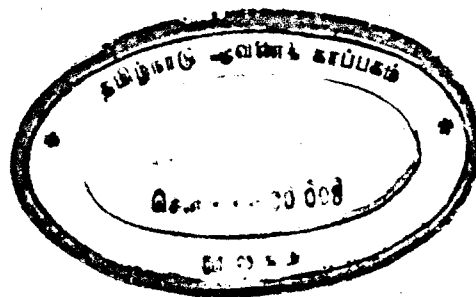


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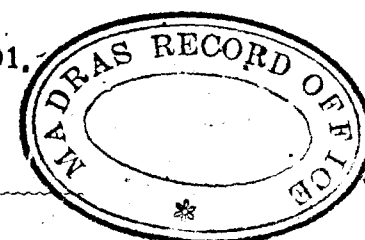
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THE

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July 1901.



No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented 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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I.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

- 1.—The Indian Mines Act, 1901, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Graham, Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn, Member of the Indian Mining Association. Price one rupee. The Indian Daily News Press, Calcutta, 1901 ...
- 2.—Hindustani Idioms, with Vocabulary and Explanatory Notes. By Colonel A. N. Phillips. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. ...
- 3.—The History of the Ganjam Malliahs in the Madras Presidency. Edited by H. D. Taylor, Esq., I.C.S., Collector and Agent to the Governor. Ganjam.—Government Press, Madras. 1901 ...
- 4.—The Spoilt Child : A Tale of Hindu Domestic Life, by Peary Chand Mitter (Tek Chand Thakur). Translated by G. D. Osweil, M.A., Court of Wards, Bengal. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta ...
- 5.—Essays on Islām. By the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M. R. A. S., S. P. C. K. S. P. C. K. Depot, Madras : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London ...

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THE

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ART I.—VICTORIA QUEEN-EMPRESS, AND WOMEN AS RULERS.

NOW when a whole nation and indeed the entire civilized world are sorrowing at the death of our noble Queen, who has left behind her—

“One of the few, the immortal names
That were not born to die,”

it seems a fitting time to consider what examples history affords us of women as distinguished political rulers. It was observed by Lord Bacon that “all ages have esteemed a female government a rarity ; if prosperous a wonder ; and, if both long and prosperous, almost a miracle.” Had he lived at the present day he would have been compelled to admit that such a miracle had been accomplished to the fullest extent. But in truth the more we consider the examples that follow, which are furnished to us by nations not only geographically widely apart, but completely divergent in character, the less inclined we shall be to agree with the great Lord Chancellor of Elizabeth's reign, that a successful female ruler is so great a rarity as he asserts. On the contrary, we shall find that in many a political crisis of a nation's history it has been the genius and virtues of a woman which have saved it from impending ruin or raised its fortunes to the highest point of prosperity. To an Englishman, indeed, who has had the happiness of living under the late reign, who has seen his country expand year by year in greatness and in wealth under the wise guidance of a Sovereign whose life was as pure as her rule was beneficent, and who has made himself familiar with the past history of his own country, it may be said with truth in the words of the greatest poet of the Victorian era, “faith in womankind beats with his blood.” At the present moment there is not a subject of this vast empire who, although bowed down by sincere grief at the great loss which has befallen him and his fellow subjects, does not feel a sense of just pride in the thought that it is to

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his late beloved Queen that the world is paying the homage that is due to virtue and goodness, and that in death as in life Victoria the Great is loved, honoured and revered. For sixty-four years that noble woman had wielded the sceptre of the British Empire, and her subjects had learnt to love and reverence her as the Mother of her country, whose whole life was devoted to its service, and whose heart beat with a responsive sympathy to the trials and sufferings of the humblest of her people. Her fame as a wise, just and virtuous ruler had spread to lands in the four corners of the Globe, and white and colored races alike honoured her name as the emblem of true sovereignty and greatness. A Constitutional Monarch, Queen Victoria knew the limits which the laws of her country placed upon her power and authority, and she rigorously observed them. At the same time she knew the immense influence that was still reserved to her, and she never failed to exercise this influence for the good of her country. From the first she recognised the principle that a Sovereign's power and authority rest upon the love and confidence of the people over whom they are exercised, and her aim in life was to win and strengthen these ties. She succeeded, and the devotion and loyalty of a contented and grateful people gave her the highest and only reward she wished for. Schooled in sorrow, borne with heroic resignation, she could feel for others, and her queenly consolation brought comfort to many an aching heart. But it was not only in these womanly virtues that Queen Victoria could claim the title of Great. In statecraft and administrative affairs she brought to her aid wide knowledge, ripe experience, and sound judgment, so that as her ablest Ministers have acknowledged her advice and opinion were always valuable and unaffectedly given. Simple in her own tastes and averse to ostentation or extravagance she could nevertheless, when occasion required, uphold the dignity and majesty of her exalted position with befitting splendour and magnificence. An accomplished linguist she was well acquainted with current literature, while her acquaintance with contemporary European history was as wide as it was accurate. The high tone and purity of her Court were the theme of universal admiration, while the love and affectionate devotion of her children and numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren testified to her maternal tenderness and sweetness of disposition. Such was the high souled Lady who has just passed away from us in peaceful sleep, and whose memory will live through countless centuries as the Greatest Queen of the Greatest Empire the world has ever seen. Well may her subjects rejoice that no Salic law deprived them of the privilege of having such a ruler! Indeed such a law would have robbed them also of two other

Queens who have largely contributed to the building up of this great Empire.

Of these Queen Elizabeth holds the pre-eminent place in the popular imagination. To estimate her character properly we must take account of her early bringing up, and the atmosphere of intrigue and deception which surrounded her. Within three years of her birth her mother, the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, was beheaded to make room for Jane Seymour whom her cruel husband married the following day, and a subservient Parliament less than two months afterwards pronounced both the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to be equally illegitimate in order to justify the declaration that the succession to the throne should devolve on "the issue of the marriage of Queen Jane." The latter did not long survive her union with Henry the VIIIth, for she died twelve days after giving birth to a son, who afterwards became Edward the VIth. At his christening Elizabeth carried the baptismal robe, being at this time only four years of age, and before she had reached the age of ten her father had remarried three times, having divorced one wife (Anne of Cleves), beheaded another (Catherine Howard), and married the third (Catherine Parr), who happily for Elizabeth was a woman of exceptional firmness and culture and took a special interest in her education. While still in her fourteenth year her father died, and was succeeded by Queen Jane's son as Edward the VIth, then in his tenth year, who died six years later, leaving a will, executed under the instigation of the scheming Duke of Northumberland, excluding Mary and Elizabeth from the succession. Thus before she was out of her teens she had been the witness of events which were calculated to blunt all her more refined feelings, to make her distrust those around her, and never having herself known any home ties or the tender nurture of a mother, to become thoroughly selfish and indifferent to human suffering. But if her past experience was such as to school her into a cold and unfeeling woman, the next five years during which her step-sister Mary deluged the country with the blood of victims to her intolerant bigotry, and in the course of which Elizabeth's own life was frequently in danger, were years in which the arts of dissimulation, cunning and deceit were learnt and practised in the cause of self-preservation. Persecutions and burnings had almost stamped out all feeling of loyalty in the hearts of the people towards the throne, while the nation had suffered humiliation by losing Calais and other possessions whose acquisition had been associated with the most glorious feats of arms. The one hope for a country so grossly misgoverned was the death of the religious bigot whose name has been handed down to posterity as the Bloody Mary. When that death came

as it did on the 17th November 1558 it was hailed with a sigh of relief and a feeling of thankfulness that God had not altogether ceased to guard the destinies of the land. A lone and friendless woman Elizabeth ascended the throne of her father at the age of twenty-five, and she wisely felt her way cautiously before she displayed the full force of that iron will and fiery temper which would make her enemies tremble in the near future, and startle to terror those who presumed to act on their own initiative. No one could have divined at first whether she was more disposed to maintain the Roman Catholic ritual or the reformed religion of Luther or Calvin, although it is probable that she inherited a predilection in favour of the latter from her mother, from whose eyes, as the poet Gray has it, the "gospel light first dawned" upon the King while he was still under the influence of her charms and beauty. But her shrewdness at all events soon convinced her that the national tendency was in favour of the Protestant cause, and that cause she accordingly espoused, with the result that in less than twelve years from the date of her accession she was excommunicated by Pope Pius V who absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance. But Elizabeth by this time felt secure of the loyalty of her subjects and could afford to despise the fulminations of the Roman Pontiff. Fear never entered her mind, and it was her indomitable spirit, her vigour and her untiring energy, qualities which she inherited from her father, that appealed to the sentiment of her people and won their admiration and unique devotion. She was, however, devoid of ambition and a war of aggression was alien to her nature. But she was resolute in her determination to uphold what belonged to her, and she knew how to arouse the martial spirit of her soldiers, as when, for instance, she rode bare-headed to the camp at Tilbury, and declared that she was resolved "to live and die amongst them in the midst and heat of the battle," adding that she thought it "foul scorn that Parma of Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of her realm." The fact that the Spanish "Armada" had already been sunk or scattered partly by the English fleet and partly by stormy tempests, and that Elizabeth's parsimonious policy had weakened both the Army and the Navy, did not detract from the enthusiasm which this stirring speech from the lips of the Sovereign excited. To her people, she was ever the great Queen Bess, the Gloriana whom fortune favored, and under whose reign "golden days of prosperity, brilliant achievements abroad, and progress at home, had succeeded years of disaster, rebellion, persecution and misery." A reign also which was distinguished by the presence of a Shakespeare, a Spenser, and a Bacon in literature, not to speak of lesser

lights, by such naval heroes as Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, and by such an intrepid adventurer as Walter Raleigh, could not fail to be regarded as illustrious. Elizabeth herself, if not what any candid historian would call a great woman, was, at all events, a very remarkable one. She was learned even for an age when learning was not uncommon among ladies of quality, and she could speak Latin, French, Italian and German (though the last with less fluency or accuracy than the others), while in Greek she had read Demosthenes, Isocrates and Sophocles. She was a skilful player on more than one instrument, and amidst all her cares she yet found time to translate Sallust and Boethius. Indeed it is a singular fact that while her defects were mostly those which distinguished her sex, such as vanity, wilfulness and a suspicious nature, her virtues were more of the masculine order. Her pursuits also were those which we expect to be cultivated by men rather than by women, and she was prosaic, often coarse in her manners and language, wanting in sympathy, and in that gentleness which is the distinguishing charm of a true woman. But it is when compared with the Sovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, that her claim to greatness stands out pre-eminently; and we may perhaps trust as sincere the last words she spoke to her people when in replying to an address from the House of Commons she declared, appealing to the Judgment seat of a higher Judge "to attest the truth of her words," "that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good." "Though you have had, and may have," she continued, "many princes, more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." Bacon sums up his estimate of her character by saying that "the only proper encomiast of this lady is time, which, for so many ages as it has run, never produced anything like her of the same sex for the government of a kingdom."

If we turn to Queen Anne we have another example in our own history of a woman whose reign was signalised by material prosperity at home, by brilliant victories against the Continental armies at Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Blenheim under the skilful leadership of Marlborough, and by the rapid growth of England's maritime supremacy. If the Queen had not the learning and intelligence of Elizabeth she was more open-handed to the soldiers who fought and gained her battles, she was a true daughter of the Anglican Church, prided herself on being entirely English, and she loved her country and shrank from no exertion of which she was capable in order to discharge her duties efficiently. Her chief defect was indecision of character which made her lean upon others, at one

time upon the ambitious Duchess of Marlborough, and, at a later period, upon Mrs. Masham, a poor relative of the Duchess who succeeded in supplanting the latter and in gaining the entire confidence of the Queen. But at times Anne could show determination and vigour, even if not always wisely applied, as in her measures to ensure the efficiency of the Clergy, and in her insistence on appointing ministers of her own choice, irrespective of party politics, which was of course incompatible with a system of party government. She was described by Burnet as a "very extraordinary woman," and she appealed to the affectionate sympathy of her subjects as a distinctly national Queen. Her reign was also distinguished as coincident with the Union of England and Scotland, and produced both in literature and science a worthy record. Such men as Newton, Berkeley, Prior, Pope, Swift, Addison, Defoe and Steele would cast a reflected glory on any throne, even if the occupant, as in the case of Queen Anne, had no personal taste for art or letters.

India may properly be chosen to supply us with our next example. In that land women have usually led a secluded life since the era of the Mahomedan conquest. But despite this fact instances are not wanting where force of character has asserted itself even behind the *purdah* and within the secret precincts of the *Zenana*, and the one we are about to mention is perhaps the most remarkable of any. *Sultana Ruzia*, commonly known as *Ruzia Begum*, was the daughter of *Shumsed-din Altamsh* (A.D. 1211), who was one of the ablest, most enterprising, and best Slave Kings of Delhi, who established an independent kingdom in India after the death of *Shahab-ed-din Ghor*i and the dissolution of the Ghorian Empire. The Sultana was called to the throne by the rebellious subjects of her brother *Rukn-ed-din*, who was deposed after a short reign of seven months after he had lavished his father's treasure on dancing women, comedians, and musicians, leaving the conduct of affairs to his mother, *Shah Turkan*, who is described by the native historian *Farishta* as "a monster of cruelty." *Ruzia* had already in her father's lifetime given evidence of administrative capacity of a high order when she had been appointed Regent during *Shams-ed-din's* absence in his southern campaigns, on which occasion it is said her father justified his selection of his daughter in preference to any of his sons on the ground that *Ruzia*, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons as he had. Her subsequent conduct on the throne confirmed her father's high opinion of her. Undaunted by the condition of open revolt which *Rukn-ed-din's* excesses and the cruelty of his mother had brought about, and which divided the country into two opposite factions, one

composed of irreconcilables bitterly hostile to the crown, *Ruzia* lost no time in meeting the crisis with firmness, tact, and considerable statecraft. She assumed the imperial robes, gave public audience daily, dispensed justice with impartiality, and confirmed with such revision as she thought desirable the laws of her father which had been abrogated in the brief reign of her brother. She skilfully also contrived to spread dissension in the rebel camp with such success that the chiefs distrusting each other separated and withdrew each to his own government speedily followed by her troops who overtook the leading chiefs, captured and slew them. Peace was now quickly restored throughout the kingdom and the people began to rejoice in a wise and just administration. "*Ruzia Begum*," says the native historian already quoted, "was possessed of every good quality which usually adorns the ablest princes; and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman!" Alas! she yielded to a woman's frailty and gave her heart, or was suspected of having done so, to an unworthy object, who was none other than an Abyssinian slave whom she advanced from the office of Master of the Horse to that of *Amir-ul-Umra*, or Chief of the Nobles. Her nobles were deeply mortified at the favor shewn to an ignoble subject, and the first to cast off his allegiance was the Viceroy of Lahore. *Ruzia* at once marched against him, but her troops mutinied, and in the tumult which followed her favorite was murdered and she herself was sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Bithunda to be safeguarded by *Mullik Altunia*, who shortly afterwards married her. *Ruzia* had not however relinquished all hope of regaining her throne, and with the aid of her husband she collected an army and marched against the capital—Delhi—where the new Emperor *Bairam* had proclaimed himself. The hostile armies met at Delhi, but *Ruzia's* troops were totally defeated, and in attempting to escape with her husband she was seized and put to death, after a brief reign which lasted three years, six months and six days. Her unfortunate end was the result of a single act of indiscretion, but for which it is probable that a woman of her virtues and ability would have consolidated her power and fulfilled the promise of the first two years of her reign. But the marks of royal favour she showered on her Abyssinian slave were fatal to her cause and "blighted all her prospects." "How," asks *Farishta*, "are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object?" The question would require too close a study of the psychology of a woman's affections for an answer to be attempted in the present paper, and we must leave it as *Farishta* does to those who would find such an

inquiry profitable to solve the inconsistency he laments. Suffice it to say that it brought to an untimely end a reign that gave every promise of being one of the purest and brightest in the annals of India. Another famous female ruler was *Chand Sultana* of the Deccan, who is the heroine of many fabulous stories, and who was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished women of the East. She was acting as Regent for her infant nephew Bahadar Nizam Shah when her territory was invaded by Prince Murad, one of the sons of the Emperor Shah Jehan who described him, if we may credit Aurangzeb, as "a glutton and a sensualist." The first defence of Ahmednagar by Chand Bibi was simply heroic. She laid counter mines to those laid by the besiegers, and when one of these were prematurely fired, causing a sudden panic amongst her troops who began to abandon the fortifications,—she appeared at the breach clad in full armour with a naked sword in her hand, and by her resolution and courage recalled the retreating soldiers to their duty. The fierce contest was carried on till nightfall, and Chand Bibi's magnificent courage so animated the defenders that all talk of surrender was now hushed. The Moguls on their part saw little prospect of taking the town by assault, and they willingly agreed to terms of peace. But Chand Bibi had scarcely achieved this marked success when intrigues were again started against her, and her own Prime Minister was the chief conspirator. Prince Murad was once again induced to resume the siege with the aid of the King of Candesh. The gallant Queen was equal to the occasion, and a battle was fought by the contending armies on the banks of the Godavari. It lasted for two days and was maintained with great fury by both sides. Prince Murad claimed the victory, but if it was on his side it was of a pyrrhic nature and Murad showed no inclination to continue the control. The Emperor Akbar was so enraged at his conduct that he recalled him and determined to proceed to the scene of operations himself. Meantime treachery was undermining the Queen's heroic efforts to defend her capital, and it was not until she saw that further resistance was hopeless that she consented to negotiate for peace. But before these negotiations were brought to a close, her enemies induced some of the soldiers to rush into the private apartments and put her to death. It is satisfactory to know that this base act of treachery only hastened the doom of the besieged city. Within a few days of the Queen's murder the Moguls stormed and captured it, giving no quarter to the fighting men. Thus perished a Queen whose memory still lives in Deccan song and legend as that of a national heroine.

From the Far East, from that cold and unsympathetic land

of China where women are despised and treated as of no account, we can nevertheless draw more than one parallel example of a great Queen, whose genius has triumphed over difficulties which would probably have crushed many a ruler of the opposite sex, and who is reported to have maintained the dignity of the throne in a manner becoming a great prince. But one instance will suffice for our purpose. We shall select that of the Empress Wo, the widow of the great Emperor Tait song, who gave China the blessings of peace and good government. After her husband's death she married his son and successor Kaotsong, and for nearly twenty-five years during which her second husband nominally ruled she exercised all real power and authority and succeeded in maintaining the great Empire established by Tait song in the fullness of its glory. Upon her second husband's death in 683 A. D. she permitted Kaotsong's eldest son to succeed for a few days and then deposed him, setting up in his stead another puppet Emperor in whose name, but in accordance with her own absolute will, she continued to govern the Empire with all the attributes of sovereignty, and gave her own family name of Chow to the dynasty. She transacted all public business, appointed all the chief officers in the Empire, assumed the royal robes restricted to an Emperor, and offered sacrifice as the head of the state. This assumption of the outward symbols of imperial rank reserved by the custom of the country to a male ruler were distasteful to many of her subjects as contrary to usage and precedent. Plots were formed for her assassination and several risings against her authority took place. But the vigilance of the Empress was equal to the occasion, and her measures were so prompt and so drastic that all opposition soon subsided. She showed no mercy to guilty persons however eminent in rank, but, on the other hand, she took pains to sift all accusations and rigorously punished their promoters. Thus on one day alone it was found that out of a thousand accusations eight hundred and fifty were false, and those who promoted these false charges were promptly executed. By this discrimination and firmness she gained the confidence of the people, which she strengthened by wise administration and a just enforcement of the laws. She spared herself no labor, and so firm was her grasp of power that she caused her Empire to be respected by all her neighbours. Frequent frontier wars constantly engaged her attention, but they were always conducted with vigour and general success. Thus for twenty years after her second husband's death she continued to exercise an absolute sovereignty over the vast Empire with a wisdom and courage which entitled her

to a prominent place amongst the imperial rulers of her country. But her position as a female ruler was anomalous, and was only maintained while she had health and vigour to support it. As age advanced and her strength of mind and body grew feeble, her enemies became bolder, and at last when at the age of eighty a serious illness compelled her to keep to her chamber, they saw their opportunity and appeared in a formidable body at the palace and forced her to resign possession of the imperial seal and the insignia of empire, which she appears to have done with a dignity worthy of her previous record. She lingered for another year and then died, having proved to the world that even in China a woman was capable of wielding the sceptre with the energy, the firmness and wisdom of the most able prince. Her one weakness is said to have been her infatuation for a Buddhist priest, but this may be the invention of the malignity of her enemies who have shewn no desire to treat her with any generous spirit. The charge served, however, as a means of undermining her influence, just as we have seen was the case of a somewhat similar accusation against the Indian Queen Ruzia. But with the example already furnished of the facility with which false accusations were trumped up in those days, we have little confidence in accepting the truth of a palace scandal.

Yet another Eastern Queen may be mentioned, the far-famed Zenobia of Palmyra, that city of palms in the desert of Arabia, which for a brief period was the rival of Rome in splendour. Gibbon says of her that she was perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. But Gibbon's knowledge of Asiatic history was imperfect, and he had probably not heard of either *Ruzia Begum* or *Chand Bibi*. Not that Zenobia would suffer by any comparison with these ladies, for she was also a woman of exceptional gifts. Equally proficient in the languages of Greece, Syria and Egypt, she could descant on the beauties of Homer, the philosophy of Plato, or discuss the Sublime with Longinus, her tutor. She traced her descent from the Macedonian Kings of Egypt, and Cleopatra the Fair was one of her ancestors, whom she is said to have equalled in beauty and far surpassed in chastity and valor. The splendid victories of her husband Odenathus over the Persians, are ascribed as mainly due to her prudence and fortitude. She accompanied Odenathus on his campaigns on horseback, and was known to walk for miles at the head of the troops, heedless of fatigue or the discomforts of the camp. After her husband's death she ruled her dominions which extended from the Euphrates

to the frontiers of Bithynia, and included also her own inheritance, the Kingdom of Egypt, for five years with wisdom, courage, and success. In the sonorous periods of Gibbon she is described as being "guided by the most judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, she could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity." Her military genius was acknowledged by so great a commander as Aurelian, but her power and resources were unequal to cope against the Emperor of the West, and after a heroic defence of Palmyra she was forced to seek safety in flight, was captured and brought to her conqueror. But it was in this supreme hour of her trial that the Queen of the East, as she called herself, proved unequal to her destiny. The clamour of the Roman soldiery who demanded her execution caused her to tremble and to save her own life she descended to betray her friends and even her old tutor. Thus fallen and degraded she was reserved to grace the triumph of her captor, following his chariot on foot laden with jewels and bound with fetters of gold. As a Roman matron she vanishes from the pages of history, and her former virtues and deeds are dimmed by the depth of her fall.

Returning from the East to Europe for our further examples, we have in the case of Denmark a notable instance of a successful female Sovereign. Margaret, the second daughter of Valdemir III, King of Denmark, and the wife of Hakon VI, King of Norway, succeeded in course of time to both her husband's and her father's kingdoms. But this Semiramis of the North, as she has been called, was not content with a double crown, she cast her longing eyes on the Kingdom of Sweden also, to which her husband would have succeeded by right of inheritance, had he survived. An appeal to arms resulted in favour of the Queen, her competitor, the Duke of Mecklenburg, being defeated and taken prisoner. The States, or Parliament, of the three kingdoms, were convoked at Calmar, a town in the north of Sweden, and by an Act known as the Union of Calmar which was passed at this great assembly, the three kingdoms were united under one Sovereign who was pledged to govern each according to its own laws and customs. This great event which united all Scandinavia under one ruler would, in itself, be sufficient to give Queen Margaret a unique position in the history of her time. But she seems to have had other claims to distinction, for by her good government she preserved peace and concord throughout her extensive dominions, which she transmitted to her successor free from all intestine trouble. It was only a century later, in 1523 A. D., when, through the cruelty of Christian II, the happy union which had been cemented under the

reign of Margaret was dissolved, that the triple crown was again divided and Sweden became once more an independent kingdom. The later history of that kingdom furnishes us with our next example in the person of the learned and cultivated Queen Christina, the daughter and successor of the great Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of the Thirty Years War and the most illustrious of all the Kings of Sweden. Christina had been most carefully educated, and when she succeeded her father at the early age of eighteen she astonished her counsellors by the vigour of her understanding. Like our own Elizabeth she refused to marry on the ground that she did not care to sacrifice her independence. It was due to her resolution, contrary to the advice of her most trusted counsellor *Oxenstierna*, that she adopted measures which led to the peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648, whereby Sweden obtained the duchies of Bremen, Verden, the whole of Western and a part of Eastern Pomerania, and Wismar. For a short time about the year 1650 her character seemed to undergo a sudden transformation and she became wayward and restless, indulging in great extravagance and neglecting her duties, which caused such great discontent that she resolved to abdicate. But her faithful friend and former guardian *Oxenstierna* prevailed upon her to change her intention, and she then once more resumed her old mode of life devoting her best energies to the service of her country. Her court became the resort of men of learning from all parts of the world, and for the next four years she labored incessantly to restore peace and good government. But the Thirty Years War had increased the power of her nobility which they exercised in a manner which aroused serious discontent among the peasants, burghers and clergy. Feeling herself unable to cope with the difficulties which now surrounded her she again determined to abdicate and finally carried out her resolution by placing her royal insignia before the diet in 1654 in order that they might be transferred to her cousin Charles Adolphus, who had been one of her most ardent suitors. Christina was a woman of great intelligence, with a passionate love of art and learning, of much strength of character though somewhat eccentric, and in more peaceful times would have made a successful ruler.

In the Empress Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI, who succeeded under the operation of the Pragmatic Sanction to the throne of Austria on the 20th October 1740, we have a woman who was, in Carlyle's estimate, "most brave, high and plough minded; beautiful, too, and radiant with good nature, though of a temper that will easily catch fire; there is, perhaps, no nobler woman then living." Her succession was immediately disputed by the Elector of Bavaria who, under the

title of Emperor Charles VII, invaded Austria with the aid first of the French and subsequently of the Prussians as well. But Maria Theresa appealed to the patriotism of her Hungarian subjects, and so bravely did they respond to her call, that she drove the French and Bohemians out of the Archduchy and compelled the Prussians to retreat from Prague after they had gained an initial success at the battle fought at Czaslau. The death of Charles VII in the beginning of 1745 altered the aspect of affairs, and the Empress was able to conclude peace with Prussia by the Treaty of Dresden in 1745, and with France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. By this last treaty her succession to the throne of Austria was recognised, and Maria Theresa, having secured peace and the recognition of her title, had time to look around and set her empire in order. She was deeply mortified at the part Frederick of Prussia had played, and she begrudged the cession of Silesia which had been secured by the Prussian monarch under the earlier treaty of Breslau (1742). She began to mass troops on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia which aroused the suspicions of the ever-watchful Frederick, who demanded an explanation of this ominous demonstration, but receiving only an evasive answer he at once marched an army of 60,000 men into Saxony and took possession of Dresden. This was the commencement of that terrible Seven Years War in which no less than 853,000 fighting men are said to have perished, and from which none of the contending parties derived any material advantage. But Maria Theresa had at least the gratification of feeling that her soldiery had acquitted themselves well, and that her country had come out of the death struggle with honor and increased prestige. She now directed all her energy to the task of ameliorating the condition of her people and promoting the welfare of her country. She bettered the condition of the Serfs, she introduced schools throughout the Empire, encouraged commerce and industry, and removed many ecclesiastical abuses. On the whole she is entitled to be regarded as one of the most eminent monarchs who have ruled over Austria, and Carlyle's estimate of her character, which has already been quoted, fairly summarises her virtues, which were many. "No nobler woman then living" is high but not extravagant praise.

Catherine II of Russia was a woman of a very different stamp. She was able, ambitious, unscrupulous, and disregarded every moral restraint in her conduct. But it must be urged in her defence that she was married to a man (Peter III) who was depraved, drunken, and semi-idiotic, and that from the time of her marriage she lived at a Court where everything was corrupt, where intrigue was rampant, and where gross and

open immorality involved no social ostracism. For a handsome ambitious woman, bound to such a husband as Peter III, to find herself an absolute monarch in such an atmosphere, with no sort of restraining influence to exercise any check upon her, was a position which offered tempting allurements to license which it was not in Catherine's nature to resist. But while we have to draw a discreet veil over her private life, her public functions were discharged with a dignity, a capacity, and a thoroughness which mark her as a woman who was a born ruler of men. She triumphed over all her enemies, she extended the confines of the empire, she beat the Turks both by land and sea, she annexed the Crimea, Kuban and Taman to Russia, and lastly, by the partition of Poland she added two-thirds of that territory to the Russian dominions, although by this extinction of a nation's existence she incurred the odium of having committed the foulest deed in the history of the world. The splendour of her Court was magnificent, and her position among contemporary crowned heads was sufficiently imposing to satisfy her ambition. Her attempt to codify the laws of Russia on the basis of Montesquieu's plan did not succeed, but that amidst all her other schemes and occupations she should have directed her attention to such a work shows the breadth of her understanding and her desire to exert her energy in every department of administration.

With Queen Isabella of Spain we may fittingly bring our examples of Women Rulers to a close. She was the daughter of King John II of Castile, a weak but well-meaning prince who lamented on his death-bed that "he had not been born the son of a mechanic, instead of King of Castile." If he had Castile might have been saved a long period of anarchy and misrule, but then she might not have had an Isabella to restore her fortunes and to raise her to the position of a first-class power. Like many another instance which history records of a weak and incompetent prince, John II deserved well of his nation at his death by leaving at least one child of his loins who was destined to prove herself capable of retrieving his errors and those of his son and immediate successor, of bringing prosperity to the land, and consolidating and enhancing the grandeur of the monarchy, whose fortune he and his son and successor, Henry, had brought to the verge of ruin. A happy marriage with her kinsman, Ferdinand, the son of John II of Aragon, gave Isabella when she eventually succeeded to the throne of Castile on the death of her brother, Henry IV, a wise and faithful counsellor and an affectionate husband. But although Isabella was devoted to her husband, and constantly consulted him in all affairs of state connected with her own Kingdom of Castile, she never yielded

to him the attributes of sovereignty of her own paternal state. Ferdinand, on the other hand, although at first inclined to demur at all the essential rights of Castile sovereignty being vested in his wife, had the good sense to submit to the arrangement being assured by Isabella that the distribution of power was rather nominal than real, and that as their interests were indivisible his will would practically regulate hers. And so they continued to maintain these relations to the end. But while Ferdinand was cold and selfish, and was far from free of the taint of the gallantry of the period, Isabella was as pure in her private life, as warm in her affection and friendship as she was just and considerate in her conduct of public affairs, and generous in her recognition of the public services of others. Her aim was always to pursue the noblest ends by the noblest means, and the sagacity of her husband, his industry, sobriety and moderation, coupled with an impartial sense of justice in the administration of the laws, his outward decorum and respect for religion, and his steady determination to uphold the weak against the oppression of the strong, added to her own popularity and secured for their united governments the love of their subjects and the fear and respect of their enemies. To appreciate their joint efforts in promoting the welfare of their subjects, and repressing the undue powers which had been hitherto exercised by the nobles, we must bear in mind that the period was one of political transition from the feudalism of the Middle Ages to that of the Modern State, and that the difficulties which lay in their paths were many and serious, which might well have baffled less earnest and less skilful administrators than Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand. Ability and loyalty were the only passports to royal favor, and the meanest subject of the land could look forward to the attainment of the highest offices of trust if he had the merit to fill them. No more striking instance of this need be given than that of the great Ximenes himself, who, from a poor Franciscan friar of humble origin, rose to be primate, and to exercise the most extraordinary control over the destinies of his country. It was not only, however, in the conduct of home affairs that Isabella showed her great capacity. She exhibited equal intelligence, vigour and strength of character in all her foreign relations. Disliking war for the bloodshed and misery it produced, she never shrank from it when the interests of her country demanded an appeal to arms. On such occasions she appeared at the head of her troops, inspired them with fresh zeal and courage, and never hesitated to participate in the hardships which war entailed. Succeeding as she did (1474) when the misgovernment of her father and brother had brought the Kingdom to a tottering condition, and when the

total revenues of the crown did not exceed 885,000 reals, such was the expansion that followed her beneficent reign, that in the year of her death (1504) the income had risen to 26,283,334 reals, or thirty times the former amount in the space of thirty years. And this magnificent development of the resources of the country was attained without the imposition of a single additional tax; while the territorial limits of the monarchy were extended so as not only to consolidate the dominions of Castile and Aragon, but to include also Sicily, Sardinia, Granada, Navarre and Naples, the Canaries, Oran and other settlements in Africa, and the newly-discovered islands and continent of America. Every action of this great Queen was based upon some guiding principle, and if she erred she did so from an error of judgment, and very far from a spirit of indifference to what was right or wrong. It was from such a conviction of duty that Isabella fostered the Inquisition and tolerated the fanatical bigot Torquemada. But her punishment of the ecclesiastics of Truxillo shows that her reverence for the ministers of religion did not blind her to their faults, or prevent her from visiting them with her displeasure if they failed in their duty. Indeed a strong common sense dominated all her conduct, and enabled her often to discern what was best for her people and her country. Enough has been said to prove that Isabella was a great Queen, a good woman and a loving and faithful wife. On her death her devoted servant Peter Martyr wrote as follows: "My hand falls powerless by my side for very sorrow. The world has lost its noblest ornament; a loss to be deplored not only by Spain, which she has so long carried forward in the career of glory, but by every nation in Christendom; for she was the mirror of every virtue, the shield of the innocent, and an avenging sword to the wicked. I know none of her sex, in ancient or modern times, who in my judgment is at all worthy to be named with this incomparable woman."

As we read this eloquent tribute, if we only substitute the words "Great Britain" for "Spain," we cannot fail to be reminded how aptly it might be written to-day, when the whole land of Great Britain, and of that Greater Britain beyond the Seas, and every nation in Christendom is sorrowing for the death of even a greater and a nobler woman than Isabella of Spain. For while the souls of the countless victims of the cruel Inquisition would if they could speak and be heard, lay their persecution and corporeal deaths at the door, so to speak of Isabella, who fostered and protected that monstrous institution, no human being could ever say that he or she had suffered an injury at the hands of that beloved monarch, whose mortal remains were but lately carried to their

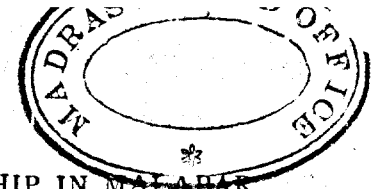
last resting place, accompanied by four foreign sovereigns, as well as by the representatives of every state in Europe and across the Atlantic, and through dense masses of her own devoted subjects who, bare-headed and in silence, paid their last respectful homage to the Queen who for sixty-four years had been the idol and pride of the country. Other women as we have seen from the examples given above, taken from the history of many nations, have proved that to rule an Empire with success and even glory is not the birthright of the male sex alone, and that women in this exalted sphere of activity as in other spheres of lesser importance have shown themselves to be endowed with equal capacity. But no woman-ruler whose name has come down to us, however eminent and worthy of admiration her record may be, can be compared with the peerless Queen who has just passed away from us. Some defect, some blemish, has left a speck on even the brightest of their careers. But it is not so with our late Queen. Her home life was laid bare to us and was found to be the centre of purity and love; her public life since she ascended the throne as a girl of eighteen has been open to the criticism of a free independent and enlightened press, and has been found to be blameless and in strict conformity with the obligations imposed on a constitutional monarch. Her ministers when they went to advise her found her already so well informed on the subject immediately in hand that there was nothing left for them to instruct her upon, but at the same time she recognised their primary responsibility and the limits of her own constitutional authority. If a calamity overtook any part of her distant possessions the Queen was the first to express her sorrow; and if any of her subjects were bowed down by any overwhelming grief it was the Queen's gracious message that was sure to bring the first words of comfort and consolation to the bereaved one. Her instincts were those of the nation, she anticipated with rare perception what was agreeable to her people, and her influence at home and abroad was immense, for she was revered and beloved by all. She has died in the fulness of years and honor, has reigned the longest of any other sovereign, and over the most mighty and the largest Empire that the Past has seen, and she has left behind her a name pure and spotless that has always been associated with the material and intellectual advancement of her people, with victory, triumph and prosperity. Her memory will be cherished by future generations as that of the Mother of Great Britain, as a Queen who was endeared to her people by every quality of head and heart that could appeal to a human breast, and the historian of the future will have to acknowledge that

"She has been
A pattern to all Sovereigns living with her,
And all that shall succeed."

Her earthly course is ended, her work is accomplished, but her
fame lives and will endure. As Körner beautifully sings,

Durch Todesnacht bricht ew'ges Morgenrot—
Wer mutig für sein Vaterland gefallen,
Der baut sich selbst ein ewig Monument
Im treuen Herzen seiner Landesbrüder,
Und dies Gebäude stürzt Kein Sturmwind nieder.

W. H. RATTIGAN.



ART. II.—SERPENT WORSHIP IN MALABAR.

THE God of the Bible made the serpent cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field. He also put enmity between the reptile and the woman, and between its seed and her seed. But one of the gods of the Vedas, Vishnu, takes pleasure in resting on a snake, and another, Siva, prides himself in being called Nāgabhūshanan, on account of the rich display of the reptile creation over his person. Thus, while the Christian and the Musliim take advantage of every opportunity to bruise the head of the serpent, the Hindus regard it with veneration. In Malabar it is something more, it is reduced to a systematic worship. No traveller who has spent a week in this district can but have had his attention drawn to the small plots of uncleared forests in the compounds of every Malayali of importance. On enquiry these turn out to be snake groves of which the district is full. To explain this universal and intensive worship of snakes, we have only tradition to fall back upon. According to the *Kerala Ulpāthi*, a book of great renown in the country, the district of Malabar along with Cochin, Travancore South and a part of North Canara, extending from Comorin to Gokarnam, a distance of 640 miles north to south, was reclaimed from the sea by Sri Parasurāma and colonized by him. This great man was an Avatār of Vishnu, to destroy the cruel Kshāthriya Rajahs, who succeeded a noble line of sovereigns of the warrior caste. He carried out his object by destroying the warrior chiefs twenty-one times. The sin of killing brave men, though cruel, was too much even for this incarnation of Vishnu. He therefore retired to Gokarnam in North Canara, and there invoked Varuna, the lord of the waters, to give him some land. Varuna accordingly went back a few miles, and 646 miles of land, called Kēralam, came into existence. Images of the god were then fixed in 108 places and the pioneer brought Brahmin settlers from the north of India to colonize the new country. But these settlers all ran away, after the stay of a few months, for fear of the serpents, of which the country was full. The land was then for sometime in the possession of serpents. That his labours may not be in vain Sri Parasurāma brought in a further contingent of Brahmins from the north. He then divided the country into sixty-four Brahminical colonies. To differentiate his colonials from the rest, and to prevent their running away, Sri Parasurāma required his men to shave off their kudami (tuft of hair) from the back of the head and to wear it on the top as the Malayali races do at the present day. Then

he granted a freehold over the whole land to the sixty-four colonies through the agency of "flower and water" saying "you enjoy it." Then to protect his new land from human enemies he required the Brahmins to take arms from him. Some Brahmins, afraid to damage their Brahminical sanctity by the use of arms, refused to accept the gift, but others numbering 36,000 took arms from the pioneer. They were trained in the use of arms, and covered with rich presents, were ordered to protect the country from external or internal enemies. The snakes were giving trouble even now.

Śi Parasurāma called together all the sixty-four colonies and advised his men to regard the snakes as their household gods, and to reserve special places in the land he had already parcelled out amongst them for the accommodation and worship of the reptile creation. A part of every house site was accordingly kept apart for the snakes and offerings began to be made systematically, and the country became free from the fear of snakes. Such in brief is the traditional account for the appearance in large numbers of snake groves in Kērala. These groves are mostly located in the south-eastern corner, but instances are not rare where they are found in other parts of the compounds as well. The most common trees we see in these groves are ungoō (*Bauhinia Variegata*) and Kanjeram (*strychnos nuxvomica*), other trees also may be seen growing there in their wild plenty. These trees are also generally entwined caressingly by several species of forest vines. The whole grove shows the appearance of a miniature reserved forest, as it is considered to be sacred, and the prejudice against cutting trees therefrom is very strong. During the hot weather, when the whole country is parched up, it is very pleasant to look at these snake groves, for they are the only places where a little greenery is found in a sea of dried vegetation all round. The size of these groves varies according to the capacities of the families. I have come across groves about three-quarter of an acre in extent. Ordinarily they would be of smaller dimensions. On peeping in you will see a "snake king" and a "queen," made of granite. On their right is found a tower-like place for holy serpents, made of laterite, called in the vernacular a Chithra Kūtam. It will be about a foot and a-half in height and a foot broad. These groves are not always of necessity found in the compound in which a family resides. Every family in Malabar lives in its own compound and not in villages as in other parts of India; and each family has its own household snakes. These reptiles are said to have a partiality for their old habitations, and even if the family has, for some reason, removed from the ancestral dwelling place, the snakes are said to stick to their old places. In

Chethallūr Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk, there is a big colony of Tamil settlers called Mūthāns. On their first arrival in Kērala, they were only seven families. They built seven houses one contiguous with the others, as the Tamils do. On coming into this country they took to serpent-worship and seven serpent groves came into existence close to their houses. The seven original settlers were followed by others. The pioneers found there were more convenient places in their neighbourhood to live in. They removed their family residences to a distance of two and three miles. But the family serpents would not go, and we see the original settlers going all the way to these groves to make their offerings. The snakes were in the olden days considered a part of the property and transfer deeds of some fifty years ago make special mention of the family serpent as one of the articles sold along with the freehold-oases also are not rare, where the snake has refused to part with the family though the place where the grove stood was sold to a stranger. A respectable family in Angadipuram, Walluvanad Taluk, sold their ancestral house site to a supervisor in the Local Fund, P. W. D. He cut down the snake grove and planted it up. Some members of the vendor's family began to suffer from some cutaneous complaints. As usual the local astrologer was called in and he attributed the ailment to the ire of the aggrieved family serpents. These men then went to the Brahmin house of Pampu Mēkat in Cochin territory. This Namboodri family is a special favourite of the snakes. When a new serpent grove has to be created, or if it is found necessary to remove a grove from one place to another, the ritual is entirely in the hands of these people. When a family suffers from the wrath of the serpents they generally go to this Namboodri house. The eldest woman of the house would hear the grievances of the party, and then taking a vessel full of gingelly (sesamum) oil and looking into it would give out the directions to be observed in satisfying the serpents. In the case in point the family was ordered to remove the serpents to the new house site which was done accordingly and the ailments I am told were cured.

In addition to the groves found in individual compounds we have also snake shrines. I have come across five of them. Two are situated in the Namboodri houses of Athipatte and Etamana in Chethallūr Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk. A third in Pathirikunnath Mana, in Mundakōtakurshi Amshom, Walluvanad Taluk. A fourth is on a hill called Pāmpāti Mala, south of Kōttōye in the Palghat Taluk. But the most important of all these is in the Namboodri house, Pampu Mēkat, in Cochin territory. Leprosy and other cutaneous diseases and eye diseases in general are believed in Malabar to be the work

of serpents. Consequently large numbers of devotees are to be seen going to Athipatte Mana to be cured of their eye diseases. I went to this snake shrine one day. It is situated about twenty yards north of the house. The place is walled in on all sides and is open to the sky. On looking in we see prominently a snake "queen" made of granite. She is surrounded on all sides by granite specimens of snakes with one, three and five hoods fully spread. I counted nearly 300 of these granite snakes and they make a very gruesome collection. Pious devotees also bring snakes in silver and gold. These are taken inside leaving the "queen" to be satisfied with a surrounding of granite snakes. This shrine opens out on the west to a jealously-preserved serpent grove. While at a little distance, apart from the main grove, is another one of smaller proportions. This happens to have a history of its own. In the olden days a Namboodri of the Illom (Namboodri house), was going out to Travancore, when a Cheruma (agriscultural slave of Malabar) appeared on the hill opposite and cried for help to cure him of his eye disease. One of the boys of the house chattingly told the man to use a bundle of straw as a pillow and to bathe the eye with a poisonous fluid. The man did as directed. Three months afterwards, when the Namboodri returned, the Cheruman appeared with some presents. On being asked the reason for the unexpected gift the poor fellow replied that it was for the cure effected in his eye. The Cheruman was then required to bring the pillow he had used. On opening it a small golden coloured serpent with its hood fully spread was seen standing up. The Namboodri then sprinkled holy water on it. Thus purified the reptile went into the grove. But its stay for some months in the hut of an out-caste debarred it from associating with the rest of the snakes. The creeping thing was seen crawling outside the grove when the Namboodri made the special grove and offerings were made to this separately which continues to this day. A neighbouring shrine is the one at the Brahmin house called "Etamāna." This is not so important as the one referred to. A more important shrine is the one at the Namboodri house called Pathirikunnath. When you go into that house you are terror-stricken. The whole place looks an asylum for snakes. In the front verandah are seen a series of snake holes which communicate to innumerable anti-hills inside the house. Services in this place is entirely in the hands of women. This Namboodri was a rich landlord and was in affluent circumstance before. His present means of livelihood is simply from the income derivable from this snake shrine which is not a little. Visitors from all parts of the district may be seen in this Namboodri house with rich presents for the serpents worshipped in the place.

