Church, at Quilon, and had a congregation of two or three hundred Nestorians whom he had brought back to the orthodox faith. Like most early missionaries he is rather hard on the Nestorians:

"In this India,‡" he says, "there is a scattered people one here, another there, who call themselves Christians, but are not so, nor have they baptism, nor do they know anything else about the faith! Nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ." Jordanus pays a noble tribute to the rulers of Malabar for their toleration. "And let me tell you, among the idolaters, a man may with safety expound the word

* See Zeenudeen's *Toh-ful-uhl Miyahdeen* translated by Rowlandson.

† Yule's *Wonders of the East* (Hakluyt Society).

‡ He means Malabar.

of the Lord, nor is any one from the idolaters hindered from being baptized." He gives a favourable account of the character of the people. "The people," he says, "are clean in their feeding, true in speech, and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privileges of every man according to his degree as they have come down from old times." Jordanus also mentions the system of inheritance prevailing among the ruling military caste. "In this India never do the legitimate sons of great kings or princes or barons inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters." Jordanus does not like Polo, give details of the trade of the port, but says simply it was extensive and consisted chiefly in pepper, cinnamon, ginger and brazil wood. No trace exists now of the Church founded by Jordanus, but Missionaries and Friars who visited Quilon in the latter part of the century, lived and preached there, and this was probably the building which the Portuguese are said to have visited on their first arrival at Quilon in 1502 A. D.

After speaking highly of the astrologers and physicians of Malabar, Jordanus says in a letter written in 1323 "The people are in continual expectation of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books. And they are continually praying the Lord after their manner to hasten the wished-for arrival of the Latins." This belief seems to have been prevalent all over Malabar. Gaspar Correa, the chief historian of Portuguese India, gives a similar story in his *Lendas da India*. A Kanian, i.e., a member of the astrologer caste in Malabar, who lived at Cannanore about three or four hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese, had so great a reputation that several of his prophecies were reduced to writing and preserved. One of these related to the arrival of Europeans from the West who, he predicted, would attain to supremacy in India. This, says Correa, was the secret of the favourable reception the King of Cannanore gave Da Gama on his first voyage; and the belief no doubt helped the Portuguese to a certain extent in their wars with the Zamorin.*

In the Easter week of 1347 A. D. Quilon was visited by another Friar, the Papal delegate, John Marignolli of Florence, who afterwards became the Bishop of Bisignano, and who was a friend of the Emperor Charles IV. He was on his way back from China where he had been sent by the Pope in response to a request from the Christian Alans, who formed part of the army of the Great Khan "for a legate wise, capable and virtuous to care for their souls." He lived for over a year at Quilon and preached in the Church founded by Jordanus, and

* See Correa's *Three Voyages of Da Gama* (Hakluyt Society).

the Christians at Quilon were prosperous enough to give him a monthly tithe of 100 gold fanams, and a thousand when he left. Marignolli who was a bit of a *gourmet* gives a ravishing description of Malabar fruits and pickles. He was an ambitious man and was particular the people of Quilon should never forget his name. "To emulate the glory of Alexander the Great" he says, "When he set up his column in India, I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial, and anointed it with oil. In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and mine, engraved upon it with inscriptions in both Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated it and blessed it, in the presence of an infinite number of people and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's."* Human vanity often defeats its own end. The monument seems to have lasted for some centuries, but did not keep fresh the name of Marignolli. The climate and the seaside air soon wrought havoc on the inscription, and as it often happens in India, a tradition soon arose investing it with a halo of antiquity. The pious Christians at Quilon attributed it to St. Thomas, the founder of their Church, and revered it as a standing proof of the visit of the great apostle of the Indies, to the shores of Malabar.

A few years before Marignolli, Quilon was visited by one of the great travellers of history. Abou Abdalla Mahomed, better known by his surname of Ibn Batuta, the traveller, was the greatest traveller of the Arab race. Born at Tangier in Morocco 1304 A. D.; he went on his Haaj (pilgrimage to Mecca) at the age of 21 and thus commenced his extensive travels. His wanderings show how widespread was Moslem influence at the time. He travelled for twenty-eight years at leisure with the usual retinue of a rich and sensual Arab all over Asia, Africa, and European Russia, not rushing through cities with the feverish haste of the globe trotter, but spending a considerable time in each country, studying the people and their ways, and even contracting marriages in most of the countries he visited. He crossed the Hindu Kush, passed through Central Arabia, penetrated into the heart of China, and sailed down the Niger from Timbuctoo, a good traveller's record even in these days of fast travelling. He was a cultured man of the world, full of vital energy and enjoyment of life and endowed with boundless curiosity and daring. He had charming manners and an assurance, by which he won his way into the hearts of princes. His coming to Quilon itself forms an interesting episode in the Indian history of the time. In 1333 he passed over from Afghanistan to the Court of

* Yule's Cathay and the way thither.

Mahomed Taglak at Delhi, in the company of some adventurers all hurrying thither to shake the pagoda tree. His success was instantaneous. He received a present of 1,200 dirhems, and was made Chief Judge of Delhi on a similar annual salary. He filled the post for eight years, during which period he "hung like a perfect horseleech on the king's bounty."* His curiosity led him to pay a visit to a learned Sheik who was out of favour at Court. When this reached the Sultan's ears, Ibn Batuta was dismissed from office and cast into prison. He saved his neck however by a prudent gift of all his wealth to the poor, and by the timely adoption of the Fakir's robe. Soon after an Embassy came from China seeking permission to re-build a Buddhist temple in the Himalayas, frequented by Chinese pilgrims, and Ibn Batuta was selected by the Sultan to return an answer. He left Delhi in 1341 A. D. with costly presents and a large retinue. The party, accompanied by the Chinese ambassadors returning home, embarked in country ships in the Gulf of Cambay, and landed at Calicut, where the ambassador, Ibn Batuta, spent a few months as the guest of the Zamorin, who had made arrangements for their voyage to China in Chinese junks. When they were about to start, a sudden storm arose, the ships were obliged to put out to sea, leaving Ibn behind. He travelled almost alone by back water to Quilon to catch the ships which were almost certain to touch that port. But the storm had destroyed them, and Ibn who did not like to return to Delhi spent three years wandering in the Malabar cities and the neighbouring islands. The journey by back water from Calicut to Quilon took ten days. On the tenth day he arrived at Quilon, "one of the finest cities in Malabar, with magnificent markets and very wealthy merchants." The King of Quilon was a person called Attwery† eminent for his strict and terrible justice. Quilon was the port most frequented by Chinese ships, and Chinese merchants, but Mahomedans had already succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the trade from their hands. The Mahomedans lived here as in other cities of Malabar in a separate quarter, under the rule of their own Kazi. The chief officer of the port or Bender was also a Mahomedan. The mosque built at the sole expense of a private merchant was an admirable building. Ibn Batuta gives an interesting picture of criminal justice at the time. "During my stay at Quilon," he says, a Persian archer, who was wealthy and influential, killed one of his comrades and then took refuge in the house of one Alâwedji. The Mussulmans wanted to bury the dead body, but the officers of the king would not allow them to

* Yule's Cathay and the way thither.

† Thiruvadi means literally the royal body. It is a term applied to kings.

do so, until the murderer was seized and punished. The officers of the king took the dead body in a bier to the gate of Alâwedji and left it there to rot. The smell soon compelled Alâwedji to hand over the murderer to the officers of the king, who refused a large bribe offered by the Persian, and had him forthwith tried and executed. The body of the victim was then buried." This barbarous custom seems to prevail even now in China and might for aught we know have been introduced to Quilon by the Chinese. I may give an equally interesting account by the Italian traveller Varthema, of a custom he found in the Malabar ports by which the administration of civil justice was considerably simplified. The king had 100 scribes, and in case of debts evidenced by deeds in the handwriting of these scribes, the law provided a summary remedy. "If the debtor promising many times, fails to pay, the creditor not willing to wait any longer nor give him any indulgence, takes a green branch (of a palm) in his hand, goes softly behind the debtor, and with the said branch draws a circle on the ground surrounding him, and if he encloses the debtor within the circle, says to him these words three times 'Brahmananê rajavinane purath pokalliê, i.e., I command you by the Brahmins, by the king, not to depart hence (until you have paid the debt).' If the debtor left the circle without paying the debt, he was liable to the penalty of death."* The green branch of a palm, says Ibn Batuta, was also used by the officers of the king to help the collection of the royal dues from the merchants. If the merchants did not pay the royal dues, an officer of the king came with the green branch of a palm and suspended it in front of the shop. No person could buy or sell until the branch was removed.

We learn from Ibn Batuta that Calicut had already become a rival of Quilon. The decline of the Chinese trade and the rise of the influence of the Mahomedan merchants, whom the Zamorins attracted to their Capital, by the grant of special privileges, soon made Calicut the chief port of Malabar. Even after the trade with the West, Arabia, Egypt and Venice, was absorbed by Calicut, the trade with the East, Bengal, Malaccas remained with Quilon. But the decline of the Chinese trade in Malabar was rapid. We learn from Joseph of Cranganore, a Syrian Christian, who visited Portugal in the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the Mahomedans with the assistance of the Zamorin massacred the Chinese in the leading ports. At the time of Vasco Da Gama's arrival, Chinese trade was a matter of tradition, confirmed only by the presence of Chinese temples and Chinese half-castes in the principal ports. Though these have perished without leaving a trace we can even now detect

* Travels of Ludovico Varthema (Hakluyt Society).

Chinese influence in the prevailing type of domestic architecture in Malabar, and in the Malayalan names of several articles of commerce, e.g., porcelain jars, sugar candy, and alum, &c., which were probably first brought to Malabar by the Chinese.

The Portuguese visited Quilon in 1502 A.D. during the second voyage of Vasco Da Gama. An envoy from the Rani of Quilon came to Cochin and requested Da Gama to send two ships to Quilon for pepper. Da Gama with the previous permission of the Cochin Rajah, which he obtained after some diplomatic manœuvring, sent to Quilon Fernandez Pereira and Francisco Marecos with the presents of a handsome mirror, corals and a large bottle of orange-flower water. The Rani received them with great honor, loaded their ships with pepper and sent Da Gama return presents of several silk stuffs of various colors, and very fine white stuffs of great width, all of local make. In the following year, Alphonso Albuquerque, the future Governor-General, visited Quilon, entered into a treaty with the Rani, and established a factory. Soon after his departure, the Mahomedan traders rose against the Portuguese and besieged the factory. Duarte Pacheco, the captain in command at Cochin, marched across the country with a mere handful of soldiers and raised the siege. In 1505 the Mahomedans rose again, stormed the factory and killed Antonio de Sâ, the chief factor and twelve other Portuguese. A new viceroy, belonging to one of the most illustrious families of Portugal, had just landed at Cannanore, and Dom Francisco d'Almeida wanted to wreak a signal vengeance. He sent his son, Dom Lorenzo, a lad of 18, but one of the bravest and most daring men whom Portugal sent to the East in that age of derring-do. The young Lorenzo bombarded Quilon, routed the Mahomedans, and with the brutality which stained the annals of early Portuguese rule, sacked the city and massacred the inhabitants.* The blow was fatal to a declining port.

Varthema and Barbosa, who visited Quilon a few years after, found there were several traders of Bengal, &c. The King of Quilon was still powerful and had a large army, and the kingdom still included as in Polo's time the southern part of Tinnevely. But the fall was rapid. Though the Portuguese built a fort at Tangachery near Quilon they did not care to develop a port so near their base at Cochin; and the magnificent harbour inside the lagoon where the flat bottomed Chinese ships rode in safety, was closed to the Portuguese, whose ships could not cross the bar. The rise of the Portuguese power, and the ruthless way in which they put down all trade, which was not under their flag or with their pass, destroyed the Quilon trade with the Eastern

*Morse Stephen's *Albuquerque*.

ports. The Dutch Chaplain Baldaeus found it in the seventeenth century, the least among Malabar kingdoms. In 1662 the Portuguese fort and factory were captured by the Dutch; but that did not mend matters. Hamilton who visited it in the eighteenth century, found the trade was inconsiderable. The powerful kingdom of Quilon had shrunk to a petty principality, which was easily absorbed by king Martanda Varma, the founder of the modern state of Travancore. Fra Paolino who visited Quilon a few years after says there was little trade, but Quilon still contained a large number of "weavers and ingenious artists." The great Dewan Kesava Pillai, better known as Raja Kesava Das, who tried his best in the next reign to develop trade and attract Parsees and Cutchee merchants to Travancore, saw the difficulty, insuperable at the time of improving the Quilon harbour, and founded a new port where the mud banks of Alleppey afforded a comparatively safe anchorage in the open roadstead. Alleppey has since remained the chief commercial town in Travancore. The trade of Quilon has revived in the last thirty years; it has a few factories, and the coasting steamers call once a week during the season. The new railway would of course increase its local trade; but if an enterprising Government were to deepen the bar and open a free passage to the lagoon, Travancore would possess one of the finest harbours in India and Quilon might rise again to the rank it held in former days.

K. PADMANABHAN TAMBI.



ART. II.—EASTWARD HOME WITH TRIPS TO COREA, SIBERIA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

I.

ALMOST everyone once in their service in India takes the Eastward route home *via* Japan and Canada. This year I did the same, but, added to it one or two side journeys which greatly increased the novelty of the route, while adding but little to the expense. Some account of the trip may be of interest to others going Eastward. I left Colombo early in May by a North German Lloyd for Hong-Kong, and from my experience with the Messageries Maritime, the Orient and the P. and O. I have no hesitation in saying they are the best and largest ships that come to the East, and the comfort of the passenger is far more considered than on the other lines.

We called at Penang and Singapore on our way and at both places had time to see something of them. Penang is interesting as being the first place one comes across John Chinaman in force. Here he is coolie, riksha man and merchant, and, of course, opium contractor, that being much too profitable a business to leave to others. The Government gardens are beautifully situated at the foot of the hills and exceedingly prettily laid out. An hour in a sedan-chair carries one to the top of the hills to a fairly good hotel, and from here the view of the harbour and country is superb.

Singapore harbour has a most beautiful entrance, narrow and winding with wooded hills on both sides. The town lies far from the harbour, but there are cabs and rikshas in any number. Raffles' Hotel is certainly better than any Indian hotel, though the food leaves much to be desired, due, the residents say, to all beef having to be imported from India and to nothing keeping fresh more than a few hours. Apart from the town itself, which is well laid out, and has the marks of prosperity in its good roads, electric light and well-kept houses, the most interesting thing to see are the Government gardens, which are beautifully kept and have a wonderful collection of orchids, which, to any one interested in flowers, are well worth a visit.

The run from Colombo to Hong-Kong is from fifteen to sixteen days, and one can either proceed to Nagasaki and Yokohama by the German steamer, or tranship into the Empress Line for Japan and Vancouver, or one of the three lines for Japan, the Sandwich Islands, and San Francisco. The circular ticket from Colombo to Hong-Kong and so home *via* Japan and Canada or America and out either to Bombay or Colombo is £120, or only a trifle more than a 'P. and O.' return, though one is at sea for considerably more than double as long.

Leaving the 'Sachsen' at Hong-Kong I waited two days for the "Empress of China" to take me to Shanghai and Japan. One day I spent in seeing the sights of Hong-Kong and the other in a trip to Maçao. Unfortunately I had no time to see Canton. Hong-Kong is splendidly situated, overlooking the harbour, and is probably impregnable now that Kowloon on the opposite coast has been annexed and fortified. Englishmen regard its impregnability as assured, but, it is well known in the Far East that the Russian Admiral has boasted that with the present strength of the fleets in the Pacific he could land five thousand troops on the back of the island and take the place. When we remember that there is no fortification on this side of the island, and that there is only one field battery to repel such a landing, and also that the Russian fleet in the Pacific is both more numerous, more powerful, and more modern in sea-worthy boats, there is something to be said for his boast. Numerically our fleet is the largest, but it includes certain river-boats which would be quite useless, and also some antique relics of thirty years ago. The whole of the level ground in Hong-Kong is built closely over with many storied blocks, and houses clamber up the sides of the hill almost to the top, where houses again are clustered round the Peak.

House rent is a serious thing to residents of Hong-Kong, and there is no means of extension except by acquiring a piece of hill side and quarrying out space to build. Kowloon on the opposite side of the harbour will afford an outlet for the ever increasing population, but here Government are letting slip a golden opportunity in not giving one part for European residents only. The result is that Chinese rabbit warrens are being built next to European houses and bazaars are mixed up with dwelling houses somewhat in the way that Madras is sported. The Peak, which is about one thousand feet above the harbour and reached by a rope railway, is decidedly cooler than below and affords a splendid view of the harbour and island. Unfortunately whenever there is any rain the whole Peak is covered in mist and nothing is to be seen. This was my fate. The other show place in the island is the Happy Valley with its race-course and graveyard lying cheek by jowl. The latter laid out round the hill sides and planted with trees and supplied with fountains, is as restful a place as the dead could wish for. Hong-Kong can boast as comfortable a Club as is to be found in the East, though the people of Shanghai will hardly agree, being inclined to patronise and to express mild astonishment at Horse Races being held there. In spite of this, the races flourish and all the fleets of the Pacific find urgent business there at the time, and all the Treaty Ports of China and Japan and even Singapore send contingents.

Maçao, an old Portuguese Settlement on the mainland, is only a few hours by comfortable steamers from Hong-Kong. The place is well worth a visit as the first European Settlement in China, and as the home of Camoens, whose house and gardens are still preserved. The drive along the sea front is fine and a visit to the gateway leading into China worth making. Maçao has the further attraction of being the Monte Carlo of the East; here the tables are managed scrupulously honestly and the odds are very fair, slightly in favour of the table of course, and a deduction of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. from winnings is taken for the Government before paying the winners. When the table is too crowded to get near, one ascends to a gallery above and stakes are let down on to the table. There was a rumour that the Portuguese Government were going to prohibit gambling, but it is hardly likely as it is the sole industry of the place and the sole source of revenue! What will the gay youth of Hong-Kong do, if so, now that Kowloon has become British and the gambling houses closed?

The run from Hong-Kong to Shanghai is only two days. Large ships anchor at Woosung at the river bar and passengers go up in a river steamer—a very weary and often bitterly cold journey of three or four hours. The scenery is nothing but flat river banks with hardly a sign of life. When Shanghai is reached it might as well be London, for everywhere there are factory chimneys, ship-building yards, oil reservoirs and the like, while one side the river is lined with wharfs and the other is a long embankment with great flights of steps down to the water. All along the embankment are lawns and gardens, while across the road are thoroughly European houses, English Police in blue uniform in the road; the pavements are asphalt and there are electric lamps, just as in London. The only Oriental thing one notices at first are the rikshas in rows and rows. Afterwards one notices that there are Sikh Police, and Chinese Police as well as Peelers.

The whole settlement gives one the idea of a well-to-do suburb of London for the houses are built in the same way with a conservatory on one side, a small bit of garden in front with a short carriage drive and a larger garden at the back. The roads are utterly English with their water-carts and even their red letter-boxes. Go a little further down the embankment and one gets to the French Settlement and there is a marked change, everything is French, and there is a dead and alive look about the place while the roads are narrow and very much dirtier. A few yards further away from the bund and one emerges upon a foul and smelling ditch half full of green water and black slime. It is only the moat of the native town. Cross it and you pass under two low, narrow and filthy

gateways. You are now in China town and Europe is left behind. The streets are narrow with high houses on both sides with swinging signboards hanging from top to bottom, underfoot is unutterable filth and around are jostling Chinese crowds. You must either walk or go in a wheelbarrow, both means of progression are unpleasant but there is no other. The chief things to see are the Buddhist temples, very tawdry but often containing fine bronzes, the tea-house on the island reached by a zigzag bridge which possesses some really fine furniture and some unique scents from the sewer over which it stands, and the shops,—these latter are almost worth coming for, as the various silks, ivories, jade ornaments and carvings are superb though anything but cheap to buy.

The finest thing of all, and which everyone should see, is the Mandarin's house and garden. The quaintest and most elaborate little garden you can imagine with paths winding in and out and up and down over little bridges and up to little tea-houses and yet the whole in a space of less than half an acre. Fossil trees are a great speciality in Chinese gardening as being typical of something very old. The house also is interesting as showing how far the Chinese are in advance of the Hindu in studying bodily comfort. The furniture is handsome, carved ebony with marble seats. The tables and lounges and smoking divans are the same. On the walls are some excellent painted scrolls, as also specimens of Chinese writing, for the Chinaman ranks good writing on a par with painting, and as a matter of fact Chinese writing is painting, as every stroke is from the elbow and not from the wrist.

It is well to take a good look at everything in Shanghai City, so as to get a good idea of Chinese outward life, as it saves you ever wanting to go inside a Chinese town again, for the dirt and the smells and the horror of it, will never leave you. Shanghai is a good place to select, as you can always be back in civilization again in half an hour, and by the time you have finished lunch in the excellent club you will have got over your disgust more or less. I may mention that I saw the Chinese City on a damp rainy day, and after two days of rain. Possibly in sunny weather it may be better, but, I hardly like to think of the city moat and drain combined on a sunny day.

Shanghai to Nagasaki another two days, and cleanly smiling Japan is before us. Here I left the "Empress," and after waiting three days caught a Russian boat to Vladivostok in Eastern Siberia. While waiting I visited Moji, a pretty little sea-side place near Nagasaki and also the waterfalls, there are other interesting places a few stations down the line, and Nagasaki itself is worth two days with its Shinto and Buddhist temples and its curio shops and tortoise shell work. The temple of the

Brazen Horse, made famous by Pieno Loti in "Madame Chrysanthème," is well worth a visit and one could spend hours in Sato's curio shop. He has ivories, bronzes, cloisonné, satsuma, old blue china, gold lacquer, silks, embroideries, damascened work and carved wood work to please the most fastidious, and I saw with him things I was unable to get anywhere else in Japan. Then, too, the tortoise shell work is beautiful and not at all expensive, less than half what one pays in Italy or London.

II.

The trip to Vladivostok took three days by the boat I was on, a small 2,000 ton boat belonging to Kuntz and Albers the big merchants of Eastern Siberia. Besides this there is a fortnightly service of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japanese Steam Company). These boats go *via* the Korean ports and take from five to six days and are excellent. Also there is about a fortnightly service of the Russian Volunteer Fleet from Odessa to Vladivostok, but they are nearly always full of soldiers, emigrants, and until recently convicts in cages. They take only two days and are fine boats, especially the 'Khersow' of 8,000 tons and 17,000 horse power, but, only as an experience should they be tried, as the ways of the Russians are different to our ways, and two meals a day at 11 and 5-30 are all you get.* Cabins are large but not clean, and the ships are smelly if the wind is from the steerage. In the days when they carried convicts they were not at all to be desired, and if a convict gave trouble they brought him to his senses by turning on the steam hose into his cage. Still it was an experience to see Russian methods, and their upper and main decks lined on both sides with iron cages, in which the convicts were put at Odessa and never left till Vladivostok or Port Arthur was reached. Now, however, from January 1st, 1900, Russian year, the Czar has ordered no more convicts to be sent to Siberia, so the cages will presumably be removed. Another regular service to Vladivostok is the Eastern Manchurian Company which runs fortnightly from Talienwan to Vladivostok *via* Nagasaki—they are fair boats, but, seamanship is faulty. On our way up to Vladivostok, just sixty miles out from Nagasaki we ran into a fog and anchored. When it lifted we found one of this line had gone full steam into a rocky island—they refused assistance and had finally to be fetched off by the Russian battleship the 'Rurik' that happened to be at Nagasaki. We reached Vladivostok on a Sunday and as it happened to be the Czar's Coronation Day, the medical officer

* And they ought to be quite enough. We never take more, and we work very hard. There is too much of eating altogether (and, we may add, of drinking) now-a-days. No wonder so many patent Pills flourish.—Ed. C. R.

discovered that we were only nine days out from Hong-Kong and so must be quarantined and he and the other officials could go off to the reception and the fireworks. In vain it was pointed out that we were all from Japan,—that couldn't be helped, our papers showed us from Hong-Kong! We had a Baron of sorts on board with introductions to the Governor, and as we wanted to get ashore he wrote sending his introductions. These had to be sent through the medical officers, and the only reply we got was two Cossacks sent on board to see that none of us escaped. Next morning the letters were forwarded and of course we were allowed to land.

I myself went to stay with English friends in the place but, for others, there are two hotels of which the 'Pacific' is the best—a big imposing place with a large stage attached and also a winter garden, and next door to the theatre—the latter built by the Russian Government, and more or less subsidised, is a far better house than any other I have seen in the East. It is solid stone throughout and would seat at least 500 people. The play or opera generally lasts till midnight, then follows supper, and then the café chantant of the hotel goes on till six and then the audience sleep till noon or later.

The hotel is fairly comfortable and food not amiss, but, decidedly expensive, probably fifteen roubles a day all told (= 30 shillings). Also let the unwary traveller remember that when he agrees to two roubles for his room this doesn't mean that he will get any bedding or towels. Those are an extra he must carry himself or pay extra for. Most Russians carry their own bedding, as we do in India and hence the custom. This may not apply in the good St. Petersburg or Moscow hotels, but, in Siberia it certainly does.

Vladivostock harbour is magnificently situated, shaped like the letter E without the middle. One enters at one end between high hills and past a series of forts to get to the centre part, which is used for mercantile purposes, the inner portion being for the fleet. Besides this, in one part a canal has been cut through a narrow neck into a lagoon, which is used entirely for torpedo boats from which they can issue against an attacking fleet and in which they are safe. The whole harbour is surrounded by hills, and these again by a second range and along both ranges are fortresses and strong military camps. The garrison in and around Vladivostock, when I was there, was about 40,000 men of all arms. The forts are next in strength to Cronstadt giving the place some claim to its name which means "Possessor of the East."

The town lies round the mercantile and inner harbour and is built on terraces cut from the hill sides. The front is taken up by the Government buildings and leading merchants' houses.

Starting on the left are the Military Hospital, a huge barracks and fort, the Terminus of the Siberian Railway; the Docks of the Eastern Manchurian Company; the Russo Chinese Bank, a very fine building in white stone; Kuntz and Albers shops; the Admiralty; Government House; the Cathedral, which is a fine stone building; the Lutheran Church; a huge College and Gymnasium; the Military Courts; the Naval Club; and a whole series of naval barracks, torpedo yards, and dry docks. Behind this front row come the best houses, and behind again less good houses, while still higher up are the Corean and Chinese villages.

The powerful ice breaker in the harbour attracts one's attention, for with it the harbour is kept open throughout the year though the ice is often over six feet thick.

A thing that strikes one very much about the place is its absolutely un-Asian appearance, except for its Corean and Chinese coolies it is entirely European. The shops are kept by Russians, officials are all Russian, the cabmen are as Russian as in Southern Russia with their high boots, green velvet breeches and coat and red waistcoats and red coat sleeves. Their driving also is eminently Russian with their hands somewhere over their heads while they roll about on their seats and adjure their beasts by all the gods to try to break your neck, at least that is what it sounds like to one unlearned in the Russian tongue.

Almost all the houses are built of wood, a double frame work packed with earth or sawdust or bricks to keep the cold out. Outwardly they are very ornate or blaze with gay colours. Forwardly they are divided into small rooms which lead one into the other. None have of course a bath room, as Russians bathe but seldom, and when they do there are very good public baths; even other more necessary conveniences are often absent inside the houses. With the Russian want of sanitation this is perhaps a wise omission but, with the thermometer forty degrees below zero, it must be inconvenient. Inside the people herd together, and in a small house there are sure to be two families with probably two rooms apiece for from four to six people in each family. Furniture is of the red and gold type and ornaments are terrible in jangling glass or wax. Though Japan is only two days away where beautiful things can be got for very little, none find their way into the Russian's house, for in their eyes there is no taste so bad as the using of the "Japanese barbarian's" things. Gardens don't exist except one public garden consisting of grass plots, shady trees, and a few bushes, but no flowers. Russian meals are novel and rather trying, especially as their hospitality is offended if one does not drink level with them, which

would reduce one to drunkenness, before one had sat down to the real dinner, for first of all there is the 'sakuska,' just a snack at a counter or side table, of fresh caviar, a little bit of salmon, some dried herring, raw sausage, onions, cheese, sardines, olives, anchovies, and a few more things washed down with many glasses of fiery vodka and other such drinks.* Everyone insists on your trying some particular thing and of course drinking with him. At last you feel you have got the edge off your appetite and you sit down in earnest to a sort of cabbage soup or its equivalent, then perhaps pork floating in fatty oil, then more strange dishes and so on and on with beer, champagne, hock, claret, port,—vodka hopelessly mixed. When you go away you must not be too steady on your legs or the host will be offended and think he has not entertained you well, nor must you be too unsteady or he will have to help you out and that is again rude. Altogether it is a very difficult job to get away without giving any offence, or at least to give the impression that you have had the best meal in your life. Be it understood these remarks apply only to the well-to-do middle classes, for the Russian nobility and well-bred Russians are equalled by none in their polished and refined way of living, but, these are not to be found in Eastern Siberia except possibly as the highest officials or as exiles, and in the latter case their means of enjoying life are strictly limited.

In Vladivostock itself there is little to do after once seeing the sights and the troops at drill and visiting the theatre or opera. There is riding, but, not good, for the roads near the town are in a terrible condition with huge stones lying about and ruts often a foot deep. The Russian horse is wonderfully clever at avoiding these pitfalls, but it detracts from the pleasures of riding. Moreover the whole country is hilly and the ghaut roads are not of the easiest grade. One is perpetually going up or down with only here and there a level piece of road and that as likely as not spoiled by pieces of corduroy, or tree branches laid side by side over a bit of swamp. Once away from the town and the surrounding ports, however, the country improves, and towards Hilkofz, eighteen miles out, the riding is very fair and the scenery beautiful as it is situated along the sea shore. I never saw such a number of wild flowers in a small place as there were there, at the sides of the road, wild roses, lilies of the valley, big yellow lilies, marsh marigolds, forget-me-not, blue and white violets, red orchids, meadow sweet, and many others of which I did not know the names.

In Vladivostock itself a beginning has been made of

* Is the Russian's stomach lined with brass?—ED. C. R.

laying out the roads and the method is delightfully simple. Government paves the road with blocks of stone and plants trees and then collects the amount from the householders whose houses face the road. On a rainy day the mud is often a foot deep and one sits with the apron of the carriage buttoned up to the level of one's eyes and even then huge splashes find their way in. If you are going out calling you arm yourself with a towel so as to protect yourself somewhat to remedy defects on arrival. About thirty miles down the line there is excellent woodcock shooting, and a hundred miles down is an enormous lake, Lake Kanka, with little inlets where millions of wild fowl breed, and many migrate, snipe also abound here. Still further up and slightly off the line are to be got a big kind of red deer, with a far larger spread of horns than the Scotch one. *Ovis ammon* akin to *ovis poli* have also been shot, and in the winter black, brown and polar bears. The Siberian tiger, when he can be shot, is a magnificent animal far larger than the Indian one, and covered with a splendid long coat. So good is the fur that even on the spot a skin sells for £20, and the Chinese will pay another five for the bones and fat to make into a medicine to ensure virility. The Amur Ussuri and Sungari and some of the other smaller rivers abound in salmon, but they do not readily take the fly. Anyone going to Siberia for sport, and many Englishmen do now annually, must be prepared to rough it as their quarters will be a peasants hut and their food what they shoot, or catch or bring with them, and a little black bread and of course unlimited tea. They must also be prepared for a tribe of mosquitos, more venomous than anything they can imagine, large and striped, who settle in clouds in the broad daylight and will not be denied. Allowing for these disadvantages the sport to be got is good and the fine clear bracing air is superb. At night it is always cold but often in the day time exceedingly hot.

As I had some idea of going home across Siberia, I went some distance along the line to try it, but, from what I learned from travellers who had come across, it was not nearly ready for passengers and the discomforts were great. The line starts at Vladivostock and runs nearly due north to Kabarovsk on the Amur, about 600 miles, and takes twenty-six hours. Thence by steamer to Stretensk. This may be six days, or as in the case of some people who started while I was there, twenty-five days, but ten days is the average. If the river is very low only small steamers can ply, and then only in the day time, while, if the river is full, steamers run uninterruptedly. From Stretensk to the Baikal is three days and three nights. When I was there, there were no passenger carriages and people had to travel in covered wagons fitted with rough seats. Moreover they had

to carry their own food, but this has now been altered and proper trains run daily. Across the lake it is five hours and then Irkutsk is reached, and from here it is ten days by train de luxe once a week to Moscow. The latter part of the journey is comfortable, for the train de luxe consists of sleeping cars, dining saloons, a smoking saloon, and a library of English, French, Russian, and German books, and it is proposed to add a gymnasium car and Church, for the devout Russian must have a Church wherever he is, and the Government fully appreciates the value of the Church's influence, especially when that Church is subservient to the Government. The average time therefore across from Vladivostock to St. Petersburg would be twenty-four or twenty-five days, and the cost about £40, though, when the line is in working order, the time is to be reduced to fifteen days at a cost of £20. The original scheme was to join the railway between Kabarovsk and Stretensk, but, since Manchuria has been appropriated this is no longer necessary, and the line is to go direct from Vladivostock to Stretensk by Harbin and Tsitsihar. Even this will now probably be modified and Talienwan or Port Arthur will probably become the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway as soon as Mongolia also falls to Russia. The Eastern Manchurian Railway is already being rapidly built by the Russians from Nikolsk on the line to Vladivostock *via* Kirin to Port Arthur. This was nominally a Chinese concession to Russia, but, as the whole line was patrolled by Cossacks and garrisons were planted at intervals, it was in reality an occupation of the country by Russia, and now, since the Chinese War and the rebellion in Manchuria, there is not a doubt that it will become part of the dominions of the Czar. This will give Russia a port on the Pacific free of ice in the winter and near to China, but even this is not sufficient, and the Russians have long fixed their desires on Neuchang, the best of the ports in the Pechili though at present all the trade is British. Failing Neuchang they have great schemes for laying out vast sums at Talienwan in docks, streets, electric light and public buildings and by making it a free port to draw the trade there.

Siberian trains are on the corridor principle and are not uncomfortable as sleeping berths are provided, and owing to the great width of the gauge, 5 feet, there is ample room. The line is laid in a rough and ready way, the metals being pegged down to the sleepers without chairs, and all tunnels are avoided by going round hills, regardless of distance. The pace travelled never exceeds twenty miles an hour, and generally much less, but they are creditably punctual in fair weather.

While I was in Vladivostock came the first rumours of the war and the place at once awoke to activity. The commandeering of horses was the first sign. An Officer and a Vet appeared

at the houses of all who had horses, and if they were passed fit for service, a receipt for them was given fixing their price at, from anything, up to £25, which was the maximum paid for a fine black Orloff bred horse, worth at least treble the amount. The owner does not however get the money down, but if at the end of the war the horse is not returned, he may then present his receipt and will perhaps by a judicious amount of bribery get something. Nothing apparently is done there without a *douceur*, railway contracts cannot be made, or provisions supplied to the army, or a Government cheque cashed without part finding its way to the officials. Moreover it is done in the most brazen way, as for example, when the Captain of a merchant steamer announced, that, he could not bring certain cargo, unless he was paid £30, as it would spoil his decks. There is no delicacy about these transactions either, for the money is paid over in the most brazen way, and many officials draw a monthly salary from people who have regular dealings with them, or else are made free of their food and drink in some merchant's house, or yet a more simple method is for them to be invited to play cards and to thus win large sums.

This is considered a most delicate way of arranging a little transaction. Just before I arrived there the Police had made a raid for Chinese passports, as every Chinaman has to pay ten shillings yearly to live in Russia, and of course they avoid this with all the cunning they possess. Two troops of Cossacks arrived at the Chinese quarters by night and in the early morning, all were turned out from the houses and marched off by one troop, to the Police to show their passports, while they were away, the other troop in the presence of the officers in charge, looted all the houses and took everything of value. It is hardly to be wondered that the Chinaman does not love his Russian master as is instanced by the constant house robberies and murders that there are, though this must not all be put down to the Chinaman, for though the death sentence is not in force in Russia, this has recently been repeated in Vladivostock, owing to the number of murders committed by convict murderers, who were at large in the town. Constant murders of Engineers and men employed on the Manchurian Railway took place and were followed by Russian revenge on any Chinese found handy. At the beginning of the war, so great was the feeling against the Chinese that many of them were murdered in broad daylight in the streets, and amongst these, the cook of the friends I was staying with, but, all this is nothing to the Blagovochentz massacres and the devastation of the Amur Valley. Such being the nature of the Rus it is hardly likely that for a very long time to come the Lion will wish to lie down

with the Bear, whatever the advocates of a friendly Russian feeling may say.

III.

Leaving Vladivostock with a friend our intention was to coast down to Gensan in Corea and thence strike across country to Seoul and Chemulpo. There we were to separate one to Pekin and the other to Nagasaki, to join the Canadian Pacific boat for Vancouver. At the last minute, however, when we had reached Gensan we found the Nippon Yusen Kaisha had, owing to the war, altered the sailings from Chemulpo, so as to just miss the Canadian boat. We had therefore to separate, and after seeing my companion on his way to the sacred Diamond Mountains and the Buddhist monasteries there, I continued *via* the coast ports to Nagasaki. I later learned that the journey across Corea took nine days and was accompanied with no great discomforts, and that the scenery, splendid climate and quaintness of the Coreans well repaid the venture. Before leaving Siberia, travellers must notify the Police of their intended departure, and if there is nothing against them, such as debts or being political suspects, their passports will be returned. Until they have these they cannot go on board any steamer, nor if they did, could they depart, for, every ship is searched by the harbour police.

Broughton Bay in which Gensan is situated, is a magnificent harbour many miles in circumference. It was in it at Port Lazaref that the Russians attempted to start a dock and coal depôt; which was nearly the cause of war with England. The Russians then gave way and Port Lazaref was deserted, but it is now the harbour used by our Pacific fleet when visiting Corea.

Gensan though Corean, gives one the impression of being Japanese, for there are Japanese troops quartered here, the Police are in part Japanese, there is a Japanese post office, and Japanese inn, and all the trade is done by the Japanese. After the Chinese war the Japanese got a footing in Gensan, Fusan and Chemulpo, and have revolutionized these ports. The streets are clean, the houses on the Japanese model, and there is an appearance of life and bustle about the street not seen in Corean villages. A rich Corean's house is artistic and his gardens charming with little ponds and summer houses and peeps of landscape for he is a born gardener. Stamp Collectors probably do not know that Corea has joined the Postal Union and that it has six varieties of stamps of its own, and also that there is a full issue of Japanese stamps with the word "Corea" surcharged on them. The Corean Post Office in Gensan is the most primitive of places and in one of the most out-of-the-way places, in the town, with no notice to signify that it is a

post office. It lies inside a little court-yard and consists of two little wooden rooms with a little wooden verandah. It took the whole office establishment of five, including the Post Master-General, to sell us four sets of stamps, and when they came to calculate the cost, all differed. Thinking to puzzle them, I insisted on registering a letter to England. After much talk it was settled how many stamps extra I must put on, and to my astonishment the Post Master gave me a perfectly formal receipt, written in French. I have kept this as a curiosity as it is No. 1 registered letter sent from Gensan Corean Post Office. Ordinarily letters are posted at the Japanese Post Office, worked on the most modern lines. The letter duly arrived in England but two of the Corean stamps had been removed. Here I first had to deal in cash, a horrible brass coin with a hole in it of which 640 went to a dollar of two shillings. The stamps are valued in Pöons and Cheungs, but how many of these go to a dollar or what part they are of each other, we could not make out, as all transactions in Corea are done in cash. The dollar is said to be in force, and the yen and its divisions, but even at four miles from Gensan when I offered a twenty-five sen piece (= 6d.) in payment of some strawberries they would not have it at all, but a handful of cash worth perhaps two pence, were welcomed as princely payment.

We lived in a Corean inn on more or less Corean food, which was decidedly odd and unusual, including young dog, snails, aged fish and sea weed and millet cakes, but it might have been worse, and thanks to the Japanese the place was perfectly clean, and being summer they did not roast us at night. It is a common custom in the winter, to light a huge wood fire under the floor at night, and you sleep or rather suffocate on the top of this, and the more honoured guest you are, the hotter place you are given, and as rooms are tightly closed at night and are only six feet high by six or eight square the ordeal can be imagined. Afterwards we were the guests of the customs officer, a Norwegian, lent by the Chinese Customs, and with him we were back again in European life.

We explored a real Corean village free from Japanese restrictions, and a truly dirty place it was, built anyhow of mud and straw and filth unutterable in the gutters. The country is very hilly, range behind range, and generally they are almost bare of trees except in the more inaccessible ranges. The climate in summer at all events is superb, clear and bracing, and the scenery for ever changing, the land is extraordinarily fertile, and almost anything can be got to grow that we have in England. I say 'can be' advisedly, for there is little the Corean will grow that requires the slightest exertion, for he

is quite the laziest man in Asia. His costume is unique. A pair of huge baggy-padded cotton trousers, generally white, but also dark blue, tied round at the ankles with bandages. These garments are so enormous that the seat literally hangs down to his knees. Long I puzzled over these until the night I had to go late on board; the Customs' boat and crew were ordered to be waiting for me, but, so late was I they had gone to sleep, and when I reached the boat there appeared to be no rowers, but, at the bottom we discovered four white sacks, which on being kicked, awoke, and soon a head appeared out of a hole at the top, and then I discovered the uses of these lower garments. They were clothes by day and sleeping suits by night. You untied them at the waist, drew them up over your head and tied them inside and there you were comfortable for the night.

For coats they have a long white blue garment with huge loose sleeves tied in, under the arms. If the man is of any dignity at all, his coat is almost ivory colour from the beating it gets when washed. The head dress is quaintest of all. The hair is done up in a knot on the back of the head with a huge amber comb in it round the forehead, a very tight band of platted horse hair about an inch deep. So tight is this band that it draws all the lines out of the face. On top of this again a hat like our silk hat with a straight brim but made of platted horse hair to look just like a meatsafe. Add to this a very long pipe with a small bowl and you have the Korean gentleman, and all Koreans are gentlemen and men of leisure. The coolie does have to do some work for his food, but he does it in his own methodical way and no power on earth can hurry him. The amount that they can carry is something astounding, a load of 200 lbs. being quite common and this for a distance of 10 or 12 miles. The load is fixed into a queer sort of rack, like a glazier's frame in England in which he carries his sheets of glass, except that it has pegs on which to fasten the load.

Korean women do almost all the work, either they are cooking, or working in the fields, or cutting wood, and all their spare time is spent beating their lord's clothes with wooden clubs to get the right shine into them. Their costume is peculiar, a loose petticoat and a bodice cut off in front to allow the breasts to hang out. They are most decidedly not good looking, though some of the small children are pretty and of a pink complexion.

I had almost forgotten to mention the funeral hat. For a month or more the males of the family wear this after a death, and during that time of course do no work—for the biggest of 'mushroom topies' is as a toadstool in comparison. It simply

covers up the whole head and you have to look underneath to see what sort of thing it is that affects such a head dress.

From Gensan I went to Fusan, lower down the coast; here there is a beautiful deep narrow well, sheltered harbour and a very pretty town built on a low hill. This is the Japanese quarter, and everything is just as if one were in Japan and the Korean town lies two miles inland on the side of a bare hill.

Here the chief import is vast quantities of dried and horribly smelly fish from Gensan. They are packed together in huge bales, and one requires a vast imagination to realise it is human food. Once a year comes a ship-load of sea weed from Vladivostock—almost its sole export in the year is this ship-load, but to show what an important stake they have in Korean trade, the Port Arthur steamer call fortnightly at Fusan, though it neither loads nor unloads any cargo for the simple reason that it has nothing but Military stores, troops and railway materials on board.

The only other export Vladivostock has, are its furs, for from here are shipped the finest sables, sea otters, grey foxes and silver foxes that are to be bought in the London auctions. All furs come to London, which is the market for the world and sables sell from £3 to £50 a skin and sea otters have gone as high as £640 for a single skin, from £100 to £300 would be a reasonable price for a fine skin. Silver fox skins also run into the hundred, in pounds. But valuable as the skins are, they are not much account as cargo, as a parcel of skins worth £5000 can easily be lifted in two hands.

The export trade of Gensan is chiefly bar copper and lead, egrets, and other feathers and some small quantity of Korean silk gauze. Gold is now also beginning to be found by two pioneer companies. Mentioning gold, reminds me of the curiosity on board The 'Tairen Maru' as to the occupation of a solitary Englishman and his mother who had bought a small island in Broughton Bay near Gensan and had settled there. The other passengers consisted of Russians, Japanese, Chinese, French, and Italian, and as I was the only Englishman, they all applied to me for information. Did I know who he was? Why was he there? What was he doing? I told them who he was and that he was farming and that he was an amateur carpenter and metal worker, but this was much too prosaic. He could be at no good, as lights could be seen in his workshop after 9 P.M., when all decent folk were in bed, and no one would live by himself without an evil motive. The general opinion was that he was a coiner, making Russian roubles and Japanese yens and making a profit on the cheapness of silver. In the Far East no one credits Englishmen or England with anything but interested motives.

I must say a word for the Korean pony, for he is unique in vice. There is no villainy he is not capable of. In height generally under 12 hands; he has the teeth of a sixteen hand and his capacity for kicking is phenomenal. Nothing will he do in a reasonable way, not even eating his food. Give him his beans in a bucket and he will kick them about, but sink them here and there at the bottom of a trough of water and he will take three hours diving after them and trying to get them into his mouth. At about 1 A.M. he prefers his morning meal and by 4 or 5 he will have finished it and be ready to receive you. The Korean 'Yang baw' or landed gentry never think of riding without a servant holding each side of the bridle, and then he sits perched upon a sort of pack saddle very uncomfortable and very insecure.

IV.

From Fusan to Nagasaki is only twelve hours, but it can be very rough as was our fate, however, the Japanese managed their ship without the slightest fuss, though boats and fittings were swept overboard.

Japan is too well known to need describing, and I will merely indicate the tour that was sketched out for me, by a resident who knew the islands intimately. From Nagasaki I went to Moji by train, and here rejoined the "Tairen Maru" which coaled here. Moji lies opposite to Shimonoseki and is the beginning of the Inland sea. One has twenty hours of beautiful steaming through this sea, perfectly calm and with land on both sides. The first portion, which is very narrow, is the finest scenery, for later one gets too far from the shore to see distinctly, while just before Kobe is reached, it again becomes very beautiful, as the sea is scattered with small green islets, many of which have little Buddhist or Shinto shrines upon them. If preferred one can cross by the ferry at Moji and proceed by rail to Kobe, stopping at any places of interest *en route*. This railway is well arranged with sleeping berths, but the same cannot be said for the Nagasaki line or the lines to Tokio. They are huge long carriages, with seats down both sides and no means of sleeping or getting any food except such as the Japanese eat. But it is decidedly cheap travelling, not quite a penny a mile first class. In choosing a train too, it is well to note if it has first class carriages, for as often as not, they have not. I did not delay in Kobe, which is merely a modern Treaty Port with nothing of interest, and the Oriental Hotel is expensive and not good.

To Kioto, the old capital, is about three hours, and Jami's Hotel is infinitely the best, but, part has recently been burned down, and one probably cannot get rooms. The Kioto Hotel

is large, modern, and reasonable, but the food is decidedly bad, but, on the other hand, the managers do everything possible for you and will take you to the theatre, or a Geisha dance or a native dinner or a boxing competition, in fact anything you want to see. Kioto is a fascinating town and full of places of interest, while near it lie Nara, Osaka, Lake Biwa and the Rapids, all of which should be seen. The new canal from Lake Biwa is a marvellous bit of engineering, consisting of two tunnels, one which takes half an hour to go through, a slide for boats and a means of utilising the fall of the water for lighting with electricity and supplying motive power for the trams for the whole of Kioto. The shops of the town also are worth several visits, as here are made the best cloisonne ware, damascene work, bronzes, carved ivory, porcelain, gold lacquer, embroideries and brocades. Here one sees work such as never reaches the English market, of fabulous price and marvellous workmanship, for the rich Japanese will have nothing but the best and do not mind paying heavily.

Leaving Kioto I took a route not usually followed by tourists, for I alighted at Gifu and stayed at a Japanese inn in order to witness the cormorant fishing. This is exceedingly weird and worth a visit, but it can only be seen on dark nights. You hire a boat and are poled to the spot of the fishing; here there are several largish boats, each with a huge brazier of blazing wood hanging over the bows, while just behind it, stands a man holding seven or eight strings in his hand by which he controls as many cormorants who are swimming in the water, diving at the fish who come to the light. As soon as one of them half swallows a fish, he is pulled up and made to disgorge and then put back again and so on till a few dozen small fish are caught.

From Gifu to Nagya is only a few hours. Here there is a good hotel, and the castle and its golden dolphins are worth a visit. This is also a centre for the Japanese army and a very smart lot of men they show themselves to be; but, to our notions their cavalry is grotesque, mounted on ponies and without any seat, so that any unevenness in the ground throws the line out of order. Nagya has also some fine cloisonne work and a very pretty manufacture of China. Leaving Nagya by the night train I reached Gotemba, a small roadside station, at 5 A.M. This is the nearest station for the ascent of Fujiyama, but facing the opposite way I walked to the Otomitoga Pass, a stiff eight-mile climb from which the view of Fuji is unequalled and quite different from the aspects seen from Hakone or Denoshima or Yokohama. From the Pass to Miyanoshita the most delightful hill station in Japan, is six miles of up and down climbing, over very rough stony paths.

Japanese paths and roads cannot boast of their goodness except that the grade is good, for they are generally covered with loose, very sharp stones or else are made of river-worn pebbles and both are painful walking. The usual way to go to Miyanoshita is to take the train to Kozu and then the electric train to Yomoto and then a riksha up the ghaut. One's luggage in either case is carried by coolies and 100 lbs. is considered a reasonable load.

Miyanoshita has a good hotel in beautiful scenery, its great feature being its natural baths, hot, cold and sulphur water being laid on, direct from the hill sides into large deep wooden troughs. One's bath or baths were one of the features of the day. At six miles distance is Lake Hakone, a beautiful spot surrounded by tree covered hills, while in the distance is the snow-covered peak of Fujigama, which on a calm day is mirrored in the lake. The sulphur baths on an island are rather a feature, and one is rather surprised at first to find men, women and children all bathing together clothed in innocence. Another place to visit are the sulphur mountains, a more uncanny spot could not be found. Steam issues from cracks, in the ground, here and there are streams of boiling water and elsewhere great deposits of sulphur exude from the ground, while the ground sounds hollow and is hot to touch. Even here is the omnipresent tea house and kisin beer, a very good light Lager the Japanese make.

Descending to Yomoto, and thence by train to Kozu, I took a riksha to the sacred isle of Denoshima which at high tide is surrounded by water. The island is tree covered and rises high from the waves with one long steep street running up to the principal temple. Thence winding paths and steps take one to various temples and shrines, each of which commands a different view, and finally on the opposite side of the island one gets a grand view of Fuji. Below and covered at high tide is a huge cave running far into the rocks and now used as Buddhist temples and place of pilgrimage. From Denoshima I continued by riksha to Kumakura to see the great bronze Buddha. It is a magnificent figure and is situated in the middle of a charming garden. From here one goes by train either to Tokio or Yokohama, about two hours' run.

Yokohama is like Kobe with nothing of interest except its curio shops which are specially intended for the tourist and one pays accordingly. The Grand and the Oriental Hotels are both good in every way, but it is best to get on to Tokio, two hours by train. The big Tokio Hotel is bad and expensive, and if one can get a room at the Metropole, one is lucky, for the manager is a Frenchman, but, as a rule, it is full of the various Legation officials and their friends. Tokio is huge

and there is a good deal to see, and a good deal one cannot see without special passes from the Embassy, but Sheba and Neno Parks afford two days' amusement and the Yoshiwara is interesting as showing the way they manage such things in Japan.

Last of all comes Nikko, the jewel of Japan. It is 5 hours by train north of Tokio and is situated high up in the hills in the midst of lovely scenery. The old Shogun who chose this as his burial ground had an eye for beauty, and his countrymen in building his temple and tomb have tried to vie with nature in beauty. Iyeyasu and Iyemetsu, the two greatest of the Shoguns, lie buried here each with a temple as perfect as it can be made. Other temples are also here and a charming Japanese garden. Everything in Nikko is beautiful, and even the hotel is not bad. Seven miles and higher up in the mountains lies Chusenji Lake, a lovely spot with a little hotel and seven miles beyond the Yomoto Lake, still more beautiful, and on the road to each is a beautiful water-fall besides several at short distances. The climate at these two latter places is splendid owing to the elevation, except for the rainfall which is heavy.

From here I returned to Yokohama to catch the "Empress of India" for Vancouver. The railway goes right to the north of the island and the Sacred Islands, and the exploded volcanoes are well worth a visit, and so is Hakodate, the northern naval fortress.

My trip through Japan took me three weeks, during which I saw most of the most interesting places in the two islands. Everything in the country is pleasant, and one regrets leaving it in a way that one does not other eastern countries. Japan used to be cheap to travel in, but visitors must not expect this now, as after the war, the prices of everything have risen and heavy import duties have been imposed. Hotels are generally from 10 to 14 shillings a day, rikshas from two to four shillings or double if two men are required, as they are on hilly or long journeys. Ponies are cheap to hire and vile to ride. Guides cost about three shillings a day, but a riksha boy from a hotel talks enough English for practical purposes, and when I left Kyoto behind I took a riksha boy with me as a sort of guide for half a crown a day. When I engaged a riksha he acted as second coolie, and at native inns he saw to my food and other requirements. I never employed the regular guide and do not think it necessary, if your boy is intelligent. I found £1 a day just covered expenses including rail, drinks, etc., but excluding curios that I bought. One word in favour of the people of Japan. Everywhere a stranger is treated with the utmost politeness, and no pains are spared to make his visit pleasant, and in return it is but fair that he

should not call the people to their faces 'Japs.' It may be a conveniently short word, but it is decidedly offensive to the inhabitants, and therefore to be avoided.

The best months to visit Japan are from April to the end of June, as the plum and cherry blossom is then in its beauty, followed by the azalias and the irises and wisterias. July, August, September and October are hot and wet, but so are most of the months, as half the days in the year are rainy. November to January are beautiful months, as the chrysanthemums are in full bloom, but they are cold and a Japanese house is a chilly place even on rainy days and with frost and snow about must be too cold to please an Anglo-Indian.

V.

From Yokohama one can either go to San Francisco by the American Line, or the Occidental Oriental or the Tokio Kisen Kaisha. The latter is a Japanese line of three excellent boats, one of which I went to see. It was in every way as good as the European boats, and the cabins were much better fitted than the boats that run to India, being larger and fitted with a chest of drawers and hanging cupboard. The menu if I may judge from a dinner was as good and decidedly less solid than the feeding on an English ship. If one wishes to go *via* Canada and not America, then the Empress Line takes one to Vancouver the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This is by far the quicker route, and the steamers are all that can be desired. Cabins exceptionally good, food good, and the whole ship kept spotlessly clean, the crew being entirely English and the stewards all Chinese. The run is thirteen days, and after the first two days it is very cold indeed and one sees little of the sun. During May, June and July one can count on a smooth passage, but however smooth the sea is, there is a constant steady swell which gives the ship a long slow roll. The ship touches at the quarantine station in British Columbia, and all Chinese passengers and crew are disinfected, and passengers for Victoria, the capital of British Columbia, and for the island generally are transferred into a small steamer. The run from the quarantine station to Vancouver is exceedingly beautiful, as the channel gets narrower and narrower, shut in on both sides, by fir-covered hills with Mount Baker towering up behind almost as perfect a peak as the great Fujiyama of Japan. For hours the snowy summit of Mount Baker is in view, and as the course changes many splendid views are to be got.