People in Malabar believe that snakes guard treasure. But silver they will have none. Even in the case of gold the snakes are said to visit hidden gold for twelve years occasionally, and only when they find that the treasure is not removed in the meanwhile that they begin to guard it. When once it has begun to watch the snake is said to be very zealous over it. It is said to hiss at it day and night. This constant application is believed to diminish its proportions, and instead of being the long thing it is, the snake is said to assume a smaller appearance. In time, in the place of the pointed tail, the reptile is said to get wings and the treasure, by the continuous hissing, to assume the form of a precious stone. When this is done the snake is said to fly with its precious acquisition. So strong is this belief, that when a comet appeared some ten years ago people firmly believed that it was the flight of the winged serpent with the precious stone.

Of snake festivals we have not many. The Star Ayilyam, the 9th asterism, for feet Leo is considered auspicious for serpent worship. The rule in Malabar is that all snake groves must be purified, and a pūjah offered to the serpents every month on this day. But generally it takes place only once a year. The pūjah is performed by a Brahmin. The grove is carefully cleaned and holy water is sprinkled in it. Then a heap of plantains, powdered rice, and a little milk will be placed in the grove. The Brahmin will then offer it with appropriate *mantrams* to the serpents and the ceremony is complete. □

A festival on a grander scale is what is called a Thullal. The snakes are believed to have a hold on the continuance of the family, and this festival is celebrated occasionally to win the favour of the reptiles. The officiating priests for this are a class of people called Palluvans. A special pandāl is erected and figures of snakes are made with powders of variegated colours. A man of the Nair caste is for the time being appointed as master of the ceremonies. Two women of the house, or near relatives, will now sit on the western side of the figures of the serpents. The palluvans will then sing songs in praise of the many snakes to the accompaniment of the tap by the women of the caste on an instrument called *Palluvakatam*. Now as the man sings, the women are alleged to get into a frenzy, and they give out what snakes they are and in what way they may be satisfied. There is more singing now and more frenzy. They then creep and crawl in the snake figure and finally lie down as if senseless. The same ceremony is repeated for three or four days and the snakes are satisfied.

But the most curious belief about snakes in this district is

that they wed mortal girls. They fall in love with women. Many stories are told of the attack of women by serpents. But no informant of mine was able to tell me the particular woman of a particular house who has been dealt with in this way. When once it attacks a woman in this way the serpent is said to be constantly pursuing her. When she goes for her bath it is there; it is with her at her meals and everywhere; the serpent never leaves her except for an occasional separation for its food. Gradually both suffer and both die. The snake is said never to use its fangs against its chosen woman. So strong is the belief that women in Malabar would think twice before attempting to go by themselves into a bush.

Next to cow-slaughter the killing of snakes is considered the most heinous sin a Malayali may commit; and even to see a serpent with its head bruised is believed to be a forerunner of calamities. Pious Malayis when they see a serpent killed in this way will therefore have it burned with the full solemnities attendant on the cremation of high caste Hindu. The carcase is covered in a piece of silk and is burned in sandalwood. A Brahmin is hired to observe pollution for three or ten days, and elaborate funeral oblations are made to the dead snake.

When a snake is seen inside, or in the neighbourhood of a house, great care is taken to catch it without giving it the least pain. Usually a stick is quietly placed on its head and the mouth of an earthenware pot is shown to it. When it is in, the pot is loosely covered with a cocoanut shell to allow free breathing. It is then taken to a secluded place, the pot is destroyed, and the snake let free. It is considered to be polluted by being caught in this way and holy water is sometimes poured over it this time. In Malabar there is a caste of snake catchers called *Karavans*. They go about the country exhibiting their snakes. Malayalis consider it a great act of piety to purchase these reptiles from them and liberate them.

A district that has snakes in plenty cannot but have its snake doctors as well. In fact one of our proverbs says "if you learn only one art, you should learn the art of curing cases, snake poison;" there are in the country several men with a reputation of curing cases of snake poison. But their operations are so carefully and jealously kept to themselves that I am not able to give an account of the local cures for snake bite. The practise of this branch of medicine is hereditary, and the older the family the more efficacious their cures are considered to be. But the work is said to arouse the wrath of the serpents and the practitioners are believed to

be impoverished by the influence of the snakes. To prevent the curses of these creatures having any effect on the practitioners or their families no one exercising the art would take any consideration from his clients however tempting the offer may be. With the advance of civilisation snakes are no longer the venerable creatures, or their groves the sacred places, they were. But all the old superstition is raked up when a Rajah, who may have killed serpents by hundreds, dies of a virulent form of leprosy, or when the near relative of an influential man, who is reputed to have shot down snakes in plenty, is attacked with a very bad specimen of skin disease.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON, B.A.

ART. III.—IN MEMORIAM.

VICTORIA R. ET I.

Her Court was pure ; her life serene ;
 God gave her peace ; her land reposed ;
 A thousand claims to reverence closed
 In her as Mother, Wife and Queen.

—TENNYSON.

THE Queen-Empress is gone! Her world-wide Empire is plunged into the depth of sorrow! A grand personality marked by rare virtues is now gathered to all the glory and greatness of the mighty dead. The world that was privileged to witness and admire that noble personality is in mourning. Never before was there such a loving and beloved Monarch. Never before was there an Empress so mighty in power, and yet so sweet in temper. Wielding the sceptre of the greatest Empire in the world, occupying the proudest position on earth, and foremost of the world's mighty potentates, Victoria the Great stands all alone as the embodiment of all the virtues of womanhood. And to her, rightly styled "the mother of her people," millions of her devoted subjects all over the sea-girt earth vie with one another in paying reverential homage. A long and useful life of regal toil has come to a close. Deep-toned bells toll their muffled notes. The black pageant of death is abroad.

If her reign was unsurpassed in length of time, her Empire was unequalled in its vastness, and her era was unparalleled in the grandeur of mighty achievements in every department of Literature, Science and Art. Her reign was a series of continuous acquisition of dominion and of the arts that contribute to increased convenience and comfort. Peace and concord at home, and honour and influence abroad! Above all, she was, by Divine appointment, the real Sovereign of India, whose people she loved with the warmth of a mother. And this love she evinced in a thousand ways. Bound to her by bonds of love, India mourns for her Queen, who alone, of all, was able to understand her best.

With the vanishing of the Nineteenth Century, the Queen of the Century passed suddenly but radiantly away from us. And who will adequately portray the glory of her who presided for so long a time over the destinies of millions upon millions? And who that is acquainted with the facts of History, who that can realize the force of the temptations which beset thrones, sceptres and mitres, can withhold admiration of a Queen who rose superior to all the blandishments of

wealth, and all the demoralizing effects of power? Such was she, whose loss with one voice the whole of India bewails to-day. She was the greatest among the great potentates who ever reigned over mankind. She was the most womanly of women who have lived on earth. And her reign was the longest and the most glorious that has been recorded in the pages of History.

Blessed with a long lease of life—God willed it so perhaps for the sake of peace on earth and good-will among mankind—she, our Empress-Mother, seated on her throne, shedding effulgent light on all around, had the unique privilege of witnessing the panorama of Peers, Ministers, Chancellors, Archbishops, Field-M Marshals, Viceroy, Presidents, Kings and Queens come and go. Possessed of a good disposition and endowed with a keen sense of right and wrong, she, the born-Queen, popularized thrones, consecrated crowns, and strove to better the condition of the millions scattered all over the globe who rejoiced to be her subjects. Whatever might have been the passing discontents of her peoples, with her they were supremely satisfied, and to her throne and person they were indissolubly bound.

Born at Kensington Palace, May 24th, 1819, as the only daughter of the Duke of Kent and of the Princess Louisa Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, having lost her father while she was yet a few months old, and brought up under the care of her mother, Victoria Alexandrina, came in succession to her uncle, William IV., to the throne of England, on June 28th, 1837, as Queen Victoria I. Married in 1840 to his late Royal Highness Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and widowed in 1861, she survived her husband for about forty years. Of her nine children, two died during her lifetime. Her children and grand-children are among Emperors, Kings and Queens; Dukes and Duchesses, Crown-Princes and Crown-Princesses, and our present Emperor, His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII., is her eldest son.

She was an ideal wife and a loving mother. Surrounded by loving and loved children and children's children, leading an exemplary life as a widow, she was ever devoted to the memory of her dearly loved husband. Take her as a maiden, she was all that a girl should be; take her as a woman, she was a queen among women; and take her as a Queen she was as tender as a woman in her essential nature.

She loved her people as her own children; she made their sorrows and sufferings her own; she even went out of her way to sympathise with the poor and the depressed. Bound by the laws of the Constitution she merged her personality in the interests of the Empire. And yet she found it possible to see

her well-intentioned suggestions carried into effect by the irresistible force of her sincerity of purpose. We can understand the force of her character only when we realize the fact that she was able to turn the tide that flowed against Monarchy and what is more,—secured for herself a permanent place in the hearts of her people. In all relations of life she was gentle, loving and patient. We Indians especially owe her a deep debt of gratitude. She loved us well. It may take years, and possibly generations, before we can correctly estimate the deep interest she took in us, and the many ways in which she sought to befriend and benefit us. That political Gospel of ours, that Passport of our Political Redemption, our Magna Charta, Her Gracious Proclamation of 1858, shall ever extort accents of grateful praise from the millions of our countrymen.

She was great and glorious in every way. She was great, because she ruled long and well; she was great, because she ruled over an ever-widening Empire, vast in extent, rich in resources, mighty in power,—of the like of which History makes no mention and Tradition keeps no account. She was great, because her reign was unique in its prosperity; it was one long, continuous chapter of favourable accidents. She was great and glorious, because her era was an era of political enfranchisement of many a nation and of material prosperity and mental culture. Such revelations of science, such fruits of knowledge, such rapid strides in civilization as were never seen or heard of before in any age or country! Destiny made her a Queen, but Nature made her the Queen of Queens. Such was she whose end Death marked Tuesday, the 22nd January 1901, with sadness! For who will not weep over a death that cast a dark shadow of bereavement over half the world?

As a child she obeyed her parents, as a wife she obeyed her husband, and as a Queen she obeyed the Constitution. What more could she give us, and what more could we expect of her? She gave the teeming millions of India her sympathy—she gave them her heart. And what else can be dearer to us than this? In all circumstances and conditions of life she was ever thoughtful of her country and her people. With a sweetness of temper which was all her own, whether it was the gift of Nature or the product of self-culture, with the sagacity of a sage, and with the forethought of a born statesman, she steered the ship of the State clear of political sands and shoals. She lived a life that can serve as an example to men and women, to kings and queens, and to the high and low. She lived a long and useful life. She consecrated a regal life and honoured womanhood. Loved alike by the prince and the peasant, by the eminent and the obscure, by

the rich and the poor, she disappeared into History to cover its pages with imperishable glory. She is dead; her people are orphaned; the bond that bound her to her subjects, in half the islands and all the continents of the world,—is broken; and the symbol of the Empire is effaced. She is gone; but she has bequeathed to us the beautiful image of her great and glorious life. She lived a good and happy life, and died a quiet and peaceful death. May her soul rest in peace!

A. GOVINDARAJA MUDALIAR.

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

(Continued from No. 224, April 1901.)

SECOND PERIOD.

1851-1855.

Victoria under a Legislative Council.

GOVERNORS:

1851. Charles Latrobe; 1854. J. V. F. Foster; 1854. Charles Hotham.

(a) SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.

THE period opened with the disastrous results left as a legacy of the terrible conflagration on "Black Thursday." Many left the colony ruined; while the discovery of gold in New South Wales had the effect of drawing away others. This was the lowest ebb of the tide in the colony during this period, just at its commencement; but it soon turned with a rush. "Gold was in the air." The colonists whose fortunes were identified with Victoria had heard of tales of gold being found in various parts of the country, and formed a Gold Discovery Committee which offered handsome rewards to the finders of the precious metal. Search parties were at once organised. Before, however, they could do anything, other parties came forward with statements of gold having been found. These discoveries came so thick one upon another that not only was the tide of emigration to New South Wales stopped, but it began to be directed to Victoria from other parts. Men flocked in from not only the neighbouring colonies, but from the United Kingdom, from the Continental States of Europe, from America, and even from heathen China. Such was the rush that one week ten thousand landed at Melbourne. Accordingly, we find that the 77,345 of last year had risen to 97,489 in the first year of this period, 168,321 the year following (1852), to 222,436 in 1853, and to 312,307 in the last year of this period (1854). In 1852 it was estimated that there were 15,000 miners at work at Mt. Alexander, an equal number at Bendigo, 10,000 at Ballarat, 3,000 at the Ovens, and 1,500 apiece at Daisy Hill (Amberst), and Korong. Victoria had already outstripped New South Wales in population, the latter having only 295,000 in 1857.

(b) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

On the 16th July 1851 Mr. Latrobe was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor. He at once appointed Captain Lonsdale, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Ebdon, Auditor-General; Mr. (Sir) W. P. Stawell, Attorney-General; and Mr. (Sir) Redmond Barry, Solicitor-General. Among the twenty elected

members of the Legislative Council—ten others were nominated by the Governor—we find Fawkner for Talbot, &c., and James Henty (1853) for Portland. The Council first met on 11th November, and Dr. (Sir) James Palmer was chosen speaker. There was at once a collision between the Council and Government, the latter holding that the revenue and management of the gold fields were under the control of the Crown Lands Department, of which it assumed to have the sole control. This contest was ended the following year (September) by a dispatch from England placing the gold revenue and the land fund at the disposal of the Colonial Legislatures.

Government lost no time in establishing a Gold Commission to protect the rights of the Crown, to maintain law and order on the gold fields, to control the varied elements of vice and discord thrown together, and to bring the widely-scattered operations of the various gold fields under one legitimate authority. A Chief Commissioner was appointed, with an assistant, at the head office in Melbourne, and under this office the Commissioners of the various gold fields were placed. These Commissioners were divided into three classes: the Resident Commissioner, the Commissioner, and the Assistant Commissioner. Their duties were magisterial, the issuing of licenses, the settlement of disputed claims, the charge of the gold office; and the charge of an out-station.

The Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner in charge of a station or an out-station was at the head of the camp or camps in that district, was responsible for the collection, safeguard, and transmission of all the money and gold accumulated from day to day, and for the constant maintenance of good order on the camp, and every part of the gold fields of his district, and was expected to exercise an unwearied vigilance over crime, in all its lurking places, in gully or bush.

The Commissioners in charge of the gold office received the gold bags or money parcels from the miners; weighed, labelled, and registered the same; and gave the miners corresponding receipts, by means of which they could obtain their gold or money from the Treasury in Melbourne, where a branch of the Treasury was specially devoted to this special purpose. The Gold Commissioner packed the gold in saddle-bags for the pack-horses of the escorts to Melbourne or elsewhere and received the escort bags and despatches from Melbourne and elsewhere into his office. He also received all license tax for gold mining, storekeeping, refreshment tents, auctioneers, etc., and issued the same to the Commissioners.

It will thus be seen that the gold fields were placed under

thorough and effectual supervision and government. This supervision, however, had sometimes to be carried out with harshness by the Police, who worked under the Commissioners.

Next year (1852) an Act was passed—"The Convicts Prevention Act"—to meet and check the influx of convicts from the neighbouring colonies to the Victorian Gold Fields. Military pensioners were also brought from Tasmania to act as police on the gold fields. The next year (1853) the transportation of convicts to the Australian Colonies had ceased.

In 1854 Mr. Foster became the Colonial Secretary, and the New Constitution Bill was introduced (5th May). Finally, Mr. Latrobe prorogued the Council, and announced that Sir Charles Hotham had been appointed his successor. Mr. Latrobe left (5th May) after a term of office extending over fifteen years, and Mr. Foster acted as Governor till Sir Charles Hotham's arrival (21st June) the same year.

The "Victorian Convention," as it was called, sat this year. It was composed of the leaders of public opinion, and of delegates from public meetings representing the popular voice in all parts of the colony. Mr. (Sir) George Verdon took a prominent part in it, as well as Mr. Wilson Gray, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Burtt. Its objects were principally reform of the land laws, and the Constitution Act. The head quarters of the Military were now (1854) transferred from Sydney to Melbourne as the more important and central position. Sir Robert Nickle, in command of the forces, arrived with his staff in August. The presence of the Military was at once utilized for the purpose of gold escorts; and it is calculated that in three years and eight months—after which the Police took up the duty—they had escorted £41,500,000 worth treasure. An Act, too, was passed to raise Volunteer Corps.

The Military, however, were not brought over a day too early, and more serious work was near at hand for them than that of forming treasure-parties and resisting the casual attacks of bush rangers.

There had always been much dissatisfaction among the miners at the heavy license tax, to dig for gold, of 30s. per month, and it was now proposed to raise the fee to £3 a month. The inquisitorial powers of the Police, too, were generally roughly exercised. The Gold Commissioners had authority to direct the Police to visit and compel the "diggers" to show their licenses as often as they liked, and this power was either abused or could not, under the circumstances of the confusion usually attending great "rushes," be exercised as suavely as in ordinary times. The miners, too, were not allowed to cultivate their small holdings; and further

had no franchise. They were also a very mixed lot, and foreigners had much influence among them. The feeling of discontent went on gradually gaining strength till the end of the year, when there happened an outburst of popular feeling, ending in armed resistance to authority at Ballarat.

It happened thus:—While the dissatisfaction at the proposed increase of the license tax was at its height, a man named Scobie was foully murdered at the Eureka Hotel kept by a publican of the name of Bentley. Bentley, who was supposed to have been the murderer, got off at the trial; but the miners marked their sense of his crime by burning down his hotel. The ringleaders in this deed were apprehended and sentenced; but Bentley was again placed on his trial, and this time was condemned. The diggers regarded the men who had been sentenced for burning down his hotel and who belonged to their body, as 'martyrs,' and freely spoke about bribed administrators. Finally, overwrought with their other grievances, they convened meetings, mustered and drilled their forces, and entrenched a position in their own encampment called the Eureka Stockade.

Such was the untoward aspect of affairs, when Government determined to send up troops to the scene of these undisguised hostilities. Within an hour of each other, three several detachments of troops of the 40th and the 12th Regiments arrived at Ballarat on the 20th November.

The insurgents, were headed by Peter Lalor, as Chief in Command, Frederick Vern a Hanoverian, Carboni Raffaello an Italian, Alfred Black, and a number of Americans and others.

On December 2nd, at 4 A.M., Captain Thomas, who was in command of the troops, captured the stockade after a brief struggle. In his own words:—"For about ten minutes a heavy fire was kept up by the troops advancing. The entrenchment was then carried and taken by the point of the bayonet." There was short and sharp work: 23 were killed, 12 wounded, and 125 made prisoners. Of the troops only one was killed and 12 were wounded. Captain Wise, who was severely wounded, died in a few days. Of the prisoners only 13 were brought to trial and they were acquitted. Lalor, who lost his right arm, managed to escape; as also Vern and Black.

A Royal Commission was appointed (7th December) to investigate into the causes of the outbreak. On the recommendations of the Commission, the Licence Tax was reduced to a nominal sum and other concessions made. On paying £1 a year miners secured for themselves both mining privileges and the franchise. It may be observed here that the Licence Tax was afterwards (1855) abolished, and a small Export Duty of 1s. 6d. an oz. on gold introduced in its place.

The popular feeling quickly subsided. During 1854 the Patent Law also came into force.

Next year Local Self-Government was introduced by Captain (now General Sir) Andrew Clarke, R.E., who afterwards became the first Surveyor-General of Victoria. Finally, the New Constitutional Act for Responsible Government arrived (16th October, 1855) and was proclaimed on November 23rd. The Constitution was based upon that of the United Kingdom.

Sir Charles Hotham, however, had taken a cold at the inauguration of the first Melbourne Gas Company, and he died three weeks after on the last day of the year.

It has been interesting to follow the course of the Government during this brief period. The Legislative Council, however, did much more work than appears on the surface, and it served its existence and the needs of the period well. The basis of much that is in the present were laid by it. The following summary of its few Sessions furnishes an accurate idea of what was done by it for the colony in general and for Melbourne in particular.

1851.—FIRST SESSIONS.

November 11th.—First meeting of the Legislative Council of Victoria held in St. Patrick's Hall, Bourke St., Dr. Palmer elected speaker.

November 13th.—Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe's first speech. He congratulated the House on the completed independence of the Colony and on its progress, and stated that draft bills on education and on the judicial arrangements of the Colony would be introduced.

November 18th.—Message from His Excellency enclosed estimated revenue of 1852 amounting to ... £175,350-0-0 and estimated expenditure ... £173,063-18-6

December 2nd.—Message from the Lieutenant-Governor to provide that the public service be not subjected to embarrassment by authorising advance in the rates of pay to subordinate officers.

December 9th.—Petitions on aliens and against introduction of convicts presented.

1852.—SECOND SESSIONS.

June 25th.—Petition presented for the construction of a canal from Hobson's Bay to Melbourne.

July 6th.—Motion carried for having Mounted Police around gold fields.

July 27th.—Act to confirm the use and adoption of a seal to be known as the Seal of the Colony.

July 28th.—Motion carried to offer a reward of £100 to the discoverer of an available coal field within the Colony.

July 30th.—Her Majesty petitioned to sanction the establishment of a branch of the Royal Mint in Victoria.

August 5th.—Governor's salary declared inadequate.

September 14th.—Motion carried for an address to Her Majesty praying that Victoria be constituted the place of residence of the Governor-General of the Australian Colonies.

September 17th.—Petition against Gold Duty Export Bill. Petitions were presented for days subsequently till November 24th when the Bill was thrown out in Committee. [The Scab Prevention Bill often appears in the proceedings.]

December 14th.—Bill for opening up streets in Fitzroy Ward (Collingwood) lost.

1853, *January 6th.*—Petition for establishment of Public Baths. Address praying for grant of £20,000 for erection of University buildings.

January 19th.—Address to His Excellency to place £42,000 at the disposal of the Corporation to drain the swamps in the vicinity of the city and improve its sanitary condition.

January 20th.—Guarantees proposed to be offered for the Melbourne and Geelong Railway and the Melbourne, Mt. Alexander, and Murray River Railway.

January 21st.—University of Melbourne Endowment Bill passed.

January 25th.—Motion carried for the establishment of a Museum of Geology. £450,000 to be advanced to the Corporation for sewerage, water supply, and cleansing the city of Melbourne.

February 1st.—Question asked respecting the large importation of Chinamen: promised to be taken into consideration if the Colony be likely to suffer.

February 3rd.—His Excellency and Council to declare the maximum Punt Fares.

February 4th.—Resolution to be transmitted to Her Majesty expressing a strong feeling against transportation to Australian Colony.

February 7th.—The two Railway Bills passed.

THIRD SESSIONS.

August 31st.—A message announced the resolution of Her Majesty's Government to put an end to transportation to Van Diemen's Land. Mr. Snodgrass, Chairman of Committee.

September 1st.—Consideration of best form of Constitution for the Colony was referred to a Committee, the Colonial Secretary proposing that there should be two chambers, both based on the elective principle.

September 7th.—Petition to confer the franchise on miners.

September 8th.—Petition from Ballaarat for redress of grievances.

September 13th.—Mining Act Amendment Bill passed.

September 16th.—Message on the extension of the Money Order system to the Colony. Gipps Land to be surveyed and large tracts of land promised to be brought into the market.

23rd.—Motion carried for a Museum of National History.

27th.—Petitions from Heidelberg and its vicinity for a semi-weekly post.

28th.—Bills prayed for to incorporate the St Kilda Pier or Jetty Company, Melbourne and Brighton Railway Company, and North Melbourne Railway Company.

A question strongly discussed on the Duke of Newcastle's despatch—whether Downing St. or the representatives of the people were to rule the country.

October 5th.—The above Bills introduced. Third reading of the Convict's Prevention Bill carried.

October 12th.—The Committee on Steam Communication with England reported that £3,000 per mensem should be paid to any and every Company which shall engage to carry for a whole year, a regular monthly mail from England to Melbourne within sixty-five days for the first six months and sixty days for the last six months, to be paid only for those months in which the voyage is performed within the time specified.

November 10th.—Petition from Baptist Church against State Grants for religious purposes. Resolution that expenditure beyond amount appropriated is unconstitutional.

November 11th.—£50,000 wanted for improvement of Fitzroy Ward.

November 16th.—£20,000 required for temporary residence of Governor of Victoria.

December 21st.—Motion carried for £200 to be placed to the estimates for a Queen's Plate, to be run for as the Melbourne Annual Races. Petitions had been sent in from Dunlop and Peters for reward for discovery of gold fields.

MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WEALTH.

The great gold discoveries formed the principal factor in the progress and wealth of this period, and served almost to set aside agricultural and pastoral operations for a time. The Gold Discovery Committee had offered rewards, but the precious metal had been found before, and the fact communicated to Government which, however, for its own reasons, had kept it a profound secret. The progress of these discoveries, as they took place, were afterwards fully brought

out by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the claims for the Discovery of Gold in Victoria. Its Report is dated the 10th March 1854, and in it they say (we summarise their lengthy paper) :—

"In the month of March 1850 the honorary member for the Loddon, Mr. W. Campbell, discovered on the station of Mr. Donald Cameron, of Clunes, in company with that gentleman, his superintendent, and a friend, several minute pieces of native gold in quartz. This was concealed at the time from an apprehension that the announcement would prove injurious to Mr. Cameron's run. On the 10th June 1851, however, Mr. Campbell wrote that he had procured specimens of gold 'on an adjacent station.' On the 5th July a party formed by Mr. Louis John Michel showed gold in the quartz rocks of the Yarra Ranges at Anderson's Creek to Dr. Webb Richmond on behalf of the Gold Discovery Committee. On the same day, July 5th, Mr. James Esmonds showed gold obtained in the quartz rocks of the Pyrenees, near Mr. Donald Cameron's station, and worked subsequently there, since called the "Clunes" diggings. Dr. George H. Bruhn exploring the mineral resources of the Colony on arriving at Mr. Cameron's station, was shown by that gentleman specimens of gold at what are now called the "Clunes" diggings, and subsequently forwarded specimens to the Gold Discovery Committee on 30th June 1851. In the meantime Mr. Thomas Hiscock, a resident at Buninyong, kept a look out and discovered an auriferous deposit in the gully of the Buninyong Ranges. This attracted great numbers of diggers to the neighbourhood, and led to the discovery of the golden point at Ballaarat. During the first days of September Mr. Brown and his party were looking on one side, and Messrs. Regan and Dunlop on the other side of the range forming the Golden Point."

The story of a shepherd finding gold in 1848-49 is not included in this Report. Licences to dig for gold were issued on the 1st September, and about 300 persons were at work when Ballaarat was discovered. We have noted before that many thousands of miners were at work on the various gold fields the following year (1852). Mr. Latrobe personally went to see and inspect the various gold fields. Messrs. Michel, Hiscock, Campbell and Esmonds got voted rewards of £1,000 each, and Dr. Bruhn £500. Mr. Donald Cameron after a while parted with his run for a comparatively small sum. After a lapse of half a century a hundred gold-mining companies are at work there, and gold of the value of nearly ten millions sterling has been raised from beneath where his sheep cropped the herbage and he first saw the sparkle of native gold.

The first gold escort from Bendigo brought nearly 30,000 oz. of gold to Melbourne. The total amount of gold raised during this period (1851 to end of 1854) amounted to 8,425,702 oz., valued at £33,702,828. To show how common money was then a Warden and Police Magistrate wrote (1852-53):—"Diggers sometimes pursued me on my way back to Melbourne when I was in charge of the gold escort, begging me to thrust £200 in notes into my pistol-holsters, and £500 into my riding boots. But on one occasion a bundle of notes to the amount of £1,000 was sent to me laid flat and tied up in a thin piece of brown paper; and as it came in company with some saddlery, the four edges of each note were ground off, so that the bundle of notes presented the appearance of an oval block of dirty paper. The diggers' gold-bags were emptied out in the gold-brokers' shops so carelessly that the sweepings and dust of the floor of the shop on Saturday night were, in some shops, worth £12 every week. On one occasion, in a certain gold-broker's place, the value of the shop-sweepings for the week amounted to £20. Hired carriages were let out by the hour at from 2 to 3 guineas and sometimes at 5 guineas an hour. Plasterers and masons in those days got £2 a day, carpenters 30s. a day, and even common labourers £1 a day. House-rent rose during the latter part of 1852 and 1853 from £150 a year to £900! Hence arose a New Melbourne and the splendid suburbs of St. Kilda, etc. Hay was selling at £70 a ton! Cabbages sometimes changed hands at about 5s. each or £3 a dozen."

Cultivation, as we have mentioned before, was neglected, and accordingly from 57,472 acres in 1851, of which 29,624 acres were under wheat, it declined to 36,771 acres in the year following, and still further to 34,816 acres, of which only 7,554 acres were under wheat in 1853. A rebound was perceptible the next year, when farmers who had left for "the diggings" found they had made a mistake and returned to their old and surer occupation, and the land under cultivation was 54,905 acres. From this time, as will be seen under the next period, cultivation has steadily increased year after year.

In 1853-54, too, tobacco began first to be regularly cultivated, fitful efforts had been made before, and there was a return of 85 cwts. from 11½ acres. There was also, as might have been expected, a decrease in sheep during this period, the number in 1851 being 6,589,923, and in 1854 5,332,007. But horses increased from 22,086 in 1851 to 27,038 in 1854; cattle from 390,923 in 1851 to 481,640 in 1854; and pigs from 7,372 in 1851 to 9,278 in 1854. The number of vessels inwards in the four years was 7,559 of a total of 2,053,719 tons, and of outwards was 7,008, with a total of

1,925,005 tons. The value of imports rose from £1,056,437 in 1851 to £17,659,051 in 1854, and of exports from £1,422,909 in 1851 to £11,775,204 in 1854. The quantity of wool exported in 1854 was 22,998,400 lbs. of the value of £1,618,114. The amounts spent on Public Works during this period were on Roads and Bridges £1,086,137, on the Yan Yean Water Supply Scheme for Melbourne £367,356, and on other Public Works £978,230, or a total of £2,431,723. The number of Flour Mills rose from 27 in 1851 to 40 in 1854, and of Manufactories, etc., from 56 in 1851 to 152 in 1854. The number of Banks in the country was six, with a total paid-up capital of £3,367,560; and assets of £10,536,528.

In 1852 the Railway was opened from Sandridge to Melbourne; and the line to Geelong was commenced. This line was opened also within this period in 1854. There was as yet no Public Debt.

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

Social.—The great Gold Discoveries had the effect of disorganising society at first. Coachmen, grooms, lawyers, clerks, and even official men, including the very police, were off to "the diggings." Melbourne is described as being at that time "a sort of fevered, drunken, delirious Pandemonium." There were burglaries, 'stickings-up,' and shootings in every direction. Men had to go about armed at night. Throughout the colony "crimes of the most fearful character abounded; the roads swarmed with bushrangers, the streets with desperadoes of every kind." Ultimately, by a levelling process, the Gold Discoveries resulted in greater social freedom and equality.

Works, etc.—In 1851 the Yan Yean Water Supply Scheme by which pure water is brought into Melbourne from a distance of nineteen miles was surveyed, and the first sod was turned in December 1853 by Mr. Latrobe.

The first telegraphic message was sent from Melbourne to Williamstown in 1854.

Educational, etc.—In 1853 the Melbourne University was incorporated, and the foundation stone laid the year following July 3rd, 1854. It owes its existence to Sir Redmond Barry who was afterwards its first Chancellor. On the same day the foundation stone also of the Public Library was laid. Subsequently as will be seen in the next period, additions were made to it of a picture gallery, etc. In the year 1854, too, the Melbourne Observatory was established. The Victorian Institute and the Philosophical Society, the former owing its origin to Mr. W. Sydney Gibbons, and the latter to Captain A. Clarke, R.E., also came into existence at this time. Both afterwards merged into the present Royal

Society of Victoria. The first Exhibition of Arts and Industry was held in the same year 1854 and there were 428 exhibitors. The number of schools in the colony had increased from 129 with 7,060 scholars in 1851 to 391 with 20,107 scholars in 1854. *The Church, etc.*—Churches increased from 39 in 1851 to 187 in 1854.

The Press.—This too had multiplied and kept pace with the growth of the colony.

This very brief period was most important in its bearings on the future. It was the seed time of the next period. Whether in the increase of material wealth and population, or in the hardening and mixture of races, we see laid in it the foundations of future greatness.

THIRD PERIOD.

1855-1884.

VICTORIA UNDER A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

We now enter on the third and last period into which we have divided the history of the evolution of Victoria—that of her greatest progress. Her infancy and childhood are over, and she now enters on the vigor of her youth. We shall see now the free, full, and vigorous life of a young colony, well started, under its own constitutional and representative government. While the small early beginnings of things which have detained our attention while they interested us when viewing them in the preceding periods are now wanting, we shall see here the larger and broader measures which betoken the movements of a nascent and higher national life.

SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.

During the earlier portion of this period (1859) Messrs. Burke and Wills were started to carry out the exploration of Australia. The funds were supplied by a collection made by Melbourne citizens and a subsidy from Parliament. The story of the exploits and heroism of these brave explorers ending in their death, does not come within our limits. The total cost of their (and subsidiary) expeditions was £57,000. Vast extents of fertile country, even to the extreme north of Queensland, were discovered by them, and settlement early followed in their wake. Their remains were brought back by Howitt from Cooper's Creek, and were accorded a public funeral (January 20th, 1863). A noble monument erected to them graces the finest site in Collin's Street. A couple years after again (1865) the ladies of Victoria started McIntyre in search of Leichhardt.

We have seen before that the population of Victoria in 1851 was 312,307 and exceeded the population of N. S. W. proper

From that time forward Victoria kept the lead in population among the Australian Colonies till almost the other day. The country has been settled in every direction, in some parts more than in others; but there is room for several millions yet. The following is a glance at the regular growth of the population at stated intervals during this period:—

1855—364,324; 1865—621,095; 1875—791,399; 1884, June 30th—945,703. Of the last total 501,569 are males and 444,134 are females. The estimated total at the end of 1884 is 965,000.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

Sir Charles Hotham died on the last day of 1855 after having proclaimed the new Constitution Act. The next year began with Major-General Edward Macarthur as Acting Governor, and it was under him that the first Parliament under the new Constitution with Mr. Haines as Premier opened (November 21st, 1856). The Ministry was composed of, besides Mr. Haines as Chief Secretary, the following:—

(Sir) W. F. Stawell, Attorney-General; (Rt. Hon.) H. C. E. Childers, Commissioner of Trade and Customs; (Sir) Charles Madden, Treasurer; Captain Chas. Pasley, R. E., Commissioner of Public Works; Captain (General Sir) A. Clarke, R. E., Surveyor-General; and Robert Molesworth, Solicitor-General. Sir James Palmer was elected speaker of the Assembly, and (Sir) W. F. Mitchell, President of the Council. Among the members of the Upper House we find again Fawcner sitting for the Central Province, and J. Henty for the South-Western Province. We find also Stephen George Henty sitting for the Western Province. In the Lower House we find Archibald Michie and W. F. Stawell sitting for Melbourne, Fred. James Bargoed for St. Kilda, Charles Sladen for Geelong, Hugh Culling Eardley Childers for Portland, Peter Lalor for North Grenville, Edward Henty for Normanby, and Charles Gavan Duffy for Villiers and Heytesbury. It is remarkable that after a period of nearly thirty years most of these were still living, and had attained to the highest positions of honour and usefulness either in Victoria or in England.

Sir Henry Barkley arrived and assumed the reins of Government on the 26th December 1856. Since then, in all, during this period, there have been six Governors with others acting on occasions, twelve Parliaments, the average of existence for each being two years and one month; and twenty-two ministries. For this extended period of nearly thirty years of the history of Victoria, with an active and free political life, we can cast only a brief glance at the most important public measures.

Sir Henry Barkley remained till September 10th, 1863.

During this term the first Parliament passed the vote by Ballot Act, and the Manhood Suffrage Act. The second Parliament met on the 13th October 1859 as elected under the provisions of this Act. Under this Parliament arrangements were made with the P. and O. Company for carrying the mails, and the Department of Mines was established. Further facilities were also afforded to miners regarding leases and licenses. In 1860 a Conference of representatives of the different Colonies was held in Melbourne for united action in the matter of vital statistics. Finally, the third Parliament passed the Duffy Land Act of 1862 to continue till 1870. This Act gave increased facilities for settlement. One hundred and fifty areas of from 20,000 to 30,000 acres each of prime arable unsold land were surveyed, mapped, and opened for selection within three months of the passing of the Act. The most part of the Gippsland farmers came into existence under this Act.

On 11th September 1863 Sir Charles Darling was sworn in; but ended a brief term by being recalled owing to the following circumstances. The Premier, Mr. McCulloch, aided by Mr. (afterwards Judge) Higginbotham, the Attorney-General, brought forward a Protective Policy for the colony. The first Bill merely imposed certain duties. The Bill was rejected by the Council and the Ministry accordingly dissolved. They were, however, sent back to the house stronger than before. The same Bill accordingly was sent up again, and was again rejected. On Mr. Higginbotham's advice the Bill was now "tacked" to the Appropriation Bill, and thus sent up again to the Council. The Council, however, determined not to be beaten, reject the Appropriation Bill with the "tack." Supplies were stopped, and the public services were thrown into confusion. Mr. Higginbotham, fruitful in novel expedients, now counselled that the Governor should be sued and then confess judgment on behalf of the Queen, when the moneys would have to be paid without regard to the Appropriation Bill. The absurdity of such a course may be conceived by applying it to the Queen herself in a similar case in England. The power of the purse is really not in the hands of the Queen, or at her disposal, and her own funds are allowed her by the country. Sir Charles Darling agreed to the course proposed by Mr. Higginbotham. The Council then wrote to the Secretary of State and protested against the action of the Governor. Sir Charles thereon in reply made some severe reflections on certain members of the Council, and his conduct being deemed unconstitutional by the Home Government he was recalled and retired from office on 7th May 1866 leaving the dispute unsettled. Brigadier General Geo. Carey, C. B., acted as Governor for the few months after Sir Charles Darling's departure till the arrival of

his successor. Shortly after, however, some concessions were made on both sides in the colony, the "tack" was taken off the Appropriation Bill, and the Tariff Bill was sent up to the Council as a separate measure. Both the Bills were then passed. Thus ended the memorable *Deadlock* as it was called, which had led to so much bad feeling, the recall of a Governor, and the throwing into temporary confusion the public services. It was the death struggle of the free trade party. The colony since then became decidedly Protectionist. Another contest soon came on with the Upper House caused by the McCulloch Ministry voting £20,000 to Sir Charles Darling, in which the same tactics as before were pursued on both sides. Sir Charles, however, died while the contest was going on, and the matter was ended by Lady Darling being granted an annuity of £1,000.

Sir Henry Manners Sutton, afterwards Viscount Canterbury, assumed office on the 15th August 1866, and continued till the 2nd March 1873. The "*Deadlock*" referred to above was ended under him in 1868, and in a great measure by his wise counsels and guidance. The next year (1869) the Payment of Members and the State Aid Abolition Bills were passed. The Victorian Land Act was also introduced and came into operation on 1st February following (1870). An Amendment simplifying settlement was also made the same year on the Act by the Hon'ble J. T. Casey. Still further, the question of *The Federation of the Colonies* was now prominently discussed in Parliament. The troops were now recalled home, General Chute leaving on 15th October.

An *Inter-Colonial Conference* was also held in which the following subjects were considered:—Customs union; assimilation of tariffs; uniform colonial postage; mail contracts; and telegraphic communication.

In 1872 the Education Act, 36 Vic., No. 447, was passed. This Act was subsequently amended by the Education Act Amendment Act, 40 Vic., No. 541, by which education became free, secular, and compulsory. Magnificent school buildings now are spread over every part of the colony.

Although not political, yet as tending to foster a spirit of loyalty the two visits in 1867 and 1870 of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh may be included here. During his brief stay on each occasion he was very popular, and on his first visit laid the foundation of the new Town Hall to cost upwards of £100,000,—and on his second visit opened the Alfred Hospital. A large sum of money was voted by the colony for his expenses. Towards the close of the period during the Marquis of Normanby's term of office, the two sons of the Prince of Wales also visited Victoria, and were loyally and enthusiastically received.

John Pascoe Fawkner, who had founded Melbourne and witnessed its rapid and marvellous growth, died in 1869.

After the departure of Viscount Canterbury Sir William Foster Stawell acted as Governor till the arrival of Sir George Bowen on the 31st March 1873. His term continued only till the 22nd February 1879. Mr. Graham Berry being Premier, there was much acrimonious dispute between the two Houses on a question of reform in the Council, which ended in the wholesale dismissals of numerous public officers on "Black Wednesday," as it was called under the pretence of there being no money to pay them with. In this dispute Sir George Bowen made himself conspicuous by his siding with Mr. Berry. This, with his being a party to sending Mr. Berry in a quasi-ambassadorial capacity to England, filled up the measure of his unfitness for office, and he was removed by the Home Government.

The Marquis of Normanby succeeded him, and assumed the reins of Government on the 27th February 1879. Berry soon found that he could not lead the new Governor by the nose as he had led the last. He was defeated by Service at the general elections of 1880; but resuming his position the same year, was allowed to pass (1881) his Reform of Council Bill in a very different shape to that in which he had introduced it.

By this Bill the colony was divided into fourteen provinces for the election of Members of Council. Three members were allowed to each, with a term of office of six years. An estate in lands and tenements of the annual value of £100 clear of all charge qualifies a member. An elector's qualification was a freehold worth £10 per annum, or occupation of land in any municipal district of any one of the provinces rated at £25 per cent. The election of the new members took place in 1882. The Legislative Assembly, if it may be noted here, consists of 36 members returned in 55 electorates. There is no property qualification for members or voters. Everyone, twenty-one years of age, untainted by crime, is entitled to a vote. The Members of the Assembly are paid £300 per annum each.

Berry had, however, incurred so much odium that he was again defeated on 1st July 1881 by Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, who thereupon became the leader of an administration which, as it was a moderate one, was hailed as a relief by all parties. Happening, however, to come under the influence of the Romish Hierarchy and their political plans, he had to give way to Mr. James Service on 8th March 1883. Mr. Service distinguished his latest term of office, by introducing afresh the question of *Federation*, and by moving in the annexation of New Guinea and other islands in the Pacific. At the Great Banquet at Albury (18th June 1883) given by the two colonies, Victoria and N. S. W., to celebrate the opening

of, through railway communication between Melbourne and Sydney, and at which the Governor and leading Ministers of the two colonies were present.* Mr. Service introduced the subject of *Federation* in a noble speech, declared its feasibility, and threw the onus of rejecting it on New South Wales. An *Australian Conference* of all the colonies in order to take initiatory steps was shortly afterwards (November) held in Sydney, and a common basis of future proceeding was adopted.

Federative Bills were to be passed by each colony before the Union could take place and a Great Australian Commonwealth established. In the matters of French Criminals and New Guinea, Mr. Service also did excellent work. He carried his point, which was that of Australia, in both. The first difficulty was reduced by the French Government; it has dwindled down to nothing of moment. The Commodore of H. M.'s Australian station was directed by wire by the Home Government to declare the southern portion of New Guinea under a British Protectorate, the colonies unitedly defraying £15,000 per annum of the cost of such Protectorate. Mr. Service, however, further wished to see other islands in the Pacific also annexed. But this was an even larger question than that of New Guinea, for Germans, French, and Americans claimed the Pacific portions which claims could not be entirely overlooked, and whereas a shadow of a claim was actually set up in behalf of the natives. Parties and factions were strong under the Marquis of Normanby's rule, but his great prudence, experience and practical wisdom enabled him to steer the vessel of State in peace and honor to himself to the end of his term, and he left on 18th April 1884. His Excellency Sir Henryrougham Loch, K.C.B., arrived and was sworn in on 15th May following, the Chief Justice, Sir W. Stawell, acting in interval. Sir Henry Loch's public utterances and acts gave universal satisfaction. The salary of the Governor of Victoria was increased to £10,000 per annum and was the highest of any in the Australian colonies for a time.

(c) MATERIAL PROGRESS AND WEALTH.

The progress of wealth and industry in this period has been astonishing. No tale is so eloquent or conclusive here as that told by figures.