Vancouver harbour is completely landlocked and very beautiful as it is wooded on all sides and the town rises on a hillside overlooking the harbour.

Vancouver itself is well laid out with broad streets and some good shops and many churches of different persuasions, and still more banks; but the whole place had a sleepy appearance, as though waiting for business to arrive. Men were idling in their gardens or leisurely walking about the streets, a great contrast to the perpetual bustle of the more eastern cities.

There is an excellent hotel here, run by the Canadian Pacific Railway, in fact throughout their whole line wherever a hotel is needed they have built one, and they are all good and moderate in prices, and everything possible is done for the convenience of the Trans-Pacific passengers. Rooms are booked for him by telegraph at any of the hotels, or berths reserved on the trains, or an Atlantic passage engaged free of charge. Before leaving the steamer all baggage not required for the overland journey, is examined by the Customs Officers and checked through to New York, Boston, or Quebec, and there is nothing further to be done except to ask for it at the wharf at the other side of America. Baggage needed on the overland journey is examined in the station next day, but it is a mere farce for people holding through tickets. When, however, the passenger reaches Toronto or Montreal, if going thence to the States, he must have his baggage passed again by the American Customs, who are much more strict and give trouble over any trifling purchases in Japan or China; these therefore it is advisable to have checked right through from the steamer at Vancouver to the wharf in New York, and they are then not examined. Canadian trains are on the corridor system and of various classes called sleeping bars, first class, tourist, and colonial. The last-named is really our English third class and is about a penny a mile. They are plain wooden seats which at night can be converted into bunks, the passenger supplying his own bedding. There is also a cooking place in each car so that the passengers can, if they wish, cook their own food.

Tourist cars are almost similar to first class, but cheaper and only run on certain trains. First class are generally two pence a mile, though on mountain grades much more is charged. They are generally most uncomfortable to our notions. A long car with seats for two like the top of an omnibus down both sides. The seats are too narrow for two people especially on long journeys, there is nothing for your head to rest against, and there is no room even for the small bag—or "grip" as the Yankee calls it—which you are allowed to bring into the carriage. People walk up and down constantly and jostle you if you have the outer seat and generally it is not at all desirable. I tried the experiment from Quebec to Montreal, a five hours' run and I certainly shall not do it again.

Then there is the sleeping car, for this you pay first class fare, plus an extra charge of about £1 a day and night, for the day it is generally one or one-and-a-half dollars and for the night two or three dollars. These cars are exceedingly well fitted and look very luxurious but they are not really very comfortable. The cushions are thick plush or velvet, which is a horribly hot thing to sit on for hours at a time. Then too they have no means of keeping out the sun, except miserable blinds which refuse to keep down. Consequently the afternoon sun streams in and makes one side unbearable in the summer. The night arrangements, however, are the worst. Then your seat is converted into a bed and another one is let down from overhead. Curtains are hung down in front of these berths and your bag or bags are piled in the gangway as there is no room under the seats.

Once, therefore, your bed is made up you have no place to sit unless there happens to be any room in the smoking room at the end of the car, but that only holds five people and is also the place where everyone has to wash.

To undress, you must stand in the gangway and your clothes must be piled up on your bed as there is no place to put them. Over you, there may be a lady and a baby sleeping, or you may be over them, for there is no distinction made as to sex. Ladies have a little compartment to dress in, but men dress where they can, and you are lucky if the water has not run short by the time you want to wash in the morning. The American makes much of his railway trains, but, in my humble opinion, they are most undesirable and not to be compared to an Indian first class carriage. They are very big and gorgeous in plush, and inlaid wood and mirrors and a black porter to make your bed, sell you books and fruit and tobacco but, in privacy, decency, and the small comforts that are most essential in travelling, they are entirely lacking. And this is hardly to be wondered at, for very few but English travellers undress when they turn in for the night, or feel inconvenienced by want of water or privacy. The top berth in hot weather is a fearful place as it has no ventilations whatever and is on a level with the gas burners. The trains after the Rockies are crossed, have dining cars attached, open to sleeping car and first class passengers. The food supplied is good and very reasonable, but all liquors are excessively dear and water is the almost universal drink. Until the Rockies are crossed, meals are served at very nice hotels, built on the Chalet principle at places where the scenery is very fine and worthy of a visit—the three are Revelstoke and Glacier in the Selkirk mountains and Field in the Rockies. The food supplied is excellent, especially the fish, fruit and milk, but the

attendance is astonishingly bad. Should you ask for a wine list it will have to be hunted for, and when you have ordered what you want it is doubtful if it will be supplied before you have finished. This I noticed in every hotel I stayed in in Canada, and even at Banff, the best of the hotels of the railway, the waiting was so slow that an ordinary dinner took over an hour. I mentioned this to an American I was dining with and asked him if it was so in his country. "You should just stay at the Union Hotel, New York, two blocks down from the depôt, they give you ten courses in fifteen minutes. That is what we do."

I did not stay at the Union Hotel as this seemed too rapid for a new comer to start upon, but at Niagara I got six courses in five minutes! The plan is simple and is called "dining American fashion." The waiter brought me the bill of fare and asked for my orders. I chose soup, "Yaas and" So I chose a fish course. "Yaas and?" So I ordered an entree. Still the same, so I ordered the joint and finally game. Then I refused to go further. My friend ordered a complete dinner. Then we waited and at last our waiter dashed upon us. Soup, fish, entree, joint, and game were all put down in front of me at once, each on a small dish. After a pause my friend's dinner arrived complete even to the ice! This accounted for a dinner in fifteen minutes. I afterwards watched feeding going on round me and noticed that three courses are frequently eaten at one and the same time. After this I dined "English fashion," but the delay was terrible and the waiter made a favour of the whole thing. To get any dinner at all it was necessary to give him a shilling to lead off with each meal. The only two exorbitant expenses in America and Canada were, so far as I found, tips and cab fares. Nothing under a shilling, or 'a quarter' as it is called, was accepted and for any reasonable service double. A cab fare was seldom less than ten shillings. From Boston City Hotel to the steamer wharf possibly a mile-and-a-half was twelve shillings, and this I learned was correct. Of course no one uses cabs as trains go everywhere, but with luggage one is compelled to, unless you send it all by a Transfer Company at two shillings a package, but there is a risk of its not arriving in time.

The journey over the Rockies was through lovely scenery and I broke the journey at Glacier House, Field and Laggan and Banff at each of which there is an abundance of beautiful scenery to see and a very good hotel to stay in. Glacier is well worth a halt to climb the Glacier and to see some of the magnificent peaks surrounding the place. Field also is exceedingly beautiful and has several excursions, one to a fine natural bridge over a torrent, another to a beautiful lake

with a fir-covered island in the centre and the snow-covered mountains on the other side and a still finer side is to a magnificent cascade. The trails are cut through thick fir and spruce forests and are always cool even at midday. Sure footed ponies can be hired at the hotels which canter all day over the most astonishingly bad tracks without coming down; though, to walk along them is penance owing to the roots and stumps.

Laggan is a charming little Chalet, high up in the Rockies, on the edge of a beautiful lake in which are reflected the snow mountains in front and the fir woods on both sides. Higher up is another beautiful lake, and still higher, at 7,000 feet, a third just on the margin of the snow line. The view from here is superb in every direction.

Banff is the show place of the Rockies and has a splendidly situated hotel on the Bow River. To my mind it is not as beautiful as the other places, but is much larger and is a social centre and visited yearly by the Governor. Prices here are much higher than elsewhere, and if one place had to be left out I should advise this one.

From Banff we went straight to Port William on Lake Superior. Here we left the train and went on board the "Manitoba," one of the railway steamers that run across to Owen Sound and so by rail to Toronto.

These steamers are very comfortable and a delightful break from the rail journey, and for no extra fee one is fed and given a cabin for the two days' run.

The cause of this was that when the Canadian Pacific wanted to join up their line at North Bay with Toronto they were prevented from doing so, as the Grand Trunk Line already ran from Toronto to North Bay; they therefore could only get running powers over the Grand Trunk. To avoid the loss they built their line to Owen Sound and from there to Port William they run a thrice weekly steamer service each way and in order to get all the passengers carry them from Port William to Toronto inclusive of food and cabin for the same rate as first class by rail from Port William *via* North Bay to Toronto. For once the quarrels of railways have benefited the public. The two days on the steamer through Lake Superior and Huron are very pleasant and the scenery is frequently beautiful. The Locks at Sault St. Marie between the two Lakes are magnificent works and will take a 5,000 ton boat. They are free to all ships, two being owned by America and one by Canada. The town of Sault St. Marie had nothing of interest in it except perhaps an astonishing number of bars.

The quickest route to New York or Montreal is of course by rail direct to Montreal and thence to New York, the whole

journey from Vancouver to Montreal taking 100 hours with twelve more to New York. An alternative to New York is by rail to North Bay and so to Toronto and thence *via* Buffalo to New York by the "States Express" which is the fastest and most luxurious of the American trains.

For travellers not in so great a hurry, however, the Lake route to Toronto is far preferable, as Niagara can then be reached by steamer across Lake Ontario and up the Niagara river. This is a very pleasant route, and from Niagara the journey can be continued by rail to Buffalo and so to New York, or by returning to Toronto, there is rail to Montreal or better the Richlieu Steamers which go down the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec.

The town of Toronto is well situated on the shore of the Lake and is laid out with wide well-planted streets. The houses and gardens are large and well kept, and the whole town has an air of prosperity and an abundance of trade. The public buildings are exceptionally fine and stand in well-kept gardens. Niagara is half Canadian and half American and the Canadian side is decidedly the best to see the Falls from, though the American side is the better for seeing the gorge. One can cross from Toronto in the morning, go by the electric railway along the Canadian side, see the Falls for an indefinite time, cross over to the American side, see the gorge, lunch and return to Toronto by the evening boat, without any hurry at all. The trip down the St. Lawrence is exceedingly beautiful especially the Thousand Islands and later when the Rapids are reached. There are a long series of these of which the Lachine are the finest and one feels the steamer glide down the fall. Montreal is reached in the afternoon and Quebec next morning. Montreal has a fine appearance thanks to the Mountain—a ridge that runs at the back of the town and on which are some of the finest houses and gardens. This is the favourite drive and there are views in every direction. The streets of the town are not nearly so fine as Toronto, but there is ample business. The only, at all fine part, is the Queen's Square in which is the Station and a fine Church and the Queen's hotel. The best hotel is the Place Viger run by the C. P. R., but it is far away at their other station; however, the Queen's is not to be despised and it is close to the Central Station. From Montreal I travelled by C. P. R. to St. John's and Halifax on the extreme East. Both are interesting towns and have fine scenery, but there is nothing striking about them. Then by the Inter-Colonial Railway I went to North Sydney in Cape Breton Island. The scenery is quiet grass-land with low hills and small fir forests until this Island is reached. Then the line runs along the Bedeck Lakes—lovely

water and hill scenery. These Lakes are salt water and practically divide the island from North to South.

VI.

Cape Breton Island and the country round New Galloway has fine trout and salmon fishing and Moose deer shooting but, all good water and land has got into the hands of American Sporting Clubs and there was no chance of any sport. I therefore went on to North Sydney and there crossed by the 'Bruce' in seven hours to Port aux Basques, the southern port of Newfoundland, and the terminus of the new railway which now runs from end to end of the island—Port aux Basques to St. John's, the capital of the island. The total length is nearly 500 miles and was built by a contractor, Reid by name, for the British Government, as an attempt to help the island after the terrible commercial crash which had bankrupted all native industries. The line was handed over to the Newfoundland Government and they sold it, with certain restrictions to Reid for one-sixth of what they had paid him to build it. He has to run a certain number of trains, three goods and three passenger each way per week and charge only certain rates.

In addition he has a line of steamers which visit all the ports of the island, and run to Labrador and by them and the railway he has a monopoly of the carrying trade of the island. The whole politics of the island are now, leaving alone the desire to be severed from England and united to the States, a struggle between Reid and the party now in power, who fear the monopoly of everything in Reid's hands will bring the island back to as bad a condition as after the crash. Reid's party claim that by letting the railway be turned into a company, there will be money to open up the forests, the lumber trade and the mines; their opponents would prefer to see Reid crippled and the money found elsewhere for opening up the undoubted wealth of the island in minerals and timber. So, meanwhile, nothing is done and excessive import duties are levied to pay for the working of the island. These duties are simply prohibitive, especially if there is any industry in the island which might be affected. There is one man in St. John's who makes a limited quantity of very inferior jams, to protect him, a duty of 80 per cent. on English jams, 1s. levied. On Egyptian cigarettes which cost me one dollar a hundred in Egypt (4s. 2d.) I had to pay 10s. duty, and similarly on cheroots (60 per cent. duty *ad valorem* plus four dollars a pound).

The 'Bruce' steamer, named after the Governor of the Island, is as comfortable a boat as could be desired, good cabins, good saloon and powerful engines. On landing at Port aux Basques, the customs are vexatious, unless one mentions that one is on

a sporting tour. Guns, rods, cartridges, and provisions will then be passed in, duty free. It is well here to take out a license to shoot caribou, as, otherwise, one is liable to much delay, the Magistrates being few and far between. It is impossible to avoid this tax as no heads can leave the island without the license being produced. A fine of forty dollars a head is levied for any caribou shot without a license.

The railway is narrow gauge and very rough travelling and the corners sometimes alarmingly sharp, but the line runs through most beautiful scenery from end to end and there is perpetual change of scene. Generally it is through spruce and larch and fir and birch forests, but at intervals beautiful lakes are skirted, of which I may mention specially St. George's Pond, about six miles long by two wide, The Red Indian Ponds, over sixty miles long by ten feet broad, and the Great Deer Pond, over fifty miles long. These are surrounded by forest with either tree clad hills rising behind, or else the bare red 'Barrens' rising in the distance. These are huge uplands free of timber but covered with ferns, bracken and moss, the haunts of the caribou and of grouse. At other times the line approaches the coast and runs past beautiful harbours such as St. George's Bay or Bay of Isles, the latter as beautiful a fiord as could be found anywhere. For some miles the Humber River, famous for its fishing, is skirted, and again later on some strange-shaped ranges of hills well named, Top Sails, and Main Top. The Journey from Port aux Basques to St. John's is 26 hours and the travelling not uncomfortable, as the train has an excellent sleeping car attached, and there is also a dining car where food of a plain kind can be got at the old-fashioned hours of dinner at 2 and supper at 7. No liquor is procurable, but fortunately Newfoundland Water is particularly good and one soon becomes resigned. So far as I discovered the only places in the Island where one can buy a drink is at St. John's, though of course if staying at the Log Cabin one can get anything one requires.

The Log Cabin is a most delightfully situated shooting box on the edge of St. George's Pond, about five hours from Port aux Basques and half way between St. George's Bay and The Bay of Isles, which are the nearest neighbours, distant twenty miles. It is owned by three young Englishmen, who came out originally for sport and to colonise, but who have now enlarged their house to take in twenty visitors. Here you can live in absolute comfort and get the only late dinner the island boasts of, except perhaps, at Government house. The house is a three storey log building with a lawn running down to the line and here all trains stop. On one side is a little trout stream running into the lake in front of the house. No better

situation could have been chosen and inside the house is equally pleasant, a good library of English novels and poets, a comfortable sitting room full of good engravings, and paintings, old China, silver, and curios from all parts of the world, and a large dining room with a well-kept table, bright with flowers and silver. The whole place is as unlike anything else in the island, as one could well imagine, for the ordinary inn or lodgings are primitive to a degree. The great feature of the Log Cabin is that it lays itself out for people seeking sport. The Harry's Brook which runs in and out of the lake, is as fine a salmon stream as could be wished, it can be fished in part from the cabin and lower down a small hut for two men has been built which gives access to the best pools. Across the lake and about twelve miles away are the Barrens. On these half-a-dozen or more huts, each for two sportsmen have been built, in the best places for caribou shooting. The cabin supplies first class guides, who cook and act as beasts of burden and track for you, and generally insure your getting good sport. Food is arranged for, from the cabin, and though not very luxurious, it is wholesome and one is always hungry enough to relish it, and until one has slept on a green spruce bough bed, one does not know what a good bed is.

I was at the Log Cabin and its forest huts a fortnight and got good salmon and trout fishing and excellent caribou sport. A caribou head is a splendid trophy, for he is the biggest of the reindeer, almost as large in body as the moose and with a spread of horn greater than the Norwegian elk or the wapiti. The skin also makes a fine rug, as it is covered with long grey-brown hair, and as leather for mocassins or boots, cannot be equalled. The flesh is particularly good and unlike most venison one does not tire of it. In the island it takes the place of beef during the shooting season. There is a good taxidermist in St. John's who sets up a head well and reasonably, and, thanks to the climate being cool, one runs little risk of the skin perishing before it can reach him. A good stag stands fifty-five inches at the shoulder and a spread of horn of forty-five inches, from tip to tip, width from thirty-five to forty-seven points, males and females alike carrying horns. Of course there are many other places in the island where sport is good and where accommodation can be found, for almost every house owner is willing to take in a lodger, but there is no place where one can be half as comfortable, or get as good sport as at the Log Cabin. Other places I may mention are kept by an Italian at Bay St. George, who always takes in sportsmen, but he is not particular how many he puts in one room. Here too the only sport is salmon and trout and sea fishing, as the Barrens are too far away. At the Bay of Isles there is a fairly comfortable inn and

several lodging places,—this is near the Humber River famous for its trout.

St. John's has a hotel and a very miserable place it is, but Reid is building a first class one, which, when finished, will be no doubt thoroughly good. At Placentia and Conception Bay there are places where lodgings can be got and also good fishing. Charges vary from six shillings a day at the smaller lodgings, to ten shillings at the cabin. A guide is four or six shillings a day and is invaluable, boats and canoes are about 1s. 6d. a day, at least that is what was charged at the cabin. There are no other expenses except liquor, which, owing to the import duties, is expensive, roughly about double the English price or a little less perhaps.

The climate from May to September is beautifully clear and sunny and fogs do not exist, except on the coast. Rain there is in abundance, but a fisherman does not object to that. The best time for salmon is up to August, though after that they can of course be caught. Caribou shooting begins July 15th, but heads are not good before the end of August. There is a close time from September 15th, and after that is the best shooting up to the end of the year. Snow falls in October or November and by the end of December the place is frozen up, and then it is that the islanders do their shooting as they can get to close quarters on their snow shoes and can also drag away the carcase on sledges. August and September are beautiful months, with bright sunshine and a clear fresh air but the nights are always cold. The chief drawbacks are the mosquitos and sandflies. The former I did not mind but the latter are maddening, for they come in clouds after sundown and their bites are very irritating and they are too small to keep out with ordinary mosquito curtains. When fishing they and ordinary flies sorely try one's patience. The island has good ptarmigan shooting from August 15th onwards and in the winter, black and brown bears are not uncommon. Snipe of a very strong winged class abound, but they require a deal of shooting.

Anyone going to Newfoundland for sport should take his oldest, roughest clothes and very strong boots, as one is constantly wet through in the long ferns and going over bogs—mocassins are far more serviceable for walking in the woods, but they require practice to be able to wear. For fishing a pair of waders are a great comfort. Ammunition should be brought. This can be got in the Island, but the Scotch ones are all good. Jack Scot and "the Doctor" and a local one being the best.

For those not anxious for sport Newfoundland is more than worth a visit, for it is beautiful from end to end and the

air acts like a tonic. The steamers run round the island, are new and comfortable and intended for passenger traffic. All the fiords with which the coasts abound are entered, and each is beautiful and many of them grander than the Norwegian ones. The same steamers cross over to Labrador, which from all accounts is a sportsman's paradise, and during June, July and August the climate is good.

Leaving by the 'Bruce' I crossed back to North Sydney and visited the iron smelting works recently started there, owing to the discovery of a very high class iron in Belle Island near to St. John's. From a small port the place is rising by leaps and bounds into a large town and I found a room could not be hired for under a pound a day. Leaving in the evening by a small steamer I went through the Bedeck Lakes, which divide Cape Breton Island from north to south. The scenery is exceedingly fine especially at the Grand Narrows. The next evening one arrives at Mulgrave at the south of the island and rejoins the train. Travelling *via* Truro and the Inter-Colonial Railway I reached Quebec in twenty-four hours. This railway is purely Canadian State property and runs entirely in Canadian soil, having been built at the time of the last American scare. It runs from Halifax to Montreal with branch lines to Cape Breton Isle, Prince Edward's Isle and New Brunswick. The train lands one at Lewis on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence to Quebec and one is ferried across, thus getting a splendid view of the two places which rise grandly from the river and by their forts command the St. Lawrence. Nothing could be finer than the situation of Upper Quebec, situated as it is on the cliffs and it would be hard to find a more beautiful picture. Lower Quebec lies along the river under the cliffs and is dirty and built of narrow streets and lacks the busy appearance of Montreal—due so Canadians say to its inhabitants being Canadian French—certain it is one hears hardly a word of English spoken and only very unintelligible French. The Upper Town has some fine streets, notably the one in which the Houses of Parliament are. The Canadian Pacific Hotel, Chateau Frontenac, on Dufferin Terrace on the face of the cliff overlooking the river is very fine in appearance and comfortable inside.

The Falls of Montmorency some distance down the river are fine and well worth a visit. These and the Plains of Abraham are the show places.

Leaving Quebec by the C. P. R. I travelled to Montreal and so direct to Boston and left there by a new Cunard boat, the "Saxonia," 14,000 tons. This Boston Line has much to recommend it, the ships are very large and being heavily loaded, travel very smoothly in bad weather, and being driven only to

17 knots do not roll and vibrate in the way the mail boats do. They are exceedingly comfortable, the cabins being good and food excellent, and the run is only one day more than the Liners and the fare less.

The direct route from Newfoundland would have been either by the Anchor Line direct from St. John's, but the boats are small, old, and slow. Otherwise by rail to Quebec or Halifax for the Dominion, Anchor or Beaver Lines, all of which have new and large 12,000 ton boats, or else direct to Boston or New York *via* St. John's (U. S.) by the Boston and Maine Railway.

The whole journey from India and back *via* the Suez Canal took me six months and inclusive of steamers, hotels, trains and all extra, cost under £300 which is cheaper than for what one could live comfortably in England.

F. A. COLERIDGE.

ART. III.—POSTAL REFORMS.

IT may be said in preface, that when making suggestions for reforms, it is not intended as an inditement against the Indian Post Office, for that Department is not directly responsible for the tariffs which are settled by the Government of India. There are also other matters besides tariffs which may be recommended by the head of a department, but not sanctioned by Government. For instance, some years ago, the British Post Office recommended the introduction of the "cash on delivery" system, another name for our Valuable Payable Post, but this was not sanctioned by the Treasury. And, although admitting that the Indian Post Office is one of the most progressive postal systems, and is wonderfully well managed considering the poorly paid staff with which it is worked, yet it will not be denied that there is still room for improvement and simplicity, and this perhaps has merely to be pointed out to be adopted. Mr. F. E. Baines, C.B., late Assistant Secretary, in his work *Forty Years at the Post Office* pays the following compliment:—"The Indian Post Office is a branch of Government to which one has always been insensibly drawn by the prompt and intelligent hold it takes of official questions. Such, at all events, has been my experience; and although Anglo-Indian administration rather lends itself to forms, indents and similar devices, yet the Indian Post Office is singularly free—more so, perhaps, than we are at home—from anything approaching the obstruction of routine or pedantic insistence on the letter, rather than the spirit of an agreement. Hence, both the cordial co-operation of the delegate, Mr. James, and the high administrative qualities of the chief, Mr. Fanshawe, are not easily forgotten."

When considering reforms, the point of primary importance is the tariffs, and the present brief article will be confined to a consideration of this subject. By turning to the *Postal Guide* it will be seen that there are six inland rates, namely those for (1) post-cards, (2) letters, (3) packets, (4) registered newspapers, (5) registered parcels, and (6) unregistered parcels. These are condensed in a formidable schedule of sixteen columns. Let us examine each separately.

The quarter anna post-card is the cheapest in the world. But what can be said in favour of having two different sizes of post-cards? If one wishes to send a post-card by the inland post, the dimensions must be 4½ inches by 3 inches, whereas one sent by the foreign post must be 4½ inches by 3½ inches. It would be more simple to have only one size, that adopted

for international correspondence. This has been recognised in England, where it has been agreed that the inland post-card shall be manufactured the same size as the international one.

A half anna letter rate is also cheap, and the low charge suitable for a poor country like India, but the half tola allowed for the half anna is very light, and the incident of increase one and a half tolas for each anna is not the simplest for calculation. Compare this with the more liberal allowance in England, namely, 1d. for 4 ozs. (1 anna for 9·7 tolas), and for each additional 2 ozs. ½d. (½ anna for each additional 4·8 tolas). A half tola is too small as an initial weight for modern ideas. It may suit natives who use small scraps of flimsy paper and the embossed small half anna envelope, supplied merely at the cost of the stamp by a paternal department, in order to induce the natives to adopt a sufficiently large covering, for recording the address and to allow space for the post marks. But it does not allow the indulgence of European ideas as to the use of substantial writing paper, and it is also too small for most commercial communications and invoices. A rate of half an anna for each tola would be almost an ideal one, suitable to all classes of the community and very simple for calculation. Probably the time is not far distant when this desirable reform will be conceded by the Government. The three columns now given in the schedule to explain the letter rate, could then be reduced to one column, namely, "½ anna per tola"—almost as simple as it could well be made.

The present packet tariff, half anna for each ten tolas, is very suitable, but why not assimilate the rates for registered newspapers, and place this latter at half the packet rates? At present, a registered newspaper weighing four tolas, can be sent for quarter of an anna, and one weighing twenty tolas for half an anna, these being half packet rates. The exception is in the case of registered newspapers weighing between four and ten tolas. It is not understood why four tolas has been selected as an initial limit of weight instead of ten, except merely to benefit unreliable native prints to the exclusion of the more reliable English ones. It is recognised that newspapers are a necessity to present conditions of civilisation, and that they exercise an educational effect on the people, so in some countries, as for instance New South Wales and Tasmania, they are allowed to be sent inland free of postage, while in the majority of others they are carried at rates which just pay for their handling. In France newspapers weighing less than fifty grammes, or 1·7 ounces, may be sent within the department (district) in which they are published for one centime, or one-tenth of a penny, or about one pie.

It would simplify matters if the tariff for registered newspapers was simply—"half packet rates." There is one point which is difficult to understand, and that is why the Government is so culpably negligent in making use of its own resources. Section 20 of the Post Office Act, prohibits the sending by inland post, a newspaper having on it any words, marks or designs of a seditious, scurrilous, threatening or grossly offensive character. It would not be practicable for the Post Office to have every newspaper read before it was allowed to circulate through the Post, and so this prohibition is really ignored. But a copy of every newspaper is sent to Government and is supposed to undergo some scrutiny, and should any editor persist in indulging in sedition after warning, it would be a very simple matter for the Local Government to direct the Post Office to stop the circulation of that paper by the aid of Government machinery. This would mean extinction for the paper, and be more effective and simple than a troublesome and expensive prosecution, enabling the editor to pose as a martyr before a sympathising native public. In England and the Colonies the use of the Post would have been withdrawn for the sending of lottery circulars and betting offers, if it had been feasible to have detected this baneful stuff in transit, and we have only to turn to the Criminal Code to see the relative condignity of sedition and betting in the eyes of the law.

Lastly, as to the two different rates for parcels, it would greatly simplify matters if the present cumbrous designation "unregistered parcels" and "registered parcels" was abolished. Have one rate for *all* parcels, as for *all* letters, and let there be a fee of two annas for registration the same as is now charged for registering a parcel under twenty tolas. The custom of charging two annas for registering a small parcel and four for a large cannot be defended, as the work involved in both cases is the same. The same fee is charged for registering a small letter as for registering a large one, and the present system of having two different rates for "unregistered" and "registered" parcels is not only absurdly intricate, but there is nothing to be urged on its behalf. The rate, four annas for half a pound for a "registered" parcel, and two annas for half a pound for an "unregistered" parcel is susceptible of improvement. Compare this with three pence for one pound, and four pence for two pounds, of the English Post Office. The present "unregistered" parcel rates might continue, and a fixed registration fee of two annas charged for any parcel that is required to be registered. Leaving out of consideration the excellent Value-Payable system, the parcel work in India has made comparatively little progress

since its introduction in 1854. The great parcel growth of the German Post Office between the years 1872-1882 is attributed to the remarkably cheap and simple rates of postage that were introduced. Increase the number of parcels and you incidentally increase the revenue in other branches. When the parcel post was introduced into Italy, the administration estimated that each parcel had given rise to two letters, or at least to two post-cards, and it was also found that the money-orders had increased, as the contents of many of the parcels were paid by money orders.

The wonderful progress made in all postal administrations within the last fifty years is due to improved facilities and more enlightened methods, and the lessons are patent to all. Many inconvenient, and to the public, senseless and irritating rules could be swept away, and the working of the Department would gain by the simplicity. The Postmaster-General, Cape Colony, in reviewing the results of some reforms, truly remarked in his annual report, that—"Simplicity and uniformity of tariff have even more effect on the growth of correspondence than cheapness itself."

ANGAREION.

ART. IV.—LIFE AND WORK OF GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, R.E., K.C.S.I.—BY LADY HOPE.

THIS book, which gives a narrative of the life and work of one who was an enthusiastic advocate of irrigation and of navigable canals, comes appropriately at the present time. The value of irrigation has been brought into sharp relief by the shade cast by one of the most severe, most general, and most prolonged famines with which India has ever been afflicted.

As is natural, in a memoir of a father by his daughter, the work is not in any way a critical one. All that Sir Arthur Cotton did, or wished to do, is described as invariably right, while any opposition to his many schemes, is held to have always been unwise. It is perhaps just as well that this should be so, and that one side of the case should be fully stated.

At the same time it leaves room, and indeed calls for, an examination of some of those matters, or opinions, as to which Sir Arthur Cotton for many years occupied, to a certain extent, the position of a Don Quixote. And this, be it said, is meant in no depreciatory spirit.

The knight of La Mancha is always a gentleman, zealous and full of high endeavours, only wanting in the sense of proportion. Life would lose much, were there not some one, here and there, to lay a lance in rest, and to run a tilt at his adversary, without regard to the arguments or facts, which may appear, in the eyes of the more cautious on-lookers, to mar the cause which the knightly spirit has espoused.

The more strictly personal part of the memoir relating to Sir Arthur's boyhood, and to his home life after retirement, will be of interest chiefly to his friends and relations. What is of interest to the general reader is the description of the work which Sir Arthur Cotton carried out in Southern India, and the exposition of the views, which he so strongly held, regarding what should still be done throughout India generally.

It is stated in the preface that assistance has been given in the arrangement of the work by Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., and it would appear from the title page that some parts of it have been written by that gentleman. It is not, however, apparent in the text which are his contributions, and it may be taken that Lady Hope accepts all responsibility for the arguments used in support of her father's schemes, and for the criticisms, the opposition, or neglect with which some of those

were met. For the most part Sir Arthur Cotton and his biographers deal their opponents as sunk in the deepest error, but do not attribute improper motives to them. In two passages, however, more severe attacks are made. In a prefatory chapter we find the following:—

"Sir Arthur Cotton's influence is ineffaceably stamped on three portions of the eastern part of the Madras Presidency. What is true of this region might have been true, in a modified measure, of many other parts of India, especially of some of those provinces which now (July 1900) are the scenes of awful suffering, had Sir Arthur Cotton's ripe experience not been over-borne by administrative jealousy and by official unacquaintance with what could really be done by means of irrigation in almost every part of India."

Again, in the last chapter of the book the following occurs in a letter from Sir Arthur Cotton which is reproduced, and which relates to the vexed question of the comparative expenditure on railways and on works for irrigation:—

"I must tell you that it is now, I believe, a personal question with the majority of the Civil Service. A lady said to my wife, 'I should think so indeed when the whole of our property is invested in railways.'"

It is to be regretted that such allegations should have been allowed to appear in a work of this nature. It need hardly be said that they are mere allegations and are in no way supported by any facts.

The first great work done by Sir Arthur Cotton was the re-organization of the irrigation of the delta of the Cauveri and Coleroon in the Tanjore district. The chapter which deals with this part of his work might well have been fuller, and the account of the work carried out might have been clearer.

Lady Hope writes:—"(p. 59) In Tanjore and the adjoining district of Trichinopoly the indigenous works had proved comparatively successful. They, however, only made use of the river during the rains when the water was least wanted. Our Engineer's conception and intention was to preserve the flood waters for the dry season. He did it." Now of course he did nothing of the kind. What Sir Arthur Cotton did, was to restore the equilibrium of the two branches of the river by the construction of a weir across the Coleroon and to give effective control of the water in the two branches of the river. An ancient weir does not store water, or only to an infinitesimal degree. What it does is to control, and within certain limits, the level of the water in the stream, and to allow of the water being drawn off for canals or other channels as may be required.

The work done was in all respects excellent and was most successful.

Some years later Sir Arthur Cotton's great opportunity came, and was accepted, in the delta of the Godavari river. No praise can be too great for the work which he planned and carried out here. The anicut or weir across the Godavari was a much greater work of its class than had been yet attempted. The design adopted by Sir Arthur Cotton, though now accepted as sound, was at the time much criticised. He had rather to meet opposition than to receive support from the financial authorities. Skilled labour was scarce, and officers with any experience in such work were equally scarce. The enthusiasm with which Sir Arthur Cotton could invest a project could not have been better applied and it was rewarded. The Godavari irrigation and navigation works are second to none in India whether we regard the economy with which they were made, their effectiveness as engineering works, or their remunerative character.

It is no doubt the fact that the physical and climatic conditions of river and delta were all in favour of the scheme, which the cheapness of the skilled labour, at that time, allowed of its being carried out at a comparatively low cost. Still this in no way diminishes the credit due to Sir Arthur Cotton for appreciating the conditions, and for the skill and energy with which he overcame all obstacles.

Sir Arthur Cotton wrote often and strongly as to what he deemed the short-sighted policy of the administrators of India in merely endeavouring to extract a larger revenue* from the land while doing little or nothing to develop the country by irrigation works or by improved means of communication. In so writing he was rendering undoubted service to India.

In a country which is so dependent on agriculture for its revenue it is especially incumbent on the rulers of the State to do all that is possible to develop the latent capabilities of the soil. In England, we are so accustomed to such matters being dealt with by private enterprise, that we are apt to forget, that in India, the initiative must come from above.

It is only when we come to the particular works, or perhaps classes of works, which Sir Arthur Cotton advised or condemned, that there is room for differences of opinion.

It was perhaps only natural that he should have been affected by the great success of the irrigation works of the Cauveri, of the Godavari, and a little later, of the Kistna deltas, and that he should have been imbued with the idea that works of this class were what India required in all parts.

* Even Sir Thomas Munro saw and wrote long before that irrigation improved the value of land.—ED. C. R.

Lady Hope records that her father was accustomed to rank himself as a man of one idea. And while she rightly combats this limitation of his gifts, it is probably not incorrect to say that he was a one-sided man. That is, his nature was such, that when he espoused a cause he did it so completely as to make it difficult for him to see any flaws in it, or any merits in the opposition. So, when he became the advocate of works for irrigation and for navigation, and the opponent of railways, he was led into recommending schemes as to which he had not that accurate information, whether personal or acquired, which alone would have justified his assertions as to the necessity for them, or his predictions of the profits to be obtained from them.

The Kurnool Canal and the Orissa Canals are the most prominent instances of works undertaken on his recommendation and which have been financial failures. Lady Hope does not deal at any length with the share of responsibility which attaches to Sir Arthur Cotton in respect to these works, and this is not the place for re-opening a discussion which has been closed. In writing that these works have been financial failures regard has been had to the direct return to the State, which they yield. If we have regard also to the indirect value which they have to the community something may still be said in their favour.

This brings us to one point greatly urged by Sir Arthur Cotton, viz., that the true value to the State, of irrigation and of the cheap transit afforded by navigable canals is much greater than that indicated by the direct returns. In other words, he urged, that such works should not be dealt with as if they were the property of a Company, depending solely on the direct returns for a dividend, but that the actual value to the State, that is to the community, should be regarded.

No doubt these particular instances are unfortunate because they had been recommended to, and adopted by a Company on the grounds that large direct returns were to be expected. The history of the Madras Irrigation Company, and of its off-shoot the Orissa Irrigation and Canals Company, is instructive in showing how vague and general statements were accepted without criticism, and how projects, requiring very large outlay, were entered into with no accurate estimates of what they would cost, and with hardly any idea of what the sale, or market value of the water really was.

However it is now certain that, in India, all large irrigation works will be constructed at the cost of the State, and will be worked by its officers and in its interest. It is therefore very necessary to bear in mind that the value to the State of such works does not end with the sum at credit of the annual revenue account.

This view is represented clearly in an extract from the report of the Famine Commission of 1879-80 quoted by Lady Hope in Chap. XI and which we may reproduce here:—

"It has been too much the custom, in discussions as to the 'policy of constructing such works, to measure their value 'by their financial success, considered only with reference to 'the net return to Government on the capital invested in them. The true value of irrigation works is to be judged very differently. First, must be reckoned the direct protection afforded by them in years of drought, by the saving of human life, by the avoidance of loss of revenue remitted, and of the outlay incurred in costly measures of relief. But it is not only in years of drought that they are of value. In seasons of average rainfall they are of great service and a great source of wealth, giving certainty to all agricultural operations, increasing the outturn per acre of the crops, and enabling more valuable description of crops to be grown."

On the other hand we have the argument advanced by Lord Curzon in his speech during the budget debate in March 1900, and which has been reproduced by Lady Hope, that Protective Works, *i.e.*, works which do not pay (directly) the interest at which the State can borrow ($3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) on the capital, must be regarded as constituting a permanent financial burden on the State. What the true value to the State of irrigation works may be, is a question for political economists to answer; and before it can be answered, information is required on several points which it is difficult to obtain.

The first and most important point to determine is what the value of the increased yield of the land due to irrigation may be. This necessarily varies with climatic conditions as to rainfall and crops, with the nature of the soil, and even with the industry and ability of the cultivators. Still, for any particular case, it can, no doubt, be determined. The next point is to determine how much of this increase in the yield, or in the value of the crops grown, represents an increase in the assets of the State. And here we have to remember that we are dealing with a society having a very low standard of living. To a considerable extent the poorer members of the agricultural community merely earn a subsistence. When they have a good harvest they eat a little more; when they have a bad harvest they eat as little as they can exist on. To a certain extent, therefore, the increase in the yield due to irrigation is expended in giving better nourishment to the cultivators, and to this extent, can hardly be said to have any precise value as an asset of the State. Similarly, as regards clothing, when the cultivator has a good season, he and his family may have a few more garments than in bad times.

Though here, of course, the additional cotton cloth, or other form of clothing used, must be paid for, and so the increase in yield is useful to the persons who make the cloth, and therefore to the State.

We may, perhaps, take as a concrete case the system of canals from the river Sone in Behar, which owe their existence, in some measure, to the influence of Sir Arthur Cotton and of the works which he constructed. The capital account of this system, as on 31st March 1900, stands at Rs. 2,67,52,578. The average net revenue for the last four years has been Rs. 5,14,777, representing a direct return of 2.29 per cent. in the capital. Consequently, regarded as a commercial investment, it is distinctly an unprofitable work.

We may, however, consider it from another point of view. For these four years, the average area irrigated has been 4,70,872 acres. Now, if we take the increased value to the State of the crops raised on this area at Rs. 5 per acre, which is a low estimate, the annual return to the State, that is to the community, was Rs. 18,83,488. The average annual charge for working expenses for the four years was Rs. 6,04,348. The average annual net gain to the community was, therefore, Rs. 12,79,140, which represents 4.78 per cent. in the capital. It is, therefore, arguable that the investment by the State in their works is remunerative, in the true sense of the term, though the direct returns, realized as water-rates, navigation, tolls, etc., aggregate less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Money is freely expended by the State on roads, without any direct return being acquired. There is, of course, the distinction that roads can be made anywhere and benefit the community in general, while irrigation works can only be made in certain places and benefit only certain portions of the community. The question is doubtless a difficult one, but it may fairly be said that the indirect value of irrigation works is great and should be investigated more than is usually done.

Sir Arthur Cotton was strenuous in advocating navigable canals as superior to railways, or at all events as more suitable to India, but here he seems to have had no grounds for the faith that was in him. In a few places, where conditions are specially favourable to canals, they may no doubt be the better means of affording cheap carriage, but as a general means of communication, they are, and must be, inferior to railways. A railway can be taken about anywhere, a canal can only be made, except at prohibitive cost, where the country is flat, or nearly so.

We have said that Sir Arthur Cotton's nature was such that he appeared to see only one side of a question, and this is illustrated by some of his answers to questions put to him

when he appeared before the Parliamentary Committees of 1872 and 1878.

Lady Hope quotes the following from the proceedings of the Committee of 1872 (p. 212):—

"*The Chairman*,"—"In your opinion would canal navigation meet the whole transit wants of India, of its commerce and its people?"

"Perfectly and entirely" was the reply; 'without any one defect whatever.' Thinking this assertion might be thought too sweeping he qualified it with the remarks 'I do not mean to say that every line in India can be traversed by a canal, but every line in which it is of great importance, there should be transit. There may be minor tracts like some parts of the line between Bombay and Madras, which might be better for railways.'

Now, even this qualified assertion is one which can hardly be taken seriously. Sir Arthur Cotton's experience of navigable canals had been confined to certain tracts where conditions were very favourable for such works, and he could not have had any sound data for assuming that similar results would be obtained under quite different surroundings.

When before the Committee of 1878, Sir Arthur Cotton was questioned as regards the failure, financially, of the Orissa canals and of the Kurnool canal. In replying, he attributed the failure entirely to bad management on the part of the Revenue officers. No doubt the management had been bad, but what is astonishing, is that Sir Arthur Cotton appeared to think it unnecessary to go at all into the question of the climatic and physical conditions, though of course it must be on these that the question really hinges.

In a memorandum on the delta of the river Mahanadi, submitted to Government by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1858, he wrote:—"There is not a single acre, in all India, or in the whole world, that would not be more productive, if it were irrigated at one time and drained at another." He would seem to have been so imbued with this exaggerated idea of the value of irrigation, anywhere and everywhere, that he could not see the real position.

In a letter to the Governor-General advocating the claims of the East India Irrigation Company, quoted by Lady Hope (p. 443), he wrote:—"We have every reason to hope that both the Irrigation Company's great projects in Madras and in Bengal, will be in extensive operation this year, and they both promise as great returns as those of the Godavari and Kistna."

There were in reality no grounds for expecting the same returns from the Irrigation Company's works (Orissa canals

in Bengal and Kurnool canal in Madras), as from the Godavari and Kistna works, where the conditions of soil and rainfall are very different, and it is not too much to say that Sir Arthur Cotton was absolutely reckless in his assertion.

Lady Hope has reproduced in Chapter X a speech by Lord George Hamilton made in the House of Commons in a debate connected with the famine in Southern India in 1876-77, in the course of which Sir Arthur Cotton's advocacy of irrigation and of navigable canals as a general remedy for all ills, is adversely criticised. Sir Arthur Cotton's rejoinder is given, but when examined, it is quite clear that the points raised by Lord George Hamilton were not really met. His Lordship said:—"Had Sir Arthur Cotton and his friends been content with advocating the construction of works, under as favourable circumstances as those he constructed in Madras, he would unquestionably have done unmitigated good in India."

This is much to the point, and it is certain, that in advocating other projects which were unsound, much harm was done to the cause which Sir Arthur Cotton had at heart.

At the same time it is to be borne in mind that Sir Arthur Cotton was an advocate, not a dictator. The real responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who accepted the schemes put forward without having given to them any proper scrutiny.

One of the schemes, with which Sir Arthur Cotton's name has been associated, was for a very large reservoir to be made in the upper course of the Tungabudra river. It is alluded to in the work under review, but only casually, and there is nothing to show what the true merits of the scheme may have been.

However, in urging generally, the necessity there is for storage of water, Sir A. Cotton was on sound ground. It is in this direction more than any other that work remains to be done in providing facilities for irrigation and in guarding against famine. At the same time it must be frankly acknowledged, that the question is a difficult one, and that progress can only be gradual. Reservoirs, of sufficient size to be of any real good, can only be made where the physical conditions are specially favourable. Again, there must be land suited for irrigation within a reasonable distance of the reservoir. Careful enquiries are necessary as to the supply of water available for filling the reservoir at periods of drought, as to the loss of water from percolation as well as from evaporation, and as to the areas, the crops in which can be secured with the available supply. The latter depending on the nature of the crops and of the soil, and on the distance the water has to travel to reach the fields. The sites suitable for large reservoirs will usually be in remote valleys, difficult of access,

and where labour is scarce or almost altogether wanting. Still difficulties can be met and should be met.

This question of the storage of water for agricultural purposes, appears to us to be of the first importance. We consider that the Government of India should be in a position to say what it is practicable to do in this way on every stream in the country. We would have every district taken in turn and every stream in it examined and scheduled as to possible sites for reservoirs, as to the supply which might be depended on at times of drought, as to position and area of land suited for irrigation, as to probable cost of works and financial prospects, and generally as to all matters pertinent to the question. We think that the Government should not be content with less than full knowledge. It would take time, much time, and it would take money to obtain such knowledge. A special staff would have to be employed and the work would require the closest scrutiny. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is one which is almost inherent to a Government by bureaus, we allude to the frequent changes in the heads of departments and in the governors, which render it so difficult to carry on any line of policy continuously.*

As we have said difficulties exist to be met, and if it is desirable to take a numerical census of the various peoples whom we govern, it is, surely, just as desirable to have a clear record of the possible means of improving their position. We do not say that it is practicable to turn the whole of India into a garden; possibly it may not be practicable to do much; but it will surely be practicable to do something, and at all events, we ought to know definitely what can be done.

Sir Arthur Cotton was a man outstanding in his generation. He rendered great service to the State, and, though he might have done still more had his vast zeal and energy been combined with a nature less prone to rush to conclusions, he will always be remembered as one of the greatest of the pioneers of irrigation in India. We must never forget that he was a pioneer and that it was the very success of the works which he planned and carried out in the deltas of the Caveri and Godavari, which gave him an exaggerated idea of the returns, which similar works would be sure in other parts of the country, with the conditions of which he was imperfectly acquainted.

Lady Hope has done a public service in writing this memoir of her father. It is a book which all should read, who are interested in irrigation, or in the improvement of the agricultural community, though they should read with discern-

* Why should it be so?—ED. C.R.

ment and remember that assertion is not proof. Sir Arthur Cotton's views were, no doubt, to a large extent Utopian, but for all that, in many ways, the general principles advocated are sound, and there is still much to be done where and when ways and means admit.

W. A. INGLIS.

[In order to give a complete view, we supplement the above excellent article with the following communication on the same subject,—which at present is drawing much attention,—with the well-known initials A. T. F.,—dated from London—in a leading Indian journal.*—ED. C.R.]

"The famine, recent writings of General F. Cotton on the value of water in India, Lady Hope's biography of the late Sir Arthur Cotton, and a renewed interest that has sprung up in British canals from the pressure of railway freights on agriculture, favour attention just now to the whole subject of Indian rivers, canals, and reservoirs. During Christmas week the *Times* had a lengthy notice of the Government Review of Irrigation for 1898-99, recounting how 21 Productive Works yielded 9¾ per cent. interest annually, on the capital expended, and 15 crores of rupees surplus. The gross revenue of all the Productive Works in India is put down at 317½ lakhs of rupees, or Rs. 3⅓ per acre irrigated. But great as this progress is, when we reflect that the net area of India cropped, is 196 millions of acres, with cultivable waste lands amounting to 106 millions of acres more, it is seen that the 18 millions of acres irrigated are a mere speck on that wide surface. The exact acreage liable to failure of rain, and therefore to famine, is still to learn, but must be a large fraction of the whole 300 millions of cultivable acres in British India. This huge extent of endangered territory was constantly present to the mind of Sir Arthur Cotton, who before quitting India for good in 1862, and subsequently for close on thirty years, exhausted every argument derivable from past success in the Deltas on behalf of a more energetic policy with irrigation and water communications. Instead of this, what may be termed a safe line has been pursued ever since, works which had been begun have been left unfinished, and at best only a small percentage of the land has been irrigated. The reason of this seems to be a reluctance to depart from the old Indian system of doing Public Works as far as possible out of revenue. In India capital is not obtainable so cheap as at Home. Consequently, the guaranteed railways were projected there, and as a railway from its great cost per mile cannot possibly be constructed out of revenue,

* The *M. Mail*.
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the railways had the advantage over water works. Any widespread extension of irrigation must, however, be originated by the India Office on account of the large capital required, while details of the operations have all to be studied and arranged in India itself.

"A very important point has been brought forward by General Cotton, *viz.*, that the entire outlay on irrigation—with its returns, according to the *Times* of 18 per cent. for the Godavery works and 41 per cent. under the Cauvery—is only the value of one year's crops on the land irrigated. A resolution on the part of the India Office to spend another year's crop values the *Times* sets down at 39 crores of rupees, in extending irrigation and preventing famine, so far from being extravagant would be sheer economy. Once it was adopted, new life would be thrown into Indian Public Works, causing investigation by map and on the ground of the circumstances of each separate tract of country, with a view to these being placed beyond the risk of famine by combined engineering and agricultural expedients of the most modern type. A further resolve to lay out some 5 millions sterling on completing waterways already commenced or projected, would round off the task before the Secretary of State in these vital matters, and by degrees everything practicable in the programme Sir Arthur Cotton sketched roughly out in the 19th, could be realised in the 20th century. There are difficulties of treatment he could not foresee in 1858, because the land now to be secured against famine is not delta soil, but situated in the uplands of the interior, and the difference even now in the nature of the measures required, is imperfectly understood. Protection of the huge area visited by famine, cannot be got by servile repetition of delta applicable methods, and rates of expenditure. But at least one delta still remains to which they would fairly apply, that of the Mahanuddi, in Orissa. It may be remembered that after Lord Stanley guaranteed the Madras Irrigation and Canal Company's works at Kurnool in 1859, a similar concession was made to the Orissa Irrigation Company. In both cases the Companies were formed before the ground had been surveyed, and after a large outlay their enterprises had to be taken over by Government, a little under one million pounds sterling having been paid for the Orissa works. The site was visited by Sir A. Cotton on behalf of the Government of India in 1858, and from what he noted on the occasion it may be inferred that though there is a similarity to the Godavery delta in extent and in several respects, the local conditions make the scheme unsuited to Joint Stock enterprise, which must have dividends for shareholders, a year or two after irrigation has commenced. Why the Orissa works failed has never been

popularly made known, but there is nothing very extraordinary about it. The Mahanuddi, though it runs a flood of 240 millions of cubic yards per hour against 200 millions of cubic yards in the Godavery, only does so for 12 hours in the season, while the Godavery flood lasts ten days. In fact, the Mahanuddi has only one-fifth the Godavery's discharge, and a much more irregular supply is also implied by this. Then if the maps of their deltas are compared, it is seen that the Godavery flows to sea in two branches not far asunder, while the Mahanuddi divided into six mouths below Cuttack, like the ribs of a fan, cuts up the land, and must lead to embanking and drainage in an excessive degree. So that it would take much outlay, and years to get a return for which the State would alone be in a position to wait.

"As the delta grows rice, and that cereal fetches a gold price on export, there can be little or no ultimate risk in finishing the Orissa scheme. The works were, however, somewhat under-estimated in Sir Arthur Cotton's rough calculations of 1858. He took the Godavery improvement as having cost Rs. 4 per acre, and allowing Rs. 5 an acre for the Mahanuddi placed the cost of irrigation at 112 lakhs of rupees, with 18 lakhs more for 120 miles of high level canal towards Calcutta at Rs. 15,000 per mile: or 130 lakhs for the whole scheme. General Haig, on being deputed to America, found the Erie Canal had cost Rs. 55,000 per mile. All the estimates have still to be revised. The history of the works since their purchase by Government can be followed up to 1872 in Hunter's Orissa. They consist of 3 weirs, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long respectively, and 4 canals open for an aggregate length of about 130 miles of main channel, besides the usual distributaries. There was the same difficulty in getting the water taken by cultivators as under the Kurnool Canal. The Orissa Company began by charging 10 shillings an acre, which rendered it unsaleable. Though in 1868 this was reduced to 5 shillings an acre, there were only 1,842 acres irrigated and £175 water-rate collected that year. In 1871 Government reduced the price to 2 shillings an acre, and at once a lakh of acres was irrigated, which Hunter remarks:—"As producing 750,000 cwts. of rice was enough to take the extreme edge off a famine." Only one out of the 4 canals was really finished in 1870, the Kendrapara, 42 miles long, commanding 95,000 acres, yet it earned 8 per cent. on its own net cost. When the Company's Engineers came to plan and survey they found the delta peculiarly subject to inundation both from the river and cyclone waves from the Bay of Bengal, there are 680 miles of embankment to maintain, and they had 35 streams or distributaries, to regulate, by expensive

constructions. Add to which, that rice cultivation, needs much native capital to start it, and the population was impoverished at the time. Indeed, the embankment system had "failed so egregiously that some of the District officers despair of any system of embankments being successful." The high level canal is to be 230 miles long and some irrigation (half a million acres) under it, but there is a gap of 142 miles in the middle between Cuttack and Calcutta.

"At the period of Sir Arthur Cotton's Report on Orissa in 1858 the idea prevailed of combining irrigation with navigation in the same canal. Experience in other Districts than the Godavery led to its abandonment a few years afterwards for reasons easy to assign, but principally the strong current, the silting, and want generally of enough water for the two purposes. In the formation of this opinion the late Colonel J. C. Anderson, and to some extent Colonel Orr, had a leading share. One consequence of the combining of irrigation with navigation has been delay in planning a comprehensive system of Indian irrigation suited to all differing parts of the country. There are such complex points to be studied that the task has scarcely been begun, for, as has been remarked before, only 18 millions of acres out of 300 millions are as yet irrigated. It is impracticable therefore at this stage to go into any of the minutiae of irrigation, though it calls for much the largest expenditure. As for canals of navigation it is easier, there being so many familiar examples. In a lecture at Chatham in 1875 Sir A. Cotton gave his full programme of water communications for India as follows:—1st, Bombay, by Ahmedabad, and up the valley of the Indus, across by the Sirhind Canal to the Ganges Canal, down the valley of the Ganges to Calcutta, along the East Coast to Cape Comorin and up the West Coast to Karwar, near Goa. Between Goa and Bombay the country is impracticable for a canal. 2nd. Across the Peninsula by the valleys of the Godavery, Wardah, and Tapti to meet the first line at Baroda. 3rd. A second line across the Peninsula, from Nellore by the valleys of the Pennar, Tungabhadra, and Kala-Nadi to Karwar. 4th. Madras across the Carnatic, and by the valleys of the Ambravati and Palghat river to Ponani. The whole being about 7,000 miles by canal and river. Now anyone who knows the topography of India is aware that though it is an impossible feat to quite cross the southern Peninsula over the higher ghats for want of a supply of water at the summit levels, the greater part of this programme is feasible in an engineering sense, and portions have been carried out. But the work cannot be done for Rs. 15,000 per mile, or anything like that sum, an important matter when a comparison is made between

water-ways and rail-roads. The world-wide experience, however, is that freights by river and canal are lower than the railway, and that they convey bulky produce the railways could not accommodate.

"There is a navigation scheme, part of item 3rd in the programme, that has been in abeyance after a large sum spent upon it, that is well worth resuscitating. Opening the Upper Godavery to navigation would have connected the Central Provinces with the sea by 450 miles of improved river communication, bringing down coal to market, and sending up grain produced under the delta works on occasions of threatened famine. After employing General Haig and a small Madras Staff for some years, the Government of India handed back the Godavery navigation to the Madras Government and the outlay with that on the Kurnool Canal and Orissa irrigation still forms a portion of the Indian debt. It has been asserted that dread of competition with the railways westward, led to stoppage of the Upper Godavery improvements, but it is much more reasonable to suppose it due to Government, seeing that such a large undertaking could not be gone on with out of current revenues. The particulars of the Godavery navigation are not very accessible, and have been almost forgotten in official circles. As given in General Haig's Report of 1856—when, curiously enough, General F. Cotton was his immediate chief—it appears that from Hingenghat by river and canal to Cocanada is 463 miles, while by railway it is 560 miles to Bombay. The fall of the Godavery from Chandah to Dowlaishweram is 490 feet in 357 miles (or 1 foot 4 inches per mile), and except for three barriers of rocks and rapids, boats can now go 450 miles by river in from 3 to 6 feet of water from July to December, the current varying from 5 to 8 miles an hour. In order to open the navigation for steam boats, 36 miles of diversion canal are required at the top, or Dewalmurri barrier, to surmount a fall of 175 feet. At the Echampilli barrier midway, the fall is only 36 feet, and as the banks are too steep for a side canal, there must be a lock gate and dam, while the river bed must have a channel 6 miles long cleared of rocks by dynamite. The lower barrier at intervals must have 12 miles of lateral canal with locks. Of course, a current of 8 miles an hour is no light matter, and would require a specially-constructed vessel to stem it. In fact, the whole remodelled design of the works will have to be based on the kind of steamer that is to be employed. Then in these days electric traction is used on canals, and with the immense amount of water power on the Godavery this could supersede the use of steam. General Haig's Report also shows that if the monthly deficiency averag-

ing 14 millions of cubic yards, be made good by storing 5,700 millions of cubic yards of water in reservoirs, to keep up the flow, steamers can ply up to the 20th May, or there would be navigation open for 7 months of the year.

"Such is the description of two important schemes, one of irrigation on Orissa and the other for navigating the Godavery, that energetic policy of spending another year's crop values and finishing works already begun would rapidly mature. The Kurnool Canal seems capable of being extended into Hyderabad territory to the north, and through Nellore to the Buckingham Canal on the sea coasts. There are many of Sir Arthur Cotton's canals that might be made and worked in supplement of the railways. How far 39 crores of rupees will secure an area, ten times that of the existing irrigation from all danger of famine, depends upon the way engineering intelligence and the latest agricultural science are brought to bear on the problem in combination. By separating as a rule irrigation from navigation, the water can be made to go ever so much further than at present, and in any case the effect of a liberal expenditure in diverting what goes to waste cannot fail to be profound. A less effort would merely leave the arable land in district after district a prey to drought and scarcity."*

London, 31st January.

A. T. F.

* Lord George Hamilton has promised to lay a Blue Book on the whole subject on the table of the House.—ED. C. R.

ART. V.—DARJEELING.

THE Fates will never give perfect rest to the globe-trotter. A fortnight at a place and he has had enough of it; he longs for fresh fields and pastures new. Not content with doing India literally from the wave-plashed Comorin to Pathanic Peshawar, and from Bengal's Bay to the Gulf of Cutch, he must do it over again if possible, and visit little nooks and corners left out here and there. Darjeeling had always baffled my endeavours; somehow or other, whenever a trip to this favorite sanitarium, almost at the door of Calcutta, was arranged, some unforeseen circumstances would make me give up the idea, and send me contemplating the majestic marble of the Taj, or hearing youthful monks recite the Dhammapada in the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon. It was not that I had not seen the stately pine, or the gorgeous rhododendron, that I would long so intently for a breath of Himalayan air. I had seen Simla at various seasons of the year, I had seen the *chowra maidan* crowded, and cruel boys "netting" the butterfly. I had also seen Snowdon and Peterhoff deserted, and Barnes Court given up to the bloody* chuprassie. But Simla with its art and its fashion had disappointed me. You may now and again have the satisfaction of elbowing the *Burra Lat* on your walk round Jakko or in front of the "yarrows," you may even catch the Countess of Honolulu flirting with the A.D.-C. in uniform under the protecting umbrage of the sturdy oak, and if you have sharp ears you may also hear the Viceroy discussing the best means to "bag" the Amir, with urbane Sir Mortimer. But all this do not satisfy the man whose object is to see nature in her sublime nudity. In Simla you stumble on art at every step, and the snowy regions, why they are almost as much a forbidden portrait to you as to the man at Mangalore. I have tried Abu, the summer residence of the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana. But its only attraction is the temple at Dilwara. I have been to Mercara too, through forests of cardamum where the elephant is wild. But save for the sentiment that attaches to it as being the last capital of an ancient line of Hindu kings, there is scarcely anything in its small hills to attract the attention of a person whom little things have never been able to satisfy. If of all these Indian hill stations any place is more enjoyable than the rest it is Ooty of the Southern. Here plus all the luxuries of a hill station, you may also drive about.

* If this is meant to be a "swear-word," it is inadmissible.—ED. C. R.

Disappointed, therefore, with all these summer resorts, and hearing flattering accounts of Darjeeling, I made up my mind in September 18—to go there at any risk. And this time I was determined to overcome all obstacles. A relation taking a house there for the season, nothing remained to be done but to huddle up my clothing in two P. and O. trunks, and to strap up the bedding as best as a bachelor can do. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would prosecute me if I dared to inflict on the reader an account of the progress of the Darjeeling Mail from Sealdah to Siliguri—for there is scarcely anything in it that is not already known to him, or that my pen and ink can materially improve. The train rolled on through verdant fields interspersed with vast sheets of water that the rains had brought. There was some confusion when, at about 9 in the evening, the banks of the bolsterous *Padma* were reached. Half-naked porters running all about the place, quarrelling among themselves for your custom, and altogether making such a row, that one feels tempted to break the law in order to preserve peace and order*. Our perturbed spirits found repose, however, when we sat to a goodly dinner served on board the ferry steamer. The next morning at about 8 we changed into the Lilliputian Himalayan carriages at Siliguri. They are so light and small and so toy-like to look at, that you almost feel you are in Lilliput. Here you have to consign your gladstone, bedding and other small things that you have been carrying with you, to the tender mercies of the Railway guard who strews them pell mell in the brake-van, and gives you no receipt. But you get them all right at your destination, if some, have not been left behind.

The carriages are very much like the cars of the Calcutta Tramways Company, and if you do not take extra precaution your peg tumbler or Mrs. Rochefort's baby may roll down when the train suddenly takes a turn or runs down a decline. The road from Siliguri to the next station Sookna is perfectly plainish, and does not at all give you the idea of a mountain climb. You can only see the lofty Himalayas stretching before your eyes, almost in a semi-circle, and sometimes hid behind black clouds. The excitement begins when you leave Sookna, with its solitary station and moribund stationmaster behind. You are ushered into the damp and shady regions of the Terai where you see the vegetation of the tropics making a bold stand against the inroads of the temperate fir and oak. You climb up and up at, by no means, a gentle gradient, and as you proceed, the contest between the zones grows less

* Did you "swear" at them?—ED. C. R.

and less, till by the time you have steamed along yawning precipices and looked down 500 feet, you have left the vegetation of the hated plains behind you. As you go along you see a high hill in front of you that almost threatens to obstruct your passage, but thanks to science, you make a sudden curve, the engine and the brake-van represent the two ends of the cord of a circle, and slowly but surely you go on making several rounds of your foe, gaining each time in altitude, till you have ridden on his very top and have commenced the round of another. There! a lady has screamed, all heads look out—it is a bottomless abyss that the foolhardy driver is nearing. We are on the very brink of it—"the smelling bottle John" exclaims an elderly lady from the next compartment,—an inch more, and eternity swallows us, train, engine, driver, proud science and all. Thank heaven, we have passed it. It has only cost us a shriek, probably a swoon, and some drops of "Auld Scottie."

Thus between breathless excitement and terror, and speechless admiration for the panorama of exquisite beauty that our enraptured eyes behold, we crawl along, the poor engine panting and sobbing at times when unable to drag up its heavy load. From Kurseong we might have had the first peep at the far-famed Kanchinjunga had the weather permitted the pleasure. As it was, we had to content ourselves with turning our nose at the dirty bazar with its crowd of beggar boys, and with eating some good English beef at Clarendon Hotel where the kind and considerate Railway Company give you about half an hour's time to satisfy your inner man. Kurseong is the sanitarium for those that can not bear the majesty of Darjeeling.

We ought to have donned warm clothing at Kurseong, but want of foresight that is so characteristic of some travellers, had already settled the matter. They were all locked in the gladstone which was stowed in the brake. When at dusk the train whizzed into the grim looking station at Ghoom, the highest point on the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway, I was shivering in my khaki suit. Shaking off my laziness, I fished out my ulster from under the seat and slipping my tired limbs into it, got down on the platform for a stroll. There was the "Ghoom witch" photographed by Johnston and Hoffman, looking the very descendant of the Atalanta in her loose and flowing garb. She reminds one of the witches in Macbeth.

At Ghoom those bound for Jalapahar got down amidst a scene of greater confusion than what one sees in Damukdia Ghat Station. By the time we left Ghoom the shades of evening had fallen over us and clothed the mountains with the robe

of darkness that adds to their sternness, and inspires awe in the on-looker. The Railway station of Darjeeling is a decent little house built of hard granite which is always lively in the mornings and evenings, when trains leave and come. Indeed, it is quite an institution in Darjeeling. You look in whenever you happen to be passing that way, and if perchance it is train time, you see pretty faces and rosy cheeks with the bloom of the mountains on them which you can never hope to see on the plains.

At Darjeeling I gave myself up entirely to the mild dissipation of doing nothing. Teas, dinners, and parties take up one's time, and what little is left is divided between riding, sauntering, and sitting on a solitary bench by a cataract or a waterfall watching the foamy white waters bubble and babble, or the thick black mist gather on mountain and tree tops and around you. Or if you are disposed to be gay, you may stick to the Mall where you may see the fountain play, the band discourse music, and lovers enjoying the rhapsody of a tête à tête in some unprominent corner. You see riders cantering and galloping in all directions, and a suffocating crowd at Lord's where the fashion and beauty of the town resort in the afternoons to borrow a book or buy a box of chocolate almonds. Lord will give you everything, from Barcelona nuts to Bombay ducks. He keeps also a well-patronised Bar which is very decently furnished, and where Lord Montcennis or Sir Honeycomb Dunkirk takes his daily sip of the health-giving juice of the grape. You may make the round of Observatory Hill and climb its top to see the grotto, or you may venture out to the cantonment, on Jalapahar, where you see Tommy in parade or attending a Salvationist Meeting. The Botanical Gardens down below in the khuds are favored by many, specially by the Babu, who, it must be remarked, seldom shows himself above the cart road. Here, however, he considers himself to be somewhat in his element, and has been known to immodestly stare on ladies, and to thrust his unwelcome presence, with his bare calves and transparent underclothing, on their company. The Birch Hill is another favorite rendezvous of those on the look out for partial solitude. And under its small canopy picnics are held almost half-a-dozen times a day—one party going out and another coming in! One fine October afternoon we surprised a party of rowdy Chinese Mandarins who had given up opium for the bottle, and were quaffing bottle after bottle of good old dew of Ben Nevis. They were altogether a boisterous lot, drinking, eating, howling, singing, and spitting at the same time. But by far the best attraction of Darjeeling is the market which is held every Sunday morning. It is the neatest and the most orderly market I have ever seen. There is no dirt or filth about

it, and you scarcely feel that you are in an Indian Bazar with its pools of dirty water, its putrid fish, and its rotten vegetables. In the large quadrangle of the bazar you find heaps of potatoes, betel leaves, onions, gingers, and generally such other vegetables as have been imported in large quantities. Leaving this behind, and, on your way to the large hall with corrugated iron roofing where meat is sold, you pass by groups of Lepcha and Bhutia girls who sell small quantities of tomatoes, cayenne pepper, radishes, Bhutia bread, beads, and other things of local growth and manufacture. Marketing with these girls is quite a luxury, and to chatter with them is about as pleasant a pastime as trotting up to Jore Bungalow. They are very fair, but the Bhutia is chubbosed. It is only the Lepcha girl that can lay any pretensions to real beauty. They are married when they pass their teens and are quite a healthy and buxom lot. We were not a little amused to see a Bhutia matron refuse us a penn'orth of Bhutia bread. She said we could do nothing with it, and kindly advised us not to throw a pice away.

The Lepchas are a fine people, truthful and honest, but it is said, they cannot bear civilisation which is gradually driving them into the interior, and may finally make the race extinct. They are nomadic in their habits, and are ignorant of the use of the plough. Indeed, they have no word in their language for a plough. They settle down temporarily at a place, find out a fertile plot of ground, of which the surface is scraped with a rude sort of knife. This is all the cultivation that their idleness will permit them. For three or four years the land continues to yield, but when superficial scraping is found inadequate for their purposes, they remove to another place, and begin fresh scraping of virgin soil. The Bhutias, however, are far better husbandmen, but they are a cowardly lot, although they are strong and stalwart. Women are held in very high respect among both of these classes. They are very merry people, singing a ditty or cracking a joke amidst their daily drudge. There is a boarding school in Darjeeling for the education of Bhutias, Lepchas and other Caucaso-Mongolian races inhabiting the country. The school, however, goes by the name of Bhutia Boarding School, and is under the management of an officer of the Education Department. Its scholars, if they are proficient in anything, are little Barretts and Irvings. We were not a little amused to see them figure in a *tableau vivant*. They showed us the manner of saluting of different nations—the mosaic handshake, the insulting twist of the ear, the demeaning touch of the feet, the queer pull of the nose, the poetic kiss of the hand, and the sublime kiss of the cheeks—they showed us all these practices.

Kanchinjunga is truly a magnificent sight. There is hardly

anything to be compared to it. On it, during the twelve hours of the day, you see almost everywhere in the rainbow reflected. Early in the morning aurora blushes on it, but as the sun mounts the chariot of day, Kanchinjunga is no longer the blushing maiden ; she has cast off her coyishness, her veil has been snatched from her, and she shines now in all the radiance of her beauty. She is bright as silver. As day begins to decline, she turns yellow and crimson, till by the time the sun is sloping down the West, she wears the gorgeous garb of gold. I shall have more to say of Kanchinjunga in my account of Phalalum.*

Darjeeling strikes you as of all places the only one where the Bengali lady, who is proverbially a gem that cannot be seen even by the all-seeing sun, romps about the town fearlessly, and gives herself up entirely to the calls of society and to the amenities of civilised life. She may be seen picnicing up on Birch Hill, or galloping towards Senchal, or nymph-like playing on the violin in the drawing room at Craigmount.

RUSTUM PACHA.

ART. VI.—EXPERIMENTAL FARMS FOR THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

IT is now pretty generally admitted that in several administrative and other directions, and because of the manner, more statesman-like than bureaucratic, in which it approaches the consideration and solution of great problems vitally concerning the people, the Madras Presidency is not deserving of the title of "Benighted" which its unfriends and those not conversant with its affairs are in the habit of applying to it. Perhaps, there is no direction in which the Madras Government, notwithstanding resistance of one kind or another from both without and within, has endeavoured so much to further the welfare of the twenty-two millions (representing over 62 per cent. of the population) dependent either wholly or in part for their livelihood on the possession of land or on its cultivation, as in that of improving the system and methods of agriculture now obtaining and of helping to make, to use a hackneyed phrase, two blades of grass grow where only one blade grew before. Agricultural reform and the improvement of the material condition of the agricultural classes is constantly engaging the serious attention of the Madras Government, and even after admitting that it is true that more improvement is carried out on paper than in practice, *par example*, the elaborate, learned and highly instructive Report on Agricultural Banks drawn up by the Hon'ble Mr. F. A. Nicholson six years ago, and which is only now beginning to bear fruit on a very small scale, it is not incorrect to assert that within the last three or four administrations, something attempted has been followed by something done. If schemes for the betterment of the people's condition are not worked out as expeditiously as desirable or necessary, it is because in Southern India, just as all over the rest of the peninsula, the machinery of administration is cumbrous and moves with difficulty, as also because, unlike in European and American countries from where we have to obtain our ideas and our models to a considerable extent, we have here no section of the community to which the State may turn for the strengthening of its hands* whenever it is called upon to deal with difficult and complex problems that are rendered still more difficult and perplexing for the reason that in attempting their solution we have to keep constantly in view the effects which they are likely to produce on indigenous insti-

* We hope soon to receive it.—ED. C. R.

* This machinery may easily be created from among the leading landlords by a wise and helpful ruler.—ED. C. R.

tutions. In proof of the earnestness which Madras has shown to solve its great and anxious agricultural problem, we have only to point to the grand irrigation projects which have been established in the deltaic tracts of Kistna and Godavari and to the gigantic Periyar project, which, by diverting the waters of a Travancore stream into the British Indian stream of Madura, has brought over 100,000 acres of land under irrigation and thereby increased to that extent the profitably cultivable area of the presidency. But we are not blind, and, out and out admirers of the Madras Government, and we have no hesitation in admitting that it has now and then wasted its energies and its far from inexhaustible resources on visionary schemes and has pursued them long after their impracticability has become patent to the most casual observer. As a glaring instance of this particular description of Myopia on the part of an otherwise clear-sighted Government, we have what is euphemistically styled the Madras College of Agriculture, the object of which institution is supposed to be to afford instruction in the Science of Agriculture and in the practical application of sound principles in conducting the ordinary agriculture of the country. The College has been in existence for over a decade, but every one who is in a position to express an opinion is agreed that it has always remained a white elephant. It prepares students in such highly technical subjects as agriculture, botany, physiography, organic and inorganic chemistry, surveying and levelling, and agricultural engineering, and it is generally attended by students who have undergone no preliminary training such as would admit of their being able to assimilate the heavy food which is crammed down their throats in the College. The results of the examinations have been observed to be steadily declining during the last five years, and the authorities of the institution would be at a loss to point to students who have turned the knowledge imparted to them to real use in the improvement of agriculture or any other allied branch of activity. But we may for the present, pass over these matters and come without further preamble to a plain and unvarnished statement of one very decisive step which the Madras Government has just taken on the road to agricultural reform, actual and practical. Attached to the Madras College of Agriculture there is an experimental farm where some very useful work is surely being carried out, but where at the same time much that is being done, although it is intrinsically valuable, does not conduce one whit to the improvement of the agricultural classes. It is superfluous to state that the essential object of a farm of this nature is to benefit the classes who depend on agriculture for a livelihood.

This, however, by the way. To the Saidapet farm, which is the one we allude to, it has now been resolved by the Madras Government to add two other farms, and it has been decided to locate one of these near Bellary and the other near Koilpatti, in the Tinnevely district.

The process of incubation which has attained almost complete development in the above resolution may be said to date back from 1898. In that year His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, then Governor of Madras, visited the district of Madura and received from the inhabitants an address, in the course of which it was stated :—

“The Government has recognised the importance of agricultural model farms. This district has already taken the lead in starting a model farm though on a small scale, with the help of endowments now under the management of the District Board. We request the Government to take up the management of this institution and widen the scope of its usefulness by allotting more lands to it for purposes of experiment and demonstration.”

The above request was not long in being acceded to, for on the 13th of August 1898, the Madras Government issued an order in which it stated that the Board of Revenue had been requested to deal with the request when the establishment of Government Farms in suitable localities came up for consideration in connection with the resolutions of the Government of India. The resolutions of the Government of India here referred to divided the work of agricultural research into two sections, namely, a general and superficial investigation of agricultural defects, and a definite and systematic programme of experiments. The desire was also expressed that as regards the former it should be concentrated from time to time upon some single prominent agricultural defect, and it was suggested that the question of the waste of liquid manure might first be taken up for investigation.

An interesting memorandum dealing with the resolutions of the Government of India, was drawn up in the beginning of 1899 by Mr. C. Benson, M.R.A.C., Deputy Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Madras Presidency. Mr. Benson thought that the chief matter which demanded attention in his Presidency was the organisation of the broader investigation alluded to by the Government of India, and for this purpose he held that the establishment of experimental farms was necessary, while for their management and supervision the employment of a trained staff was required. Now, while in other provinces the starting of a central farm at which to commence investigation might be the present necessity, it was not so in Madras, where the Saidapet institution

was already in existence as a central farm, and it only remained to take a further step and render investigation and experiment thoroughly effective by organising such a number of experimental farms as would embrace the varying conditions of the country. Viewing the question comprehensively, Mr. Benson thought that so far as the black-cotton soils of Madras were concerned, probably farms in (1) Coimbatore or Tinnidelly, (2) Bellary or Kurnool, and (3) Kistna may suffice. Other farms would be required to deal with the grouping of soils usually called the red soils, and possibly farms in (4) Madurā or Trichinopoly, (5) Coimbatore or Salem, (6) Anantapur or Cuddapah, (7) South Arcot, Chingleput or Nellore, and (8) Godavari, Vizagapatam or Ganjam, would fairly cover the ground. That would be eight farms in all though, as a matter of practical working, the number could only be gradually arrived at. Then, for the investigation, of special questions, such as irrigation, Mr. Benson thought that other farms would be ultimately needed. As regards the sizes of these farms, he clings in his memorandum to the opinion he has expressed for some years past that the experimental areas need not be more than 10 acres each, and that as the institutions are to be primarily experimental, three yoke of oxen should be provided for, and if the farm be started close to a town where milk could be sold, it would be advisable to run a dairy, and in any case keep a good breeding bull for the benefit of those choosing to serve their cows with him.

In the management of any experimental station, there are some first principles to be observed, and they are described in Dr. Voelcker's book on Indian Agriculture. The portion specially assigned for continuous experiment must be laid out into conveniently shaped and useful sized plots and be durably demarcated, 0·10 acre plots being the most convenient for manuring experiments and the like. Between each, a strip of land should be kept undisturbed. Besides, as experiments once begun would develop with time, space for expansion should be provided. The land required for experiment having been laid out into suitable plots, the next thing is to grow one or two crops over the whole area, treating the land in the same way throughout, and the crops also, and then recording carefully the yields of each plot or block. This process is known as "equalization" for future experiment. When the second year's record is complete, definite experiments may be fully started.

Mr. Benson next dealt in his paper with problems to which attention should be primarily directed. The greatest and most intractable agricultural defect of the country is drought, and the evidence available as to the evil effects of shallow tillage

in enhancing the effects of drought and of the good effects of thorough and deep tillage is incontrovertible, as far as this country is concerned, though the recently published reports of experiments conducted in North America show the contrary to be the case there. Mr. Benson thinks that we should, with European or other ploughs, see if we cannot obtain as cheap as possible a sufficiently deep and good tilth, for which purpose strict attention should be paid to the feeding of tilling cattle whose manure could be collected by the box system, the byre system and the ordinary local system, and used for manuring experiments. He then goes on to deal with the question of the establishments required for the management of his proposed farms, the cost of land, fitting up, maintenance of live stock, etc., but as we shall have to deal later on with these questions as they have been decided by the Madras Government, it is not necessary to follow Mr. Benson in detail any further.

Taking up the whole question in February 1899, the Madras Board of Revenue submitted to the Madras Government an interesting report upon the form which, in its opinion, the constitution of the Agricultural Branch of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture should, in the future, assume and the duties which should be performed by it. The Government of India had stated the duties of the Agricultural Branch of the department to be somewhat as follows:—

- (1) The collection and arrangement of facts and statistics bearing on all branches of economics and agriculture;
- (2) the investigation of agricultural defects brought to light by an examination of the land records and the devising of remedies therefor; and
- (3) the investigation of local agricultural practices and the conduct of experiments on problems suggested thereby.

The greater part of the work included in the first head is now done in the office of the Madras Board of Revenue, and the supervision of most of it, especially matters relating to the state of the country—rainfall, prices, cultivation and traffic by land—has been in an informal way assigned to the Deputy Director, who, also in times of scarcity and distress has performed the duties of Famine Secretary to the Board. For the proper carrying on of the statistical work, and for bringing to notice and investigating facts which may be gleaned from a study of the statistics, the Board considered that the services of one officer might, with advantage, be employed, this officer to be the Deputy Director of Agriculture, separating the post from that of Deputy Director of Land Records, while at the same time not reviving the latter appointment. It would then

be the duty of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, subject to the control of the Board, to collect, arrange and publish all statistics bearing on agriculture, including rainfall, cultivation, special crops, prices and wages, irrigation, and trade by land, as well as to prepare therefrom and from the statistics of the sea-borne trade, compiled and issued by the Department of Separate Revenue, reviews and reports in elucidation of economic facts bearing on the condition of the country. This arrangement would in short give the Madras Presidency a Statistical Reporter.

As regards the second item of the duties of the Agricultural Department, the Madras Board of Revenue held in its Resolution that the investigation must be chiefly carried out by the Land Revenue staff and by the Land Record staff when appointed, though it would be part of the duty of the Deputy Director of Agriculture to ledger observations in regard to, and, if possible, to suggest a remedy for any serious agricultural deterioration which may be reported by the District Offices. We may have something to say with regard to the views of the Madras Board of Revenue regarding its responsibilities in this particular direction of investigating and devising remedies for agricultural defects, but for the present we have to refrain from criticism as it would be somewhat foreign to the especial matter we are dealing with. Coming then to the third item of the duties of the Agricultural Department, the Board dealt in its Resolution with the question under the following heads:—

- (i) The scope and course of enquiry which should be followed ;
- (ii) the number of experimental farms which will be needed now and in the future, and the programme to be adopted thereat ;
- (iii) the character of the staff to which these inquiries and farms should be entrusted ;
- (iv) the establishments (including European and Native assistants and inspectors) to be worked up to, and the cost of such establishments in the near and distant future.

Regarding the first point, the Board considered that a distinction was necessary between a general investigation of prominent agricultural defects which may and should be made throughout the country, and the more minute investigations which are the function of an experimental farm, in the former case, attention being from time to time concentrated upon one prominent defect ; in the latter, the working plan including the simultaneous trial of as many experiments as the Director guided by his advisers and by the

Imperial expert, might determine to be eventually required ; experiments being set on foot on the experimental farms for some years before the general investigation may be taken up.

Presuming that this view would be acceptable to the Madras Government, the Board of Revenue went on to recommend, in its resolution, that, as a scheme to be ultimately worked up to, eight experimental farms should be established—four in the northern and four in the southern half of the Presidency—each farm to be about fifty acres in area, and in connection with each a school or class to be established by the Educational Department. The Board also entered fully into the question of starting and stocking these farms, cost of establishment, initial and recurring charges incidental to the scheme, etc. ; but there is no need to enter fully into all these details, as the order of the Madras Government, which we shall presently refer to, put the whole matter into a nutshell.

The Madras Government on receipt of the report if the Board of Revenue, thought that the question of the organisation of the Agricultural Branch of the Department of Land Records being of great importance, the views of the Full Board of Revenue on the subject was desirable and called for them. The Full Board approved unreservedly of the resolution submitted for its consideration, and on the 14th of December 1900 the Madras Government passed its final orders on this most interesting and important matter.

The Government considers, in this Order, that for the present as an experiment two farms, one in the northern and the other in the southern half of the Presidency, may be started on the lines suggested by Mr. Benson and under his immediate supervision. These two farms are to be opened as early as possible during the next financial year, one to be near Bellary and the other near Koilpatti in the Tinneveli district. The items of expenditure for each farm are thus approximately estimated :—

				Rs.
Cost of land	...	...	...	2,000
Quarters	...	...	...	1,000
Shedding	...	...	...	700
Fencing	...	...	...	1,000
Stocks	...	...	...	700
Implements	...	...	...	300
Fodder shed and sundries	...	...	...	500
Labour	...	...	...	600
Well	...	...	...	1,000
Sundries	...	...	...	200

Total Rs. 8,000

The Government has made a provision of Rs. 25,000 for Agricultural Farms in the ensuing year's budget estimate, and has ordered that early steps may therefore be taken to select the sites and to make preparations for acquiring the necessary land, although no expenditure should be actually incurred till the next financial year.

The Bellary district in which one of these experimental farms is to be located is one of the most arid regions in the southern Presidency, its general aspect being a plain, devoid of trees, and broken at rare intervals by granite masses rising abruptly from the surrounding level of black-cotton soil. About one-nineteenth of the total area is barren land, including village and temple sites, tanks, and burning grounds and other unprofitable sites. The chief crops grown are *cholum* and *korra*, which constitute the food supply of the masses. In the artificially irrigated lands, rice and sugarcane are raised, and in gardens cocoanut, wheat, tobacco and other produce. Cotton is grown in dry lands, the *regar* or black cotton soil being always preferred. The forests of the district are poor and bare, though in the Sandur Native State, which lies within the district, they have a good vegetation, both on the slopes and on the summit of the plateau. The district has a very deficient rainfall, due obviously in a great measure to the absence of vegetation* which is required to preserve the humidity of the atmosphere and insure a sufficient rainfall. Drought and famine are therefore experienced from time to time, and it is on record that in 1853 no more than six inches of rain having fallen, a famine devastated the district. Such being the physical and meteorological features of the district, it will be deeply interesting to follow the career of the proposed experimental farm, which, if worked as such an officer as Mr. Benson will assuredly work it, will furnish us with proof of what man is in a position to do in the way of increasing the fertility of a region to which Nature, for reasons inscrutable, has been niggardly of some of her most precious gifts.

The District of Tinnevely, in which the other experimental farm is to be situated, is, broadly speaking, a large plain, with an average elevation of 200 feet, sloping to the east, in the direction of the thirty-four rivers which run their course within the district. In the north, the soil is nearly all of the black cotton variety, while to the south, red sandy soil prevails, admitting of the growth of little else than the palmyra palm. The banks of the rivers are fertile, and admit of the profitable cultivation of rice and a variety of other crops. There are numerous salt marshes along the coast, and they

are divided by sand dunes from the sea. The district has a forest area of 1,500 square miles, all told, some of the tracts containing magnificent and commercially valuable vegetation. Tinnevely is on the whole a fertile district, rice and other cereals growing almost luxuriantly in the productive river valleys, cotton being largely produced in the drier parts, while the palmyra flourishes in the almost rainless tracts of red sandy soil to the south. It will be seen that the location of an experimental farm in this district also amounts to an interesting experiment, the outcome of which will be watched very carefully by all those who concern themselves with the important question of the improvement of Indian Agriculture.

"CASUAL."

* Cannot planting trees and forests be fostered here by a system of rewards,—
ED. C. R.

ART. VII.—COLONIAL POLICIES : ASSIMILATION AND AUTONOMY.

THE above title is suggested by the article entitled *French Administration in Algiers*, which has already been published in this Review. The writer is evidently a man of great talent and presumably holds some high office in India. The important materials which he has brought forward are suggestive of several grave questions. I wish to say a few words on one of them. But let me mention at the outset that I do not speak of any rights of the native population of India. The question of colonial policy is big enough to be considered apart from our own political outlook.

"The end and object," we are told, "of the French Administration of Algeria the Mission of France in North Africa is to the French summed up in the word 'assimilation.' The colonists are to be assimilated to France, and the natives are to be assimilated to the colonists. Algeria . . . is to become part and parcel of France, and its inhabitants of all colours . . . and creeds are to be fused . . . into the great French nation. . . . The French are fond of pointing to the work achieved by the old Roman Empire in the same field. . . . They say. . . . Algeria will. . . . be a part of France as Africa and Numidia were parts of Rome. . . . Among the local officers this ideal is often ignored or disowned. The possibility [of it] is not ever present with them. . . . any more than the possibility of 'granting autonomy to the Indians affects the current duties of our merchants and magistrates in India. . . . But among those who guide the general duties of the country the end which is kept consciously or unconsciously in view is always this same ultimate absorption of Algeria into France."

This French ideal at first sight seems to be very attractive. But the writer has adduced facts enough to show that, for practical purposes, it is impossible and hopeless if not absurd. I would not dwell on this branch of the subject. But I should like very much to hear what my own countrymen may have to say on the other side and by way of exposition of the doctrine of the Queen's Proclamation in India. The views of the colonizer and those of the native are expected to differ both as to end and means in respect of assimilation. The writer speaks from the colonizer's stand-point as matter of course. Where the native desires the French ideal he ought to be prepared with a psychological scrutiny to support him.

On the other hand it strikes me that in spite of the short-

comings of the French ideal the last word has not yet been said in regard to the comparative merits of the French and English colonial policies. Indeed it would seem as if we were at the threshold of still more important suggestions. There was a difference between the Greek and the Roman colonial systems. I do not venture to draw any parallel between ancient Greek and Modern British colonial systems. But the claim of Pax Britannica in India does not necessarily establish that the British colonial system accords with the methods of Rome. History, it is said, repeats itself. But as in the revolutions of the screw there is in history always a propulsion in the line of least resistance. And the practical question is whether the British or the French modification of the Roman policy, as they are presented to the world, has, at all, attained the state of perfection.

The British nation now claims to furnish the most successful colonizers in the world. I believe little or nothing has been charged to the finances of the State in England for the vast Empire which Great Britain now holds. It is perhaps to this envied fact that we have to attribute the continental criticisms against British character. The commercial basis of British Imperialism is undeniable. It is open to question whether commercial success is perfectly congruous with Imperialist character. But France, it appears, has gone to the other extreme and does not care for any pecuniary profit at all. Earth hunger however is not necessarily innocent when it fetches no pecuniary profit. Assimilation may cost the Algerian more than what is drawn by England in money from India. England claims also no small amount of public magnanimity in having given up various portions of her possessions, *e.g.*, the Ionian Islands, Dunkirk, Heligoland, Corsica, Java, Cuba and other places. But England has also had to go to war for the United States, and it is not to be gainsaid that the Union of Ireland itself does not come up to the French ideal in Algeria. And Mr. Jamison's adventure show how very popular it was with large sections even when deserving of unqualified condemnation from the judicial authority.

As compared to Spanish policy, and even to that of Holland in Java, there is no longer any question that England has made a great advance. It is to be hoped the religious views which were once associated with the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems have now been completely renounced even at the Vatican. France again has no claims of Algerian description upon the citizenship and loyalty of the French States in Canada. Whereas the Englishman claims to carry his flag and citizenship wherever he goes. And in Alsace and Lorraine it does not appear that there has been any proposal for France to find the where withal and get transplanted into French soil

that portion of the local population which is disaffected to the sovereignty of Germany. The loss of the land it seems rather than that of the population touches France most, next of course to the memory of the defeat and the strategical points of defence. But in Algiers France spends some 8,000 francs for every family which she settles on the land (p. 41). Before any settlers are moved out of France the Algerian Village has to be fairly built up upon the European model with roads, provision for drinking water, town halls, schools, wash-houses and churches (p. 40). The population excluding the army, numbers at some 270,000 French (p. 30). France spends annually on Algeria a good deal more than she receives from it, and it is estimated that Algeria has cost the Home Government from first to last not less than 150 millions sterling (p. 35).

These are very telling facts, and it is not at all clear whether the learned writer wanted them to point a moral. But important duties are here set down as being owed by a Republican Government toward such of its subjects as are forced by adverse circumstances to be taken to emigration. The French Revolution has changed the politics of Europe for ever, though France, herself, may not have recovered from all its consequences Napoleonic and Bismarckian. And it is not for an Indian to carp at the generous colonial policy of France. We are told almost in so many words that the subventions are incurred because some 15,000 Frenchmen leave France annually and because the French Government wants as many of them as can be availed of to go to Algeria so that they may not cease to be Frenchmen at all. Elsewhere he says:—

“Before proceeding further I would say a few words on the character of the colonization which the French have effected in [Algeria]. It is a colonization of a different character from that with which we are acquainted in our colonies. It is not a mere spontaneous movement of population from one environment to another. It is an essential part of the work of assimilation which the French have set before themselves in Algeria: a duty which the French, as a nation have undertaken, and which they are eager not as individuals, but as a nation to carry out.”

This ethical view of the matter is striking to say the least. It may of course be sneered at by some, and especially on the ground that the theory of assimilation is impracticable. But it is a superstition to think that matters will right themselves without any centralised guidance. France may go on blundering; but the lessons which her life furnishes are not to be neglected. Our own fate is so tied up with that of England that however coldly she may treat us, we

cannot afford to disconnect ourselves from her affairs. I do not share the sentiments of those among ourselves who without being aware of the French experiment in Algeria talk—may think—of an assimilation of Indians with the men England. The mild convulsion of the Ilbert Bill has had an important effect upon their views and generally upon Indian Society. The theory of assimilation is now taking new shape with us. A good many travelled Indians have been taken back into their Indian societies. Some of them have renounced all thought of assimilation in the matter of dress and other things. And a Hindu revivalism has appeared on the stage—for what effects no mortal man can say. On the other hand, if the policy of the British colonists or semi-colonists in India has undergone any change, the principles of that new departure are unknown at least to the native population. Possibly our Anglo-Indian fellow citizens indisposed as they are to formulate their views, expect us to draw our inferences, as they often draw their own, from the social atmosphere. But since the truth has now been stated in this Review, it must be felt at least that assimilation being out of the question the native and British-born subjects of India cannot draw in the same sort of breath. So that there is need enough for mutual explanations. Obscurantism may be unavoidable at times, but at any rate it must be reserved for exceptional cases. There is absolute danger in the visible growth of mutual suspicion between class and class in this country.

Everybody knows how the British colonial policy led to the Declaration of American Independence, and then to the strained feelings between the Englishman and the Yankee. It does not therefore require much to draw from these facts a parallel with the delicate questions which arose the other day with the levying of the cotton duties and in connection with the Suakim charges and Egyptian expedition to Soudan. These delicate questions arose all within the sphere of the British colonial policy for India, and it may ever be said that they generally cover the subject of all colonial autonomy. It is the colonisers' interests alone which the English people seem to care for. But that would be taking only a superficial view of the question. The account of the French policy in Algeria suggests by way of contrast as if there was a tacit understanding between the Government and the Colonisers of the British nation to spare each other as well in the matters of tribute or subvention as in any close scrutiny of the dealings with the native population. Consequently, there is room enough for misgiving and misconstruction on the part of all outsiders. The difficulties of the Indian political problem, instead of being simplified, have grown in magnitude, and are not altogether to

be measured by the utterances of the Indo-Auglian press or platform. They furnish no clue to many things good and bad which are unknown to the people themselves. The utterances however are really due to this same unsound policy of assimilation. That policy now looks absurd in Algeria. But all the same it exists in India, and has to be traced back to Anglo-Indian Society of at least an earlier date. On the other hand colonial autonomy as applied to India would not probably discount the native population as happens to be the case in the Territories of the United States. The native opinion on the Suakim charges was treated with cold reticence in Madras by Government after a questionable attempt at suppression. On the cotton duties question that class of opinion was probably given an undue importance in Calcutta. And upon the whole if there has been no obscurantist purpose against an understanding of the present British policy by the Indians, the facts surrounding the compensation allowance and simultaneous examination questions were sufficiently mysterious to give rise to noxious misunderstanding. The upshot is that the British Colonial policy may not quite dispense with something in the nature of a native autonomy. It promises to make an indispensable complement to the autonomy of the colonist or semi-colonist class coming here from Great Britain. And from this point of view it would become clear that in so far as the French ideal of assimilation in Algeria appears to be absurd, the fact is largely due to British experiences in India in the same line. But the two policies have to be put together. A line has to be drawn beyond which assimilation cannot and ought not to be stretched, and where the autonomous colony can tolerate a definite autonomy in the native population. And the problem is where to draw that line and how. Imperial Federation and Home Rule stand equally condemned with the French ideal of complete assimilation. The Roman Model is hardly sufficient, whereas the Greek and the Spanish models are out of date. On the other hand what policy is both sound and practicable, in morals as well as politics is not a matter to be left to adjust itself upon the Darwinian method by the interaction of the colonists and the natives. The ethical question is not altogether quixotic after all.

One immediate lesson may be drawn from the Algerian experience. It is neither safe nor wise to overdo the destruction of their religious views and practices with the native population. Religion may not be treated altogether as a fad. One of our Indian assimilators seems to be mad for battering down the Hindu religious endowments. Government was discreet enough to give him a snub once. But my friend is at it again. And thanks to the obscurantist policy of to-day it is

impossible for one like the present writer to make out how many wheels are in motion and who is really responsible for this bold assimilator's over-zealous efforts against the Mohunts. However here are the Algerian facts. The French assimilators there have been quite undeterred by public opinion against the disendowment of religious establishment by Henry VIII in England and by the Revolutionists of 1789. The disendowment of the Mahomedan Church in Algeria has been prettily shown up by the sort of allotment which is made by the French Government to the several sections of the people. The figures for 1891 as given in this Review make out the following proportions, upon which any remarks would be feeble for their superfluity.

	Money grant.	Population.
Christians	... 76'75	12
Jews	... 2'125	1'25
Mahomedans	... 21'125	86'75
	100	100

By way of counterpoise, however, we are informed that the Mollahs of Algeria are outwardly decorous, but the more fiery spirits indulge in informal outpourings at out-of-the-way places, and in a manner so as to cause to the French their "greatest difficulties." Religion counts for much in the government of Oriental peoples. For them the martyrdom of Jesus is as shocking as are the executions of Louis XVI and Charles I.

In the threatened scramble in India for the loaves and fishes of the Hindu religious endowments the losing party is certainly not likely to keep quiet, or get crushed for ever. And if autonomy of the colonists alone be not quite sufficient for the purposes of British colonial policy, the blind rage of the Indian assimilators must be supplemented or neutralised by a wisdom which is beyond their reach. If the revival of Buddhist literature in Europe can have led to the revival of claims to the Temple at Gya, it is only some foolhardy Indian assimilators who can hope to shake their fists with perfect impunity at the Mohunts. They have had a long history behind them of which these gentlemen seem to know so little, although they care so much for their misconduct and also their valuables. But altogether it is a most strange story that when the greatest intellects have to pause between a theory of assimilation and one of autonomy in colonial policy some of our own countrymen here have no doubt in their minds at all that "the dumb millions" of India are being assimilated to the demonstrationists of Hyde Park.

JOGENDRO CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. VIII.—EASTER MORNING.*

BY G. GEROK.

Translated from the German in the measure of the original,
by M. R. Weld, M.C.S.

1. EASTER DAWNS.

The earth in the night's arms is sleeping,
In Heaven still glimmers each star,
Still the Easter Angels are keeping
Their motionless vigil afar;
The dawn breaks not yet, for which sad hearts are sighing;
In the tomb in the garden the Lord yet is lying.

Lifts not its wing yet lightly
The wind of the morning chill?
Grows it not brighter slightly,
Eastward by yonder hill?
The mist of the morning seems trembling and lifting,
Its grey convolutions are swaying and shifting.

What heavenly witnesses yonder,
Forth from those grey folds lean,
Still, as in reverent wonder,
Till morn's first light be seen;
Waiting and watching as brother by brother?
Death is the one named, and Life is the other.

Now dawn in the East is breaking!
Now swift through the brightening gloom
They fly at the Lord's call, taking
Their post by his empty tomb,
To tell the disciples, who wait events sadly,
The glorious tidings of Easter gladly.

Dark Angel of Death! be thy warning
Tender to him who must die:

* We insert this piece for its literary excellence; though it is appropriate also for this April (Easter) season.—Ed., C. R.

In the golden light of the morning
Kiss thou his lips and fly,
Bearing him up from life's toil and sore sorrow
To the glorious light of the heavenly morrow.

Bright Angel of Life! full plainly
To him who shall yet live say,
"See that thou live not vainly
In the light of this Easter Day:"
So Easter on earth here or there high in Heaven,
More life yet or death, each for joy shall be given.

2. EASTER'S SUN RISES.

Christ is risen. The Lord is our king!

Where are the traces of the new morning?
Himself where is he, who dead was deemed?
The Prince of life where? His kingdom where?

Spreads not around the Earth of yesterday?
Hangs not above the sky of yesterday?
Do not men strive without as yesterday?
Beats not my heart within as yesterday?
Threat not below the graves of yesterday?

Christ is risen. The Lord is our king!

He raised mine eyes up to the new dawning;
With new eyes see I the sky above me.
Through the cloud-screen torn asunder
I, His child, behold my Father,
And up there for me a mansion prepared.

With new eyes see I the earth around me.
In spite of all powers that would stay it
His footstep most holy to victory goes.
Gird up thy loins then, not vainly strivest thou in the Lord.

With new eyes see I my fellowmen here,
For whose sake died He, and now is risen.

Since which His brethren became my brethren
The true elected of God's own kingdom.

With new eyes see I into the heart.
Off is the mountain of guilt that pressed it ;
And with spring's vigour the new life blossoms.

With new eyes see I the graves around me ;
The dust of earth there shall rise up heavenly.
Sleep well—till morning.

Christ is risen. The Lord is our King.

3. EASTER'S WOMEN.

Come women, speed ye ! the new wonder heed ye !
Ask ye who rolled back the door stone for you ?
Dark night of sorrow gives place to glad morrow,
Now that the Saviour liveth anew.

In life well belovéd each true to him provéd,
Followed Him, stayed by His cross till He died,
Watched in the garden as sepulchre warden,
Yours the reward of devotion long tried.

Mother ! thy sadness is turned into gladness,
Thou hear'st again to day " this is thy Son."
Mercy transcending, life's path trod He, wending
From the manger His way by the cross to the throne.

Bethany's Mary ! turn not to where He
Late slept the death sleep ; thy sorrowing eyes
Raise them to Heaven, greater things even
Doth He than bidding thy brother arise.

Magdala's Mary ! com'st thou to where He
Lay ? see'st thou beckon the gardener's hand ?
Hear'st thou His greeting ?—Fall at His feet in
Great joy !—'Tis thy Master before thee doth stand.

Women of Easter ! none of you ceased her
Service, through need through dishonor found true ;

Our hearts grow firmer to bear without murmur,
Since, that Love strong as Death is, is shown us by you.

Women of Easter ! you first released their
Hearts from despair, bade men lift up their eyes
Hopeful to Heaven, to you 'twas given
To learn the joy first as faith's holiest prize.

Women of Easter ! through you increased are
The beauties of meadows and gardens to-day ;
You brought the tidings !—stay our backslidings—
To God's own garden show us the way.

4. EASTER'S DEAD.

To sleep in God ! thrice blest it is to-day ;
Soon as the eyes close what ensues ? The prize
Is won, a heavenly body for this clay ;
The soul from bonds to blessed freedom flies ;
As balm for parting pain we softly say
" We meet again ; in Christ we shall arise."
With tender Easter green the grave is bright,
Death lends but wings to scale the heavenly height.

Ye loved ones there ! why are ye called the dead
Who ever happy drink of life's clear spring ?
Ye sick ones here, rejoice if with light tread
The messenger come, blest relief to bring.
Bereavéd ones, who, sorrowing bow the head,
Lo ! the void place is filled by Christ the King,
So cast three clods into the grave and say,
" Life, love, light," for the loved one past away.

5. EASTER'S FLOWERS.

Ye fade not like the chaplets on tombs poor mourners lay,
Ye rise again in glory like Christ on Easter Day.

The joyous cowslip carries her golden clusters bright,
First seen in bloom at Easter, like lamps of living light.

The anemone peeps shyly, 'mid brown leaves sere and dead,
Her snow-white festal garment bordered with rosy red.

Free sheds her wild-wood fragrance the purple violet,
That, with her dark-hued vesture, seems half in mourning yet.

Wild hyacinths their carpet of deepest azure spread,
'Mid the dim woods recalling the hues of Heaven o'erhead.

Meek daisy in the grasses ! dear oracle of love,
Token of love unfailing of God in Heaven above.

All in a flowery garden they laid Him in the grave,
But now He lives, the wide Earth shall be His garden brave.

6. EASTER'S MEN.

Went two disciples sadly faring
Together through the fields at eve,
Tidings had come, which their despairing
And fainting hearts could scarce believe ;
And as they communed, One drew nigh them,
Who heard and taught them, walking by them,
Till their hearts burned in them ; but, who
He was, till parting, neither knew.

How many a worthy man, pursuing
His calling duly day and night
With honest labour, striving, doing
What duty bids with all his might,
To find his Lord still on is pressing,
Yet never nearer seems the blessing,
Though for long time, near, full in view,
Christ has been by, if but he knew.

Another, leaving the broad highways
Where worldlings throng in concourse dense,
Goes seeking through untrodden by-ways
To find his Lord, in search intense :

Despair oft waylays him to blind him,
Whisp'ring " 'tis vain ! thou canst not find Him, '
While at his side his wanderings through
The Saviour walks, if but he knew.

So on with trustful hearts, untiring
Whate'er befalleth by the way,
Nor Earthly joy nor gain requiring
To gladden our fair Easter Day
When we see won for us a treasure
Surpassing what man's thought can measure ;
And if hearts burn, think on the two
Who walked with Him, while neither knew.

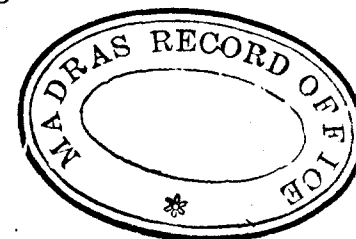
Faith knows Him, God's own gift most glorious
By the world's doubts all undefiled,
Which, over Death and Grave victorious,
To God the Father leads His child.
Though evil's storms may loom and lower
No blast shall blight that Easter flower,
If Christ's dear hand, for thee pierced through,
To the new life thy heart renew.

Love knows Him, true Love ! ne'er refusing
To help the brethren in their need,
Ever the blessed spring-time choosing
For sowing holy Easter seed.
Oh ! well it is for him who knoweth
To follow where Christ's footstep goeth
Through the wide fields, with insight true,
Seeing that He hath risen from the dead ?

7. EASTER'S CHILDREN.

Up, children, in garden and meadow for you
From Heaven's blue spaces, see angel hands strew,
For little girls flowers, full of beauty and sweetness,
For little boys butterflies, bright in their fleetness ;

At Easter.



"Come catch me, my boy," says the fish in the stream
 And the butterfly as he flits by like a gleam ;
 Hums the cockchafer, "tell me my name I beseech thee"
 "Sing, child," cries the bird, "my sweet song I will teach
 thee"

At Easter.

Come, boys, hunt for spoils through the sunshiny hours !
 Come, girls, and weave wreathes of the beautiful flowers !
 And the bright Easter eggs, of all colors, to fête you,
 All ready upon your return, shall await you,

At Easter.

Heaven reigns upon earth on this bright Easter-day,
 In the little ones' innocent hearts at their play :
 Yes the children below here, the bright angels o'er us,
 And the sunbeams and birds praise the Lord in glad chorus

At Easter.

M. R. WELD.

ART. IX.—SOME SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THE close of the nineteenth century marking the termination of an era in our government of this large continent, entrusted to our care by an Almighty Providence, has been chiefly remarkable for progress connected more especially with the social condition of the many and diverse nations that populate the vast area of India. The chain of conquests and the subjugation of foreign lands and tribes is always one of the many signs that speak of a nation's growth. The mere fact of continuous additions to the territories of a mighty power is proof positive that that power is certainly not on the decline, and that the innate knowledge of its mighty strength will draw all latent forces to the front and will compel all inferior things to give way before the onward wave of expansion. Territorial acquisitions speak in terms too plain of a nation's brute force (if we may so call it), but social expansions and social internal revolutions are witnesses, none the less true, of the spiritual and moral backbone which alone can supply the fibres and tissues by which great military deeds are achieved. In this mighty continent of India, our administration has been the means of introducing radical ideas regarding justice and the rights and duties of fellow-men to each other. Our rule has been marked by the extermination of savage rites such as the most savage nations on God's earth only possess. The prohibition of suttee, thuggee and other germane atrocities has inculcated the notions of justice and freedom which alone can guarantee a future social and moral growth. We have now reached a stage in our administration of this country when the voice of duty calls to us imperiously to herald the way to internal revolutions of a social nature, which, if unheeded, will only be a precursory admonition that we are unworthy of the important trust a Merciful Providence has given into our charge. The last social change, and one that will be the most complete, is the overthrow of caste—a matter which, at the present moment, is in the dim future of possibilities, with only this certainty that at this epoch it is absolutely impracticable. And yet all our foreign and European civilization has only one tendency, which is undermining slowly but only too surely the base of that great Indian Juggernaut, which is at once a mighty blessing in the attendant good which it brings in its train and an overwhelming course which drains the life-blood of Indian social life and deprives it of every tissue that might work to produce a homogeneous and united whole. Acknowledge it, if we will, or if we will not, the impulse of a growing

and a more enlightened Christianity is producing in the peoples of India, the germs of a revolution which, when accomplished, will cause this vast continent in all its utmost length and breadth to quiver to its very foundation—and then with a mighty bound the prospects of Indian and Oriental civilization and culture will, with caste overthrown, rush on to the attainment of an excellence, which we, in our enlightened portion of the globe in Europe, will be fortunate if we can rival.

Of the three distinctive and characteristic social developments of the latter portion of this century with which we, as a governing nation, are connected, the first is the organization of medical aid to the suffering women of the higher castes and nobler families of India. Female medical aid to all classes is a great boon, but its consummation is reached in the application of it to all women, who by national customs are forbidden to engage in the society of the outer world; and by making this system self-supporting, in that, native female doctors are being trained up on all hands to continue the work begun we have reached as near the perfection of our ideal as is possible for the time being.

The second factor in the social condition of India is one to which we frequently try and close our eyes, as if, like the proverbial ostrich in the desert, we can hide from ourselves the vast and illimitable possibilities which are now looming in the future, from the steady and indomitable pluck displayed by the National Congress. The rise in England of a democratic spirit was one which received the censure of all the aristocratic and powerful families, which had till that time held the reins of Government in their own hands. But the rise of democracy, together with the accompanying knowledge, spread broadcast through the nation that the commonalty was the true back-bone of English power, was the day-star which marks, and will for ever mark, the introduction of true freedom and true liberal principles after the reign of the Dark Ages—with the rise of democracy is closely connected the rise of protestantism, freedom in spiritual matters, abhorrence of all semblance of tyranny, and a clear and searching examination into all the details of administration and the consequent abolition of abuses. Similarly in India, we may find what fault we will, with the National Congress, but with the spirit which has brought the Congress into being and which is its true motive power, we cannot but remain in admiration. That is the spirit which has made England what she is—which made a Cromwell wield the bâton of power, which helped men to brave the Inquisition and the terrors of an *auto da fê*—which has made sovereigns stand in awe of the surging masses whose representatives have claimed the privilege of resisting tyranny and of bringing to light all the hidden things of darkness. That

is the spirit which is the true moving power in the world and *vox populi vox Dei*, when received as the motto of the Indian nations, will produce a revolution which will upheave all that is evil and bring to light all that is good. This attainment is at present far from realization, but let us not forget that it is only a question of time—the transition will and must come.