Pastoral—The period began (1855) with 33,430 horses; at the end of 1883 there were 286,779. In 1855 there were 14,113 cattle; at the end of 1883 their numbers stood at 297,546. In 1855 there were 4,577,872 sheep; at the end of 1883 they had reached 10,739,021. In 1855 pigs numbered

* We were present at this banquet.

20,686; in 1883 they had increased to 233,525. In all live stocks increased from 5,166,101 in 1855 to 12,556,871 in 1883. The total number of persons included under the head of pastoral occupations according to the census returns of 1881 was 9,327. During this period, too, Angora and Cashmere goats, and ostriches, were imported and acclimatised.

Agricultural.—In 1855 the total area under cultivation was 115,135 acres; at the end of 1883 it was 2,215,923 acres. Of this total 1,104,392 acres were under wheat, their produce in weight being 15,570,245 bshls., valued at (3-8 per bshl.) £2,854,545. Under oats 188,161 acres, produce 4,717,624 bshls., value (2-8 per bshl.) £629,017. Under barley 46,832 acres, produce 1,069,803 bshls., value (3-6 per bshl.) £187,216. Under maize 2,570 acres, produce 117,294 bshls., value (4-8 per bshl.) £27,369. Under peas, &c., 30,443 acres, produce 791,093 bshls., value (3-2 per bshl.) £125,256. Under potatoes 40,195 acres, produce 161,088 tons, value (£3-14-8 per ton) £611,395. Under mangold wurzel 1,056 acres, produce 18,906 tons, value (£1-9-1 per ton) £27,808. Under onion 1,235 acres, produce 6,977 tons, value (£7-10 per ton) £52,328. Under hay 302,957 acres, produce 433,143 tons, value (£3-10 per ton) £1,516,000. Under green forage 4,963 acres, produce value (£12 per acre) £59,555. Under tobacco 1,325 acres, produce 9,124 cwt., value (£10d. per lb.) £42,579. Under vines 7,326 acres, produce of grapes, 129,327 cwt., total wine made 723,560 gallons, value (2s. per gallon) £72,356, and brandy 2,646 gallons, value (6s. per gallon) £794. The area of land lying fallow at the end of 1883 was 174,607 acres. The gardens and orchards covered another total of 20,754 acres. The total number of persons entered under agricultural pursuits in the census returns was 113,253.

Mining.—The quantity of gold raised during the previous period as we saw had been 8,425,702 oz., valued at £33,702,828. The total quantity raised from the beginning to the end of 1883, including the preceding period was 52,214,150 oz., valued at £208,856,600. This is an average of more than £3,330,000 a year. The estimated total yield of gold to the end of 1884 was £212,000,000. The largest lump of gold called the "Welcome Stranger Nugget" yet found in Victoria weighing 2,280 oz., was discovered at the Moliagul diggings during this period (1869). The total area of auriferous country is 25,000 square miles, of which only a twentieth part had as yet been worked. Deep mining, which yielded steady results, was yet to go forward. At Stawell a shaft had gone more than 2,000 feet below the surface. Besides gold there are other metals as silver, tin, copper, antimony, lead, etc., mined for.

The total number of the population entered as engaged in mining at the end of 1883 was 31,621.

Manufactures.—The greatest possible progress was made here. The Protective Tariff passed under the McCulloch Ministry had the effect of so stimulating manufacturing enterprise that from only 152 manufactories at the end of the preceding period (in 1854) at the end of 1883 they had increased to 2,779, excluding 131 stone workings and quarries. The number of mining machines, not included in these, was 1,149 for 1882. The following figures show the increase at stated periods:—

1860	...	...	474
1870	...	...	1,529
1880	...	...	2,239
1883	...	...	2,779

The factories of Victoria turned out work as locomotives, railway carriages, or iron work in general which challenged comparison with those imported from Great Britain, Belgium, and America. In iron work contracts were undertaken even for India and China and all the other Australian Colonies. The locomotives turned out by the Phoenix Foundry Company at Ballarat were even then known all over Australia for excellence and durability. The total number of the population engaged in manufacturing operations in 1883 was 39,926. The following details are also for the same year:—

	No.	operated on	Wheat.	Other.
Flour Mills in	140	...	7,850,506 bshls.	337,830
Breweries	70	beer made	13,729,371 galls.	
Bricks & Potteries	198	bricks made	96,097,000	
Tanneries, Fell-mongeries	156	No. of hides tanned	384,333	
		" skins	1,433,096	
		" sheep skins		
		stripped	1,913,055	
Woollen Mills	7	wool obtained from		
		skins	5,725,286 lbs.	
		wool washed only	7,191,664 "	
		cloth manufactured	830,604 yds.	
Soap and Candle Works	29	blankets	2,531 prs.	
		shawls	259	
Tobacco, Cigar, &c.	13	soap made	140,235 cwt.	
		candles made	38,530 "	
		tobacco	1,279,671 lbs.	
		cigars No.	7,196,200	
Books, printing, &c.	131	snuff	1,323 lbs.	
Tools, instruments, &c.	144			
Press, shoes, &c.	239			
Saw Mills, joinery, &c.	231			
Stone quarries, &c.	131	stone operated on	463,175 c. yds.	

Victoria stood as the leading manufacturing country in the southern hemisphere.

Trade, shipping, etc.—The imports in 1883 amounted in value to £17,743,846, and exports to £16,398,863. The number of vessels inwards 2,023 of 1,464,752 total tonnage, and outwards 2,064 of 1,499,579 total tonnage. There were (1882) two Banks of issue with a total paid-up capital of £9,432,250 and assets of £31,248,586. The Savings Banks for the same year were 222, with 122,584 depositors, and balances amounting to £3,121,246.

Revenue, expenditure, etc.—The total public revenue in 1883 was £5,611,253; being £679,933 from land, £1,769,004 customs, £439,645 other taxation, £1,838,284 railways, £132,900 other public works, and £751,472 miscellaneous receipts. The total public expenditure was £5,651,885; being railways £1,173,535, other public works £636,611, public instruction, etc., £598,970, medical and charitable £267,400 and miscellaneous services £2,975,369.

The total public debt was £24,308,175.

The number of miles open of railways was 1,562, at a total cost of £21,106,373. There were besides, 133 miles of railways in course of construction; and during 1884 the construction of nearly one thousand more miles was planned before the House. Victoria had the largest number of miles of railway open not only relatively for her size, but absolutely of any Australian Colony. Settlement and population, trade, industry and wealth all follow in the wake of the "iron horse." Melbourne was united to Geelong as early as 1857. The Melbourne and Williamstown railway was opened in 1859. The line to Echuca was opened in 1864, and then was pushed forward by private enterprise as far as Deniliquin in N. S. W. Lines now intersected the country in every direction. Though begun, as we saw under the preceding period, by private enterprise, railways are now formed a state department.

The value of rateable property in Melbourne was (1880) £10,321,620, with a revenue of £135,102. The value of such property in all cities, towns, etc., was £37,355,371, with a revenue of £486,328; and the value of all such property in the shires was £58,255,588, with a revenue of £600,173.

The military and naval forces, too, as the safeguard of the wealth, may be included here. The land forces comprised Artillery, Engineer, Torpedo and Rifle Corps, both regular and volunteers, and had an actual total (1882-1883) of 2,787 with an establishment total when complete of 3,914; besides 87 staff, etc., unattached. The troops were armed with Martini-Henri Rifle. The total number of males of soldiering age (20-49 years) in the colony in 1881 was 114,142.

The Navy consisted of seven war-vessels iron-clad turret-ship, gun-boats, etc., viz., the *Cerberus*, *Nelson*, *Victoria*, *Albert*, *Childers*, *Nepean*, and *Lonsdale*. The total cost of the land and sea forces was about £100,000 per annum. The total military and naval expenditure since 1854 had been nearly £3,000,000.

OTHER LINES AND INFLUENCES.

Social.—During the early part of this period the disturbing influences at work on the original Gold Discoveries still continued. Settlers had left their homesteads, merchants their desks, professional men their offices, tradesmen their shops, sailors their ships, all in the search for gold. The entire population had been smitten with the gold mania—*auri sacra fames!* The delirium, however, gradually passed away, and within a few years of this time things began again to run in regular and settled grooves. We have already noted the visits paid by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. These with the presence of other subsequent distinguished visitors such as their Royal Highnesses the sons of the Prince of Wales, with the high tone maintained in Government House, and the large class of the very wealthy led by Sir W. Clarke, and the increase of intercourse with Europe, and of high education and culture, served to give a tone to society which made it as respectable here as in any other country.

Exhibitions.—We have noticed the first rudimentary Exhibition under the preceding period. It was followed in 1860 by a second Exhibition in which there were 703 exhibitors. It was open for only ten weeks. The receipts amounted to £3,400, and the number of persons admitted to 67,405.

In 1866 followed the 3rd Victorian Exhibition which proved greater success. The area of exhibit space was 56,240 feet or nearly thrice that of the previous Exhibition. It was open for 55 days during which the receipts were £9,634, and the number of admissions was 268,634. At this Exhibition a gilt pyramid, 10 feet high, represented 36,514,361 oz. of gold valued at £46,057,444, the total of the precious metal extracted from Victorian gold-fields up to that time.

In 1872-73 and in 1875 minor exhibitions were held in connection with the exhibits forwarded from Victoria for the London Exhibition of 1873 and the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876.

The Great International Exhibition was opened on 1st October 1880 and closed on 30th April 1881. It was the greatest Exhibition that has yet been held in the southern hemisphere. Its best monument is the superb Exhibition Building erected at a cost of £250,000 which graces its noble site in the Carlton Gardens. The attendance was 1,309,496.

Finally, the Victorian Jubilee Exhibition to celebrate their 50th anniversary of the foundation of the colony opened in November 1884 in the same Great Exhibition Building. The promoter, however, was a private individual, who failed in coming up to expectation, though the exhibition was patronised.

Education.—The number of schools with which this period we opened (1855) was 438, with a total of 24,478 scholars, and there were 16 students matriculated at the University (its first year). In 1882-83 there were 1,750 public schools with 22,428 scholars and private 670 with 35,773 scholars, in all 2,420 schools 25,820 scholars enrolled; while the matriculated students of the University numbered 135, and there were 73 graduates. The schools of design during 1883 were 33 with 2,806 pupils; schools of mines 2 with 850 enrolled, and other High Schools and Colleges 6, with 959 pupils. The University had faculties in Medicine and Law, as well as in Arts; and its reputation stood second to none. Among the educational institutions should also be included the great Public Library in Melbourne, and the Mechanics' Institutes scattered all over the country. The former was opened by Acting Governor-General MacArthur, in 1857 since when additions have been made to it of a Picture Gallery, School of Design and an Industrial Museum, and was visited by more than a quarter of a million during the year—the building is one of the noblest in the city; and the latter a Mechanics' Institute, which number 250, had an attendance in 1883 of nearly 2,000,000.

The Press.—The Newspaper Press of Victoria could even then challenge comparison with that of any other country in the world, headed by the great Melbourne Dailies. *The Age*, with its weekly edition of the *Leader*, the *Telegraph*, with its *Weekly Times*, the *Argus* with its weekly *Australian*, the evening *World* with its magnificent weekly the *Federal Australian*, and the *Evening Herald*,—there were upwards of a hundred and fifty others in the country districts. A Book Press, too, arose and publishers were constantly issuing a variety of works, among the principal of which may be specified those by George Robertson and Co., Cameron Laing and Co., and others. The Messrs. Geo. Robertson, and Cameron, and Laing issue works not only of a high class (as well as light literature), but in the most superior style of mechanical execution and finish. There were 490 copyrights of works, etc., taken out in 1883. The process of photo lithography was discovered in Melbourne by Mr. Osborne in 1860. He was rewarded by Government with £1,000. The art was of great value in multiplying maps, etc.

Entertainments.—Several Theatres and Opera houses were established institutions in Melbourne, while the interior towns

and cities were visited by numerous companies several times during the year. The best artists were brought out from England and America. Miss Catherine Hayes who gave some vocal performances in 1856 realised 1,000 guineas at a guinea a ticket on a single night for the benefit of the Melbourne charities.

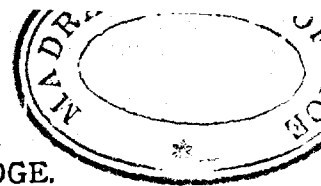
The Church, etc.—During this period an additional Church of England Diocese, that of Ballarat, was formed out of the western districts, and it was proposed in 1884 to erect another for the norther districts with its centre at Sandhurst. The number of churches and chapels in Victoria rose from 187 in the last year of the preceding period 1854 to 3,518 in 1882-83 with seats for over 400,000. There were also 36 Hospitals with accommodation for nearly 10,000 patients.

The history of the evolution of Victoria may end here. We have told it briefly and rapidly. We have seen the colony grow from the two Messrs. Henty to a population a little short of a million of souls; from a few sheep to nearly eleven millions, and horses and cattle in proportion; from the five acres first laid out by Fawkner's party to a cultivation of over two millions of acres; from the first sparkle of gold on Donald Cameron's "run" of Clunes to a total quantity raised of the value of over two hundred and ten millions sterling; from the first small iron foundry established on the banks of the Yarra in 1840 to the immense development of manufacturing enterprise represented by 2,779 manufactories and works; from the one small vessel of the Messrs. Henty representing the "shipping" of 1834 to over four thousand vessels of nearly three millions tons burthen; from the first imports and exports of whale oil and sheep the value of which may have been covered by a few thousand pounds to an import and export trade of over thirty-four millions sterling in one year; from a settlement which the Government refused to recognise to a State with an annual revenue and expenditure of over eleven millions sterling; with lines of railways intersecting the country in every direction, and nearly twenty-five millions sterling laid out on them; with rateable property in cities, towns, boroughs and shires valued at one hundred millions sterling; exporting wheat and breadstuffs, and all kinds of manufactures, etc., as of iron, leather, wood, wool and cloth, and tallow, meats and provisions, bags and sacks, etc.; with Military and Naval Forces numbering 4,000 men and seven war-vessels; moving in questions of Imperial moment and beyond the bounds of Australia; with a great system of free education with numerous literary and other civilising and refining influences and agencies and with a metropolis—*Melbourne*—which is at once an ornament on the face of the globe and the Queen City of the Southern Hemisphere with a population amounting to over

three hundred thousand, and with public parks and buildings which may vie with those of many of the older European capitals. Surely the results have been marvellous as a dream. "The child is father to the man." And if the past has been thus what will the future be? With her enterprise and capital she annexed Fiji, opened up North Queensland, and was still advancing further. And with the "far-reaching hands" of her statesmen she came to share in European counsels. The time had come for a Great Australian Dominion or Commonwealth.

It will have been seen that this Federation of the Australian Colonies was actually mooted in 1870, and that twelve years after Mr. Service took practical steps towards bringing it about. Hence it seems perfectly monstrous for Lord Loch to publicly state that Sir Henry Parkes first made proposals for Federation to him. Lord Loch was not even dreamt of for an Australian Governor when the subject had been for years before the public; and Sir Henry Parkes was himself one of the most determined opponents of the idea, till he could no longer resist the tide. The subject was constantly treated by the *Press*, to whom if any credit is to be given, any where it should be awarded, the *Federal Australian* conspicuously leading the way. It was the Evolution of the national life of Australia, and the *Press* fitly led the way, for the *Press* in Australia is its very life. It may remain for us to consider what this national life—the Future of Australia—will yet be.

OLD AUSTRALIAN COLONIST.



ART. V.—THE JUDGE.

ICERO says that "men resemble the gods in nothing so much as in doing good to their fellow-creatures." The of this saying no human being has better opportunities proving than the important personage who occupies the ment seat. Indeed, the man who accepts a judgeship is upon himself a very serious responsibility. His duty is of the utmost importance to the State, and if it is next to thing, it is only next to that of the Sovereign Ruler. He administers the law which in every good Government is above king. True it is that in such countries as Russia and key, the king is above law, but it is to be observed that in a monarchy is the exception, not the rule. In all forms of Government law is above king, even though it is his own making. Indeed, the judge is the earthly god, he has to determine with authority between truth and false- right and wrong. Even the king himself is amenable to orders. Without questioning the doctrine of "A Regle" it may be safely asserted that the position of the king he has made the law considerably resembles that of the worm in his own self-spun cocoon, in this respect differ- from the Supreme Ruler in heaven who "is not tied to own Sacraments, though men are." Henry IV of England, being informed that Chief Justice Gascoigne had com- mitted the Prince of Wales to prison for contempt of Court pressed great joy at having such a judge who administered ice with impartiality, and such a son who in obedience to law submitted peaceably to the punishment. Nelson's chword is nowhere so very appropriate as in the matter of administration of justice. A judge neglecting his duty as a great man has said, guilty, not of butchery but of order, which is a much higher offence. This language, no ubt, is very strong, but it does not exaggerate the truth. A lge who does deliberate injustice might be called a judicial tcher, but one who neglects to do justice deserves to be led by a more execrable name,—indeed, the designation, dicial murderer,—would hardly be inappropriate in his case. hus, it appears that wilful neglect of duty is a more heinous fence than deliberate abuse of it.

The duty of the legislator, however, is not to be confounded with that of the judge. Certain it is, there was a time when the two offices were united in the same person; but he could not, when administering law, undo his work as legislator: he is bound to administer the law as it stood, and if he though

that it required amendment or alteration, he could only express his views in his capacity of legislator. Strange as it may seem, the legislator, though the framers of the law, often fails to put a proper construction upon it. In fact the author of a Law or Act, considering more what he privately intended than the meaning he has expressed, is less qualified to construe it. Thus, the proposition is true, which lays down that the duty of the judge is to *decide* not to *make*, the law.* He is to determine what the law is, not what it *ought to be*. He may well suggest improvement in existing law, if he deems it defective in some respects; he need not do so, that not forming an essential part of his duty. However, as a matter of fact, improvements in law have for the most part been made through the instrumentality of the judges. Their opinions are in most cases viewed with great approbation by the legislative body, and, accordingly, new laws are made or old laws amended in consonance with those opinions. Hence distinction is made between statute law and case law. The latter is sometimes an improvement on the former and sometimes an addition to it.

But whatever difficulties there may be in declaring what the law is, there is still greater difficulty in applying it to a particular case before the judge. Thus, one may be a good lawyer, but if he does not take the trouble to master facts or lacks the tact and power of doing so, it is all certain that he will fail to do justice. One who would be a good judge must be a master of fact as well as of law. A happy union in the same individual is anything but common. Lord Chancellor Loughborough was an excellent judge of fact but was sadly deficient in a knowledge of the common law. A judge who is strong both in law and fact is certainly a remarkable character. Such a judge is not to be found at any time. At any rate, men like him are very rare. Many qualifications are necessary to form such a character. Where the qualifications are present, the fortunate possessor thereof becomes all but perfect in his sphere of life. But it seldom happens that one and all the qualifications are united in the same person. Human nature being frail, it cannot hope to attain to a state in any matter which is only next to absolute perfection. A perfect, or even a *quasi*-perfect, judge is the object of the question. All that one can reasonably hope for is to have a judge who is sufficiently strong in law and fact. Even such a judge must be considered as not quite a complete character. Indeed, a judge has so many difficulties to contend

* Or, as Bacon says, the office of a judge is "*jus dicere*" and not "*jus dare*;"—to interpret law and not to make law or give law. (Essay on the Judicature.)

that it is only occasionally that his efforts are crowned with success. Unless all circumstances concur, it is impossible for him to achieve success. The qualifications referred to are not few, and this is not to be wondered at, when the great importance of the judicial office is taken into consideration. It is the office, so must the qualifications of the person be who is called upon to exercise the functions thereof. A judge must be learned in the law. This qualification is absolutely necessary from the nature of the thing. But mere legal learning is not sufficient. To prove a good judge learning in other professions is also necessary, though not to the same extent as learning. Want of classical education, however, is no bar to a man becoming a great judge. Lord Coke, "the Leviathan" as Lord Campbell calls him, was no scholar. All his love for Virgil,* and it is a well-known fact that made light of Bacon's really great work by saying that he served to be "freighted in the ship of Fools." In fact, he was an unscholarly lawyer, and yet who can deny that his position as a judge is quite unparalleled. Lord Hardwicke received a classical education, but that circumstance did not prevent him from becoming a very great judge which he eminently was. As for Lord Kenyon, his scholastic education was very defective and was not at all improved by his studies. But there is no doubt that he was a good judge; only second to Lord Eldon. Lord Gifford and Lord St. Leonards were not scholars. As for Lord Somers and Lord Mansfield they are with a few others brilliant exceptions who united learning in other professions with learning in their own. Speaking of the former, Bishop Burnet says, "He was very learned in his own profession with great deal more learning in other professions, in divinity, philosophy and history." He was a poet also, and Addison in dedicating his "Campaign" to him alluded to his "immortal strains." Lord Mansfield resembles Somers in many respects and was himself a poet of no mean order. Pope has lamented

"How sweet and Ovi was in Murray lost!"

One of the best of native judges, Dwarkanath Mitter, was undoubtedly a learned man; but surely the learning of his serious successor, Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, was not above average, and yet in judicial ability he was not much inferior to his eminent predecessor. Similar remarks apply to Mr. Chandra Madhab Ghose, who, though not a scholar in the proper sense of the term, has the well-earned reputation of being a

This father of English jurisprudence boasted that in his Institute he had not been found some three hundred quotations from the poet of the East.

good judge. Indeed, in the legal profession, high literary acquirements are not the best means for attaining success, and Sir William Jones, no common authority, in one of his letters to Dr. Parr, said that in the profession of law the reputation of a scholar was a dead weight on a person. What is absolutely necessary is that a judge should know the general principles of law and possess the sense to apply them to the particular case before him. He must also watch the changes in statute law and read the current reports so as to be able to know how the laws are interpreted and applied by brother judges. But in any case a judge must be a professional man and thoroughly understand his profession, or, as it is said, O'Connell said, "A judge must be a downright tradesman." To all this must be added a general knowledge of the arts and sciences which have relation to law; and even Coke himself in the preface to his Reports has observed that some knowledge of every science and art is not only useful, but even necessary to a lawyer. But knowledge will not avail unless one takes the trouble to get himself acquainted with the facts. A judge must be pains-taking. Indeed, industry is better than cleverness, as Dr. South very well puts it, the "sweat of the brow entitles it to the laurel." If one would be a good artificer, he must dread "the smoke and tarnish of the furnace." The case of Lord Thurlow, "the law lion" as he was called, is an exception, and if his idleness was remarkable, his ability was more remarkable still.

The advice given by Jethro to Moses in the matter of appointing of judges does not make learning a necessary qualification for a judge. He said, that judges "should be men of courage and men of truth; fearing God and hating covetousness." This omission in the Jethro's advice was wisely supplied by Lord Bacon in his "advice to Sir George Villiers" where he described ignorance as a stone and obstacle in the way of becoming a good judge. He observed, "an ignorant man cannot, a coward dare not, be a good judge." Some knowledge of the world, as it is called, is also useful and necessary to a judge. Although a judge should not aim at becoming a public character, commonly so called, still he must understand men and manners—the modes in which they live, the influences under which they generally act; the passions to which they are at times subject. Without such knowledge one cannot prove a good judge. It is commonly said that judges who are sent direct from England often fail in doing substantial justice in India. This observation is only too true, and the failure which unfortunately happens in some cases is mainly to be attributed to ignorance of native life in the East. Surely there is an immense deal of difference

between eastern and western modes and ideas, so that one never tries to decide Indian cases involving questions regarding native manners and customs from the standpoint of a European runs the risk of doing injustice. So far as our experience goes, Civilian Judges of the High Court have, as a rule, been better administrators of justice than Barrister Judges sent direct from England. Of course there have been exceptions, but they are exceptions of that character which do not prove the rule. The case of Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court, stands almost alone.

He was a genius and did justice between man and man, not it were by intuitive knowledge. Even he on some occasions could not get over the influence of western thoughts and

Mr. Sewell White is another exception. Although he was somewhat slow, he was almost always sure. His colleagues held him in the highest regard for him and even Civilian Judges often differed from him in his conclusion of facts. Mr. Justice Pontifex also stands out as an exception. He was a quick witted judge, and, what appeared very remarkable, that he could understand a case before all the facts were stated. Such judges are not commonly met with, and it is the rarity of such men at the present time which is the main cause of the general complaint as to the unsatisfactory nature of the administration of justice in the highest tribunal in the

A judge must also be courageous. This is his first attribute according to Jethro and Bacon. "Courage," says the Chancellor Clarendon, "is as necessary in a judge as in a soldier." A coward judge is as much an object of hatred and contempt as a coward general. Neither of them can expect to succeed in their respective callings, and if they do succeed at all, it is only by the purest of accidents. When a judicial officer is prejudiced of the truth of a case, he must declare it without fear or favour, in other words, he must have the courage of his conviction. But this courage should not be confounded with headiness which is not a lesser fault than cowardliness. A coward is too timid to give out his mind; a heady man sticks to his opinion, even when he is convinced to the contrary. They agree in this that, both of them act against their conviction, the difference lying only in the manner in which they do it, the one through fear, the other through obstinacy. Accordingly, Montague says, "a judge must avoid four faults:—cowardness, corruption, cowardliness and headiness." Though he places 'headiness' at the last, yet in reality it is not the least of the faults. Since to err is human, there is no wonder if a judge sometimes fall into error; but it shows great perversity of intellect when one does not mend his ways on being shown

his error. Indeed, erroneousness is not so great a fault as obstinate persistency in error. Mr. James O'Kinealy, who has only lately retired from the Bengal High Court, is generally correct in his views, but if he once fell into error he would almost invariably stick to it, and, so far from correcting himself, would go on arguing and try to show that he was not wrong. Not having the will to mend his opinion, he would fain believe that he was not properly convinced, and the poet has it

"One who's convinced against his will,
Is of the same opinion still."

Akin to courage is independence. These two qualities are best seen in Lord Coke who did not hesitate to give his opinion, high as it was, when he found that he could not give them fair play without offending the king. Indeed, he was much more than above royal favour. On being asked whether in a case in which the king might be concerned he would attend proceedings pending his Majesty's consultation with the judges his memorable reply was, "When the case shall be I will say that which shall be fit for a judge to do." Mr. Justice Crewe's independence of character was almost equally high; it is best seen in the famous ship-money case. Manfully supporting as he was by the heroic advice of his lady, he declared against the opinion of his colleagues that the law was opposed to the claims of the crown.* The noble boldness which the Mughal Kazi showed to King Nasiruddin of Bengal is also worthy of no small praise. Indeed, it stands superior to the courage of a Coke or a Crewe. But neither courage nor independence is inconsistent with obedience properly so called. According to Bacon compared the twelve judges of the realm to the twelve lions under Solomon's throne, stoutly bearing it up, though in obedience from the fact of their having been placed at the shrine, were yet lions. A judge may well act in obedience to the laws without compromising his courage or independence. Nor is courage inconsistent with fear of God. Indeed, according to Jethro, the fearing God† is a necessary qualification in a judge; it is the fear of man—fear which Bacon denounces as "the most unwise, the most unjust, and the most cruel of all counsellors"—that is a disgrace and a disqualification. A God-fearing judge is an object of glorification, whereas a man-fearing judge is a moral nuisance which may be got rid of at once. The Prophet David truly observes, "The Angel of the Lord tarrieth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them."

* Fuller, speaking of Crewe when out of office, felicitously observed "the country hath constantly a smile for him for whom the court hath a frown."
† A judge should "devote himself Deo, Rege, et Lege." Montagu.

Who says that a judge should also be a man of truthfulness, however, is implied by the fear of God, because who fears God cannot but be a man of truth. A liar or a dishonest man could not be said to fear God, for if he did, he would on no account murder his conscience, or act dishonestly. In this respect a judge should follow the Honyimms who, we are told, have no word in their language to signify lying or falsehood. Fear of God also implies impartiality. Partiality is only a milder term for corruption. A judge partial to one party or the other cannot possibly hope for justice, his sense of right and wrong being blended by partial love or prejudice. This partiality may be of two kinds, viz., partiality for a particular party, or partiality for a particular counsel or pleader. The latter fault was conspicuous in Lord Kenyon who indulged in partialities for, and partialities against, particular barristers. Erskine was his favourite, whereas Law was oftentimes snubbed by him. This Law, be it said, defended the famous easterner, Warren Hastings, against such an array of illustrious judges and lawyers and got him honourably acquitted. Some judges also have had their favourite barristers and some who seldom lost cases before them, and, even when lost, they lost with credit. Both kinds of partiality are faults, though partiality for parties is a greater fault than partiality for practitioners.

A judge must make a virtue of patience. Indeed, "patience is a virtue of bearing is, as Bacon says, "an essential part of justice." It is not good for a judge to hurry over a case, as he thereby runs the risk of making a mess in it. Hurry and despatch so far from effecting despatch, often runs counter to it and leads to bad results. A judge may well be slow, provided he is sure, for tardy justice is better than speedy injustice. He must always bear in mind the "law's delay" which has become proverbial, and try to decide cases with despatch. He must not, however, in hot haste try to jump to a conclusion. He should he listen to private accounts* or pass his judgment on *ex parte* statements. As in almost all cases, the advocate's wise remark to Sir Roger—"much might be said on both sides"—holds good, it is not prudent or advisable for a judge to hazard an opinion without hearing the other side. The saying—*Audi alteram partem*—is to be commonly followed. In the ordinary concerns of life, it must be invariably followed. In the determination of disputes in a court of justice. There is no wonder if a hasty conclusion arrived at on hearing one side only, should in some cases lead even to irremediable

Justice should be deaf, except in the seat, and never blind there."

injustice. Lord Eldon always doubted, though his doubts were better than other men's certainties. Indeed, his judgments are universally held in high esteem, so that an equitable as has been said, might be constructed out of them. On the other hand, Lord Kenyon never doubted, and yet it could be said that his judgments were on a par with those of Lord Eldon. Sir Nicholas Bacon, father of the illustrious philosopher, used to say when pressed for decision, "you give me time." In fact, a judge who does not pay attention to the cases before him nor takes time to consider them is guilty of a neglect of duty. "Patience," Lord Ellesmere, "is a great part of a judge;" and that is so very essential that without it a judge would be an imperfect character only. For sooth, no business can be done which is not well understood, and nothing can be understood which is not considered with patience.

Akin to patience is good temper. One who has no control over his temper cannot prove a good judge. Evenness of temper is a great aid to arriving at a right conclusion. Impatience and impatience bring on confusion, and confusion of mind leads to confusion in the brain. A peevish, petulant, impatient judge cannot take a calm dispassionate view of a case, and it is therefore no wonder if his judgments do not prove right or satisfactory. Evenness of temper is inconsistent with gravity of hearing without which a judge cannot maintain the dignity of his office. A judge should not be given to joking over the bench nor allow others to do so. This would be playing merry-andrew in a place from which tomfoolery should of all others be studiously kept out. A court is not a theatre for the exhibition of the gay side of human nature and its business requires that kind of solemnity which prevails in a church or a temple.

It is commonly said that manners make the man. It is true of man in general, it is pre-eminently true of the magistrate. Good manners in a judge are a great qualification, so that a judge who is wanting in them must be considered to have a sad failing. Lord Coke with all his brilliant acquirements could not keep his temper under check and control. He not unoften proved rough and uncourteous and lost much of the esteem to which he was entitled for his learning and deep erudition. And yet urbanity is not inconsistent with law-learning. Chief Justice Crewe might be adduced as an instance in point. To learning hardly inferior to that of Coke and to equal independence he added, as Lord Campbell said, what Coke wanted so much—patience in hearing, evenness of temper, and kindness of heart. Courtesy costs nothing, it is much to be regretted that some men do not try to

the credit of a very valuable accomplishment without having to pay a doit for it. Lord Kenyon's bad temper was a great defect in him, and were it not that he possessed strong common sense and often did substantial justice, his name would have come down to posterity with that of Popham* whose shabby treatment of that really great and valiant man, Sir Walter Raleigh, shows what despicable stuff he was made of. Lord Mansfield was the very reverse of Lord Kenyon in point of manners. Indeed, he was a pattern of politeness. Instances are certainly very few of his temper having been ruffled while discharging the onerous duties of his high office. It would seem that he had made Socrates his prototype and would rather be offended than offending. Dr. Johnson with all his deep hatred of the Scottish nation, had a special regard for Mansfield, and, what is stranger still, bracketted him with "the greatest lawyer of antiquity," as Mansfield himself has described his great exemplar. But the resemblance is not confined to the fact of both having been well versed in law; it extends to similarity of manners. The Athenian sage on being told by one of the passers-by that he was being ridiculed by the Sophist said that *he himself* was not ridiculed. But of all English judges none equalled Justice Graham in politeness. In fact, he was the politest judge that ever adorned the bench. The late Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir William Comer Petheram, was a perfect gentleman, and however people might differ regarding his ability as a judge, all would, it is hoped, agree in giving him credit for mildness and affability. If he ever lost temper on the bench,—a thing very rare indeed,—he knew where to find it again. In fact, his politeness has done him yeoman service and has earned for him such high honour as has never been shown to any of his predecessors in office. Sir Barnes Peacock was a very able and learned judge, so much so that India has not seen his equal up to this time. Even he was not so honoured on the eve of his departure from this country as Sir Comer has been. As for the late Mr. Justice Norris, he was the very reverse of his Chief. His manners were not at all becoming to a gentleman. Justice Leblanc was not more disliked by the English bar than Justice Norris was by the Indian. No vakil or barrister, if he could help it, would appear before him. His retirement, though under very painful circumstances, has been an agreeable relief to the bar, if not also to the bench, for we know as a fact that some of his colleagues could not at all pull well with him. Judges should know that they have certain duties to perform in regard to the gentlemen who practice before them. The latter are all honourable men,

* He was called the "hanging judge" for his extreme severity.

and it is only fair and just that they should receive an honourable treatment. Indeed, the bar and the bench should be respectful to each other; and surely there is no better means of preserving the dignity of the court. But unfortunately for the profession some judges fail to recognise this fact, or, admitting its correctness, do not choose to act up to it.

A near kin to evenness of temper is kindness of heart. Kindness like courtesy costs nothing, and if a judge could be kind without being unjust or partial, we see no reason why he should not be so. A judge, however, need not be benevolent like Sir Julius Cæsar, who, while presiding at the Admiralty Court, used to relieve the poor suitors so very liberally as almost to impoverish himself. This is going to the extreme of kindness. It is not expected of a judge that he shall relieve needy suitors out of his own pocket; all that is required of him is to show kindness consistent with the dignity of his position. Chief Justice Crewe was a very kind judge, and yet the bitterest of his enemies could not say that his kind disposition interfered with the due discharge of his judicial functions. A cruel judge may inspire fear and dread into the minds of the court-going public, but he can never expect to win their love. Mere rudeness, however, is not cruelty, and one may be rude without being in the least cruel. Dr. Johnson was a blunt unmannerly fellow in outward department, but his heart was one of the purest and best that mortals ever possessed. Lord Coke was very uncourtly in his manners, but cruelty he condemned in the strongest terms. It was said of him, which, alas, could be said of very few human beings, that he "never gave his body to physic, nor his heart to cruelty, nor his hand to corruption."

Above all, a judge should have a strong love for his duties. However able and learned a man may be, if he has not his heart at his work, he cannot do it properly. Now, what is true of workers in general is pre-eminently true of the grave worker on the judgment seat. Love of work is absolutely necessary for the due performance thereof. This love was conspicuous in Lord Mansfield. In fact, his ruling passion was ardent love of judicial duties. In view of this peculiar trait in his character he is very properly placed by the side of two of the greatest men of modern times—Grötius, the great Jurist, and D'Aguesiau, the great statesman. Lord Eldon, it is true, was charged with dilatoriness. But his doubting habit was not the result of any defect in his mental powers,—it arose from a very strong desire to do "even-handed justice." Sir Samuel Romilly very truly

said,—“If Lord Eldon has a fault, it is an over-anxiety to do justice.” This ‘over-anxiety,’ as it was called, was owing to his having passionately loved the duties of his office. Mansfield’s love of judicial duties was not less passionate. Indeed, love is a very great power, and its sway is almost universal. Love rules not only “the camp, the court and the grove,” it also rules the closet and the forum. No one can become great without having love of some kind. Love for work should not be less passionate than love for women. What is usually called dilatoriness is certainly a fault, but proper and reasonable delay in deciding difficult and intricate cases is not to be confounded with it. A judge, as has already been remarked, should take time to come to a just conclusion. He should not, like the Duke of Newcastle in *Humphrey Clinker*, be led away by impatience or haste. His motto should be ‘*festina lente*.’ Bacon speaks of a “wise man” (probably referring to Sir Amyas Paulet, Queen Elizabeth’s ambassador in France), who, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, used to say, “*stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner*.” Sir John Leach, who was the Master of the Rolls while Lord Eldon was the Chief of the Chancery Court, got through business in a reckless slashing way. The modes in which these two judges discharged their respective functions were so diametrically opposed to each other that the Rolls Court used to be humourously called by the lawyers the Court of *Terminer sans oyer*, and the Chancery Court, the Court of *Oyer sans terminer*. Unfortunately for Bengal such instances have not been rare in our High Court.

All the above qualifications would go for nothing, if they be accompanied by corruption.* What ulcer is to the body, covetousness is to the judicial office. Jethro says that a judge should hate covetousness. No sager advice could be given. Covetousness leads to bribery, and bribery leads to perversion of justice. Thus, it lies at the very root of all injustice. Sir Matthew Hale truly says,—“It is a great dishonour as a man can be capable of, to be hired for a little money, to speak or act against his conscience.” To take bribes † and pervert justice is, as Latimer says, “*scala inferni*—the right way to hell.” But covetousness should not be confounded with avarice which may be perfectly harmless. Avarice was Lord Hardwicke’s ruling passion, but he never soiled his hands with Saint James’ golden grease. Indeed, though for his avarice

* “With the name of judge,” eloquently observes Mr. H. W. Beecher, “are associated ideas of immaculate purity” sober piety, and fearless favourless justice.” Lecture on Gamblers and Gambling.

† Demosthenes, the Prince of Greek Orators, was banished for bribery, and Seneca, the Prince of Roman Moralists, for divers corruptions.

he was nicknamed "Judge Gripus," there was not one single syllable uttered against his integrity—that "peculiar portion and proper virtue" of a judge. As for his success in his official career it was simply marvellous. During his twenty years' occupation of the Chancellor's Chair, only three of his decisions were appealed against, and they too were confirmed by the House of Lords. Lord Kenyon's avarice also amounted to a fault, so much so that he was called the legal sloven. Surely, a judge must sit in court in proper dress, else the robes of the judge and the crown of the king would be meaningless. The dress of Lord Kenyon would have disgraced a copying clerk. But his moral character was never assailed, nay, not even a mere suspicion was breathed against it. Indeed, those days are gone when justice used to be bought and sold like ordinary merchandise. Not only in modern but also in ancient times was judicial delinquency rampant, and punishment for it too was extremely severe. The Persian Monarch, Cambyses, caused a gift-taking judge to be flayed alive, and his skin to be laid on the judgment seat as a warning to future judges. Alfred the Great ordered forty-four justices in one year to be hanged as murderers for their false judgments. Judicial corruption attained a very considerable height in the reign of Edward I. The corruptions practised by Empson and Dudley, in the reign of Henry VII, are well-known. These rapacious judges, as Bacon said, "preyed like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves." But Bacon, though he blamed these notorious judges for gross malpractices, could not himself keep his hand clean from the prevailing vice of the times. He was convicted on his own confession and was imprisoned in the Tower for some time. Although he was by all accounts one of the greatest of great men in point of ability, wisdom and scholarship, Pope did not hesitate to condemn him as "the meanest of mankind." But times are altered, and judges both in England and India are, as a rule, above the vice of covetousness, and one may without hyperbole, say with old Dr. Parr that bribery is as little known to the bench as parricide is said to have been to the Ancient Greeks. This is as it should be. If the fountain of justice is polluted, how can you expect to get justice pure and undefiled. The judge should not only be free from corruption, but, like Cæsar's wife, be above suspicion. The moral atmosphere of the Indian Courts is happily changed for the better, and if the intellectual portion of them were equally improved, they would be actually what they are in theory, namely, palladium of justice.

A judge must not aim at playing the rôle of a politician. Indeed, no two characters are more unlike one another. A judge should not mix in political affairs.

Although his dealings are with men, he must not try to be what in common parlance is called a public character. He should stick to his own duties, and not interfere with those of the statesman. The two characters being essentially different, if it be attempted to bring them into union, the result would not be agreeable, if not positively repulsive. Basil Montague, speaking of the irreconcilable character of the judge and the politician says, "the judge unbending as the oak, the politician pliant as an Osier; the judge, of a retired nature and unconnected with politics, firm and constant, the same to all men,—the politician ever varying." A far greater man than Montague has also spoken in the same strain. Burke says, "the judges are, or ought to be, of a reserved and retired character, and wholly unconnected with the political world." Thus it is clear that the union of the character of judge and politician is not at all desirable; and it is upon this principle that when a gentleman is raised to the bench, he cuts all his political connection with Government if he happens to have any at the time. If our memory errs not, when Mr. Chandra Madhub Ghose was made a puisne judge of the High Court, he resigned his seat in the Bengal Council. The present Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Francis William Maclean, resigned his seat in Parliament and with it all his connection with the world of politics, when in 1891 he was appointed to the office of a Master in Lunacy. There may be another reason why such a course should be adopted, and that is the undesirability of the union of the offices of the judge and the legislator. The man who makes the law must not also be the person to declare it. In that case improvements in law would be few and far between. On a similar principle the judicial and the executive functions should not be allowed to be exercised by one and the same individual.

A judge, it is true, should not get into the troubled waters of politics; but there is nothing to prevent his taking part in such business of state as concerns any large portion of the community. Bacon very properly observes: "Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables,—*Salus Populi suprema lex*; and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious and oracles not well inspired. Therefore, it is a happy thing in a state, when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and the state; the one, where there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law: for many times the things reduced to judgment may be *meum* and

tuum, when the reasoned consequence thereof may trench to point of estate." Thus, it is highly desirable that the executive and the judicial should not clash with each other but act in concert and amity; and, accordingly, though a judge should not pose himself as a politician, he would be wanting in his duty if he did not take part in certain affairs of state which require for their due discharge his advice and help.

A judge may also take interest in the cause of education. Lord Brougham, while he presided over the Court of Chancery was President of several educational institutions, and we all know very well how ably and satisfactorily he discharged the functions of his high office, the highest of all judicial offices in England. In fact, educational matters are so very innocuous in their nature that any one from the highest to the lowest may well take part in them without doing any injury to his own proper calling. When the Calcutta University was established, Sir James Colville, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was appointed its first Vice-Chancellor. In our own day and only recently, Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, a puisne judge of the High Court, filled the same office for two years, and, be it said to his credit, filled it with honour, doing its duties in his usual quiet way. Sir Comer Petheram, the late Chief Justice, was also Vice-Chancellor for some time. And this was not his only connection with the education department, he was, if our information is correct, the President of the Bethune College. His worthy successor on the Bench is also successor to him in the Vice-Chancellor's Chair. Sir Barnes Peacock, however, was not openly connected with any educational institution; but there is no doubt that he had his warmest sympathy for such establishments. He was so engrossed with the matters which directly concerned him that he hardly found time to look to other matters which did not press upon him equally closely. Like Sir Matthew Hale and Lord Mansfield, Sir Barnes' ruling passion was intense love of judicial duties and he doted on it with all the fondness of an old father for his only child. In order to satisfy this strong desire he kept up regular study and used to read till late in the nights. His brilliant judgments are the best proofs of his general scholarship as well as of his peculiar knowledge of law. Surely, Sir Barnes was a model judge, and his name has become a household word in Bengal, we had almost said, in the whole of this vast Peninsula. He was a many-sided man; but the side which was prominently put forth before the public had reference to the high office which he held. Sir William Jones used to read both European and Indian classics, and it was said that not a year passed without his reading over Ferdusi's grand Epic. Indeed,

the *Shahnama* was his great favourite and he was so much in love with it that he had a mind to render it into English verse. Chief Justice Cockburn used to read Milton's *Paradise Lost* once in every year. Even Coke himself would now and then spend an hour or two with the Mantuan muse. We do not know if Sir Barnes had a special liking for any particular poem or author, but it is certain that he did not altogether leave off his study of polite literature.