The third phase of social development is the one which deals with the health and sanitary interests of the people and is embodied generally in the policy of the extension of a complete system of water-works and drainage to all the chief towns in the different provinces. This is, of course, only a provisional measure, and in process of time we shall see all towns in all districts supplied with the benefits and advantages possessed at present only by the larger cities. This is an innovation as remarkable as it is important. Considering how recent has been such an introduction of sanitary measures into England, it is a subject of admiration how zealous the Indian Executive has been to introduce all the blessings of European domestic civilization into the homes of the Indian citizens. A century ago such a proposal would have been ridiculed as the essence of folly, but the latter half of this nineteenth century has been favoured with the opportunity of attempting to achieve what will, when it has been fully developed, prove to be a source of infinite blessing to all the inhabitants of towns.

Thus far we have allowed ourselves to view the progressive stages by which India is working out her destiny and to congratulate ourselves upon the substantial assistance we are affording her in pursuing the direct course which leads to the same goal, that we are travelling towards in Europe. Amidst all these causes of self-approbation there is a danger that we ought as Englishmen to avoid, and it is our very devotion to duty that in many instances blinds us to the wisdom of the old proverb that "Charity begins at home"—we may, and do devote ourselves and our highest talents in the interests of the material progress of the Indian citizen, and it is only fair to put forward as a fact that, whatever our personal feelings towards any of the inhabitants of this continent, whether of kindness and disinterested affection, or of callousness and the selfish desire to hold ourselves aloof from interference in all that vitally concerns them, yet, when any plain duty has been assigned to any officer, however humble his appointment in the gigantic system of Indian Administration, his thorough devotion to the fulfilment of orders is a certainty that none would be so bold as to question. However we forget ourselves—we forget that although India's calls require immediate and unstinting attention, we ourselves are a large com-

munity for the most part dragging out our period of service as in place of exile. India has attractions; but it has draw-backs—a loss of European friends, separation from families, pecuniary troubles, loss of health, and frequently all too sudden a death. These are the obstacles which every devoted and loyal servant of Her Majesty has to contend with, and though there are alleviations to the dull monotony of life, yet the iron too often enters into the soul and embitters all that is fairest in human nature. The question as to the manner in which we fulfil our duties to ourselves, is one that deserves the closest attention of every observer. Do we extend to ourselves the benefits that we so freely lavish on an alien race, and are we not only too apt to forget that the work of a single European in this large country, cannot be adequately compared with the work done by even the ablest of the natives. Each European is in himself a model of the outcome of Western civilization and points the moral of the infinite possibilities attainable in India. For us Englishmen the presence of each European in this country is an extra guarantee to the maintenance and stability of our power. Therefore, we cannot be too cautious in the measures we adopt to alienate or to ingratiate every fellow-countryman, and regarding the matter from the most selfish standpoint of our own material interests, we literally cannot afford to trifle with the genuine material by which our administration in India is carried on. It is a short-sighted policy that speaks fair and acts foul—that raises hopes and casts down a life's hard worn ambitions—that incites in the bosom the cancer which eats to the very vitals. Our supremacy in India depends upon our own strong arm, tempered with a merciful consideration of the aims and aspirations of the natives of this continent—but chief and foremost we must have sterling merit among our own countrymen. We must watch with anxiety what is imported and what is fostered in this country. The raising of financial difficulties, the diminution of stipends that are all too hard earned in a distant exile, the failure to extend the advantages already possessed by natives to ourselves, such as the introduction of a water-supply into cantonments, when the adjacent native city is already enjoying the luxury, the blighting of a life's cherished prospects by an attack on, or callous indifference to pension rules, are all dangerous experiments which show no tangible result at the present, but may lead to unenviable complications when young India relinquishes his leading strings and flinging aside the restraints that have hitherto held him, rises to compete and vie with Western civilization, and, may be, in the exuberance of his new-fledged liberty, to flaunt himself in the eyes of his European conqueror.

C. A. SHERRING, B.A. (Camb.), C.S.

ART. X.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from January 1900, No. 223.)

CHAPTER VII.

1889.

THIS year witnessed the apogee of the two melodramatic personages, Boulanger and Parnell; men very dissimilar in character; yet alike in having risen to very high power and still higher hope (which they proved unable to carry to final achievement) and not less alike in premature ruin and death.

The Frenchman became really formidable to the constitutional authorities of his country, by means of money supplied to him by political intriguers, among whom my friend, Philippe VII, was grievously suspected of figuring. But the Republic took heart; and, being prosecuted criminally, the brave General retreated and came to Jersey with his fair friend Mme. de B.

As will be found in the ensuing pages, that Island continued one's centre (though radiation took place). The visits to London were pleasant and fairly remunerative; and there were excursions for lectures—by invitation—to Oxford and Brecon.

In Home politics there was little doing; the public mind was much occupied with the protracted sittings of the Parnell Commission. I saw less of the distinguished Society at the Athenaeum, using the Saville in Piccadilly during short visits to London. I was a good deal in the company of Mr. Hawkins of S. Bride's, and of his since distinguished son.*

January, Tuesday 8th.—An answer from the Editor of the *N. B. Dicty*, to whom I had written about the relations of Nuncomar to Warren Hastings, and how he would wish them treated in the biographic article on which I was engaged. Had the satisfaction of learning that he quite thought it would suffice to refer briefly to the evidence, leaving the main discussion of details until one came to treat of Sir Elijah Impey.

Wednesday, 9th.—Called to-day in Douro Terrace, where I met the Rev. S. V., a London Vicar, and evidently an earnest man. He said the East End was improving and expressed a strong faith in "Local Option."

Saturday, 12th.—Called on Père Mourier, Rector of the Jesuit Seminary, which I remember a "Grand Hotel" in 1868, when we were going from Guernsey to Paris. It is now of

* Known so well in England and America as "Anthony Hope," author of "The God in the Car" and inventor of modern duologue.

course quite refitted and applied to the purposes of a monastery, with a school attached, where many cadets of good French families are trained for their army and navy. The Rector is a typical Jesuit, of the severer class, who lent me Regnier's Satires under promise of secrecy. The Library is a vast collection of old books.

Wednesday, 16th.—Read "Anna Karénina" which poor Matt. Arnold prized so highly. It seemed to me an artless work—but if fiction be an art this is not praise. The scenes and characters, that is to say, are irrelevant, so that one hardly feels in presence of an integrated whole. But as an album of photographs it produces a memorable impression; showing a Semi-Asiatic Society, where all the men are jealous and all the women justify the jealousy: *naïveté* and kindness going along with an amount of frankness that is very rough.

Monday, 28th.—Amiel's *Journal* with Preface by Edmond Schérer.* The diarist appears as a sad example of the shortcomings of perfection. Had he been less fastidious he would have been more useful; escaping the sterility which now blights him, like our poet Thomas Gray in the last century. This is indeed the Nemesis of criticism, when a really superior man is always on the look out for something to blame, until he is surprised in mid-career and the Night cometh, wherein no man can work. It must be sorrowfully admitted that many do this who have not the same grounds for a noble dissatisfaction. Amiel's nature was sweet though morbid. Fixed on self-study his attention seldom wandered to mankind. So with his politics; he did not love Democracy, but he might have thought of what it warranted off. Filled with a just sense of his own distinction, he scorned the notions of equality on which he imagined Democracy to be founded. Yet he was aware that, in the long run, only what is just can prosper: if Democracy permits itself the ideal of a false equality, yet a demand for justice is implied which saves it. It is false, no doubt, to assume that human beings are born equal; but the democrat is not wrong when he claims for all, equal chances; the inevitable distinctions of Nature ought not to be accentuated by artificial usurpations. That is the injustice which Democracy forbids, and so becomes the antidote to privilege. So true it is that "we cannot understand an idea unless we understand its antithesis."

February, Friday, 1st.—Pascal—borrowing from an earlier author—says that "God is to be conceived of as a circle of which the centre is everywhere and the circumference no-

* AMIEL, Henri Frédéric; born at Geneva, 1821, educated in Prussia, a Professor in his native place for more than 30 years; *d.* 1881. E. Schérer, also at one time a Professor at Geneva, was a distinguished Critic; *d.* 1889.

where," such a circle as I, for one, cannot conceive. But the word "*concevoir*" was used in those days—as by Descartes—in a less scientific sense than that which we attach to the corresponding word in modern English. In fact a modern English philosopher once scandalised orthodoxy by declaring that we could not conceive God at all.*

Friday, 15th.—Reading Demogeot on French literature, was struck with his remark on the dislike of writers for the school immediately preceding. Something in the same way as border-nations regard each other. In the days of Shelley and Keats the Pope-School was anathema, while they were very indulgent to Spenser and held Chaucer in adoration.

Saturday, 16th.—Calling at Longueville Manor met an interesting old travelling Scottish Minister; a great talker who retailed chesnuts and required total silence for their reception, but otherwise agreeable and even interesting. In this case surely, it is not more blessed to give than to receive. There is a lot to be learned from an intelligent wanderer's prosing.

Monday, 18th.—Finished Daudet's "L'Immortel," a work showing deterioration of scope and skill. The author seems bent on competing with the lowest of the so-called Realists; but he is really worse than they in that he pumps up the filth which with others flows in a spontaneous drain. As in "Sapho," one finds an unpleasant cynicism in the calculated coarseness of one capable of better things. It seems as though the views of literature on either side of the Channel made an irreconcilable parallax. With all their apparent optimism and their immeasurable superiority in artistic form and *technique*, French writers seldom care for the ideal. Their Muses live in a Palladian palace backed by rim parterres, with the front upon a bustling street. Ours inhabit a Gothic castle; looking, on one side, towards a misty range of hill and meadow; bounded on the other by a dark expanse of cloudy sea. Napoleon spoke of the two nations as Rome and Carthage. Such analogies are hard to sustain; but at the present moment England seems more like the Rome of Juvenal in its relations to Greece.

Saturday, 23rd.—To Col. H.'s† where the Lieutenant-Governor read a paper on military aspects of the French Revolution. He raised the often-debated question whether times of crisis produced great men, or *vice versa*. May not both views be right?

March, Monday, 11th.—Began a course of Lectures on the

* Dean Mansel (1820-71) "The limits of religious thought." *Bampton Lectures* for 1858.

† Lt.-Gen. C. B. Ewart, C. B., Royal Engineers; a Crimean veteran.

Literature of France.† An interesting subject to the writer; but how about readers? Or hearers?

Saturday, 30th.—Over to Southampton, a pleasant voyage. Received hospitably at S. Bride's.

Sunday, 31st.—A Philistine congregation at S. Paul's, about 2,000 well-dressed persons and—so far as could be seen—one artizan. Music magnificent: Sir John Stainer says Gounod told him it was the finest in Europe. In afternoon went to some studios: saw a lot of good colouring. Clord and H. Jones dined, and we had a pleasant evening in the good Vicar's study.

April, Monday, 1st.—A batch of candidates of the familiar type. Returning to the Vicarage dined tête-à-tête with A. H. who then accompanied me to the Globe Theatre to see Mr. Mansfield's Richard III. An intelligent and careful rendering not overlaid with costume and scenery. The house was anything but full.† *Richard* is, of course, not one of Shakespeare's mature works; and the period is incurably ignoble: think of the principal public men; Louis XI., Edward IV., Ferdinand the Catholic, and Pope Alexander VI. Shakespeare hardly brings out the special selfishness of the period, crepuscular between barbarism and civilisation.

Friday, 5th.—At Saville. Mr. G. Balfour suggested that the Authors' Society should offer a dinner to French writers this season and get Lord Lytton to take the chair.

Sunday, 7th.—Morning pleasantly passed in walking along the embankment—a blessed change from what one recollects of this part of London. Lunched at Saville, then called on Mrs. Lynn Linton and the Sandars at Queen Ann's Mansions. Every service at S. Bride's, where a Prebendary of S. Paul's gave a common place sermon of the forcible feeble style. Mr. Turpin, as usual, played the organ nobly.

Monday, 8th.—Called at the Vicarage of S. Philip's, Stepney. Rev. S. V.—mentioned as having been met in Jersey—is a wealthy man, married to an energetic and charming lady; and they are doing great things in Whitechapel. He is rebuilding the church—mainly, I believe, at his own cost; and he has thrown out recreation-rooms of all sorts at the back of his parsonage. The male parishioners accept all that he does to brighten their lives; on condition, however, that he is not to ask them to come to Church.

Thursday, 11th.—Accompanied A. H. on a visit to the Stuart Exhibition: very interesting. It is difficult to account for the

* Afterwards published in Murray's "University Extension Manuals." *Literature of France*; 1892.

† Mr. M., a young American actor, at that time of much promise, played the tyrant ably; especially in the wooing of the shrewish Lady Ann.

attraction exercised by that family. There used to be a tale of Macaulay, on his famous stay at Windsor Castle: he was looking at a portrait of King James II whom his Gracious Hostess called; "My unfortunate ancestor, Mr. Macaulay!" "Your Majesty's unfortunate predecessor, Ma'am" corrected the Historian. M., at least, did not share the hypnotism.

Sunday, 14th.—Back to Jersey; after an ideal passage.

Tuesday, 16th.—Lectured, to a (locally) distinguished and friendly audience of about 100, on literary aspects of the French Revolution; what writers produced the movement and what writers did the movement produce.

Friday, 19th.—A horse chesnut in blossom: cut asparagus in our garden.

Monday, 29th.—Extension lecture by a Mr. Mallet.

May, Thursday, 9th.—Humphrey Godfray sworn in as Greffier of the Royal Court: a deserved preferment.

Tuesday, 14th.—Heard that the dinner to French authors was fixed for 3rd July; am asked to be a Steward.

Wednesday, 15th.—Invitation to lecture at Oxford on August 3rd.

Monday, 20th.—To Gouray where we saw some shots fired by 20-lb. Armstrong guns at 1,200 yards range, at moving objects—supposed to be boats attempting a debarcation; would have liked to back the boats. And indeed no modern attack would be made in that way; but the enemy would drop shells into the town till it surrendered.

Wednesday, 29th.—Finished "John Ward; Preacher;" a very sympathetic tale with considerable power as to character and description. It gives one a pleasant notion of Yankee rural life; honest, amiable, and not much narrower than rural life almost always must be. The beliefs and manners remind me of an old Bostonian lady whom I knew in early days; only, about her, there was more mental independence, and perhaps less amiability. The religious tone not very different from that of "Robert Elsmere;" as if the orthodoxy retained in Protestantism had ceased to have much hold upon the author.

Thursday, 30th.—A pleasant excursion with family; very fine day. Shock of earthquake at 8-15 P.M.

June, Monday, 3rd.—A few strawberries-ripe. Weather lovely.

Sunday, 9th.—Read a sad article by Mr. F. Greenwood, in Knowles's *Review*; subject, the Poor of London. He seems to regard their case as almost irremediable. What he says of the increasing sympathy of the more comfortable classes, is consolatory, and marks a difference between our condition and that of Rome under the Cæsars. It is, however, a dark analogy that remains; the decline of Rome began when the

Empire expanded beyond its normal powers of defence, and the rural districts were depopulated. The lines that Johnson put into Goldsmith's "Traveller" have been derided ("Princes and peers," etc.); but no greater danger can be imagined than a dwindling defence spread over an ever-expanding surface.

Thursday, 13th.—Mr. M.'s last Extension Lecture at the Town Hall. Audience thinner than ever. The course has been good; but the demand for that kind of instruction has to be created in Jersey.

Monday, 17th.—Reading Boileau by the help of La Harpe; what an artificial product! But then all art must be artificial; though indeed this need not be so very evident.

Tuesday, 25th.—The brightest of weather. The Bailiff's garden-party, well-managed, and a pleasant gathering. Struck with contrast between Father Mr. C. and the Jesuit Rector. I fancy the secular clergy are more men of the world than the regulars of whatever order.

July, Monday, 1st.—Crossed to Southampton in lovely weather but contrary tides; not reaching my London lodgings till half past eleven at night.

Wednesday, 3rd.—The Authors' dinner; not a success so far as French writers' attendance went; for the only men of letters from France were M. M. Yriarte and "Max O'Rell;" which is much the same as if, some years ago, Pinnock and Albert Smith had represented English literature in Paris. Lord Pembroke* was a handsome and effective Chairman, and Lady P. wore some sparkling jewels. Besant and old Sala† spoke, as they always do, most ably; and I had a pleasant neighbour in Sir John Stainer.‡

Friday, 5th.—Great heat, with N. E. Wind. Pratt called at the Saville and we walked together to Temple Bar.§ He is the same generous enthusiast that he was at 20. Dined with Lord—and afterwards with him to the Criterion Theatre where he had taken stalls. The play was a revival of Tom Taylor's rococo farce "still waters run deep;" but the cast was good; and Mrs. Bernard Beere's costumes were gorgeous. Amusing "gag" of a comedian named Blakely; the guests at a suburban villa waiting for dinner were willing away time by the usual desultory talk; and B., as an elderly gentleman, had asked a younger member of the company after his uncle

* George, 13th Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; son of Sidney Herbert, or Lord Herbert of Lea (whose statue is in front of the War Office in Pall Mall). The Earl died in 1895.

† G. A. Sala, well-known journalist: *d.* 1895.

‡ Sir J. S., Mus. Doc., Prof. of Music in Oxford University.

§ Hodgson Pratt, life-long Champion of Peace and Good Will among men.

and been told that the gentleman was dead. After some other attempts to start a conversation the old man turned again to the other and asked him—as if it were a new subject—the same question that he had asked before; "How is your uncle, Sir?" And as he was a little deaf and listening with a great air of attention, the young man answered in a strong Cork accent—"He's still dead Sir."

Saturday, 6th.—Went to Norwood with Gen. N. A great crowd at the Crystal Palace to see the Shah of Persia for whom fireworks were to be let off. H. M. sat in a box on the upper gallery, the only thing we saw of him being a reflected light on his spectacles. The commissariat broke down, and it was not until 9 P.M. that we got a scrap of cold meat on the roof by corrupting a waiter.

Tuesday, 9th.—Lunch with Gen. N. at the East India Club in S. James's Square; meeting Dr. D. who, having begun life as a Magyar conspirator with Andrassy and Kossuth, had come to be Civil Surgeon at Simla, and was now a retired British officer living in a suburb of London.

Thursday, 11th.—Lovely day, wind veering to W. The season a little waning; but the show of female beauty and virile manhood, well-groomed horses and well-appointed vehicles, made the Park in the afternoon an almost overpowering spectacle. How is it to end, this plethora?

Friday, 12th.—A thunderstorm cleared the air and relieved the pressure on people's heads. Lunched with H.s in Portland Place: blue blood in a kindly and modest shape. Took A. to the Haymarket at night, to see "Masks and Faces," an old-fashioned play, artificial rather than artistic. Mrs. B. B. dashing and effective, and Beerbohm Tree very graceful.

Saturday, 13th.—To Q. A. Mansions; called on Mrs. Toynbee and the Sandars* Wm. T. and Miss H. acted a neat little duologue, by Theyre Smith, called "A bad quarter of an hour."

Sunday, 14th.—To Cumberland Gardens, to call on Miss Swanwick.† Met Mr. A. B., M. P., and his wife (widow of poor Lionel Tennyson whom I had known at the India Office). Dined at S. Bride's, meeting Duffield.‡

Wednesday, 17th.—H. and son dined with me at Saville. To the Court Theatre, much amused with Mr. John Wood in a farcical piece called "Uncle Jack."

* Sandars, T. C., was a lawyer, scholar, and journalist of well-known ability.

† Miss S. was a good scholar in Greek and German, and interested in female education.

‡ Duffield, A. J. Man of science and letters; translated *Don Quixote*, *d.* 1890.

Saturday, 20th.—A gathering at Cumberland Terrace; the hostess, with her pleasant smile and air of intelligence reminded one of the godmother in a fairy tale. Several people one was glad to see, Mrs. and Miss Toynbee, Mr. Bosworth Smith, and two ladies who were jointly made known to me as "Michael Field."*

Friday, 26th.—Went with Gen. N. to call on Major Yeldham † He was hard at work on political calculations and correspondence, so we did not stay long. He has a staff of assistants travelling about the country doing election business for the new party calling itself "Liberal Unionist." This curious title really implies a combination that seems likely to absorb the old whigs.

Saturday, 27th.—Examining from 10 to 6-15, with interval for lunch during which I tried to cross S. James's and Green Parks to the Saville. There was a dense crowd about the Mall to see the Prince of Wales pass escorted by a guard of cuirassiers: H. R. H. being on his way to the Palace to "give away" his daughter to the Earl of Fife: ‡ I got through; and, on returning after lunch met the bride and bridegroom just turning into Constitution Hill: they were in a close carriage, but one got a glimpse of a pale, sweet face. The evening was stormy with the heaviest rain I ever saw in Europe.

Sunday, 28th.—Service at S. Bride's; Dean Vaughan preached on prayer. The substance struck one as perfunctory twaddle, but the language and delivery as beautiful as when G. and I heard him more than twenty years ago.

Tuesday, 30th.—Signed memorial in favour of Vizetelly §

Wednesday, 31st.—To Oxford, put up at King's Arms; the house had changed management and my cap and gown were missing: having been left there as a place of safety. Called on Thomas at Jesus.

August, Thursday, 1st.—Lecture by Poulton, tutor of Keble; very clever, but on a subject I should have thought ticklish, the audience being largely composed of lady-teachers and other spinsters: it went off very well, all the same. Dined with the Stainers; a pleasant evening, Sir John and daughter playing duets. On my asking what he thought of the piano-forte as an instrument he replied; "well, you see; it is the

*This was a name assumed by two maiden ladies, Misses Bradley and Cooper, who published some fine dramatic work in those days.

† Known in India as "Alif Cheem," author of "Lays of Ind." at that time employed, as election-agent, by the Liberal Unionists.

‡ Created a Duke for the occasion.

§ Mr. Henry V. once a journalist; sentenced to imprisonment, in extreme old age, on a charge of publishing improper books.

family orchestra." Wells sate with me at the Hotel till bed time.*

Friday, 2nd.—Moved into College, rooms having been kindly assigned me there. Summer, meeting; lecturer in the schools: called on Morfill. Dinner at Wadham, Crowder, Shields, and the resident Fellows. Much pressed to remain up for the Vacation.

Saturday, 3rd.—Lectured to a good audience. Afterwards a long talk with Mrs. Ross† and others, asking questions and showing intelligent interest.

Sunday, 4th.—Back to Jersey by "Dora" from Southampton: 288 passengers on board; sea rough.

Thursday, 15th.—Reviewed Trotter's "Dalhousie" for the Academy. It is sad and strange to look back on the days that are no more, when we were small figures in the back ground of a historic picture. T. is a bit of an enthusiast; no man could be such a consummate combination of hero and angel as his ideal Governor-General is made out.

Saturday, 17th.—Ad. Al. Dora, and self to theatre, to hear Brandram, who recited nearly the whole of "The Merchant of Venice," with much judicious variation of look and accent. ‡

September, Saturday, 28th.—A letter from University Extension Office saying that the lady who is Secretary for the Brecon Committee had addressed him to the effect that they would not have my French Literature Lectures (for which I had been engaged). The Oxford Secretary, however, suggested that I should go to Brecon with my course on Indian History. I wrote thanking him for his courtesy but not closing with the suggestion.

October, Tuesday, 1st.—Reading H. W. Becher's Lectures with mingled feelings; amidst much of what one can hardly avoid calling cant he has wonderful flashes of sincerity. With an indolent public a popular preacher has to employ conventional phraseology as a medium of communication; but this man taught *Love*. His *English* is not impeccable; but a man of genius belonging to a foreign nation is surely not bound by all the academic rules of the old country; and there are every here and there in his discourses and writings words that would rouse the Philistine.

Asked by a lady if you could believe in the Founder without accepting the miraculous element, suggested that perhaps a pastor of the Becher type could do so by saying that, while he could not trust the narratives in detail, he felt sure that the Evangelists could not have invented the character.

* J. Wells, M. A., Bursar of Wadham.

† Sister of T. C. Sandars.

‡ Samuel, B. (1824-92), educated at Trinity, Oxford; and called to the Bar, but became a public Reader.

Let us above all things learn to love more and more; to love (if need be) without being loved, and to do good without asking for a reward. That seems the reasonable scheme: if you turn to the embraces of the world you are met by knife points. Live without stimulant; 'tis best for the soul's health.

Sunday, 6th.—A French friend proposes that Great Britain ("England" as he calls us) should call on all nations to disarm. I replied in the words of Alphonse Carr; "Que M. M. les Assassins Commencent!"

It is curious to trace the cause of the divergence between the national life of France and Britain the constituent elements of population being not very dissimilar. I would attribute it to the overwhelming influence of the Roman Empire on the continent, which here was entirely obliterated by the waves of Low Dutch and Scandinavian conquest that have poured over most parts of our Island, drawing in the Gaels and Cymry. Then of course the joining of our Third Estate by the minor baronage must have given it a strength which the corresponding class in France wanted. It seems certain that the ravages among the working people in the middle of the fourteenth century (due to the Black Death) were immediately followed by the entrance into the House of Commons of the Knights, and the combination of all employers, whether urban or rural, to keep down the wages of labour. It was a selfish motive; but of such is Progress.

Wednesday, 19th.—Reading history of Henry V. If his life and health had endured for another thirty years the House of Lancaster might have established itself in France, with England as a hostile annexe such as we have now in Ireland.

Saturday, 12th.—Reviewed Lady Login's book about Duleep Singh; showing some doubtful points in British action and the old moral of Sadi's story of the wolf-boy. Our treatment of him might not have been quite just; his repudiation of our power and religion was too violent a retort. His whole career was one of the tragedies of our time.

Tuesday, 15th.—In connection with my historic studies ran over the First Part of Henry VI, which one hopes has been incorrectly ascribed to Shakespeare. It looks as if that and other plays had been vamped up for stage uses, and his name used as that of a popular dramatist, when perhaps he had no more to do with the play than the Stage Manager. He might be consulted on certain points, might even have contributed a speech here and there to make a scene "go;" but the whole work cannot be his, unless his mind afterwards took on an unprecedented development.

Wednesday, 16th.—The fifteenth century was a terrible period; or say from about 1420 to 1520. The Society of

Western Europe was in a transition state: like a stripling of 18 it was conscious of new power yet swayed by mediæval traditions. It was the age of Malory, Caxton, Rabelais and Columbus; but also the age of Machiavel, Villon, Tiptoft, and Cesare Borgia. In England the outbreak of senseless slaughter was at variance with the national character and conduct at any other time. Of the houses of Lancaster, York, Beaufort, there was hardly one who was not brought to a premature end. Henry VI with his hereditary insanity* was hopelessly unfit to rule, or even to exist, in such a scene.

Thursday, 24th.—Conversation with a Bombay Chaplain who has given up orthodoxy, but is dependent on his position for bread for self and family. A hard case.

Tuesday, 29th.—Finished a study of Henry VIII, a bad man but a masterful statesman. Singular tenacity of parliamentary government under the Tudors.

Planned an educational work on history of the House of Commons.

November, Saturday, 2nd.—Accepted invitation to lecture at Brecon. Influences are not favourable; but it will give one an opportunity of seeing G.†

Tuesday, 4th.—Gnaist on the English Constitution shows deep research; but the pedantic hate of democracy must be discounted. He thinks our country on the eve of a great, and perhaps violent, Revolution because while "nights" are advancing "duties" recede.

Monday, 18th.—To Weymouth in a luxurious little boat, and summer weather. Changed at Westbury and Bristol, reaching Hereford at 9-15.

Tuesday, 19th.—Arrived at "The Castle," Brecon: received kindly by Mayor and Vicar; and lectured, to a large and indulgent audience, especially an old gentleman in the front row, who enjoyed a nice nap throughout. Was asked to come again and deliver my whole course (on Indian History) wrote report to the Oxford authorities before getting to bed.

Wednesday, 20th.—Visited the "Priory," a cruciform Church of the Decorated Period, one of the finest I ever saw. Some interesting old monuments. The Inn stands on the site of the old Castle where Bishop Morton was kept prisoner by Buckingham, *temp.* Ric. III. It was demolished during the Civil War by a clever municipality who argued that, so long as it was a place of strength, one party would certainly take possession and the other as certainly lay siege: by its destruction they hoped to keep out of the sphere of war; and they did.

* Was he really insane?—ED. C. R.

† Now Lt. G. N. S. Keene; then a pupil at Brecon College.
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Friday, 22nd.—A day at Bristol, looking over the Church of S. Mary, Redcliffe, associated with the memory of Chatterton, and pronounced by Queen Elizabeth "the goodliest Parish Church in her dominions." Of late years £53,000 have been spent on repairs, besides the addition of several good stained windows. To Weymouth in the evening.

Saturday.—Bad crossing, landed at 10 A.M.

December, Saturday, 14th.—To London *via* Southampton, for work at C. S. Exam. Put up at S. Bride's. Gas strike has collapsed, to general content: no sympathy expressed by people in third class railway carriage.

Wednesday, 18th.—After office went to tea at Saville, meeting Duffield, Grant Allen, and Clodd.

Haweis and H. Jones at the Vicarage; good dinner* and pleasant talk in the Library.

Thursday, 19th.—Afternoon at Deanery, Westminster. Examined cloisters, where Chapter-House is the original home of the House of Commons: might hold zoo. Met Mr. Woods, of Trinity and his accomplished wife.

Friday, 20th.—Went with H. to S. Philip's. Church nearly finished; a wonderful interior; Waterhouse *fecit*.

Saturday, 21st.—With H. to Mr. Haweis's at Chelsea; the Phonograph, a singular invention, of no practical value.

Sunday, 22nd.—Back at Jersey, Lord A. C. and other friends on board: calm but cold passage.

Thursday, 26th.—Borrowed Mr. F. Tennyson's poetry. As his illustrious brother told him, it "wants *technique*." He is older, I imagine, than the Laureate; and a believer in the occult.†

Tuesday, 31st.—No one sat up to welcome the New Year—the Traitor!

CHAPTER VIII.

1890.

During this year we left Jersey, and none of us has ever again set foot on the soil of that pleasant little land. Before leaving I sent a Farewell to the local paper; the opening stanzas being as follows:—

Farewell to Jersey! "Jewel of the main,"

Said Hugo—though I know not why he said it—

But, seeing that he wooed you all in vain,

His love was pure and greatly to his credit;

And, whether prompted by his heart or brain,

There is his ode to you, we all have read it:

* Rev. H. R. Haweis, the incumbent of S. James, Marylebone; author of "Music and Morals," etc.

† F. Tennyson survived his tuneful brethren; living and—I believe—dying in Jersey, where I knew him slightly.

Your love for him, indeed, was well dissembled
When all your sons with indignation trembled
Because he made remarks about the Queen,—

Or Pyat did and he must needs excuse it—

The Island's "loyal;" what the word may mean

I hardly know, but hope they do that use it,
It costs them nothing: if a thing's not seen

Or felt, we still may keenly hate to lose it:

So (being an exile from the French dominions)

He went to Guernsey next, and stuck to his opinions; *

Yet sang of thee, fair Isle, thy granite boulders,

Thine ocean foaming to a stormy sky;

He called the sea and rocks "a pair of scolders,"—

A curious phrase—you think perhaps I try

To raise myself by getting on his shoulders;

No frog becomes an ox, and how could I?

But this I know, the Island kept a Poet,

(Like Day and Martin) and we are made to know it.

[The rest was of more strictly local application.]

This year saw the fall of Parnell due to the decree of the Divorce Court (November 17) and the action of the non-conformist conscience exerted through that stern champion of righteousness, Mr. Gladstone. No immediate effect on British politics ensued: the "Unionists" continued in power under the Premiership of Lord Salisbury, but with what the old Tories regard with uneasiness as "Radical" tendencies. Indeed, it seemed to many that the whole programme of popular Government was now virtually realised and the rôle of the old Liberals played out. In that case the parties of the future would be wholly constructed.

Of the Channel Islands, in two of which I had now been a house-holder, I have spoken elsewhere—namely in the *Quarterly* and *English Historical Reviews*; and will only here observe that they are the only part of the empire in which, so far, the principle of compulsory military enrolment has been adopted. About one-tenth of the population is either under the colours or in the reserve.† Conversing with an Islander on this I expressed wonder at his countrymen submitting willingly to

* When driven from France by the *coup d'état* of 1852, Victor Hugo came to Jersey where some other malcontents also settled. One of these exiles, Felix Pyat, published some discourteous words on her Majesty Queen Victoria, for which he was sentenced to leave the Island: on which Hugo at once declared his solidarity with his brother exile, and had to share the sentence: he then settled at Hauteville, Guernsey, where I made his acquaintance in 1868.

† Corresponding to a Militia three or four million strong if the whole of the British Islands adopted the system.

the inconveniences of such a system, seeing that they were never likely to be called on to fight any one.

"C'est vrai," he answered; and then, as if recollecting something, added, "excepté tonjour, les Français."

So strong indeed is the hereditary hatred of this practically French race for the country of their origin that to call a man a "Norman" in Jersey is a cause of action, for which damages have been given by the courts. "Tues Normand et fils de Normand" is the traditional form of the reproach.

January, Friday, 24th.—Finished Bryce's book on the United States ("American Commonwealth") and an excellent book I found it. One feels that he sees two dangers threatening our cousins; one, the "spoils" system, by which so many offices are distributed on party lines that the whole Civil Service must be dislocated ere it has had time to become efficient; the other the competition for voting power among the various states which has ended in giving citizenship to a crowd of foreigners who have hardly become naturalised.

Some of the ladies here are a caution; but

His tenderness to women still must be
The measure of the manliness in man.

Monday, 27th.—Read "The Princess;" a fine instance of workmanship surpassing matter; in that respect resembling "Paradise regained." The author stands far above all his contemporaries in point of Art:—

Who, seeing all the problems of his time,
Touched them with magic light, and made them seem
Transparent, to the woman and the clown.

Thursday, 30th.—An interesting talk with the apostate Chaplain; a man who causes much compassion in one's mind. He says the local clergy will hardly return his salutation in the street.

Such rancorous passion lives in heavenly minds.

February, Tuesday 4th.—Finished Fitzpatrick's book on Daniel O'Connell; a collection of the Liberator's letters with some biographic notes. D.C. evidently sympathised with the sufferings of the misgoverned peasantry of Ireland, and foresaw the agrarian agitation of our day. But he loved peace and was a loyal subject; as true a Briton as Edmund Burke. His plan of Federal Union (sketched in 1844) is given in the Appendix to Vol. II, and it is a wise and thoughtful paper. If it could be carried out it might satisfy all reasonable Irish aspirations, while freeing the Imperial Parliament from troublesome members. It would not, however, win the support of professional politicians.

Thursday, 6th.—Heard on good authority that the Laureate

was "not an orthodox believer," though he shrank from writing anything to shock or unsettle.

Thursday, 13th.—Called at Government House. The L.-G. told me something of the dispute between Sir W. Napier and the Court in Guernsey (1842) and showed me some of the papers. The hero was wrong-headed.

Friday, 14th.—Oxford Extension writes asking if one would lecture in the West of England for six months; had to say No, unless it was made remunerative.

Wednesday, 19th.—Finished *Syllabus* of Lectures on the House of Commons; there is a good deal of matter in it that has not been hitherto focussed; but people may say that—on such a subject—what has never been undertaken has never been required.

Tuesday, 25th.—Read J. A. Symonds on Shelley. He seems to agree with those who regard Genius as a form of epilepsy; or, at best, a hypertrophe of some organ at the expense of the rest. S. had the germ of great powers, which were, however, sacrificed to Idealism. Even as a Poet, he might have had more force if he had gone off on a less unprofitable path. He was not wholly wanting in objective skill and his language was often perfect; but his gaze was too constantly fixed on clouds and rainbows.

March, Tuesday, 4th.—Tennyson's new volume shows unwearyed *verve* and skill. The shadow of the funereal cypress seems to lie on the work, brightening the remaining lights. The tone is thus rather solemn than sad.

Friday, 7th.—The C. S. Commission encloses for my information copy of a letter they have received respecting alleged incidents of the last exam. Adding that "they are quite aware how grossly misrepresented" such things are apt to be. Replied, pointing out how misconceptions may have arisen.

Tuesday, 11th.—Read the last of Gouverneur Morris, a most interesting man; born when Yankees were still British subjects and having a brother in the Royal Service, he was a good sample of the old aristocratic colonists who resisted the King as Manchester and Fairfax, Pym and Hampden did a century-and-a-half earlier. A little fussy about matters that did not much concern him, and not free from fatuity in his relations with women; above all strongly opposed to democratic claims. He informs us that his colleague A. Hamilton was distinctly in favour of a monarchy. But the people of the United States took the settlement of that question into their own hands. M. saw the difficulty of having a monarchy that should be at once efficient and popular; but the people there can always secure the advantages of a temporary despotism or dictatorship, as they did, towards the close of the Civil War, in the case of Mr. Lincoln.

Wednesday, 12th.—The Commissioners acknowledge my note of the 7th and express themselves satisfied that I "had been entirely misrepresented."

Tuesday, 18th.—Passed an afternoon hour with Miss L., a bright old maiden lady, who practises music, painting, and letters; she is rather enthusiastic than accurate: attributed a saying of Plato to Lessing yet had never heard of the latter's book "Laoköon."

Finished Mrs. Marshall's "Life and Letters of M. W. Shelley"—not ill edited though a little incomplete. Mary was a genial female creature who did one indiscreet thing at sixteen and suffered for it forty years. Her almost unbroken penance was caused or deepened, by the universal misconduct of her male friends, from her Micawber of a father to her incalculable Ariel. The son seems to have done his best towards the end; but the story is most sad.

Sunday, 23rd.—Came over by Southampton yesterday. To-day dined and slept at S. Bride's. This bit of the City very quiet, and thanks to the embankment—very airy. House well-planned, by Mr. Champneys.

Monday, 24th.—At office: the young men will not study my subject, yet are indignant if not allotted good marks.* Went to stay with the V.'s at S. Philip's.

Wednesday, 26th.—With Mrs. V. to Tudor Exhibition; fine portraits by Holbein. Great folks in those days blond, even to the Spaniards: the type seems dying out.

Sunday, 30th.—To church at S. Philip's: noble interior. A curate occupying the pulpit, Mrs. V. came out: and I judged it allowable to imitate the Vicarress. We found an old man looking at the unfinished building; who, to Mrs. V.'s invitation to come in and see the inside, answered, "No, I thankye Ma'am: they're all going over to Rome." He added the information that he had seen the first stone laid of the previous church, which V. has entirely demolished to make room for the present building: this was in 1818; and he said that the ceremony was performed by the then Duke of York (F. M. the Bishop of Osnaburgh).

In the afternoon with Mrs. Ross and hostess to see the pictures at S. Jude's; a good show intelligently observed by a number of working people.† At night to S. Bride's Archd. Sinclair gave an excellent practical sermon.

April, Good Friday, 4th.—Played billiards at Athenaeum; Herbert Spencer, P. Calderon, R. A. and others. To S. Bride's

* The subject was Indian History and Geography; it has since been expunged from the curriculum.

† Mrs. Ross, a clever lady, widow of V.'s predecessor and sister of my friend Sandars. S. Jude's under Rev. Mr. Barnett.

in the evening; sermon by Archd. Cheetham who afterwards came to dinner. I was reminded of Goethe as I sate between the two "Prophets."*

Sunday, 6th.—With A. to call on the Calderons, in his nice apartments at Burlington House. He showed us his new painting—a fine glow of colour.

Wednesday, 9th.—Working at a short notice of my great grandfather for *Dict. N. Biog.* Can't get much information yet.

Sunday, 13th.—Got home after a rough passage, 9 A. M.

Saturday, 19th.—Played billiards at Club with Captain N. A medley of a man, full of ideas but with the credulous simplicity so often met in seamen. He expressed a firm belief in ghosts, and also in the Israelitish origin of the English race.

May, Thursday, 1st.—A silly article on India by F. P in *N. R.* It seems impossible for any one who has not been there to take a sane view of the subject.

Friday, 2nd.—Finished "Correspondence of Lord Grey and Mme. de Lieven:" they were a curiously-assorted pair. The lady may have been a sort of intriguer, the gentleman high-bred but probably not difficult to hoodwink and deceive. On the whole she does not seem to have had so much the advantage; but in the end Russia got the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and we had no Ambassador at St. Petersburg for some two years; a small economy which did the Russians no harm.

Thursday, 8th.—Lovely weather; garden forward. *White* predominating; apple, pear, hawthorn, lilac (though of course all with pink variations) strawberry, pease, guelder-rose add to the pure brightness; there is even a white magnolia.

Tuesday, 13th.—To Lady O.'s box at Theatre to see a play of the Fenian order, much relished by the audience of this "loyal" Island. It must be annoying to Irish malcontents to find that their very rebellions cannot be taken seriously.

(*June*) After the usual trouble, inventories, packing, etc., we moved from Jersey, where we have been kindly treated and have made many friends, French, English, and Islanders. We settled at Upper Norwood, and found more amusement, but a far less agreeable climate. London was within a shilling fare; and we all enjoyed the music, etc., at the Crystal Palace where also I found a Library of Reference and a Club with pleasant company and good billiard-tables. London was as usual delightful in June, the season at its height and weather delightful. Before settling I spent ten days in the

* With Lavater on one hand and Basedon on the other, he said—"Propheten rechts, Propheten links; der Weltkind indem Mittel."

Isle of Wight, in repose, with nothing worthy of record; except meeting a lady whom I had not seen since she was a gracious hostess in Mauritius forty-two years before. Among some pictures which a Jew was trying to sell at Ryde (under pretence of an Exhibition) I saw a curious attempt at comic *genre* by poor Haydon: the subject a sort of disturbance in a Debtor's Prison, with the title "Chairing the Member." I never heard of it again, and suppose it was hardly worth a place in the National Gallery, where they have better work of the same kind by Wilkie. I also saw something of Miss Genevieve Ward and her very agreeable brother who were staying at Shanklin.

July, Tuesday 1st.—Heard that B. S. had been asked to write an account of the services of Civil Officers in India during the Great Revolt. As I had already published a rather full history of the events I thought my informant—Col. Malleon—must be mistaken. Met Lord S. in Regent Street, who asked if I should be disengaged in September ("not for shooting").*

Sunday, 6th.—A wet week, ended with slight improvement. To S. Bride's for Church: 2nd London Rifles attended service with their Band, a noisy form of worship. Good practical sermon by the Vicar, with whom I lunched. Finished the day among old friends at Ealing.

Tuesday, 8th.—Authors' dinner at Criterion.†

Wednesday, 9th.—Pleasant afternoon at Saville, with Forrest, Duffield, Besant, E. Balfour, etc.

Sunday, 13th.—To afternoon Church at S. Philip's. Good sermon, by Harry Jones, on the Character of Saul. Supper at Vicarage.

Tuesday, 15th.—Some of the family went to the Palace where the Salvationists were to spend a happy day. Old Booth gave a discourse, which they liked very much.

Friday, 18th.—Called on Sir T. W. Trelyan, Lords T. and S., and Mr. Dudley Field‡. The whole week at *vivâ-voce* work.

Friday, 25th.—A little work at Office. The Oxford Extension asked me to have my lectures (French Literature) printed

* My book—"Fifty-Seven"—was published (W. H. Allen & Co.) in 1883. Mr. Sapte's undertaking turned out to have reference to a composite work on the E. I. College, Haileybury, edited by my old Oxford employer and friend, Sir M. Monier Williams.

† No record of the Chairman: could it have been J. R. Lowell? It was at one of these meetings that I heard him compare London's ceaseless roar to the "loom of time" in Faust.

in Murray's Series, to be edited by Prof. Knight of S. Andrew's.

Monday, 28th.—More *v. v.* work, and spent afternoon at Athenaeum with Sir W. Morgan, Sir R. T., Col. S., Mr. R. Holmes and Lord A. Churchill.

August Monday, 4th.—Club closed, for annual decoration and repair; we are guests at the United Service ("senior.") Great heat of weather.

Thursday, 14th.—A letter from Lord R. kindly enclosing introduction to "Central Liberal" Office, 42, Parliament Street, which being delivered led to enquiries whether one would go to Cheltenham and snooze the constituency in view to the next general election. As the constituency in question must be much influenced by retired officers and the tradesmen with whom they deal, and as such influences must be anti-liberal, I do not think that the undertaking would be one of much promise. Visited Mr. C. Bendall at British Museum, who was most courteous; but the information that I want does not seem likely to be forthcoming: it is in connection with work for *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

Concluded arrangements for printing historical educational works in India.*

Sunday 17th.—Took one of my daughters to Miss Lowe's.† They seemed mutually pleased. Met Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay.‡

Wednesday, 20th.—With A. H. to Bond Street to a sale of effects belonging to a well-known fast man-upon-town, at Messrs. Robinson and Fisher's. A dense crowd. The man had been known as "The Jubilee Plunger."

Friday, 22nd.—Planned my series: the *second* book to be done first; then the *first*, or Primer, as a sort of epitome No. 3 to be more in the way of a series of essays based on my Extension Lectures, in which whatever is of permanent value may be extricated from the accepted congeries of battle, murder, and sudden death which fills the greater part of the structure of Oriental chronicles. By "permanent value" is to be understood all that conduces to the central subject, which is no less than the progress of a vast and varied group of States and races towards a homogeneous whole.

Sunday, 24th.—Walking to see a friend at Lewisham encountered a tempest of lighting and rain such as I never remember in this country: reminding one of an Indian

* This was a series of short treatises for the use of Indian Schools published at Allahabad between 1892 and 1896, the proofs being kindly read by Mr. Harris Keene of the Finance Department.

monsoon storm. Such disturbances are, of course, not unknown in the British Islands: witness the fine description in Thomson's "Seasons" (*Autumn*) beginning—

"At first the groves are scarcely seen to stir."

Thomson is original in the eighteenth century, when no writer was expected to describe physical phenomena from first-hand observation.

Thursday, 28th.—Some of the family went to the Palace at 7-45, to see Messrs. Brock's fireworks. A quarter of an hour later C. came, to go with them (by appointment) at 8. It seems hard for ladies to be punctual: one or other here must have been wrong; and the result was that in the crowded grounds they never met.

September, Sunday, 14th.—Finished "French Manual," and put it together to be posted to Murray's.* Letter from Leitner, to ask one to be "Member of Central Committee" of International Oriental Congress, which I respectfully declined.†

Monday, 22nd.—Some one saying that it was difficult to account for the very great popularity of Irving, seeing that he was by no means an actor as to whom there could be but one opinion, it was answered that there was something Miss-Terry-ous about the matter.

Wednesday, 24th.—To Palace to hear Mr. Malden lecture on "Shakespeare's religion." It was very well done; and one quite understood that W. S. had to please his public rather than to express himself.‡ Many of the persons who attended his Theatre were somewhat indifferent to things of the spirit, and had been brought up as Catholics or in Catholic traditions. Indeed the Lecturer gave reasons for believing that the poet's parents had been of the old creed, while his daughter, Mrs. Hall, was a notorious Puritan. So that the whole story is a typical illustration of a great crisis in the nation's life; a transition-period in which the poet may have faced both ways.

Saturday, 27th.—Went in a hot afternoon to the Palace with two of the girls to hear M. de L. give a lecture (in the French language) on the literary aspects of the reign of terror. Having already worked at this I did not find him very instructive; though he spoke well.

Sunday, 28th.—Afternoon at Athenæum. Herbert Spencer said he considered Ruskin's reputation a disgrace to our age. Recalled Morison's phrase who once called R. an "arrogant

* "The Literature of France" (Univ. Extens. Series) London, 1892.

† Leitner, G. W. An able linguist, and founder of a Home for Oriental visitors at Woking. *d.* 1899.

‡ That may, and yet *puery*. We could say much on the subject, but it would run on to a dissertation.—ED., C. R.

capon." And I believe that Parisian critics think he has done irreparable injury to our national Art. I do not, however, see how this can very well apply to a gorgeous phrase-maker who has never laid down any consistent set of art-principles. He praised Turner for dwelling on the focal point of his landscapes, and he praised the Præ-Raphaelites for bestowing equal care on all their foreground details. Now, which did he mean to inculcate?

Since the above hasty remarks were penned the seal of death has been put on this remarkable man's reputation; and we have learned that he belonged to a class of which Count Leo Tolstoi is the living type. Men, that is to say, who influence mankind by a *prestige* of superiority rather than by any direct didactic method.

Tuesday, 30th.—To Charter-House, where the Rev. H. V. L. showed me over the old place: the remains of the Priory, the house where the Duke of Norfolk was betrayed in 1571, the still courts where the noise of Holborn and of Smithfield hardly penetrates, and where the old "cods" stroll about in their long black gowns. In the chapel lies the effigy of Sutton, the prosperous trader, under a painted and gilded canopy; memorable to posterity for his munificent benevolence. Was pleased to see Madison Morton.*

October, Saturday.—Asked to enlarge "French Manual." Kind offer of help from J. W. S.

Thursday, 16th.—Read Mr. Holmes on Indian Mutiny; the book shows good judgment and impartiality. Never says anything for the mere sake of saying it.

Wednesday, 22nd.—Correspondence with Hunter about a volume for his "Rulers of India" series.†

Monday, 27th.—Full moon, sudden fall of temperature (said to have been 14° of frost). What a climate!

November, Saturday 1st.—With M. de L. to Garnier's show, Cockspur Street. Illustrations of *Rabelais*; rather what is called "Realist."‡

Saturday, 8th.—A large gathering in smoke room at the Saville; Poole (S. L.) Clodd, Brookfield (C.) Hawkins, etc. Very enjoyable afternoon.

Monday, 17th.—Afternoon at Saville: E. H. told a curious story of the late Sir F. Pollock.§ Being himself the real author of the saying attributed to Sydney Smith (about caressing a tortoise being like stroking the dome of S. Paul's to please the Dean (L. Chapter), he asked Lady Holland if

* Author of "Box and Cox," which brought him £7,000, first and last. Became a "poor brother" in 1881, and died ten years later.

† "Madhava Rao Sindhia," Third Thousand, 1892.

‡ This Exhibition, afterwards closed by the Police, led to the usual sneers at our national hypocrisy.

§ P., Sir W. F., a Master of the High Court; *d.* 1883.

she meant to quote it as her father's in the *Biography* she was writing? On her answering that she certainly meant to do so, he asked "Did your father say it?" "Oh! indeed he did," she answered; "for I have *seen the tortoise*."

Wednesday, 19th.—Casting about for materials for my little monograph for Hunter I came upon a book in the India Office Library called "The House of Scindia." It was the work of an uneducated man of the name of Hope, and proves to have been written for the purpose of vilifying the British Government. It gives, however, some curious facts about later members of the dynasty, especially in connection with Lord Ellenborough.

Thursday, 27th.—A fall of snow; early season.

Friday, 28th.—Heavy snow.

Sunday, 30th.—Sunday lecture in Langham Place: Lyall; very thoughtful and well-delivered. Made him and Clodd known to each other, and went to C.'s to dine and sleep, meeting Wm. Simpson,* and Prof. Hughes, F. R. S.

December, Tuesday, 2nd.—Met Sir W. Hunter at Athenæum and conferred with him about monograph on *Sindhia*.

Monday, 8th.—Cold less severe than a fortnight ago. A goodish deal of discussion, with Clodd and others, of late, arising out of Weisman's very symmetric and plausible theory.† The result of W.'s distinction between germ-cell and body-cell is a curious analogy with certain primitive systems of law—e.g., that of the Hindus—according to the theory in question, ancestral property ought to be permanent and continuous; that which the head of the family may, from time to time, acquire being the only possession which is free and not subject to rules of succession. This, in some sort, corresponds to Weisman's conception of the non-heritability of acquired qualities. But the analogy may turn against him in his way. B. inherits A.'s ancestral estate but makes additions and improvements out of monies earned in the practice of a profession: when his heir comes into possession the property—though dealt with as ancestral still—is evidently not exactly *the same* that was held as such by A. and so on through the Alphabet. Similarly, the continuity of the germinal essence does not involve its complete identity. It is argued, indeed, that the influences of function and environment affect the individual alone, and not the species. But if so, how can we account for the extreme degeneration of so many animal and vegetable races in certain climates? A

* Mr. Simpson, R. I. Artist and correspondent of the *Illustrated London News* d. 1899.

† Mr. Clodd contributed an article on the subject to the recent edition of *Chamber's Encyclopædia*.

Hindu friend once laid his hand on my arm as an omnibus was halted opposite to us in the Bayswater Road; crying, "why, Sir, in this country the very horses are civilised." If, again, dogs all rose from some primal type, such as the jackal, whence the difference between the sky-terrier and the *paria* of the Indian village-street: or why, among European canines, does the pointer learn to stop short at his game while the greyhound rushes on it with open mouth?

Wednesday, 10th.—Reading "Childe Harold" attentively, found the same affectation and insincerity by which so much of Byron's best work is weakened; added to bad workmanship in too many places. Yet there is no little of manly eloquence, however lacking in continuity; and a conviction grows upon one that the author was better than he took himself to be, better even than he wished to be taken for by others. And the poem does not *dwindle*, on the contrary grows in strength and beauty to the end. To say nothing of the hackneyed and perhaps sometimes over-estimated stanzas on the ocean, the better Byron appears in the passage on Princess Charlotte, and in the whole tone of the Fourth Canto. In point, however, of mere workmanship there is nothing in any of "Childe Harold" to be compared with the "Vision of Judgment."

Friday, 12th.—Cold, frosty weather. Reviewed Malleon's volume on the Indian Mutiny, pointing out its merits which are great—and gliding lightly over faults. This is a grand object, surely, of criticism. A man does not undertake a big book out of merely selfish motives, and ought not to be treated as a malefactor.

Sunday, 14th.—Went in a day of intense cold to dine and sleep at York House, Twickenham, at present the property of Sir M. E. Grant Duff, whose guest I was.*

A fine old house on the bank of the Thames, once the residence of the great Lord Clarendon, whose grand-daughter—the future Queen Anne—was born there.

The host most kind and interesting. In the morning took a pencil-copy of the portrait of the great Madhava, or Madhaji, Sindhia, whose story I am telling in the Oxford series of which Hunter is editor.

Thursday, 18th.—Cold continues. At office all the forenoon; lunched at Athenæum, then back to *viva voce* work, and home by 7 P.M.

Reading Lowell's Critical Essays lately have been much struck with his good sense and witty language. Of Ruskin the writer says that he undertakes for general principles what are nothing but his own fluctuating impulses: certainly—

* G.-D., Sir Mount Stuart, sometime Governor of Madras:

except in his mastery of English—Ruskin has little in common with Lowell; and one fears that, if the former be more of a popular favourite, the advantage is due to anything but superior merit. My people love to have it so—*Papulus vult decipi*.

And so the year ended, in early, almost polar, winter; all the more depressing after Jersey: but the constant feeling that London was close by made a compensating stimulus: and, altogether, things might be a good deal worse.*

(To be continued.)

ART. XI.—HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY.*

“LET us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us” is the admonition addressed year by year to the members of Magdalen College, Oxford, on the day appointed for the annual commemoration of the benefactors of the College. And, now that old age and ill-health have forced Mr. Spencer to rest from his life-long labours, and the din of the controversies provoked by his system has almost entirely subsided, the time seems to be opportune for trying to form an estimate (however imperfect) of his services to enlightenment and of the debt of gratitude we owe him. Let us then recall to mind some few of the leading ideas begotten or fathered by this famous thinker, and see if they do not help us to reconcile what seemed utterly irreconcilable contradictions, and to clear the mind of a host of confused ideas, idols of the cave, of the tribe, of the marketplace and of the temple.

It will naturally be objected that Mr. Spencer's ideas have occupied the attention and taxed the capacity of the deepest thinkers of the last half century,—of men like Mill, Mansel, Martineau, Calderwood, Sidgwick, Huxley and Tyndall. What can a mere amateur have to say worth hearing? Here is a nimble essayist rushing in where experts fear to tread. The answer is that the subject is one which concerns the general reader as much as the expert, and that he must form some opinion on it with such intelligence as has been vouchsafed him, unless he renounces all thought about it. His opinion is probably not worth much, but here it is for what it is worth.

In his “First Principles” Mr. Spencer demarcates the boundary between the Unknowable and the Knowable, the respective provinces of Religion and of Science. “We are compelled,” he says, “to regard every phenomenon as a manifestation of some Power by which we are acted upon; though Omnipresence is unthinkable, yet, as experience discloses no bounds to the diffusion of phenomena, we are unable to think of limits to the presence of this Power while the criticisms of Science teach us that this Power is Incomprehensible. And this consciousness of an Incomprehensible Power, called Omnipresent from inability to assign its limits, is just the consciousness on which Religion dwells.” Again, “Though the Absolute cannot in any manner or degree be

* [True; but we don't agree with you about Ruskin (among other things.)]—
ED., C. R.

* A System of Synthetic Philosophy, 10 Volumes, 1860 to 1893. By Herbert Spencer.

known, in any strict sense of knowing, yet we find that its positive existence is a necessary datum of consciousness, that, so long as consciousness continues, we cannot for an instant rid it of this datum; and that thus the belief which this datum constitutes, has a higher warrant than any other whatever." The purely physical conceptions of Matter, Motion and Force, involve the assumption of this inscrutable Power just as much as the metaphysical conceptions of the Absolute, the Infinite and the First Cause. Thus then Religion and Science are at one in affirming the existence of an Omnipresent Power manifesting itself in the phenomena of the universe, but are at issue as to the nature of this Power. They agree in saying *that* it is, but differ as to *what* it is.

It cannot of course be said that this idea was an altogether new one at the time Mr. Spencer put it forward. J. S. Mill, one of the best informed and, in consequence, also one of the most candid champions of Science, had admitted that we invariably encounter an inscrutable mystery when we touch on ultimate facts. And similarly many of the better informed and more candid adherents to the opposite camp, *viz.*, the theologians known as "Broad," freely admitted the existence of a considerable amount of truth in the teachings of Science. In fact we may look back for many centuries and still find similar reciprocal admissions made by men of science and by theologians. Thus the great astronomer Omar Khayy-am wrote in the 11th century A. D.

"What launched that golden orb his course to run,
What wrecks his firm foundations when 'tis done,
No man of science ever weighed with scales,
Or made assay with touchstone, —no, not one."

And Laplace, the author of the Nebular Hypothesis, by postulating nebulous matter and an impelling force to start with, practically admitted that the source of matter and force was an inexplicable mystery. Similarly the *catena* of theologians' opinions given by Dean Mansel at the beginning of his "Bampton Lectures" proves that many of the ablest divines have not hesitated to admit that the real nature and essence of the Supreme Power is beyond human comprehension, and that men's notions regarding it, from the nature of the case, can never be more than approximations to the truth. But while it cannot be said that Mr. Spencer's contribution to the discussion is entirely novel, on the other hand it cannot be denied that he set forth his views with a degree of precision and definiteness never attained before, and enforced them with a weight of demonstration rarely equalled.

To the extreme men on either side Mr. Spencer's *eirenikon* was of course unacceptable. When a man has taken a line

and is flogging the other side with all his might, he is not pleased to be told to hold his hand and ask himself if all the truth is on his side and none on the other. To the man of science, who was nothing if not "positive," it was not pleasant to be told that he must reconsider his position, and that there were problems beyond the reach of microscope and scalpel, telescope and test tube. If a mere nursling of the outworn creeds had said this, it would have been of no account whatever, but to be told so by a man of Mr. Spencer's scientific repute was serious indeed. The effect of the message was of course not at once evident. But all who can recall the general tone and drift of scientific writings and current conversation on this subject in the sixties must recognise the marked change that has taken place. Science has, in a measure, now come to recognise the necessary limits of scientific thought. Even amongst the less cultured scientists we do not now-a-days encounter such crude and crass materialism as that formulated by Buchner, for instance, in his "Matter and Force." Has not some little advance been made towards the realization of Tennyson's ideal?

"Let science grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell,
That mind and heart according well
May make one music as before,
But vaster."

In like manner when we turn to the theologians we do not find the same imperviousness to demonstrations, the same unqualified *non-possumus* attitude towards science which distinguished them, as a body, in the sixties.* Secure in their main position, and assured that it has rational warranty profounder than was before imagined, the more enlightened of them have come to see that science is not so entirely a damnable error as many supposed it forty years ago. They have out-grown the primitive state of mind which found expressions in documents like poor old Pio Nono's "Syllabus." Many pronouncements of leading theologians, for instance the "Lux Mundi" of Canon Gore, give one the impression that "Colenso" and "Essays and Reviews" would now pass almost unchallenged.†

In one respect Mr. Spencer has added strength to the theological position. Dean Mansel, the great theological protagonist of the last half-century, declared that the existence of the Absolute was matter of faith, and was not demonstrable. Mr. Spencer on the other hand has shown that its existence

* We remember well the sixties, and went into both sides of the controversy, and can only say that it was the bare-faced and illogical assumption of the scientists of the day that led "theologians" to assume, and rightly, the attitude described above.—ED.

† We doubt it, we are neither "Broad," nor "Latitudinarian."—ED.

Is a necessary *datum* of consciousness, of which we cannot rid ourselves while consciousness lasts, and that consequently our belief in its existence has a higher warranty and rational basis than any other belief whatever. The great truth for which Religion has been battling throughout past ages, the existence of the Omnipresent Power whereby we live and move and have our being, manifesting itself alike in the phenomena of the external universe and in the mind of man,—this great truth is established not merely by the authority of a particular religious tradition but also by the most searching analysis that can be made of the processes and the products of human consciousness, and is found to be necessarily implied in the highest notions Science has formed of the physical constitution of the universe. The motto inscribed by the Egyptian priests on the temple of Osiris, "I am that which was and that is and that shall be, and my veil no man hath lifted up," may be equally applied to the Power affirmed by Mr. Spencer. Its veil no man has lifted up. The highest conceptions men can form of its real nature can never be more than faint approximations to the real truth. They are only "symbolical," or to use Mansel's expression, only "representative" truths. But as Mr. Spencer points out, the symbols in use at any time have an average adaptation to the mental conditions of that time and are thus relatively good if not absolutely so. Symbols we cannot do without, but it is more consonant alike with reverence and with reason to recognise their inadequacy, than to pretend that they are absolutely correct representations of the real nature of the Supreme Power.

Coming to the domain of the Knowable, Mr. Spencer enumerates those widest generalizations which hold good in every science alike, and which constitute the proper subject-matter of Philosophy, now that it has abandoned its old pretension to knowledge of absolute being. (*Ding an Sich*.) Perhaps the most important is the law of the Conservation or Persistence of force. The law that the quantum of force manifested in the phenomena of the Universe is, a definite and constant quantity, a quantity which, however, transformed from moment to moment, ever remains unaltered in amount and which is never, so far as experience shows, either increased or diminished by supernatural addition to or subtraction from its fixed amount. The principles of the Indestructibility of Matter and of the Uniformity of Law are both necessary deductions from this fundamental law, and it is the indispensable postulate of all co-ordinated knowledge or Science. For, unless like antecedents are invariably found to be followed by like consequences, and similar effects followed like causes, all prevision whether quantitative or qualitative,

of the course of Nature is obviously impossible. If the course of Nature is not orderly but erratic and liable every moment to unforeseen interruptions from without, Science is a chimæra and Nescience the only possibility.*

These ideas are so diametrically opposed to the ideas and sentiments entertained by most religious persons respecting the action of the Supreme Power upon the universe, that no surprise can be felt at the passionate resistance made to them. They can argue with apparent cogency that if the nature of the Power wherein the universe originated and whereby it is sustained, is so utterly unknown as Mr. Spencer affirms it to be, he is not warranted in setting bounds to its possible manifestations. The Uniformity of Law is, after all, nothing more than a generalization from experience necessarily limited and partial, and cannot be taken to be absolutely certain so long as the main factor in the problem, *viz.*, the nature of the Ultimate Power remains unknown and inscrutable. To this, Science can only reply that experience is the sole trustworthy guide, that it finds the invariable course of Nature to be uniform, and that all the alleged exceptions to this uniformity are unproved by adequate evidence. This of course will be vehemently denied, and so the great debate will go on probably for ages to come. The idea of Nature "fixed fast in fate" must always continue to be repugnant to the more emotional sections of humanity. Thus we find Schiller and Coleridge bewailing the decadence of "the fair humanities of old religion!" the Naiads and Dryads and the like, and Wordsworth, like the Jews who craved for a sign, exclaiming,—

"Great God, I'd rather be
A Pagan nourished on a creed outworn,
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn."

But on the other hand it must be confessed that there is nothing derogatory to the Supreme Power in the supposition that it may have imposed limits† on its own action, and that the course of the universe is ordered according to a regular and invariable process undisturbed by fitful and irregular‡ interruptions.

At this stage we come upon what is the cardinal principle of Mr. Spencer's system, *viz.*, the great hypothesis of Evolution. Seeing that this hypothesis is contested by eminent biologists like Virchow, it is only seemly that the words of a mere sciolist

* It may be so; and yet Science has not found the last word in regard to "ever," and "never."—Ed.

† The "limits" are consistent with universal and eternal action, but are these known to us?—Ed.

‡ "Fitful and irregular" are mere assumptions.—Ed.

on this question should be wary and few. But perhaps this much may be said without undue presumption that, just as in times past tentative and imperfect hypothesis, as for instance the hypothesis that the planets moved in perfectly circular orbits, are now seen to have been real advances towards the truth, there are grounds for thinking that the hypothesis of Evolution may turn out to be a similar forward step. No one who has read Mr. Spencer's volumes on Biology, Psychology and Sociology with adequate attention, can deny that this hypothesis serves to group, colligate and co-ordinate the multitudinous masses of facts on an intelligible principle, and to offer an explanation, always plausible if not always convincing, of their mutual relations. His work undoubtedly brings us a step nearer to seeing things as they really are. "Get to see things as they really are." This is just what that laughing philosopher, Matthew Arnold, and his young friend Arminius used to advise us to do in the sixties. "Put yourself at the centre of things and mark the direction in which things are going." Excellent advice if only we had been told how to set about it. Now Mr. Spencer has shown us how to set about it. With untiring industry and marvellous acumen he has examined the results obtained by numberless specialists, results of the wider bearing of which some of them had only a faint apprehension, and has shown how life does advance from the protoplasmic cell up to the most complex organisms, sub-human and human, how consciousness advances *pari passu* with increasing complexity of nervous structure from its roots in mere reflex action up to that manifested in men of the highest mental powers, and finally how the primitive man rises step by step to the condition attained by the most civilised peoples of the present time. Whether the whole of this marvellous process is accounted for, as he thinks, by the pressure and discipline of external circumstances, and the enforced adaptation of internal structures and functions to the environing conditions may be questioned by some, but the main fact that life has advanced in this order can hardly be denied by any candid reader. His work certainly shows how things *have* gone, and gives us a reliable clue as to the direction in which they are now going.

Take for instance the law of population, that hard law of Nature which shrieks against the popular creeds. Amiable enthusiasts tell us that this so-called law is a pestilent delusion. They dispose of the unpleasant facts by the short and summary method of commination after the example of the man who d—d the North Pole. This is not Mr. Spencer's way of dealing with the problem. He takes a comprehensive and exhaustive survey of the phenomena of life from the first physio-

logical unit up to the highest sub-human and human types, and lets the facts themselves tell of the constant struggle for existence through pressure of numbers and means of subsistence. And he shows how this very pressure was and is an indispensable condition precedent to advance and how in default of it mankind could never have emerged from the savage state. But his connected series of the facts brings out very clearly a hitherto unnoticed concomitant of the advance to higher types, *viz.*, that as the type rises its fertility diminishes. In the lowest organisms the fertility is enormous in proportion to the number of the progeny arriving at maturity. The mortality amongst the offspring of these lowest organisms is so excessive that the species would die out, were not a superabundance of offspring generated to counterbalance the excessive mortality amongst it. But as the type of organism rises the rate of fertility diminishes. And the presumption is, that this diminution of fertility will continue to progress concomitantly with the advancing evolution of humanity*. From the observed tendency of things in the past Mr. Spencer deduces a rational inference as to their tendency in the future. So long as the fires are kept up the steam generated will continue to expand and press more and more on the boiler, but in course of time a new safety valve or preventive check, over and beyond the present safety valves, may be expected to develop itself and help to avert the threatened explosion.

This progressive decrease of fertility is only one example of those marvellous adaptations of organisms to the external conditions in which they live which present themselves at every stage of vital processes. When we descend to the underlying strata of inorganic matter†, we encounter phenomena like chemical affinities and we see broken crystals immersed in appropriate solutions reforming their angles with mathematical exactness. And when we ascend to living organisms and mark how inorganic compounds are combined and recombined into colloid and other more complex compounds till we arrive at cells or physiological units. When further we come upon such marvellous adaptations of organisms to their environment as that, for instance, known as "organic polarity," by which the living organism is enabled to appropriate matter from the environment and mould it into its own form. When finally we see the faint reflex actions of the protozoa rising step by step with the advance of nervous structure to the consciousness of sub-human

* The gradation of types is one thing; and the "evolution of humanity" another. The latter has not been proved since the existence of Abraham, Pharoah, Euclid and Plato.—Ed.

† But these affinities are sure, true and unalterable, which rather cuts against the theory.—Ed.

and the developed intelligence of human beings, can we accept the hypothesis that it has all come about without design and intelligent direction? Mr. Spencer admits that the Supreme Power manifests itself in the mind, and can it be supposed that a Power thus manifesting itself, is devoid of mind? Our inability to frame adequate conceptions of that mind no more disproves its existence than our similar inability to conceive the Power itself disproves the existence of that Power. Mr. Spencer tries hard to state the facts in such terms as avoid teleological implications, but with all deference it may be questioned whether he has always succeeded. He constantly points out how this or that adjustment does subserve particular ends, such as maintenance of the individual or the race. And as constantly the reader asks himself whether it is conceivable that all this subservience of adjustments to results can possibly have come about without design?

Fifty years ago many positive philosophers asserted that Psychology was not a separate science at all but merely a branch of Biology. Feelings, volitions and cognitions were regarded by them as mere functions or secretions of the nervous structures, to be studied by the same methods as were used in studying the other vital phenomena, and by no other methods whatever. Mr. Spencer has destroyed this idol of the scientist cave. He has restored Psychology to the rank of a separate science and vindicated the employment of subjective analysis not to the exclusion of objective analysis and observation, but in conjunction therewith. He guides us through all the main problems of this difficult science pointing out at every stage the soul of truth in errors, and the harmonies of apparent discords. He traces consciousness up from its obscure roots and proves by overwhelming evidence that every advance in it, is accompanied by a parallel advance in the complexity of the nervous structures, and that lesions or total destructions of these structures invariably entail partial or total loss of the concomitant consciousness. But, it will be asked, does not this concede the whole position of Materialism? Is not this the very answer which the poet got when he questioned Nature,—

"The spirit does but mean the breath,
I know no more?"

By no means. Mr. Spencer goes on to show that Mind is at bottom, another manifestation of that inscrutable omnipresent Power immanent in all phenomena. The Materialist in asserting that Mind is never found apart from physical structures, is asserting a fact of universal experience, but when he goes on to assert that no other factor is to be traced in Mind over and beyond these tangible and visible

material phenomena, this latter assertion is at once baseless and self-destructive. In one department of enquiry he is denying the existence of that datum which he is forced to postulate in the other department.

When two different series of phenomena are found to vary concomitantly, as, for instance, the height of the mercury in a barometer varies with the weight of the atmosphere, the one set of variations may be legitimately used to measure the other set of variations, but it is not legitimate to infer that the former set of phenomena are the causes of the latter set.

The consensus of humanity, registered and evidenced by language, has condemned the Materialist view of Mind. The words *Atman*, *Psyche*, *Ruh*, *Nafs*, *Anima* and *Spiritus*, all originally meaning "breath," show that from the first humanity has tried to shadow forth its conception of an immaterial conscious something, within the body, by assimilating it to what seemed the most immaterial bodily phenomenon perceived, *viz.*, the breath. In course of time this vague conception was replaced by the more definite one of *Psyche* or Soul,—a separate entity implanted in the body at its birth and migrating into other bodies or into other worlds at death, the "*hospes comesque corporis*," as the Emperor Hadrian called it in his dying address to his soul. If Mr. Spencer, like Aristotle, is unable to accept this symbolical conception of the truth, we at any rate owe him a debt of gratitude for having demolished the arguments of Materialists against it. It is possible that he might view with less disapprobation such more abstract conceptions as those of the *Paratman*, or Aristotle's "Active Intellect" or "*Anima Mundi*" (*Nafs-i-kull*) the "*divinæ particula auræ*" immanent in every individual man. But, be this as it may, he has unquestionably rendered a great service to Religion by his general treatment of the subject.*

His verdict on the vexed question of "innate ideas" is not wholly in favour of either side. He thinks Locke right in denying that we have "innate ideas" in the sense of their having been divinely implanted in us, but declares his opinion to be, that we have many ideas and sentiments which, though *à posteriori* to the species, are *à priori* to each individual, those, namely, which are registered in the inherited nervous structures. Similarly he expresses the view that the scorn of Locke for the deductive method and the syllogism was unwarranted, since deduction in its proper place is indispensable in the conduct of philosophical enquiries. And finally he shows that of the opposing theories of crude Realism and Anti-realism, neither is wholly tenable. The Anti-realists were

* But the strongest argument is that of "design" as applied to the mind.—ED.

right in asserting the relativity of all knowledge, and the Realists in asserting the real existence of the external universe, in the sense that the Absolute and Omnipresent Power is the substratum of all phenomena*. Berkeley, he says, was not an Anti-realist because he took Mind to be the real substratum, while Hume did not really believe everything to be an illusion but only tried his best to argue himself into that belief.

What is the criterion or measure of advance of Intelligence? Mr. Spencer indicates a very definite criterion. He shows that intelligence rises in proportion as it combines the original presentations of the senses into representations and re-representations, and ideas more and more removed from the primary presentations, and that a similar rule applies to advance of emotions and sentiments. The ideas of young children and of adults of low intellectual types and limited experience never rise much above the sensations of the moment, and the impulses originated by such sensations. They understand nothing and care for nothing beyond the personal concerns of themselves and their co-mates. As intelligence rises, ideas take wider and wider ranges, ever increase in generality, and recede more and more from the purely personal. This canon or law of advancing intelligence is well illustrated by a comparison of Mr. Spencer's "Sociology" with the old "Histories" of nations. The old-fashioned histories are overloaded with details of battles and sieges, of the chicaneries of diplomatists, of the gossip of courtiers, of the looks and dress of this or that "great man," of pageants and ceremonies and the like. But Mr. Spencer's "Sociology" lifts us at once to a higher plane of thought. We breathe a more elevated and more rarefied mental atmosphere. And the higher point of view certainly seems to help us to see things more as they really are, to trace the real succession of cases and effects in the past, and to form sounder estimates of the probable course of human progress in time to come.

The conception of a science of Sociology, first definitely formulated by Auguste Comte,—the conception, namely, that the conduct of individual men and social aggregates of men is governed by invariable natural laws, and that like effects follow like causes in human affairs just as they do in inorganic objects and in all sub-human organisms, is a conception diametrically opposed to popular notions. The presence of the personal factor, the free play of human will, is almost universally held to negative the possibility of framing any scientific prevision of the course of human conduct. In his

* See note on "fitful and irregular" *ante*. If the Absolute Power is the substratum as He is—them all is granted.—Ed.

"History of Civilization" Mr. Buckle tried to meet this difficulty. He showed that although it is impossible to predict the conduct of any particular individual man in any given cause, owing to the impossibility of ascertaining all the antecedents of his action yet that the average conduct may be predicted; that on the average, like antecedent conditions entail like consequent conduct, and that hence a science of Sociology is possible.

Mr. Spencer, however, is the first who has ever presented this science in a coherent form. The amount of time and labour he has devoted to it, is simply marvellous. As a preliminary he had eight volumes of "Descriptive Sociology" compiled, embodying the relevant observations of countless travellers and historians. His observation has indeed surveyed mankind from China to Peru, and marked, sifted and digested every fact bearing on the problem before him. Finally we have his "Principles of Sociology," a work which all who have read it, whether they agree with its main thesis or not, must admit to be one of the most valuable contributions in aid of clear thinking which have been made in the last fifty years. No reader of ordinary intelligence can go through the book without perceiving that it has purged his mind of not a few confused and erroneous notions and braced it to see things more as they really are.

A story is told of a Londoner, hailing from Bayswater, who paid a visit to Calcutta, and, on returning home, expressed the opinion that there was no religion or politics in India. The ideas on those subjects accepted as self-evident in the philosophy of Bayswater seemed altogether ignored in the latitude of Calcutta. Now, as Mr. Spencer points out, this is just the difficulty which we moderns encounter when we explore the ideas of primitive men. Their thoughts are not our thoughts, and ideas which seem self-evident to us are not apprehended by them and cannot be expressed in their languages. Their ideas are limited to the visible, the palpable and the concrete and never soar to the abstract and the impersonal. If we attribute our own developed ideas to primitive men, we go astray, and on the other hand we also go astray, if we deny that they possess the rudimentary notions out of which our own ideas have been gradually evolved. The poet remarks that "the baby new to earth and sky soon finds 'I am not what I see, and other than the things I touch.'" And the same holds true of that adult baby, the primitive man. He also soon learns to discriminate those states of his consciousness which present to him the external world from those other states of consciousness which present to him himself. In other words he possesses vague rudiments of the notions out of which the

conceptions of Subject and Object are ultimately evolved. Furthermore he comes to discriminate between the series of states of consciousness succeeding one another in unbroken sequence, and the element which remains constant and persistent throughout his whole experience, namely, himself. The states experienced succeed one another like so many independent beads, but the string on which they are strung continues to run through them all. What is this persistent element? Many thought it was the breath, which was observed to continue as long as this consciousness continued. Others likened it to a man's shadow. Evidence furnished by dreams and trances seemed to show that this "spirit" or breath was a separate entity, a sort of "*Ka*" or double which might continue to exist after the death of the body. From this primitive notion of "ghosts" Mr. Spencer thinks the subsequent conceptions of Deities were gradually evolved. These ghosts were credited with power to benefit or harm surviving men, and consequently men had to propitiate them by sacrifices and laudations. Long ago Xenophanes argued that if animals had gods they would undoubtedly represent such gods as endued with the form of animals, and as having appetites and emotions similar to those of animals. And Mr. Spencer instances a multitude of facts to prove that the same holds true of the gods of primitive men. Those bloodthirsty savages, the Fijians have cannibal gods, the exact counterparts of themselves, and the gods of the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians exhibited similar characteristics. And the old Greek gods were as quarrelsome and ill-conditioned as the average of their worshippers. In the amusing Satire of Lucian, translated by Mr. Froude in his "Short Studies," these gods reproach one another for misconduct, which is slowly but surely undermining men's faith in their existence, and stopping the flow of the customary offerings and oblations. At the outset primitive men did not conceive the Power outside themselves as a power that made for righteousness. Quite the contrary. But as chronic militancy decreased and men's characters improved, a parallel improvement took place in the supposed characters of the gods. The older and cruder symbolical conceptions gave place to new symbolical conceptions of the Supreme Power ever more and more abstract and exalted*.

After dealing with primitive religious ideas Mr. Spencer traces in detail the evolution of human institutions, domestic ceremonial, ecclesiastical, political, professional and industrial. In each department he supports his conclusions by a multitude

* This is a beautiful theory; but for "primitive notions of ghosts" and the "gradual evolution of subsequent conceptions of deities (from which the theory follows, we have only 3 votes of admiration!!—Ed.

of illustrative facts, which have never been brought together by any preceding writer. And in every department he discusses and weighs the opinions of preceding enquirers such as Mr. Tyler, Sir J. Lubbock, Sir Henry Maine and others. He shows how domestic institutions like Polyandry and Polygamy, which are so repugnant to our present ideals, were almost forced on ancient societies by the conditions under which they lived, and how they thus possessed an average adaptation to the requirements of the time. It is impossible within the limits of an article even to glance at Mr. Spencer's main conclusions in Sociology. We may, however, at least note his cardinal doctrine,—*viz.*, that human institutions have advanced in proportion to the decrease of militant activities and increase of industrial activities, decrease of governmental coercion and increase of individual freedom, disappearance of status and extension of the régime of contract. In fact Militancy is the Ahriman and Industrialism the Ormuzd of Mr. Spencer's sociological creed. The reader is sometimes tempted to ask himself if the Ahriman is really responsible for all the mischiefs Mr. Spencer lays to its charge, and whether the Ormuzd is quite so angelic as Mr. Spencer represents it to be, but these are details which need not be discussed in this place. We must not however take leave of the "Sociology" without calling attention to the chapter on Trades Unionism and especially to that on Socialism. Fanaticism is impervious to argument, but it is just possible that the weighty considerations put forward in this chapter may have some little weight with some of the amiable enthusiasts* who are captivated by the dreams of Mr. Henry George, Mr. Bellamy, the Fabian Essayists and the like.

Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Ethics" might appropriately open with the same proposition that Aristotle places at the beginning of his "Nicomachean Ethics," *viz.*, "Every art and process and likewise every action and purpose seems to aim at some good." For Mr. Spencer holds that all conduct is directed to the realization of ends, and the end of the conduct we call moral is maintenance of the life of the individual and of the race. And of these ends the latter, *viz.*, the maintenance of the race, is the highest end to which the former is subordinate. All activities furthering the life of the individual are, Mr. Spencer thinks, pleasurable activities, and conversely all life-impeding activities are pain-giving activities. Hence good conduct is conduct which in the long run produces a balance of pleasure over pain, of happiness over misery. Note that this definition expressly excludes conduct directed to attaining mere immediate gratifications, as in the long run these may be

* These "amiable enthusiasts" had indistinctly grasped an ultimate truth.—Ed.

counterbalanced by a surplus of pain. Note too, that it does not conflict with the view held by believers in a life to come, for they also consider good conduct to be conduct which eventuates in a balance of happiness over misery, if not in this life, yet in the life to come. Moreover the assumption made by optimists and pessimists with one accord, is that life must be adjudged to be worth living or not worth living according as it yields more happiness than misery, or contrariwise more misery than happiness.

Mr. Spencer's Ethical principle is therefore Hedonism. But he does not accept the Utilitarian formula, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." He points out that this formula, taken in conjunction with the Utilitarian explanation that in the apportionment of the means to happiness, each individual is to count for one, and no individual for more than one,—this formula contradicts one of the clearest laws of rational Ethics, the law, namely, that each individual has the right to enjoy the fruits of his own labour, so long as he does not trespass on the like rights of other individuals. And he further objects to the Utilitarian theory that it implies that each individual must make for himself a long and impossible calculation of the consequences of each action before he can pronounce it good or bad. In other words, the individual is required by the Utilitarian principle to ignore the accumulated experience of the race, and to trust to his own particular experience alone. Mr. Spencer's view is that the moral and intellectual experiences of the race are stored up in the cerebral structures inherited by the individual, just as voices and words are registered on the delicate plates of a phonograph, and are capable of being again resuscitated and realized in the consciousness of each scion of the race. He regards the mind not as a mere *tabula rasa*, but as a tablet written on with sympathetic ink, so to speak, which writing again becomes visible when subjected to appropriate conditions. In a word, he thinks we have innate moral ideas *à priori* to the individual, though *à posteriori* to the race; ideas evolved in the course of ages, but not implanted by special supernatural influences in each case. And ideas thus intrinsically cognate to the mind of the race, are naturally enforced by the authority of custom and the weight of general opinion.

Plato thought that a true conception of justice could only be framed after constructing the ideal of a perfect state, in which alone perfect justice could exist. And in like manner Mr. Spencer thinks that absolute ethics is an ideal impossible to be realized in our present transitional state. So long as militant activities persist we can never realize, much less act up to, perfect ethical standards. All that is now feasible is to

ascertain the best general rules of conduct, or the least bad rules, which can be followed under existing circumstances. So long as part of our conduct is necessarily regulated by the religion of enmity appropriate to Militancy, and another part by the religion of amity appropriate to the peaceful industrial state, we can only make compromises between the desirable and the possible.

Space is lacking for the discussion of the manner in which Mr. Spencer applies the principles just indicated. But attention may be called to the way in which he balances the opposing claims of Egoism and Altruism, and to the moral justification he gives of the former within due limits. The great moralist of the eighteenth century Bishop Butler, in his sermon on "Resentment," had already done something in this direction, but Mr. Spencer's treatment of the question is much more profound. The only doubt suggested is whether Mr. Spencer sufficiently recognises the intrinsic nobility of self-sacrifice. It is quite possible that this doubt may be prompted by emotions inherited from mediæval militant times, but, however derived, the doubt does suggest itself whether Mr. Spencer is fully alive to the moral grandeur of characters like that of Aristotle's "Brave Man," or Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior," not to speak of the characters of the saints and martyrs.

But all objections to Mr. Spencer's opinions ultimately resolve themselves into the one, *viz.*, that they are what is called "unsettling." It may be asked "If the ideas prevalent at any time have an average adaptation to the mental conditions of that time, (as he admits they have), why interfere with them?" To this question it is best to give his own answer.

"The reply is, that though existing ideas and institutions have an average adaptation to the characters of the people who live under them; yet, as these characters are ever changing, the adaptation is ever becoming imperfect; and the ideas and institutions need remodelling with a frequency proportionate to the rapidity of the change. Hence, while it is requisite that free play should be given to conservative thought and action, progressive thought and action must also have free play. Without the agency of both, there cannot be those continual re-adaptations which orderly progress demands. Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realise the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force, constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive

that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction : leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future ; and that his thought are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies, through whom works the Unknown Cause ; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorised to profess and act out that belief."

E. H. WHINFIELD.

ART. XII.—THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH COLONY.

IT is interesting to study the evolution of a British Colony, to note its growth and progress along the various lines which together go to form national life, from the day the first few settlers appear on the ground, till the day salvos of artillery proclaim the birth of a "Commonwealth" destined to set its mark on the history of the world. We see first the rudimentary beginnings, the embryo as it were, in which no stretch of imagination can discern the future magnificent growth. Then the babe begins to walk, the boy to run, leap walls and fences, the lad to make mistakes and correct himself, and, coming of age, to look round him with conscious strength. And of the numerous Colonies which have sprung from the United Kingdom, Victoria in Australia probably offers us the best sample to study. It is not only the smallest of the several Colonies on the mainland, but one of the later-born. In New South Wales, too, she had a neighbour which not only pretentiously assumed to herself the title of the "Mother Colony of the Australias," but overshadowed her by her huge size. Tasmania, too, lying adjacent, was an older colony, and excelled in climate and scenery. Victoria started her career without any advantages. And yet in a few years she picked up and out-distanced her rivals till lately her population exceeded that of New South Wales, and she took the lead in commercial enterprise. It is true much of this was owing to the discovery of gold within her borders, but mostly all the other Australian Colonies can also boast of gold and other valuable minerals, such as coal, &c., denied to Victoria. Even now she has the most manufactures and the largest industries ; has the greatest amount of capital embarked abroad (in the other Colonies) and leads in arts and letters. All this is the outcome of a little more than half a century, and appears as marvellous as a dream. There may be old men still living who in 1833 or 1835 landed on the then wild shores of Hobson's Bay untenanted by a single white human being. The city of Melbourne, the Queen City of the Southern half of the world, now extends to many miles in each direction, including some scores of magnificent suburbs, parks, gardens, and watering places. With its large population, its thronged thoroughfares, its wealth of grand public buildings, its crowded wharves and busy seaports, its amenities of civilisation, it may compare favorably with the capitals of many of the older states of Europe. The growth of the Colony has been the growth of Melbourne : both have run

parallel to one another and kept pace together. The study of such a Colony, its history from its inception, must necessarily be interesting as well as instructive. We propose to do this by division into well-defined periods, furnishing connected views of subjects, with details illustrative of the times. The periods are those of Early Settlement and progress till the separation from New South Wales; the Legislative Council; and Representative Government. In each of these periods we shall view respectively settlement and population; Government and politics; wealth and material progress; and other lines and influences. We should, however, have a brief descriptive account of the Colony first.

Victoria, the southernmost colony on the mainland lies between the 34th and 39th degrees of south latitude and the 141st and 150th degrees of east longitude. Its greatest length east and west is about 420 miles; and its greatest breadth north and south about 250 miles. Bounded on the north by the Murray River, on the west by South Australia, and on the south and east by the Southern Ocean, Bass' Straits, and the Pacific Ocean, it forms a compact and well-defined territory. According to the latest computation its area is 87,884 square miles or 56,245,760 acres about the size of Great Britain. The extent of coast line is about 600 geographical miles.

The principal features of this most fertile and favored tract of the Australian Continent—originally called *Australia Felix*—may be viewed in connection with its geological formation; its mountain and river systems; its lakes; its coast and interior tablelands; its ports and inlets; its climate; and its mineral, vegetable, and animal, productions.

Geologically, portions of Victoria—especially in the east—are among the earliest elevated in the continent. The bed-rock on which the country generally rests is of the Silurian epoch, veined by auriferous quartz. Most of the best land is of volcanic origin, of a deep black or a dark chocolate colour, and often extends to a great depth, and very fertile. It is estimated that there are about 23,000,000 acres of rich loams and alluvial flats, 8,000,000 acres of rich black and chocolate-coloured soils, and 5,000,000 acres of light and sandy soils.

A Dividing Range runs along the length of the country at a distance of from 60 to 70 miles from the sea-coast. This Range is called the Australian Alps in the east, and the Pyrenees in the west. Numerous minor spurs and offshoots are thrown off in various parts, especially in the east. The highest peaks of the Australian Alps attain an elevation of 7,000 feet.

The Dividing Range forms the great watershed of the country. On the one side numerous rivers flow down to the

Southern Ocean, and on the other numbers of streams tread their way to the Murray of which they form affluents. Of these the longest is the Goulburn, 345 miles. Of the others which flow into the ocean the longest is the Glenelg 281 miles, the Yarra, though short as compared with the Glenelg, is navigable for ocean-steamers as far as Melbourne. Besides these, there are a few rivers in the north-west which have their outfall in lakes, the longest being the Wimmera, 228 miles flowing into Lake Hindmarsh. There are nearly 200 rivers in Victoria. The Murray which forms the northern boundary line of the colony, has a length in Victoria of 980 miles, its total length being 1,380 miles. Of lakes 157 in all, the largest are, in the East near the coast, Wellington 34,500 acres, and Victoria 28,500 acres, in the West, Corangamite 57,700 acres, and in the North-West Hindmarsh 30,000 acres, and Tyrrell 42,600 acres. Victoria, Corangamite, and Tyrrell are salt, and the others fresh. Most of the lakes of the colony are fresh.

The coast territory between the ocean and the Dividing Range acquires a gradual elevation of from a few feet to, in parts, nearly 1,800 feet above sea-level. The table lands on the other side of the Range descend from an equal elevation to about 500 feet at the Murray.

The extensive coast-line presents numerous bays and inlets, there being 39 of them enumerated in official papers. Of these, Port Phillip Bay is the largest and includes Hobson's Bay on the North and Corio Bay on the South-West. It presents the aspect of a secure inland sea with cities, towns, boroughs, and villages fringing its shores, Melbourne itself being situated in the North. The two ports of the city of Melbourne, Williamstown and Sandridge, alongside the piers of which the largest steamers can lie, are situated at the northern end of Hobson's Bay.

Being the most southerly portion of the continent, and growing naturally and abundantly the eucalyptus tree, the leaves of which exude a volatile oil which exercises a most wholesome and purifying influence on the atmosphere. Victoria possesses the most temperate and healthy climate of any part of the mainland. This is evidenced alike in the vigorous growth of her sons and daughters; in the splendid horses, cattle, and sheep raised within her bounds; and in her varied and numerous vegetable products, some timber especially attaining to a height of 480 feet, a height which far exceeds even the vegetable giants of the Western States of America and the Yosemite Valley. The ordinary winter range of the thermometer is from 45° to 60°, and the summer range from 65° to 80°. During a dry season and when there

are hot winds the range is sometimes from 90° to 110°; but these great heats seldom last beyond a day or two. The mean annual temperature of Melbourne is 57°·6 and the average annual rainfall about 26 inches.

Among the vegetable products only a brief enumeration can be attempted here. The eucalyptus or gumtree of every variety, ironbark, acacia, tea-tree, banksia, sassafras, native hop, may be named out of a very large number of native growth. All the flowers, fruits, vegetables, and cereals of Europe as well as of warmer climes, thrive, including the olive, almond, orange, grape, tobacco, sugar-cane, hemp, flax, and banana. Among indigenous animals may be mentioned the kangaroo, wallaby, opossum, native cat, native dog (dingo), and the porcupine. The Angora and Cashmere goats have also been imported and thrive. Among birds may be named the eagle, hawk, magpie, laughing jackass (great kingfisher), various parrots, black swans, waterfowls, quail, and snipe. Fish of many kinds and good flavour abound along the coasts and the mouths of rivers.

Such is a brief descriptive account of a country which in only a few years has risen, as we shall see in the following pages, to the proud pre-eminence of leading the British Colonies in the Southern Seas.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

1834—1851.

• Early settlement and progress of Victoria till separation.

Administrators, &c., of the settlements.

1836 William Lonsdale, Capt., 4th Regt. Resident Magistrate.

1839 Charles Latrobe, Superintendent of Port Phillip.

We proceed in the order we have previously intimated: settlement and population, Government and politics, material progress and wealth, other lines and influences.

(a) SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.—

On the 19th November 1834, Messrs. Edward and Stephen Henty, the sons of an English banker of substance who had emigrated to Tasmania, landed at Portland, established a branch of their whaling industry, and imported sheep and cattle which they fed on the rich pastures of the district. As will be seen under a subsequent head they thrived and prospered. In 1839 a census taken of Portland gave the population there at 300 souls. In 1840 the township contained one good house, six decent cottages, and several huts. There was a population of about one hundred souls, living in them, while that of the entire district amounted to about 600 souls.

We go back, however, to the year following that on which the Hentys landed at Portland. Two ventures were started from Launceston in Tasmania in 1835 both of which had the object of settling in Port Phillip territory which till then was unoccupied. John Batman was the leader of one which belonged to a large and influential association in Tasmania, and John Pascoe Fawcner of the other. The former arrived first (May 29th) and landed at the Indented Heads on the western shores of Port Phillip Bay. Batman viewed the country around and concluded a bargain with a number of native chiefs to obtain possession of several hundred thousand acres of land along the bay-shore.

Fawcner having taken ill immediately before starting, his party came on without him, sailed up to the north end of the Bay, entered the Yarra (20th August) and proceeded up the stream in search of fresh water. This they found higher up near the site of the present city of Melbourne when they came to an anchor. In six days after (29th August) they landed, they had five acres of land ploughed and sown with wheat on the northern bank of the river. Fawcner himself followed (10th October) and formed another cultivation of eighty acres on the south side of the river. A number of other settlers, all from Tasmania, followed Fawcner. At the end of the first year the settlement had a total population of about 50 souls. There were two weather-boarded huts with brick chimnies, and some eight or ten turf erections. The country had been explored northward to a distance of 20 miles and found to exceed the utmost expectation that had been previously formed of its fertility.

On the first day of the next year (1836) Fawcner opened the first public-house in a log hut. Batman, who had gone back to Launceston to confer with the Association with which he was connected, returned in April and joined the settlement on the Yarra with his family and such of his party as still remained at the Indented Heads. By the month of May there were 117 persons in the place, and this number increased by the end of the year to 224, of whom thirty-eight were females. In December three public-house licenses had been granted. But there was not a butcher or baker or tailor or carpenter or wheelwright in the whole settlement, and there was only one shoemaker. It is recorded that the settlers had to live upon salt beef and "damper," which were "washed down with copious libations of rum and water." Settlement and population increased rapidly. The Surveyor-General of the then one colony called indefinitely New South Wales, Major Mitchell, in ignorance of the existence of these parties of settlers, had been exploring the interior south-western portions,

and had fallen in with the Henty's settlement at Portland, and returned without coming across the township on Port Phillip Bay. He gave such a favorable account of the richness and fertility of the country he had passed through—which on that account, he called *Australia Felix*—that it had the effect of drawing numbers of settlers overland from Sydney. Accordingly when the then Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, visited Port Phillip (March 1837), it is noted that 500 people cheered him at his departure. Before this, as will be seen below in the following section, the settlement had had conferred on it a Resident Magistrate and other officials. At the end of 1837 the census recorded a total population of 1,264 persons. At this time, too, the Rev. Dr. Lang,* a very active Presbyterian Minister in Sydney, interested himself in getting out several thousand Scottish emigrants to Australia, many of whom as shepherds and small farmers found their way into *Australia Felix*.

In 1838 at first there were only a few wooden houses at the settlement, and a small square wooden building did duty as church or chapel to the various religious denominations. A branch of the Van Diemen's Land Bank was also established. But growth was rapid. By the end of the year there were branches of two other Banks in active operation, the hotels were transformed into handsome inns, there were numerous brick buildings, some of two and even three stories, and the lines of streets had been cleared, marked, and in parts were being macadamized. The population at the end of the year numbered 3,511. Four constables kept the peace; there were four apiece of tailors, blacksmiths, and butchers; three a-piece of bakers and saddlers; and twelve shoemakers; all in the township. The only lawyer also kept a butcher's shop,—a hint to lawyers who fail in law. In 1839 the population had increased to 5,822. In this year, too, Angus MacMillan and Count Strzelecki, independently of each other explored the eastern portions of the district, which was thenceforward called Gippsland in honor of the then Governor, Sir George Gipps, who had succeeded Sir Richard Bourke. In 1840 the population numbered 10,291. The year following the number rose to 20,416. A colonist of those days thus describes an ordinary scene he witnessed near Melbourne in 1841:—

"The native village—what a scene! naked savages, shaggy dogs, bark and bough dwellings. 'Good morning Sir!' say the pickaninies with the utmost gravity. 'Where you go'?

*We had the advantage of intimate private intercourse with this great pioneer of Australian Settlement during the latter years of his long and useful life.

asks another. There is something inexpressibly ludicrous in the circumstance that these ugliest pieces of human nature are heard singing in Melbourne 'I'd be a butterfly.' In 1842 the population had increased to 23,799, of whom more than a third or 8,108, were females. Cabbages were cultivated on the site of the present Treasury, and "a wagon and a train of horses were absolutely swallowed up in Elizabeth Street." Stumps and reservoirs of mud marked the line of Collins Street. In 1843 the population numbered 24,103; and in 1844, 26,734. In the latter year, 1844, Melbourne is thus described by an eye-witness:—"A lusty, stately, bantling of a city; vigorous in its growth, of a cheerful aspect, and graceful in its proportions. Fronting the river is Flinders Street displaying many noble houses, with English-grassed lawns, one of them crowned with a graceful dome. Collins Street contains the most respectable assemblage of shops; in it are the banks, most of the places of worship, and it is the great thoroughfare. Queen Street and Elizabeth Street are the next in importance. Bourke Street is the most frequented of any on the arrival of English and Scottish ships, for in it, at the corner of Elizabeth Street, stands the Post Office—a convenient and good building." The principal buildings were the Mechanics' Institute (then used as the Town Hall) in Collins Street, the Court House, the Jail, and the Custom House. There was even then a good Market. Tame emus walked, pelicans stalked, and kangaroos hopped, in front of the houses. "But of all objects the wild, grotesque, painted, feather-ornamented, tea-tree blossom carrying natives, with their singular costumes, war implements, and their wild gestures, grouped and scattered over the town, and with the shaggy accompaniment of dogs, give its most original feature to Melbourne." The figures of the population for the several years after 1844 till the last year of the period were:—

1845	...	31,280	1848	...	51,390.
1846	..	38,334	1849	...	66,220.
1847	...	42,936	1850	...	76,162.

Of this last total 30,667 were females. We now proceed to view the Government and politics of the period.

(b.) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

The bargain made by Batman with the native chiefs was set aside, but his Association was allowed a compensation of £7,000. The central government at Sydney at first also refused to permit settlement in Port Phillip—(as enlarging the area of escape to convicts) and even went to the length of proclaiming the settlers intruders on vacant Crown

lands. The rapidity, however, with which population flowed in rendered the prohibition a dead letter. Unable to prevent settlement, the Government next addressed itself to see what could be done for it in the way of administration, and deputed Mr. George Stewart, the Police Magistrate of Goulburn, in May 1836 to proceed to Port Phillip and report on it. Mr. Stewart found the settlement then variously called by several English and native names—as Batmania, Dutigalla, Bearhup, Glenelg, &c—thriving and advancing. The settlers had also elected an arbitrator, Mr. James Simpson, from among themselves, to decide disputes. Acting on the report furnished by Mr. Stewart, Sir Richard Bourke appointed Captain William Lansdale, of the 4th Regiment, Resident Magistrate of the Settlement (September 29th) 1836. Other officials, as surveyors, &c., followed the Magistrate.

Captain Lonsdale lost no time in fixing on the site of the future metropolis. Six months after (March 1837) Sir R. Bourke himself paid a visit to the district, and concurred in Captain Lonsdale's choice of the site—the same as that on which the city of Melbourne now stands—giving the town its present name after the then Premier of England. Mr. Robert Hoddle, Surveyor, accompanied Sir R. Bourke and laid out the town, shortly after which (June 1st) the first land sale was held. The Governor also named Williamstown in honor of the then reigning sovereign. Geelong, which was also then occupied retained its native name.

During the next year, (1838), under Governor Sir George Gipps, a resident Judge, Mr. Justice Willis, was sent to the new settlement; and a Protector of Aborigines was appointed for the Port Phillip tribes. A fortnightly overland mail to Sydney was now established, the postage of a letter costing 15 pence.

In 1839 the eastern portion of the continent, hitherto generally called New South Wales, was divided into three districts, Moreton Bay (afterwards Queensland), New South Wales proper, and Port Phillip; and on 30th September, 1839 Mr. Charles Latrobe was sent out by the Imperial Government as Superintendent of the last named on a salary of £ 800 a year, and allowances for his staff and office expenditure. Mr. Latrobe continued in office till May 1854, becoming the first Governor on the erection of Victoria into a separate government. In this year (1839), too, we notice Captain Fyans as Magistrate at Geelong. Next year Sir George Gipps appointed Mr. James Blair Magistrate at Portland.

Notwithstanding the erection of Port Phillip into a separate district, with its own Superintendent, the colonists began to demand separation from the Central Government of New

South Wales. The complaints were that land-sales were held in Sydney, and the land-funds of the district were absorbed by the Central Government. In 1841, however, these funds were surrendered. Sir George Gipps himself paid a visit in October of this year (1841), and spent six days at Port Phillip. The year following Melbourne was incorporated, and elected its first Mayor, Mr. Henry Condell, a brewer. The contest was severe with Edward Curr, the leader of the party for separation, and the "Riot Act" had to be read.

In 1843 the concession of representative institutions was granted to Australia, and six members were allowed to the Port Phillip District. The six who were elected were:—

Henry Condell	... the Mayor, a brewer,	for Melbourne town
Charles Hotson Ebdon	... settler, Port Phillip, ...	
Alexander Thomson	... "Merchant," Sydney,	
Thomas Walker	... formerly a surgeon,	for Port Phillip.
Charles Nicholson	Physician, Sydney,	
Rev. John Dunmore Lang	Presbyterian Minister,	
	Sydney	

Evidently the settlers could not spare many of their best men

The Rev. Dr. Lang, a man of vast energy, however, did not sit idle on his oars. On 21st August 1844 he moved the separation of Port Phillip and its erection into an independent colony. In the division the six members of the colony stood alone. On the following day a petition for separation was presented from 2194 Port Phillip inhabitants. Similar petitions and memorials continued to be sent in, or were forwarded home to England. In 1848 Dr. Lang was entertained at a public dinner in Melbourne as an expression of the colonists' appreciation of his efforts to bring about separation. The people were thoroughly disgusted at the farce of sending representatives to a legislature where their voices were powerless; and when the next election came round this year (1848), Ebdon declined to be re-elected. The advocates for separation at this juncture determined, therefore, upon an extraordinary expedient to make their grievances heard in England, and nominated and elected Earl Grey, the then Secretary of State, against Mr. Foster, the local candidate. This novel election, however, was set aside by the Government, and a new writ issued, Geelong being appointed the polling place. The local candidate was returned; but the expedient of electing Earl Grey had the effect it was intended for. The grievances of the colonists came under the notice of the English Parliament, and the matter was referred to the Privy Council, who reported in favour of erecting the district into a separate colony, and suggested the name of Victoria for it.

Mr. Latrobe had fallen into disfavour with the colonists. It was believed that he sacrificed the interests of his district to the Central Government at Sydney. A letter of his, too, leaked out, in which he stated that, in his opinion, the colony was not yet prepared for representative government, and therefore should remain in the hands of a governor, executive, and nominee council. Nothing could have given the colonists greater offence. They accordingly held public meetings and demanded his removal. He partially, however, regained their good opinion by ordering away the *Randolf* which then happened to enter the Bay with convicts not knowing where to discharge her human cargo. The system of transportation of convicts to any part of Australia was a sore point with the colonists; and in February 1851 a *League* was formed throughout the eastern colonies to put an end to it. Large sums were subscribed in Melbourne for the purposes of the League, whose efforts, as will be noticed in the next period, were speedily successful.

On 17th November 1850 intelligence reached Melbourne of the passing of an Act which had for some time been under consideration for the separation of the Port Phillip District from the central government, and its erection into an independent colony. This Act came into operation on the 1st July, the following year (1851). The rejoicings lasted for five days, and the inhabitants ran wild with joy. "Bonfires blazed all over the country—no work was done—everybody was continually walking in procession" (1) A stream of 5,000 colonists passed over Prince's Bridge which was opened on the 14th of the month (November). The anniversary of the separation (July 1st) is kept as a public holiday throughout the colony down to the present time.

In 1845 Judge Jeffcott, who had succeeded Judge Willis in 1843, resigned, and was followed by Judge Therry, who again was succeeded by Judge à Beckett in 1846.

There were 40 Post Offices open in 1850. The General Revenue amounted to £259,433, and the General Expenditure to £196,440.

(c) MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WEALTH.

We have seen the Hentys settled in 1834 at Portland. In the following year they exported 700 tons of whale oil and bone, and had formed several sheep "runs." In 1840 they had 1,700 bales of wool ready for shipment. The year following Portland helped to mitigate the famine at Adelaide by sending mobs of cattle overland.

At the Port Phillip Settlement we have seen how Fawcner's party first, and he himself, afterwards, began cultivation with

five acres and then 80 acres. The five acres gave a return of 100 lbs. of wheat. Batman's Association also landed 500 sheep at Williamstown, and Dr. Thomson imported 50 pure Hereford cows. At the end of the first year (1835) the total livestock was estimated at six horses, 100 head of cattle, and 1,400 sheep. Three "stations" had been formed within a distance of 10 miles, known by the names of their respective owners—Connolly's, Swanston's, and Solomon's. The number of shipping entered inwards was eight—barques, brigs, &c.

During the next year (1836) the value of livestock and property was estimated at £110,000. In December there were 14 horses, 121 cattle, and 42,621 sheep. When Sir R. Bourke visited Melbourne early the following year (1837), settlers were found who had pushed out in all directions with sheep and cattle. Large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle were driven overland from Sydney, through even hostile tribes of blacks, to occupy the newly-discovered pastoral country, and at the time of the above visit it was estimated that there were fully 2,500 head of cattle and 140,000 sheep in *Australia Felix*. Land had begun to acquire a certain value at the infant settlement, and the average price realised at the land-sale held just after, was at the rate of £70 an acre. The first exports of wool from Port Phillip this year were valued at £11,639; and the imports at £115,379. Labour, provisions, and rent soon rose to an enormous price, the four-pound loaf being sold for 3s. 6d., and the veriest huts let for £2 per week. Three branches of Banks, the Van Diemen's Land Bank, the Bank of Australasia, and the Union Bank, were established this year (1838).

In 1839 an era of wild speculation in land and stock set in. The entire population was affected by it, and every one jobbed in land and "corner-allotments." This continued till 1843, when the crash came, and everyone, from being fanciedly wealthy, found himself a beggar. Three hundred insolvencies occurred in Melbourne. Landed property and stock fell to a nominal value and were unsaleable. Just, however, when (1843) affairs were at the gloomiest, the expedient of "boiling-down" sheep for the tallow was hit upon, and saved the colony from utter ruin.

Settlers notwithstanding continued to come, and launched out both labour and capital on agricultural operations. The experiences of one in those days as noted down by himself are worth glancing at. Writing in 1841 he says:—"An allotment of 95 acres south of the Yarra. First we have to do carpentering, brick-making, house-building, and gardening. Then the land clearing. To cut down the timber, gum, box,

she-oak, and wattle trees, was an Herculean task. Progressing wearily. Day after day it was no slight army of trees against which we had to do battle. Some of the trees were of unconscionable girth, six or eight yards in circumference.

"Immense was the space of ground that had to be dug away to lay bare the roots. And then, what roots! One of these monsters of the wild was 15 days burning; burning night and day, and was a regular ox-roasting fire all the time. On one occasion I was laid up for a fortnight, keeping my bed part of the time, having been struck by the fall of a tree. I had to change almost immediately my linen; wringing wet with the perspiration of that blow's agony. . . . We had now to begin fencing: the commencement of other sorrows. . . . First over the Yarra, forty yards wide, we had to fasten a rope, and to construct a punt. . . . Wet as the weather was, we commenced bringing down our fencing materials. And through what a kind of country we had to bring them! Along the sides of sloping hills, and through marshes, and deep break-neck ravines. At the first attempt, the cart was broken! Sometimes at the gullies or ravines the cart had to be unloaded to allow it to get over, and then overloaded again. When all the materials were carefully got over the river, there came a flood and swept a great portion of them into it! . . . Our land was not sown until it was too late, and the crops were consequently worthless. Thus one year's labour, outlay, and seed were thrown away." It is noted that to clear land in 1840 cost £16 an acre. The prices of cattle, farm, &c., produce in 1844 are also given—

Farm Implements.