A judge may take interest not only in the cause of education, he may also take part in some other matters which concern the general well-being of the community. He need not involve himself in purely social matters, but there is no harm in his joining any movement which may be set on foot for the amelioration of the morals and manners of the people at large. The country expects much from him, and it is his duty to do all he possibly can without any detriment to the due discharge of his judicial functions. Bacon warned the judges against hunting for popularity saying, "A popular judge is a deformed thing, and plaudits are fitter for players than magistrates." Mr. Justice Foster's condemnation of a popular judge is stronger still: he describes such a judge as "an odious and pernicious character." It is true, a judge should not hunt for popularity; but there can be no harm if popularity should come of its own accord as a necessary consequence of his satisfactory conduct on the bench. One may gain popularity without being a popularity-hunter. It is the hankering after it that is blamable and must be repressed. A judge should not be led away by a desire to excite admiration. Lord Mansfield was a very popular judge, and yet his bitterest enemy could not say that he ever hunted for it. His idea of popularity is quite noble and may be adopted by every judge with propriety. In fact, his words on the subject deserve to be inscribed in characters of gold and may be quoted here with advantage. He says, "I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means." But popular applause or vogue, as it is called, should not be confounded with popularity: the one is often blind and may be the result of party feelings, whereas the other springs from really good service done to the people. Popular applause may change with change in the circumstances, but popularity, properly so called, is lasting and defies time and change. Lord Mansfield is still held in great esteem, though he is dead nearly a century and a quarter. Indeed, popularity is owing to a man's work and is bound up with it, so that the one lasts as long as the other. The man may be dead, but his actions remain

which may be considered as permanent and lasting in their effects. Sir Barnes Peacock, than whom a better judge never adorned the Indian Bench, and probably never will, was deservedly popular and his popularity has long survived and is likely to last as long as law, justice and equity shall receive their due regard and honour. Indeed, his well-reasoned and well-written judgments are often quoted at the bar and approved of by the judges. The late Justice Dwarkanath Mitter was so much liked both by the profession and the public that efforts were generally made to get cases heard by the bench in which he sat. It seldom falls to the lot of a judge to gain the confidence of both parties. Such popularity, rare as it is, is highly commendable, and it is this kind of popularity to which the noble words of Lord Mansfield are applicable. There is nothing ignoble in the word itself; it is the difference in the mode by which it is attained that makes all the difference in its character.

The question as to how far the duty of a judge extends is not free from difficulty. His main duty is undoubtedly the determination of disputes between man and man. His decision may be substantially right, but his duty does not end there, he should give his reasons for such decision. Lord Mansfield's advice to a general about to act as a colonial judge was given under very peculiar circumstances. The man was not a trained lawyer, indeed, he was perfectly innocent of law; but he possessed good common sense. If his Lordship had had any hand in the matter of his appointment, he would most probably have refrained from giving his assent to it. But as the man had been already appointed, the advice which he gave was the best that could be given under the circumstances. In matters involving no intricate question of law, one possessing average common sense may decide rightly, but should he attempt to give reasons for his decision, it is ten to one he will fail to give the right reasons. Although his Lordship's advice is well-known, still it may be reproduced here without impropriety. His practically wise words were,—“decide according to your sense of justice, but never give your reasons; for your judgment will probably be right, but your reasons will certainly be wrong.” A judge should not deem his duty done by merely deciding to the best of his ability and knowledge,—he should go further and give reasons for his decision. In no case should a judge follow the example of Lord Eldon's Deputy, Sir John Leach, who was very fond of pronouncing judgment without assigning any reason other than what Shakespeare calls “a woman's reason.” In fact a judgment which does not contain reasons for it is no judgment at all. It is a naked thing which may satisfy the successful party, but cannot be agreeable to anybody else.

Unfortunately for the Bengal public, some of our High Court judges follow this bad practice in deciding second appeals. Lord Monboddo in his Essay on Lord Mansfield observes that it belongs to the office of a judge not only to determine controversies between man and man, but to satisfy the parties that they have got justice,* and thereby give ease and contentment to their minds, which the noble essayist holds to be one of the great uses of law. Similar remarks were made by the Court of Directors in their instructions to the gentlemen who were appointed to administer justice in India under the popular rule of the old “John Company” as the late East India Company was called in ordinary parlance. It is not enough for a judge to do bare justice, he must show to the parties and the public that justice has been done. This he can only do by taking evidence in full, hearing the parties or their pleaders, and passing judgments well supported by good and valid reasons.

Lastly, one who would be a good judge must tread in the footsteps of men who have distinguished themselves on the bench. In this connection many brilliant instances might be cited. We have already noticed some of them. They all deserve to be followed and a judge would do well to take them as models. As for Sir Matthew Hale we have only made a passing mention. He was really a very great judge and his high qualifications excited the admiration of two very eminent men—one a poet of no ordinary merit and the other a theologian of widespread celebrity. Their graphic descriptions of the famous judge, though they may have been quoted more than once, will not suffer by being quoted again. The excellent poet of the *Task* has thus described him:—

“Immortal Hale! for deep discernment praised
And sound integrity, not more than famed
For sanctity of manners undefiled.”

The pious author of “The Saint's Everlasting Rest” has still more highly eulogised him, and his eulogium does not in the least smack of the flatterer. Indeed, Baxter was incapable of flattering any mortal, and what he has recorded was the result of most deliberate conviction. He describes Sir Matthew Hale as “That unwearied student, that prudent man, that solid philosopher, that famous lawyer, that pillar and basis of justice (who would not have done an unjust act for any worldly price or motive)—the ornament of his Majesty's Government, and honour of England, the highest faculty of the soul of Westminster Hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable judges, that godly, serious, practical Christian, the lover of

* Speaking of the high repute in which Lord Chancellor Talbot's judgments were held, the poet of the *Seasons* says,

“And e'en the loser priz'd the just decree.”

goodness and all good men." Thus, we conclude this discourse with the wise and eloquent words of the illustrious English saint as we began it with the equally wise and eloquent words of the illustrious Roman orator.

OYEZ.

ART. VI.—BIRD MYTHOLOGY.

INTERESTING conclusions may be drawn from even a slight and casual study of bird mythology and of the beliefs and conceptions of ancient as well as modern paganism regarding the animal world. One circumstance that strikes us prominently in the course of such an enquiry is that almost all races in the lowest stages of moral and intellectual development have allowed to the animal world generally the possession of souls, the hopes of a future condition of existence, and, in some cases, actual superiority to man. Another lesson which we cannot fail to derive in the pursuit of our investigations is that such primitive beliefs and conceptions may resist with more or less success, the elevating and civilising influences of great religious systems such as Hinduism and Christianity. So far as the latter religion is concerned we have a vast amount of evidence showing that its introduction into Europe has, in many places, and in many respects, made scarcely any impression on the mythology which it sought and had to replace. At the same time, there is also a wealth of evidence to show that it has surely and certainly succeeded to a considerable extent in effectually dispelling the mists of pagan superstition, and in bringing about, with the aid of progressive science and of rationalism, a remarkable and wholesome change of thought in respect of olden-time conceptions of the animal world and natural phenomena generally. Pursuing our investigation further afield, we find also that, for all the spread and increase of that kind of knowledge which is fatally antagonistic to the philosophy of the infant world, another peculiar result of the operations of rationalism, higher religion, and progressive science, has been merely to change the form and semblance of mythical beliefs, without destroying their grotesqueness, their glaring improbability and their opposition to the very ethics and fundamental principles of a religion which, at least in these latter years, has successfully been proved to possess no single characteristic that is not in harmony with the creed of science, so far as science, notwithstanding the famous dictum of Mr. Huxley, can be said to possess a creed. Thus, in many parts of Europe, they still cling to the picturesque superstition that the robin owes his red breast either to the thorn which he extracted from the Crown of Christ, or to his daily visits to hell to extinguish the flames by casting drops of water upon them; and in Bohemia, it is still seriously believed that the mark on the beak of the crossbill was left there as a

result of the bird's kindly yet fruitless endeavours to extract the nails which pierced the hands of the Crucified Saviour. Thus again, the magpie still continues to be a thing of evil in the eyes of the people of Scotland, for they say that it was heartless and insolent at the Crucifixion, on which solemn and mournful occasion it happened to be present along with the robin. Until then, it was a beautiful bird with a melodious voice, while the robin was a plain-featured, unattractive little creature. For its wickedness, the magpie was deprived for ever of its beauty and its voice,* while the kind robin was transformed into a thing of loveliness and an enduring joy. Against these instances of Christianity being unconsciously instrumental in giving an exaggerated touch to myths that may have come down from purely pagan times, we have the fact that Christian influence on pagan mythology has lowered the cat and the serpent to a place of evil. We say so because it will be remembered that the ancient Scandinavians reckoned the cat sufficiently worthy to draw the chariot of Freja, and the serpent as deserving of the worship of humans. Again, as illustrating our point that the lower animals were at one time credited with the possession of souls, we may, with a certain amount of consistency, cite the pretty South Indian legend which accounts for the existence of the beautiful Brahmini duck. It is said that a pair of lovers, for some sin or other, were suddenly transformed into a pair of these ducks, and now spend their nights on the opposite banks of a stream, calling plaintively across the water to one another:—"Chakwi, may I come?" "No, Chakwa." "Chakwa, may I come?" "No, Chakwi." Of course, it would be an impossibility to trace the origin of myths like these, which have come down to us from the hoary times when the children of men had not yet studied and cultivated the art of recording and chronicling events, nor are we in a position to do more than generalise vaguely as to the manner in which most of these myths travelled far and wide from the scenes amidst which they sprang into existence. Nevertheless, it is deeply interesting to stumble upon parallel legends like these in localities far remote, and peopled now by different races with differing systems of religion and philosophy. Hence, it is of interest to note that a superstition similar to that of the duck prevails in Albania with regard to the cuckoo. The fabric that clothes the Albanian conceit is of different texture and substance, but the conceit is practically identical with the Indian. There were once two brothers and a sister, so runs the story, and the latter accidentally killed one of the former by piercing him to the heart with her scissors. She and the surviving brother grieved so long and passionately

* The Australian Magpie has an exceedingly sweet note.—Ed., C. R.

that they were turned into cuckoos. The brother cries out to the lost one by night, *gjon, gjon*, and she by day, *kuku, kuku*, which means, "where are you?" These legends have a further interest in that they furnish us with examples of the metamorphosis of pagan superstition, for in Slavonic mythology, the god Zywiec used to change himself into a cuckoo, in order to announce to mortals the number of years they had to live. We might also cite other resemblant myths and superstitions that occur in countries widely separated from one another. In Southern India, for instance, the hornbill is believed to have been a cowherd before its transformation by Vishnu as an everlasting punishment for cruelly refusing a drink of water to the sacred cow when she was thirsty. In the transformation, a beak was provided for the bird that would enable it to quench its thirst only by looking up whenever it rained. Now, the French legend of the woodpecker is something of a piece with this quaint Indian myth, with the difference that it goes a step further and associates the woodpecker with the creation of the terrestrial world. The legend goes that when the seas and lakes and rivers were being formed out of chaos, to all birds was allotted the task of making the reservoirs into which the waters of the earth were to flow. The woodpecker alone refused to join in the great irrigation project, and for his lazy and mutinous conduct he was condemned to dig the wood of trees for ever with his bill. He was further condemned (and here is the chief point of resemblance between the French and Indian legends) to drink only of the water of heaven, and this explains why his head is so constantly turned upwards. We have already said that, in many cases, Christianity has only altered the form and character of pagan superstitions without destroying them. There are Christian countries in which the cock is held in abhorrence, doubtless because it (innocently) figures in the account of the Trial of Christ. It is, hence, worthy of note that in many pagan countries, so far from being considered a bird of ill omen, the cock has actually been looked upon as possessing a degree of sanctity. In Persia, for example, the life of Chanticleer was held sacred, while the ancient Greeks regarded the killing of a cock as equivalent in iniquity to the killing of a father by suffocation. Turning, however, to Hindu mythology, we have a legend that does not show off the cock in a very favourable light. Indra assumed the form of this bird and crowed one day at 2 A.M. in order to make Gautama believe that it was time for his morning bath. The object of the deceit was to enable Indra to visit Ahalia, of whom he was enamoured. Gautama went to bathe, but finding that the hour was yet too early, he returned unexpectedly and discovered the treachery of Indra, whom he

forthwith cursed, saying that Indra should thenceforth have a thousand cocks all over his body. Eventually, this curse was revoked and a thousand eyes were substituted for the same number of birds. Down to the present day, in parts of India, great store is set by a black hen, it being considered lucky as well as of high medicinal value. Very different though is the case in the Tyrol, where they will not let a black hen live for seven years, for fear that at that period she may lay an egg out of which may issue a terrible dragon destined to live a hundred years. The dove and the pigeon have in nearly all times and countries been held in the greatest veneration, and so far as the pigeon is concerned, it is reasonable to conclude that the belief in the sacred character of the bird is only a survival of the ancient mythology of the Aryans, and who can say that it was not this very belief that crossed the seas and travelled to the Andamans, the people of which region have always maintained that the pigeon, the parrot, the crow and certain other birds were human beings before their transformation, for some reason or other into their present state. This belief naturally reminds us of the Hindu idea that the spirits of dead ancestors enter the bodies of crows, and we come, by a slight mental effort, to remember that this belief of human souls entering the bodies of lower animals is one of the commonest in pagan mythology all the world over. A certain Californian tribe, for instance, deemed it a heinous offence to kill deer on the ground that the spirits of departed Californians animated the bodies of deer. The objections of the early Britons to the destruction of hares may have been based, for aught we know, on a similar belief.

In the Hindu scriptures, a very high place is assigned to the parrot, Saraswati, the Minerva of the Hindu Pantheon, having assumed the form of this bird for the purpose of narrating the Puranas. In Andamanese mythology, the parrot is associated with a legend that ascribes to it a human origin. Why should the bird be thus the object of especial veneration in countries differing so widely with regard to religion and customs? Why, except because myths like these sprang from one source and underwent change of garb and colour in their accidental peregrinations. Mark, now, the striking similarity between another Andamanese legend relating to the kingfisher and the European legend regarding the wren. According to the Andamanese, after a great flood had extinguished all fire upon the earth, a deceased islander came as a kingfisher to the four human survivors of the flood and offered to help them. The kingfisher flew up to the sky and attempted to bring away on his back a burning log which he found beside one of the gods. The log accidentally

fell on the god, who, becoming exasperated, lifted it and hurled it at the daring intruder. It missed the latter, but fell to the earth near the very spot where the four shivering survivors of the flood were seated bemoaning their fate. The European legend is to the effect that the wren flew to heaven to fetch down fire for the use of mortals and accidentally had his tail feathers burnt. We shall never get to know how these various myths about the lower animals originated, though we may generalise broadly as to the manner in which they travelled from one part of the world to another. As an eminent writer says, "they have passed from mouth to mouth, they have rooted themselves here and there, like winged seeds finding a resting place in different soils, and there shooting up, as if of native growth, and defying every attempt to ascertain their exact origin." We should not, however, look down scornfully from the heights of modern civilisation upon these myths and fancies of inferior races; nor are we justified in characterising them as a medley of nonsense. Superstition is after all but the search for truth amidst ignorance, and we have been reminded by a high authority that our own modern institutions also are not the product of spontaneous generation. Elie Reclus says with much truth and force that "there is a lesson to be learnt, if we take the pains to look for it, in these errors through which the human race has passed, these illusions which it has left behind. They are no mere anomalies, sports of chance launched forth into empty space; they have been produced by natural causes, in natural, and we may say, logical order They were a result of the disproportion between the immensity of the world and the insignificance of our personality, and they gave evidence of persevering effort, they betokened the evolution of our organism and its adaptation to its surroundings, an adaptation which is always imperfect, always being improved."

R. R. P.

ART. VII.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from April 1901, No. 224.)

CHAPTER IX.

1891.

THE year witnessed no very important events; save that the two romantic personages whose names had been so long in men's mouths died, within a few weeks of each other. General Boulanger and his friend Mme. de Bonnemain left Jersey and went to Brussels; where the lady, presently dying, was buried in the rural cemetery of Ixelles, a suburb to the N. E. of that city. The General, by this time, had lost his means of action, perhaps even of subsistence, but he laid a stone over his friend's remains with an inscription asking, How he could live without her? And on the 30th of September he walked up to the grave-side and there shot himself through the head. During the summer Mr. C. S. Parnell married a lady whose husband had divorced her on his account; and on the 6th October he died at Brighton. Lord Salisbury continued in Office during the year, somewhat relieved of the stress of Irish politics by the dissensions which had arisen among the members of the Nationalist party, which Parnell's death had done nothing to appease.

For my own humble part, the year opened with a certain amount of unexciting occupation; a little mild wintry light upon the path, with plenty of cloud in the distance. I continued to live at Norwood, where some pleasant acquaintances were made from time to time.

January, Friday, 19th.—Read the November Nos. of *Revue des deux Mondes*, containing an interesting article, on "Pascal's Wager," by the poet Sully Prudhomme. Pascal says we must have a bet on the subject of God's existence, whether we desire it or not; for not to bet that He exists is to bet that He does not: (which Voltaire denies). M. Sully Prudhomme does not appear to think that we have much option; but as to the presence of evil in the world, will not allow that it is an argument against the power or goodness of the Deity. It may be the divine law that we, by suffering, or self-denial, should enhance the value of our race. In which case there is still room for responsibility; and the man who loves, or who yields to, moral evil must be held blameworthy for descending where he ought to rise and so retarding the Great Purpose. There seems, however, still a difficulty, namely, to see how

the Divinity can be frustrated or helped by such creatures as we are.¹

Monday, 12th.—Reading Voltaire's *Louis XIV.* It is a model of lucidity, somewhat disturbed by flaws of ill-temper against La Beaumelle. This contemporary Zöilus had criticised the author's *Henriade* without much knowledge or power; but he was, probably, not worth powder and shot otherwise the thinking in *Louis XIV* is so passionless that one feels the apparently effortless style to be a carefully-prepared and most appropriate vehicle. It is also noticeable for an urbane impartiality, the merits of the British, whether as soldiers or as statesmen, receive just recognition; only a little note of Chauvinism is heard, in such moments as when the reader is reminded that Lord Galway was a Frenchman. We need not grudge this; after all Galway was beaten at Almanza; and the French army that beat him was commanded by an Englishman.*

Thursday, 15th.—*Revue* again: article by Brunetière, very ingeniously defending the Pessimism of Schopenhauer, who—according to the French critic—is misrepresented by people who have never read his writings. M. Brunetière argues that Schopenhauer is no supporter of suicide, or even of quietism; his meaning is, by inductive reasoning, to recommend that contempt of the world which Religion teaches on *à priori* grounds. Once get the idea of renunciation as an object of attraction for the Will, and death will cease to be a bugbear and will become a desired refuge. In abjuring the passion for existence we part with the motives of selfishness and learn to live for humanity. The most orthodox can accept this, seeing that the divine protection is much more plainly visible in the affairs of the race than in those of the individual. This will not lead to apathy but may dispose us rather to make use of our day for the general welfare, "*Travailler, sans raisonner, c'est le seul moyen de rendre la vie supportable.*" (*Oandide*.) This is in complete accordance with Christian teaching.

Saturday, 17th.—Turned some Quatrains from Persian, but all in vain. Fitz was a Traitor, but such a splendid one that faithful followers have no chance.†

¹ "The Divinity" can never be "frustrated." But He ordains that we should "help" Him, and be, as the Apostle says, "*co-workers* with God." Surely our dear ancient friend is "Empty" indeed when he does not know this; or depreciates the nobility and dignity of the "sons of God" (St. John) by referring in the terms "such creatures as we are." We are very noble creatures.—ED., C. R.

* The Commander-in-Chief of the French Army was James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, Uncle of the Great Marlborough.

† My Quatrains appeared in various periodicals.

Monday, 19th.—Went to Hereford: a long cold journey.

Tuesday, 20th.—Dr. C., the Local Secretary, explained some of the Brecon mystery. It seemed that a Miss E. there—who had heard me lecture at Oxford—had strongly advised my not being sent to Brecon; but the Committee at Oxford were rather surprised, sent me in spite of all, and wrote enquiries to other folks there by whom they were informed that the Lecture I had given at Brecon had been only in fault by reason of being over the heads of some of the audience; and there it may rest. I began my course on Indian History this evening to a most attentive and indulgent room, though not so well-filled as it might have been with a subject of wider interest.

Wednesday, 21st.—The ice broke on the Wye; and came down very swiftly, in great floating masses. The river fell three feet in six hours.

Friday, 23rd.—To Ludlow, a place of singular interest. Called on Mr. C. Forty, whom I found in the Museum, and who was kind enough to take me over the Castle, where Catherine of Aragon was married to the short-lived Prince Arthur, where *Comus* was acted in the banquet-hall, and where S. Butler wrote "*Hudibras*." Also saw the fine cruciform Church, then in process of moderate and judicious restoration. In the grand old pargetted inn ("The Feathers") is the council-room with the Royal Arms (temp. Jac. I.) and other carving.

Saturday, 24th.—To Belmont, where I saw the Benedictine Priory, and a fine Church built—mainly by Mr. Wegg-Prosser—within the last half-century. The Prior, a very cultured and agreeable man, told some anecdotes of the first Catholic Bishop, who used to relate that when he founded the settlement the neighbouring Welsh were only nominal Christians, who had preserved some Roman customs, received by tradition from their fathers.

Sunday, 25th.—Service in Cathedral. Part of Haydn's "Creation" given as Anthem in the evening.

February, Tuesday, 3rd.—To Hereford again. Dr. Chapman my host; a very cultured man.

Sunday, 8th.—Mendelssohn at Cathedral, and dull sermon by the Bishop.

Monday, 9th.—Mr. Duncombe showed me the Cathedral Library: chained Bible and other rare MSS., printed books of the 15th century; and the famous *Mappa Mundi*.* In the evening a Lecture on the Crusades by a Non-Conformist Minis-

* Medieval Map of the World, by Richard de Bello, Prebendary of Lincoln (1283). Was translated to Hereford where he died, 1305.

ter who spoke loudly and fluently, but did not seem to have reflected much. That, I suppose, is the Nemesis of eloquence?

Tuesday, 10th.—Was shown over Mr. Godwin's Pottery at Lugwardine; a marvellous mass of building and machinery, with great ingenuity and management, and lovely results in tileing, both encaustic and surface-painted. Audience at night much as usual: the same people every time, but no increase.

Tuesday, 17th.—Back at Hereford, in fine weather: lectured at night. Was hospitably received by H. C. M.

Thursday, 19th.—Read a new book about the Civil War (Cordery and Philpotts, "*King and Commonwealth*"). The authors—for some not obvious reason—exaggerate the backwardness of the time: saying, for example, that country-gentlemen's daughters were unlettered and could not do anything but cook: they can hardly have read Dorothy Osborn's *Letters*. They seem also wrong in saying that all houses in towns were built of wood. Cromwell's house is still to be seen at Huntingdon; and what do they say to the "Feathers" at Ludlow? one fails to understand such overstatement.

Saturday, 21st.—Invited to lecture at Oxford in August: the choice of subject left to oneself. I suppose something Indian will be expected: we have all to be specialists in these days.

Tuesday, 24th.—To Hereford: guest of Mr. Humfrys, a local antiquary, who lives en garçon in a handsome old house. Lecture went fairly. Dr. C. came and spent the evening.

Thursday, 26th.—Read "Acte" by A. Dumas (père) a clever manufactured article in the manner of our Lytton's "*Pompeii*," with more go. The character of Nero is hardly made out: he was probably insane.

March, Tuesday, 3rd.—Last Hereford visit: was Dr. C.'s guest.

Thursday, 5th.—Went with C. to Leominster and saw the very curious old double Church, one aisle being Norman, the other, a later addition partly Decorated and partly Perpendicular. Visited a family who lived near in an old house, like an Italian *Broletto*, which had been moved bodily from the town. Walking thither before leaving saw an old Almshouse with a strange device over the entry—a naked man (carved in wood apparently) with a cocked hat on his head and an axe in his hand. This was the legend:—

"To give away your goods before you are dead—
Let 'em take this axe and chop off his head."

Friday, 6th.—Lectured for the "Debating Society" before friendly audience: subject, "The Indian Mutiny."

Sunday, 8th.—A pleasant day at Ludlow with Dr. Gilkes, brother of the popular head of Dulwich. Snow at night.

Monday, 9th.—Visited Gloucester Cathedral: no Norman work like that at Hereford, but a larger and—on the whole—a grander Church, with crypt and fine triforium. The general effect very rich, especially the transition-work and fan-traceries in cloisters: Lady Chapel and Chapter-House of evident antiquity: tombs of Robert Curthose and Edward II. The whole thing illustrates several most impressive chapters of history. Still earlier remains to be seen in the city: for example behind the shop of Mr. John Bellows, the famous Quaker bookseller, a piece of the wall that once defended the Roman glevum where are bricks bearing masons' marks coeval with some in Herod's wall at Jerusalem.*

Tuesday, 10th.—Final lecture. Cold very severe, snow falling.

Wednesday, 11th.—Got home, snow lying deep: many accounts of trains being blocked; but the Great Western was clear.

Thursday, 12th.—Afternoon at Savile, where A. lunched with me, and we played billiards, marked by Rudyard Kipling—a waste of power surely. Thence to House of Commons to hear a debate sustained by Harcourt, Labouchere, Gladstone, and A. Balfour—the last not the best, as we thought. In the evening to S. Philip's, where I lectured, on the Mutiny, etc., to an attentive Whitechapel audience; with transparencies.

Monday, 16th.—Thinking of a Magazine article on "Conflicts of Experience;" have been puzzled by the repeated assertion of man's ingratitude to departed merit†. Thus Antony says (in "Julius Cæsar"): "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones:" and, elsewhere, even more strongly:—"Men's evil manners live in brass their virtues we write in water." The inscriptions on a thousand monuments are a testimony that this is not so. Let a man be ever so disagreeable during his lifetime, his family and friends will find nothing but good to record in his epitaph—at least such was usual in Shakespeare's day and much later. And Horace, dealing with a more deserving class, tells us that real merit is hated while it prospers, and deeply regretted when taken away.

Wednesday, 18th.—Read "Evan Harrington," an easy book for Meredithian beginners. It is impossible as a story of events, and the conclusion does not seem artistic. But what a capital "Clown" Raikes made; and surely the Countess is one of the firmest pictures in English fiction. To few novelists

* John Bellows (he disdains the "Mr.") is well known for his excellent *French Dictionary*; and is immortalised in the "Hundred Days" of the late O. W. Holmes.

† The paper appeared "in Macmillan's Magazine."

indeed has it been given to read female characters and present it in their books; but G. M.'s are frequently convincing.

Saturday, 21st.—Dined with A. at his Club, and thence to the Garrick Theatre to see Pinero's new piece "Lady Bountiful." Too literary, perhaps, to be quite dramatic, which latter art requires that something should be *done*. But it is full of subtle touches and the writing excellent.

Thursday, 26th.—A snowstorm. The winter may now be said to have lasted five months already.

Tuesday, 31st.—Read a somewhat capricious selection of English prose ("Mandeville to Macaulay"). The editor evidently regards the English version of "Mandeville's Travels" as an original work of the time of Chaucer. He gives no sample of Bolingbroke and only one—short and unimportant—from Burke.

April, Thursday, 2nd.—Lectured at Dulwich College. [This, by-the-bye, is a misnomer: the real College is where the old men are, and the pictures. It is one of the vulgarities of our time to think you make a school of more importance if you call it a "College:" the cases of Harrow and Rugby might teach us better.]

Wednesday.—Lunch at Athenæum, thence to Savile where I had a long talk with Rudyard Kipling, who promised to lend me what must be a strange book on the Campaign of 1761, and the famous Battle of Paniput between Afghans and Mahrattas.

Sunday, 9th.—Wonderful show of good-looking people at Church-Parade in the Park. Lunched at Sir W. Morgan's, and thence to the Savile, where a pleasant afternoon. Finished at Miss L.'s in S. Kensington, where I had my fortune told by an amateur Palmist to whom I was a total stranger: she talked nonsense.

Monday, 20th.—Cold dry weather continues. Returned "Lalan the Bairagin" to Kipling, having read it with a great interest. It appears to have been written by an Ex-Officer who left the Bombay Army and became a Mahomedan.

Friday, 24th.—Left off overcoat for the first time.

Tuesday.—At Athenæum: had some talk about French Literature with Calderon and Du Maurier, who are both as much French as English. Jerningham, too: you may find cases of the kind in Jersey—minus the genius—but you would not easily find in a London room another Triad of Englishmen who are so completely saturated with all that is good in the culture of France.

May, Saturday, 9th.—Sent "Sketches in Indian Ink" to Messrs. Macmillans, introduced by Kipling.

Weather becomes warmer.

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Wednesday, 13th.—Considerable heat. The Almonds, which had blossomed late, have already shed their petals. Influenza very infectious—especially among politicians.

Friday, 15th.—Invited to Clodd's at Aldeburgh; travelled with William Simpson, the Artist; met Grant Allen and the Rev. D. Morris at Saxmundham.*

Saturday, 16th.—The heat is gone, for the present the day turned wet and windy. Mr. Holman Hunt came at night,† one of the most interesting of artists and of men. After dinner, as we sat round the fire, he told us the romance of his life.

Tuesday, 19th.—We all left Aldeburgh at noon, and parted at Liverpool Street in due course, agreeing that we had passed a pleasant time.

Saturday, 23rd.—Clodd, Besant, Hardy, Kipling, and Grant Allen at Savile this afternoon: very pleasant.

June, Sunday, 7th.—Invited to join the Committee of the Local Literary Society, of which I have hitherto been an outside and *fainéant* member. These Suburban attempts at culture are, I believe, becoming general, and cannot fail to be useful in getting good lecturers to come down whom many would be otherwise unable to hear.

Monday, 8th.—A dull day, with cold showers and a strike of omnibus men. Advised to send notice to Allen and Co., dissolving connection as to books.

Wednesday, 10th.—Wrote to Messrs. Allen and Co. according to advice.‡

Tuesday, 16th.—In the evening took some young folks to the Palace, where we listened to a rehearsal of the approaching Handel festival, in which Mr. Eyre played on the organ with his wonted skill. Manns appeared dissatisfied with some of the stringed instruments; slating the performers roundly and himself singing some of the music as an indication of the time he wished them to take. It is evident that he has that part of genius that consists in taking pains, in addition to the more essential elements of success. There were some girls (I beg their pardon, "young ladies") amongst the fiddlers.

Sir J. Gorst made a bold speech last night about the disaster at Manipore; speaking of the Indian Government he said

* Mr. Simpson has been already mentioned. Morris was a School Master who, having been an authority on *Pali* turned to Ancient English Scholarship. Both he and Simpson have since died; as also Allen.

† W. Holman Hunt, the celebrated Painter, once a member of the P. R. B., and intimately associated with the late Dante Rossetti in their younger days.

‡ They have since parted with the remainder—stock, which is—I am told—quite lawful: an intricate case.

that it always "hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity" which drew a laugh from his hearers in Parliament but—if true—seems a matter, rather, for serious reflection.

Friday, 19th.—Another Handel rehearsal; quite right at last: many people came to hear it from the West End.

Monday, 22nd.—Grand performance at Palace. Over 3,000 voices in chorus; house densely crowded.

Wednesday, 24th.—By invitation of Mr. W. S. Caine to see some Indian water-colour pictures at a Hall in Piccadilly; beautiful effects of sunshine but the drawing a little unequal. Mr. Caine* a courteous host: some of his own sketches exhibited, but the bulk of the work was by Mr. Allan of Glasgow.† A number of distinguished people present.

Sunday, 28th.—A bright, breezy day. Took A. to the Holman Hunts' at Fulham, a charming old house with large walled garden, in which a pleasant party was collected. The host related an incident illustrative of the American reverence for a name. At the time when he had a studio at Jerusalem he was visited by the officers of a Yankee vessel, to whom he showed the studies on which he was engaged, but found but little interest in Art evinced. After a decorous interval the visitors took leave and filed out one by one, the skipper departing last, with the remark that "they could not think of leaving Jerusalem without having seen him." They had come all the way from Jaffa, and regarded H. H. as one of the standard shows of the Holy City.

Tuesday, 30th.—Wadham dinner at the Holborn Restaurant: an incoherent gathering of old and middle-aged men. Mr. Diggle in the chair. Dr. Jessopp spoke well, the Warden looked a bit bored.‡

July, Friday, 3rd.—Corney Grain recited at the Knightons': we thought him rather sarcastic but very amusing.§

Read some of Froude's "Elizabeth:" I like him better than on first perusal. But surely, for a professed stylist, the English is sometimes careless, e.g., "Mary knelt, and breathing faintly a commendation of her soul to Christ, the exe-

* CAINE, William Sproston, once M. P. and a Lord of the Admiralty, Author of "Picturesque India" and other works.

† ALLAN, Robert W., R. W. S., R. S. W.

‡ Diggle, J. R., M. A., P., at that time Chairman of the London School Board.

Jessopp, Rev. A., D. D., Author of "The Coming of the Friars," etc.

Thorley, G. E., M. A., Warden of Wadham.

§ W. Knighton, LL. D., Author of "Private Life of an Eastern King," etc. Mr. Grain, 1844-95, was head of the German Reid Company, a musical mimic.

cutioner with a single blow struck off her head." I have purposely forced the punctuation ; but in any case the grammatical construction implies that it was the executioner who commended the poor lady's soul, which is absurd. Again ;—"The Parliament had not yet completed their work ;" where it is really the Parliament's work, not "theirs" which is in question.

Saturday, 11th.—Went to see the German Emperor visit the Crystal Palace ; we had to wait till near 7 P.M., and then there was not much to see after all.

Tuesday, 14th.—Lunched at "the Rag" with Col. C. who then accompanied me to call on his namesake at Burlington House ; and afterwards to a house in Grosvenor St. where there was a professional Palmist, in a decorated cupboard : C. boldly entered, consulted, and came away mystified.

Thursday, 16th.—Authors' Society dined, Lord Monkswell in the chair : met Clodd, Mrs. Chandler Moulton, Sir John Stainer, Rider Haggard and others of my acquaintance. Sate by Mr. A. A. Beckett. Mr. Lincoln, the U. S. Ambassador, made a good speech, introducing the ever-interesting theme of identity of language : which, however, a Yankee present was half inclined to question : gentleman's speech was irresistibly droll, all the same.

Tuesday, 21st.—To Mrs. Moulton's : an interesting party, including Miss Ward, Mrs. Campbell Praed, M. Blouet ("Max O'Rell"), Mr. Theodore Watts, and Mr. Bentley, the publisher who kindly gave me a lift in his Brougham. The talk was not important, except a remark of Max O'Rell who gave me his opinion of London Society ; saying that the working men were not to his taste nor the lower middle class ; while the aristocracy seemed to him frivolous and not very well mannered. "But," he added, "you have a *savant* type, such as one meets at a place like the Athenæum, whose social charm and bearing are unequalled."

Saturday, 25th.—To Naval Exhibition ; Lighthouse in grounds, a good show of portraits, and of course models, etc., in profusion.

Reading Froude still. He makes Elizabeth a complicated character, but good on the whole ; Mary he makes out strong and simple ; and thoroughly *bad*.

Thursday, 30th.—Gave a little dinner in the upstairs room at

* A Beckett, Arthur William, journalist and author.
Lincoln, Hon. R. T., U. S. Minister at the Court of St. James, 1889-93, the title of "Ambassador," erroneously given above, was not recognised at the time.

Moulton, Louise Chandler, Poet and Writer of Children's Books. A native of Boston, Mass. who was then living in London.

the S. end of the Palace. Jerningham, Clodd, Hawkins and his clever son ; fireworks much hindered by weather.* J. has been kindly trying to have me appointed Secretary in the Mauritius, whither he is proceeding as Governor. His complete knowledge of French, with his great courtesy and ability, should advance him, there and elsewhere.

Weather improving towards middle of month.

August, Thursday, 20th.—Met Gen. Nairn at Senior U. S. Club. He said my son Alfred was sure of the next mountain-battery. [Thereby hangs a tale. The next M. B. was given to another Major R. A., and when my son enquired he was told that these appointments "always went by seniority." Another vacancy occurring soon after was given to one who was A.'s junior ! But he got his in the end.]

Friday, 21st.—To Oxford, putting up in College. Lectured at the Union (Debating Hall). Large and attentive audience ; many hearty bursts of applause ; spoke an hour-and-a-half ; subject—India, Causes and Consequences of Mutiny. Many of the audience remained after the conclusion, asking questions and showing unusual interest in the matter.

Tuesday, 25th.—A droll instance of want of tact in conversation, "things better not said." A retired General, with whom he had only spoken once before, was talking—as we all will—about his own concerns, and how he had entered the service in 1846. When it became my turn to speak I said "Ah ! then you are my senior." To which the gallant officer answered, "Really, well, no one could think so from your appearance." But then after a pause, "You see, *I never drank*."

Wednesday, 26th.—Sent Leitner a paper for his "Oriental Congress ;" subject—Sayad Ahmad.†

Thursday, 27th.—Read Ingram's *Life of Poe* : the author is not a literary expert ; but he seems to write in good faith ; and he makes out a good case for his wretched Hero : a wondrous being, almost too intelligent for the society in which his lot was cast. His artistic judgment was unerring, being founded on the same power of analytic reasoning which enabled him to solve at a glance the most secret cryptogram. And all the while condemned to the most depressing drudgery and by nature wanting in the sympathetic sanity which we find in most of the writers of very successful fiction. He resembles the school of swift in prevailing over men by strength rather than by love.

* JERNINGHAM, Sir Hubert, K.C.M.G., now Governor of Trinidad.
CLODD, E., already mentioned.

HAWKINS, Rev. E., and his son A., better known as "Antony Hope."

† Sayad Ahmad, Sir, K.C.S.I., the famous Muhamadan Reformer and founder of the College at Aligarh of which Cottar Morison's son is now Principal.

Saturday, 29th.—Finished F. Harrison's "Cromwell," a pleasant little study. Some of Oliver's work in Ireland admits of no palliation, and the author does well to glide over it. Few more shocking things than this of Drogheda;—"I believe all their friars were knocked on the head but two; the one of which was Father Peter, brother to the Lord Taaffe, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of." [*Cromwell to the Speaker*; Dublin, 17th September. 1649] Few greater atrocities could have been committed than this cold-blooded murder of non-combatants; yet here we have the Commander-in-Chief reporting it in an Official Despatch, among the exploits of the army of which he is proud. Turn to Carlyle—who gives the above in full—one cannot but fear that the great Anti-Canter was in his own person a victim of a kind of Cant. What could be answered to an ingenuous young reader who should ask—what does the writer mean by "the Eternities," or even by such customary words as "God" or "The Bible?" Does he believe that it was such ideas as these present, in their usual acceptance, that made the Puritans prevail? The *trust* felt by them may—indeed must—have given them strength, albeit they did not understand the ideas implied as Carlyle did, for one; or perhaps as any educated man does at the present day. But main source of their strength lay elsewhere in earnestness, vigilance, prudence, and so forth. Depend upon it, capacity would weigh more than orthodoxy when Cromwell was choosing an agent or high officer. Warren Hastings, say, or Lord Wellesley, in India, went on such lines, as we all know; caring little for doctrine and its propagation. What then can we learn from Cromwell's Letters and from Carlyle's Comments, if it be not the value of *clear vision* and *confident courage*? One fancies something of the like in Abraham Lincoln: but it would not be right to conclude in favour of absolutism from such cases. The "Single Person" might be a Louis Quinze, or Balmaceda.

September, Tuesday, 1st.—To Inner Temple Hall, for opening of Oriental Congress.* Canon Taylor, Master of S. John's Cambridge, took the chair in the regretted absence of Lord Dufferin, and delivered the "inaugural" address.

Thursday, 3rd.—Attended Congress; interesting address on Egyptian chronology and tombs, by Professor Petrie†. In the afternoon another meeting; Gayangos‡ in the chair gave a short address on the importance of conciliating Moslem opinion. Leitner did not, by any means, agree.

* Much discussion arose as to whether this might be the true Congress or not. Dr. Leitner's energy, however, succeeded in getting valuable support.

† Petrie, William Matthew Flinders, University College, London.

‡ Don Pascual de Gayangos, oriental scholar, already mentioned.

Tuesday, 8th.—Caine's "Young India" a sincere and amiable aspect, but suggestive of grave questions. He says of the Congress—in substance—that it is either seditious and ought to be stopped, or else the Government should accept it as a means of enlightenment as to the position and prospects of the ruling race in India. If there be any preponderating hostility towards the Queen's rule among the people, then it may become necessary to reconsider and to ask what is the end and object of our civil and military establishments in that country? If merely the extension and security of our commerce, are we, or are we not, exceeding the exigencies?

Thursday, 10th.—The Orientalists wound up with a big dinner at "Tivoli" in the Strand, Sir Lepel Griffin in the chair. Dinner tardy and ill served. Sate between Dennehy* and Father V. d' Eremas.†

Monday, 14th.—The old soldiers from over the way crowding the smoking and billiard rooms at Athenæum; which has been beautifully decorated by Alma Tadema.

Wednesday, 16th.—Have been on a short visit to Tunbridge Wells where I was a boy so long ago. Everything as pretty as of old, only all so *shrunk*. The famous Pantiles do not really cover quarter of the area of the Crystal Palace at Norwood. But the beautiful Commons, on Mt. Ephraim and Rusthall, remain; with their wide sweep of view over Eridge, Broadwater and Buckhurst, backed by Crowborough Beacon.

Friday, 18th.—Interesting conversation with Herbert Spencer at the Athenæum: he was in good form and spoke of himself and other distinguished men with impressive frankness. Of Huxley he said "that man, with independent means, would have been the greatest of Biologists"—on being reminded of the common notion that poverty was the stimulus of exertion, he replied that it was not so when a man needed means and leisure to enable him to make original research and establish an unpopular position: having to provide for the daily wants of themselves and families they simply could not afford to follow out their natural destiny. He also pointed out the field awaiting any one who could devote himself to a thorough scrutiny of the older statute-books in order to find out why the more important Acts had been introduced and why other Acts had been repealed. Here, he said, you ought to discover the Social History of our nation.

[A blank time. A few invitations to country-houses, none of which I could accept. Read a little, but without plan or

* Old Indian acquaintances. Gen. Sir Thomas Dennehy, K.C.I.E., have been a groom-in waiting to Her Majesty since 1888.

† D' Eremas was a well-known Clergyman of the Romish Church, now deceased.

purpose, and did a little work for *Chambers' Encyclopædia*. My second son, Major A. Keene, D.S.O., had a Depot at Seaford, near Liverpool; and he came to visit us. We went to some theatres together, but there was not much of importance: Miss Rehan, we admired, but the pieces were nought. Read Merivale's "Roman Empire."]

October, Monday, 3rd.—M. M. de L. called, a man of some ability, born in one country, educated in another; a retired officer from the French army bringing up his son to be an Anglican Clergyman. Heard particulars of Boulanger's end: in some respects he reminds one of what Caius Marius might have been had he not conquered the Barbarian invaders. Jugurtha, on the other hand, finds a modern anti-type in Tantiya Topi, the Maharatta hunted down by Sir Hugh Rose in 1858. My reading in Merivale suggests these parallels—which are but in one's own imagination probably.

Friday, 9th.—Mrs. C.'s afternoon: a brazen sort of woman brought a quiet looking girl, as a medium, whom she put through some hypnotic evolutions which might, one thought, be only acting: and one rather hoped so, as it was otherwise rather shocking to see a young creature in such object control of another.

Tuesday, 13th.—Some smart little articles, from a newspaper, on famous contemporaries just out in book form. Some of the political judgments are rather impudent; as when Mr. Gladstone is said to have "the brain of a third rate Ecclesiastic."

Sunday, 18th.—Read a book on Mahommedanism by Mr. Justice Amir Ali; pleased to find so enlightened a Moslem corroborate the view that I had submitted to the Oriental Congress.*

Friday, 23rd.—Mrs. A. Besant lectured, for our Society, on Theosophy. The Rev. R. B. at the conclusion asked a pertinent question: seeing that the lady had already been an Evangelical, a Puseyite, and a Materialist, he would be glad to know whether she had better evidence for her present opinions than for those which she had successively abandoned? The somewhat indignant reply was a debater's triumph, but did not meet the point.

* Subsequent records occur of a long examination of this remarkable work ("Spirit of Islam"). It should be read by every impartial friend of India: it shows that the worst faults usually attributed to Islam do not belong to the system but to the backward races by whom it has been adopted. [Was not "the system" the product of such a race?—unless, as he stated, a renegade Armenian monk was the real author of the Koran. Has either our friend, or Mr. Amir Ali ever heard of this?—it is not an open secret, but yet pretty well known.—Ed., C. R.]

Monday, 26th.—Merivale on Domitian points out a danger of despotism which has often been illustrated since. The Despot, in securing a tottering throne, has to enter on military undertakings, until he finds himself "the actual leader of a horde of organised banditti."

Tuesday, 27th.—Thorold Rogers' Worcester lectures, make one think: the greatest use of a book. Charles Lamb affected the opposite attitude, saying that "books thought for him."

November, Tuesday, 3rd.—Mr. Haweis came to lecture for our Society on music: very clever and amusing.* His violin is superb, and he illustrated what he had to say with great skill and taste. He joined us at B.'s afterwards, where we had supper and a good talk.