Drays in 1841—£10 or £8. In 1842 £28.
Ploughs, £2-3.
Harrows, 32s. £2 per pair.
Working bullocks, £6 per pair.
Horses, £10—£20 each.
New calved cows, £1-10—£2-10s. calves given in.
Sheep, 5s. per head.
Mixed herds, £1 per head (of cattle).

Prices of Farm Produce.

Oaten Hay £1-10—£2-10.
Barley 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per bushel.
Oats, 1s. 6d. to 2s. " "
Wheat, 3s. 6d. to 4s. " "
Colonial cheese, 8d. per lb.
Butter, 6d. to 9d. " "
Potatoes, 2s.-6d. per cwt.
Mutton, 1s. ½d. per lb.
Beef, 1s. ½d. " "
Wages, servants, £8 to £12.

Labourers, £15 to £20 per annum and rations.

Mechanics, anything they could demand and get.

In 1844 the system of "special surveys" was adopted for agricultural areas. By it eight square miles of unreserved territory could be purchased by a payment of £5,120. Three such sections near Melbourne, three in Gippsland, one at Kilmore, and one at Port Fairy, were applied for under this system, and became agricultural centres. As yet Australia had not been roused by the gold discoveries, and her path of progress lay in quiet pastoral and agricultural lines, a path which, as we have seen, and as we shall see from the statistics we furnish below, she was diligently treading. From the year 1844 to 1850, therefore, there is nothing eventful to record—only peaceful progress varied by occasional droughts and floods, the greatest flood ever known at Port Phillip occurring in 1844. In the Geelong district vineyards began to be formed in 1846, and there were seventy-eight acres under cultivation. Three acres and a half had been laid down as early as 1842. At the close of this period, in 1850-51, there were 161½ acres under cultivation. In 1849 about 1,000 Germans were introduced into Port Phillip, many of them as vinegrowers round about Geelong.

It is to be noted that in 1840 the first iron foundry and engineering shop—the beginning of the great manufactures of the colony—was set up in Melbourne by Robert Langlands and Thomas Fulton, a foundry that still leads in iron work.

At the close of this period with a population of 76,162 souls, and a revenue and expenditure of £455,873, there were 52,341 acres under cultivation, 28,511 acres being under wheat; 5,008 acres under oats; 2,102 acres under barley; 2,838 acres under potatoes; 13,567 acres under hay; 161½ acres under vines;—with a return of 556,167 bshls. of wheat, 99,535 bshls. of oats, 40,144 bshls. of barley, 5,613 tons of potatoes, 20,971 tons of hay, while the wine made, was 4,621 gallons and the brandy 286 gallons. The livestock amounted to 21,219 horses, 378,806 cattle, 6,032,783 sheep, and 9,260 pigs. The number of vessels inwards and outwards was 1,063 with a total of 195,117 tons. The imports amounted in value to £744,925, and the exports to £1,041,796. The quantity of wool exported was 18,091,207 lbs. of the value of £826,190; of tallow 10,056,256 lbs. of the value of £132,863; and the value of the hides and skins exported was £5,196. Of breadstuffs, too, 10,668 bshls. were exported of the value of £2,469. A good many flour mills and other manufactures were at work, in number not under fifty.

It is evident, therefore, from these figures, that notwithstanding the great "crash" above noted, and occasional droughts—

there being one this very year (1850) from May till July, when stock perished in great numbers—followed shortly by the great disaster of "Black Thursday," the settlement made steady and even remarkable material progress.

The great disaster of "Black Thursday" consisted in a conflagration which enveloped a wide extent of country on the 6th February 1851. The thermometer ranged from 118° to 119° in the shade, and distant parts appear to have simultaneously taken fire. The whole country appeared wrapped in flames, the most fertile districts were burnt up, flocks and herds were abandoned by their keepers, many lives were lost, and destruction and ruin fell upon a great many. The ashes from the forests on fire on Mount Macedon, 46 miles away, fell in the streets of Melbourne. The atmosphere was smokey and dark, whence, as well as from the disastrous consequences, the day was called "Black Thursday."

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

The Press.—On New Year's day 1838 Fawcner started a weekly paper in manuscript, of which the only copy was to be seen at his own inn. The paper continued in that form for nine weeks, and was then brought out in type. It was discontinued after 32 numbers owing to Fawcner's inability to satisfy the guarantees required by Government for a newspaper in those days. He, however, shortly after managed to start the *Melbourne Daily News* and *Port Phillip Patriot* (which was afterwards merged in the *Argus*); and was followed in October by Strode and Arden who brought out the *Port Phillip Gazette*. The *Port Phillip Herald* began on 3rd January 1840 as a bi-weekly till 1st January 1849 when it came out as a daily. The *Melbourne Argus* was commenced 1st June 1846 by Wm. Kerr, ceasing to exist on 12th September 1848. Mr. E. Wilson then bought up the plant at a Sheriff's sale, and recommenced the paper on 15th September 1848, converting it to a daily on 18th June 1849. Fawcner, who appears indefatigable in starting journals, also began the *Geelong Advertiser* as a weekly in November 1840.

The Church.—We have already seen how in 1838 a square wooden building was appropriated to the services of all denominations alike. In September 1839 the foundation stone of the first separate place of Christian worship erected in the colony, the Independent Chapel, was laid; and in the following November the Church of England Cathedral, St. James's was commenced. There were then six places of worship in all. The Press and the Church thus seem to have come into existence and progressed together; and both

served to elevate and refine the hard lot of the early pioneers. In January 1841 the first Scots' Church was established, followed in October by the erection of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Francis'. The first Baptist Chapel, too, was organised the same year. The Wesleyans had long had services of their own. In 1849 the Rt. Rev. Dr. Perry was installed as the first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, and soon after, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Melbourne arrived in the colony.

Education.—In 1839 there were four schools with seventy-eight scholars. These had largely increased when in 1849 the Denominational School Board was appointed. There were then twenty-seven schools and 2,596 scholars.

Buildings, &c.—In 1846 the foundation stones of the Princes Bridge over the Yarra, and of the Melbourne Hospital, were laid. The opening of the Bridge in 1850 we have noticed in connection with the rejoicings for the separation. A site too was selected for a light house, on Gabo Island. In 1844 a memorable *corobbori* of 700 aborigines from all parts of the country was held near Melbourne.

So far it has been most interesting to view the birth and vigorous infancy of Victoria; and we have supplied details which it will be hardly necessary to furnish in connection with the remaining periods. We see in this first period rapid growth in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, and in trades and the beginnings of the press and other institutions as well as the first stirring of political life. The politics concerned about the Superintendent's truckling to the Central Government, about separation and how to get it; and the excitement was all about blacks, floods, fires, convicts, land sales, driving sheep overland arrival of mails, Orange celebrations, and mayoral contests.

Large, however as were the undoubted results, they were, as we shall see as we proceed, very much surpassed in the near, and immediate future. The discovery of gold changed the destiny of the continent. We shall see this same Victoria shortly after she had started on her separate existence and discovered gold within her borders, outstripping her older and larger sister-colonies in population and wealth, and assuming the premier position among them, and her pioneers laying broad and deep the foundations of future prosperity and social and political freedom.

(To be continued.)

OLD AUSTRALIAN COLONIST.

ART. XIII.—THE CAUSE AND CURE OF CHOLERA AND SCARLATINA.

THE following investigation into the cause and cure of cholera and scarlatina was privately circulated some fifteen years ago among a large number of leading medical authorities throughout the world. Not one of its conclusions has been shaken since—not even by Pasteur's true serum theories or Dr. Koch's futile cholera bacilli discovery. Based on chemistry, they cannot be shaken. They represent, further, over half a century's particular experience and study, and successful practice. They are made public now to show the truth about these diseases according to the irrefragable testimony supplied by the chemistry of the body in health and disease. Fashions may come and go, even in medicine, but chemistry cannot alter.

Medical science really consists in the study of the chemical action and changes set up in the human body by abnormal conditions and the change from the normal.

There is no remedy which is a universal cure, or which must and shall infallibly cure in every case of a disease, even if its action on the disease is as certain as mathematics and the physics of chemistry.

There are too many independent elements which come in between its action in every individual case, and affect it in some degree. These elements, too, cannot be calculated with mathematical exactitude. Very large and extended and close and precise and continuous study, observation and practice, only can enable the chemically-enlightened practitioner to make but an approximation of each of them, which may suffice for very successful practice, but which will not obviate error.

Specially in cholera are there all these independent elements, and also chances of error. Here several poisonous abnormal conditions, with varying forces, disturb the balance of the powers and the intimate correlation of all the parts and organs of the human body to each other, and the disturbance is in proportion to the forces of the varying abnormal conditions, and numerous physical and other considerations relating to the patient. And further; these varying poisonous abnormal conditions are accompanied or illustrated by the liquefaction of the blood and destruction of the red corpuscles, which sets up its own element of evil and danger.

In the investigation of cholera, therefore, or indeed of any disease, it is sufficient if we conduct our research on acknowledged

scientific principles. Chemical science as applied to, and in, the human body will indicate to us the cure. This must be confirmed by practice. If any particular results in practice fail, we are to examine into the causes of the failure, which may be many. We are not to reject the true for our own defective observation of it, and erroneous application to it, of its remedies. Where there are so many independent elements of calculation, and sources of error, and all as applied to getting a result of fine narrowed accuracy, which the equilibrium of the forces of the healthy vital process represents, it hardly needs to be a mathematician to understand that the resulting confirmation may be wanting to any one individual heedless, or even observant and scientific, practitioner. But truth is truth. I here show the conditions of cholera and its cure. The direction and ordering of its indicated cure is left to the practice of scientific professors of medicine. The abnormal conditions being known, with the chemical results and action set up thereon, the estimation of all the independent elements helping to establish those abnormal conditions, with the degree to which the chemical results have proceeded, will be needed for the application of the indicated remedies, which again are to be proportioned to the state of the original abnormal conditions, and the degree of the chemical results, and the strength, powers, history, &c., of the patient. If any particular is not understood, or appears to want confirmation, it should be seen if the erroneous comprehension, and imperfect estimation, of the whole very large subject, and defective direction of the cure, should not be charged with it.

To repeat our previous remark;—no one in the present enlightened and scientific age expects a remedy which, as an infallible dose, even if possessing all due fitness, shall, will, and must, and only can, cure, like magic or a charm, in every case of a particular disease. To expect such would be to betray a considerable amount of ignorance. There is no such charm of magical powers, inconsistent with science, physiology, and the pathology of diseased conditions.

Cholera—its conditions of origination, growth, and phenomena, including blood and other complications, and the agents which apply to their cure, are all what may be scientifically ascertained; and practice, and the symptoms, pathology, and morbid anatomy, be made to illustrate and prove them. This is what is legitimately required on the subject. It will be seen that I meet and explain all the chemical phenomena, the symptoms, the morbid anatomy, and every form of successful empiric treatment of the disease. The subject largely affects the well-being of humanity, the economics of states, and even the status of science; and I submit this paper to the

world of enlightened and advanced medical science with confidence. What I state is scientific truth, with universal confirmation.

CHOLERA; ITS CURE.

I. In the action of cholera, an abnormal and destructive condition is induced by internal and external causes. An action also is set up in the blood tending to its liquefaction and destruction of the red corpuscles. This action may be general.

The symptoms, effects, and morbid anatomy, of the disease are well known.

I shall first note down a few very elementary chemical and physiological observations.

Man absorbs oxygen, and in the process of respiration evolves carbon dioxide CO_2 . Together with this gas volatile putrescible matters are exhaled from the skin and lungs. These matters act prejudicially on the health. The gas, too, is poisonous and destructive. CO_2 consists of carbon 27.27 and oxygen 72.73, the volume of CO_2 formed being equal to that of the oxygen used in its formation.

After the lacteals have taken up the fluid portion chyme mixed with bile, the chyle proceeds to the thoracic duct and with the lymph is poured into the *vena cava*, mixes with the venous blood, takes up oxygen, becomes arterial, and is sent forward to all parts, the oxygen being yielded to the effete tissues to oxidise them, while the CO_2 evolved is conveyed back to the lungs and given off by diffusion. By this oxidation the heat of the body is sustained, the combustion taking place in the capillaries, which receive the oxygen carried to them in the arterial blood, and then transmit through the veins the CO_2 evolved to be passed off by the lungs at the same time that a fresh supply of oxygen is taken up. Thus, there is a constant discharge of poison and waste and accession of life-renewing oxygen.

All this implies the previous action of normal bile on normal chyme, and the due and sufficient action of the oxygen on the normal chyle or nutriment presented to it. That is, the normal nutriment must be present, and the normal quantity of oxygen, and the latter must act on the former. Here, then, are three elements, the nutriment, the oxygen, and the contact. If the nutriment be abnormal, or there be less oxygen, or both don't come to the normal standard of contact, that which has to be thrown off as poisonous waste is retained in the constitution, and to its degree disorganises the functions of the kidneys, the lungs, and the skin, and affects the blood, the spleen, and every other organ, portion, and function of the human body.

Of the three elements above-noted, if the nutriment alone be abnormal, while there is a sufficiency of oxygen, and the two have the contact that is necessary, the poison may be worked out. If the nutriment be normal, and there is a sufficiency of contact, but insufficient oxygen, the result may also be made favorable. If the nutriment is normal, and the oxygen is sufficient, there is deficient contact, the constitution may be helped to get over the difficulty.

That is, if we represent the three elements of nutriment, oxygen, and contact, respectively by the letters N, O, and C, and assign positive and negative values for their being normal or abnormal, the positive for the normal, and the negative for the abnormal, we may represent the subject symbolically thus:—

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{plus N plus C} > -\text{N, or } -\text{N} < \text{plus N plus C} \\ &\text{plus N plus C} > -\text{O, or } -\text{O} < \text{plus N plus C} \\ &\text{plus O plus N} > -\text{C, or } -\text{C} < \text{plus O plus N} \end{aligned}$$

These may be regarded as the standard of safety.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Again:—} &(\text{O plus C}) > \text{plus N, or plus N} < -(\text{O plus C}) \\ &-(\text{N plus C}) > \text{plus O, or plus O} < -(\text{N plus C}) \\ &-(\text{O plus N}) > \text{plus C, or plus C} < -(\text{O plus N}) \end{aligned}$$

These may be regarded as the standard of danger. That is, normal nutriment sinks in the scale when put against insufficient oxygen and insufficient contact; and insufficient oxygen is outweighed by abnormal nutriment and deficient contact; while a normal contact can be of little efficacy as against a combined deficient standard of nutriment and oxygen.

Again, using the same symbols:—

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{plus N plus O} > \text{or} < \text{plus N plus C} \\ &\text{plus N plus O} > \text{or} < \text{plus O plus C} \\ &\text{plus N plus O} > \text{or} < \text{plus O plus C; and vice versa.} \end{aligned}$$

Here the forces stand equalised.

All which may be summarised thus:—

- (1) plus N plus O plus C;—the normal balance and standard of health.
 - (2) — N plus O plus C
 - (3) — O plus N plus C
 - (4) — C plus N plus O
 - (5) — N — O plus C
 - (6) — N plus O — C
 - (7) — C — O plus N
 - (8) — C — O — N; *death*.
- };—recovery probable.
};—recovery difficult.

To each of from (2) to (7) have to be added or subtracted personal and other elements; and each of the three elements N, O, C, has varying degrees affecting and varying the result.

II. Let us now return to our chemical and physiological observations.

All substances present in any part each maintain a certain proportion and each perform a special part, to the requisite performance of which part the proportion is necessary and cannot be disturbed.

Of 1000 parts of blood, there are nearly 790 parts water and nearly 11 parts salts and fatty matter. This is the limit of dilution within which the red corpuscles retain their integrity, for when water is added they immediately become attacked. These red corpuscles, so easily dissolved by water, remain uninjured in the fluid portion of the blood owing to the presence of saline matter. The globules float in a saline liquid in which there is equilibrium between the contents of the globules and the fluid surrounding them. Salt contracts. The corpuscles are insoluble in a strong solution of chloride of sodium.

The blood is invariably alkaline, containing the common phosphate of soda $\text{PO}_5 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 2\text{NaO} \\ \text{HO} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, a salt which is always formed when the phosphoric acid of *juice of flesh* acts on the chloride of sodium or salts of soda, and which is strongly alkaline.

The change from dark venous to florid arterial blood depends on the presence of oxygen, but also requires the presence of a saline solution. A similar change of colour may be seen taking place *in vacuo* if the clot of venous blood be there covered with a pretty strong solution of various salts.

Soda is as essential to blood, as potash to the *juice of flesh*. Excess of alkali is required to form the blood, to enable it to perform its functions, to promote the oxidation of effete matter. The blood must be alkaline in order to perform its functions, and it is rendered alkaline either by carbonate of soda or by phosphate of soda or by both. Two salts so different in composition as carbonate of soda NaO , CO_2 , and phosphate of soda 2NaO , HO , PO_5 yet closely agree in being alkaline.

In cholera the proper salts of the serum may fall to *one half*, and thus affect the integrity of the red corpuscles. The blood becomes thick and dark in cholera. There is both destruction of the corpuscles and defective oxygenation; there being also transudation of water.

Diet affects the urine in *soluble* salts which are the same as those of the blood; and diet can also modify them in the blood.

III. The bile is always present in the blood in a small proportion. The bile is separated from the blood by the liver, and collected in the gall-bladder. When incinerated, among

other residuums there is chloride of sodium. The bile is a mixture, in a certain proportion, of two salts, of which the base is soda. Soda is the essential basic element of the bile. The basic element,—the soda is found also in the chyle and in the blood,—and the free muriatic acid always present in the chyme before it leaves the stomach, are both derived from the salt which is either originally present in the food, or is added to it by man.

All food capable of sustaining life must contain mineral salts. These are common salt, alkaline and earthy phosphates, &c. Animals cannot form blood or bile unless their food contain, along with the phosphates, salts of soda, or at least, chloride of sodium. Herbivorous animals which produce an enormous quantity of bile find salt—which is a chief source of sodium or soda for the blood and bile—in their food and drink, and show the greatest preference for salt springs, and for solid salt placed within their reach. When they are fed on the land plants of soils in which sodium is deficient, common salt must be given to them. Animals instinctively take it, and even search for it; nature has made the largest provision of it for all animals including man—even the very breezes blowing over wide oceans are made to carry salt; and its effects on their general health and all their secretions are most marked. Salt generally promotes the secretions. The absence of salt deranges the whole vital process, and particularly the secretion of bile, which requires soda, that is, oxide of sodium. Salt however acts as salt. Salt maintains the normal condition of the fluid portions and elements of the human body.¹

Lymph has 2 *p. c.* of salts.

Soda, chiefly as chloride of sodium, is formed also in the *juice of flesh*.

IV. The change from dark venous blood carrying poisonous waste to florid arterial blood depends on the presence of oxygen as well as a saline solution.²

The oxidation of carbon and hydrogen carries on the vital chemical changes—evolves the CO_2 by the venous blood and secretes water by the lungs, skin, and kidneys—and also yields the animal heat which is generated everywhere, chiefly

¹ Thirty years ago I made a representation to the Government of India to reduce the tax on salt which fell very heavily on the poorest natives, and there was some reduction made; and yet, on this *free gift of nature so essential to the life and health and well being of man*, that Government still annually raises some ten million of pounds sterling of revenue from taxation of salt alone (!) from the poorest natives imaginable. But what are millions of lives and cholera epidemics to millions of revenue? Salt ought to be free; as free as oxygen and air. Whoever denies it to the poor, ought himself to be deprived of it.

² Arterial blood contains about twice as much oxygen and a third less carbonic acid than venous blood.

in the capillaries. This oxidation is constantly going on—every breath of oxygen maintains it, all the tissues and organs and parts are brought under its operation, and all the excretory and secretory organs are kept employed by it.³

The characteristic feature of the changes in the animal body when oxygen comes into operation is that the changes strike deeper than when water alone is added, and we obtain the constituents of bile and of urine, as well as CO_2 to be excreted by the lungs. For the formation of albumen, gelatine and chondrine, the chief materials of the tissues, water alone suffices. The acids, too, of bile are products of the destruction of sanguigenous matter by the oxygen of the blood. Lactic acid, which is present in large quantity in the *juice of flesh*, needs oxygen to consume it. Glucose transformed into lactic acid—which combines with the soda of the blood—needs oxygen to be oxidised and burnt off in the blood. The insoluble uric acid needs oxygen to convert it into soluble products which may pass out. In cholera the urine is stopped. According to Voit there are 2.43 grammes of urea in 1000 parts of blood of a cholera patient. According to Chalmers 3.60 grammes in 1000 parts. [*Gautier: Chimie Appliquée, vol. ii., p. 337.*] At the same time salt also is necessary to promote the oxidation of effete matter in the blood. Where there is a deficiency of it we have the uric acid diathesis,—the oxalic acid diathesis being promoted by a little more oxygen but also deficiency of alkali.

Where oxygen is deficient, combustible matter accumulates in the blood beyond due proportion; at the same time the liver is called on to work beyond its powers in secreting bile or forming fat.

The products of the waste tissues are sent out of the body, by the lungs, the skin, the kidneys, and the intestines, and the occurrence of an impediment in any of these, calls into increased action the others, an action that may injure them.

V. We have seen in detail CO_2 blood, bile, other fluids, &c., oxygen, and salt in relation to them all, as they have an internal bearing on cholera. Let us now see some of them, bearing on cholera externally.

Cholera, as a rule, prevails in summer, or under certain conditions of the atmosphere, when there is less oxygen in the

³ The lungs and skin excrete carbon, with oxygen, as carbonic acid; the kidneys, with nitrogen and oxygen and hydrogen, as urea and uric acid; and the liver, with oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, as cholic and glycocholic acids.

Of 3,950 grammes of regulated food and drink Vierordt gives water 2818, oxygen 782 (from air 744 and food 38), carbon 282. Thus, the oxygen is about a fifth part by weight of all the solids and liquids taken as food; and twice as great as all the rest not water. But what if while the oxygen is less, the carbon is also greatly in excess?

air to carry off the oxidised products in the blood. At the same time, owing to the presence of fruits, &c., in excess, the nutriment is affected and the bile disordered.

During a former visitation of cholera in the West, a great fire in a city—which increased the currents of fresh air and of oxygen—was marked by the subsequent cessation of the disease which was raging there at the time. Similarly, in last year 1882 in Manilla cholera was raging when the occurrence of a violent hurricane put a sudden end to the visitation.

The track and course of (Asiatic) cholera has been marked by a diminution of ozone in the air. Ozone is formed when oxygen is charged with electricity. The less electricity the less ozone; the less oxygen the less ozone; the less oxygen the less respiration; the less respiration the less oxygen taken in the less respiration the less CO_2 , &c., exhaled, and the more poisonous matter retained, with consequences to the blood, bile tissues, &c.

Here, then, we come back to our symbols N. O. C. Abnormal conditions induced internally in abnormal nutriment⁴ with general alkaline deficiency = -N. Here are the milder forms of cholera including all preliminary symptoms.⁵ This minus N is presented to the O at seasons or circumstances—as in overcrowding, Hindoo and Mahommedan pilgrimages, &c.,—when it is abnormally, that is, is—O. What, then, can be the value of any contact C, when the very elements presented for the contact are in an abnormal condition? The combination of the negative values of the three is death. Of two, Asiatic cholera. The results vary according to combinations and personal and other elements; and include between health and decease all possible and numerous gradations according to the degree of each of the three, and the other elements. Thus, there is an infinite diversity from the strong and healthy man suddenly carried off in three or four hours, with hardly

⁴ In connection with this abnormal nutriment, and what it may effect by itself, without other elements of evil, we note that the bile, by its alkalinity, aids the pancreatic fluid in neutralising the acid chyme, and precipitating any imperfectly digested albumin (parapeptone). But in cholera of 1000 parts of serum, 133 part of albumin have been found, whereas the normal average is about 70.

Nitrogen is an essential constituent of the proximate principle of albumin, but does not support combustion and destroys life from the want of oxygen.

Again; mal assimilation of the albuminous constituents results in the formation of uric acid; and a tendency to mal-assimilation is given by habitual excess in the use of the several constituents of the food which predominates in those taken with cholera.

The blood is freed from its carbon almost entirely by the lungs, and the large quantity of this carbon is known. But what if it be greatly increased, and there is also, proportionally less salt, increase of acid, &c., and less oxygen?

Excess of acid in the blood is a disturbance of the vital process. The blood becomes black by contact with acids. The blood is dark and "tarry" in cholera.

⁵ See note (7) following.

any evacuation, to the weak, asthmatic patient who struggles easily through an attack for three or four days and comes out recovered at the end. Symptoms, and treatment, are therefore as diversified, and appropriate.

VI. I might stop here, for I am not writing for tyros, but masters and teachers.⁶ But a few notes on symptoms, and treatment, may be acceptable.

We have seen the presence of chloride of sodium in the blood, the blood's alkalinity the integrity of the red corpuscles preserved by it, its necessity to enable the blood to carry on the vital functions, its presence and need elsewhere even in the bile and lymph, and the equilibrium of forces—in other words, normal vital electricity—maintained (in conjunction) by it; and we have seen that it may fall even to *one half* in the serum of the blood of a cholera patient. The blood and bile, &c., are ready to do their duty and maintain the vital process if they have enough of oxygen and soda. It is this oxygen and salt we have to supply the body with. Of course, all the symptoms have to be considered; but these strike at the root of the disease. Chemistry, physiology, pathology symptoms, morbid anatomy, all indicate them, and all practice confirms them. The vomiting and purging of cholera is an effort of nature to get rid of the poisons working within, and so re-establish normal conditions. Mild cholera is distinguished from Asiatic cholera by the purging of bilious fœculent matter. In Asiatic cholera the matter ejected from the stomach and bowels is free from bile and colourless. We see the comparative immunity of danger of the former, as the poisons are evacuated; in accordance, too, with the symbolic *formula*. (See I and V). Hence the general success of the castor oil cure in this form. In the latter Asiatic form, the abnormal conditions are so much more aggravated, or more effective, owing to a number of causes, that the secreting and excreting organs are much disorganised, and disfunctioned; the liver is gorged; the fluid exuded through the mucous membrane of the alimentary canal a token of the general dilution of the fluids, an evidence of the dire contest raging between life and death in the blood, and the desperate effort of nature to maintain the red corpuscles even if by that way—the loss of the vital electric condition, heat, &c. In extreme cases there can be no evacuation at all. As soon as bile re-appears in the motions, a favourable condition is begun. In the pathology and morbid anatomy we find the spleen, a blood gland, bloodless and collapsed. The kidneys are congested. The

* Even to these it is possible the proof may not be clear at first. I would recommend such to read the *SEQUEL*; and then reperuse this carefully. A thorough knowledge of medical chemistry is requisite, as well as of the diseases themselves.

lungs are congested, or otherwise severely affected. The liver and gall-bladder gorged with bile. The veins and arteries all alike loaded with thick dark blood. The red corpuscles perished. Urea in the blood. The urinary bladder contracted and empty. All the organs, and all the blood, the vital fluid, have everywhere been engaged in the terrible struggle, the fight between life and death! All the fluids of the body have wanted consistency. The water of the blood has been poured out in a fruitless effort to save the corpuscles. The organs have been required to do others' duties when they were hardly able to meet their own engagements, and all have been placed *hors de combat*. Externally there was collapse. Respiration fell below the average, and was difficult. There was little oxidation, the vital process was stopped, and the temperature may have fallen down to even 72° F.

VII. In the treatment, supply the oxygen or fresh air, as much of it as possible. Maintain the integrity of the red corpuscles, and restrain the outflow of all the fluids by chloride of sodium. These are always sufficient for premonitory symptoms;⁷ and are also indicated afterwards. Injections also of solution of salt into the veins effect prompt and marked relief of all the symptoms in the worse stages.⁸ The lungs ought to be brought into free play, in increased, or fresh, oxygen. Diffusible stimulants as camphor, and oil of pip. menth., and cayenne, to meet the nervous depression, and opium for a stimulant as well to counteract pain. Of astringents acetate of lead, in very moderate doses. Champagne as a drink, as cold as possible—iced. And external warmth and comfort.

We supply the oxygen to ærate the blood and evolve CO₂, &c.; chloride of sodium to save the blood and fluids, and also work with the oxygen in recovering the vital process; the generation of sulphurous acid SO₂, or a weak solution of it—which absorbs oxygen—to affect the lungs and stomach;

⁷ The first General Board of Health in England in the epidemic in 1848 and 1849 accordingly found the evidence unanimous, that cholera was preceded by conditions of generally felt bodily depression, or by premonitory symptoms which admitted of dietetic and medical treatment, which, when combined with or preceded by measures of sanitation which reduced foul atmospheric conditions, was always effectual.

⁸ The composition of the following (by M. Marcet) is near that of serum without the functional oxygenation. When used, dissolve and heat the solution to 98° F.

R. Chloride of Soda	...	...	...	gr. xxxi.
Phosphate	...	...	...	" v.
Carbonate	...	...	...	" vi.
Sulphate	...	...	...	" i.
Distilled Water	...	...	...	oz. x

acetate of lead and opium to restrain immoderate evacuations and moderate suffering; and diffusible stimulants, drinks, warmth, &c., to meet nervous depression and other indications.⁹ All work together for the cure, for Nature is one: there is no charm.

The scientific practitioner will graduate and proportion his remedies to particular cases; and the more thorough and accurate his diagnosis under the principles laid down above, the more successful he will be in his treatment if that is also according to what has been indicated above. The appropriateness of all the varied symptoms, and the appropriateness of the varied successful remedies ignorantly and partially applied, will be perceived. I have had the most extended individual practice in this disease in the East; among the helplessly poor and weak, in seasons of epidemics; and in the most hopeless of situations, in ancient, filthy, crowded Hindoo cities, and in crowded buildings. There is of course a stage in which cure is hardly possible, and yet it may be tried. Nature has many surprises and favours for those who go right and follow her scientific truth. A caution about the after-treatment; patients who have actually got over the worst form of cholera have died the next day from the effects of meat-broth.

To conclude:—Cholera is the result of certain internal and external conditions, as shown before, and affects all the various organs and parts; and the constitution can be helped to recover by the supply of oxygen, aeration of the blood (and thus production of heat), by chloride of sodium to save the red corpuscles and the balance of all the fluids, by acetate of lead, &c., &c., as shown before;—by the graduated administration of these remedies according to the length and strength of the attack, the elements, and their various degrees, concerned in causing the disease, the powers and history of the patient, external considerations, and every other circumstance necessary.

Note.—The late chemical researches of M. de Luna and his statement about hypoazotic gas confirm the above. See also Part II. SCARLET FEVER, its CURE; from which the following extract is here added:—

“Hence—

{ Defect of carbon or,—and,—excess of oxygen }
{ and „ „ potash or,—and,— „ „ soda }
furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of scarlet fever; and the cure. The equation is perfect.

“VII. Our task is over; but it is interesting to observe the *balancing* parallelism and analogy between cholera and scarlet

⁹ Assafoetida is a good diffusible stimulant as well as antispasmodic; and strong tea may be useful as a *paratriptic* and nerve-restorative.

fever, one illustrating and confirming the other. We have already shown how the cholera *formulae* may be applied here, and we proceed to other points. In scarlet fever the temperature rises to even 112° F., the pulse is even 130, there is great surface heat, and an external eruption; in cholera the temperature goes down to even 72° F., the pulse is hardly perceptible, there is great coolness of surface, and an internal exudation. In the one the tissues are relaxed, and the tendency is to dropsy; in the other the tissues are collapsed, and the sequel is fever. In the one excess of oxidation and deficiency of carbon; in the other deficiency of oxidation and excess of carbon. In the one the bile is emptied and lost; in the other the bile is full to congestion. In the one the juice of flesh is affected because there is deficiency of potash and excess of soda; in the other the vital fluid is affected because there is deficiency of soda and excess of potash. In the one there is destruction of albumen; in the other accession of it. In the one the hemato-fibrin solidifies through excess of oxygen and soda and defect of carbon; in the other the blood corpuscles perish through excess of carbonic acid and potash and defect of oxygen. In the one the upper air-vessels are seized; in the other the lower intestines. The one appears when ozone is excessive and carbon deficient; the other when ozone is deficient and carbon excessive. The one appears when there is a want of vegetables and fruits; the other when there is a superabundance of them. The one shows in winter or early spring; the other in summer or early autumn. The one is unknown in the sultry plains of torrid climes. The other is unknown in very cold and elevated regions. The one has its *habitat* in cold climates; the other has its *locale* in hot climates. The one in bad cases shows a skin vividly scarlet; the other in the worst cases almost dark blue. The one should be treated with chlorate of potash carbon (a vegetable diet), and coolness, etc.; the other with chloride of sodium, oxygen, warmth, etc. Both the diseases present every degree of severity between the mild and malignant forms, as even in scarlet fever sometimes the patient sinks at once and irretrievably under the virulence of the attack, and life is extinguished in a few hours. In both the fatality depends on the type of the prevailing epidemic. Both assume an epidemic existence.

“We need not carry on the parallelism and analogy any further. It is perfect like the equation furnished above the scarlet fever, which equation also, to make the parallelism still more remarkable, may be applied for cholera with the changes implied in the parallel; thus:—

{ Defect of oxygen or,—and,—excess of carbon }
{ and „ „ soda or,—and,— „ „ potash }
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furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of cholera; and the cure. This equation, too, is perfect.

"I have impressed the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics, and the physical sciences of chemistry, physiology, pathology, morbid anatomy, and the observation and practice of disease, to discover, by *formulæ*, and rigid rule, the truth, and to prove it; and this, notwithstanding *lacunæ* to the unlearned."

Scarlet Fever: Its Cure.

Sufficient has been said in the preceding part on cholera for me to refrain from adding much here. A cure is not of the nature of a charm; nature is manifold in the human mikrokosmos and marvellous in diversity, as are also symptoms of a disease and remedies, but all agree in one and to one end. The knowledge of any disease requires the most varied, minute, difficult, and intricate, scientific study, united with large and extended practice; and after a disease is fully made known, it is left to scientific practitioners to apply the knowledge varied in every individual instance.

As also in the part on cholera, I need not to describe here the varieties, symptoms, pathology, and morbid anatomy of scarlet fever. I must assume all these to be known.

Without any other observation we may note that here, too, the *formulæ* furnished in cholera may be retained; but for N, nutriment, understanding principally the carbon of it; O for the oxygen; and U the contact of the N and O in the blood, *i.e.*, the oxidation of the carbon of the food. But here it is the excessive contact of the oxygen, and which may imply defective carbon, and not, as in cholera, the deficient contact, that creates the abnormal condition resulting in scarlet fever. Hence these two diseases present, within very nearly the same chemical range, such exactly *balancing*, and sometimes similar, characters; the defect of the soda of the body in cholera too, being replaced in scarlet fever by the defect of the potash; and the death of the corpuscles in cholera in one way, by their death in scarlet fever in another way. Let us now see these things more particularly.

I. Becquerel and Rodier furnish the following as the mean composition of male blood:—

Water	...	...	...	779.00
Fibrin	...	...	...	2.20
Fatty matters	...	...	...	1.60
Albumen	...	...	...	69.40
Corpuscles	...	...	...	141.10
Salts &c.	...	...	...	6.80
Iron	...	...	...	0.57
In blood there is of serum	...	87	serum	869.15
clot	...	13	clot	130.85
		100		1000.00

Of the serum 869.15 there is water	...	...	790.37
albumen	...	...	67.8
salts, &c.	...	...	10.98
			869.15

Of the clot 130.85 there is globules (albumen, and fibrine)	...	125.63
hematosine	...	2.27
separate fibrine	...	2.95
		130.85

Take also the following once for all occasions in also subsequent sections, noting the carbon:—

Components.	Albumen.	Fibrin.
Carbon	... 55.46 (atoms 216)	... 54.45 (atoms 216)
Hydrogen	... 7.20 (" 169)	... 7.07 (" 169)
Nitrogen	... 16.48 (" 27)	... 17.21 (" 27)
Oxygen	... 18.27 (" 68)	... 19.35 (" 68)
Sulphur	... 2.16 (" 2)	... 1.59 (" 2)
Phosphorus	... 0.43	... 0.33

Note in both, the proportion of carbon. Excessive oxidation, by using up all the carbon, destroys the albumen. The microscopic character of mucus and albumen corpuscles are both identical. They vary under different pathological conditions of the patient. Their difference is in the composition of the fluid in which the particles float. Albumen is soluble in potash. Phosphoric acid, too, has a decided solvent action on it. Nitric and hydrochloric acids precipitate it, and nitrate of silver also affects it.

II. We see also in the above analysis the proportion of fibrin in the blood. If moist, fibrin is digested in a solution of nitrate of potash containing a little soda, at a temperature of about the blood (a little higher), it gradually becomes converted into a substance in almost every respect identical with albumen. In inflammatory diseases the proportion of fibrin goes up as high as 10 in 1000. The coagulation of blood is due to fibrin previously dissolved becoming insoluble, and forming a fine network or jelly, in which the globules are enclosed, as may be seen from the morbid anatomy of scarlet fever. The coagulation of blood presents the same fibrinous aspect as when blood is drawn and exposed to the oxygen. Coagulation is retarded for a considerable time by a strong solution of nitrate of potash, or of muriate of ammonia; and fibrin, after blood has been allowed to coagulate, is gradually dissolved by the latter.

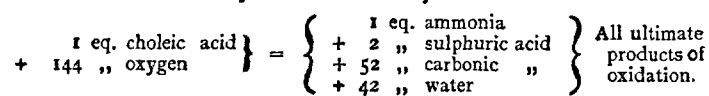
Hematofibrin is formed from gelatine and choleic acid= albumen and water:—

$$\begin{matrix} 1 \text{ eq. hematofibrin} \\ + 18 \text{ " water} \end{matrix} = \begin{matrix} \{ 3 \text{ eqs. gelatine} \\ \text{" choleic acid.} \end{matrix}$$

Consequently, loss of bile, as albumen in a state of conversion

is bile (and gelatine), which loss occurs in scarlet fever, means non-renewal, non-supply, of fibrin.

III. Choleic acid fully oxidised will yield as follows:—

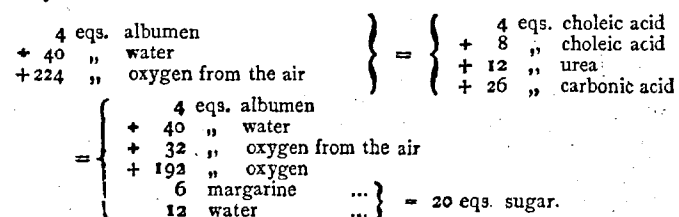


And cholic acid:—



These acids are the products of the destruction of sanguigenous matter by the oxygen of the blood. The colouring matter of the bile exhibits changes connected with the formation or destruction of the bile; and we know that blue colouring matters are turned green by alkalis, and red by acids. A red colouring matter is turned green by alkalis, and is also very fugitive. It is also soluble in water and alcohol. Bile may be decolourised by dissolving it in absolute alcohol to separate mucus, and digesting the alcoholic solution with animal charcoal till the colour is removed.

We may note here also the oxidation of albumen:—



Thus (20 eqs.) sugar yields both fat and oxygen. Sugar is a source whence blood may obtain oxygen when respiration is impeded.

IV. The juice of flesh is uniformly, or more frequently, acid. The acids present are lactic acid in large quantity, phosphoric acid, and other acids. The bases are potash in large proportions both as phosphate, lactate, inosinate, etc., and as chloride of potassium; soda in much smaller quantity, chiefly as chloride of sodium, etc. The composition of flesh is:—

Water	...	...	78
Fibrin, &c.	...	...	17
Albumen &c.	...	...	5

} = 100

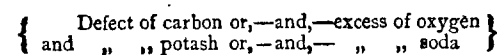
Acid tribasic phosphate of potash $\text{PO}_5 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{KO} \\ \text{HO} \end{array} \right\}$ exists in large proportion in the juice of flesh, chiefly contributing to its acidity, and is produced by phosphoric acid acting on chloride of potassium or salts of potash. Just as soda is essential to blood, potash is essential to juice of flesh. As excess of

alkali is required to form the blood to enable it to perform its function of destroying the tissues by oxidations, so phosphoric acid in excess is required for the production of the tissues. In scarlet fever, where there is great oxidation, a plentiful supply of potash is needed,—also to solve fibrin.

V. Animal heat is promoted by everything that increases the supply of oxygen, as increased respiration, as in children from running about; or cold with abundant food, or warm clothing, both of which exist in and immediately following winter, the period for scarlet fever, and children and the young form the subjects of attack. Carbon and hydrogen are the chief sources of animal heat in their oxidation; that is, oxygen acting on starch, sugar, and fat, the principal food of the young. The proportion of carbon to nitrogen, which furnishes no combustion, is as great in all the *excreta* as in albumen, or even greater. And the albumen, from which fibrin is made, is destroyed from the deficiency of carbon, which is rapidly oxidised in scarlet fever. We may also remember that uric acid, which is apt to be secreted in fever, is dissolved in moderately dilute potash.

VI. We thus see albumen a chief constituent of the body, and carbon of it; fibrin from it; and fibrin and albumen destroyed in scarlet fever. A deficiency of carbon affects both albumen and fibrin; or excessive oxygen and oxidation, which produces the deficiency. Potash is the great base of the juice of flesh; and potash acts on both albumen and fibrin. The bile supplies the carbon, but is oxidised by excess of oxygen to produce its acids, and hence bile and acids are equally lost in scarlet fever.

Hence—



furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of scarlet fever; and the cure. The equation is perfect.

VII. Our task is over; but it is interesting to observe the *balancing* parallelism and analogy between cholera and scarlet fever, one illustrating and confirming the other. We have already shown how the cholera *formulae* may be applied here, and we proceed to other points. In scarlet fever the temperature rises to even 112° F., the pulse is even 130, there is great surface heat, and an external eruption; in cholera the temperature goes down to even 72° F., the pulse is hardly perceptible, there is great coldness of surface, and an internal exudation. In the one the tissues are relaxed, and the tendency is to dropsy; in the other the tissues are collapsed, and the sequel is fever. In the one excess of oxidation and deficiency of carbon; in the other deficiency of oxidation and excess of

carbon. In the one the bile is emptied and lost; in the other the bile is full to congestion. In the one the juice of flesh is affected because there is deficiency of potash and excess of soda; in the other the vital fluid is affected because there is deficiency of soda and excess of potash. In the one there is destruction of albumen; in the other accession of it. In the one the hematofibrin solidifies through excess of oxygen and soda and defect of carbon; in the other the blood corpuscles perish through excess of carbonic acid and potash and defect of oxygen. In the one the upper air-vessels are seized; in the other the lower intestines. The one appears when oxone is excessive and carbon deficient; the other when ozone is deficient and carbon excessive. The one appears when there is a want of vegetables and fruits; the other when there is a superabundance of them. The one shows in winter or early spring; the other in summer or early autumn. The one is unknown in the sultry plains of torrid climes; the other is unknown in very cold and elevated regions. The one has its *habitat* in cold climates; the other has its *locale* in hot climates. The one in bad cases shows a skin vividly scarlet; the other in the worst cases almost dark blue. The one should be treated with chlorate of potash, carbon (a vegetable diet), and coolness, etc.; the other with chloride of sodium, oxygen, warmth, etc. Both the diseases present every degree of severity between the mild and malignant forms, as even in scarlet fever sometimes the patient sinks at once and irretrievably under the virulence of the attack, and life is extinguished in a few hours. In both the fatality depends on the type of the prevailing epidemic. Both assume an epidemic existence.

We need not to carry on the parallelism and analogy any further. It is perfect like the equation furnished above for scarlet fever, which equation also, to make the parallelism still more remarkable, may be applied for cholera with the changes implied in the parallel; thus:—

{ Defect of oxygen or,—and,—excess of carbon }
 { and „ „ soda or,—and,— „ „ potash }

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of cholera, and the cure. This equation, too, is perfect.

I have impressed the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics, and the physical sciences of chemistry, physiology, pathology, morbid anatomy, and the observation and practice of disease, to discover, by *formulae*, and rigid rule; the truth, and to prove it; and this, notwithstanding *lacunæ* to the unlearned.

PHYSICIAN.

THE QUARTER.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Who thinks or who cares about South Africa? This question might well have been one that any one would have been justified in asking even a couple years back. India certainly then was the pivot, as Lord Curzon expressed it, on which the external empire and greatness of England moved. But now, and for two years past, the Boer "War," as it has been called, has excluded every other matter from the public ken. Even our important Indian dominion, and the immensely-important empire of China, have taken a second place. A series of huge political blunders in the treatment of a small tribe of remote Dutchmen,—who desired to be let alone to manage their own affairs in their own way, who professed a faith akin to that of Great Britain, and who were gradually rising to the light of English civilisation by the education of her best sons in English Universities,—perpetrated by a man innocent of the old high traditions of British policy, wanting in a sense of the proportion of things, and even of the culture imparted by University training and the associations of high birth, who had pushed himself to the front in the Cabinet through the opportunity afforded by the Home Rule question and the weakness of the Duke of Devonshire, and dominated his fellow-Ministers,—to the surprise of every one except "the man in the street,"—has almost entirely altered, and certainly entirely obscured, the true view of the world's politics, and launched England into a costly war without profit and without glory, preventing her from taking her proper position in the great and far-reaching questions affecting China and Russia and, in consequence, India, which have come up to the front, and which may be said to have been decided in favor of Russia. To enter into all the causes which led to the South African question assuming importance a few years back—from the general "scramble" for Africa initiated by Germany's acquisition of Damaraland and German East Africa, to the Jameson Raid and the falseness of the "Right Hon'ble" Mr. Rhodes to the duties of his high offices as Premier of Cape Colony, and a "Privy Councillor,"—which may remind us that we are at present literally sowing broadcast this hitherto rigidly guarded, most responsible, and most-highly esteemed, honor and privilege to anyone and everyone,—is not our work here. Neither have we the time, space, and occasion, to trace the Chinese troubles, from Germany's seizure of Kiaou-Chaou, and

her course of duplicity in openly moving with England and secretly working with Russia, to the latest development of Russia acquiring Manchuria, and England retiring from the scene, with Germany left in possession of the field. Were the whole of South Africa to be drowned under the depths of the sea to-morrow, there would not be the slightest loss politically to the great world. The true centre of gravity in Africa is Egypt—and that because of India and the East—and England's loss of her usual political vision must be keenly felt alike by our Viceroy and the eminent soldier Governor-General of the Soudan now shut up in a far obscure corner engaged in destroying the independence of a small race akin to us in blood and language. (We write with perfect knowledge, for the South African Boers are partly British both in blood and language.) Nay, in "wiping out" their very existence! Again asserting without the least doubt that India is the centre of gravity of England's foreign and external empire and her position among nations and that Russia and China have an intimate bearing on India,—that Russian domination in China spells the passing away of England's dominion in India,—we are perforce compelled, owing to the continued "Brummagem" sway of "the man in the street" (the most ominous sign of the times) in English politics, to view South Africa and its trumpery concerns first. How have things gone on there during the period that has elapsed since we last viewed the subject? The answer is, we are still but holding on to the lines of communications—and barely even that—and the principal towns and a few strategic points while making great plundering movements with detached columns. The Boer "Governments" still exist, and have even their recognised "capitals." The Boer forces, even if diminished, still take our smaller "posts," beleaguer us in parts for months, and even assemble bodies of five thousand men to give us battle! Commandos still are raiding in Cape Colony—it is asserted even that De Wet is again with them—and even an invasion again of Natal is planned by Botha! Our troops are still being thinned at the rate of one officer and ten men a day by the operations of the enemy, and one hundred men a day by the operations of typhoid. We are still drafting large bodies of fresh troops—now procured with difficulty—from Home. And with England "staggering" under the imposition of heavy and unusual taxes, we are still throwing away, a million-and-a-half every week on this reprehensible and, at present causeless, struggle. Nay, things are even worse than before, for the Plague has now established itself in South Africa and has even entered into the ranks of our soldiery. And besides this, a wise and humane attempt of the great and eminent British

soldier in command to induce the surrender of Botha and the Boer "Governments," which had well nigh succeeded, was quickly frustrated and rendered nugatory by Mr. Chamberlain, confirming the Boers in their determination to further prolong the struggle to the utmost. We cannot arrive at understanding the true position, military and political, by being blind to the truth. Our telegrams have been woefully "censored and doctored" even from the beginning of the "War"—and even previous to it!—to suit the purposes of "party" and the "man in the street" at home. The Boer "Ultimatum"—a piece of undoubted folly—was largely and prominently set forth, but what led to it, and how it was forced on the Boers, were carefully concealed. War facts which told for the Boers, and against us, were carefully excluded. Calumnies and slanders, and even falsehoods, were scattered broadcast to rouse "the man (or hooligan) of the street," and even the indignation of Englishmen. Even to the present day, that there exist the Boer "Governments," and armies operating under different leading Boer Commanders; that the great portion of the Transvaal is still almost unvisited by our troops; that we hold only some towns and the lines of communications—too often interrupted,—that Cape Colony is actually under invasion, and that our men and officers are being decimated at the rate of ten of the former and one of the latter every day by the enemy, and at the rate of a hundred every day by illness and disease, that the Boers would readily submit if only treated fairly and honorably;—all these naked truths are carefully concealed. There will doubtless be a rude awakening, of how the nation has been deceived, befooled and led astray, and there are signs that the awakening process has begun, and that "the man in the street" will be ejected from ruling in the councils of the nation and deciding its politics. But, alas! who will restore to us the tens of thousands of brave soldiers we have lost? Who will restore to us our *prestige* which has been so sadly diminished? Who will pay back the two hundred millions sterling cost of the "War?" Who will restore us the position we have lost in China?—that means, in Asia? Not all the Chamberlains and Colonial "Premiers" in the world, nor all the "men of the street"—and the music halls. We have said that to understand where we are, the true position, we must not be blindfolded and misled as to facts. Take only the following few brief lines which dribble out occasionally in spite of the censorship:—"General French's column is suffering great hardships;" "Schalkburger is carrying on the Boer Government at Totesburg Pit, in Middleburg District, east of Pretoria, which has long been the principal supply depôt of the Commandos;" "Rustenburg, with a garrison of 1,500, about

half way between Mafeking and Pretoria, has been practically invested for nearly three months ; " Zeerust (30 miles north-east of Mafeking) telegrams show that it was still blockaded by the Boers ; " " DeLarey, with 5,000 men, has occupied a strong position in the hills, with General Babington in close touch, who was not sufficiently strong to attack ; " " British casualties during April were 8 officers killed and 20 wounded, 122 men killed and 206 wounded " (or at the rate of one officer and ten men a day !) ; " Eastern and Western Transvaal again being massed with the enemy and General Campbell harassed by 1,000 Boers with four guns ; " " Boers, with four guns, including a 12-pounder Creuzot, thrice attacked General Bullock's column, and all efforts to capture their guns failed ; " " Botha left Ermelo on the 15th instant (May), marching eastwards ; " " Boers active in Cape Colony, and fighting has occurred in the Districts of GraafReinet, Steynsburg, and Barkly East ; " " De Wet is rumoured to be again in Cape Colony ; " " Vanreenan has led another Boer force into Cape Colony, and has reached Zuurberg ; " " Sir Bindon Blood (who replaced General French, who has been invalidated), has renewed his operations in the Eastern Transvaal against the main gathering of the Boers under Botha ; " " 100 men of the 5th Lancers were surrounded and captured ; " " Botha and Viljoen have joined forces and are occupying Carolina, on the Pretoria Delagoa Railway ; " and a great many others similar, including almost daily derailments and captures of trains. Lord Kitchener himself writes, that " his constant endeavour has been to improve his fortifications and works on the lines of communication, and, by evacuating certain posts, to increase the mobile columns," and that Botha's plan to invade Natal had been narrowly foiled by General French's sweeping movement. General Penn Symons to die first, and General French to leave last, of how many of our best Generals, including such names as those of Yule, Warren, Buller, Colville, and others (Baden-Powell too has gone !) South Africa has been their grave, literally or metaphorically. And yet, while the *Times* can say that we should send fresh troops (!) and letters from its correspondents show that unless the " war " is finished by September it will continue for another year !—and Sir Alfred Milner can write that " loyal South Africa is sick to death of the war, which has brought ruin to many of them, and imposed considerable sacrifices on almost all,"—and that " it is no use denying that the last half year has been one of *retrogression* : seven months ago this (Cape) Colony was perfectly quiet as far as the Orange River ; the southern half of the Orange River Colony (the Free State) was rapidly settling down, and even a considerable portion of the Transvaal, notably

the South-Western Districts, seemed to have definitely accepted British authority ;—to-day the scene is completely altered ; " —(and England been obliged to take a back seat in China) ; —Mr. Chamberlain, with his orchid in his buttonhole, can have the effrontery—in his native pinchbeck and shoddy Birmingham—to publicly speak about the " mandate " and " opinion " of " the people " not having changed in the slightest degree, and fool young and silly women, in a speech at a Women's Meeting elsewhere by promising them plenty of husbands in South Africa " after the War ! " Whether the much-enduring British nation will stand much longer such unblushing, and even criminal effrontery, and befooling, is a question. It is only the disunion of the Opposition,—Lord Rosebery's ambition to *posè* as chief regardless of old experience, good work, and better claims,—that keeps the effete party now in power, headed by an infirm statesman, in office for a day. Meantime, " acts of rebellion " are notified in the *Cape Gazette* to be removed from the mild penalties of the Special Tribunals Act, and hangings and long penal sentences—which will probably at last rouse up the Cape Dutch—are taking their place. Lord Kitchener, too, has had grave differences with Sir Alfred Milner, who has returned home, as said, for a few months. Altogether, with Chamberlain in charge of the cooking, and keeping up the fire, we have as pretty a kettle-full of fish as can be desired, or possible. We have answered the question of what about South Africa and the Boer " War ? " and we trust we have shown the true position of affairs there. Mr. Merriman, an Englishman, but a Boer Peace-Delegate, speaking the other day in Edinburgh, said all that the Boers wanted, was an honorable peace, with self-government such as Canada enjoys, all South Africa to be united, and under the protection of England. Is this too much to grant to people whom we wish to become one with us in the future, and who have made good their claims to even exceptionable honorable treatment ? Is not this what we really want ? Is not this the " mandate ? " But if this be granted Chamberlain's " occupation will be gone," and the " Khaki " Ministry will fall ; *therefore* the " War " must be kept on to the loss of England's brave troops in South Africa, and of England's power and *prestige* in the Far East, and to the possible extinction of the Boer race kindred with our own, and if not, to a forced but hollow submission rendering certain future rebellions and outbreaks. We pass from this very painful subject, to one, its direct consequence, still more painful, the loss of our leading position in China, and the rising supremacy of the Russians and Germans there—leading to the most serious ultimate consequences for India—this great and fine Empire which we have

taken centuries to build up, and which is civilising and raising a fifth of the globe's population.

THE CHINESE EMBROGLIO.—Our remark, in the last Quarter's Notes, that an alliance with Germany in Chinese matters, may cost us too dear, has already been verified. We may say that it has cost us China, and what that implies in reference to India we should not like to express. Let us proceed in the order of events in the Far East. After burning, butchering and plundering as much as possible—charges from which the Americans and Japanese are free, and from which the others have attempted to free themselves—long drawn consultations between the representatives of Europe present in Peking and the Chinese Court resulted in a number of executions, and some agreement as to the amount of the indemnity. Prince Tuan and General Tungfoo Tsiang escaped, and set up a rebellion on their own account and are yet at large with a considerable body of troops. One by one the powers withdrew from the "Concert," leaving Germany with England tied hard and fast to her. Troops also began to be withdrawn, the Americans and Japanese going first. Of those that remained, there was much disgraceful rowdiness displayed by the French towards the British, kept under only by the superior authority of the officers; a German sabred an English officer; and the Russians and British nearly came to an open rupture in connection with some railway land at Tientsin. Meanwhile, Count Waldersee, whether to justify his position, or to keep his Germans in trim, or by orders from home, kept on harassing the Chinese with incessant expeditions. We learnt only subsequently that his masterstroke, to make a cat's-paw of the British by sending an expedition commanded by General Gaselee to Singanfoo, which we referred to last Quarter, was foiled only by the refusal of the British Cabinet direct from home. In some of these small expeditions, the Germans did not always fare very well, and in one, would probably have been severely handled by the Chinese, but for the accidental presence of the French. The Germans have indeed been so "active," that they have created a perfect state of anarchy. Amid all these minor and major troubles the Imperial Palace, in which Count Waldersee had taken up his comfortable quarters, as if refusing to be further degraded, took fire one night, and while one German General, Schwarzhoff, was burnt to death, Count Waldersee himself escaped in his night clothes with the greatest difficulty after receiving what is described as a "considerable shock." Finally, certain forts were to be dismantled, a suitable permanent guard for the Legations was fixed on, and some reforms promised in the Chinese mode of Government. All seemed to be at an end. But it was the end only of the First Act. The

Second opened with Russia making a separate treaty with China about Manchuria. This was stoutly opposed by England and Japan. The latter even showed her teeth, made grandiose speeches in her Parliament, fussed about military preparations, and finally subsided owing to being practically bankrupt and unable to raise a loan. In reference to England, Russia threw in her teeth her going behind the other Powers to make an agreement with Germany. Such has been the result of Lord Salisbury's supposedly-clever but sneaking policy! Or, was it the policy of the German Emperor, by which he worked for, and with, Russia, while hood-winking England? Count von Bulow declared in his home Parliament that "the Anglo-German Agreement did not refer to Manchuria, and there was no antagonism between Russia and Germany in China." Of course not. Only our British statesmen are so tied hand and foot with South Africa, or are so easily hood-winked with a little show of seeming cordiality by Kaiser William, that they dare not, or cannot, see. Japan unable to act, and Germany refusing to do so, England has withdrawn from her position, and also recalled her troops. As the conclusion of Act the Second, Manchuria remains to Russia, Japan is revenging herself with small experiments in Corea, America is clean out of the game (as was always to be expected), Germany remains in strength, and so does France, and Great Britain leaves. The Third Act opens with our power and *prestige* gone in China, with the Russians strengthening their forces and their fleet, with Germany in force, and with her fleet watching her (!) interests on the Yang-tze, and with the French, too, in force. The last report, as we write, is that Count Waldersee has been suddenly recalled home. The question may arise, why? Is he wanted in Europe? What significance had the astute German Emperor's late speech about if a war should come, he had a "great Ally in Heaven?" (!) We may view this question a little further when noticing Germany below.

The nett result so far of our share in the Chinese embroglio is that Germany, France and Russia, remain in force on the field; that we leave after a cost of £4,000,000, and being rebuffed by Russia, and abandoned by America; nothing really settled in China, Prince Tuan still at large and powerful, and the Boxers again becoming active.

The conclusion of the Third Act is not yet; meanwhile, knowing the Chinese well, we endorse every word that Sir Robert Hart with his ripe knowledge says of them, when he writes, that "they have more respect for justice than any other nation; that they are well-behaved, law-abiding, intelligent, economical, and industrious; they can learn anything and do any-

thing; they are punctiliously polite, they worship talent, and they believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think it requires to be supported or enforced by might; they delight in literature, and everywhere they have their literary clubs and coteries for hearing and discussing each other's essays and verses, they possess and practise an admirable system of ethics, and they are generous, charitable, and fond of good works; they never forget a favour; they make rich return for any kindness, and though they know money will buy service, a man must be more than wealthy to win public esteem and respect; they are practical, teachable, and wonderfully gifted with common sense; they are excellent artisans, reliable workmen, and of a good faith that everyone acknowledges and admires in their commercial dealings."

It is to destroy such a nation that Germany has been bent for some time, but the engineer may be "hoist with his own petard."

OTHER COUNTRIES.—France has not only made her presence prominent in China, but has made real progress in Europe. She has drawn closer to Italy, which has long been kicking against the lead of Germany. She has also united herself to Russia in the Chinese policy of the latter, M. Delcasse having paid a special visit to St. Petersburg, and maintains her forces in the Far East ready to act should occasion arise. A trifling fanatical outbreak in a village in Algeria, magnified by the press patronized by "the man in the street" into an Algerian rising, was summarily and easily suppressed even as we should do with a similar "Mad" Moulvi in Allahabad! A strike, which threatened to become formidable, in Marseilles, too, has happily ended. The *Marseilles Hymn* had actually been sung!

Germany, too, has moved forward considerably after another sense. Her interest centres in the Kaiser's sayings and doings, who seems to be as absolute in Germany as the Czar in Russia. The clever "dodge"—we can call it nothing else—by which he got Count Waldersee to be recognised as Commander-in-Chief in China, was repudiated by all the other Powers save England, and even England at the last, on the occasion of the intended move on Singanfoo, threw it over. So Germany having created as much desolation and anarchy in North China as possible, is still there in force, along with France and Russia. The last move of Germany in China is sending a fleet of four war-vessels to watch her interests on the Yangtze! (England still remains in Shanghai.) What double game is in the Kaiser's mind in regard to China,—for she has openly sided with Russia in regard to Manchuria,—it is impossible for us to say. But

the—as we write—rumoured recall of Count Waldersee, and the Kaiser's late speech in regard to his "Great Ally in Heaven,"—his words were, "should we be surrounded by foes and have to fight in a minority against superior numbers, he had a Great Ally in Heaven,"—lead us to view the double game he has long been playing in Europe. Russia is well known to be united to France (and France to Russia) as against an attack from Germany. Meantime Germany cannot afford to break with Russia just at present owing to various reasons, the chief of which is the doubt of its strength to do so as against France and Russia combined. Another reason is the continued life of the Emperor Francis Joseph who holds the various German and other elements in the Austrian Empire together. The Kaiser looks forward to the Emperor's death as affording him the opportunity of incorporating German-Austria in the German Empire—probably guaranteeing Hungary a separate existence, thus becoming the great Central European Empire, and inheriting Austria's title to Constantinople. Hence, too, his playing with the "sick" Turk, and looking even beyond to Asia Minor. His support of Abdul Aziz also means the latter's support—which is very doubtful—of him in the event of a war with Russia should it occur before his designs are complete to absorb Austria and inherit Turkey's possessions. It is a great dream, no doubt, to extend his empire from the Baltic to Baghdad. But he is quite capable of dreaming such a dream; only circumstances must be favourable to carry it out, and he will have to fight hard for it. It is only this supposition that explains his pretended moving along with England, and his keeping Russia in play. We are afraid, however, that for such another "kettleful of fish" England's common sense will revolt, and his insane ambition will have no support from us, unless Russia has before that insanely gone into a war with us. Just as it is England's interest to keep out of European complications—even if Constantinople be involved—so it is to Russia's interest, if she is to successfully thwart the Kaiser's ambition, to remain on good terms with us. And that Russia is aware of the Kaiser's mad ambition is unquestionable from the way she also is playing with Germany. On the whole the outlook is a most extraordinary one, a convulsion that will shake Europe to its centre. Insanity is supposed to be hereditary in the Hohenzollern family, and also ambition and cunning, and the present Kaiser has his full share of the latter. But the Powers have begun to find him out, and the war-that-is-to-be may be begun before the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Hence the speech we quote—which appears to be wrung from him—and the reference to being "surrounded by foes and fighting in a

minority against superior numbers"—Italy, too, being detached from him. We will only trust that England's eyes will be opened to her false and time-serving "ally." Should the Kaiser succeed in his project of absorbing Central Europe; and extending the German Empire from the Baltic to Baghdad with a navy immensely strengthened, the next step will be to strike at England!

Russia has made the most solid progress politically of any power. She has strengthened herself immensely on the Pacific and acquired the vast country of Manchuria, dominating China on the North. She has also almost got over her trouble with Finland. Some students' riots have been suppressed, and a more liberal policy in regard to them announced by the Czar. The officials who are retrogressive, the Jews, and Count Tolstoi, are answerable for all the internal troubles of Russia. We cannot understand how it is that Tolstoi can be allowed to stay even in Russia. Finally, Russia has gone in for a loan of sixteen millions sterling.

Italy has begun well with her new King; and at the same time is beginning to see that her best interests lie in unity with France and not a military alliance with Germany.

Turkey has been peculiarly unfortunate in again trying to bring the combined Powers of Europe down upon her. She interfered with the Foreign Mails, and the Ministers had to employ their own messengers. Finally, Turkey had to climb down, and offered an apology. On the face of this we cannot understand the declaration of Lord Lansdowne that we were determined on reparation, while a fleet too is proceeding to Salonika. The fleet may proceed there for other purposes. At all events we are not, as we write, yet completely informed as to details, and Abdul Aziz's friend, the German Kaiser, was unable to help him to carry out his design to "censor" and supervise the Foreign Mails. Another unfortunate occurrence was a powerful shock of earthquake which disturbed and broke up a public audience of the Sultan. Taking occasion of this his very particular friend, the German Kaiser (who has, as we have shown, an eye to Constantinople and the rich inheritance of the "sick man"), sent him congratulations for his safety! What we must also regard as an unfortunate occurrence for Turkey, is that the Sultan has despatched an Ottoman Mission to China to enter into relations with the Mussalmans there! We are told that Russia has throughout been opposed to the Mission, but Germany favours it. This move of Turkey, even if encouraged by Germany in it, is most unwise. In the first place the Chinese Government will simply scout it, and send it back without any result, tantamount to an insult. But Turkey periodically invites these insults and humiliations, as

witness the hardly-closed incident regarding the Foreign Mails. In the second place, being an Imperial Mission with several military members in it, it is really an attempt under the plea of religion to gain some sort of political footing beyond Turkish waters, to which the British have hitherto confined the Turk. There was an instance during one period of the Chinese War in Sumatra when the Turks wished to send a war-vessel to aid their Malay co-religionists, but Great Britain would not permit the interference. The time may be favourable for the Turk to extend his political influence under the patronage of his (self-interested) German friend, but the last word will always lie with Russia and England, even in China. On the whole, it is an unfortunate revelation of what the Turk is, and almost a disclosing of Germany's game. Nothing good can come of it. Finally, the "Macedonian Committee" is again active, showing a further diminution of Turkey's rule at no distant date, for that is what the Austrian Prime Minister's speech on a late occasion implies. It is quite possible that these troubles will hasten the end of Turkey, and force the German Kaiser's hand before its time. On the whole, things in Europe all over do not look very reassuring, and we must be thankful that England is out of it, and at all events strong enough to make her decision heard. Lord Salisbury's warning recently that she would not be defied, had perhaps a deeper reference than to the mere passing Boer troubles. We may close our review of Europe by adding that Spain is full of revolutionary and anarchist troubles. And in the midst of all, the charming Queen Wilhelmina of Holland has given her hand with her heart to Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg—Schwerin, and the Dutch are all very satisfied by it, as they well may.

Turning to Asia, exclusive of India and China which we review separately, Japan is bankrupt, and has (as yet) wisely forborne declaring war against Russia. She is, however, making small bites at Korea. Korea evidently allows it, and at the same time wanting money and not being able to get it, dismisses Mr. McLeavy Brown of the customs. The Hermit kingdom is a remarkable one, and our readers will find it very pleasantly described in an article we publish in this issue on the *Eastward Route Home*—the reading of which will, we believe, induce many of our Service readers with a little time on their hands to also go there when taking long leave. Our Viceroy, as is well known, has already been there, and spent some of his most enjoyable travel days there. Siam is moving ahead in—Buddhism, and Palace-building. Cabul's Amir has written a book setting forth his own manifold virtues, and his great desire to be more liberally

treated, both politically and financially (!) by the British. His appetite is evidently growing on what it feeds, and we all, by this time, ought to know the Cabulee character. It is essentially that of the Israelite (not "without guile") whose lineal race-descendent he is. At the present moment he seems to be laid up by his old enemy the gout, and his sons are carrying on the government. Arabia, not to be outdone by the rest of the world, has gone in for a military diversion—a great tribal fight—on her own account. The powerful Koweit chief invaded Nejd, sacked it, then had to retreat, and finally had to escape with only a few followers! The Turkish Vullee of Baghdad thought of interfering, but did not—perhaps wisely. Meanwhile Arabia is agitating to have a railway from Jeddah to Mecca for the pilgrims, and sums of money all over the Moslem world are being collected for the purpose. This railway will let day-light into Arabia with a vengeance! But imagine Arabia having a railway line before enlightened Persia, and our wise Ally the Amir who can talk about "politics!" From Asia to the South Seas, or Africa, is no great step, and in the former a distinguished millionaire Hanoverian Scientist named Menke has been caught, roasted and eaten by the cannibals, whereat the German Emperor became "furious" according to his wont, and ordered a gun-boat at once to "burn, slay, and destroy." The Rev. Mr. Chalmers, one of the oldest and most successful Missionaries in New Guinea, has also been killed and eaten. In Somaliland a "Mad" Mullah has got a following of some 10,000 men, and both the British and Abyssinians have been unable to deal with him. A British expedition also against the Ogaden-Somalis has been turned back. Our African troubles are evidently not confined to the southern portion of the continent. It is very possible that these Somali affairs are the direct result of the batch of so-called "Abyssinians" taken to Rhodesia to work under a practical system of slavery some time back. Meantime, the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines are wanting Chinese labour! Plague has gained a footing in Cape Colony, and we are afraid has established itself there, and the ravages are yet to come. In South America a Monarchist conspiracy in the Navy has been nipped in the bud; and Venezuela is assuming a high tone with the United States, erstwhile her protector as against England.

ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.—From the seething mass of war, desolation, confusion and misery in the outside world we turn with a feeling of relief to view our own inheritance. Canada has, as usual, been spouting perfervid loyalty to the mother country, with the result that the Premier has been made a "Privy Councillor,"—an honor

that has also been bestowed on a number of other Colonial Premiers, some of whom, we believe, have risen from nothing, and could not write a decent line. Australia has been entertaining, and almost going mad, over the Duke of Cornwall's visit to open the Federal Parliament, which he did in Melbourne, it is stated, in the presence of 12,000 people. The Duke also visited Ballarat, one of the finest cities on the Australian continent. What Melbourne and Victoria are like our readers will learn from an article in the present issue on *The Evolution of a British Colony*. The Duke subsequently proceeded to Sydney and Brisbane. The elections for the Australian Federal Parliament have resulted in a protectionist majority; and already a "Monroe doctrine" is being talked of for Australasia! New Zealand is out of the Federation. Statistics disclose the startling fact that the Australians are becoming a sterile race. It is not a wonder to those who know Australia and its society, etc. Of course, there is much of it good; but the mass of it is—nowhere. Politically, too, like its national emblem of the Kangaroo, it will be feeble at the head, and rest on its buttress—the tail! We believe Australia will never become another United States, in any respect whatever—not even a Canada. This is too long a question for us to further discuss here. Finally, our kith in the United States have made substantial progress in, at last, catching Aguinaldo by a clever stratagem, reminding one of the Wooden Horse at Troy. Aguinaldo has now given in his adhesion, and is calling on his compatriots to submit. At home, the United States, under the guidance of Mr. Morgan, is going into huge Trusts in everything, and Andrew Carnegie has sold out with a fortune of fifty millions sterling, of which he is making such a good use, that not only will his name live as long as the world exists, or millions unborn bless him, but his example will probably lead other great millionaires to make as good use of their "talents." Carnegie is determined to distribute all his money, except a little reserved for a young daughter, before he dies. His wisdom, Scotch and practical, does not run in the line of endowing "Bishoprics." Yet we think some portion of his millions may yet go towards spreading the consolations of true religion among the outcast hopeless in a few great cities, as well of elevating *character*, and not mere intellectual attainments, in some of our greatest centres of education.

HOME—ENGLAND.—King Edward VII has justified the expectations of all who wish him, and the state, well. He began with three addresses to his home subjects, to Britain beyond the seas, and to the princes and peoples of India, which are models of kingly resolves and declarations. Nothing

could have been better in style, matter, and brevity. And everyone must be pleased to see not only in these, but in all his replies to the numerous public bodies, his references to the Divine blessing, and his anxiety to do what is right. Indeed from his past history for very many years as Prince of Wales nothing but sobriety, earnestness, and attention to duty may be expected of him. He has always shown strong common sense, made a model chairman, and helped the poor and sick in various ways. He has also been the head of the Masonic Fraternity, a body union with which, placed him on a level with the poorest and meanest of the land. He has never exhibited himself in false, impudent and assuming lights like his nephew of Germany. He has always honored and obeyed his excellent and memorable parents. His religion has been unostentatious, and from the side-gleams the public have had of it, humble and according to his lights. Nothing, therefore, but good may be predicted of him and his reign in English history. He knows the times, and has been a patient learner of politics and political lessons, and we feel sure will make one of the best kings—with his saintly predecessor and namesake Edward VI's example before him—that have sat on England's throne. That grace will be given him—to recognise and maintain England's true honour, while advocating peace and making "wars to cease," we must all specially hope. Finally, he is blessed with one of the most excellent consorts who have even ascended a throne or become a Queen of England, not excluding his very remarkable mother even. His Civil List and Allowances have been fixed on a liberal scale, and some of his expensive tastes which always hitherto left him in want of money, must necessarily disappear with his exaltation to another position requiring other aims than a pursuit of private and selfish pleasure. One of his first acts has been to dismiss the late Queen's Indian servants who had made themselves too notorious, and whose services were no longer required. As we write, his life has been mercifully spared—not for the first or the second time—from a sudden ending by accident on board Sir Thomas Lipton's yacht *Shamrock II* in the Solent.

One of the first acts of the Parliament under the new reign has been to appoint a Committee to examine and report on certain words alleged to be offensive to Roman Catholics in the Accession Oath. They are doubtless so, but so are the words to maintain the Christian Faith—even if "Protestant"—to the Jews, and we may also add, to the Mahomedans, a very much larger body than the Roman Catholics. The question may be raised, among many other pertinent ones,—such as the historical character of the words,—where shall we stop if we

once make a beginning? Shall we do away with the oath in deference to the prejudices of the different sections of the Empire? Ought not the words to be viewed politically, constitutionally, and as reserved for and sacred to its own special sphere as apart from the consideration of religious convictions and beliefs? We express no opinion, but throw out the above suggestions as contributing to a right understanding of a difficult matter—one, too, that only comes once in a lifetime, and which materially affects no private individual.

Parliament has been occupied almost wholly with the consideration of the Budget—a War Budget. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has indeed been called to his post in trying and difficult times. Notwithstanding the enormous increase in the revenue, the deficit amounted to nearly sixty millions sterling. Provision had also to be made for enormous expenses in the future, both in connection with the South African "War" and future additions to the Army and Navy. The deficit has been met by a loan. But for other expenditure the income tax has been raised to a still higher figure, the tea duty has been continued, sugar has been taxed, and also—coal! The last has called forth a large amount of protest from both miners and coal proprietors, and the matter is not yet quite settled as we write. The particulars of the Budget as received by wire are as follows:—

Last year's deficit fifty-three millions sterling. Without the War a surplus of fifteen millions. The estimated expenditure for 1901 is £187,602,000, of which that on the war amounts to sixty millions. There will be a deficit of fifty-five millions. The Chancellor adds 2d. to the income tax and imposes a duty of 4s. 2d. per cwt. on refined sugar polarising above 98, including West India. The duty will diminish for raw sugar polarising below 98, by a complex graduated scale to a minimum of 2s. per cwt. for sugar polarising at 76. This scale is tentative, and revisable under experience. The Budget also imposes a duty of 2s. per cwt. on molasses, 1s. 8d. on glucose, and an export duty of a shilling a ton on coal. Altogether, the new taxes yield eleven millions sterling. The Government proposes to suspend the Sinking Fund and borrow sixty millions of Consols, which exceeds the deficit, but is needed to finance the Exchequer." Meanwhile, trade is shifting to America—which is ominous for the future of England. Under all these circumstances it is not strange that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach should say in the House, that it is "unnecessary that the tax-payers should continue always to bear almost the whole charge of the Naval defence of the Empire." This means that the Colonies

should contribute, somewhat, *to their own defence*. This is nothing but just. We have been treated *ad nauseam* lately to the loyalty of the Colonies in sending contingents of troops to South Africa, the real truth being that England has been taking off, and paying for, so many thousand of unemployed men in the Colonies. The "loyalty," however, which has been overflowing lately in Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, on the occasion of the Duke of Cornwall's visit, will be put to a severe test when the question comes of paying, say, only a couple millions annually towards the Navy which safeguards Australia. We shall not be out when we say that it will—evaporate! Even a proposal to give Australia representation in the House will not do. Australian "loyalty" consists in holiday ebullitions, and in living on the heavily-taxed little home country reeling with its burdens. Whether our words are true or not, let a contribution for the Navy proportionally to population—and why should the Army even be excluded?—be asked for.

Of other public measures and men, Lord Salisbury has—what was to be expected, only people would not see—burked the enquiry that was promised in regard to the "War." He has also made one or two other speeches, again referring—needlessly we think, for England will never allow it—to the Home Rule question, and stating that England was not to be roused with impunity—*by whom?* This, along with certain utterances of the German Emperor's, which we have already considered, and other matters more or less manifest, lead us to think that some European trouble is brewing. Even in India we are preparing for eventualities by improving our armaments, etc. Mr. Broderick has proposed some Army Reform under Lord Roberts' support which has disappointed everyone, including all the Service Members of the House. He subsequently retreated from his position by virtually giving up the whole thing! Would Lord Cardwell have done so? The truth is, that while we all know what we want, no one knows how exactly to arrive at it. Meanwhile, three more battleships, the largest that will be afloat, and which will cost four millions sterling, have been ordered. With regard to these, our opinion is that what are wanted are very small active wooden vessels carrying only one good gun each to pound the giants, but this is not the place to enlarge on the future of the Navy. And in reference to the Army, whatever may be the lessons taught us by the Boer "War," we can never actually say what our Army should be, or how and where reorganised without a great European War shaking everything down to its proper place. And, with the command of the sea, which we must always necessarily maintain, conscription

is certainly not needed. As regards Mr. Chamberlain and his public utterances, we have already seen what they are and need not take them up again. He is the "fifth wheel" in the coach which, if detached, would considerably increase the efficiency and speed of the Tory vehicles. The "Union" was unnatural, and was made for a special purpose—Home Rule which has long now been dropped, and which, simply, England will never allow. Mr. Chamberlain and his speeches remind one of Shakespeare's characters who can fly at Cæsars and also boat home in tackling fish-wives in their own dialect. A scene by a few disorderly Irish Members ended by their summary ejection from the House, and by Mr. Balfour carrying their exclusion for the rest of the session. Mr. Balfour, however, makes but a poor "leader," and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman a worse, however decent and estimable they may be otherwise. Sir William Harcourt has been both criticising the Budget, and drawing attention to the folly of entering into European alliances and complications. Let us trust that the eyes of England will be opened to the consequences of any sort of alliance whatever with Germany, or Austria. The German Emperor cannot be trusted except to make a cat's-paw of England to serve his own ends, and Austria will probably be in the throes of dissolution ere long. There have, however, been two remarkable contests in Parliament, both in military matters, and almost personal. The first came on in the House of Lords between the late Commander-in-Chief and Lord Lansdowne, the late Minister for War. We are afraid Lord Wolseley did not shine in it. Lord Wolseley, ever since Lord Roberts' appointment to South Africa, has been a falling star. Besides, he has always had too high an opinion of himself, and also of his position; and his hopeless present fall, reminds one of his extraordinary and unjustifiable summary closing, of General Hamlyn's career. What measure he meted out to others he is now himself receiving. The other case was General Colville's enforced retirement from the Army, and though nominally the contest was with the War Office, really it was one with Lord Roberts. General Colville may have been a perfect soldier, and may have shone even in Waterloo, but he had not the literary qualifications to advertise himself; and of course, in a contest with Lord Roberts could only fail. But the contest showed that Lord Roberts is not the "idol" of the higher ranks of the Army, nor perhaps such a commanding genius as some have supposed him to be. Had not General Buller been in Natal keeping Joubert and the bulk of the Boer troops engaged; and had he not had the assistance of such an eminent soldier as Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts could simply have done

nothing. He might even have egregiously failed. But he has been always "lucky"—even from the march to Candahar, the real credit of which is well known to belong to the late Sir Donald Stewart, who had already cleared the way, and who equipped him so fully;—reminding us of the old adage, "it is better to be born lucky than with a golden spoon." Lord Roberts, however, is about the best General we have at present, and with Lord Kitchener and General Buller in reserve—not to say a few others—we may be thankful. Besides these the only other incident of note in Parliament has been in connection with Mr. Arthur Markham designating Messrs. Wernher and Beit of South African fame a "common gang of thieves and swindlers," and having been challenged to repeat the words outside, has done so, and has had an action lodged against him.

Among other matters of home interest may be mentioned the following. The Duke of Cornwall with the Duchess left England in the *Ophir* for the purpose of being in Australia to open the Federal Parliament, the King seeing him off, saying that the object of the journey was to express appreciation for the Colonies participation in the "War." In this matter of Australians in connection with the "War," however, we are one with the *Sydney Bulletin*. England has notified to Belgium that she is prepared to join a Sugar Bounties Conference. The largest steamer in the world, the *Celtic*, has been launched at Belfast. In a dispute regarding the retirement of certain professors at Cooper's Hill College, the scientific body of Great Britain, headed by Lord Kelvin, has come off second-best, Lord George Hamilton scoring heavily. He had a reserve of scientific opinion in the Visiting Committee hid up his sleeve. In the Varsity Boat Race Oxford won by half a length after an exciting contest, Cambridge leading to past Barnes Bridge. The Census shows 32½ millions for England and Wales, and 4½ millions each for Scotland and Ireland, or a total of 41½ millions, being an increase of 3½ millions, so that the race at home shows no signs of dying out notwithstanding the great preponderance of the unmarried female element. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has retired from America with a fortune of 50 millions sterling, has made a gift of two millions to the four Scotch Universities for the support of poor students of Scottish birth, and also provides funds for equipping the Universities with the most complete system of scientific instruction. He is making a noble use of his wealth, and we have referred to it elsewhere previously. The "Annual May Meetings" have been held, the Church Missionary Society showing the largest income, and the Baptist about the least. The latter, however, shows the greatest

amount of evangelical and "discipling" work; while the former has fallen away to latitudinarianism, and is very much concerned with education, the natural result of latitudinarianism. We know we shall be taken to task for saying so, but we are prepared to meet any lame apology (and confession of defeat) that may be advanced. The foundations of whatever Native Christianity there is in India, were laid by the early converts, obtained from among the poorest and most ignorant, through the instrumentality of preaching—of the Living Voice preaching the Living Word, and not the diluted intellectual curriculum of the class-room. Finally, the Victoria Memorial Committee appointed by the King has reported for a Personal Memorial opposite Buckingham Palace, which may at least show our excellent and well-meaning Viceroy that, as we even expressed it in our last Quarter's notes, his plan of a Museum could never have been thought of by any one but himself, that it is unsuited to the object, and that the highest and best English opinion is against him.

INDIA.—THE VICEROY.—With the exception of making a self-congratulatory speech on the Budget, and spending the best part of a month shooting on the borders of Nepal, there is nothing to record to Lord Curzon since we last wrote, unless it be making a speech at the M. A. O. College—which has been variously criticised—on his way up to Simla, and putting forth in print his objection to the appropriateness of Delhi being the site for the Victoria Memorial. This last is a bit of lame special pleading, the one great and almost insuperable objection being that Delhi is full of the grandest Imperial monuments of 3,000 years, and that any monument we could raise would look almost paltry beside these. There is, however, one extraordinary slip—we may almost say two slips—made by Lord Curzon in his "Note" on the question of the selection of Delhi which we would not have supposed him capable of making, and strange, which has not drawn the attention of any of his critics. The first is his assertion that Delhi represents only Mahomedan domination and was only a Mussalman capital. Delhi was in existence long before Mahomedanism was even born in Arabia, and was known as the capital of the leading Hindu Dynasty of North India under the name of Hastinapura, meaning, we believe, *The City of Elephants*, a name given to it probably from its royal parades of vast bodies of elephants. We may be wrong in this interpretation, but that is beside the question. In the next place there are monuments—and they are everlasting—besides the Mahomedan glories—of early Hindu and Buddhist rule. As we are not writing a treatise on the antiquities of Delhi and their historical connection, we may pass on by saying that, Delhi

being set aside—on not quite sufficient grounds—Calcutta is probably the best place for the Victoria Memorial. As to the form of it, assuming that a plan similar to Asoka's imperishable pillars be impossible—again we may ask, why?—there will be great divergency of opinion, save in the matter of its being a "personal" Memorial and not an ordinary and defective Museum to unite amusement with instruction. The next best thing to being in the right, is, when wrong, to confess being in the wrong, and certainly Lord Curzon—whom we all dearly love—will lose none of his dignity and reputation by doing so in the matter of this Memorial. Attention has been drawn to the exceeding bad taste of the remarks in the *Journal of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund*, in regard to the criticisms, that have been passed on Lord Curzon's scheme. Who can be the Editor of the *Journal*? The scheme is bad enough as it is—and unless Lord Curzon sees fit to amend it and put it in the hands of a representative Committee to decide, it may at least be allowed to quietly glide out of sight—but to rouse further opposition and attention to its defects—! So much for the site, and the form. As regards the subscriptions for it, the amount is woefully small, the total being only thirty-four lakhs, whereas to make an imposing marble building of the kind contemplated, which will not be overshadowed by the proximity of the white lime-washed Government House pile, there will be at least a *hundred lakhs* needed. A brick-and-mortar erection will be disgraceful in the connection. We are afraid even the fifty lakhs called for will not be forthcoming. There can be no doubt that, but for striving to please Lord Curzon, not more than ten lakhs would have been forthcoming; And among some of the names we notice among the subscribers, we are aware that the sums down to them will be paid with difficulty. Of the separate collections for Provincial Memorials the North-West Provinces stands first with nearly eight lakhs, the Madras next with nearly one lakh, and Bombay with nothing at all! Yet Bombay is the first in true charity, and on the occasion of the Viceroy's last visit to it, presented him with the most florid address which he must have been greatly pained to hear if he had any self-respect.

We may pass over the spending of a twelfth part of the whole year in shooting, and have a few words to offer regarding the last Budget and his speech on it, as well as his Aligurh address to the students of the M. A. O. College. The Budget was a quite satisfactory one, the only blot in it being the lame defence—which, too, was not required—of the Salt Tax. But the Viceroy's speech, showing what a lot he had accomplished, and what a deal more he was going to do, was neither in good taste, nor true. "Let another praise thee," says the wise King

Solomon, "and not thy own tongue." As for the "twelve or fifteen" measures for which he took all the credit, they have been always before every Viceroy and Government of India, and everyone has been doing something in them. We are not aware that Lord Curzon has done anything new or remarkable in them. The times are moving on, and Lord Curzon and the Government must only move on with them. Can he say that agriculture and irrigation have been a whit more advanced than might have been expected? or famines rendered safer and more preventible? or a large flow of home capital induced? or education bettered and rendered more practical than turning out thousands of hungry "B. A.'s" of no good to themselves or the country every year? or any other of the many points he referred to improved in any way? This is not a review of his Viceroyalty—which will come at the close of his period;—but if, when he leaves, he can show anything beyond his "speeches"—and the Queen's Memorial of old chain armour and faded letters, etc., he may then congratulate himself. We mean anything lasting such as have been left to India for her progress and development by Viceroys like Lords Dalhousie, Mayo, and Dufferin. We trust we shall be reckoned both "true" and just in making these observations, which seem to be necessary.

As regards the Aligurh speech there is not much to be said except to draw attention to a mistake made by Lord Curzon, and his pronouncement in regard to "religion" in education. In regard to the mistake, he is not aware that the real originator and "founder" of the College—of whose name, however, he is perfectly aware, as is also Sir Anthony Macdonnell, so that they at least cannot honestly still style Sir Syed Ahmed as the "founder," who was not and is not (for he is still alive to refer to) a Mahomedan,—incorporated religious worship and religion in his plan, but that Sir Syed Ahmed stoutly opposed it, and tried to do without religion, and failed to meet support, and only after some years of the existence of the College gave way. When the College, then, was started, religion was out of it,—this is Lord Curzon's mistake, and it was kept out of it by Sir Syed Ahmed. So much for Lord Curzon's mistake. The other point, in whichever way we view the Viceroy's words relating to it, is of greater importance. It refers to "religion" and its place in education. The following are Lord Curzon's words as reported:—"Adhere to your own religion which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of profound truth, and make that the basis of your instruction, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at school and at the University are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations."

The main idea, of course, is for education to have a "religious basis," and this, of course, is a remarkable pronouncement made by the Viceroy of India in view of the recent discussion about "neutrality" in religion, and the godlessness of the present system of Government education to which reference was made by us in our last Quarter's notes. We have here neither the time nor space to enter fully into the question, but we are in possession of the entire inner history—a remarkable one—of the exclusion of the Bible from Government Colleges; and should the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller, C.I.E., favour us with an original paper working out the conclusions on "neutrality" he tried to enforce in the "Note" on the subject, to which we also referred previously, we shall set forth how a "religious basis" for education, which had been promoted by Dr. Duff and which was agitated for, came for decision before Lord Canning, and how Sir John Peter Grant—very probably a member of the *White Rose League*—and the Rev. Dr. Kay united together and "dished" it, Dr. Kay being an intimate and old College friend of Lord Canning's, and at the time holding the highest rank and having the greatest influence in India both for his great learning and saintliness. This is the serious aspect of Lord Curzon's words. But the first or opening clause about, "adhering to your own religion which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and profound truth" have been taken by some as if the Viceroy, from his exalted official position, exhorted his hearers to continue Mahomedans as against the light of truth or Christianity. If so, we must give him the discredit of either not understanding, or running counter to not merely the Christian faith, but such great masters and metaphysicians as Plato, Sir William Hamilton, Kant and Hegel; and of recommending Mahomedan youth never to expand their minds, and enter into the knowledge of the science of being. We believe, however, that such an idea never entered into Lord Curzon's thoughts, unless sarcastically, by wishing his hearers to remain in ignorance of the mind and its problems, he would really urge them to higher flights than the *Koran* takes them to. We acquit him, however, of such deep "guile," as also of any great knowledge of the *Koran*, or its theology. We do not believe that in the little leisure left him during his travels and intervals of writing for the Press, he has had much time to study comparative religions or "THE TRUE LIGHT," and that the last thing he would pose in would be that of a Doctor of Mahomedan Theology showing forth the Originality and Beauties of the *Koran*. The words, however, were ill-chosen. "Adhering" to either the Bible or the *Koran* is not religion. Had he merely said "stick to religion, and make the fear of God and the love of man" the basis, etc.,

he would not have laid himself open to misunderstanding either by Christians or Mahomedans, or even Hindus or philosophers.

POLITICAL.—Sir Lepel Griffin has severely attacked Lord Curzon for taking the principal share in separating the "Frontier Province;" but Sir Lepel Griffin's weight in Indian matters of moment may be discounted. He retired, we believe, a disappointed man—Viceroy's and the public could not appreciate his clearness and we may remind him of the obligation of the Burmah Ruby Mines Company to refund the remissions made by the Government of India when prospects were low, as the mines are now paying handsomely, and there is no reason why the tax-payers of India should be mulcted for a private company's profit even though a Sir Lepel Griffin be in it, and it be also to his private profit. It is true, however, that the "Frontier Province" idea is not Lord Curzon's, but of several of his predecessors and others. Sir Power Palmer has been confirmed as Commander-in-Chief in India. The Hon'ble A. T. Arundel of Madras has succeeded Sir Arthur Trevor with the charge of the Public Works Department. The Budget we have already referred to, and it hardly bears a "political" aspect. Burmah is dissatisfied in being made the milch cow of India; while the Shan States show progress. The Governor of Madras, having made a first tour among the rural population, has been supplied first hand with a number of serious grievances suffered by agriculturists, and has already attended to one or two of them. Lord Amthill may yet do great and noble work for the millions of Madras and emulate the lasting name of Sir Thomas Munro in the Presidency. A rumour that Lord Curzon will succeed Sir Alfred (now Lord) Milner in South Africa we only notice to remark on its utter absurdity. There is more likelihood of his being appointed to the charge of our relations with Corea, or the Moon. An Agricultural Banks Conference at Simla is looked for to evolve something practical and definite for application to India. We trust so. Different plans may be tried to different provinces, as best suited to the case of each. The question is being put "how are the new Mining Rules being worked in the Central Provinces—?" Rules which Lord Curzon expected would open up India to mineral enterprise. Is merely the promulgation of Rules sufficient? Ought not a Report to be furnished once a quarter at least to the Viceroy to show what—if anything—is being done, and how it is being done? The results of the Census have been published, and do not show the increase in the population that was looked for. This is attributed to the mortality caused by the famine, by plague and by various diseases.

Calcutta, too, now leads in numbers, and Bombay takes the second place. The actual figures in detail are as follows:—

		BRITISH TERRITORY.		Percentage increase	
		1901.	1891.	or dec.	
Ajmere-Merwara	...	476,000	542,000	-12.17	
Assam	...	6,122,000	5,433,000	+12.67	
Bengal	...	74,713,000	71,346,000	+4.72	
Berar	...	1,491,000	2,897,000	-4.99	
Bombay	...	15,330,000	15,957,000	-3.93	
Sind	...	3,212,000	2,871,000	+11.88	
Aden	...	41,000	44,000	-6.48	
Upper Burma	...	3,849,000	3,362,000	+14.49	
Lower Burma	...	5,371,000	4,408,000	+21.84	
Central Provinces	...	9,845,000	10,784,000	-8.71	
Coorg	...	180,000	173,000	+4.28	
Madras	...	38,208,000	35,630,000	+7.24	
N.-W. Provinces	...	34,812,000	34,253,000	+1.63	
Oudh	...	12,884,000	12,650,000	+2.40	
Punjab	...	22,449,000	20,866,000	+7.53	
Baluchistan	...	810,000*			
Andamans	...	24,000	15,000	+56.95	
Total British Territory	...	231,085,000	221,266,000	+4.44	
		NATIVE STATES.			
Hyderabad	...	11,174,000	11,537,000	-3.14	
Baroda	...	1,950,000	2,415,000	-19.23	
Mysore	...	5,538,000	4,943,000	+12	
Kashmir	...	2,906,000	2,543,000	+14.24	
Rajputana	...	9,841,000	12,016,000	-18.1	
Central India	...	8,501,000	10,318,000	-17.5	
Bombay	...	6,891,000	8,059,000	-14.49	
Madras	...	4,190,000	3,700,000	+13.23	
Central Provinces	...	1,983,000	2,160,000	-8.19	
Bengal	...	3,735,000	3,296,000	+13.33	
N.-W. P.	...	799,000	792,000	+0.91	
Punjab	...	4,434,000	4,263,000	+4.12	
Burma	...	1,228,000*			
Total Native States	...	63,181,000	66,050,000	-4.34	
Total all India	...	294,266,000	287,317,000	+2.42	

* No comparison possible.

Examining the figures in another way, we get the following increase as compared with 1891:—

Assam	...	688,000	Bengal States	...	439,000
Bengal	...	366,000	N.-W. P. States	...	7,000
Sind	...	341,000	Punjab States	...	175,000
Upper Burma	...	487,000	Berar	...	144,000
Lower Burma	...	962,000	Bombay Proper	...	627,000
Coorg	...	7,000	Aden	...	2,800
Madras	...	2,578,000	C. Provinces	...	938,000
N.-W. P.	...	558,000	Hyderabad	...	362,000
Oudh	...	233,000	Baroda	...	564,000
Punjab	...	1,582,000	Rajputana	...	2,175,000
Mysore	...	594,000	C. India States	...	1,816,000
Kashmir	...	362,000	Bombay States	...	1,167,000
Madras States	...	489,000	C. P. States	...	177,000

Finally, we have India in Parliament at home. It may be remembered that the Director of Public Instruction in a Report remarked on the disloyalty couched in some of Mr. Malabari's published works. Mr. Malabari thereon made much-to-do and got as a reply from the Government of Bombay that the Director of Public Instruction only did his duty. The question—a most trumpery one—was actually raised in the House of Lords, and Mr. Malabari strongly supported by several past Viceroys and others. We make no question of Mr. Malabari's honesty, sincerity, or loyalty, but we agree with the Government of Bombay, and the Director of Public Instruction that Mr. Malabari's words do bear a disloyal interpretation. He may have been only unfortunate in his use of them—but the whole thing has been “a tempest in a teapot.” Cooper's Hill College has had a flare-up of its own, and was introduced into the House, but we have already previously referred to it. An Irrigation Blue Book has been promised by Lord George Hamilton: our readers will see the subject fully treated in this issue in an article. The Imperial Government, after years of consideration, will now pay £10,000 annually towards the expense of the Zanzibar-Mauritius Cable. The Viceroy's unfortunate circular about Indian Princes travelling to Europe was again commented on in the House, Lord George Hamilton declaring that the sanction of the Home Government was not necessary. General Badcock has been appointed the Military Member of Council of the Secretary of State for India in succession to the late Sir Donald Stewart. The Secretary of State has sanctioned a reduction in Inland Parcels Postage to two annas for each twenty tolahs up to forty tolas and two annas extra for each forty tolas thereafter up to 440. The postage on such parcels to be prepaid, the registration fee being reduced to two annas for each parcel. These concessions involve a sacrifice of Rs. 5 lakhs revenue. We would have draw attention to the article on “Postal Reform” as the most valuable contribution on the subject we have seen. We hardly say that it embodies the views of the very top grade of the service itself.

With reference to the Commission of Enquiry into the management of estates by the Administrator of Bengal, Lord George Hamilton could say nothing definite till orders had been passed on the report by the Government of India, which had not yet been done. In regard to matters connected with the coinage and gold in India, we extract the following:—

Thursday, 2nd May.

Rupee Coinage.—Sir John Leng asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether he can state what amount of silver in rupees has been coined and issued in India up to the end of March since April, 1900; and what sum, if

any, as representing profit on such coinage has been credited to current revenue; what amount of gold coin has been paid out in the same period from the Treasuries or Currency Department on tender by the public at the rate of Rs. 15 in silver or currency notes; what is the total sum of currency notes now in circulation; and, can some general or average statement be presented showing the rise or fall at the up-country markets in prices of seeds, jute, and other non-edible export products since the beginning of 1897.

Lord G. Hamilton: The number of rupees coined in India during the official year 1900-1901 is 171,479,318. The gross profit on this coinage is £3,150,000, and the net profit £3,030,000. The whole of this sum is in the accounts credited to revenue, a corresponding amount being debited to expenditure as transferred to the gold reserve fund, so that the balance is unaffected. The amount of gold coin which has been issued to the public in the same period is £6,374,880, of which about half is estimated to be still in their hands. The value of currency notes in circulation, on the 31st March, 1901, was Rs. 29,86,59,000 (29 crores, 86 lakhs, 59, thousand). The statistics available in this country as to prices do not show the rise or fall in respect of non-edible export products in up country markets.

Gold Held by the Indian Government.—Sir John Leng asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether he can state what amount of Gold is now held by, or on behalf of the Indian Government, as compared with the £9,100,000, held in April of last year; how much of this metal is now held as reserve against currency notes; up to the close of last month what has been the net export and import into India of gold since April last; what are the corresponding net values of silver as shown in the Indian trade returns; how much or what proportion of these net imports or exports of treasure have been on Government account; and, what are the present amounts of the Indian Government's cash balances here and in India, respectively.

Lord G. Hamilton: The amount of gold held by the Indian Government on the 31st March, 1901, was £7,115,047. Gold to the value of £5,708,487 was on the 22nd April held as reserve against currency notes. In 1900-1901 there was a total net import of gold £561,423, and of silver £6,337,788. The transactions on account of Government included in the foregoing figures were a net export of gold £4,482,242, and a net import of silver £5,389,051. The cash balances on the 31st March, 1901, were, in England, £4,090,660, and in India about £10,650,000.

In the matter of Indian legislation, the Mines' Bill, after a deal of opposition, has been passed, and it was explained that it was mostly needed for the inferior class of native-managed mines. The Indian Christians Relief Act in the matter of Succession Duties has also been passed and given general satisfaction. The Assam Labour Bill was passed after the most strenuous opposition, but the provisions are not to operate for two years. We do not see, then, what need there was of passing it at all. Two years may give a completely new aspect to many matters. But Mr. Cotton's "face was saved." In the matter of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill passed some while ago, the provisions are to come into operation at once.

THE BISHOPS AND MATTERS COGNATE.—We regret that the Metropolitan has been obliged to go home to get over the effects of a fever. He has been very earnest and anxious to do his duty, and during the brief period he has been in the country has tried both to form and to lead religious public opi-

nion, of which we reckon his drawing attention to the "Sunday Observance," with the reason assigned, the principal. Much here remains to be done besides the admonitions of the clergy. The Viceroy himself, like Lord Dufferin, might set an example. We have no time or space at present to enlarge on the subject. When leaving Bishop Welldon wrote a farewell letter to his Archdeacon, in which he said, "I am sure you will understand that the very last thing I should wish to do, is to cling to my office, if I feel I cannot regularly discharge its sacred duties." We can only trust that these words do not look forward to his severance from India, for it would be difficult to replace him, although we have not always agreed with his public deliverances. Neither do we agree with him that it is so essential, even for an Episcopal Church, to form immediately a bishopric for Assam, and another for the Central Provinces. These provinces contain Church of England Clergy so few in numbers. To quote the example of the American Episcopal Methodists of India would be of little avail to "Churchmen," but, with an immense organisation and very large congregations and numbers of clergy all over India, they are most efficiently managed by a single "Bishop." To merely have a "Bishop" does not increase either Church power or the "kingdom of heaven." Meanwhile we observe a whole tribe called "Mangs" in Western India coming forward to claim an admission into the Christian faith, which movement, as being self-generated, is remarkable. A cry for marriage with a deceased wife's sister is being heard in the Native Christian Church in India, which, as it has first happened to come before the Bishop of Madras, is sure to be disregarded. We cannot say whether the whole body of the Anglican Bishops in India will agree in this. At any rate, the other Reformed Churches will assuredly grant the "relief" if they do not already practise it. The vexed question of the use of Government Churches, which have hitherto been under the rule of the Anglican Church, for the use of other denominations, has now been decided, making it as circumlocutory and difficult as ever. A Home Department Resolution, in the *Gazette*, announces that, in supersession of the existing rule, a Chaplain or Minister desiring to obtain the use of a consecrated Church shall first address the General Officer Commanding the District, or the Lieutenant-General of the Command, simultaneously informing the Church of England Chaplain that such an application has been made. The Military authorities will forward the same to the Bishop of the Diocese. The Bishop of Madras or Bombay, whichever has been first consecrated, is nominated to act during the absence of the Metropolitan in the matter of the functions devolving upon the latter under the Rules relating to the loan

of churches. The Central Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association are erecting a building four-storeys high in Chowringhee, Calcutta, at a cost of over two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees, and will board and accommodate thirty or forty people, besides having the usual offices. Everything connected with it will be "first-class," and will clearly beat the fine Madras building hollow. The Bishop of Bombay is still at home, and the Bishop of Madras gone up to cool Ootacamund for the summer. Meanwhile, Bishop Gell, late of Madras, but still in the Presidency, has held a very successful "reunion" of Missionary labourers in the Southern Presidency. Finally, in religious matters, an inter-denominational meeting, from which the Church of England Clergy seem to have been absent, has been held in the Union Chapel Hall, at which Baptists, Congregationalists and others fraternized, and carried on proceedings after the manner of the "May Meetings" at home. This plan of May Meetings in India to correspond with those at home might be considerably enlarged, Allahabad being the most central place for them. But the heat would be something to be considered. As the Rev. A. North at the Meeting above alluded to said:—"The Baptists, with their evangelising success, and their great leaders in Mission fields, have no reason to be ashamed of their ancestry."

LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC, AND EDUCATIONAL.—Journalistic literature in India suffers a loss in the departure of Mr. T. Jewell Bennett, Editor of the *Times of India*, which will be difficult to replace. But England will be the gainer, for Mr. Bennett retires in good health, and not "broken down" as has been asserted. We trust he has many years of usefulness before him in the home country. His literary "culture" could always be traced in his articles; and it is such men—and they are not many—that elevate the tone of the Press whether in India or elsewhere. Referring to journalism in India, there have been some notable "lapses" lately among some of the leaders. The *Englishman* called attention to consigning the Boer prisoners to Ahmednugger, and had to apologise. We do not think the *Englishman* deserving of all the journalistic wrath that has been poured on its head for the "lapse." On the contrary, we think, he was the only one who drew attention to the matter, and showed the greatest amount of moral and journalistic courage and independence in doing so, for which he should rather be praised. It is well to have a powerful organ of public opinion who is not afraid, on occasions of telling the truth—even if on behalf of "prisoners of war" and they—Boers! The *Indian Daily News* made a dreadful "lapse" in coming out with the Budget before it was delivered. This led the Secretary to Government to cancel the giving of "advance"

copies of the statement to every newspaper in India, which was quite wrong, punishing the many for the sin of one. Clearly only the offending paper should have been punished. Following suit with bigger papers in excusable "lapses" a native journal in Calcutta came out with a detailed story of horrible outrage by a European. This story was a concoction, and the paper had to apologise. We wish the native paper we refer to had a little more respect for itself, if it has none for others. Among other matters journalistic the *Madras Times*, long the property of a member of the Arbuthnot firm of Southern India is, we learn, about to pass over to a joint-stock proprietary mostly of tradesmen. Finally, we may be permitted to notice the loss this *Review* has suffered by the re-ignation of its late Editor, Mr. James W. Furrell, and to contradict the alleged breaking down of his health. For a period of over fifteen years he has guided the fortunes of the old, stately, and learned *Calcutta Review*—the leading and only "Quarterly" in India, founded by Sir John William Kaye, and edited in succession by men of the highest position and note in India, including Secretaries to Government of India, Generals, and Judges of the High Court. As some one said, "no one knows, or can know India, without the *Calcutta Review*," which has had enshrined in its pages the highest administrative thought and literary culture of Indian administrators, thinkers, writers, and scientific and literary men. And Mr. Furrell, notwithstanding the great change in the times from the past to the present, has always managed—amid the other serious difficulties which only an Editor of such a high-class "Quarterly" in India can know—to keep abreast of the age and to win the respect of all. Mr. Furrell, we believe, came out early in the ranks of the Civil Service in the N.-W. Provinces, which he gave up for journalism else, with his talents, he might have been in the India Council. Now that he has severed his connection with the "*Calcutta*," in unbroken health, and still stays on in India, we trust yet to see him swaying the destinies of a leading "daily"—though some may consider it a descent—or, let us say a "weekly" after the style of the old *Friend of India*, thus filling a gap which yet remains.

In matters educational, Professor Ramsay has sent in his scheme for the College of Research at Bangalore. We need not enter into its details, but may mention that the Mysore Government has been very liberal in connection with it, and that, no doubt, it is this liberality that turned the scale in favour of Bangalore. It is of some importance, as well as interesting, to note the outline of Religious Instruction, on which the Benares Central Hindu College Text-Books will be based. It was circulated for six months for amendment and criticism

among the Members of the Board of Trustees, the Managing Committee, and various learned Hindus; the Managing Committee carefully considered all amendments, and incorporated the greater part of them, and then sent up the amended Report to the Board of Trustees; the Board reviewed the whole, amended, and finally passed the Report, on the 30th December, 1900. We quote it:—

HINDU RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. The object of the Central Hindu College being to combine Hindu religious and ethical training with the Western education suited to the needs of the time, it is important that this religious and ethical training shall be of a wide, liberal and unsectarian character, while at the same time it shall be definitely and distinctively Hindu. It should be inclusive enough to unite the most divergent forms of Hindu thought, but exclusive enough to leave outside it forms of thought which are non-Hindu. It should avoid all doctrines which are the subject of controversy between schools recognised as orthodox; it should not enter into any of the social and political questions of the day; but it should lay a solid foundation of religion and ethics on which the student may build, in his manhood, the more specialised principles suited to his intellectual and emotional temperament. It should be directed to the building up of a character—pious, dutiful, strong, self-reliant, upright, righteous, gentle and well-balanced—a character which will be that of a good man and a good citizen; the fundamental principles of religion, governing the general view of life and of life's obligations, are alone sufficient to form such a character. That which unites Hindus in a common faith should be clearly and simply taught; all that divides them should be ignored. Lastly, care should be taken to cultivate a wide spirit of tolerance, which not only respects the differences of thought and practice among Hindus, but which also respects the differences of religion among non-Hindus, regarding all faiths with reverence, as roads whereby men approach the supreme.

The Committee therefore lays down the following three fundamental principles, as governing all the religious and ethical instruction to be given by the Central Hindu College. (1.) It must be such as all Hindus can accept. (2.) It must include the special teachings which mark out Hinduism from other religions. (3.) It must not include the distinctive views of any special school or sect.

The religious instruction should be divided under three heads. I. Basic Hindu religious ideas. II. General Hindu religious customs and rites. III. Ethical Teachings.

The authorities from which religious instruction should be

given, and the books whence illustrations should be drawn, are:—The Vedas—including the Upanishads; the Dharma Shashtra—Manu, Yagnyavalkya, etc.; the Puranas; the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

I.—BASIC HINDU RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

The One.—The One Eternal, Unchanging, Infinite—Parabrahman, Paramatman. The primary manifestation of the One as Ishvara, the manifested Brahmin, in the creation, preservation and dissolution of the worlds. (To be worked out in the text-book and every position supported by quotations from Shruti and Smriti.)

The many.—Jivas, born from diverse yonis into the moving and unmoving forms that make up the Universe—Devas, Asuras, Men, Animals, Plants, Minerals. (The various types to be explained and their work and place in the Universe to be roughly outlined, so as to give a rational and coherent view of the kosmos as a whole. Each position to be supported as before.)

Re-birth.—Jivas are born into forms over and over again, until Moksha is obtained by Karma, Bhakti and Jnana. developed and perfected by purity of life. (As before.)

Karma.—Jivas are re-born according to their thoughts, desires and deeds, each receiving a fresh body as the fruit of his past. (It is important that the working of the law, theoretically and practically, should be very clearly explained; the theory should be supported by quotations at every point, and the practice should be illustrated by stories.)

Sacrifice.—The Universe having come into manifestation only by the Primary Sacrifice of Prajapati, it is pervaded and supported by sacrifice, that is by the continual surrender of a self for other selves. All lives are maintained by the sacrifice of other lives; hence a constantly turning wheel of mutual obligations, an inter-dependence between all beings physical and super-physical, and a failure of any who endeavour to avoid turning this wheel. (As before.)