Wednesday, 4th.—A good article on Islam in the 254th Number of the *Quarterly* by the late E. Deutsch.

Saturday, 7th.—Dined at O'Callaghan's, meeting Dr. Busteed:† a very agreeable and well-informed man.

Tuesday, 17th.—Mr. S. R. Gardiner lectured on the constitutional experiences of the Commonwealth; a subject on which he is considered the greatest living authority.

December, Tuesday, 8th.—Lecture by Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, a genial prelate with a slight Irish accent, and a sort of confidential fluency, told anecdotes of Gautama, the Founder of Buddhism, winding up by comparing him to Jesus: of course to the disadvantage of the Indian teacher of the real merits of his system, or why—after being made the state-religion—it lost hold of the land of its original success wandering to barbarous nations who turned it into image worship and mechanic ritual, of all this the Rt. Rev. Lecturer had no account to give.

An English officer who was present discussed these questions with some shrewdness on our way home; suggesting that Buddhism was too pure for human practice, and—in alloying itself with legend and thaumaturgy—entered into rivalry with popular Indian creeds by which it was overpowered. But in other countries, which had not such a complete Mythology or such a populous Pantheon, it met with better fortune. It is as if Missionaries were to propagate some form of Christianity amongst Africans and Polynesians after it had been rejected by the educated and uneducated in Europe and America!

I noted to him one remarkable difference. The ideal of Christianity brought forth Heroes and World-betterers;

* HAWEIS, Rev. H. R., a well-known traveller and esteemed London Clergyman.

† BUSTEED, H. E., C.I.E., author of "Echoes from old Calcutta," a most interesting work that has gone through three editions.

Buddhism could produce nothing greater than Hermits, Quietists, and other admirable but not very useful characters.

Friday, 18th.—Called on Mrs. Keeley, the retired actress, whose first appearance was in the year of my own birth, and whom I found most agreeable and active. She walked all the way downstairs from her drawing-room to open the front door when we left.*

Monday, 28th.—A family party at the Avenue Theatre, to see a clever but incoherent piece, by Mr. H. A. Jones, entitled "The Crusaders." It does not promise to last long, being too witty for the gallery and too ill-blended for the stalls. All our modern plays are open to one objection or other; this seems to incur both. I mean they are either too literary or too farcical.

[And to close these small beer chronicles for Ninety-one: during which little way has been made in any direction. I find a Sonnet, in my Diary, which looks as if a certain successful Periodical was beginning to be talked about: it is headed "To a Reviewer of Reviews."

There is likewise noted a remarkable forecast from W. Hazlitt:—"When a whole generation read they will read none but contemporary productions: the taste for literature becomes superficial as it becomes universal." Elsewhere; "I do not think altogether the worse of a book for having survived its author a generation or two: I have more confidence in the dead than in the living."

Old Sam Rogers used to say;—"When I hear a new book praised I go and read an old one."

In the present day our book-market is inundated with trumpery fiction, evidently produced for the railway stall and the third class passenger. This is called Literature.

The Sonnet runs as follows:—

Burster of open doors! When all is said—
Whether of truism or of paradox—
And aged gentlewomen have had their shocks,
The world, methinks, has very little sped.
What can it matter if your sheep unfed
Feed you, and Tommy Atkins has small pox
Or other, and the shrieking spinster mocks
To find a convict champion in her St—d?
Purblind enthusiast, who has never learned
That visions won are but illusions lost,
And sickness is not cured by salving sores!
Man will not thrive from Nature's methods turned
Nor win Life's sweetness and not pay the cost.
And yet we like you well, Burster of open doors.]

* Mrs. Keeley (née Mary Goward) born 1806, widow of a once famous low-comedian. One of her daughters became the wife of Albert Smith of Mont Blanc celebrity.

CHAPTER X.

1892.

This year witnessed the short-lived recovery of the Gladstonian Liberals, who—with the help of the Irish Nationalists—regained a small majority at the General Election of July. Lord Salisbury resigned office, and was succeeded by Gladstone, pledged to pass a Home-Rule Bill for Ireland.

The family centre remained throughout the year at Norwood, a neighbourhood combining many of the advantages of London with the invaluable blessing of country air to sleep in. Our great Metropolis has been for many generations the habitation of so many multitudes, through whose lungs the air has been passing and repassing, that it must have lost almost all vitalising properties; a state of things that cannot yet have reached the higher-lying suburbs.

For my own part, I continued to frequent the Athenæum and the Savile, places in which one enjoys the attitude, most blessed and beneficial, of looking *up* to the men by whom one is environed.

Among the advantages of Norwood was the privilege of being easily able to sit under the Rev. S. Tipple, one of the most eloquent and earnest of preachers, and much admired by the late Dean Stanley. His Church was attended by young men to an extent quite unusual in our times. I was much exercised during the year about an "Institute of mercantile instruction" which came to nought early in 1893: and also occupied with a student's History of India, published in the same year (W. H. Allen & Co., 1893, 2 vols.).

January, Wednesday, 6th.—Interesting article in the *Contemporary* on the work of the late E. de Laveleye on Democracy.* No writer appears to have paid due attention to the fact that in most modern nations a conquering race is still fusing itself—slowly or swiftly—with a race more germane to the country, and gradually giving way before the regeneration of the latter, or—in some happier cases—voluntarily admitting the aborigines to equal rights. Social democracy has been disarmed in England by the last named process; carried on from the days when the Barons extorted the Great Charter from King John to the time when Grey and Russell carried Reform in 1832. In the older Commonwealths—in India, Greece, Rome—the dominant class united with the higher plebeians, to form a new aristocracy, while the bulk of the population were slaves or unenfranchised for political purposes until some revolutionary change. But in Great Britain enfranchisement has been natural, gradual, and—ultimately—

* Laveleye was a Belgian economist of distinction (1822-1892). See *Life* by Count Goblet d'Alviella: Paris, 1895.

universal. True Liberalism has thus, with us, conformed to evolution; the nation has become a united whole, and privilege has been neutralised less by destruction than by communication.

Thursday, 7th.—A visit from Mme. de T., a Russian lady of French extraction, very charming and intelligent. She gave a dark picture of the social condition of her country, saying that there was room for serious alarm lest the peasantry should be frightened into outbreaks. They are found (since the emancipation of the serfs) refusing to labour and claiming that it is the business of the Government to support them: the inability of the priests to direct and control the people is much lamented.

Saturday, 9th.—Took two Russian ladies to the New Gallery in Regent Street, where some of the pictures impressed them.

Sunday, 17th.—Went with A. to see Miss Lowe. We found a large gathering, in which were included both the Palmists already mentioned—Miss E., the Amateur Propetess, who told my fortune and the professional soothsayer whom Col. C. consulted at Mrs. M. K.'s in the summer. We seem to be in a somewhat similar way to that of the Romans in the climax of their prosperity as described by Horace and Juvenal.

Saturday, 23rd.—Courteous letter from Sir H. C., whose little book on Lord Canning I had reviewed, asking me for all possible corrections. Now, his book was very able, as was only to be expected; and my carpings were only directed to matters of detail, which the author might have fairly passed over. As my only possible return for his courtesy and candour I will send him my copy with annotations. The case is an illustration of the effect of signed Reviews, and not at all matters for regret.

Saturday, 1st.—Another pleasant letter from C. returning my book and saying that "the criticisms have been of great use." It has been one of the Amenities of Literature.

Tuesday, 2nd.—*Purification of B. V. M.* Candlemas day was marked by a good deal of "wet and foul," according to the old Scots legend "the half of winter was over at Yule." We shall see. Curiously, a people so remote, and with a climate so different as the Italians said:—*Si sol splendescat Maria purificante Major erit glacies post festam quàm fiat ante.*

Wednesday, 3rd.—Dictionary dinner given by Mr. G. Smith in Park Lane: a splendid house and wonderful banquet. Leslie Stephen and Dr. Jessopp made excellent speeches; and the host, addressing his contributors, announced his intention of carrying out the *D. N. B.* whatever it might cost him, and told a story of poor M. Arnold. It was to this effect. Arnold rushed into his office one day saying that somebody at the Athenæum had just spoken of him as "the greatest poet of the age." On Mr. G. asking if he thought that such a statement could possibly be sincere? A. re-

plied, "Oh! I don't know whether it was sincere, but I know that I liked it."

Sunday, 7th.—Called at Sir G. Campbell's: no one there.*

Monday, 8th.—Corrected proofs of a little book for Indian Press. It is too short; I suppose I was afraid of being tedious. But then there is the case of George Canning's preacher who—in spite of brevity—"was tedious."

Monday, 15th.—In spite of Mary's omen the winter is not over. If the birds paired yesterday they will be repenting their precipitation to-day.

Sunday, 28th.—A dull cold day; went to Church and heard a capital sermon, by Tipple, on the "blameless brother" in the parable of Prodigal Son. Whether it was quite sound I will not undertake to say; but it was certainly ingenious, explaining the adage, "The greater the sinner the greater the saint." The young man who resented his father's reception of the returning penitent may have been morally perfect; but what can be more intolerant (or indeed more intolerable) than moral perfection? So argued the preacher, sending away the numerous sinners of his congregation in the confirmed persuasion that it was better to be sympathetic than sinless.

Monday, 29th.—Manns' Rossini concert. It was the centenary of the Master's birth—though anything but his rooth birthday;† counting by those anniversaries he would have been barely twenty-five! Perhaps Mr. Manns would have preferred some other subjects; nevertheless the concert was most charming; the elegant melodies and the intricate orchestration could not fail to captivate. Miss Thudichum gave *Di piacer* and *una voce*, but none of Rossini's sacred music was offered.

March, Tuesday, 1st.—March comes in like a Beast of some sort, if not exactly a lion; east wind, sleet, and a finish of snow. In the evening I lectured, for our local Society; to a large audience, many of whom were indulgent enough to complain of the shortness of the affair, though I am ashamed to say I spoke for an hour. My subject was the Mutiny: how little one could then have expected to be prosing about it in the shadow of the Crystal Palace when surrounded by all those horrors and cares thirty-five years ago.

Thursday, 3rd.—Wintry weather continues. In the afternoon, returning from a walk found a decent looking woman, with a baby, making a pretence of selling oranges. E. gave her tea and she told her story—sad, if true, as it seemed to be. Her husband laid up in hospital and the guardians tell her to go to her parish, which is in Wales. She does not

* Alas! my friend was at that moment on his death-bed in the South of France. A gifted man who never quite came to maturity.

† Rossini, G. A., d. at Pescard, 29th February 1792 (leap-year).

care to go so far away and desires to await her husband's discharge from Croydon Hospital, eking out her own living by the paltry and precarious trade in which we find her engaged. There must be many such; but when you see one meekly-seated on your own doorstep, with the east wind flinging the blizzard into her pinched face—there is something in the recollection of the question, "who is my neighbour?"

Sunday, 6th.—Another sermon in continuation of the last. Mr. T. will have to whitewash the Saint next. Called in the afternoon upon a lady who has been ill, and who asked pathetically, if her good looks would ever return? This is the Nemesis of Beauty's Day.

Wednesday, 9th.—Reading Pascal: he must have been mad: but the notion is humiliating. Here is a mathematician and a wit, failing to be practically useful to mankind: he exemplifies the danger of extremes, even in so vital a virtue as conscience. After all, as my present pastor tells us, the world wants a religion of love, not of opinion.

April, Tuesday, 5th.—At Athen. Interesting talk with Giffen,* who seemed to regard the monetary condition of the United States with some anxiety, inasmuch as their paper issue was equal to their gold. He believed that the output of silver-mines would decrease, perhaps cease; nevertheless the Indian Government would do well to adopt a gold currency.† He also thought it a question whether Peel, in reforming the common law, might not have retained a five-shilling duty: for which however it was now too late.

Thursday, 14th.—A talk with L. about a Commercial school on a somewhat novel basis.

Saturday, 16th.—Eleven degrees of frost this morning!

Tuesday, 19th.—*Diffugere nives.* A pleasant change of weather. A funny sample of the criticism of smart young men in the—‡ where my French manual is said to be written by a Philistine for Philistines, and quite on the level of University Extension.

Wednesday, 20th.—Called on Sir H. R. once "King of Kumaon" now tenant of a small semi-detached house in this suburb. *Les Rois en exil* might be rewritten in English. And time was when *Le Nabab* was the appropriate title for men of the same class!

* G., Sir Robert, K.C.B., the well-known economist.

† As it did some years later, in a modified form (1900).

‡ A weekly paper, now extinct. These organs of literary judgment are of all sorts; and probably the critics do not do much more than they must for their money. A successful author once told me that when he used to do such work he was instructed by his editor not to cut the pages of books sent him for review as it spoiled the sale.

Monday, 25th.—Article in the January *Quarterly* on Hafiz, by a writer who is quite clever, but does not seem to know much Persian, or ever to have heard of Omar Khayyam.

May, Monday, 2nd.—L. called with Prospectus of the 'Institute.' I advised him to have it printed with estimates. He is clever and pushing, and I think his scheme deserves well.

Saturday, 7th.—Called on L. and assisted in sketching a scheme for high-class commercial education.

Sunday, 8th.—Reading the Vulgate came on a curious passage on Inspiration of which the literal English is—"she can change all things; and transferring herself into holy souls among the gentiles creates friends of God and Prophets," (Sap. VII, 27). Strange to find a Hebrew writer of Maccabean times going so far as to admit the existence of prophets among the gentiles (*per nationes*).

Monday, 9th.—Went with L. to Streatham Common to see a house he thinks of taking for the Institute.

Wednesday, 18th.—A visit from a young M. Viard ("de la Revue de France") introduced by Mrs. R. Clay. A very pleasant, well-informed man, whose mother is a well-known musician.

Saturday, 21st.—Hawkins came down from S. Bride's and we went over L.'s proposed premises on Streatham Common which seemed very suitable. There is to be a small company of which I am to be a Director. The idea is to get together a number of youths of good position and teach them modern languages, and other kinds of knowledge to fit them for commercial and consular work in foreign countries. It cannot be denied that there is a want of such an establishment.

Tuesday, 27th.—Called at Murray's: Mr. M. seemed quite satisfied with the French manual, and the Educational Press was the only one that could affect the sale of such a book as mine. He showed me a notice in *The Schoolmaster* in which the little work was welcomed as supplying "a much-needed element in English culture."

Thursday, 26th.—Two neighbours met L. at this house to hear about his scheme. They thought the undertaking on too small a scale, and were not satisfied with the argument that the initial outlay would be so trifling that it was useless to raise much money.

Thursday, 31st.—Went to town with Conan Doyle,† attending a dinner of authors at the Holborn Restaurant. Professor M. Foster in the chair.‡ Sate between Mr. Julian Sturgis and

§ There was a notice in the *Scotsman* that was quite sympathetic, and the American Press used flattering language.

† Dr. Doyle, nephew of the famous "Dick" of Punch, and author of so many clever fictions was then our neighbour and friend.

‡ Now Sir M. Foster, M. P., for London University.

Miss Y. Hunt, the clever daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. Hunt.* Met Harry Jones, Du Maurier, W. Besant, Mrs. L. Linton, Nettleship of Balliol, and Clodd. The speaking very good especially by the Chairman, and Mr. Stockton, author of "Rudder Grange." Corney Grain sang some songs with great spirit, accompanying himself on an excellent pianoforte provided for the purpose. These dinners are very pleasant, though some of the company seemed to think they would prefer a conversazione where you could move about and mix more freely. The price of the tickets is generally thought too high.

June, Wednesday, 8th.—A long day. Went to Egham by G. W. R. and had the prospect of a hot walk to Englefield Green, but a pleasant young lady in a wagonette took pity on me and conveyed me and my bag the greater part of the way. Found the Archdeacon at work in his pretty house; and after some tea walked through the Park, by Windsor and Eton to Slough, where I dined and slept. The Park is lovely in this season of sun and shadow.†

Saturday, 11th.—A mild showery day; passed, mostly, in the house: comparing M. Arnold with Voltaire, especially in respect to their dramas on the subject of Merope. The Englishman's tone is the more graceful; and the Frenchman's workmanship more finished and strong. The ethnologic problems did not occur to V., but he might have worked out the other motives and given more effect to the feelings of the persons. In A.'s drama you have a distinct attempt to exhibit character. The stories in verse of the earlier author could not have been produced by our English contemporary, and the attacks on Rousseau and Fréron would hardly have found a publisher—one hopes—in modern London: nor would Arnold have so departed from his urbanity as to make them.

Wednesday, 15th.—The weather has turned cold in the last few days with a somewhat bitter N. wind.

Trouble about shares in Institute, and doubts as to its ultimate success.

Saturday, 18th.—To the temporary office of the Company, met other Directors and signed the papers of association. Mr. C. did not appear sanguine as to sale of shares.

Monday, 20th.—A visit from L. Very buoyant about early opening and declares that he has already the promise of many boarders.

Saturday, 25th.—Invited to C.'s at Aldeburgh, prevented

* Mr. Hunt was an artist and his wife wrote novels.

† The Ven. Archdeacon Baly held—as he still holds—the chaplaincy at Englefield Green, an ideal cure, where his parishioners consist mainly the Rangers and keepers of the Royal Forest.

from going by business connected with Institute. Great crowd at Palace in the afternoon. *Judas Maccabeus.*

Wednesday, 29th.—Pleasant day after a night of storm. First meeting of Directors; Gen. C. J., Messrs. M. D., and C. (the latter a Portuguese Jew). Formal proceedings.

Thursday, 30th.—Inaugural dinner of Authors' Club, Mr. Oswald Crawford in the chair. Besant made a very pleasant speech and read a list of absent members. Most of those present were (like myself) non-entities. The Club is at a temporary house in St. James's Place; nearly opposite what used to be Lord Tweeddale's.

July, Monday, 4th.—Wrote some letters on behalf of the Institute, which is rather hanging fire.

Wednesday, 6th.—To Brockwell Park with children. An old mansion and walled garden in large and beautiful grounds. In one's youth such places were inhabited and enjoyed by private families—indeed a few still are, like Holland House and Chiswick. But by degrees they all come to minister to the health and happiness of many thousands. One hears the cry—"Oh! how sad to see these beautiful homes empty of their owners;" but it is not so. You see the children at their games on the grass, and the parents seated under the old elms; and you remember that but for such pleasantness as these, all would be sweltering and swearing in city courts and cellars, without a notion of the shape of a tree or the colours of the sunset.

Thursday, 14th.—Asked the C. S. Commissioners to patronise my "History of India."* Afternoon at Mr. C. M.'s in Weymouth Street, where I was introduced to a charming Yankee lady Mr. Ward Howe.

August, Saturday, 13th.—*Revue des deux mondes* has a wonderful article of admiration and respect for Gladstone. How far does a French writer of high class represent the opinion of our affairs that will be held by History?

Friday, 26th.—An out-of-the-way experience in dining with some friends who live at a "Swagger" Boarding-house where the Manager and his wife play at being a lady and gentleman entertaining a party of guests.

Sunday, 28th.—L. reports having sold a thousand shares to a Mr. H.—*Nous verrons.*

September, Sunday, 18th.—Took G., my ten-year old, to service at St. Paul's. On departing I asked how he had enjoyed the music? He answered, with a look of reproach that it was a thing in which he took no interest. In the afternoon had a talk with

* It was made a text-book for C. S. examinations; but unhappily the subject was disestablished a year or two later.

young Viard, who raised a point in respect of the impropriety of rendering French words by the same words of our own language. *Homme de genie*, he maintained ought to be translated "greatman" and not "man of genius:" the phrase with them indicating a person who moved mankind, while in English it gave him the idea of a person of ill-balanced mind or hypertrophie of certain faculties to the detriment of others. [Buffon, by the bye, gives his definition of genius as "nothing but a great capacity of patience:" this seems the source of Carlyle's famous saying.]

Saturday, 24th.—Sir A. A. at Athenæum: thought the new rules for Indian C. S. examinations would be favourable to crammers. Also that Lord Salisbury was disposed towards a decentralising of Indian Governments on lines similar to those advocated by John Bright. [This ought to be so, if any further progress is to be made.—ED.] Weather very warm.

October, Monday, 3rd.—Interesting talk with old Richmond, who went through a Portfolio of his sketches of celebrities of the early Victorian epoch: how great a change in half a century!

Thursday, 6th.—Dinner at Mr. B.'s to meet Sir John Lubbock: thence with him to the Blind School where he gave a lecture on *Ants*, to a crowded audience.

Saturday, 15th.—Meeting Lord M. just over from Ireland, I asked if there was a troublesome winter expected there. "Divel a worse," he replied gaily. He was at a wedding the other day in Dublin; and when the bride and bridegroom left he said to Father H., who was standing by him at the door, that it was a pity they had nothing to throw after them. "Tis a pity it can't be your *brogue*, M.," was the quick reply.

Monday, 17th.—L. affirms that he has now sold 2,500 shares, which would give him a fair capital to start with, at £5 the share.

November, Wednesday, 2nd.—A good meeting at Blind School, to hear Conan Doyle, who read an excellent paper on George Meredith's writings: few of the large audience had read them I fear; perhaps they will do so now.

Tuesday, 15th.—Wrote a short review of a long book: it is by a Mr. Herbert Compton, and deals with some of the military Adventures of India in the last century: it shows research and labour, but I found it too wordy and prolix for the subject. I fear the British public is too indifferent to Indian History for such an undertaking to be very successful.

Friday, 18th.—With N. to a concert at S. James's Hall, Piccadilly. Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* given by a Band of eighty stringed instruments with one row of wind, to give what is called colour. The music, so rendered, gave

one an impression of virile tenderness, not too pathetic and all the more agreeable.

Saturday, 19th.—Some of the family returned from a visit to Rochester where they had been guests at Restoration House and were shown an underground passage, communicating with the river. This, they understood, had been prepared for the withdrawal of Charles II. if anything had gone wrong after his arrival from Dover in May, 1660.

Monday, 21st.—With A. to S. James's Theatre to see "Lady Windermere's fan:" very frivolous, but well played and full of sparkling paradox.

Hysterical letter from Managing-Director.

Wednesday, 23rd.—To office in pursuance of urgent call. Found matters at a standstill for want of £500. A talk of winding-up the Company and handing the whole concern to L. I said it would seem wise to do so if he could start without help.

December, Friday, 19th.—To Cornhill, where I met three of the Directors and recorded Resolutions as to allotment, etc. Nothing more about the 2,500 shares, but assurances of forty resident pupils.* We open on January 18th, and Grant Duff has kindly consented to take the chair.

Friday, 23rd.—Read Broadfoot's *Life*: he was a fine character. Yet there is something in the Anglo-Indian Hero of those days that causes offence. A sort of ill-bred sternness and self-conscious austerity; so different from their predecessors, the jovial Malcolm or the urbane Elphinstone. Can it have been due to the evangelical training of the period? so long as religion was moderate—a thing for Sunday observance and social conformity, it kept people straight and sweet. But the Punjab Ironsides were otherwise minded. They were, no doubt, virtuous; but had little sympathy either for cakes and ale, or for any opinions but their own. Yet they did good work. [Your criticism is quite unjust. We knew several of them, and can say so. No one could be sweeter than Sir H. Edwardes, or Colonel Lake and others.—ED.]

(To be continued.)

* These eventually proved to be but two, of whom one was the Managing Director's son.

ART. VIII.—TANTRA LITERATURE.

INDIA is rich in Sanscrit Literature. The number of works in the Sanscrit language is very great; and many of them are very valuable, highly prized, and widely known. They have been classified under various designations; and each class bears very distinctive marks as literature, not to speak of their religious characteristics. They constitute a large, and, on the whole, a highly-respected family with marked family traits of character. The Tantra class is the Cinderella of the family or what with Hans Andersen might be called the 'Ugly Duckling,' from the point of view of its own admirers—that is despised by the outside world, but regarded by the initiated as the premier literature of the world.

This literature has a special claim upon Bengal and its large Hindu population. It originated in Bengal. There it was born, nurtured and developed into maturity by men who are spoken of as "the dark philosophers of the forest," men who performed awful ceremonies away from human habitations, and who exercised stupendous influence on the ignorant masses around them. The foreign Brahmans who came from the north-west soon gave up their Vedas and accepted the Bengal religion; starting from the original Tantras they made various compilations, supplied additional mantras, Rishis and Devata of their own; the compilations were also born in Bengal. The character in which both the originals and the compilations were written, is the Bengali and not the Devanagiri. They are still found in the Bengali character. The authors were men as we have just seen who lived in the forests or jungles of Bengal—"forest men." Their works are known in other parts of India as the "the Bengal shastras." The bulk of those who profess to be guided in their religious devotions are Bengalis; and most of the MSS. to this day are found in Bengal. The Bengal Pundits look upon Vedic and Puranic literature as foreign, as undoubtedly it is. Not one of the great works which go under the name of Vedic or Puranic was composed in Bengal or by a Bengali; while these same pundits look upon the Tantras as their own, as their predecessors for many centuries have done.

The learned Editor of the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, Mr. M. N. Dutta, M.A., correctly describes them as "pre-eminently a product of the soil of Bengal." At the beginning of the century which has just closed, not a copy of the Vedas could be found in all Bengal, for the simple reason that there was none. The literature in vogue was Tantric. In an official report of the Bengal Library we read:—"Some of the Bengal pundits are

making their voices heard. These never depended upon works that have been recently imported into Bengal under foreign influences, such as the Vedas and the Upanishads; and they now come forward to defend their ancient religious works, the Tantras. Pundit Shib Chunder Vidyanaray's work, *Tantra itattva*, running through 762 pages of royal octavo, is an elaborate and a masterly defence of the Tantras. The Tantras, he says, are an authority in themselves; and it would be foolish to attempt to prove their authoritativeness. He in fact places the Tantras in the same position as the Vedas. The pundits of Bengal always believed this to be true. Under the same influence, and very likely by the same pundits, a monthly periodical was started in Calcutta, many years ago, called *Sarva Mangala* (The all auspicious), which advocates the cause of Tantric Hinduisim, which says the Bengal Librarian, "is prevalent in Bengal."

The Tantras themselves claim that for the Kali Yuga, the Tantras have completely superseded the Vedic Scriptures, that the latter are but serpents without venom, mere pictures on walls inefficient for any good or bad purpose, or like a barren woman too old to justify any expectation of her adding to the population. After stating that in the Kali Age all the Tantric mantras "are fraught with fruit and speedy success, and are highly effectual in all rites, *japa*, sacrifices, &c.," the *Mahanirvana Tantra* proceeds:—"The mantras contained in the Vedas are devoid of all energy, and resemble serpents devoid of venom. In the Satya and other ages, they were effective; in Kali, they are as it were dead. All the mantras (save those inculcated in the Tantras) resemble idols painted against a wall, which albeit furnished with all the organs, are incompetent to perform any action. Acts performed to other mantras are like a barren woman. They yield no fruit." ii, 14-17. The great ceremonies of the Durga Pujah, Jagad-dhatri Pujah, Kali Pujah, &c., are all Tantric and essentially Bengali and occupy the place of the great Srauta ceremonies of the Vedas.

As to the age of the Tantras, it must be admitted that they are not so venerable as the Vedas or Upanishads. Still, those which are called *original*, and they number at least sixty-four in all, go back to the fifth or sixth century A.D., a millenium and a half; and the oldest of these may go back even further. The higher antiquity claimed is not made good by any satisfactory evidence. The Buddhists of Nepal, who possess Tantras of their own not only father them on Buddha, the founder of their religion, in imitation of the Hindu Tantras fathered on Mahadeva, but they actually name a Buddhist monk who, they say, introduced the Tantras into Nepal about 300 A.D.

Scholars find it difficult to date, even with approximation either the original works or the oldest of the subsequent compilations, not to speak of the ideas which characterise them or the system of religion which they teach. While there is a general consensus that some of the compilations are very modern, yet there is also a general agreement that most of the compilations even are older than the Mahomedan conquest of Bengal in 1203 A.D. One of these comparatively recent ones, but a pre-Mahomedan one, enumerates as many as one hundred and sixty Tantric works, including both original and compilations, upon which the author professes to have drawn for his materials. The dated works do not go further back than the eighth century A.D., but the dates of others by different lines of argumentation are pushed back as far as the sixth century.

Tantric worship, so far as it is phallic and founded on the dualism of sex, is regarded as having its roots embedded in ideas as old as India itself, if not as old as the race, and founded on wonder and awe generated by a contemplation of the distinctive and mysterious functions of man and woman, and the fertility of nature alike in the vegetable and animal world. The ideas thus generated have arisen in various and very distant parts of the world, among very different people or races and tribes, and at different and most remote periods of time. Again, at different and less remote periods of time these ideas became formulated into religious beliefs; and still later and in comparatively modern times the beliefs got materialized into MSS. In this respect the Tantras are believed to differ in their development from the Vedas. The latter, it is believed, took some two or three thousand years to materialize into MSS.; the Tantras, on the other hand, it is believed, were written shortly after being conceived; so that as far as Bengal is concerned, the Tantras were in the country before the Vedas were and the Tantric religion before the Vedic. The stories based on *Brihat Katha* in which the worship of the female divinities is so clearly inculcated goes back to the fourth if not to the third century A.D. The Buddhist translations of Hindu Tantras takes us back to the eighth or ninth century.

But it may be asked, if so old, why are not MSS. of that age forthcoming. We have many such in Europe and much older. This is explained easily by the humidity of the climate of Lower Bengal, the fertility of destructive insects, the backward condition of education among the masses, and the poverty of the pundits and gurus, the ordinary custodians of MSS. Not a single MS. has yet been discovered on the humid plains of Bengal older than the fourteenth century. On the other

hand MSS. written in Bengal a good few centuries before the fourteenth have been found in Nepal by Pundit H. P. Shastri, Principal Sanscrit College. For example a MS. copy of *Langkāvatarā*, a Hindu Tantric work on medicine, written in 908 A.D., was found by him in the Durbar Library, Nepal.

Another Tantric work, *Nichvāsātattva Sanhita*, exhibiting some of the earliest phases of Tantric development, was also discovered in the same library. Mr. Shastri concludes from peculiarities in the handwriting that it was written at least one hundred years earlier. That sends it back to 800 A.D. Unlike most Tantras, the interlocutors are not deities but human Rishis, who wonder at the introduction of a new method of initiation unknown in the Vedas. Brahma and Vishnu are said to have received the new initiation, but not Siva. As a Tantric work, it is, as usual, devoted to the glorification of Siva. Its name *Sanhita* gives some indication of its date. The *Mahanirvana Tantra* states that the works followed or received as sacred in the Satya Yuga were the Vedas; in the Treta Yuga, the Smritis; in the Dvapara Yuga, the *Sanhitas*; and in the Kali Yuga, the Agamās. This is one of these *Sanhitas*. These works, we quote Mr. Shastri, seem latterly to have assumed the form of pure Tantras, called Agamās and Nigamas in the passage in the *Mahanirvana Tantra*. The *Parmeshvari Tantra* MS. in Cambridge is dated 857 A.D. This date puts a lately discovered MS. of the Skanda Purana back to 657 A.D.

Another Tantric MS. of *Kulalikāṁnya*, also discovered by Mr. Shastri, is believed to be still older, taking us back to 609 A.D. The work forms a part of a large work on the worship of Kubjika (a form of Kali), a Tantra absolutely forgotten, until thus in part discovered, but which had an important place in Bengal literature about 1000 years ago. The interlocutors are Siva and Durga. The modern Tantric technicalities do not apply to this MS. Yoga (as in *Siva Sanhita*) is not regarded as the principal thing; its efficacy is beset with doubts. But, adds Mr. Shastri, the science comprehended in 24,000 slokas, that is in the larger work, or even in the smaller, that before us which is regarded as its essence and contains 6,000 slokas, is, we are assured, of undoubted efficacy. All these marks stamp it as a genuine work of Tantra. Mr. Shastri discovered other four MSS. of this work, later and smaller, in one of which Kubjika herself is the chief interlocutor. Her object or the subject of her enquiry, is to know the Pithas, the right hand and the left hand forms of worship and the Kula shastra generally. These four MSS. are dated from 1135 to 1179 respectively.

Well may Mr. Shastri conclude that the discovery of these

MSS. prove the fact that the Puranas and Tantras are not so modern as some people think them to be, and that the Indian tradition is not so utterly unreliable as it is considered in many quarters. It is such discoveries, and Mahamahopadhyay H. P. Shastri has made many such, which makes history, and not statements like those we find in the two short paras. headed "*Tantras*" in the three volumes "*History of Civilization in Ancient India*" by Mr. R. C. Dutta, C.I.E. Professor Dutta describes the Tantras in these two brief paras. as "the Hindu literature in the period of the Mahomedan rule," "creations of the last period of Hindu degeneracy under a foreign rule," and yet again as "the product of the last stage of degeneracy after centuries of foreign subjection," and of a period "when the national life had departed, when all political consciousness had vanished and the lamp of knowledge had become extinct." These words may be rhetoric, they are not history. The key word seems to be *foreign*. It is a red-rag to Mr. Dutta. The two paras. are not creditable to the historian of India, or to the Professor of the History of India in University College, London. Why, the Tantras were composed when Bengal was in its glory, when it had a national life if ever it had one; when its independence was not questioned; when the Sena kings were patrons of learning and one of them, himself, an accomplished scholar, when Jayadeva the court poet wrote *Gitagovinda* and a court minister the *Brahmana Sarbasa* and the Tantras themselves, the later ones were composed in Sanscrit not to be despised.

Bengal, it cannot be forgotten, was not invaded by the Mahomedans till 1203 A.D., centuries after the last of the sixty-four original Tantras was in circulation among the people. Before 1203, Bengal had enjoyed four dynasties of independent sovereigns; and it was during the earlier of these that the original Tantras were written. Of one of these kings, Deva Pal Deva, it is said, that he reigned over the whole of India. In any case, he must have been acknowledged as a Maharaja Adhiraj. It was about the tenth century, A.D., that the five Brahmins were brought from Kanauj to Bengal by the Bengali king Adisura. It was they indeed who introduced into Bengal Brahmanic civilization and the Vedic religion, the latter only to die very soon thereafter. Mr. R. C. Dutta is also wondering a little when he wrote in the same paras.—"The number of Tantras is said to be sixty-four; we have seen many of them which have been published in Calcutta"; so wrote Mr. Dutta, in 1890, when not one of the sixty-four had been published. Most of the 64 are irrecoverably lost. So it is believed by those who have paid most attention to the subject. Among these I place Pundit Hira Prasad Shastri, M.A., who deserves to be as fully

honoured for his successful Literary Research as others have been for their Physical Research. In the course of three years he discovered and wrote Notices of 1,400 Sanscrit MSS., of sorts, including a hundred Tantras, original or compiled, found in Eastern Bengal. From among the 1,400 he purchased for Government 930 works including Buddhist MSS. from Nepal, some of them not only very rare but unique. But among them all was found not one Vedic MS. For as Mr. Shastri observes: "Living in the midst of strange and non-Brahmanic surroundings the descendants of the five Brahmins soon gave up the regular study of the Vedas, a single copy of which could not be found in all Bengal a hundred years ago, and confined their knowledge of these to the recital and proper understanding of a few mantras used in their religious sacraments. With the Vedas they gave up the study of the Upanishads and thus Vedanta Philosophy found no place in Bengal."

Then he proceeds to show that these very Brahmins naturally turned to the Tantras as works which bore a resemblance to the subject matter of the Vedic Brahmanas or ritual and to the contents of the Atharva Veda. It is to this Brahmanic influence that Bengal is indebted for the better Sanscrit of the Tantric compilations and their more orderly and logical arrangement of material. The influence of the Tantras on Buddhism on the other hand was so great that in every collection of Buddhist works is found a number of Tantras. This is seen not only by the discoveries of Mr. H. P. Shastri in Nepal, but also those of Dr. R. L. Mitra, C.I.E. Tantricism itself received a powerful impulse from Krishnananda Agamvagisha, a contemporary of Raghunandan. It is also interesting to observe that the more one goes eastward and northward towards the Brahmaputra the more one meets with a larger number of Tantric works, till one reaches Kamrup which is regarded as the Mecca or Benares of Tantricism. And yet Mr. Shastri has it that no complete copy of any one original Tantra as noted above has yet been found, or, if so, only in fragments.

As to whether the Tantras, as Mr. Dutta says, "present us with a stranger aberration of human fancy and human credulity" "developed into monstrous forms," and "give us elaborate accounts of dark, cruel and obscene practices . . . unwholesome practices and unholy rites," and as to whether or not "to the historian the Tantra literature represents not a special phase of human thought, but a diseased form of the human mind," it is not for us here and now to say. It would require a separate treatment. But this we may be allowed to say that, good or bad, they cannot be fathered on the Mahomedan or the foreigner. They are pure natives of Bengal, as we have already attempted to show. Hence it is that

natives of intelligence and of that patriotism which see no evil or wrong in whatever belongs to their own country, forgetting that what is not true is not patriotic, as Sir Madhava Row has so beautifully expressed it, take up so vigorously the opposite side to Mr. R. C. Dutta. There, for example, is Mr. M. N. Dutta, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Shastri), who affirms that the system taught in the Tantras "yields in merit and excellence to no other department of ancient Hindu thought." *Mahanirvana Tantra*, p. i.

Returning to our discussion of the age of the Tantras, it is interesting to observe that Mr. Manmatha Dutta in his introduction to the Tantra not only admits that it is very difficult to ascertain the date of the composition of this class of literature, and he might add of all ancient Sanscrit literature; he also, after a full consideration of different facts and with different Tantras before him, arrives at what is to all intents Mr. H. P. Shastri's conclusions. "Tantra," says he, "does not find room amongst the fourteen branches of literature mentioned in the old Smritis. Besides, its name does not occur in any of the great Puranas." He rejects the argument founded on the similarity of certain processes found in it resembling those found in the Atharva Veda; and he might in the same way reject an argument founded on Vedic mantras being found in some Tantras. The Tantric characteristic found in *Nri-singha-tāpaniy-ōpanishad* of the Arthava Veda annotated by Sankaracharya, indicate a knowledge of the Tantric system, and consequently prove that it was in existence in the days of the great controversialist, and that means before the seventh century of the Christian era. "Besides, some of the Buddhist Tantras were translated into Tibetan between the ninth and the eleventh century. Hindu Tantras were their models and must have consequently been in existence anterior to them. These Hindu Tantras must have therefore been written before the seventh century, and others long before that, say the fifth or sixth century."

There are two Puranic passages which go a little in support of the same conclusion. In the *Srimad-bhagavat*, Nandi is reported as cursing the followers of Siva, in the words:—"May those who observe vows in honour of Mahadeva, and who follow him, pass by the name of *Pashandas*. Wearing matted locks and ashes, those men, shorn of pure conduct, and gifted with blunted intelligence, will worship Siva, in which wine is adorable, like a celestial. You have vilified Brahma, the Vedas, and Brahmans, the very honours of shastras and therefore I designate you *Pashandas*."

In the *Padma Purana*, there is a chapter on the Pishandas. Besides, Chaitanya used to call the Shaktas Pishandas. If the

Pishandas of these two Puranas were the Shaktas, as Chaitanya evidently believed, and as most likely they were, then the Tantras must have been in existence before the oldest of these Puranas was written.

Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose, author of "*Lord Gouranga* or salvation for all," and editor of the *Amrita Basar Patrica* is about as far off the lines of history, in the matter of the date and origin of the Tantras, as Mr. R. C. Dutta, C.I.E. At p. 202, vol. i, of his life of *Lord Gouranga*, he writes—"It is believed that this Tantric religion was invented to brutalize the Hindus so as to enable them to meet the Masulman invaders of the country. It is said that the spiritual Hindus found it impossible to cope with the brutalized Afghans and Moghuls who came from the west. What was required was to create a body of men equally brutal who should be able to meet them. And this Tantricism was invented for the purpose. Men were induced to join it by the mysteries which surrounded all the ceremonies, and the liberty that it permitted its votaries in the matter of eating, drinking and other illegitimate pleasures. They were further promised gifts from spirits and gods. Those who ranged themselves under this banner naturally became more brutal, if not stronger, than the other Hindus who lived sparingly and on strictly sober principles. The development of their brutal instincts was, of course, founded upon the ruins of their spiritual nature... Besides they entertained a particular hatred for the Vaishnavas. Indeed Tantrics, generally speaking, had a very low opinion of Vaishnavism which, they thought, was calculated to make men effeminate."

The key to the whole passage and to the theory it embodies is to be found in the concluding words. The Tantrics had no high opinion of the Vaishnavas, or of the new and foreign religion they were introducing into the country. And the feeling was reciprocated and has come to the present day in Vaishnava hearts; Shishir Kumar Ghose is an enthusiastic Vaishnava; hence the ridiculous explanation given of the origin of the Shakta religion and of the abuse heaped upon Tantric heads, even by such a loving and beloved writer as Shishir Kumar Ghose.

No, the Shaktas did not intentionally brutalize themselves in order to be a match in brutality to Moslem Afghans and Moghuls, as Mr. Ghose would have it. Why, Tantras were written, appointing flesh and wine as essentials in religion, before there was any Mahommedanism even in Arabia, not to speak of Afghanistan. Besides, religions are not manufactured in this way; and as far as most of the Tantras are concerned, it must be admitted that their writers, instead of

encouraging the brutalization of themselves by flesh and drink, wrote strongly against any such use. There is much more formal encouragement by the conduct of the gods to drink to excess in Vedic literature than in Tantric, as far as we have read in both. But there are Tantras and Tantras Vamachari and Dakshina Tantras for example.

In another life of Chaitanya we read that the Vaishnavas were very limited and the Shaktas reigned supreme, that they (the latter) indulged in wine, women and flesh to a very great extent, and were very rough in their manners; and "that the poor Vaishnavas used to tremble in their presence," p. iii. Now there are quite a number of Tantras accepted as Scriptures by Vaishnavas. They have Tantras of their own.

A writer in the *Oriental* of October last says that the Tantras date their origin contemporaneously with the Upanishads, as it is evident that the Upanishads deal with the *Jñanakanda* of the Vedas and the Tantras deal with the *Karmakanda*. One of the authoritative Upanishads reproduces the identical Sutra of *Satchakra Veda*, which is said to form the fundamental principle of the Tantric religion—the substance of which is as follows:—"There are one hundred and one nerves in the human frame, amongst which *Shusunna* which enters into the cortical centres, conditions the mental operations as to the liberation of the soul and others help to perform secular duties."

We give the following statements on the authority of the *Oriental* for what they are worth. We have not been able to verify them:—"The seventh sloka of the *Prasnopanishad* bears out the same fact. Besides these, there are copious instances of reference to the Tantras in *Narad Pancharattra*, *Skanda Purana*, *Mahabharatta Debi Bhagbata*, *Agastha Samhita*, *Vishnu Purana*, *Agni Purana*, *Markandeya Purana*, &c., &c. That the very ancient Rishis such as Narada, Kapila, Gautama, Sanat Kumar, Dattatreya, &c., were Tantrics is evident from the following books entitled by them respectively to wit:—*Narad Pancharattra*, *Kapil Pancharattra*, *Gautama Tantra*, *Sanat Kumar Tantra*, *Dattatreya Samhita*."

The writer in the *Oriental* proceeds to add—"The religion propounded by the Tantras is not the subject matter of rhetoric or of barren argument, of a theory, but it is that which requires *Sadhana* or carrying out of its dictum, which being reduced into practice, the efficacy is immediately felt. The famous bard and devotee Ramprasad, Maharajah Ramkrishna of Nattore, Kamala Kanta, Kumar Nares Chundra, and the great Ramkrishna Paramhansa are the later products of the Tantric religion or Shakti-m." So Mr. Dutta says, and he certainly has made out a claim upon Bengalis to study in-

telligently and come to a decision upon the matter for themselves. But we will have conveyed a false impression if we have led any one to think that the study of the Tantras which originated in Bengal is confined to Bengal. No, we have seen how they have honeycombed Buddhism. They are also found and read and studied in Western and Southern India as well as in Northern and Eastern, their native place. History tells us how they were introduced into Guzerat, and we find in Dr. Oppert's lists of Sanscrit MSS. discovered by him in private Libraries in Southern India, under the general heading of *Ceremonial* with sub-divisions headed (1) *Agama*, (2) *Kalpapravajoga* and (3) *Mantra-tantra*, as many as 400 distinct Tantra works in circulation among the Hindus of Southern India. Printed Tantras, not to speak of MSS., are in circulation in the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, some of them even in Hindi, just as we find a few in Bengali, in the Calcutta book shops. All the same, it is curious to find so much ignorance concerning them among Europeans, even among Orientalists and Sanscritists. All that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says of their date is that this class of writings does not appear to have been in existence at the time of Amara Singh (sixth century), but they are mentioned in some of the Puranas; but Amara Singh's reticence or silence proves nothing, most certainly not a universal negative. It is very different with such expressions as we find in the *Srimadbhagabata* "the conclusive science of the Tantras," "the all-powerfulness and versatility of Vishnu and other propagators of religion in the Vedas, or in the Tantras." Such expressions conclusively prove the Tantras to be older than the books in which they occur; and of all the Puranas we are assured that the *Srimadbhagabata* exercises a more direct and powerful influence on the opinions and feelings of the people than any other.