■ The visible and invisible worlds.—(As before.)

II.—GENERAL HINDU RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND RITES.

The Samskaras.—The meaning and importance of each to be explained, with the facts in nature on which each is based. (As before.)

Shaucha.—The rules of physical purity. (As before.)

The five daily sacrifices.—The significance of each of these. (As before.)

Worship.—Its obligation and necessity. (As before.)

The four stages of life.—The student: his duties and mode of life; Brahmacharya. The house-holder: his duties and responsibilities to the family and the nation. The two last

stages, passing from active life. How the old ideal may be followed in spirit in modern life. (As before.)

Shrāddha.—Explanation of its meaning and use. (As before.)

The Caste System.—Its fundamental principles; the typical stages of evolution; the dharma of each caste; abuses arising from clinging to the letter and ignoring the spirit of caste.

III.—ETHICAL TEACHINGS.

The place of the Emotions—Feelings the basis of family and social life and the roots of all virtues and vices. (To be worked out clearly, and simply explained.)

Virtues.—All are forms of Truth, *i.e.*, of what is, and are therefore constructive and durable. (A sequential scheme of virtues should be worked out, classifying them according to the emotions out of which they grow. Each virtue should be illustrated by stories exemplifying it.)

Vices.—Forms of Untruth, *i.e.*, of what is *not*, and therefore destructive and transient. (As above).*

Finally, in the matter of education, the Mahommedans of Southern India, who have an excellent institution at Vellore which competes with Aligurh without claiming to itself so much attention, have determined to establish a Technical Branch as an adjunct to the College, thus showing their practical good sense.

Turning to books, literature and learning, we notice the arrival in India of the American, Professor Jackson, who has brought himself forward by his studies of the Zoroastrian religion and literature. He was welcomed in Bombay by several leading Parsee gentlemen, and delivered several addresses during his stay. Our own early investigations into the same field have led us to the following conclusions:—

(1) That the *organic* unity, if any, of the *Avesta* has yet to be traced, and, if possible, proved.

(2). The same in regard to the indebtedness of the Zoroastrian faith to Jewish literature and the Jewish Scriptures. There are, thus, rich mines of research (and speculation!) yet open to Professor Jackson and men of his *cult*. Dr. Stein is still pursuing his archæological researches in Chinese Turkistan, a subject to which the first attention was drawn by the late General Nassau Lees, LL.D., then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah and Principal of Fort William College in Bengal, in a communication to us. General Nassau Lees believed that a great deal of the ancient history of Asia and the world would

* All this is very good, but Orthodox Hindus may object to receive and work out at the hands of a non-Hindu Woman of the West what really amounts to a NEW SHASTRA and *subversion of the Old Faith*.—ED, C. R.

be discovered or elucidated by the remains of cities and books, etc., in the great then unknown region of Turkistan to which at the time we were bound. The following is a summary of Dr. Stein's results:—His labours in the inhabited part of Khotan have resulted in the identification of most of the ancient localities which are known from the accounts of early Buddhist pilgrims from China. Numerous objects of antiquarian interest, such as ancient coins, art pottery, seals, etc., found in the débris layers of these old sites, were acquired for the collection of Central Asian antiquities which has been formed under the orders of the Indian Government. Subsequently the adjoining parts of the Taklamakan deserts were explored, and the remains of ancient settlements, which had been overwhelmed by the moving sands, yielded many interesting discoveries. At one site, to the north-east of Khotan and some fifty miles from the nearest now inhabited part of the oasis, Dr. Stein was able to excavate among other ruins half-a-dozen Buddhist shrines partially buried under sand dunes. Mural paintings of remarkable freshness, together with numerous finds made there of stucco sculptures and votive pictures on wood, strikingly illustrate the thoroughly Indian character and high technical development of the art practised in ancient Khotan. Not less interesting are the finds of ancient manuscripts, mostly Sanscrit, which have come to light in the monastic dwelling places attached to those shrines. Miscellaneous documents in Chinese, and in what is likely to prove the early indigenous language of Khotan written with old Indian characters, were also unearthed in considerable numbers. The hearty co-operation and help which the Chinese local authorities have throughout accorded to Dr. Stein, have helped him along. Writing subsequently from Kashgar Dr. Stein states that he had reached Endere, and made another interesting find of Buddhist and Sanscrit manuscripts somewhat less ancient than the wooden tablets first discovered. We may add, that the vast region, between the Gobi Desert and L'hassa on the East to the Sea of Aral and the Caspian Sea on the West abounds with ancient buried cities, of which some curious legends have been preserved. On the 4th April last in a wire from Simla, we are informed that Dr. Stein was exploring in a desert north of Niya in Chinese territory, and that he has already discovered in two old monastic ruins some three hundred documents, including Buddhist texts, votive and legal records and correspondence, dating back to the first century of the Christian era. They are on wooden tablets, many being well preserved, with dates and clay seals intact. The modern world of mechanical, industrial, and scientific progress, however, cares little for such things. The romance and poetry of the world have departed. We could yet

point out sites in Eastern Bengal associated with wonderful legends which were fast dying out sixty years ago. We could furnish an account of a great and mighty and rich empire in the Central Provinces which went beyond the Buddhist and even the Hindu periods. But who would hear or care amid the rush of railways and the din of steam-hammers, or the whirr of wheels? We have to move with the age, and "let the dead (past) bury its dead."

We have also to notice a sad tale of the decline of Persian learning in India given by Mr. Beveridge—formerly a Judge of the High Court of Bengal and one of the Editors of the *Calcutta Review*—in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Beveridge was last year in India searching for Persian historical manuscripts, and he states, that the only collection now in Upper India is that of Khuda Baksh in Patna, generously dedicated to the public use. The collection is small, but choice and valuable, and rich in illuminated works of great beauty. The best and largest collection of Persian and Arabic manuscripts in all India belongs to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

In each of these two languages there are here more than 4,000 manuscripts. Mr. Beveridge found here a new authority on the history of Akbar, and some Tûrki verses composed by Baber and written in his own hand. Mr. Beveridge also says, that the principal treasures in the Patna collection are believed to come from the royal libraries of Delhi and Lucknow which were scattered during the troubles of the Mutiny.

Sir Thomas Munro's letters, on which the Viceroy has cast a longing, if not covetous, eye are thus referred to in the *Madras Mail*:—Considering the length of time and the number of hands which these letters must have passed through, it must be said that, far from being allowed to rot, they are kept in an excellent state of preservation. They are preserved in strong leather boards and kept in an open shelf exposed to light and air, which are considered necessary to preserve them in good condition. There are about fifteen letters, the majority of which refer to matters of local importance. In one of these, Sir Thomas Munro emphasises the importance of the sinking of wells as a protection against seasons of drought. He calculated that the price of land on which a well was sunk was increased three times by reason of that fact, and that it took ryots Rs. 240 to sink a decent well. Taking the average cost of a *gunta* of land at Rs. 30 when there was no well on it, he calculated that it would take a ryot four years to recover the outlay on the well. He suggested that during the first six years the ryots should not be charged any extra assessment on account of the enhanced value. He was of opinion that a

great inducement for making wells would be levying on garden lands a fixed revenue. Another letter, which is in Munro's writing, but does not bear his signature, contains the earliest allusion to the ryotwari system. A third letter gives an excellent account of the origin of *Shrotriems* and *Agraharams*, which were resumed by the Government in return for money compensation. In a fourth letter, he gives an account of the economic condition of the weaving communities in the Baramahal and Salem Districts at the close of the war of 1792, and protests against the weavers being forcibly made to work for the East India Company by their Dubashes and Agents. We are afraid the Madras Presidency will be unwilling to part with such a treasure as these letters, even to be placed in a corner of Lord Curzon's Victoria Museum of ancient curiosities and misplaced busts where no Madras official could refer to them. Mrs. Max Müller having undertaken to write a life of her late husband, the Messrs. Longmans and Green notify that she would be much indebted to any of his friends and others if they would lend her any letters of his they may possess. They should be sent to Mrs. Max Müller at 7, Norham Gardens, Oxford, and it is stated that they will be returned when done with. There is a chance, of course, of their being lost or mislaid, as happened to a very characteristic and valuable letter from the late Dr. Duff to us written more than forty years ago, and which we entrusted to the late Dr. Norman Macleod for the purpose of writing up Dr. Duff's biography. As we gave a few lines in the last Quarter's notes to notice Professor Max Müller's death, so here we briefly refer to the decease of an author of a very different stamp, unassuming, practical, and influencing her generation—or rather two generations—through the young women and mothers, in a very remarkable degree. We refer to Miss Charlotte Yonge, with some of whose numerous well-written works even some of us may not be unacquainted. She was the Editor of the *Monthly Packet*, an exceedingly tasteful publication for young people of the middle classes, and first came into notice with her novel of *The Heir of Redclyffe*, followed rapidly by *Heartsease*, *The Daisy Chain* and others. Besides these, she has also given us a life of the Martyr Bishop Patteson of Melanesia. Altogether she wrote nearly fifty works. Middle class England of the present day may be said to owe much to her. She did not rank, however, in literary power with the famous authoress of *John Halifax Gentleman*. Mr. G. W. Forrest, who was formerly in charge of the Government Records in Calcutta, and is now similarly employed in the India Office at Home, is shortly to come out with *Sepoy-Generals—Wellington to Roberts*, which will include all the great Army-leaders we have had

in India. We can only express a wish here that two of the most eminent of these, Sir Donald Stewart, and Sir William Lockhart, will not be omitted, and that justice will be done to them. Any partizan tone, or marked omissions, will be sure to destroy the value of the work. We learn from some antiquarian correspondence in the press that the first book printed in India was a *Catechism* by the Jesuits in Goa in 1557; so that India is indebted for her printing press as well as education to Missionaries. The paper read in the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on the 14th March last is called "The Growth and Trend of Indian Trade—a Forty Years' Survey," by Mr. H. J. Tozer, M.A. We are not sure that this paper was suggested by, or is derived from, a very long article on the same subject, but taking a more extended survey, in the *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta, early in 1895—an article that was reproduced in the Home press. If Mr. Tozer has not seen it, he might with advantage study it; and we shall be glad to give him space for modification or extension of his paper referred to above.

Passing from matters literary to matters scientific, the Bengal Government, with a wise liberality, grants half a lakh annually for three years for experimental research connected with the Indigo industry provided the Planters find Rs. 75,000 annually for the same period. Sir John Woodburn's Government also establishes three Sanitary Engineering Scholarships in the Shibpur College. Such wise measures and liberality speak well for the Lieutenant-Governor, who declared lately that the great earthquake, the famine, and the plague, had already cost the Bengal Government nearly fifty lakhs of rupees. But Bengal is the richest province in India, and can well afford much that is simply impossible to the other Governments. A party of Jesuit teachers from St. Xavier's College, accompanied by the former, and now pretty old Secretary of the Calcutta Municipality Mr. Turnbull, proceeded to Sumatra to take some observations during the late eclipse of the sun. We are afraid nothing much that is startlingly new can now be recorded regarding these eclipses. Some observations regarding magnetic earth-currents and earthquake-vibrations, for which sunk buildings have been sanctioned, are shortly to be undertaken by Mr. W. Küchler, who is in charge of the Alipore Observatory. An enormous kite will also be made use of for tapping the atmosphere for electricity, temperature and meteorological data which cannot be accurately ascertained from mere surface observations. We noticed in our last Quarter's notes the great Nobel Prizes. The following is a copy of a Despatch from the Home Colonial Office relative to the same subject:—

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of any persons who may be interested in the matter, that an official translation (in French) of the statutes and regulations with regard to the late Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel's Bequest, approved by His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, has now been published, and that the Charge d'Affaires for Sweden and Norway at this Court has asked that as much publicity as possible may be given to the contents of the publication. It is understood that the amount available under the Bequest for distribution annually in prizes to meritorious inventors and others is about £40,000; that it is divisible into five equal parts to be assigned (1) for the most important discovery in physical science, (2) for the most important discovery or improvement in chemistry, (3) for the most important discovery in physiology or medicine, (4) for the most remarkable literary work, and (5) for the greatest service in the cause of International Peace; that the first distribution of prizes will take place on the 10th of December in this year; and that the competition is open to every one without regard to nationality. There are, thus, five awards of £8,000 each for successful competitors. We feel perfectly sure from the difference between the Norwegian character and that of the French, that these munificent prizes will not be "hocussed" in the way the great *Prix de Bréant*, for the discovery of the nature and cure of cholera, has been for so many years by the Paris Academy of Sciences, to whom was left the making of the award. The French are notorious for jealousy to outsiders; and as the sum is a large one, 100,000 francs, they have determined that no one if not a Frenchman shall get it. As it has now been accumulating for a generation, with compound interest, it must amount to a very large sum. In this connection we may be permitted to draw attention to the remarkable paper on the "Cause and Cure of Cholera and Scarlatina" that appears in this issue of the *Calcutta Review*, and which seems to be mathematically (science is full of mathematics) and scientifically demonstrated, and though we have little hope that the writer—a "Physician" of half a century's large and successful experience in cholera in the East—will meet with the recognition that seems to be his due (from the number of French authorities quoted) from the Paris Academy of Sciences, it is probable he will fare better with his Norwegian brethren should he decide to send in a claim for an award from the Committee. And should he do so and the Committee award him the Prize (No. III), the Paris Academy of Sciences will have no option but to follow suit with the *Prix de Bréant*. And it will be a greater and more enduring glory to have conquered cholera and scarlatina than to have "annexed" the unwilling Boers in

South Africa even though no Order of the Garter or "patents of nobility" be forthcoming. The Supreme Government has ordered an Ethnographic Survey of India under the direction of Mr. Risley. The cost is expected to be about a lakh-and-a-half, and the time occupied in it a year or two. If we multiply these figures by five, we shall probably be nearer the mark. We remember what happened with the *Gazetteer* entrusted to the late Sir W. W. Hunter. The materials were all to hand in the old Settlement Reports and other publications, and we are quite sure that Sir W. W. Hunter himself would have taken the "contract" to have brought out the work for a tenth what it actually ultimately cost. So it will be with this Ethnographic Survey. But, the Government of India, which cannot sanction a couple of lakhs for a few "Model" Technical Colleges say one at each of the Capitals to increase the wealth of the country, or even looks askance at pitifully small allowances for rewarding proved merit and services, rushes headlong into indefinite lakhs of expenditure merely for the gratification of temporary whims or misguided notions. The *Gazetteer*, for instance, is already out of date—by saying so we certainly do not mean to imply that it should be re-written, or a few more lakhs spent on it—; and the results of this Ethnographic Survey, however interesting, will only lie in the libraries of a few students of Ethnology—"unpractical and useless humbugs" as somebody called them. A Director of Archaeology, too, is to be re-appointed, after the post had been abolished, and there is less need of it. All the archaeological remains of India are in the hands of the District Officers, who, if they merely added a few lines in their Annual Reports, would amply suffice for them. As for making future and fresh discoveries, we guarantee that no Simla-appointed "Director" will ever do anything much, even with Lord Curzon's special assistance to aid him. A Director-General of Scientific Agriculture is also promised as well as farming experiments for which, see one of the papers, in this number. A very apt instance of how matters may be muddled, or even fat sinecures made for favourites at the public expense, is afforded in the recent appointment of Mr. Hatch, a gold expert from South Africa (!), to the work of finding out mineral grounds in India. It seems he was brought out at considerable expense to merely report on the Kolar Gold Mine; or, in other words, as confessed by Mr. Griesbach, the Director of the Geological Survey, in a letter to the *Pioneer*, to supplement the utter ignorance in practical mineral matters of the highly-paid and overmanned Geological Department! As for India being even remotely benefited by the expenditure of probably over a lakh on Mr. Hatch—who was appointed by Lord George Hamilton,

and who set aside other far more experienced mineral specialists and who were acquainted with India—there is not the most remote likelihood. And it is for all this precious waste of untold lakhs in the aggregate that we impose an unnatural and unpopular grinding Salt Tax, continually breaking out in Riots, or an infamous Opium "Monopoly" which is the scorn of the enlightened world, the shame of England, and the bane and destruction of China.

NATIVE STATES AND PRINCES.—The Gaekwar of Baroda has again appeared in a "new (and striking) light," highly to his credit as an enlightened prince. Indeed, we doubt if any crowned head in Europe, or even a science professor, could have done and spoken better. We refer to the Chief's speech at the meeting of the Grant Medical College. Let us trust that the speech was not written out for him. In any case, the sentiments must be his, and in every respect they do him credit. The young Mysore Prince has returned from his trip to Burmah, and has expressed his surprise at seeing Rangoon and the Shway Dagoon Pagoda. He should also see St. Peter's Rome, and the Cologne Cathedral—if not, Chicago and its palaces. But here that ill-advised and absurd resolution, proclamation, and other, of Lord Curzon's, bars the way! Mysore now rejoices in a new Dewan, Krishna Moorti, whose name even ought to be a guarantee of the highest ability and excellence. Indeed, we think Mysore particularly lucky in having such an enlightened and liberal-minded man at the head of its affairs. The following, which we reproduce from a portion of the Dewan's reply to an address of congratulation from the Protestant Native Christians of Bangalore, while they would make the hairs stand on end of the leaders of "orthodox" Bengal, shows that the man who could utter such sentiments, considering who he is, would be a leader wherever he was and stand always in the van of true progress and enlightenment. He said:—I am very glad indeed to meet you here and to receive assurances of your good wishes. I thank you sincerely for your very kind congratulatory address. Yours is a progressive and growing community, possessing every facility for advancement and reform. Your numbers are increasing, and at present they are, I believe, about 28,000. Your religion and education both combine to make you peaceful, contented and truthful subjects ever striving to advance in the scale of civilisation, devoted to your chosen pursuits and loyal to your Sovereign. It is a feature very pleasant and encouraging to contemplate that you have already assumed the leading position of sending 59 per cent. of those of the school-going age to be educated, while this is only 12 per cent. among the rest of the Hindus. It is my earnest wish that you may always keep yourselves in the van of progress

I am glad you recognise that in the past the interests of the Native Christian community have always been given fair consideration in Mysore, and to this policy of the Government with which I have been more or less connected in my long official career I shall gladly adhere. Your legitimate claims and aspirations will always receive at my hands liberal and sympathetic treatment.

The Maharajah of Jodhpur, who is also one of our Native "travelled" Princes (*pace* somebody) has shown much enlightenment in getting himself inoculated for the plague as an example to his subjects. We are also pleased to learn, even from private letters from Home, of his (as well as the Baroda Chief's) courtesy and hospitality to lady-travellers of note who pass through Jodhpur. There have been wholesale removals of "Nawabs" and high Officers of State by the Nizam in Hyderabad. We have no reason to believe this is the initiation of a new policy to send back the needy "foreigners" from North India who swarm about here, and live on the fat of the land to the exclusion of the native-born. Even the Government of India has, we believe, a rule by which no Bengalis—why Bengalis alone?—can be employed in high offices in the States under the Political Department, and Hyderabad a Southern State might well copy it by excluding Northern India folk. There are quite enough of enlightened Mahomedans in Southern India, besides Hindus, to draw from. And who is not aware that much of the renown of the great Akbar's rule is owing to his very able Hindu Prime Minister—Bir Bal of immortal memory among even the Bhâts and wandering minstrels of India, down to the present day! Let the Nizam copy a leaf from the great Akbar's book, and he will have no occasion to regret it. *Punnah*, too, one of the largest and finest States of Bundelkund, has long been most efficiently ruled or governed by a Native *Christian*! The Chief of Khetri in Rajputana, who had previously spent lakhs on a visit to England and grudged a few hundreds to open up the rich mineral resources of his State, just as probably Bhopal and Gondal have been doing, being debarred from making further visits outward, went about sight-seeing in Agra, and while standing on a tile on one of the lofty blue-glazed small minarets which crown Secundra, Akbar's tomb, lost his footing and was dashed to pieces down below—a sad fate and a warning not to stand on slippery eminences. The Maharajah of Tipperah has, we learn, granted a concession of all the minerals of his territory to a Calcutta firm of builders (!)—rather "a large order," and one which it is the policy of Government to discourage since the sad example of the Hyderabad-Deccan Company, who, according to their last report, with all their

possession of the famous Golconda Mines, and Gold Mines of Raichur, and exclusion of others from the field, and the much-talked-of Singareni Coal Mines, have never yet paid a dividend, and have been obliged to reduce their £5 shares to three shares of £1 each. Truly mining enterprise in some parts of India proceeds under great disabilities of waste, bad advice and lax management. And here, in regard to operations in *British* territory, especially the Central Provinces and Burmah, we would again urge on the Viceroy the requiring of "quarterly" returns (after the plan of Sir Charles Napier when he wanted to see a thing done) of mineral applications, the granting or refusing or delay of them, reasons, and every other needful detail, in order that he may himself see how the new Mineral Rules, on which so much was built for attracting capital, are actually worked. The naked truth in such matters would probably be a revelation to him, and explain why ready capital, anxious to enter, flees away, and the wealth of India is left untouched and buried in the earth. To revert to our Native Chiefs and Princes, the Mian Bhûre Singh of Chamba gets a well-merited C.I.E. for having afforded Lord Curzon such excellent sport at the close of last year. Lord Curzon is fond of sport, but there may be too much of it. The notorious Sir Bir Shumshere of Nepal has deceased and early gone to that home where it was said he sent Sir Ranodip Jung and others when he seized on the supreme power of his State, to expose which Sir C. E. Girdlestone, our Resident, is reported to have come to his own early death. How Lord Dufferin, who had also then the opportunity of adding Nepal to our territories, could have recognised Bir Shumshere's usurpation without fuller proof of his innocence passes our comprehension. Let us, after all, hope that even Bir Shumshere was innocent of the heinous crime of which he was accused, and that Lord Dufferin was convinced of his guiltlessness. The numerous exiled Nepal Princes residing in various parts of India—in Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad and Jubbulpore, will now have an opportunity of returning to their homes, and getting back portions of the estates which Bir Shumshere's rapacity is stated to have deprived them of.

Finally, we have here to note the death of Dhurrumjit Singh, Deo Bahadur (called by courtesy "Rajah"), Political Chief of Udaipur, South of Sirguja, and owner of two or three other principalities to the North. He died in the middle of his years. He was a most excellently-disposed, and hard-working Prince. He had himself taught English, and never neglected for a day to personally attend to the duties of his various states, which, together, comprised a very extensive area—although he was unknown to *Gazette* honors and even to the outside public of India. He was a genuine father to his people, and ruled

his subjects in love on the old Hindu fashion. And to our surprise we learn,—and we bring it to Sir John Woodburn's notice,—that immediately on his decease, some native employé of the Commissioner's Court at Ranchi, was sent to take charge of the whole so-called estate, but really comprising several principalities and this large State of Udaipur! How the poor primitive inhabitants must regret it. Surely a European Collector or Magistrate might have been made available for such an extensive and important charge—even if only temporary. The Native Press must not hence conclude we object to natives ruling—our previous remarks on Mysore and other States will disabuse them. And if any further proof be needed of our sentiments, it will be seen when we say that it was also a mistake on the part of Government not to have exercised due pressure on the extensive state of Doomraon, to have also an *Official* Collector or Magistrate in the place of a private European, even if a local “planter, appointed.” We consider that the ruling of these large States during minorities or interregnums should be reserved to members of the Services, and not given away to inferior *amlah* as in this Udaipur case, or to outside folk whoever they may be planters or others. There are certain vast estates now under the Court of Wards to which our remarks equally apply. A rule should be made that estates of over a certain area, say 7,000 or 8,000 square miles, or over a certain income, should be entrusted to a member of one or the other of the two Services. We do not care at the end of this portion of our Quarter's notes to take up the question of small Indian chiefs and others starting for Europe as “Princes,” and other cognate matters in reference to the titles “Maharajahs” and “Nawabs” now used in a slipshod way, but we hope to find space some time or other for a subject of some importance—namely, the confusion resulting from the want of a well-defined phraseology in regard to Indian Political Chiefs and Princes, and others non-political dignified with honorary titles.

OTHER MATTERS.—In the connected rapid and brief notes recorded above, there are necessarily some matters which come to be thrown out, and which yet are deserving of notice. Of such are the following:—And first in regard to Mr. Pennell's case. Mr. Pennell may be a very able man, and a righteous judge, but he lacks one or two very essential things—one being ordinary prudence. He is also somewhat intemperate in language, and oblivious of a due proportion of things. There are times when imprudence may betoken the highest courage, and it be necessary even to call a spade a spade. But with all due qualifications, Mr. Pennell has succeeded in making decorum a farce. He may have been perfectly right in his

judgment, but he was unquestionably wrong in bringing in Mrs. Cargill's name along with her husband's as threatening him in the execution of his duty. Imagine a lady frightening Mr. Pennell—she ought rather to have softened him. His treatment of Sir John Woodburn was shocking and inexcusable. The only excuse that can be made for him was that he was really very ill with a very painful disease, which being intimately connected with the brain, made his head go wrong. He was perfectly right in resisting unauthorised calls by unauthorised people, even if made in the name of the High Court, to deliver up important papers. And here we come to the real trouble of the whole matter—his suspension. We are no apologists here for Sir John Woodburn or the Bengal Government, but it is clear the latter had no option left but to suspend him, that is, simply carried out the orders of the High Court authorities. From the evidence before us, these latter were completely in the wrong, and had lost their heads, and they compelled Sir John Woodburn to suspend Mr. Pennell. If the Subordinate Judge of the Mofussil was wrong, his superiors of the High Court were still more wrong; and what is worse, succeeded in placing Sir John in a false position. Exonerating, therefore, Sir John and the Bengal Government entirely, we lay the whole blame on the High Court authorities for having lost their heads for being unjust to Mr. Pennell, and leading Sir John into a false position and bringing on him needless blame. It has been a high serio-comedy played by the official world to an admiring public, in which the stomach and its troubles, as with Napoleon at Waterloo, bore a principal part, and the High Court figures as an imperious and unreasonable hot-headed despot breaking its own rules; the sufferers being Sir John Woodburn and Mr. Pennell. The proper ending for the whole thing is apologies all round, and first the High Court should confess its mistake and apologise to Sir John Woodburn for having led him wrong, and to Mr. Pennell for having treated him unjustly. Next, Mr. Pennell should apologise to Sir John Woodburn for his shameful treatment of the latter's kind and even fatherly efforts. Then Mr. Pennell should be granted leave of absence for a year, from the date of his suspension, on full pay, to balance his stomach and recover his judicial equilibrium. We may conclude with a moral: be merciful and never refuse leave of absence when urgently requested by the poorest subordinate; and never act in a hurry as the High Court did. The old Arabic proverb says, “Hurry is from the Devil!” The Vernacular Press of India has found an amiable apologist in Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., late of Madras, and also a severe and hostile critic in its own camp writing in the

Twentieth Century, a new native monthly review started in Calcutta similar to the monthly *Indian Review* of Madras. The subject is one of great importance, and we should wish to see it justly treated by some competent pen, failing which, on some future occasion, we may ourselves proceed to set forth what we know of it. The Madras and Bengal Provincial Conferences have come off, and, as usual, only a grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff! A correspondent writes to us to state, that he "believes India is afflicted with plague and famines for it to turn from its degrading idol-worship and seek the Living GOD." The evils of tom-toming reached a climax the other day in South India when a European got inside a temple and thrashed the horrid din-makers. Why should not tom-toming be legally put down, or put "out of bounds?" It is simply noise, and a nuisance, and excruciating to many. There has been a severe riot in the Khulna district in Bengal over illicit salt. Salt was said to be cheap now in the late talk in Council over the Budget, but we know the time when a handful of salt sufficient for the day's use used to be "thrown into the bargain," that is, for nothing, along with other small bazaar purchases. Indeed, the very poor of the population are most heavily taxed by this impost, far beyond their means. We believe a Persian proverb says, that "even a dog would not tax salt." Among our correspondents, and we have several, one requests us to take up Lord Curzon's "twelve or fifteen" famous articles of his Indian creed, and another sets forth a woeful array of Railway delinquencies. The former we reserve for future special treatment; and we may set forth the latter on some other occasion. The Central Railway Station Committee's Report puts the matter of both the Station and Bridge further back than ever. The cost will be enormous. Ceylon tea it seems is underselling Indian teas in India—which betokens a fine state of things. We have no space in this number to deal with the question of a new Chief Commissionership to be formed out of Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, and the eastern portion of the Central Provinces. The plague at first increased rapidly, and has again suddenly diminished. A plague riot in the Punjab cost a poor Naib-Tabsildar his life. The partial famine anticipated in Western India has already sent nearly half a million of men into relief. Eastern Bengal is reported to be growing more and more disorderly. Eastern Bengal has been famous for disorder since the days of Doodoo Meeah some seventy or eighty years ago. The causes are many, and we have no space to consider them at present. Some have said the Bengalis are the Irish of India, with a special aptitude for turbulency. The natives are taking to having Banks of their own conducted on English principles. Should these Banks

spread, as they assuredly will, they will take off much business from our present local Banks. Where should the capital of India be located?" We have no time or space to answer this question now. We do think, however comfortable the Boer prisoners of war may be made in India, they should not have been sent to this country. Professor Ramsay in his Report says, evidently with surprise,—“I have seen several skilled workmen in India.” He is not aware that the natives of India with their fine sense of touch and patience, have the materials in them of making the best skilled workmen in the world. Dacca muslins and Cashmere shawls could never be made in any other country. A Madras paper thus lugubriously laments the results of the carrying out of the present Viceroy's Resolution about the curtailment of Administration Reports:—

In former years the Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, was an annual of considerable length. The Report itself, interspersed with many tabular statements, occupied close on one hundred pages, a space which, making due allowance for the statistics which have to be shown, was none too much to describe the working of the Department for a year. To this Report were attached some interesting diagrams, exhibiting at a glance the working and progress of all the more important irrigation systems since their commencement, and as a little *bonne bouche*—a luxury, no doubt, but a legitimate one—a few photographs of the more important works carried out during the year under review, accompanied by a few lines of letter press describing them. The Report was also interspersed with sketch maps of the various irrigation systems, which, if not absolutely necessary, added greatly to the amenity of the volume, and, once produced, involved little or no further labour. But what have we now? Gone are the maps, there are no more photographs, we look in vain for those useful diagrams which gave the life history of each project, and the Report itself is boiled down into 26 pages. To make up for all this, we have the administrative accounts of the Department, pages and pages of figures which we make bold to prophesy not even the veriest expert will find cause to dip his nose into.

We have no space at present to notice Mr. Vaughan Nash's "Empire Adrift"—referring to India, in a late number of the *Contemporary*. But we may furnish the following extract from the proceedings of the House of Commons, adding that no reply was given to Mr. Caine:—

Mr. Caine asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence of the 7th February before the Famine Commission of Mr. Lely, Commissioner in Guzerat, to the effect that owing to the exhaustion of the soil, the fall in price of sugar and cotton, the disuse of the old custom of grain storage for Home consumption, and the loss of 70 per cent. of their cattle, there has been a complete breakdown among the cultivators of Guzerat:

And, whether, seeing that Mr. Lely repeatedly urged a suspension of 45 per cent. of the revenues last year in Guzerat, he can state the grounds on which the Bombay Government refused to remit more than 20 per cent.; is he aware that owing to the force of circumstances only 28 per cent. could be collected; and can he explain why the proposed suspensions of revenue were not earlier made known to the people.

Finally, a paper friendly to the Boers furnishes the following description of the situation in South Africa. We believe it is nothing but the truth. A single turn in the tide in reference to the "loyalty" of the Cape Dutch, and South Africa, even yet, would be lost to us. And in our opinion, it would be to quote an expressive phrase, "good riddance of bad rubbish." We believe the Empire would not in the least be affected by it, but, rather, be stronger than ever. The pivot on which England's greatness turns is not South Africa, but India. Has not the Viceroy said it? Lords Cromer and Kitchener would probably be inclined to say Egypt. We leave the matter undecided here. Here is the South African situation:—

"Our invading columns hold that portion of the Free State upon which they are encamped. Their necessities are such that they have evacuated several important towns during the last few weeks so as to keep close to the railway; also during the last few weeks about a battalion of the British invading force have surrendered (to the Republicans). We do not make any serious pretence of holding the back country of the Orange Free State. In the South African Republic, of course, our armies are more unfavourably situated. A few days ago we were attacked almost within gunshot of Pretoria at Kaalfontein and at Geldenhuis's farm, only about six miles from the centre of Johannesburg. Whenever our troops have put their heads out of a heavily fortified town they are fired upon. The greater portion of the Transvaal is not only unconquered, but untouched, and it is held by an army of 8,000 to 9,000 veterans under General Louis Botha. The Presidents of the two Republics are free, and with their deputies and counsellors continue to exercise their functions in a great part—the Transvaal the greater part—of the countries. In addition to this there is the invasion of our territory by several thousand Boers."

Our obituary list includes the following names:—

General H. G. Waterfield, C. B.; Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London; Mr. Justice Ranade, of Bombay; Duc de Broglie; General Gourko; Rev. H. R. Haweis; Ex-King Milan, of Servia; Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, D.C.L. (a Sanscrit scholar); Admiral Commerell; General Sir Sam Browne; Sir John Stainer (Mus. composer); Bishop Stubbs of Oxford; Dr. Tanner, M. P., for Cork; General Barnard (late of Madras); Ex-President Harrison; Miss Yonge; Sir Edward Watkin; Sir Dinshaw Pettit; Sir Arthur Strachey (C. J., Allahabad).

Special articles to appear in our next number:—

Women as Rulers, by Sir W. H. Rattigan.

Our Bengal Lieutenant-Governors.

Tantra Literature, by Rev. Dr. Macdonald.

Continuation of A Returned Empty, by an Old C. S.

Serpent Worship in Malabar.

Also some others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Imperial and Colonial Magazine and Review. Illustrated. Vol. I, Part I, November, 1900. 1s. nett. Edited by "Celt" and E. F. Benson. London: Hurst & Blackett. India: Thacker, Spink & Co., Thacker & Co., and A. H. Wheeler & Co.

THIS is a dainty production, got up in the best style as regards paper, illustrations, &c., so that it may even grace a drawing-room table. The articles are mostly all on interesting present-day subjects, written by leading writers; with a tale, and an account of Colchester; and avoid the error, for a magazine, of being too long. There are also the usual reviews of the month's events, political and other, and of publications. We can only wish it every success. A serial tale by an author of repute may hereafter well find a place in its pages.

Rue with a Difference. By Rosa Nouchette Carey. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THIS author of a dozen-and-half other novels, some of which have gone to the 30th thousand, and all told a sale of over a quarter of a million of copies, must be popular with a certain class of young-lady readers who live about Cathedral closes. The title of the novel implies that the ending is not "bitter," though very nearly so.

Modern Broods, or Developments Unlooked for. By Charlotte Mary Yonge. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MISS YONGE has been about the most prolific tale-writer for half a century past, having written over fifty novels and other works in as many years. She writes for a very large class of young lady-readers, and her manners, style, and treatment are very superior. Just as we go to press, we learn that she has ended her earthly literary career.

The Attachè at Peking. By A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C.B. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THE author of *Tales of Old Japan*, the *Bamboo Garden*, and other pleasant and instructive works is well known and generally liked. The present volume familiarly impresses, in the form of "Letters," all that may be seen in, or should be

known of, the Flowery Land now so prominent before the public. The writer takes the reader with him from Hong-Kong to Peking. Even Mongolia is treated. Higher subjects as trade, politics, and the like, are very lucidly set forth. We should think this work is one of the most readable in Macmillan's Colonial Library Series.

The Increasing Purpose. By James Lane Allen. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MR. Allen's novels are always worth reading, and this one in particular, to those to whom—to quote him—"the Old Faith, the New Science, and the New Doubt," are of interest. There is an increasing tendency at the present day to treat of matters of Faith in novels which, whatever it may indicate, does not forebode well for the appearance of a classical class—that will outlive the age. Mr. Allen's tale is, of course, well told.

Eleanor. By Mrs. Humphrey Ward. 3s. 6d. London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

WRITTEN in Mrs. Ward's peculiar style, the tale opens 15 miles from Rome; goes through a deal of Rome and adjacent life and scenery; and is concerned with Italy and her priests; the usual love-story forming the basis. Rome may loom largely in the view of a certain small class of—principally lady, readers; but is out of place in, and sympathy with, the busy, living, colonising world of to-day; and neither moves it, nor affects it. We have no doubt the novel serves a useful purpose, but of such works, in connection with Rome, we may have a surfeit—especially after Marie Corelli's last magnificent effort. We notice, with regret, that this work by Mrs. Ward is repeatedly disfigured by such phrases as "Good God!"—"In God's Name," and so forth which show neither culture, nor refinement, nor strength, but, on the contrary—vulgarity and weakness.

Kindergarten Teaching in India. Part I. Infant Standard, Part II. First Standard, and Part III. Second Standard. Eight annas each. By Mrs. Brander, Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Northern and Central Circles, Madras. London, Bombay, and Calcutta. Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

WE cannot too highly praise these small but useful and very well got up Kindergarten Manuals, and can only trust that they will be extensively adopted throughout India. A Missionary Conference of late expressed a wish to get them

in Hindi. There would be a larger sale of such works in Hindi and other vernaculars than in English.

The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. *Arachnida.* By R. I. Pocock. London: Taylor & Francis; Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.; Bombay: Thacker & Co.

THIS is a work of the highest scientific value to those who take an interest in Scorpions, Spiders, and other such creatures. It contains descriptions of all the species of *Arachnida*, &c., and should prove useful to students of natural history.

Authorised Guide to Lee Warner's Citizen of India. By Rev. A. Tomory, M.A., Professor of English Literature, Duff College, Calcutta. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price twelve annas.

THE title sets forth the object of the work, which is in the form of questions and answers, and is eminently adapted to impress on the pupils the lessons of one of the most valuable educational works ever supplied to India. No educational institution of any pretence whatever, should fail to be without this work in the curriculum of its teaching.

The Authorised Guide to Sir Roper Lethbridge's History of India. By Isan Chandra Ghosh, M.A., Head Master of the Hughli Training School. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1901. Price twelve annas.

VERY much the same remarks may be applied to this useful little work for historical notes relating to India.

Supplement to Nesfield's Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis Book IV, consisting of appendices on Accent, Pronunciation, Structure of Sentences and Structure of Paragraph as required by the Matriculation, or Entrance and First Arts Courses of Indian Universities. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price three annas.

THIS is an exceedingly valuable, though unpretentious work to the student of pronunciation, and Sentence-structure.

Macmillan's Atlas for Primary Schools in India. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta. Price eight annas.

THIS is one of the very best atlases we have seen, even though modestly set forth as for Primary Schools, and is

fully worth ten times its price. It is unusually full, beautifully coloured, and brought down to the latest date except the population according to the last census. The variety of information on the cover relating to Religion, Shipping, Trade, Languages, Races, Railways and Cultivated Acres, are especially valuable. The Messrs. Macmillan, by their excellent School and College works, so well got up and so cheap, are fast taking possession of the extensive Indian educational market. We wish them every success.

The Indian Penal Code. Act XLV of 1860 (with all amendments to date) and Notes, Analysis and Commentaries thereon, by Reginald A. Nelson, M.A., LL.M., of the Inner Temple, Barr-at-Law, Principal of the Madras Law College, and Advocate of the High Court of Madras. Third Edition. Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari & Co.; London: Sweet and Maxwell, Limited, Law Publishers, 3, Chancery Lane, W.C. 1901. [All rights reserved.]

TO quote from the Preface—"with the addition of the large number of cases (some 350) mentioned above, the present edition will, it is believed, afford a pretty complete Digest of the Case Law decided under the Code. Decisions under the English Criminal Law have also been referred to." The work, the compiler informs us, has recently been prescribed as the text book in Criminal Law in the University of Madras, in addition to the Punjab University.

A School History of Ancient and Modern India. By Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. With Illustrations and Maps. Macmillan & Co., London, Bombay and Calcutta.

MR. Dutt has produced an exceedingly useful, and even interesting work in a small compass, and well adapted even for advanced classes. The type is clear, and the illustrations are numerous and instructive, though we remember to have seen them before. The numerous maps are also valuable, as showing at a glance India under early Hindu eras, and at various period of British rule. While we, thus, give the work its due praise, we note a number of Mr. Dutt's peculiar ideas and errors. For instance, in page 30, he says "the religion of the Aryan Hindus was adopted 'by all the great non-Aryan Natives of India in this age,' about 800 B.C. How he has managed to include one of the greatest of the non-Aryan tribes, the Gonds, as Hindus, it is impossible to guess. In a work on history, we should not sacrifice truth to vanity. Again, in page 44, after giving an extract from Fa Hian about a Buddhist festival in the fifth century, Mr. Dutt says, "it shows how the

worship of images crept into India with the spread of Buddhism!" An extraordinary inference indeed, that Hindu idolatry was begotten of Buddhism. This same effort to whitewash Hinduism may be seen throughout the book—in page 49, and again in page 60. We have always suspected that the early Vedic worship of the powers of Nature had considerably deteriorated before Buddhism rose as a protest—even against the sensual idolatry of the day. How does the great work of *Manu* affect the matter, as asserted in page 49? There is also a Syrian King called Anhiochus, of whom probably few have heard. But Mr. Dutt's sources of information are probably cryptic, if not even self-evolved. But for these—very glaring—defects, the History is, as we have said, useful, and even excellent.

A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar). A Contribution to the History of India. By Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service (retired), M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1900. Price 15s.

MR. Sewell belongs to that class of Civilian officers of whom we could wish to see more*. Sir W. W. Hunter, lately passed away, was the latest most prominent member of this class. And Mr. Sewell in his style, too, and even in going back to dead and forgotten things, reminds us of Sir W. W. Hunter. Now that the latter has disappeared from public ken, Mr. Sewell rises worthily to take his place. Mr. Sewell was, however, in his earlier career in India, as compared with Sir W. W. Hunter's earlier career in this country, far more eminent and distinguished. His chronological tables and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, and his papers on archæological research and early Buddhist symbolism, as well as other contributions showed much research, and early marked him as an officer of high attainments and rare promise. This promise, though he has retired from the service, he has now fulfilled in this splendid work on Vijayanagar. For over two centuries, from 1336 to 1565, this city was the capital of a Hindu Empire that included the whole of Southern India. It was ably governed, and continued to increase in wealth and prosperity. It was the admiration of the Portuguese travellers of that day, who have given very full and florid descriptions of it which Mr. Sewell has incorporated, in translations, in his work. With power, prosperity and wealth, came pride, the usual precursor of a fall; and accordingly the Mahomedan scourge overtook it.

* What has become of Charles Arthur Kelly, —once a frequent contributor to our pages, — with his exquisite contributions on the days of classical Greece? Surely leaving India does not benumb one's pen? —ED. C. R.

The last Hindu sovereign, with nearly a million of men, went out to meet the invaders, carried on a litter, for he was 96 years of age. But he was captured and at once decapitated, throwing the Hindu forces into a panic. A hundred thousand of them are supposed to have been slaughtered in the pursuit, and the victorious Moslems entered the city. When, earlier, the news of the disaster reached the city "All hope was gone. The myriad dwellers in the city were left defenceless. No retreat, no flight was possible except to a few, for the pack-oxen and carts had almost all followed the forces to the war, and they had not returned. Nothing could be done but to bury all treasures, to arm the young men, and to wait. Next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjaris, Lambadis, Kurubas, and the like, poured down on the hapless city, and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches. The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Musalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment; but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vithalasvami near the river and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming one day with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity, and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors begging description."

And there ended the Empire of the "King of Kings, Lord of the Greater Lords of India and Lord of the Three Seas and of the Land!"

Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana. Translated for the first time from the Chinese version by Teitaro Suzuki, Chicago. The Open Court Publishing Company. London Agents: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co. 1900.

THIS is a small work translated from the Chinese by Mr. Suzuki. It is supposed that there is a Sanscrit original, but it has not yet been found. The author is also supposed to have been a Bengali Brahmin, but his name does not support that view—a Ghose is not a Banerji or a Mukerji. It is said he became a Buddhist, and wrote this work. He propounded a peculiar view of metaphysics, which seems to have taken well with the Chinese race; hence a translation of his work is found only in China. The Awakening of Faith is, of course, in his peculiar view, though where any *Faith* comes in it is difficult to see—except to believe that he had attained unto Supreme Wisdom. The work is an attempt to show Nirvana may be attained by the Buddhistic process of thought—not by the practical self or ego crucifixion of the Christian: to get rid of suffering, and not *to suffer*. It is all "contemplate," "contemplate," "contemplate!" Hence the effateness of Buddhism. We have no doubt that the American "Open Court Publishing Company" consider this work quite a prize; but we consider it as a hopeless attempt to revive a peculiar *form* of a small portion of metaphysics (or the science of the mind), which has been long dead and buried—a dead effort of Hindu metaphysics, pored over only by as dead old Chinese Bonzes.

The Tiruvāṇṇam, or 'Sacred Utterances' of the Tamil Poet Saint and Sage Māṇikka-Vāṇagar: the Tamil Text of the fifty-one Poems, with English Translation, Introductions, and Notes; to which is prefixed a summary of the Life and Legends of the Sage, with appendices illustrating the great South-Indian System of Philosophy and Religion called the Āiṇva Siddhāntam. With Tamil Lexicon and Concordance. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D., Balliol College and Indian Institute, Oxford. Pages c+440, Royal 8vo., cloth. Price 21s. net. Printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. London, Edinburgh and New York.

THIS title-page gives a full description of the contents and nature of the work. The Rev. Dr. Pope is probably the only Tamil scholar of eminence in Europe, and his numerous works in that language are well-known. Alone he expatiates—and from the example before us, evidently revels—in that field. The *Tiruvāṇṇam* is the *magnum opus* of his

long life. That it is so, and its completion, are thus described by himself :—

"I date this on my eightieth birthday. I find, by reference, that my first Tamil lesson was in 1837. This ends, as I suppose a long life of devotion to Tamil studies. It is not without deep emotion that I thus bring to a close my life's literary work.

"Some years ago, when this publication was hardly projected, one evening, after prayers, the writer was walking with the late Master of Balliol College in the quadrangle. The conversation turned upon Tamil legends, poetry and philosophy. At length, during a pause in the conversation, the Master said in a quick way peculiar to him, 'you must print it.' To this the natural answer was, 'Master! I have no patent of immortality, and the work would take very long.' I can see him now, as he turned round,—while the moonlight fell upon his white hair and kindly face,—and laid his hand upon my shoulder, saying, 'To have a great work in progress is the way to live long. You will live till you finish it.' I certainly did not think so then, though the words have often come to my mind as a prophecy, encouraging me when weary; and they have been fulfilled, while he has passed out of sight."

The work is inscribed "to the memory of Benjamin Jowett, one of the kindest, and best, and most forbearing of friends—with all gratitude and reverence." It is one which no student of the essence of the Caiva faith of South India can be without. There is not only the Tamil text with its translation and lexicon and concordance, but the numerous "Notes" are particularly valuable, and the book should find a place in every well-appointed library throughout India, Europe, and America.

The following couple of extracts, one from a "Note" and the other one of the translations will show the style and excellence of Dr. Pope's work, though we are inclined to think that he has taken a very unaccustomed view in regard to the Tamil poet being on a par with the great Christian saint (and poet) St. Bernard in religious sentiment, which, with our knowledge of India and Indian peoples, we venture to assert is distinct one from the other in conception and essence as well as object.

The following extract from a "Note" describes the *Caiva Siddhānta* :—

"The *Caiva Siddhānta* system is the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India. It is peculiarly the South Indian, and Tamil, religion; and must be studied by everyone who hopes to understand and influence the great South Indian peoples. The

Vaishṇava sect has also many influential followers in the Tamil lands, but these are chiefly immigrants from the North. Caivism is the old pre-historic religion of South India, essentially existing from pre-Aryan times,* and holds sway over the hearts of the Tamil people. But this great attempt to solve the problems of God, the soul, humanity, nature, evils, suffering, and the unseen world, has never been fully expounded in English." [p. lxxiv. The "Note" is a very long and particularly valuable one.]

In the following extract, we give a whole poem, called the "Tambour Song; or, Refuge with Civan," as it furnishes the very gist and essence of *Caivaism*—a sort of elevated assurance and deliverance from "birth's illusions" as well as future "births" :—

HYMN XI.

1.

Māl's self went forth a boar, but failed His sacred Foot
To find; that we His form might know, a Sage He came,
And made me His! To Him, Who hath nor name, nor form,
A thousand sacred names, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

2

The Lord in Perun-torrai's ever-hallowed shrine
Who dwelt, my birth with all its germs destroyed; since when
I've none else; formless is He,—a form He wears,
The Lord of blest Arūr, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

3

To Hari and to Brahmā and to other gods
Not manifested, Civan came in presence there,
Melted our hearts, received our service due; that all
The world may hear, and smile, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

4

From sinking in the vain abyss of worthless gods,—
From birth's illusions all,—the Light Supernal saved
And made me His. Soon as the new, pure Light, was given
How I in Bliss was lost: sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

5

To 'wildeted gods, to Ayan, and to Māl unknown,
Civan assumed a form, that men should joy.
That germs of birth consumed might die, with gracious glance,
How to my soul He came, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

6

The Lord, Who shakes the serpent dancing round His waist,
With His Hill partner, came to earth, made us His own;—
Say thus, soul-lighted, eyes like full bright lotus flowers,
Pouring forth floods of tears, and singing, beat Tellēṇam!

*[We take leave to question this for two sufficient reasons: (1) the "old pre-historic" faith or worship was either that of "stocks and stones" pure and simple, or the partially spiritual Deo-worship of the Gonds; (2) the form, essence, &c., are thoroughly Brahmanic.—Ed., C. R.]

7

Civan unknown to Hari, Ayan, Indra, heavenly ones,
On earth drew even me; 'come, come,' said He, and made me His;
When imprint of His Flowery Feet was on my head impressed,
How grace divine was mine, sing we, and beat Tellāṇam!

8

Like rustling palm-leaves is this frame! Its births and deaths,
With dread of good and ill, He swept away, and made me His;
He gave me grace, though I, all else forget, ne'er to forget
His Foot; Whose mighty dance sing we, and beat Tellāṇam!

9

As though some stone were made sweet fruit, the Lord in grace
Gave ev'n to me His golden Foot, and made me His.
O ye with slender waist, red lips, and winsome smiles!
'Lord of the Southern-Land,' call Him; and beat Tellāṇam!

10

Even in a dream His Jewelled Feet 'tis hard for gods to see,—
With Her like laurel tree with jewelled arms,—entering in grace,
In waking hour He took, and made me His! With loving souls
Your dart-like eyes be filled with tears, and beat Tellāṇam!

11

When He, Her spouse whose eyes shine bright, mixt with my soul,
And made me His, deeds and environments died out;
Upon this earth confusion died; all other mem'ries ceased;
How all my 'doings' died, sing we, and beat Tellāṇam!

12

Ascetic bands sore languish'd, longing for release.
Grace to the elephant He gave, made me his own;
The light supreme deep plunged me in devotion's sea!
How sweet His mercy is, sing ye, and beat Tellāṇam!

13

Not those on earth, nor in th' abyss, nor heavenly ones,—
To none beside, so near He drew; He made me His!
To sing His advent, or Him, th' only Great, conceive
Is hard, His glory-song sing we, and beat Tellāṇam!

14

Māl, Ayan, all the gods, and Sciences divine,
His essence cannot pierce. This Being rare drew near to me,
In love He thrilled my soul! With this remembrance moved,
Let your bright eyes with tears o'erflow, and beat Tellāṇam!

15

The spreading sea of grace supernal that melts and swells,
From which 'tis sweet to draw and drink, we gather round.
The Feet of the bright Southern Lord call we to mind,
His slaves, praise we His sacred grace, and beat Tellāṇam!

16

Buddhan, Purandaran, the primal Ayan, Māl, praise Him,
The One-distraught, Who dwell in Perun-turrai's shrine,—the Sire
Who made births cease,—Lord of fair Tillai's porch,—His gracious
Feet
How in my soul they entered, sing, and beat Tellāṇam!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Luzac's Oriental List, for January and February 1901. Annual subscription three shillings—a most valuable publication for all oriental scholars.

Catalogue and Report of the Bareilly Theological Seminary of the M. E. Church for 1900 shows what excellent work this denomination is doing for the N. W.-P.

Indian Municipal Journal. Bombay, Caxton Printing Works continue to grow increasingly valuable.

Monograph on Ivory Carving in the Punjab, 1900. Published by Authority. Lahore. Very interesting and well illustrated.

Notes and Extracts on the question of Neutrality in Religion—a reprint from somewhere not noted, and without imprint of press! Of course, the hand of Dr. Miller is visible in it. It is a pity he does not write more definitely about the teaching of the Bible, or of religion, in Government Schools and Colleges. We can add a great deal to the private history of this question from our personal knowledge.

Shakespear's King Lear and Indian Politics by Wm. Miller, D.D., C.I.E., &c., a thoughtful essay by an old Friend of India.

The Indian Magazine, April.

Report of Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab. 1900.

Progress Report of Forest Administration, Punjab. 1900.

Madras Government Museum.

Bulletin, Vol. IV., No. 1.

Note on the Bengal Rabi Crops for 1900-'01.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. Tome 1er. No. 1. Rue du Coton Hanoi (Tonkin). Illustrated, and interesting to Buddhist students.

Report of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, N. W.-P. and Oudh. For the year ending 30th September 1900. Allahabad Government Press, interesting and deserving of study.

The Silver Skull. By S. R. Crockett. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

Bad Company. By Wolf Bodrewood. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

The Crisis. By Winston Churchill. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

The Helmet of Navarre. By Bertha Rundle.

Macmillan's Colonial Library.

Agricultural Imports of the United States, by countries, 1895-1899. By Frank H. Hitchcock. Chief Section of Foreign Markets. Washington Government Printing Office. 1900.

Agricultural Exports of the United States, by countries, 1895-1899. By Frank H. Hitchcock. Chief Section of Foreign Markets. Washington Government Printing Office. 1900.

General Report on the work carried on by the Geological Survey of India for the period from the 1st April 1900 to the 31st March 1901. Under the direction of C. L. Griesbach, C.I.E., F.G.S. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 1901.

Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. XXXI, Part 1. Calcutta: Government of India Central Printing Office, 8 Hastings Street. 1900.

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GENERAL LITERATURE.

17

I lay bewilder'd in the barren troublous sea
Of sects and systems wide discordant all ;—
My care He banished, gave in grace His jewelled Feet ;
Praise we His gracious acts, and beat Tellēnam !

18

Though Ether, Wind, Fire, Water, Earth should fail,
His constant Being fails not, knows no weariness !
In Him my body, soul, and thought, and mind were merged.
How all myself was lost, sing we, and beat Tellēnam !

19

Prime Source of heavenly ones, the Germ of those beneath,
Earth's Balm ; Māl's, Ayan's Treasure, open eyed
We saw, sing ye, His gracious Feet, Who dwelt with us !
Call Him 'Lord of the Southern-Land,' and beat Tellēnam !

20

Sing His race ; sing the heron's wing ; Her beauty sing
Who wears bright gems ; sing how He poison ate ; each day
In Tillai's temple court He dances, where the waiters play ;
His tinkling anklets' music sing, and beat Tellēnam !