Though highly prized in India, and though Europeans and Americans, as a rule, take much interest in the Sanscrit literature of India, neither Americans nor Europeans have shown any interest whatever in the Tantras. Orientalists and Sanscritists of the West have, it may be said, simply ignored them, although they, it must be admitted, offer an important study in comparative religion, if not also in comparative philosophy. There is no volume treating of them or of the Shakta religion in the extensive library of the *Sacred Books of the East*; and Professor Max Müller does not give a single page to them in his *History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature*. Even the Missionaries have neglected them, though a goodly number of them have studied a good few of the Indian vernaculars and a fair proportion of them Sanscrit also. And the natives have not translated many of them into English, the only ones we have

met with are the *Mahanirvana Tantra* (one of the best) and *Siva Sanhita* (one of the worst). Not one has as yet been translated or published in Europe or America.

Of course there are good and bad among them even from the Sakta point of view, as well as original and compiled; some in fairly good Sanscrit, and others in outrageously poor Sanscrit; the latter evidently by men who knew nothing of Panini, and who possibly wrote before the great grammar had been composed.

The form of composition generally followed is that of a dialogue between a male and a female, the latter giving utterance to her curiosity as questions, the former replying. As a rule the male is Siva and the female Durga, or some one of her many forms, otherwise called *Sakti* (energy), hence the name of the religion Saktism, or the *Sakta* religion.

The subject matter is gathered round the five words—creation, destruction, worship, power, union or emancipation, and a sixth *Sarshli* (becoming God). The authorship is attributed, as a rule, to Siva, one of each of the *Amnayyas*, systems of teaching, having issued from each of Siva's five mouths. This does not characterize all the Tantras. Some are devoted chiefly to medicine, others to alchemy and others to astronomy or astrology; and to other so-called sciences. There are some which are Vaishnava and others Saiva, and yet others are mere spells or incantations, or amulets, or expressive of the duties of gurus and the training of disciples.

As an illustration of a Vaishnava Tantra reference may be made to *Gobindo-Kalpatala*, a Tantric compilation on the worship of *Vishnu*, noticed by Mr. H. P. Shastri. It uses all the paraphernalia of the Sakti worship, but still the author is a bigoted Vishnuvite, and tells his readers never to take the work or read it at a place where Sakti is worshipped or where Sakti worshippers live. Yet all Tantras are correctly brought under one name or class of Sanscrit literature and that class is appropriately enough called Tantras—or rites in the sense of religious ceremonies, or strings or systems of rites—from *tan*.

The name *Veda* is taken from the very common phrase occurring so often in the Brahmanas of the Vedas *ya evam veda* (he who knows this). It and the other word *vidya* (knowledge), neither of which words is much used in the Tantras indicate a difference between the two literatures. In the Vedas knowledge is the one thing. In and through it power, influence and creative faculty are obtained and exercised by the priest. While *Tantra*, as we have seen etymologically, is a string or system of rites or ceremonies, by the practice of which mystic union with a deity is attained and thus the worshipper is protected and aided. Hence the great variety of Tantras

original or compiled as compared with the limited number of Vedas there are—and even these are practically reduceable to one, the Rig-Veda.

K. S. MACDONALD.

ART. IX.—THE ARMENIA OF ST. NIERSES

Through the long centuries of night
Thy "watch" thou'st kept in very deed,
Through Time's long, long flight,
Thy "Lamp" has burned with steady light ;
Thy sons "baptized for the dead."

Thy lot has been the Cross on earth ;
Thy fair sons and daughters slain—
In "captivity" thou givest birth,
Dwelling beside a blood-stained hearth—
Sodden with rain of blood—blood-rain.

Patience for yet the briefest while,
The Lord thou lovest shall appear
And change all things by His Smile ;
His Love shall all thy pains beguile :
Th' Archangel's Trump proclaims Him near !

Thy Dawn is rising o'er the East ;
Awake, arise, and dry thy tear !
Thou'rt called to His "Marriage Feast,"
His sorrowing "Bride," beloved "guest"—
Rise Weeping Queen, and dry thy tear—

C***N.



ART. X.—INDIAN THEOLOGICAL DEGREES.

A very important subject in the intellectual march forward of the Indian Christian Church is now engaging the attention of most Missionaries of the Evangelical denominations. It is the conferring of Theological Degrees by a duly constituted Senate authorised to grant such degrees, or by one of the existing Indian Universities with a Divinity side to it. Assuming that it is advisable to grant such degrees, how is it to be brought about?

The credit of bringing up this subject before the Christian public for solution belongs to the Rev. George Howells, the Baptist Missionary, who has charge of the Baptist Theological College at Cuttack. He not only brought up the suggestion for such degrees before the recent Baptist Triennial Conference, but drew up a definite scheme and submitted it to the Missionary Conferences at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Bangalore. The discussion, thus, has been wide, and has been further taken up in the press. As the subject is one of considerable interest, if not importance, to the Indian (Native) Church with its several millions of converts, and numbers of them highly-placed, both in the present and in the future, it may perhaps fittingly find a place in the pages of a *Review* which impartially views and records all matters of Indian moment.

Mr. Howells' scheme may be summed up thus :—

(1) A Theological Senate should be formed for examining and giving diplomas to theological students who have not matriculated.

(2) A B.A. degree in Theology should be established in the Calcutta University.

(3) The degree of B.D. should be given in that University for post-graduate theological study, and that of D.D. for original theological research or *honoris causa*.

The *Bombay Guardian's* comment on it is "the scheme aims at making the present theological courses in Missionary Colleges lead up to a degree which shall be generally accepted as the equivalent of the existing B.A. This can be done either by creating a new University to confer such degrees, or by prevailing upon some existing University to do so. The Calcutta University alone, it is suggested, should give these degrees."

The Rev. F. W. Kellett, M.A., of the Madras Christian College, in the *Harvest Field*, while considering that the main objects it seeks are most desirable, it is well that proficiency in theology should be recognised. Such recognition would be a stimulus to the study of divinity, and would probably improve our Indian ministry and through them our

Indian Churches, but he says that the difficulties in the way of this arrangement, whether as regards the Calcutta or any other of the existing Indian Universities, are insuperable. Mr. Kellett, however, regards as supreme an opportunity relegated by Mr. Howells to a secondary position. Mr. Kellett says:—

"In 1827, it seems, Frederic VI., King of Denmark, granted a Charter to the Serampore College—then within his dominions—empowering it to confer degrees. By the treaty of 1845, which transferred Serampore to the British, this power was specifically continued to the Council of the College. The Charter is still valid, though the power conferred by it has never yet been exercised. This is described as 'the very thing we want. The present council of the Serampore College is the Committee of the Baptist Society, and their Secretary says he thinks they are willing to 'delegate their degree conferring powers, granted by the Charter, to a Senate or Faculty representative of the various [Protestant?] Christian bodies working in India. Such conditions suggest the possibility of a Theological University for India under a Senate representative of Protestant Missions and Churches, free from non-Christian interference and as far as may be from State control. For students for the ministry to pass a Mission test is regarded as of more importance than for them to pass a Government test; but, on the other hand, Government might not accept the B.D. degree as a test of fitness for Government service equivalent to the B.A.

At present the opinions of District Missionaries in various parts are being invited on the following questions:—

Should the Indian Universities be asked to formulate alternate courses of study for Arts Degrees, on the model, say, of Oxford, to enable under-graduate Theological students to graduate practically in Theology, or should they be asked to institute separate courses and degrees in Theology? Failing the foregoing, should steps be taken to utilise the Serampore Charter, with the approval of all concerned, for the granting of degrees in Theology under the direction of a Senate representative of the Protestant Missions in India? Thirdly, should non-graduation courses of Theological study in India be formulated in English and in the Vernaculars, a general or a Presidency Senate issuing certificates for proficiency ascertained by uniform examination; and, finally, should any Government recognition be asked for such non-graduate proficiency as is the case with regard to proficiency in Sanskrit and Arabic?

It will thus be seen that the project is maturing; and it is as a help to obtaining a sound and accurate view of the whole question that we venture to put forward the following remarks:—

The particulars to be considered are (1) whether the degrees are wanted; (2) what they are to be; (3) what will they be worth; (4) which plan would be the best, whether as regards feasibility or as regards the value of the degrees. And these are all important. The points noted above as placed before District Missionaries seem to assume these as taken for granted. Whether the degrees are wanted or will conduce to the real benefit of the Native Church and the progress of

Missions, or whether they will be worth anything at all, lie at the root of the whole matter. After these come the rest which are mere matters of detail.

First, then, are such degrees wanted, and will they conduce to the real benefit of the Native Church and the progress of Missions? We have to note here that the call has been made not by the mass of the laity, or even the workers in the Mission field, but by a teacher of a theological seminary. And again, not by such large and advanced sections of the Church, as the Gospel Propagation Society and the Church Mission Society, with their numerous and well-appointed Colleges and first class University-men Professors; or the splendidly-worked and endowed Colleges of the Scotch Missions; or the well-organised Seminaries and Colleges of the very numerous Methodist body; or even the popular Institutions of the London Missionary Society; but from the most inconsiderable section and the least-regarded in such matters. This alone would throw a doubt on the wisdom and propriety of the whole matter. It is strange that such a doubt never entered into the minds of those who have given in their adhesion. It will be time enough, we should think, to raise the question, when the call is made by the great mass of the laity and workers and the larger and more influential portions of the Church. We consider, then, the question to be premature, raised before its time, and as being only partially supported by a very small and unimportant minority, should be set aside for the present.

But if it conduced to the real benefit and progress of the Native Church, it should certainly be persisted in and carried through. Here, too, we do not think the granting of Theological Degrees will prove of any utility. On the contrary, it will serve to repress that living flame of love in the hearts of the followers of Christ, who have tasted of His Salvation, which leads them to proclaim to others His Love, that His Name be glorified. That is, the efforts and zeal of humble but true workers, who perhaps do more than the office-bearers, will be considerably damped, if not quenched, by this show of learning in the leaders. "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation"—not even with Degrees. What we may ask, have Theological Degrees to do with "The Love of Christ which passeth understanding?" Was St. Peter who proclaimed "Christ Crucified," who brought thousands at a time to see the infinite Love and Glory of the Saviour, and who gave himself up finally to be crucified with his head downward, a man who concerned himself with Theological Degrees? Or St. John, "the Beloved Apostle," who treated of the Essential Glory of Christ, and preached Love to the end,

with the Vision of the "City of God" before him? Or even St. Paul, the Learned, who would know nothing of Degrees, but only of "Jesus Christ and Him Crucified?" Indeed, it is a universally-acknowledged, and lamented, fact that in our University Education system at Home, the student who enters with a burning sense of zeal and love to Christ, finds little spiritual food but much Christless intellectual exercise, so that he has a constant struggle to maintain the flame of watchful devotion. This has been well brought out in "The Earnest Student" or Memories of Mackenzie's Life published by Dr. Norman Macleod, and also we believe referred to by the sainted McCheyne. Indeed, all our greatest and most sainted Missionaries have never concerned themselves with Theological Degrees. Why should they? Their work lay in exemplifying and proclaiming the Love of Christ to fallen man; and the work of every Christian lies in the same line. It is this alone that we ought to seek in the Indian Church, and one that in the opinion of many observers is much needed. It is for this purpose alone that millions of money are freely lavished by the Christian Churches in England and America. Indeed it is for this purpose alone that even the Theological Colleges in India themselves exist. And, we may add, not one of the numerous Theological Colleges at Home have ever concerned themselves about the granting of Theological Degrees to their students.

To set these Degrees before the eyes of the rising class of Indian preachers and teachers as the *acmé* of their ambition, is to delude the young to give them a false scent, and to betray our trust. It is to quench the work that is already progressing under serious obstacles and innumerable difficulties. Instead of love and devotion to, and service for, Christ, a pottering and smattering of false "criticism" and little Greek (probably no Hebrew at all) will come in. This, indeed, is a very delusion of the Arch-Enemy. There is no one who values learning—real and true learning, and not a mere smattering of it; no one who values more the expansion of the mind, and the grasp it gives over difficult and intricate mental problems; no one who thinks a learned ministry most appropriate to meet the learning of the Hindus; than we do. We have had some little share of that learning and expansion of the mind; but it was at an utterly disproportionate cost. And here we will mention an anecdote of a very learned Hindu Brahmin, Professor of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, who had read the New Testament over and over and over again, and believed in, and prayed to, Christ alone though he still remained a Hindu. During a conversation with him he told us that what India wanted was not "Bishops" and "Doctors

of Divinity," but "*men smitten with the love and zeal of St. Paul,*" men who would give up their lives for Christ, and show by *living example what a true Christian was.* That Hindu Brahmin Pundit but declared the truth which seems to be hid from our European Teachers and Professors of Christian Theological Colleges. He is long since dead, and though he died a Hindu Brahmin, and Brahmin rites were performed over his remains, we are firmly assured that he has found the grace and mercy of the Lord whom he believed in. And even in the living present, from distant Bengal, there comes to us the appeal of a powerful Hindu intellect, a very leading lawyer, who has read through the Gospels and Epistles, and who virtually acknowledges Christ, to help him in understanding the mysteries of the Christian faith. Would he do so were there St. Paul's "living Epistles of Christ" about him? He is, we may add, within the reach of half a score of Missions, and half a score of Christian Theological Colleges with their scores of Professors. Nay, we do not want "Theological Degrees," but the warm living loving sympathy and going out of ourselves of our Divine Master and His Apostles, for the young and growing Church in India. We do not decry learning, as will be seen further below, but a sham and a delusion of the Arch-Enemy.

Next; will these "Theological Degree" be worth anything? They will only mark a certain (poor) standard of reading and study. A "D. D." will consider himself greater than a "B. D." (although he has no reason to do so). On the other hand, a "B. D." will be regarded with awe and veneration by a mere "A. D." (associate of Divinity"), and that, too, probably without justification for it. Finally, as Native Ministers will never be appointed to European congregations, the "Degrees" will have to be called by Sanscrit or other vernacular equivalents for Indian Christians to apprehend their meaning. And in the vast secular world, including Government, the degree will be just worth nothing!

These "Theological Degrees," thus, are not wanted, will not conduce to the growth and peace of the Indian Church, and will be worth little or next to nothing as well as shams as betokening real learning.

For the Church of England, as it is, the Archbishop of Canterbury has the "faculty" of granting not only Theological but all the other degrees granted by the Universities, and as a fact, he occasionally exercises the right. And as he also grants the "M. A." degree, it does not stand to reason that the vast Church of England section will forego this valuable possession for mere "Theological Degrees" emanating even from an Indian University.

Assuming, however, that only a certain portion of the Indian Church, however sectional and small, *will* have these degrees, the questions are how best to go about it, and how to most enhance the value of the degrees. Here the points quoted above as having been placed before District Missionaries have their bearing.

These are:—Should the Indian Universities be asked to formulate alternate courses of study for Arts Degrees, on the model, say of Oxford, to enable under-graduate Theological students to graduate practically in Theology, or should they be asked to institute separate courses and degrees in Theology? It is quite clear that either of these may be done, but the former degree will be accepted as more valuable than the latter, and being already carried out at Home, may easily be transferred to this country as a right, lawful and proper thing. The Indian Universities are for every form of Belief, and if the Christians body unite here, their demand cannot well be refused. It is probable also that here the great Church of England section will give in their adhesion, and this is an important matter for the full success of the scheme.

The point put before the Missionaries after the preceding is:—Failing the foregoing, should steps be taken to utilise the Serampur Charter, with the approval of all concerned, for the granting of degrees in Theology under the direction of a Senate representative of the Protestant Missions in India? As we state above, the Universities in India can have no hesitation in following the example of Oxford, and, therefore, this question of the Serampur Charter is hardly necessary. Assuming, however, that it becomes necessary, we should think that the Serampur Charter should be taken full advantage of, that is, even for the granting of its own secular Arts and other degrees. But the trouble would lie in getting a Senate representative of all the Protestant Missions in India. If the Church of England unite in this, or even if the Church Mission Society only joined, there would be every chance of its being a great success.

The third point is:—Should non-graduation courses of Theological study in India be formulated in English and in the Vernaculars; a general or a Presidency Senate issuing certificates of proficiency ascertained by uniform examination? To this, we may say, no. There is not the least use of such trifling certificates.

Finally:—Should any Government recognition be asked for such non-graduate proficiency as is the case with regard to proficiency in Sanscrit and Arabic? We consider this as simply absurd.

There is no need to further enlarge on the subject of Theo-

logical Degrees for India. We have considered it from every point of view. The Degrees are not wanted, and will do no good but evil. But if taken in hand, they should be carried through the Indian Universities; and if not, through the Serampur Charter, making the degrees really valuable, and getting the great Church of England body to unite in the scheme. As for mere non-graduation certificates, and recognition of them from Government, the former is almost a shame to be mentioned in such a connection, and the latter is unreasonable and absurd.

THE EDITOR.

ART. XI.—A TRIBUTE.

Victoria—rightly named—whose great career,
 From birth to death, was crown'd with Victory,
 Whose world-wide Empire stretch'd o'er land and sea,
 With "Pax Britannica" as watch-word clear,
 Still reign within our hearts for ever near,
 Tho' rest from earthly sight—since silently,
 That desolated multitude stood by,
 When wait'd the wintry wind around thy bier.
 No more shall Sorrow on her peace intrude :
 Safe from thy dread abyss, engulfing Time !
 Shall She survive, the Glorious and the Good,
 Revered in Eastern, as in Western, clime,
 Embodiment of Sovereignty sublime,
 And peerless type of perfect Womanhood !

C. A. KELLY.

ART. XII.—THE NAMBUDRI-BRAHMINS OF KERALA.

TO the student of history, the Nambudri-Brahmins of Kerala furnish a fascinating subject of study. With a romantic past, they invite a most interesting present. Untouched by the current of modern civilisation, they have managed to keep their antique laws and customs in their pristine purity. Governed by Hindu Law as they are, many portions of it as administered to their brethren on the East Coast have no application to them. For, "it must be remembered that the personal law which they presumably carried with them was the Hindu Law as received by Brahmins at the time of their settlement in Malabar, and it is not the Hindu Law as modified by customs which have since come into prevalence among Brahmins of the East Coast." Similarly in manners, habits, and customs, they widely differ from them. Such as it is, we hope a short account of them will not be without some interest.

The term "Nambudri"* as applied to "Malayala-Brahmins" is a word of respect, of office and dignity, dating its origin from the great reformer, and teacher of Kerala—Sankaracharier of Kaladi.† As tradition would have it, Parasurama brought these Brahmins from a locality near Kurukshetra in Northern India to people the land he reclaimed from Varuna by austere penance performed in atonement of the sins of parricide and hero-slaughter. They came in large numbers and he located them in sixty-four gramams (villages) over the entire area, made them the absolute owners of the land, giving them flower and water as a token of the gift, created a militia of 36,000 men from among them called Rakshapurushars for the protection of the country, brought down Sudras for their service and gave them laws,—religious, moral, social and political—for their personal guidance and the proper administration of the land.†

* From Dravidian Nambuka=to confide and Sans. *brh*=dignity, office (Gundort).

† See *Keralolpathi*.

‡ Jacob Canter Visscher, whose "Letters from Malabar" have been translated into English by Major Heber Drury, gives another version of the tradition :—"In by-gone ages the sea washed the foot of a mountain range which now lies seven or eight miles in land. The men who dwelt in the neighbourhood gained their subsistence by fishing along the mountain-shores. Now it happened that there dwelt at Cocarna near Goa a certain prophet renowned for sanctity whose name was Parasurama. He discovering to his sorrow that his aged mother had acquired an evil notoriety in the neighbourhood for her misdeeds, felt unable to endure the public shame she had brought upon him. At length inspired by a divine impulse, he

About the probable date of their settlement in Kerala, we have no precise information. Such of the facts as afford a reasonable inference are thus carefully collected by the distinguished judge and jurist of South India in a case reported in the 11th Volume of I. L. Reports, Madras series (p. 180-181). "There is internal evidence," says he, "to show that the event must have occurred before the *Mitakshara* was written. The *Sarvaswadanam* marriage is recognised in Malabar, and as far as we are aware, there is no allusion to it in the *Mitakshara* as a form of marriage in use. According to the latter, daughters are in the line of heirs and the Cochin expert Tiruvengidachari and several other witnesses say that they are not heirs among *Nambudris* unless they are given in *Sarvaswadanam* marriages and thereby retained in the family. We may also state that the migration must have taken place prior to the time of Sankaracharier, the founder of the Adwaita or non-dualistic school of Vedic Philosophy. It is in evidence that *Acharams* or practices of *Nambudris* are believed to have been regulated by him and he is known to have lived about fifth or seventh century. Again according to tradition Parasurama was the first king who introduced Brahmins into Malabar as an organised community, and a considerable period of time must have intervened between him and Sankaracharier. Further *Niyoga* or inviting a Brahmin to beget a son upon a childless widow for her husband was in use among Brahmins in early times, but at a later period several *Smritis* reprobated the practice as 'fit only for cattle,' and under their influence various forms of adoption gradually took the place of *Niyoga* which was ultimately forbidden. The direction to marry specially for an *illom* (house) which is said to be founded on analogy to *Sarvaswadanam* marriage conveys the impression that the girl selected for the marriage is by special agreement substituted for the daughter born in the family into which she is married, so that her son and his descendants become the repre-

seized a rice winnow and hurled it with tremendous force from Goazna right over the sea; by a wonderful miracle it was carried as far as Cape Comorin, upon which all the sea between the two places immediately dried up and was transformed into that tract of level land to which we now give the name of Malabar. The prophet resolved to take up his abode with his mother in the strange land hoping here to find a hiding place for his disgrace. Meantime the fishermen of the mountains hearing of the miracle flocked into these lowlands to seek for the seashore. The prophet met them, and knowing that a land without inhabitants is waste and desolate, persuaded them to remain and settle there; and in order the more to attract them, he invested them with the dignity of Brahmins. . . . He then took the fishing nets. . . . and tore them into strands which he twisted together to make the three cords which the Brahmins wear as a sign of dignity. . . . These Brahmins of Malabar are called "*Nambudris*." (Pages 9 and 10.)

sentatives of that *illom*. This is an indication that *Nambudris* settled in Malabar at a time when *Niyoga* was in disrepute so far as it authorised sexual intercourse between a woman and a person who was not her husband, and when there was a tendency to substitute a form of adoption for it, so that its value as a mode of affiliation might be retained. We can only say upon the evidence that *Nambudris* must have settled in Malabar more than 1200 or 1500 years ago. It may not be out of place to refer in connection with this historical fact to the interesting account given by Mr. Logan, of the probable mode and the time of settlement in Appendix I to his report on 'Malabar Land Tenures.' The conclusion to which he has come is stated by him in para. 64 as follows. I think there is enough to show that *Nambudris* entered and settled in Malabar in large numbers, and as an organised body precisely at the time (end of seventh and first half of eighth century) when the extinction of the *Perumals*' authority was for the first time menaced by the Western Chalukyas. It is reasonable to conclude that the *Perumals* received them with open arms at a time when, as shown by the Jewish and Syrian deeds, they were seeking succour from every quarter, and it is also reasonable to conclude that they, in some way, managed to do the *Perumals* some friendly office, for we find, from the Syrian grant, that they had already in A. D. 774 obtained commanding influences in the country."

According to Keralolpathi,* the original Brahmin settlers were pure Aryans. But whatever it be, it would be wrong to classify the present *Nambudris*—their descendants as pure Aryans, though their colour, stature and appearance may argue a pure Aryan parentage. It must be remembered that soon after the first colonisation, several waves of Brahmin immigrants from all parts of India poured into Kerala, "a land upon which nature has bestowed uncommon advantages"† and lived in peaceful comity with the first settlers. And various points of similarity exist even to day between *Nambudris* and the Dravidian Brahmins of the Telugu countries, in their customs and manners which materially shake their claim to pure Aryan descent.‡ And besides this, the testimony of experts is against them. "It has often been asserted and is the general belief of Ethnologists" writes Mr. Stuart in the Madras Census Report, 1891, "that the Brahmins of South are not pure Aryans but are a mixed Aryan and Dravidian race."

Like the other castes, the *Nambudri* caste may be divided

* This work pretends to be a trustworthy history of Malabar.

† Buchanan's Travels, vol. II, page 64.

‡ See Travancore Census Report, 1891, page 654.

into several classes. Broadly speaking it branches off into two great divisions—the first comprising persons who are entitled to the study of the Scriptures (technically called “Oathul-laver”), and the other consisting of those who are not entitled to it. Neither inter-dining nor inter-marriage is permitted between the two classes. Roughly estimated, of the sixty-four villages, the northern thirty-two belong to the first class and the rest to the latter.*

Another classification is according to the spiritual headship to which they owe their allegiance. There are at present two great ecclesiastical heads called Vádhyans of Trichur and Tirunavai, to one of whom every Nambudri in the land owes his allegiance. These heads belong to very ancient families and trace their ecclesiastical supremacy to Parasurama himself. The institutions at Trichur and Tirunavai called “Yogams” resemble “Mutts” in the other coast of the Presidency and are like them endowed with immense estates, the proceeds of which go to the maintenance and the religious training of Nambudri youths that belong to them. The origin of this dual headship is ascribed by the historian of Travancore to the great Brahmin reformer Sankaracharia. To quote his own words, “The improvements effected by Sankaracharia were that each of the divisions (Chourakoor and Pamiarkoor into which they were originally divided) should have a Vádhyan called Tirunavai Vádhyan and Trichur Vádhyan, that there should be under these two personages six Vydeekans, a set of *Maimasikans* and *Smarthans*.” But it is not clearly known what difference exists, if there be any, between the disciples of these Vádhyans. For practical purposes there seems to be none.

The Vydeekans are persons privileged to enquire into caste questions and disputes. Altogether there are, as pointed out above six Vydeekans, belonging to six different *illams* (families), a member generally the eldest being selected from each. The claim their authority for this as for everything else from thy great hero himself. In their council of enquiry, two form the quorum, and without the quorum, no investigation can be proceeded with. Their great weapon of punishment is “excommunication,” and like the Popes of olden days, they use it without any scruples for their own selfish ends. Of great learning and local influence, thoroughly versed in shastras and customary laws their authority is unquestioned and unquestionable and even now it remains as of yore. As a recent instance of the exercise of their power, the case of an English graduate of the land may be mentioned. Some years ago he had the audacity to commit the heinous and unpardonable sin

* See Travancore Census Report, 1891, page 659.

of crossing the “black waters” to the land of ‘Hūnas’* and so on his return, the Vydeekans hauled him up before their tribunal and visited him with a condign punishment. And it is now fervently hoped that this example will be a wholesome lesson to others who may be infected with a desire to travel

“ . . . among unknown men
In lands beyond the sea.”

The most important principle of division is according to their social rank and status. Of all the several orders Nambudri *pads*† or Adhyans occupy the highest step in the social ladder, the family of the Azhuvanchéri Adhyans being in the foremost rank. Though eight other families have been recognised to be of equal repute and religious sanctity, they are not entitled to that peculiar respect and reverence paid to the Azhuvanchéri family. The members of this house are no common ‘Nambudripads’ but are ‘Sovereigns’ being addressed as ‘Tamburakkals’ on account of their supreme religious worth. The traditionary account of their right to this distinguished title is highly interesting. When a member of this family was returning from a *Hiranyagarbhadanam* ceremony with a gold cow in hand, a Pariah accidentally met him on the road and reprimanded him thus: “We are the rightful owners of dead cows and not Brahmins. If not, our occupation is gone. Should this be yours, give it life and walk it home.” Thereupon the Nambudri sprinkled a drop of water on the image and lo! it began to show signs of life. The Pariah stood aghast and exclaimed in astonishment and terror “O! you are Tamburakkal indeed!” They alone are privileged to administer on the “coronation day of the Cochin and Travancore Rajas,” and to them alone belong “the four highest privileges of honour and religious orthodoxy,” viz., *Bhadrasanam*, *Sarvamanyam*, *Bhramasamrajyam*, and *Brahamavarchassu*.

After ‘Adhyans’ come “agnihotrees,” persons who alone are entitled to keep the holy fire and perform sacrifices and then “Bhattatiris,” person entitled to the study of Philosophy, having no right to perform sacrifices. Again these two orders are divided into various classes according to their pursuits in life, such as Vydeekans (Vedic judges), Vádhyans (priests and teachers), Tantees (Purifiers of temple and consecrators of idols) and Shantees (temple worshippers).

In addition to the above are several others who have forfeited their right to the full privileges and status of the Nambudri caste by a variety of causes such as the practice of

* The Nambudri calls Englishmen “Hūnas.”

† Pad=authority.

surgery and the taking up of arms. But as the term "Nambudri" as used in popular parlance does not connote these, it is needless to give any account of them here.*

"Every period of a Hindu's life, especially of a Brahmin's from his birth and even before his birth," writes Bishop Caldwell, "is attended by a host of ceremonies."† If this is true in general of all Brahmins, it is specially so of Nambudris. Before a Nambudri is six months old a host of ceremonies are performed on his account. *Pumsavanam* and *Seemantam*, ceremonies performed in the third and fourth months of conception prepare the way for the grander and more important ceremonies after birth. Within thirty-six hours after that event, the *Jatakarmam* ceremony is gone through with much éclat and pomp. Now for the first time the father looks at the darling child of his loins and bathing him, places him on his lap, and pours down his throat a small quantity of a mixture of gold, honey and ghee. Mantras are recited and rich presents are given to Brahmins. When the child is a dozen days old, the parents utter its name in its ears, and after an interval of four months from this ceremony, called *Namakaramam* ceremony, the ceremony of taking it out of the house for the first time, is celebrated.‡ Two months after it is followed by the rice-giving ceremony. The father seats the child on his lap and feeds him with consecrated rice and honey. Mantras are recited at the time and the usual presents are given. There is much feasting and merry-making and the day is observed as a gala day.

Tonsure or chowlam (the shaving of the child for the first time) is an important affair. It gives the Nambudri boy his distinguishing mark. Unlike his brethren on the other side of the Ghauts, he wears his *Kudumai* (lock of hair) in front and this peculiarity has a very interesting tale to tell. The first settlers brought down by Parasurama did not remain in Kerala owing to "the dread of the myriads of serpents infesting the country."§ Therefore when he brought down another set, he determined that they should not follow the example of their predecessors. And so he got all of them shaved from Gocarnam; || thinking that the contempt of foreigners for this queer fashion would be an effective check on their home-returning tendencies. On this occasion, it is the Marar (a class of temple servant) who plays the rôle of the barber. In the case of girls, only one or two hairs are clipped, but "there

* For a comprehensive table of the various classes see Ram Chandra Iyer's "Malabar Law and Custom."

† The Indian Antiquary, 1875, page 172.

‡ Called "*Nishkramanam*."

§ See Keralolpathi and Logan's '*Malabar Manual*,' page 222.

|| See Keralolpathi, page 6.

is no objection to remove all the hair except the *Kudumai* portion which should always be left."

Upanayanam, which is generally performed in the eighth year is a very important ceremony for all classes of Brahmins whether of the Malabar Coast or not. It is the ceremony which regenerates a Brahmin youth, which entitles him to the study of the Vedas, and to all the other privileges which are his birthright. Without this he is not a Brahmin; he is worse than a Sudra. The ceremony is performed on an auspicious day in the *Utharayanam* period (i.e., the period when the sun is north of the equator). "On the day previous to the appointed one, the *Nandi* is performed when a *Sradha* is observed and Brahmins are fed. The next day, the usual initial proceedings over, the boy is made to wear the sacred thread and perform sacrifice to the fire in the midst of which he is made to put on a waist string made of a certain kind of grass and the skin of the animal called *Krishnamrigom*. The ceremony of investiture begins by the youth's standing opposite the sun and walking thrice round the fire. Then girt with thread he asks alms from the assembled company. This begging for alms indicates that the youth undertakes to provide himself and his preceptor with food."* He is now taught the holy *gayatri*.

After Upanayanam, the period of studentship commences. Throughout this period, which "may last to three, nine, eighteen or even to thirty-six years," the Nambudri youth is with "hermit heart," "to scorn all delights and live laborious days." For him the study of the *Dattu* (Vedas) and the punctilious performance of *Sindhaya Vandanams* are to be the only recreations; a coarse piece of cloth to cover his nudity and a strap of *Krishnamrigom's* skin across the chest are to be the only ornaments.

With such rigid observances and practices, the period of study is brought to a close by the ceremony of *Samavartanam*. The details are considerably simple. Bathing before the day-break and performing the usual morning services and sacrifices, the youth parts with the symbols of studentship—the waist-string of grass and the wand—and after a shave, he bathes inside the house in water which the sun has not touched, puts on his dress and castemmark and then concludes the homam. Throughout the day, he shuts himself up in his room for fear of exposing himself to the rays of the sun. But soon after sunset he concludes the ceremony by looking at the moon and the stars. This ceremony—an essential preliminary to 'marriage'—is incumbent on all Nambudri youths and its omission is to be paid with the loss of their caste.†

* Travancore Census Report, 1891, pages 664 and 665.

† Malabar Marriage Commission Report, Deposition of witness No. 93.

Thus Samavartanam leads us to the subject of 'marriage.' 'Marriage' among Nambudris is a very different affair from that of the other classes of Brahmins. To the latter, marriage is a right and a privilege, and also, in a certain sense, an obligation. Among 'Nambudris' none—whether male or female—is *obliged* to marry while only the happy few are entitled to do so. Let me explain what I mean. Among non-Nambudri Brahmin classes all males are entitled to a marriage sanctioned and recognised by law and religion, and their females are obliged to marry before puberty at the pain of excommunication from caste. But among this curious people it is only the eldest son in a family that is entitled to enter into holy wedlock, and his brothers are left to lead a life of concubinage "assisting the ladies of the Rajas, and of the Nairs of distinction to keep up their families."* In the case of females, not only the doctrine of compulsory marriage before puberty has no existence, but many of them even die without tasting the pleasures and enjoyments of "married life," and as if "to make a tardy retribution—if it deserves that name to the woman who dies unmarried, the corpse it is said cannot be burnt till a *tali* is strung round the neck of the corpse while lying on the funeral pile by a competent relative."† But it is important to note that, however different it may be in other respects, the effects of 'marriage' are identical among all classes of Brahmins. For "a Nambudri woman, in common with a Brahmin on this side of the Ghauts, takes her husband's *Gotram* upon her marriage and passes into his family from that of her father; and perpetual widowhood and incapacity to re-marry on her husband's death are the incidents of marriage both among Nambudris and Brahmins of the East Coast."‡

The marriage ceremony is not very complex in details. We have the usual consultation of horoscopes, the appointment of the marriage day, and the settlement of the dowry, the magnificent procession of the bridegroom and his party to the bride's *illam*—escorted by an array of Nairs armed with swords and shields; the equally magnificent reception at the gate by a levy of white-robed Nair beauties, and the sumptuous meal called *Ayimenu*, the usual prelude to the ceremonies of the day. Then the bridegroom is formally welcomed by the bride's parents, as a sign of which the father washes his feet and a Nair woman as the mother's proxy, waves a plate of *Ashtamangalyam* before his face, and is led in procession to the wedding *Pandal* which rings with the shrill notes of joy

* Buchanan's Travels, Vol. ii, page 105.

† Logan's Malabar Manual, page 127.

‡ I. L. R., 4. ii Mad., 161.

made in concert with Nambudri women who hide themselves behind a screen and peep through its artificial holes. Now the bride joins the bridegroom and throwing flowers at his feet, presents him with a wreath of flowers. Throughout the ceremony, the bridegroom is armed with a stick and a string, while the bride is equipped with an arrow and a mirror—symbols which in all probability point to the days when might was right in marriage as in everything else. The Vedic hymns are recited and the *father* ties the tali round his daughter's neck and then gives her and the settled dowry to the bridegroom for his formal acceptance. Then follow the usual *Saptapati*, the Homa, the father's advice to the bridegroom to take good care of his wife, and their immediate departure to the bridegroom's house. "On reaching the husband's *illom*, the wife is taken charge of by the elderly matrons and initiated in the household duties which consist of planting a jasmine shoot in the inner yard of the house and watering it with ceremony. On the fourth night, the wife serves food to her husband and then the couple retire to the bed-room."* On the following day the ceremonies are brought to a close by the bridegroom, laying aside his staff and untying the sacred thread on his arm. An interesting custom in their marriage ceremony is that of the married couple standing beside a tub of water in which small fishes are placed and capturing them by means of a cloth. The significance of this curious practice is not quite clear. Some take it as pointing to their origin from fisherman-caste while others explain it as an indication of their wish to be as fruitful as the fish.

Such in brief is an account of their ordinary and accepted form of marriage. Besides this, there are two other kinds of marriage prevalent among them, *e.g.*, *Sarvaswadanam* and *Kypudichuvakkal marriages*. Of these the former is referable to ancient Hindu Law "which authorised the appointment of a daughter or her male child as the legitimate son of her father for the purpose of funeral obsequies and of inheritance and the formula used during that marriage is the text of *Vasishtha* which is as follows: 'I give unto thee this virgin (who has no brother) decked with ornaments, and the son who may be born of her shall be my son.' It is the special agreement between the bride's father and her husband that distinguishes *Sarvaswadanam* from an ordinary marriage and it suggests nothing more than a form of affiliation in use under ancient Hindu Law. It is in fact a case of adoption, the difference between this and the ordinary adoption consisting in that the affiliation was made during the daughter's marriage

* Ramachandra Iyer's 'Malabar Law' Introduction, page 5.

and in the expectation that she might have a son.* By this marriage the issue of the union becomes for all practical purposes the son of the maternal grand-father, and till he is born the son-in-law holds the property as a trustee to the son ready to hand it back to the *illom* in the event of a failure of such issue.† The right to make such a marriage is often exercised by Nambudri widows and unmarried females.‡

About *Kypidichuvelkal* marriage much need not be said. It has not the sanction of the Shastras and as such is of slight significance. It is resorted to only in cases where the father of the girl is too poor to give a dowry, or where the girls to be given in marriage are either several in number or deformed or sick. As to its incidents, opinion is not uniform. In a suit brought for maintenance by the daughter whose mother was married in this form, the defendant, her deceased father's brother, pleaded that she was not entitled to be maintained by him as she was the heir of her mother's *illom* and not of her father's. But the evidence on this point was hopelessly conflicting and vague, and consequently the alleged custom was held not to be proved.§ In this, there is no dowry and the wife generally lives in her own house.

Considering the peculiar law of marriage, and the vigorous exactness with which it is followed, one may feel surprised at the extremely few instances of immoral conduct found among the community. But this pleasing though surprising phenomenon is to be chiefly ascribed to a safety-valve in the system—I refer to the practice of polygamy||—no less than to the very severe penalty meted out to the delinquent. Whenever a Nambudri lady is suspected of immoral conduct, strangely enough, it is her own people that publish her shame! The head of her *illom* calls an assembly of kinsmen and friends and institutes a private enquiry of a searching nature by examining the *Vrishali* (maid servant) of the suspected woman. Where evidence sufficient to constitute what lawyers call "moral certainty" is not forthcoming, the enquiry is at once stopped and the matter dropped as groundless. Otherwise it is carried to the ears of the local chief, who, after satisfying himself of the reasonableness of the charge, issues a writ to the *Smarthen* and deposes as his agent 'a Vedic scholar of the court.' All of them go to the *Smarthen's* house and laying down a sum of money as a present, place the case before him

* I. L. R., 11 Mad., 163.

† Mayne 'On Hindu Law and Usages,' page 78.

‡ Ramchandra Iyer's 'Malabar Law,' page 23.

§ Malabar Law Reports, Vol. I. K. N. Nambudri vs. T. M. A. Bhattatiripad.

|| Surgeon-Major Cornish thus writes in his Madras Census Report 1871; "The Nambudri-Brahmins may marry as many as seven wives."

He then sends for the *Maimamsikens* and with them, immediately starts to the house of the wrong-doer. Standing at a respectful distance from her, and without being seen by her, he commences the investigation by a series of questions addressed to her through her Nair maid, who invariably acts on the occasion as an intermediary. Then the *Maimamsikens* and the *Smarthen* retire to analyse the evidence, and if they agree in her innocence, the enquiry is at once stopped and they all lie prostrate before her and beg to be excused. If the verdict be against her, the *Smarthen* confronts her and probes the matter more into details. From this period she is called "a thing" and removed to a particular part of the house called "*Anchamfura*" and kept under close surveillance. The opinion of the assembly is communicated to the chief, and, with his permission, a needy *Pattar* (a foreign Brahmin) who will do anything for money calls out the names of the culprits—for the adulterer too is punished—and pronounces the sentence of excommunication on them. Immediately after, a *Pallichan* (the remover of pollution in the village) runs up to the unfortunate woman and deprives her of the characteristic umbrella which every Nambudri lady carries with her as a protection from public gaze; and as she slowly walks out of her house the rest of the females—without the least pity or remorse for the forlorn wretch—clap their hands at her back in utter derision and exuberant joy. Then the inmates of the *illom* perform a mock funeral ceremony of the departed being and attends the 'feast of purification' (*Sudhabhojanam*) "when for the first time since the trial commenced the relations of the accused woman are permitted to eat in company with their caste-fellows, and with this feast which is partaken of by every Nambudri who cares to attend, the troubles of the family come to an end."*

Though there is no uniformity of opinion as to the origin of this curious marriage-law, it may reasonably be attributed to the desire "of maintaining the impartibility of their estates."† To this supreme desire, which, by the way, is not peculiar to Nambudris alone may be traced various other laws and customs which are probably obsolete in all advanced communities. Their Law of Partition is entirely different from that of their brethren of the East Coast. According to the well-re-

* Logan's 'Malabar Manual,' page 126.

† Wigram's 'Malabar Law and Custom,' page 3. Mr. Buchanan thus accounts for it: "In order to prevent themselves from losing dignity by becoming too numerous, the younger sons of a Nambudri family seldom marry." vol II, p. 105. Mateer in his 'Land of Liberty' blindly following Buchanan writes there: "To keep down the numbers of this caste, the eldest son alone in a family is allowed to marry in a regular form, &c." It needs little hesitation to say that this view is utterly ridiculous.

cognised principles of Hindu Law, a member of a *Mitakshara* family acquires in the family fund an interest as soon as he is born—an interest which he can, at any moment, claim by Partition whether the others like it or not. Of course the Nambudri too acquires an interest by birth in the ancestral property, but it is only an interest in virtue of which he can claim to be fed and clothed, and in some cases to be educated and for nothing else. For among them as among Nairs “family property is not liable to be divided at the instance of any one of the co-parceners.”*

Their Law of Inheritance is another instance of the same motive. It is essentially different from the common Hindu Law of Inheritance, but in some points it is essentially identical with it. Among Nambudris, except in certain families,† succession is traced through males and property passes from father to son. “Legal marriage is the basis of succession among them as among the Brahmins of the East Coast. That is, we have the notion of paternal relation founded upon legal marriage as the cause of inheritance both under Hindu Law and among Nambudri-Brahmins.” Again the rule of collateral succession is the same under both systems, and both systems recognise alike “the authority of the Vedas and the Smritis and the efficacy of ceremonial observances and of funeral and annual obsequies.” But among Nambudris it is only the eldest in a family who is entitled to succeed as to marry—a custom which is unmistakably the result of their desire to keep the impartibility of their estates,‡ and the rest have only a right to be fed and clothed at the expense of the family. If at the time of the father’s death, the son is younger than any of his uncles, then he is superseded by the eldest of them, but in their absence and in case of his minority, the eldest female of the family succeeds to the property.

Adoption is another topic in which Nambudris differ from other Brahmins. To point out some of the more important differences. While according to the accepted principles of Hindu Law, the absence of a male heir in the fourth degree entitles a person to exercise the right of adoption, among Nambudris the existence of *any* male heir of whatever degree who is eligible to marry and beget sons, serves as a positive bar to its exercise. Adoption as it prevails among them is obsolete in other parts of India, for “it does not completely sever the person adopted from his natural family and fix him

* I. L. R., 11 Mad., p. 162.

† Nambudris of ‘*Payaganur*’ village are Marumakkatayam (succession through females) people. Parasurama asked all the Brahmin settlers to follow Marumakkatayam law. But all, except one solitary village, sternly refused it. (See Kerala Pathi, page 10.)

‡ See Logan’s “Manual of Malabar.”

in the adoptive family.” Again there is a great difference between the two systems as regards the widow’s power to adopt. For, on the East Coast, “she should be expressly authorised either by her husband or his sapindas,” but among Nambudris the authority is presumed, as in Bombay, if not expressly prohibited. Another difference lies in the number of persons that can be adopted at one time, for Hindu Law discourages adoptions of two or more persons at the same time,* but the Nambudri law recognises simultaneous adoptions by a widow as valid and binding.†

Keeping these broad differences in view, let us proceed to describe their several forms of adoption. Their regular and religious adoption is called “*Pathekayil Dattu*” or adoption with ten hands, the hands of both the natural and adoptive parents who must be alive, and the hands of the boy being joined when the gift is made. Dattachomam is performed, but adoption is in the *Dwayamushayana* form,‡ and so the adopted son is entitled to “the property of both his natural and adoptive fathers.”§ The other kind of religious adoption is called *Chanchamaltha* adoption, i.e., adoption by burning a pan of sacred grass. “Either the father or mother of the adopted son gives away by himself or herself the son to be adopted and a male or female himself or herself accepts the son in adoption. Dattachomam is performed in connection with this adoption also.”§ The last kind of adoption is popularly known as *Kudavalkittila Dattu* and is in much favour among the people. It differs from the other two in its “being entirely based on secular motives”|| and in its close resemblance to the *Kritrima* adoption still practised in Mithila. By this adoption a person is appointed as heir to the family either by the sole surviving widow or male member of the *illom*, and “the form is said to consist in adopting the person who may be an adult or a married man without any ceremony, and by simply giving a writing to the heir appointed or sending information to the Raja.” And where it is desired to perpetuate the line of the adopter, the adoptee receives a special appointment to marry and raise up issue for the *illom* or the line of the adopter.¶

So much for their peculiar laws. Now let us turn our attention to their mode of life, their manners and social usages, their position in the land and kindred things.

* Mayne on “Hindu Law, &c.” page 110.

† Ramachandra Iyer’s “Malabar Law,” p. 23.

‡ I. L. R., 11 Mad., pages 177 and 178.

§ I. L. R., 11 Mad., pages 177 and 178.

|| Ramachandra Iyer’s “Malabar Law,” Chap. V.

¶ Mayne “On Hindu Law and Usage,” page 217.

As pointed out in the beginning, they are a handsome race—tall, fair and intelligent in appearance. Though to be met with occasionally in Law Courts and other public haunts, they are essentially a rural folk. "Away from the busy hum of men" may be seen large mansions situated on the banks of "streams that murmur as they run," or on the sides of mountain cataracts "that blow their trumpets from the steep." There in the midst of plenty of crowned, surrounded by their large retinue of followers, and looked up to by them as gods on earth, they lead a life of comparative tranquility; of supreme contentment and unruffled ease. No other Brahmin is so punctual in his religious observances as the Nambudri. Rising very early in the morning, he bathes and performs his religious services which generally last till 10 or 10-30 in the day. Then after a simple but comfortable meal he either takes a short *nap* or

"... entertains the harmless day
With a religious book or friend."

Then again at about four in the evening, he bathes and prepares for his evening prayers, thus serving God "both late and early" he lives in serene bliss,

"Unvexed by cares or fears or strife."

No person in the world is so conservative as the Nambudri. Never has he figured in any of our great movements—political, religious or social—nor has he ever crossed the threshold of any of our schools. A firm and faithful adherent of ancient custom, he considers any violation of it to be a sacrilege and a sin. Modern civilization which has effected many a visible change in other men's thoughts and lives, has never yet touched the hem of his garment and as such, he often appears to us as an idiot and a fool and not unfrequently becomes an innocent victim in the hands of his too astute followers. By nature he is simple and frank. His charity and hospitality are proverbial. To all but to his tenants

"Large is his bounty and his soul sincere."

In dress as in other things he keeps the archaic simplicity. A *paru-mundu** round his waist, a *dholi* of the same kind across his chest, a gold belt for the waist and some rings for his ears and fingers constitute his holiday attire. The new fangled coat and trousers have very little charms for him, and if at all he adopts them, it is in a fashion peculiarly his own.

As the *Jemmi* (the absolute owner of land) and the sole repository of all learning—whether scriptural, or secular, the Nambudri occupies a commanding place in the land. He is

* A cloth of very fine texture.

ever careful to assert his superiority on all occasion and by all possible ways. In address, as in conversation most humiliating and servile language must be used. "His person is holy; his directions are commands; his movements are processions; his meal is nectar; and his house is a palace," while the others are his slaves; their rice is stony or gritty rice; their money is copper cash; their houses are huts; their clothes are dirty—rags, and their persons are unclean.

As a landlord, he is very exacting towards his tenants. Not satisfied with the due payment of the proper rents, he claims also a right for anything he may take a fancy for in his tenant's possession. Like the feudal barons of old, he takes "*forced presents*" from them on all possible occasions. A marriage in the *illom*, the birth of a son in the family, a birthday or a funeral ceremony—all these imply so much "increased bleeding" of the poor peasants. A little hesitation in complying with his holy behests entails the certain loss of their ancient holdings, and in all probability some social difficulties. Under such circumstances as these, is it a wonder that some tenants who are alien in faith and as such restrained by no religious scruples, take up arms against this sea of troubles and seek some momentary relief in shedding the life-blood of a dozen of them?†

However low the status of a Sudra be, it is curious to note that no Nambudri in the land can do away with him. They cannot perform any ceremony whatever without his aid. The origin of this peculiar custom is ascribed to Sankaracharia. With an intellect of a very high order and an acute power of observation, he saw at a glance the absurdities of the Nambudri customs and became their hostile critic at an early age. And according to the usual fate of all reformers, he became the object of their displeasure, and the Nambudri Society out-casted him as a bastard and refused to help him in his mother's obsequies. But undaunted by this, the young reformer got Sudras to perform all ceremonies that ought to be performed by a junior member of the *illom*, and from thence began the custom of "no ceremonies for Brahmins without the assistance of a Sudra."‡

A word about their females before we conclude. They differ in essential respects from their sisters of the East Coast. In beauty and cleanliness of person they have few equals in the

* Mr. Nagam Anjah in his Travancore Census Report, 1891, gives a very glowing picture of this. Perhaps it refers to a golden "age" that is past.

† I refer to the Mappila risings. All of them have brought this point before the public very prominently. In all of them, it is significant to note, wealthy Nambudri Jemmes were the chief victims.

‡ Indian Antiquary, 1875, page 255.

land. They have no craze for costly ornaments and clothes. A pair of gold ear-rings of a peculiar make, some rings for the nose and the fingers, brass bangles for the arm, and a *tali* for her neck are the usual ornaments of a Nambudri female. White is not with them an emblem of widowhood as with their sisters in other lands and they always dress in spotless white. A long country-made coarse cloth round her waist and a coarse sheet of the same kind of cloth, serving the function of a bodice make the full complement of a Nambudri lady's dress. As their name "Antharjanam or Akathammas" (women inside the house) indicates, they observe strict rules of seclusion. "The married female is not allowed to be seen by any male, even of the family or her caste people. She is to move under the screen or cover of a large sized umbrella and is always to be attended by a female servant who goes before her (calling out Ahai, Ahai) whenever she steps out of doors."* Like the Brahmin ladies of other parts, they observe perpetual widowhood, but unlike them, they do not shave their heads, or in any other way disfigure their persons. Suttee is forbidden and infant marriage is never the practice.

K. N. CHETTUR, B.A., B.L.

ART. XIII.—OUR PRESENT RULERS AND CHIEFS.

I RECKON these to be nine in number, the chief of course being His Excellency the Viceroy. They stand in the following order:—The Viceroy, Governor of Bombay, Governor of Madras, the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burmah, and the Chief Commissioners of Assam and the Central Provinces. The Viceroy has a general control and supervision over the whole, Bombay and Madras, however, having their appointments made from home, being almost absolutely out of his personal interference. The four Lieutenant-Governors he nominates from Indian officers, and though they are his Lieutenants, and theoretically he can interfere with them, he shows a wise prudence in refraining from doing so. Practically knowing little or next to nothing of these great governments, he would be rash to intrude and only betray his own ignorance. Assam and the Central Provinces, being only Chief Commissionerships, may be reckoned still more directly under him; but, as a matter of fact, these receive the least of his care and attention. He, thus, has nearly the whole of his time free. And it is supposed that the present Viceroy, when he is not spending his time in pleasant retreats in the Himalayas, or writing out some of his "speeches"—he is said to have some half a dozen always ready in advance for occasions—is engaged in rummaging about old records and papers—of which there are shiploads—for antiquarian purposes or to gain some old buried and lost ideas, and put them forth as quite new and his own. But even all these pleasant and diverting ways of passing the time do not quite occupy him; hence his creation of a new Frontier Province directly and immediately under him.

I am, however, anticipating. One of old gave utterance to a thought deep in the nature of things: "the first shall be last, and the last first"—nor that there is any implication here that Mr. Frazer will become Viceroy. But I have always found it helping me, in going through anything, to take "the last" first. This is the order pursued even by philosophic students of nature: "from nature to nature's God." And, in smaller matters, it does well to get rid of the little things first, reserving thus one's strength to deal with the greatest or toughest job last. Hence, in these brief sketches I furnish, I shall proceed, in due order, from the last to the first of the above-noted small and great Indian Chiefs and Rulers we have now in charge of the country.

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* Shankunni Menon's "History of Travancore," page 76.

First, then, comes the small-great "Honourable Mr. Frazer, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces." He is "small," because he is the last on the list, but "great" in the estimation of his scribe who furnishes the notes and reports about him to the *Pioneer*. He is also only "Honourable;" for a Lieutenant-Governor is styled "His Honour," a Governor "His Excellency," the Viceroy himself being "His Mightiness the Great Mogul." The Honourable Mr. Frazer was born in India, being the son of an old Missionary, like Mr. Merk, Commissioner of the Derajat, and a few others who might be named who have got on pretty well in the service. Being an "Indian" Mr. Frazer knows Indian ways, and perhaps has them bred in him, and regards a word of praise in the *Pioneer* sufficient to advance him in the matter of promotion. Unlike the other Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces, who were brought from outside—and thus had wide and varied experience of India,—in the graduated order of promotion to higher offices, Mr. Frazer began his career in the Central Provinces, and has always been there. He thus became Chief Commissioner by seniority; for what else was to be done with him? From a mere Commissionership there he could not well be promoted and put over other and larger governments. An effort, indeed, was made for a brief while under a previous Viceroy, to give him a chance of showing his worth, by appointing him to the Acting Home Secretaryship, but he failed so egregiously in coming up to the mark that he was relegated back to his original sphere. Such is Mr. Frazer, who gets such neatly-written accounts in the *Pioneer* of how condescendingly and gracefully he moved about among his guests at Pachmarhi, almost as a Viceroy would do at a Government House party, or how he opened such a Spinning Mill, or met such and such villagers at such a village. His time in the Central Provinces will be up some time, and the question is, what to do with him? He knows nothing of India outside of his own present rule, or else he might look forward to the Chief Commissionership of Assam, as a step for further promotion afterwards. Sir Charles Lyall jumped from the Central Provinces to the India Council, but Sir Charles was a scholar, and had been previously long tried as Secretary to the Government of India. A minor post about the India Office at home, too, would not be coveted by Mr. Frazer even if he could fulfil the duties attached to it, for, as said before, his associations are all Indian. Of course he might get Assam, but Assam is probably reserved for Mr. Fuller. To put him on to Burmah on Sir Frederick Fryer's departure would be to risk good government there, and probably too great for him to look forward to.

What an unhappy position!—there is nowhere he can be either placed, or promoted, and like a previous Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces who had grown locally, Colonel Neele, the present post will have to be his last. He could not even be placed out to watch our relations at the Nizam's Court, which requires diplomatic art of a high order. Mr. Fuller has some claims for Assam and will doubtless get it; but he may resign his claims in favour of Mr. Frazer, thus giving the latter a chance. One of the most difficult, as well as delicate, tasks of a Viceroy is to adjust conflicting claims for high appointments. Mr. Frazer has done nothing as yet for the Central Provinces—not even been actively moving about his extensive charge as Sir Richard Temple did—to bring him forward, or specially recommend him for promotion. And mere "seniority" will not serve him any further than what he has got to. But—and it is a big But—the *Pioneer* is his friend. I come next to Mr. Cotton, Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Unlike Mr. Frazer, Mr. Cotton is a clever writer and pretty active though like him he is a pro-Native. Mr. Cotton first brought himself to notice by making a high bid for (future) promotion to the Bengal Government by writing his *New India*—a work of which the less said the better. Further, his expression of pro-Bengali ideas was so marked as almost to create consternation. After having served as Secretary and so forth, he was "shunted" off to Assam to get rid of him. He has done nothing in Assam as yet, and the end of his term is near. The Railways were projected before him, and even for the Chittagong line the credit is due to the Hon'ble D. R. Lyall, late Member of the Board of Revenue. He has only, after marked "chumming" with a leading member of the Tea fraternity in the columns of the *Indian Daily News* in the matter of extending the Permanent Settlement into Assam, fallen foul of the very Tea-planting community lately with his Assam Labour Bill. Mr. Cotton, thus, has shown no fitness for promotion to Burmah, least of all for such a mighty charge as the eighty millions of varied interests and diverse races of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. He may, however, yet get Burmah on the principle of those children being most loved who give the most trouble. And he will be far enough away in Burmah to go into as many vagaries as he likes. Perhaps even from there he will give trouble. It is a pity he cannot go through the term of a Secretary to the Government of India, so that the Viceroy may tame him down, "comb" him, lick him into shape, and make him think a little less of himself and his pet theories.

My next subject is Sir Frederick Fryer, Lieutenant-Governor

of Burmah. Burmah is well out of India, and requires special treatment, and Sir Frederick Fryer has been able to supply this with his long and intimate knowledge of the country. He is not a brilliant man, nor has he quite pleased the European independent element in Burmah, who would gladly see the country placed under the Colonial Office. As Sir Frederick Fryer will shortly retire, and does not look forward to further promotion, there is little more to be said about him. It is quite possible, however, that he may be induced to take Bengal. If so, Bengal could not wish for a safer man, and one without crochets.

Next comes Sir Mackworth Young of the Punjab. Like most of the Punjab Lieutenant-Governors, Sir Mackworth Young had gone through a certain preparation for his office, and reputably has done well. It is reported, however, that his presence in Simla has been personally unacceptable to the Viceroy, and that not only has that been the cause of determining the latter to carry out at once the relieving him of the outlying and most important parts of his dominion, but of even requesting him to remove his summer-quarters elsewhere—Lord Curzon being, it is said, unable to stand a Scotchman, and also, like a certain character in Pope, to “bear a brother near the throne.” This removal is purposeless, and will cost an immense sum, but the present Viceroy has a facility for spending public money in such ways, and also a facility for explaining their reasonableness which he alone can perceive. As we shall see after, he is a peculiarly gifted mortal in many, if not in most respects. But to return to Sir Mackworth Young;—he has been particularly unfortunate in having doubly reduced the importance and *prestige* of the Punjab as the most important and fighting division of India, and as being almost one with the summer court and capital of the Viceroy. The glory of the Punjab, however, as having cost us the severest campaigns, as furnishing the finest fighting men, as containing the most and best troops, as having helped to turn the tide in the Mutiny, as having been the great acquisition of the greatest Proconsul India has known, as having furnished the finest administrators from the commencement under Sir John Lawrence and his famous band of Lieutenants, as containing three such cities as Delhi, Lahore, and Amritsar, and as being still the bulwark of India against invasion from the North-West, and where the brunt of the battle will fall, can never depart for all the funny efforts of a weak-minded Viceroys whose evil work may be undone by his successor or some future impericus Dalhousie who will brook no resistance to his will. The whirligig of time sometimes brings on sudden and startling revenges, and the present

Viceroy may live to see some of them. In any case, Sir Mackworth Young leaves the Punjab shortly, and his successor is variously named. In it is one of the Prizes of the service, but now not to be compared with either the North-West Provinces or Bengal. There would have been a choice of men had Mr. Holderness continued in India. Unfortunately, there are no very prominent men to draw from Madras or Bombay, as has sometimes been done before. Mr. Rivaz has been generally named for the post, and probably the choice will rest on him.

Sir Antony MacDonal, as he spells his Gaelic name since he became Chief in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, will also shortly vacate his post. He has gone through almost all India—saving of course Bombay and Madras—except the Punjab. He began life in Bengal, and rose step by step by dint of sheer—what shall I call it? The young man from the Galway bogs could not be repressed. He had a head on his shoulders. There is not an official in India, not even the present Viceroy, who could have written Sir Antony’s masterly minutes on the Bengal Lands Survey Question, or unravell’d the old Forest jumble, or got through the complicated North-West Provinces Tenancy Question. And Sir Antony has been equally vigorous and all-guiding and supervising in the awful famines he has had to cope with. But just as “virtue is its own reward,” so he must be content to bear the practical non-recognition of his superabounding merits by an ungrateful country and find his extinction probably in the Secretary of State’s Council. He cannot hope to be a future Governor of Bombay after Lord Northcote’s excellent rule, though there have been Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Richard Temple there. At all events, the young Galway man cannot complain that the Fates have been unkind to him, and it is a startling fact that well-nigh the whole service in the North-West Provinces and Oudh will be glad of his departure. I wonder what the Viceroy would have done had Sir Antony been the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab instead of Sir Mackworth Young. I do firmly believe that instead of the Lieutenant-Governor having to shift his quarters, Sir Antony would have compelled Lord Curzon to have moved away to Mussoorie, or even Darjeeling, in fact, any where out of near proximity to Sir Antony. The question also arises, who will take Sir Antony’s place? Universal public opinion in the North-West Provinces whether European or Native, where they know him best, points to Mr. La Touche, the sweetest-dispositioned and kindest-hearted man going, who, as Sir Antony’s Chief Secretary, managed to make his unbearable rule endurable.

Bengal, too, must soon lose Sir John Woodburn. Sir John

Woodburn, unlike Sir Antony MacDonal, has never attracted much public notice. How, from being quite unknown, he happened to get the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, and thence was quietly transferred to the Government of India Secretariat, was at one time matter of comment. Then he got on to Bengal to the exclusion of Sir Antony, who was looking for it. Perhaps it is as well he did so, for Bengal has had a peaceful and tranquil time under him. One of his principal acts was to undo the work of Sir Antony in the matter of the Survey Settlement, whereby he gained the lasting gratitude of the Bengali Zemindars. He has also always stuck by the Service; and somehow or other has not managed to rouse the wrath of the Bengali Press—which is a remarkable feat for any one, as I may predict Lord Curzon will find for himself before he leaves a couple years hence. I cannot account for Sir John's success all through, except his quiet steadiness in work. Unlike previous Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn had no meteoric career previously. Who will be his successor? Of course the vaulting ambition of Mr. Cotton would like to see himself appointed. I am afraid, however, that a long course of Burma is before him before he can hope for Bengal, and that this will be reserved for Sir Frederick Fryer if he can be induced to take it. If not——? In Bengal itself, at present, there is no one approaching Mr. Buckland, the Chief Secretary, for experience and ability, but as the Viceroy does not like ability when too near him Mr. Buckland has not much chance. He may be pushed on to Assam if Mr. Frazer or Mr. Fuller does not get it. But although Assam of the present day offers the fullest field for a really able man, and Mr. Buckland may make his mark there and bring on Chittagong as an outlet for the produce of Eastern Bengal, I feel that Mr. Buckland's talents and abilities will be quite lost in it.

I need not take up Madras at length. Lord Amptill has done nothing as yet beyond paying a first visit round a small part of the country. His antecedents as one out of several Private Secretaries to Mr. Chamberlain, and one whom he was willing to lose, do not say or promise much for him. His career will probably be like that of most Madras Governors: a respectable mediocrity, with a return to private life at home.

Still less need be said of Lord Northcote of Bombay. He has had to combat both famine and plague. He has not belied expectations, and further, has won the esteem, and even the affection of Bombay. He is said to be no favourite with Lord Curzon, and that there exist no cordial relations between the two. Of course he is practically independent, and it matters little. It is strange, however, that Lord Curzon should be at

differences with so many of his great strong subordinate satraps, and in this case where Lord Northcote is so universally loved.

I have now arrived at the last and toughest part of my delicate pencillings to delineate "His mightiness the Great Mogul" as I have styled him, or rather, as he grandiosely styled himself in one of his many speeches, for he is a great speechifier. With a firm conviction of being superior to every one else, and yet belying that conviction by being unable to bear ability—so unlike, thus, to Lord Dalhousie, who could pick out ability, and have them about him, for Lord Dalhousie himself was able in the last degree and had no fear of being outshone—he began speechifying about everything before even he had left England, making the most wonderful promises of what his performances were to be in India. So far, and the most part of his Viceroyalty is past, his performances have lain in the line of things he "ought not to have done." But what he has done may be glanced at. *

JUNIUS, JUNIOR, C.S.

* [We must ask "J. J.'s" permission to cut short, for the present, his very severe observations on the Viceroy—the length too, of this latter portion being equal to all that has gone before! J. J. divides his remarks on the Viceroy into— Not pulling well with various "Governors and Governments;" offending large and influential public classes and masses as the Army with his Shooting Rules, the Native Princes with his Travel Resolution; neglecting to hear the representation of the Disabilities of Native Christians in South India; ignoring entirely the Hindus, *i.e.*, the nation in India in both the Victoria Memorial and in his mention of Delhi; while as a contrast, markedly favouring the Mahomedans, and even going out of his way to do so; despising the Anglo-Indian or "Eurasian" body of North India many of whom have been and are officers in the Army and in the Civil Service (it is specially mentioned that the late Colonel Warburton, "Warden of the Marches," was an Anglo-Indian or Eurasian); interfering with the Civil Courts as in the Hoff case, where, to anyone who knows, it was all a conspiracy against Hoff, and the Jurors were right; losing India the services of men of the finest intellect and sense of justice as Mr. Pennell, and of the keenest sense of honour and highest services as Mr. Fanshawe; descending to writing in home magazines, and then even not telling the truth about Delhi, and otherwise misrepresenting things in favour of his pet sectional museum scheme, which he has foisted on the public in the "Memorial" and which is sure to become a dismal failure; advocating impossible and absurd curtailment of Reports; and other things too numerous for us to further enumerate—even to his gush! If we do come to print the remainder of "J. J.'s" article, we must supply the antidote with it. We do not think farther that it is yet time to judge of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. For ourselves we believe him to be honest, hard-working, and with large and sincere views of the welfare of the country, even if somewhat unusual in his ways and ideas, or inexperienced or quite Western and non-Oriental. We also have every hope he will really achieve something solid and substantial before he leaves India. As yet he has been mostly a learner, and there is much to learn of India even for the eldest and most thoughtful and observant.—*Ed., C.R.J.*

ART. XIV.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

DURING 1898 there appeared several articles in this *Review* on "South African Problems" dated from Pietermaritzburg, and over the signature of the same writer who now pens these few lines. The Boer War had not then commenced; nor was it even contemplated by any one. The writer of the articles had exceptional facilities for knowing both Boers and Britons, often working and living along with the former; at the same time that he was connected with a number of influential organs of public opinion. These organs, save one in the Orange River State, were rabidly anti-Boer and pro-Rhodes and the League and Capitalist party who followed him. But the writer's efforts were always directed, where possible, to allay passions, and to set things in their true and proportional light. So, too, it was in the articles referred to in this *Review*. These articles had not only the large and influential circulation of the regular readers of the *Review* itself in both India and England, and also America, but were specially circulated among leading politicians at Home and in South Africa. How true was every word written in them may be seen by referring to them. We have not the space here, however, to quote them either in their entirety or by whole pages. We would only point out that of the two courses that we said then lay open to Mr. Chamberlain, he chose the worst; that the Boers have truly proved a "hard nut to crack;" and that the "Black" trouble,—greater than any we have yet encountered in South Africa,—still looms in the future, even if the Boers became one with the English, which is not likely. It might be merely a coincidence, but immediately we left South Africa, and our influence in the press and in private was removed, the powers of evil there, as represented by the mendacious *League* and their willing slaves the Uitlander scum of all the nations of the globe parading and masquerading as Britons—whom even Lord Roberts himself had to refuse permission to stay in the Transvaal (who, however, cowards as they were, mostly themselves cleared out on the first outbreak of war!); these all gained head, and by lying "Petitions" and the like carried the day with the press, the public, the parliament, and the Ministry at Home. Any discussion even that was possible was marred by "Imperial Jingoism" on the one side, and Pro-Boerism on the other. *Delenda est Carthago* expressed the sentiment of the one party, just as complete independence and freedom from impertinent and ignorant interference the sentiment

of the other party. With a Chamberlain at the helm at home and a Milner representing him at the Cape, instead of the old race of high diplomats and experienced rulers,—with people not understanding the Dutch character,—with the cries of the Uitlanders and the Gold party; with England's apprehensions on the one side and the Boer's apprehensions on the other; all these capped by the Jingo cry of "revenge for Majuba" and the call for more troops, and Kruger's Pride of Place, Wealth and Power, things soon reached—as they were bound to—a crisis, and there resulted the "Ultimatum" and the War.

Both sides were to blame. The Transvaal, as represented by Kruger, might have easily yielded without loss of dignity or substantial rights. Milner, too, might have made the pill less bitter. But British and Boer alike did not understand each other. And there was no all-wise, experienced and powerful Mediator. Mr. Chamberlain will see these lines, and will know that long before things began to come to a head—when the troubles were only brewing—he received private representations to get the accomplished and experienced, the suave and the strong, Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, sent out with full powers to heal all the differences, as he surely would have done. But in his, Chamberlain's, Pride of Place and Power, he neglected these representations. It is an utter mistake of Lord Salisbury, whose mind became receptive to a lie, to say that there was a previous "conspiracy" against British dominion in South Africa, and it is as well we found it out in time. The alleged "conspiracy" is an after-invention—not of Lord Salisbury's—to bolster up the Jingo party. Some criminatory documents have been discovered, belonging to a few isolated individuals, to support this theory and the preparation of armaments has been brought forward in confirmation of it. But there are always crank and wild heads everywhere, and the thing as a *settled Boer policy*, is utterly preposterous. And we know it to be false. The Boers could see trouble coming with the formation of the *League*, and the support accorded to it by Mr. Rhodes and the misguided Press at Home, and would have been less than human if they did not prepare for eventualities. But as for contesting with Great Britain the dominion of South Africa, it simply never entered their heads. It was only their own independence they regarded or cared for; and it was only when they thought, rightly or wrongly, that that independence was threatened, that they took the initiative. Both these were mistakes, and under the circumstances we may well overlook them. It is probable that we, or any other nation, would have done just the same.

In the continuance of the War both have shone equally—
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both have won successes and renown—and the Boers more than renown: the respect of their enemies and the admiration of the world. Let us be frank: there is probably no other people—except perhaps the Scotch—and they number millions to the tens of thousands of the Boers—who would have fought, and often successfully, against a *British* Army ten times their number and led by the ablest generals for over two years, and are fighting still though three-fourths of them are either in the grave or in captivity. As an honorable and brave people we must accord honor to this brave—even if mistaken—nation. Is it then impossible now, without being ranked as *Boerish*—without being ranked along with the Boers in pride and obstinacy, which always somehow defeat themselves, to pursue a *via media*, giving England her due share, which is the supreme dominion and sovereignty of South Africa (barring the German strip, which is sure to come up by-and-bye) and giving the Boer his, which is an autonomy such as that enjoyed by all our Colonies, and which is all that the Boers want? They do not contest the supreme over-lordship of England—if they entertained the idea in the heat engendered on the first outbreak of War, they have long since given it up. We repeat the question is it impossible to give England her due share, and the Boer his? It is because there is such a *via media*, one in accordance too with justice, that I pen these lines.

In the consideration of this most important matter the outer limits are—

first for England to render any attempt to make head against her again impossible; and secondly, for the Boer to have his Dutch feeling of independence respected.

Between these two outside limits, there is room enough to bring the two together in peace. The Boers are willing enough for the first, and their fortresses levelled with the ground. They have no further need of arsenals and military stores, artillery, etc. Without all these, which alone could enable them again to make war; with ten thousand troops at Johannesburg—for the Boers may probably be glad to get rid of the Rand, which has been the cause of all these troubles,—an equal number in the Highlands of Natal, and an equal force at Kimberley or near there; any further attempt would be chimerical. I have said that the Boers may be glad enough to get the Rand off their hands. This strip of territory should be British, and joined on to Natal, or formed into a British Colony by itself. It would thus part off the two Boer States of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony or State whichever it may be. It would also serve two other all-important purposes—besides the previously named one of being the locale of a British garrison—the one being to help to pay off

the cost of this fratricidal struggle, and to keep the Boer Transvaal Government poor, so as to be unable in future to spend millions on armaments and their Hollander ridden services. Pretoria, however, would be included in the Dutch State—Pretoria dismantled, and never again to be fortified. For the Rand strip a small outlet to the sea North of Zululand may be given to the Boers as an *act of favour* and as bringing her within the pale, and commercial activity, of a British Colony.

What remains is, are the Boers willing to have a modified independence, and in what form should it be to “save their face.”

England is quite sick and tired of the war. England has no dastardly revengeful wish to completely wipe such a brave and magnificent race out of existence. Hence she is willing to forego further bloodshed if the first of the above-considered objects—her supreme dominion—is secured. It is not a question of that the Boers must be brought down on their knees—or annihilated. If Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey from among the liberal leaders, or Lord Hardwicke and others from among the Tories wish for that—for their reported words would almost seem to imply that—they misread themselves, and even the true instincts of noble and heroic England that would fight the world in arms if need be, and that would not treat cruelly the worst enemy.

As we have seen above, the supreme dominion of England can be secured, and the Boers themselves are willing to acknowledge it, and to be ranked as a British-protected State. There can, therefore, be no further question about this.

The second is, in what form should the modified independence be? How is this, which the Boers want, to be given them without our suffering in the estimation of the world? I do not see where the estimation of the world comes in when we annex Johannesburg as “the spoils of war,” get the costs of the war paid, draw the teeth and claws of the Boer lion, render future trouble impossible, and get the Boer State to become a part and parcel of our dominion. The real thing remaining is the “saving of our face,” and the “saving of the Boer’s face.” The former, as has been shown above, is sufficiently done; and if we are content, the “rascalion” element of Europe may “estimate” us just as much or as little as they like. Surely we as a world-power do not exist by the grace of such estimation. The Boer “face,” however, has also to be “saved”—and they fully deserve it. And this can only be done, simultaneously with the dismantling of their forts, and the allotment of the intervening Rand strip or

British Colony, by giving them their modified and protected autonomy immediately following the declaration of their surrender. Let it be an "unconditional surrender," let them take back the Pretoria and northern portion of the Transvaal even as our gift, but let it be understood, that their own Government, etc., immediately and necessarily follow their declaration—the very day. This will "save their face," make the war to at once cease, and bring an honorable and lasting termination of war.

To any one who wishes peace in South Africa, and a firm foundation laid for the future brotherhood, and even union of the races, the above course—which is also the only possible one—will commend itself. There can be no real objection to let the few and poor Boers enjoy their barren and rocky patrimony in their own way. Even "capitalists" will not covet the sterile veldts of the North and the East, or the Rustenberg fields.

There is no previous "Crown Colony" Government needed for the course set forth above. Indeed, the "Crown Colony" Government, and martial rule, all come into it—are included in it in the "unconditional surrender" declaration of the Boers.

Let then, Lord Kitchener be authorised to allow the Boer Governments to enter on negotiations on the above basis. All the rest are mere matters of detail.

But—and here I write with the emphasis of writing from knowledge and not theorising—if the way sketched above in outline be not followed, and war is continued till it degenerates into murder, and then an enforced Military rule, to be succeeded by a "Crown Colony" Government, the result will be as surely as the Boers are what they are, and the sun shines in Africa, there will be, not merely, say, 20,000 troops in garrison, but 50,000 troops; there will be not a cessation of expenditure, but a huge sum will be required annually for an indefinite period; there will not be peace, but sure outbreaks on favourable opportunities. And for all this, we may as well retire altogether and at once from South Africa. "The game is not worth the candle!"

A. M. C.

ART. XV.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

I.—OLYMPIA TO ANDRITSÆNA.

"Afoot and light-hearted I take to the open road.

Walt Whitman.

ANDRITSÆNA was our destination and Andritsæna was said to be twelve hours' journey away. Therefore it was that it behoved us to make an early start; we were stirring long before the dawn and breakfasting by candle-light. There are two routes that may be followed from Olympia to Andritsæna; one which ascends the valley of the Alpheus for six hours (we measure distance by hours in the mountains of Greece) before crossing the stream and turning S. This was followed by Professor Mahaffy and may be found described in his delightful "Rambles and Studies" (Chapter XII). The other, which, on deliberation we chose, crosses the river a little below Olympia and winds into the hills in a consistent S. E. trend. Two guides from Athens, whom we met yesterday with the party from the "Argonaut," insisted that it was a two days' journey; such is the manner of guides being for the most part luxurious and pampered animals, prosperous and portly. Professor Mahaffy rode by the one route and we walked the other within the day.*

On quitting the hotel our first business was to get across the river and to that end to find the ferry. At the hotel despite its high pretensions and our English-speaking host we could get little information that was satisfactory, so we had to trust to fortune and a brief reconnoitring of the road the previous evening. Murray puts the ferry at three-quarters of an hour's distance. We found it within a mile. Descending by a middle track gradually towards the river we sighted in about twelve minutes, a largest flat-bottomed boat—or rather punt—moored to the opposite bank and pushing on came to a little rustic hut and another boat of like kind on our side. So far good, but there was neither ferryman nor oar. The river here looks deep and runs rather swiftly, and its breadth is as the breadth of the Thames between Oxford and Godstow.

We wondered how long we should have to wait, chafing at the delay (for the day promised to be hot, our goal was far, the way unknown), but, there being nothing else to be done, lit pipes and watched the water. There seemed no one at all about, but presently a man sauntered into view on the further bank, in appearance suggesting the town rather than the country and certainly not at all like a ferryman. At him we shouted the

* Cf. "The Alpheus at Olympia is broad and rapid, and about the breadth and colour of the Tiber at Rome."
Dodwell. *Tour Through Greece*, II, p. 336.

nearest we could attain to a question in the vernacular, but he remained wholly impassive. However, just as we were debating the wisdom of going back to the hotel and impressing a boy to punt us over, a brisk form swung down the path above us and the ferryman had come. He tried to extort two drachmas from us, which was impudently excessive, but we were, at all events, on the right side of the Alpheus !

From the river side the path slanted across the level fields, at one time merging in something very like a dry ditch, and led obviously towards a dip in the low ridge bordering the valley. So far, at all events, our way was made plain before us, and very pleasant it was, winding up in the morning freshness, passing on the way peasants and cattle and mules and sheep. Incidentally we stop a run-away pony for its panting owner and exchange vernacular greetings with all and sundry. 'Kal-*emàirass*' (*καλὴν ἡμέραν σᾶς*, good-day to you) is a simple formula and easily learnt, and friendly greeting between those who pass in high-way or bye-way is the kindly custom of the land.

On topping our dip we had before us a little town, by name *Mäkreësia* ; very spruce and new and suggestive of progress. Here we made a turn to the left into a fairly good cart-road leading towards *Créstena* (*Cráistēnā*) our first route-mark. We reached *Créstena* by 8 o'clock, a fair-sized town in a hollow of a varied up and down country. Here we made trial of the wine of the country, which requires a educated palate or, at all events, an exceeding great thirst. Providently, too, we bought a small store of lemons for the way : because one cannot be sure of finding drink when once committed to a road or mountain track in Greece, neither from the wayside khan nor from stream or spring in the Greek hills (than which no purer or more refreshing draught is to be found anywhere), and on a hot day in default of these a lemon will be found a most acceptable antidote to thirst.

The neighbourhood of *Créstena* has an interest as being associated with Xenophon's later years after his return from the expedition of Cyrus and his subsequent banishment from Athens. The territory of Skillus, assigned to him by the Spartans, where he built a temple to Artemis and passed his time in writing books and in field sports, was somewhere hereabouts, and a stream we presently cross is probably the *Selinus*. (Paus. V, vi, 5.)

We are now following a white and dusty but exceedingly civilized road through open country with the long range of *Caiapha* somewhat to the right and far ahead loftier limestone ridges, together forming a long barrier which doubtless screens *Andritæna*. It is Sunday morning ; and we meet great companies of folk all wending towards *Créstena*, whether

to Church or no, who shall say ? All regard us curiously. It is soon very hot and the breeze which keeps us going comes fitfully. More than one halt in a shady nook is necessary before we reach higher ground and are freshened by a really cool breeze. After a time we begin winding into hill country and a great snowy crest is discernible in the distance to the far north (*i.e.*, behind and to the left), doubtless *Atra Vouno*, near neighbour of *Erymanthus*.

Precisely at 11 A. M. a strange thing happens. Our road suddenly gives out. The fair and broad high-road which has taken us thus far securely, breaks off sheer and literally precipitates us into the wilderness. Back the white carriage-way stretches firm and safe and comfortably obvious ; forward across a fringe of broken earth, that looks as if it had been only yesterday turned up by the spade, are fields strewn with rugged stones, round which the young grain waves like a sea over a reef of rocks. Perched on a hill to the right is a village, what we have not a notion. Obviously it is necessary to gather information. A woman and some children are to be seen in a field by a dry waterway. Towards them we steer a careful course through the sea of grain. A dog, first met of the truculent dogs of Hellas, greets us with furious menace, but we find out that the village is *Gremka* and the path lies somewhere above. Accordingly we climb towards *Gremka*, and on reaching the houses naturally choose wrongly amid a labyrinth of paths and get involved. An attempt to enter a yard for enquiry brings out three or four savage watch-dogs, who charge down open-mouthed as if to devour us. We draw back to more favourable ground and form a sort of hollow square, till relieved by a pleasant old lady who puts us right for the main street of *Gremka*.

Fairly arrived in *Gremka* we are at once the object of curiosity and interest and soon the centre of a group of idlers, one in a broad-cloth and an Alpine hat, two or three in fur-tauella and leggings, the rest non-descript. They hem us in with greetings and enquiries, borrow our field-glasses and eagerly compete for a view. In return one brings a noble stoup of wine and we pledge the company. They ply us with questions, where have we come from, what are we, whither are we going and why, but conversation is not easy, as we only catch with understanding one word in six. One friend more solicitous urges the distance of *Andritsæna* and the wisdom of stopping for the night at *Gremka*. We get free as soon as we conveniently can and make on hopefully along what is now a mountain track. The way forward, however, is largely conjectural. Twice when the ways divide we are only hindered from taking the wrong path by the fortunate accident that some

one is there at the critical moment to put us right; for instead of ascending the way at first leads downwards. But before we have gone very far we are hailed from behind and overtaken by one of our lately-made acquaintances from the village, who soon makes it clear that he purposes to make himself responsible for our further safe conduct. Impressed with the bewildering superfluity of irrelevant mountain paths on the way to Andritsæna, we acquiesce with resignation, almost with alacrity.

At each turn of the track, which soon leads steadily up, the view widens. About noon we reach a rounded knole, clear of trees, high up, from which a splendid view opens back to the mountains of Achaia. Here we insist on halting for lunch, reclining in the scanty shade of some bushes on the steep below and drink the cool mountain air with thankfulness. Leesandros (Λέσανδρος), that is our guide's name, points out the most conspicuous summits by name. The view sweeps across the breadth of the Peloponnesus almost from end to end. Right opposite is Atravouno with Erymantho immediately behind: somewhat to the right (*i.e.*, East) is what "Leesandros" calls Korintho-Vouno, but we conjecture to be Chelmos. The third snowy mass is much further to the east, right across the Peloponnesus, and is most probably Cyllene.

Delightful as is the prospect, luxurious as is our shady perch, we can make no long stay, for it is still said to be six hours to Andritsæna. On we go accordingly, up and down through magnificent and varied scenery, now along a pine clad steep, now across a rough ravine, now through a cultivated valley. Our party increases as we go, for we fall in with a little string of travellers going our way, with whom our guide join company; a quaint caravan of nearly a dozen we finally make, men and boys, besides a small yellow dog of alert and combative disposition.

After about a couple of hours the party pauses for rest and refreshment at a wayside khan. We are glad enough to rest too, and lie outstretched on a rustic bench under an oak and drink water from a spring near. When our little company is again ready for a start Leesandros takes his leave commending us to one of the party whose destination is presumably the same as ours. Up and up we climb again through stony places and by the roughest of tracks. Sometimes for a respite we get a level piece through cultivated ground, but for the most part the track is of the stoniest variety indigenous to Greece, that is to say, roughly strewn with small rocks, rounded or jagged as happens, through which one stumbles as best one can, and when not steeply up, then

generally steeply down. How four-footed beasts with burdens (and without boots) pick their way among the stones and boulders is a marvel to the stranger.

Our general tendency has all along been upward, but late in the afternoon we find ourselves traversing a long and gentle incline very nearly level over a sweep of broad upland bordered by great mountain ridges. We have a kodak with us and it makes a diversion to drop behind and snap-shot the caravan.

Here too, for the first time in Greece, we hear the familiar voice of the cuckoo coming pleasantly across from the ridge on our left. Our companions are surprised to hear that the cuckoo has the same name in England too! Curiously we do not hear the cuckoo again till the very last of our walking days in Greece, on the way down from Delphi, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Livadhia.

At the end of this incline we come to a dry river-bed, and here most of the party turn off to make for a 'choreeo' (χορείον) which can be seen perched high up on the ridge to the right front. We follow our remaining guide across the river-bed, and on mounting a rough hill-side reach another small khan at the top, on a bench in front of which two fully armed and accoutred Greek linesmen are resting. Our guide explains that they act as police in the mountain; 'asteenomoe' (ἀστυνόμος) is his word for police. Here again a short rest and a drink. Our guide says only an hour to Andritsæna or a little more, and we plod on. But it is a very long hour and our steps grow heavier and heavier. Still on and up winding round along the ridge to the right. Twilight comes on, the last hour becomes two and a long two at that: the path is rough as ever and we stumble on from stone to stone, till it becomes something of a struggle to keep going at all. "Where, Oh where is Andritsæna?" "Quite near" says our guide cheerfully; but still we find no sign of human habitation, still less of civilized town or village. At last about half past seven we fairly sight the lights of houses round a dip in the lofty ridge along which we have been moving; and now we strike into another genuine carriage-road—(δημόσιος δρόμος) as they call it on the way to Andritsæna. More than once before in the course of our march beyond Gremka we came upon a newly-made bridge, broad enough for a road-way, which carried us over a small chasm or across a torrent-bed. It seems plain that some day there is to be a carriage-road all the way from Créstena to Andritsæna; but there is still some stiff work for the engineer before it is done.

Once and again also we came upon a stretch of roughly-wrought cobble stones extending over a section of our way. "Τούρκικον"

quoth our guide feelingly, meaning that it was an attempt at road-building by the Turks. We learnt to know (and shun if possible) these lengths of Turkish road. Very evil are they—a fitting relic of Turkish administrative methods. Man and beast avoid them sedulously, and wherever they occur, there you will find also, if there is space for it a narrow border track without paving stones, and to this you stick, if you are wise. Sometimes there is nothing for it, but to go over the uneven stones, and then you flounder as best you can, and are lucky if you escape without bruises. For these stone path-ways, like the Turks who had them constructed, are the very devil.

Gladly did we hail the lights of Andritsæna and soon were walking along the village street. Our guide takes us straight to the abode of Antoni Leondarites, who entertains the stranger and is even inscribed in Murray. The house overlooks the main street and is reached through a small side alley and by a flight of steps. We are well received by Antoni himself, a bearded Greek rather handsomely dressed, who leads through a small courtyard and under a dark entry and ushers us into a spacious room, where we throw off our packs and drop into chairs. Our guide, whose name is Socrates Paschalenos, takes his leave, after offering to conduct us to-morrow to the Steelous (Στήλους) Anglice Columns, *i.e.*, to the Temple of Bassæ. We close with it and agree to pay ten drachmas for his services rendered and in prospect.

The room is rather low-pitched, but fresh and clean and moderately furnished. There are a couple of tables, a bed, a sofa, a few chairs. Our host's European clothes hang from pegs on the walls and round a mirror some photographs are ranged.

We endeavour to express our primary need of a wash. Antoni nods and smiles comprehension. We are invited into the courtyard and are soon engaged in ablutions that are truly and gratifyingly Homeric. The brave Antoni brings a basin (λέβης); Mrs. Leondarites brings a jug and pours water over our hands.

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφέπολος προχῶν ἐπέχευε φέρονσα

Καλῇ, χρυσέῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λήβητος*

After the exertions of the day the mountain air is keen; it is positively chilly in the house even after one has put on all ones spare apparel. Our supper is not long in preparation and consists of eggs, bread, milk and cream cheese of the country; the milk and eggs are good, but the bread and cheese a little sour. We are too tired to be critical, almost too tired to be hungry. Then to bed and sound sleep, not ill-earned.

(To be continued.)

* Odyss, i. 136,7.

ART. XVI.—BROTHER PRINCE AND THE BRID A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

ON May 7th, 1834, a young medical student made following memorandum:—"In the afternoon, at half past four, having suffered under conviction of sin fifteen months, and during the last month with the utmost agony, it pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to reveal His Son Jesus Christ to me, by faith, whilst I was in earnest prayer in my bed-room."

The journal which follows embraces the period from July 29th, 1835, to October 28th, 1839, and extracts from it were published, with a preface, in 1859, or after twenty years' mature consideration. The experiences contained therein are much the same as in all such cases of 'awakening,' and they differ from these only in the extraordinary result to which they led. Of course such 'experiences' differ with the character of the minds subjected to them, but, for all high-strung souls, the description given by Cardinal Wiseman of the period preceding the attainment of that "Peace of God which passeth all understanding" generally applies:—

"During this tremendous probation the soul is dark, parched, and wayless, as earth without water, as one staggering across a desert, or to rise to a nobler illustration, like Him, remotely, who lay upon the ground on Olivet, loathing the cup which He had longed for beyond the sweet chalice which He had drunk with His apostles just before."

The way, we say, is much the same for all men of that peculiar temper which produces apostles and martyrs,—it is the way of the 'Valley of humiliation' leading to the hills of Beulah. The issue is in that Peace of God which passeth knowledge. But the marvel lies in the diversity of the ground, of the mental attitude, whereon that Peace is found; and herein lies the psychological problem.

The great intellect of Wiseman; the far greater intellect of Newman, found that peace, at last, only in the infallibility of a human being occupying an Italian See. For them, "the name of" the Pope "is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe." To the beautiful soul, which on earth was Mrs. Booth, that peace lay in work, work, work, for the moral and physical health of Christ's suffering brethren around her. By some of the type of S. Bernard, or Thomas a Kempis, it is found in entire withdrawal from the world and contemplation of their own spiritual symptoms. For the extraordinary man who is the subject of this study the Peace of God is this, as stated in his journal entry of 28th October 1839:—

"I have passed night through the middle of self, and now, at

length, come out at the other side into God, where I abide continually, day and night, waking and sleeping, without one moment's intermission."

This he explains further on:—

"I now say, in all simplicity, that I am in a *habitual state of pure inward passiveness*." I have now no desires or wishes whatever." In his preface to the journal written twenty years later, he says that the reader will see the spirit whose progress is traced in the journal "arrived at length at home, and entering into rest, the rest that remaineth for the people of God—God Himself. He will see it perfectly delivered from the creature and from self, and perfectly restored to God."

Dean Goulburn somewhere tells an anecdote of a holy man who, on his death-bed, beckoned a disciple to him in order to communicate a secret which God had revealed to him. Eagerly bent the disciple to learn this secret of holiness from the lips of the dying saint. It was this, "to desire nothing; and to ask for nothing." Upon this Dr. Goulburn very naturally remarks that the sentiment is over-strained and false. The Master Himself teaches us to desire, to ask, to knock, to take no denial. If we want nothing else we want holiness, we want rest from sin. But He teaches us to ask, too, for our daily bread; to take to Him not only our great but our smallest needs, as children to a father. Every good thing which Wisdom may devise, which Love would give, which Power can afford, is the child's *right* from Him who brought him into the world. This claim was acknowledged on the Cross; only, as with human parents, the father must judge as to the way, the means, and the time; and the resignation shown and inculcated by the Master is resignation in this respect.

This may be, possibly, what is meant by the writer of the journal in saying "when our will hangs delicately suspended on the divine will in a holy equilibrium of inward passiveness, then is the soul in the best possible position for rendering obedience." In fact, when what is called 'free-will' has become 'Christ-will;' when the imperfect functioning of the brain has been perfected by Him from whom was the previous imperfection. For evidently the molecules of the brain can no more function, either perfectly or imperfectly, without His operation, than can the molecules of the universe. If the motions of the molecules called stars are imperfectly organised, leading to cataclysms and chaos (whence renewal of life and order), so must it be with the brain molecules, by the same Supreme Will, producing similar catastrophes of evil tending by similar unthinkable methods to the same certain goal—PERFECTION.

This perhaps is the truth which this remarkable man means

to indicate; as he has also shadowed forth those other truths, that there is no such break of continuity as that popularly understood by the name of 'death,'—but merely a change of state, a stage of evolution. In short that nothing which lives can ever cease living. Also that sin and disease are synonymous; that they are external affections; that sin or any other form of madness, is as much the attack of some divine agent (call it devil if you please) upon the brain, as is phthisis similarly produced in the lungs.

These truths are, however, greatly and dangerously obscured—probably in the writer's own mind, but certainly in those of his followers. To those followers Brother Prince is, not merely filled, like other saints, with the Spirit of God, but is the actual incarnation of the Holy Ghost—indeed he has frequently to protest against the error that he is himself Jesus Christ. Immortality in their view, is the attribute, not of the perfected body evolved from this grosser matter which we now inhabit but, of that fleshly envelope itself: not merely in the sense that no matter perishes, but is subject merely to dissolution resulting in other forms of synthesis, but in the sense that these very bodies will be translated to a *place* called heaven. Sin is not an imperfection in ourselves, which is in process of cure by suffering, but it has absolutely nothing to do with us, and every fault and crime is perpetrated by 'that wicked one' to whose vicarious shoulders the responsibility is comfortably transferred. Even an attack of indigestion, or a cold in the head, is not from our own imprudence, but is the malicious contrivance of 'the enemy.'

There can be no reasonable doubt, both from his published writings, from the numerous letters which he indites to members of his flock, and from the tenor of the long life passed under many critical and unfriendly eyes, that Brother Prince is a holy man; that the Spirit of God does indeed abide with him; and that he has certainly found that Peace of God of which Cardinal Wiseman speaks. The holiness of Brother Prince is, indeed, the ground of belief in him with many members of the Bride, shrewd level-headed persons by no means subject to hysteria. The observation of a walk in Christ which, in human eyes, appears to be without flaw, coupled with intuitive perception of the truth of the cardinal points of his faith; namely, that free-will is Christ-will, a will freed by God from imperfection ordained by God, and set free at last to follow its natural course towards God; that sin and all other suffering result from external attack fastening upon the weak points of a nature as yet not perfected; that Christ actually has (for 'time' is but a human idea) perfected imperfection, completed evolution, and abolished the death or

dissolution to which imperfection necessarily tends in order to further evolution: this objective observation and this subjective perception lead many men possessing sound reasons and practical minds to admit the claims of Brother Prince. The man, they see, is perfectly holy; he announces truths which they feel to be true; these facts, they say, are credentials of a Divine mission; he must surely be, as he says, an incarnation of the Holy Ghost. They, therefore, accept without reserve the revelation with which he is charged. "Behold, I come quickly." Christ's second coming shall indeed be, as Brother Prince announces, within the term of his natural life. It has been revealed to him that he is not to see physical death, but is to be translated, in the natural body, like Enoch and Elijah to meet His Lord in the air. Therefore, as he is eighty-six years of age and infirm, this second coming is immediate. Each younger member of the Bride may feel an assurance of partaking their prophet's translation. Death *may* of course come first, but, if so, it comes as a surprise and a disappointment, for the Lord is here, at the door; He must come to-day, or, if not, then to-morrow.

That for fifty years Brother Prince has announced the same message, and the Lord's coming is still delayed, staggers no one. Brother Prince does not know the day nor the hour; all that has been revealed to him is that he shall not see death but shall in his body behold the Lord. Hence, and because they believe that the Lord ascended with actually the same corporeal structure which he had inhabited as Jesus of Nazareth, therefore the body itself, that vile body of which Paul speaks, is of immense importance in the eyes of the Bride; they have no wish, like Paul, to be rid of it, and to achieve the evolution from this imperfect compound of gross gases to a more ethereal stage.

Community of goods and absolutely social life may or may not have been part of Brother Prince's original scheme, though it constitutes the system of his Agapēmone in Somersetshire. Certainly nothing of the sort is practised or inculcated in the Bride, which comprises the usual social distinctions of position and means, in fact the tenets and polity of the sect are extremely and evidently purposely vague: for Brother Prince is a man of extreme sagacity, and after all, what does anything much matter when the Lord is coming to-day! One thing certainly, if not declared as binding, is rigidly practised; namely, conjugal abstinence, for the body is a thing too holy to be defiled. Another very evident characteristic of the Bride is a charity, a brotherly love, a gentleness, peace, and rest most beautiful to behold. This is the impress of 'the Beloved's' character upon his followers and it is an eminent

testimony to the beauty of that character. It is this which attracts, and will continue to attract, so many from the storm and turmoil of the Salvation Army. When the *Vis Viva* of an enthusiast in those ranks is exhausted—as exhausted sooner or later it must be—then it is of immense importance where the degradation of energy shall leave him. Well it is for those whom it leaves at rest in the gentle bosom of the Bride.

We have above spoken of Brother Prince by the name universally used in the Bride—'the Beloved.' He himself uses only the signature 'Beloved'—being vague in this as in all things, probably purposely vague. Nor is it certain that all of 'the Bride' understand '*the Beloved*' in the usual sense. As before said, Brother Prince often protests against the error that he himself is Jesus Christ. Nevertheless the use of the term 'the Beloved,' in the prayers and exhortations of 'the Bride,' leaves the hearer often in doubt as to whether reference is made to our Saviour or to Brother Prince; and undoubtedly there is here a confusion in the minds of the worshippers which they prefer to leave undetermined. Whether in Brother Prince's own mind this confusion is determined may be judged from the following passage, written in 1859:—

"The professing people of God under the law—the Jews—in the last days of their dispensation, might have seen in Him in whom their dispensation was made perfect—Jesus Christ—the *glory of God*; they *might* have seen this, for the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His Person, were there: but what *did* they see?—*one who had a devil, and was mad.*" * *

The professing people of God under the Gospel—the Christian church—in these the last days of *their* dispensation, may see in him in whom their dispensation is made perfect, *the likeness and glory of Christ*. They *may* see this, for *one changed into the same image from glory to glory is there*. But what *will* they see? Alas, my Lord, let them *not* see in thy beloved, the only one of her mother, and the choice one of her that bare her, *one that has a devil and is mad*, a man carnal, sensual, and selfish, a frequenter of low company, one that speaketh blasphemy, and a deceiver of the people—led by the devil into error, even whilst he was living upon Thee as truth."

Here Brother Prince draws an elaborate parallel between our Saviour and himself. He claims to bring in, like our Lord, whose likeness and glory he is, a new dispensation. He also will be rejected as our Lord was. The omission shown by asterisks in the above extract quotes the accusations of the Jews against Jesus of Nazareth, which are repeated

against Brother Prince himself as stated in the last lines of the extract. Brother Prince, like Jesus, is God's 'beloved,' for it is evident from the context that the '*hers*,' which follow the word 'beloved,' do not refer to his Church 'the Bride,' but to Brother Prince himself. All this would argue an identity between Brother Prince and Christ, and that Brother Prince is a renewed *Autar* (Avatar) of the Godhead, or Christ come again upon Earth. But the next passage reads differently:—

"O my Beloved—Lord of my life and my everlasting hope—how truly have the reproaches of them that reproched *Thee* fallen upon *me*! As it happened to *Thee* for Thy Father's sake, so, O Lord, has it happened unto me for Thine."

Here, then, Brother Prince appears as only Christ's messenger—at the utmost as an incarnation of His Holy Spirit, His promised Comforter. At any rate he has not been further explicit as to his claims, save that he denies, in his letters to his flock, that he himself is Jesus Christ.

It will be seen that Brother Prince is under the impression that he has suffered like Christ. He always claims, as does the Bride, that his persecutions are credentials of his mission. When La Révellière Lépiaux consulted Talleyrand regarding the reason of the failure of his new cult, and the best means of founding a religion, Talleyrand recommended him to be crucified and to rise again the third day. Mahomed, too, was greatly troubled by the lack of credentials. He appealed to the beauty of the Koran as a miracle, but the credentials upon which the Arabs finally accepted him as God's prophet were the successes of his sword. Brother Prince seems to take his stand—not, like Lépiaux, upon reason, or, like Mahomed, upon his message, but—upon his rejection and his sufferings. Rejected he certainly has been, but, on the whole, in a gentle and polite way suitable to this age. As to his sufferings scoffers say that, on the contrary, his lines have fallen in peculiarly pleasant places. Indeed, as before said, his acceptance by his followers rests upon no such credentials. They accept Brother Prince because, in their view, he is a perfectly holy man—which is an evident sign of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in him; and because his announcements accord exactly with their intuitive perceptions of truth, which clearly proves his inspiration. His life and his teaching meet a want in the hearts of the gentle and pious beings who come into the 'Bride' as into an ark of rest and safety. They are people of earnest minds and strong religious convictions, who have found no satisfaction in any other of the existing forms of belief. They have felt that, say what the orthodox may, their will is *not* 'free'; that their sins and failures are *not* their own, but, on the contrary, are hateful to them.

that punishment would be gross injustice; that death would be, in the case of any single son of man, a most lame and impotent conclusion of the astounding achievement of the Son of Man; that it is absurd to suppose that a Father All-wisdom, All-might, and All-love, will not act by His children as earthly parents would (whose love can only be a faint reflex of His), had they the wisdom and the power. When, therefore, Brother Prince announces doctrines confirming these intuitive perceptions, the belief of such earnest simple souls is conquered as was Nathaniel's—each feels that the teacher must have seen into his mind under the fig-tree, and must therefore be a Son of God. There only, then, remains to accept by faith the further teaching 'Behold, I come quickly,' as interpreted by Brother Prince under the direct revelation that 'quickly' means within his own lifetime. He *must* know, for his holiness and his inspiration prove his Divine mission.

In the attitude of mind, then, of those who constitute 'the Bride' in England, Ireland, Norway and America, there is no peculiar psychological problem. That problem lies in the man himself who has achieved the personal holiness, who has attained the perfect Peace, and who has excogitated the solutions of the tremendous riddle of our existence, which holiness, Peace, and inspired solutions are his credentials to the minds of 'the Bride.'

We put aside at once the idea that Brother Prince is a conscious deceiver. Moseylimah "the liar," is a very rare case among religious teachers. Moreover Moseylimah, like the leaders of extinguished heresies in the early Christian Church, was only "the liar" because he failed and succumbed. Had Luther failed, how would his name now be stigmatised. Had Moseylimah succeeded, it would have been Mahomed whose name would have come down to posterity as Fl-Kazzab. Was even Mahomed himself a conscious deceiver? No one can study the Mecca period of his mission, and the *Suras* of that period, without feeling that Mahomed *had* a mission; that he was profoundly impressed with the truths which he declared; that he was justified in declaring himself a messenger sent to turn his people, from the gross abysses of idolatry and sensuality in which they were sunk, to the knowledge of the one true God. "There is no god but God, and Mahomed is his prophet" was, in the mouth of the camel driver of Mecca, an actual divine message—just as much as in the mouth of the Egyptianised Hebrew who in the deserts of Midian received a similar message. No doubt Mahomed did subsequently, when he found that his mission was not acknowledged, descend to imposture in support of it. He perverted his

message. He adapted a doctrine which the Arabs would not accept, into one which agreed with their traditions, their prejudices, and their inclinations. He fabricated *Suras* to meet the requirements of the hour: no longer embodiments of intuitive perceptions of divine truth, they became mere declarations of Mahomed's political ideas, or justifications of his emotions of anger, revenge, or lust, imposed upon his followers as announcements received from God. But, even so, it is often difficult to distinguish between conscious deception and self-deception in Mahomed's case. There can be little doubt that, up to the very last, he sincerely believed himself to be God's chosen prophet and instrument. He died in the firmest confidence, and his last words were "to the most excellent companions in Paradise." Under such a conviction of his mission it is more than possible that Mahomed often really mistook the promptings of his own wishes to be indications of the Divine Will borne in upon his mind. "Thus saith the Lord" was not always, probably was not often, conscious deception* in the mouths of the prophets and teachers of the Old Testament, and the same may fairly be supposed in the case of Mahomedan. He was probably no more consciously deceiving when he announced God's command for the massacre of the Jews of Medina, than was Samuel in directing the massacre of Amalek.

Now Brother Prince's teaching is holy, and the fruits of that teaching in 'The Bride' are most evident and beautiful holiness. "By their fruits ye shall know them," said the Master, and upon this evidence Brother Prince's claim to a divine message is justified. This, however, applies to other prophets, who nevertheless descended, like Moses,* to imposture in support of their mission: has Brother Prince descended to such imposture? He pretends no miracles; he announces no visions; he declares no messages communicated to him by the Most High. He asserts simply a spiritual state, leaving his followers to judge of that state from his life and his conduct. He argues, from that spiritual state, a divine condition, viz., that he is "the likeness and the glory of Christ," an incarnation of the Holy Spirit; and many sincere Christians from observation of the truth of the premiss, accept the inference. With the authority of such a condition he announces the immediate fulfilment of an accepted prophecy "Behold, I come quickly:" and he interprets the many starry hints studded over Scripture, regarding the condition and the future of man in a sense which no reasonable student can deny that they may bear; in a sense which many devout persons believe that they do bear; in a sense which turns

* [This is strange doctrine!—Ed., C.R.]

Christianity from a creed of injustice and despair into a religion of hope.

Granted that, as regards himself, Brother Prince has fallen into a foolish delusion,—at any rate it is delusion, and a harmless one. Granted that his ideas of the Second Advent are out of keeping with the Master's declaration that 'the kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' still he only shares the error of the early Christians who hourly expected the Lord's return. Granted that his conception of actual physical translation to an actual place is curiously material and illogical, still such appears also to have been the conception of Paul.* At any rate, with all these traces of human infirmity, this remarkable man has done great things. He has achieved holiness. He has attained 'the Peace of God which passeth understanding.' He has grasped and announced, though perhaps vaguely, approximations to the infinite truth which are of tremendous import. Brother Prince has, in a measure, "recognised sin as disease and imperfection; suffering as its cure; faith as a force; intuition as a faculty; the 'new birth' as a process of evolution; the conservation and transformation of energy as applicable to human failures equally with all other failures in nature; and the power of Love as a law—as indeed the Supreme Law." This quotation is not from any writings of Brother Prince, who has not thus formulated his perceptions, not even, perhaps, in his own mind. The quotation is from an Indian work,† of a tenor of free-thought foreign to the mind of Brother Prince. It nevertheless correctly states ideas which are present in the teaching of Brother Prince, as they are in the writings of the poet Shelley; ideas which have long been floating in the air, and which are in process of becoming concrete conceptions.‡

The genesis of these ideas does not very clearly appear in Brother Prince's published journal of the period July 1835 to October 1839, nor in the preface dated 1859. That journal shows only, as stated in the preface, "the history of a redeemed spirit in its progress from the creature up to God." As before said, most of the journal shows only the ordinary experiences of 'awakening.' The extraordinary results to which these led only begin to appear in the record of the last year of the journal. On October 22nd, 1838, Brother Prince writes "On Sunday, after having been much grieved in spirit by the miserable mockery of God in what is called the *morning service*, I had such a view of the intense love of Christ for my soul as pierced me through." Three days later he says, "My path,

* [No.—Ed. C.R.]

† Rudiments of the World. Sen & Co., Delhi, 1893.

‡ [We doubt this.—Ed. C.R.]

I feel assured, will be a very peculiar one. I find myself called to separate the precious from the vile. * * I believe that God has given me peculiar light for that very purpose. * * I foresee much severe trial. * * I sometimes feel much discouraged at the prospect of being a 'man of strife,' and a man of contention to the whole earth." These might of course be the words of a Wesley, or of any nascent reformer penetrated with the sense of a mission to denounce the coldness and formality of an established and benumbed Church; but further on we begin to perceive the peculiar condition of spirit induced in this particular case by this sense of a mission. "As a preparatory step the Lord has brought me to a state of the most helpless infantine dependence. I feel weak, ignorant, and helpless to a degree beyond expression." On October 29th, however, he complains "what I find my spirit chiefly prone to turn to is abominable *self*." * * I find it exceedingly difficult to *abide in Him* steadfastly." Nevertheless, three days later, the journal terminates an extraordinary psalm of peace and content with the words "How much does all this sound like the language of a warm imagination: few, perhaps, could believe that there is not much embellishment; but O Thou holy God, Thou dost know me, and Thou knowest that I speak the truth in all simplicity!"

At this time Brother Prince was a student of Divinity at Lampeter College, having abandoned the profession of medicine for that of the Church. He appears to have been a most ripe scholar, notwithstanding a state of weak health, and a chronic local disease, references to which abound in the journal, and are significant of the progress of the peculiar condition of spirit referred to above. For instance, "Have been very unwell for a week with a severe cold, bilious attack, and toothache; from the latter I have been in almost constant pain for many days. Prayer and thanksgiving appear to me to be two of the best remedies for the toothache: they, however, must be used *freely*, and not by *constraint*." Again, "In the last month my health has been gradually declining, and I have had some return of local affection, together with symptoms indicating its increase. God has distinctly forbidden me to use any means of relief, though common prudence, and my knowledge of medicine have frequently demanded them; but I have not omitted them either from presumption or from ignorance of the consequences. I have several times committed the matter to God for his direction, and He has as frequently forbidden me to use any means whatever." And again, "Unwell with sore throat and some fever: I delighted myself in the *abundance of peace*;" and again, a month later, "Have felt very unwell these few days; so exceedingly weak that

I scarcely know how to live; but indeed I live by faith, otherwise I often feel as if I could not survive the week."

Truly the above shows a very remarkable spiritual condition. Though one feels inclined to smile at such remarks as "By the Grace of God I have conquered an east wind;" Mr. Prince having, by faith, induced that wind, which incommoded him, to shift to another quarter; yet one can understand, from this and the former entries quoted, how completely the man was penetrated with the feeling that he was "a pilgrim and stranger upon earth, without any home save God. He is my habitation and unto Him do I continually resort." Thus the conviction of his being 'set apart' continually grows upon him. On Christmas Day (1838) he notes: "Remained to the sacrament at Widcombe; felt more like a stone than a living being: wondered whether *such* a thing *could* be used for any purpose." * * I should shrink from the work, and retire altogether from the world, if I were not fully impressed with the conviction that a '*dispensation*' has been committed to me." On January 1st, 1839, he writes: "Most Holy God, were I still my own—which, blessed be Thy name, I am not—I would sanctify this opening year with a solemn dedication of myself to Thy service. Jesus I *am* Thine, and Thou art mine, and Thou wilt do with me as seemeth good to Thee." Again, on January 9th, "Oh, that I were holy, even as he is holy!" * * I really believe that, though I too often find my sinful heart desiring holiness to glory therein, yet, habitually, I desire it in order to enter more fully into God." Later, however, the consideration of this feeling humbles and hurts him, for he perceives that it is *happiness* he seeks after, in the knowledge and possession of God—whereas it grieves him to feel that he can "be made happy by anything else than doing his most holy will." Is not this the feeling of Paul, who "could wish that myself were accursed from Christ" if thereby God's scheme of restoration were forwarded?

In the same sense is an entry of January 29th, "During this indisposition the Lord made deep discoveries to me of my utter misery and corruption." * * I perceived that all his creatures were so entirely and exclusively at his own disposal as really to be no better than *clay* in the hands of the potter * and that in all the uses to which He applied this clay He was regulated only by a regard to the fulfilment of His own will" (namely the perfection of His creation). In short Mr. Prince was learning at last to be ready to be cast away, if need be, for the reconciling of the world, and contentedly to leave it to a Father, All Love and All Wisdom, how best to use him. "I cannot but regard it as a token of God's goodness towards me, that when it pleases Him to fathom some of the depths of my depravity, and open to my view the inner chambers of my

natural pollution, I am not dejected or made unhappy thereby as I once was; but can bear the sight of own extreme wretchedness and profound misery *quietly*, without being disturbed or embittered in spirit." Again, on February 12th, "Oh *faith*, *real* faith, is indeed a wonderful thing! it is the most humiliating of all possible principles, and tramples in the dust all pretensions on the part of the creature to *any kind* of goodness, wisdom, or power. O my God, what a coming down for nature! what a deep humiliation and abasement! It replaces man in the position of a *creature wholly* dependent on the absolute will, and entirely at the sovereign disposal, of his creator." And again, on March 9th and 17th, "The Lord has been pleased to lead me into an extraordinary depth in the discovery of my own *nothingness*. * What I desire to express is this, that my dependence, every instant, for existence upon *God* and *His will*, seemed so very *true*, that my *actual being* appeared to be rather in the *divine will* than in its own existence. But this must seem like nonsensical refinement to one who has not experienced it: * * I sometimes think that if others could see me in the light that God does, or even as I see myself, I should, like the Eastern King, be driven from men. * * These views of my own malignity, however, do not now make me unhappy, as formerly they did; for I do not now hope, as I once did, that *my nature* will *improve*. * Nay, I do not desire to become better, but rather rejoice that I am so bad, for I perceive that God is glorified therein."

This is, surely, the spirit of Christ's immediate followers, caught by personal contact from Himself. "Therefore, writes James, 'count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations, knowing that the trial of your faith worketh patience.' Therefore, repeats Peter, 'greatly rejoice though now in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of your faith might be found unto praise and honour at the appearing of Jesus Christ.*' We hold on, then, temptation notwithstanding, sin notwithstanding, knowing that even He was 'made sin for us.' We are 'troubled on every side, yet not distressed, perplexed, but not in despair;' for 'God is faithful who will not suffer you to be tried above that ye are able.' Knowing that 'His strength is made perfect in our weakness,' we even try, like Paul, to 'glory in our infirmities'—while yet crying 'lead us not into temptation but deliver us from the evil.' This is the faith which is sign of the 'new birth'—faith God-given, God-maintained. Shaken it may be when imperfection, trial, sin, reach the crisis of their cure in dissolution. Then, in the very throes of deliverance, may come to us, as to the Man Jesus,† the last

* [You misunderstand these passages.—ED., C.R.]

† [This comparison is misconceived.—ED., C.R.]

worst pang of all, 'why hast thou forsaken me.' He knows best, and loves best, who may lay even this upon us; but the prospect appals. 'O God Most Mighty, suffer us not for any pains of death to fall from Thee.' *"

On April 6th (1839) Mr. Prince writes: "Notwithstanding the blessedness my soul enjoyed in the presence of her Maker, I distinctly perceived that it is far better to do the will of God than to enjoy God. * * By the will of God I mean not His will *generally*, but in *particulars*; that, ceasing from the gratification of my own will in *every* thing, however minute or unimportant in itself, I may wait on Him in spirit, *moment by moment*, to know His will with respect to me, *for that moment*. No person can conceive, who has not experience of it, what a constant self-denial and crucifixion of the will this requires." Again, on April 28th, "I perceive that God calls me, as regards the subjection of my will, to a state of *pure inward passiveness*. * * In the state of pure inward passiveness the will is *inactive* and *waiting* for the *will of God*. It has *no secret inclination*, so as to have any tendency to *one* thing more than *another*. * An *absolute and unreserved obedience* is that which constitutes the chief, peculiar, and distinguishing characteristic feature in the history and example of Jesus Christ; and it is this to which I perceive the Spirit of God is leading me, conscious as I am that I have not yet attained it." In short Mr. Prince had now attained the stage of being ready to be used either as "vessel of wrath fitted to destruction" or as "vessel of mercy;" either in base or inglorious use for the glory of God in the perfection of mankind.

" * * Nor know I now
If 'tis for good or ill; be that Thy care.
Not for the clay to ask the Potter how
'Tis wrought; sufficient this, *that it is used*."

In his entries of May 8th and 14th (1839) Mr. Prince further describes this condition, and as it is a very interesting and curious exposition of a spiritual state, we will quote at some length. "During the last week the Lord has aimed a deadly blow at the life of self in me. * * The flesh wrought inwardly to such a degree that it appeared to have escaped from any controlling influence of the spirit. Now this condition being so very repugnant to *my will*, it was quite agreeable to the nature of things that I should wish to *get rid of it*; but to subdue *my will* was the very *purpose* of God in permitting the trial, and it was His wise intention to keep me in the trial, till *my will* should sink into *resignation to His*; and this

* Rudiments of the World, p. 284.

would be known by my becoming *cheerfully* willing to *remain in this condition*, all fearful as it appeared. * * * * * Agreeably, therefore, to the divine purpose of teaching me passiveness, immediately that my soul was about to perform any *inward act*, the spirit *checked me and drew me from it*. * * * This state of things continued day after day, during which the spirit was perpetually putting a check upon *my will* as often as it acted. Now as long as it did thus act" (in desire for holiness, be it remembered) "it is evident that it was not *resigned* to the state of the soul *then being*. In His wisdom, therefore, God kept up the trial * till the inward actings of my will * at length *ceased altogether* * instead of *wishing to escape* from this very unpleasant condition of soul. I was cheerfully willing to remain in it as long as it pleased God to keep me there * as in *justification* we cease from our own works and *rely by faith* on God to justify us freely, so in *sanctification* we may be brought to as *complete and entire a cessation* from our own works and rely by faith on God to sanctify us freely. Thus, in the experience just related when I refrained from inward acts, it was not done in unbelief, or carelessness, or indifference; but it was done in faith and dependence upon God."*

A week later he writes "My spirit sleeps in the most serene peace upon the bosom of God. My chief object is not now, what it once was, *viz.*, to *enjoy God*: the desire which is nearest to my heart now is *to do and suffer His holy will*." Yet nevertheless nature *will* assert itself, and the exaltation of such resignation is too high to be maintained; for a little further we find "I want—how shall I utter it O God forgive—I want to come as near Thee, and live as much in Thee, and be as much like Thee, as it is possible for a created being to be without annihilation." Such outburst of repining against estrangement is inevitable by any Christian. If we *must* be used as vessels of wrath for our brethren, well, God's will be done; we are content to be even accursed from Christ for them: But the Christ-man in us *must* revolt, as He did, "with strong crying and tears,"—the spirit *must* cry "with groanings which cannot be uttered." Nevertheless the process went on in Mr. Prince. On August 15th he writes "I protest that I *die* daily. My inward life is undergoing a gradual destruction. I perceive that the life lies substantially in the will; * * it is the Spirit of God alone that can discover, and the love of God alone that can destroy the will, the iron-hearted will of man." Here Mr. Prince appears for the first time to shadow forth that idea with which the Bride is now possessed, that

* [This is pure Antinomianism.—ED., C.R.]

this 'will of man' is some independent principle of evil 'that wicked one,' hostile to and thwarting the will of God:—in fact, that there are two independent, though not equal powers in the universe, whence must arise chaos, not harmony.

In one form or another this presentment appears in the conceptions of all ages, for, as Professor Jevons writes, "The hypothesis that there is a Creator at once all-powerful and all-benevolent is surrounded with difficulties verging closely upon logical contradiction * * if we cannot succeed in avoiding contradiction in our notions of elementary geometry, can we expect that the ultimate purposes of existence shall present themselves to us with perfect clearness?" The reason of this evidently was that man judged God by himself, having, until Christ came, nothing else to measure God by. It is only now clear to us since we have discovered, in Jesus Christ, that God is all-love—that the idea of a personal Satan is contrary to the idea of a God Almighty and All-wise.* "Either the Devil is the author, or he is the victim of evil. Either Satan's functions are of God's appointment, or without it. If without God's appointment, then there is an independent power of evil in the universe and God is *not* all in all. If, however, he exists by God's appointment, then either he is an imperfect creature of God, like ourselves, and is such for the exhibition of God's glory, which cannot reasonably be supposed to be manifested otherwise than in perfecting him; or he is a creature specially appointed to hinder God's own work of perfecting imperfection, for the express purpose of thwarting Himself—which is surely absurd."† Similarly absurd is the conception of a 'free' will to oppose God. "If once we admit that 'all things in life are arranged by God,' that is to say, are the resultant of forces foreknown ('which,' writes Bishop Martensen, 'in a Supreme Being is equivalent to fore-ordained') to operate with that resultant * * then to regard 'free-will' as one of those forces is a contradiction in terms; for; if it is a force fore-ordained by God to act in the 'arrangement of things' then it is not 'free-will' but 'God-will.' To talk of the power of 'free-will, meaning thereby something not God-inspired, God-directed, is contrary to reason, for to introduce into the order prescribed by God from the beginning an uncalculated force, independent of Him, must produce chaos."‡

Although the idea of a Satan thwarting the purposes of God, or of any 'freedom' of the will of a created being to interfere with those purposes, is inconsistent with the conception

* [An extraordinary discovery! and the following quotations *very* extraordinary logic!!!—ED., C.R.]

† Rudiments of the World, p. 134.

‡ Rudiments of the World, p. 211.

of a God Almighty and All-wise, yet it was perfectly possible to suppose a minister of God for evil until it was realised in Jesus Christ, that God is also all-love. Such a minister is what Mahomed supposed; his devil is merely the servant of the cruel capricious tyrant whom Mahomed calls 'God.' "Barbarous and cruel ages," writes Morrison, "have ever generated barbarous and cruel religions." Till the coming of Christ the God conceived by man was necessarily anthropomorphic; he was cruel, capricious, tyrannical, like man himself. Now, however, the idea of God is based upon the perfect *anthropos* as seen in Christ. Granting a personal God the author of creation "then by analogy we suppose that His work must represent His mind. We see in man, the highest known development of His work, a great development of the faculty of love, and the higher the nature of the man the greater is this development. In the very best individual of the race, as the man Jesus is by all admitted to be, we see the very highest development of this faculty, and from this we may argue that, in the author, the faculty must exist in perfection. He *must* love His creation perfectly and injustice, harshness, unkindness on His part are inconceivable. What man is ruthless to his own workmanship? What father but pitieth his own children? The inference of David, in the 103rd Psalm, is that of Jesus of Nazareth in the sermon on the mount, of Paul in his letter to the Jews of Rome. If we, consciously imperfect as we are, love our children, *how much more* does the Perfect Father! Therefore evil cannot be what it appears to be. It must be a process of good, and can thus be accepted with entire trust in God to do for us exactly what we ourselves would have Him to do—if only we knew!"*

This is the point which Brother Prince appears to have failed to grasp, or at any rate to have omitted to bring out in his teaching. Man's "free" will, he explains, can only be Christ-will, but 'that enemy' will not leave it free to turn to God; that enemy from whom is all the imperfection, failure, suffering, sin, of God's creatures. The further explanation that this enemy—whether devil of cholera or of phthisis, of madness or anger or lust—is also God's creature working by appointment in furtherance of an unsearchable purpose which can only be 'good' both for 'enemy' and victim, because God is Love; of that explanation we find no trace in the doctrinal writings or the journal of Brother Prince. Possibly, like Bengel, he holds that one who proclaims God's love to be all-embracing is "a tell-tale and divulger of God's secrets,—tells tales out of school!"†

The entry of October 28th, 1839, closes this remarkable diary

* Rudiments of the World, pp. 216 and 290.

† Bishop Martensen's Christian Dogmatics, §. 287.

because, as Mr. Prince says, his personal life having ended, his journal must end too. He writes on that date: "It would not be possible, if, indeed, it were lawful, to describe minutely the marvellous work which God has been carrying on in my soul the last seven weeks. Where is the man who would be able to understand me, were I to assure him that *I have passed right through the middle of self, and now, at length, come out at the other side into God* * * and if I were to add that, with respect to the present position of my soul, it is *precisely the antipodes of what it was at the time of my first awakening*. Yet so it is." And he concludes with the words, "This, then is my testimony of God—that, though my prayers have been of such a kind as perhaps few have offered" (he refers of course to the boldness of his demands) "and though, when offering them, my expectations were almost unbounded, yet, that God in answering them has done for me *exceeding abundantly more than either I could ask or think*. * * Yes, I say it in all sobriety and seriousness, 'I am filled with all the fulness of God.'" A marvellous hallucination, indeed, one which has produced a holiness which to any eye is beautiful, and which many clever shrewd men among Brother Prince's followers pronounce, from personal observation, to be without flaw. Indeed this holiness is the main ground of his acceptance by them as an incarnation of the Holy Ghost.

Fifty-five years later,* Brother Prince declares his pretensions even more explicitly, and explains the expression 'her' in the prayer which we quoted from the preface, written in 1859, to his journal which had been closed twenty years previously. After explaining that the 'world's malady' is the presence, in the vital principle ("the generative reproductive life-current") of the human race, of a specific poison-germ styled by him 'the evil one.' Brother Prince states that this terrible reality has been brought to light by God Himself—by God the Holy Ghost. "I say, then, that the Holy Ghost in me took flesh—a woman—and made himself one with it as a man is one flesh with his wife." "This is the 'her,' the body of Brother Prince, prepared by Christ as "a body for the Holy Ghost to carry out His purpose. * Without being unclothed of his earthly body he" (Brother Prince) "was clothed upon by his spiritual body. * * To bring man out of self into Christ by faith, and thus to save him, was the object for which the Gospel was given. The Holy Spirit, working by the Gospel, did this more or less in every true believer; but in Brother Prince He did it *fully*. * He did by His Spirit quicken his mortal body and raise him from the dead a spiritual body. In him, then, thus made meet for the purpose, the Holy Ghost took flesh, a woman, and made himself one with it."

* The World's Malady (1894).

Now this sounds like nonsense, and yet, examined closely it is but what was conveyed both by The Master and His apostles.* So far as The Master explained to Nicodemus the meaning of 'the new birth' it certainly is that, as in the case of Mary, so for every man, as in his turn the evolution takes place in him, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." No one attentively reading the letters of Paul and John can doubt that they were filled with the same view.* Professor Drummond in his '*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*' quotes from Beale that there is "a period in the development of every tissue and every living thing known to us, when there are actually no structural peculiarities whatever—when the whole organism consists of transparent, structureless, semi-fluid living bioplasm—when it would not be possible to distinguish the growing moving matter which was to evolve the oak, from that which was the germ of a vertebrate animal." Huxley describes how he observed this bioplasm being fashioned into a water-newt. Similarly, says Professor Drummond, when a bird is wanted, "the bird-life seizes upon the bird-germ and builds it up into a bird, the image of itself. The reptile-life seizes upon another germinal speck, assimilates surrounding matter, and fashions it into a reptile. The reptile-life thus simply makes an incarnation of itself. The visible bird is simply an incarnation of the invisible bird-life. Now we are nearing the point where the spiritual analogy appears. There is another kind of life of which science as yet has taken little cognizance. It obeys the same laws. It builds up an organism in its own forms. It is the Christ-life. As the bird-life builds up a bird the image of itself, so the Christ-life builds up a Christ, the image of Himself, in the inward nature of man. When a man becomes a Christian the natural process is this. The living Christ enters his soul. Development begins. The quickening life seizes upon the soul, assimilates surrounding elements, and begins to fashion it, and all through life this wonderful, mystical, glorious, yet perfectly definite process goes on 'until Christ be formed' in it." Professor Drummond continues by answering the objection that the bird-germ becomes a perfect bird, whereas the Christ-germ does not become a perfect Christ, He demands for the latter the years proportionate to his place in the scale of life—"what wonder if development be tardy in the creature of eternity."

This, stripped of his extravagance of language, is the truth which Brother Prince is struggling to enounce. When this new germ has been conceived, seized, and its fashion commenced by the Christ-life, by the Spirit of God, then

* [Very extraordinary!—ED., C.R.]

the human matrix has fulfilled its purpose as the decaying acorn has, as the chrysalis has, as the animal mother has. There is as truly a new and imperishable divine being within the outward envelope as there is a snake within the slough ready to be shed. "I live," wrote Paul, "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." The apostle, says Brother Prince, "did not intend it to be understood that he was Christ. So neither do I express, nor intend to be understood, that I am the Holy Ghost, when I say that I lived, yet not I but the Holy Ghost lived in me, when I took flesh and made myself one with it."*

So far then, Brother Prince, mainly goes upon what is, in the view of Christians, assured ground. [? ED.] He proceeds to say that this 'new birth' taking place in him, this indwelling of the Holy Spirit, "brought out into manifestation the character of that other" (the devil) * "not the sin only but also the death there, in the form of sickness, pain, and severe illness apparently unto death the Root of the World's Malady * *Satan concealed in the flesh.*" As chemists have succeeded in isolating the deadly alkaloid which is the principle of many vegetable poisons, as they have discovered the germs, the bacteria, which propagate many diseases, "so also has the Great Divine Chemist discovered and separated from the poisonous life-current, the generative and reproductive principle by which the world is peopled, the lethal essence to whose presence its poisonous quality is owing." The concrete presentment of this lethal essence by Brother Prince is Satan, 'the adversary.' It is convenient so to present the incomprehensible principle of evil, the manifest results, in Protean forms, of the manifest imperfection of the universe, an imperfection necessarily containing in itself the seeds of decay and dissolution—the solvents, so to speak, which by God's ordinance, whether alkaloids or bacteria, whether diseases, sins or whatever lesions of bodily and mental organs, do continually disintegrate existing imperfect forms in that universe for further and better syntheses continually progressing towards perfection. Brother Prince calls these, collectively, 'the devil:' he has the idea, why should we quarrel with his manner of expressing it.

"But this was not the conclusion of the matter; for, the Holy Ghost having accomplished the purpose appointed for Him, viz., the bringing to light of the devil as the poison of the life-current of the human race, and the source of all the sin and evil in the world—the Lord Jesus Christ, who was in His Spirit, revealed Himself from heaven as the Son of Man in His body, Brother Prince, and consumed with the Spirit of His mouth that Man of Sin, the wicked one." In short Brother

* [What an utter confusion of ideas in the unfortunate man!—ED., C.R.]

Prince has destroyed the devil. This is that head of Charles I which is always cropping up in the writings of this remarkable man to mar what would otherwise be most valuable and admirable. What has been done for and in himself, wonderful as it certainly is, so fills the field of his view as to destroy all sense of proportion, like the spider in the telescope. The Gospel Dispensation is now past and that of Brother Prince has arrived. "As it was at the close of the Dispensation of the Law, so it has happened also at the close of the Gospel Dispensation God has sent forth a Special Messenger to make ready a people for the coming of the Son of Man in judgment. But though this Messenger and his work were prophetically announced in Scripture" (as explained by Brother Prince in his work *'The Counsel of God in Judgment'*) "the Christian Church have been so blinded by their prejudices * that they cannot discern in Brother Prince and his work the fulfilment of those prophecies." In consequence of this rejection of Brother Prince "God has withdrawn His Holy Spirit from the Gospel Church, that Spirit by which the Prophets were inspired, and without which their prophecies cannot be duly interpreted."

What a wonderful and delicately balanced thing is that concentration and development within the skull of the ganglia which in lower animals are distributed over the body. What a penalty is paid by us for this concentration and development. The sedentary animal thinks and feels all over his body. Cut off the head and body of a creature even so highly developed as the Mantis and he has mind enough left, in his first thoracic segment, to use his arms in defence or to seize his prey. There is little fear that the mental balance may be upset in either mollusc or mantis. But the astounding concentration and complexity of the organ of the mind in man exposes it constantly to the danger that some slight disarrangement of a part may affect the whole. Similarly, predominant use and development of a part affects the general balance. Right-handedness, for instance, has produced left-speech. Undue use of the right hand throughout successive generations, has so developed the left hemisphere of the brain (from which the nerves of the right originate) as actually to give greater specific gravity to the cortical grey matter in that region than in the right hemisphere. The latter no longer incites speech movements (except in left-handed people), and the left hemisphere exclusively acts for that purpose. How much disturbance of mental balance is the poring upon the wild [! ED.] utterances of Hebrew prophets answerable for! Brother Prince denotes some pages of polished satire to the prophecy-interpretations of Cumming and Baxter—who discovered poor Louis Napoleon to be Anti-

Christ, without perceiving that *de se fabula narratur*. Unconscious prophecies there of course are in the Hebrew poets, as in Plato or in Virgil. We can see their fulfilment in past events. But hopelessly to seek for the forecast of future dealings of God, in those rhapsodies, seems to have the effect of so developing the activity of particular cells in the cerebral cortex as to impair the efficiency of other cells; just as mental worry will produce Aphasia.

Only thus can we account for the sudden aberrations of the eminently sound and acute intellect displayed in Brother Prince's most able and profitable works. So impressed has he been with the wonderful working of God's Spirit in himself, that he has dwelt upon himself in connection with prophecy till his mental view has become distorted. Christ's testimony, 'Behold He cometh,' has now become, in Brother Prince, 'Surely I come quickly.' "Yes, it is done. The work of the Holy Ghost in taking flesh has proved itself to be the wisdom and power of God to make ready a people for the coming of the Son of Man in judgment. * * By this reception of my testimony concerning that work, they have been delivered from that wicked one who was before concealed in their flesh to its defilement. * * That living word, BEHOLD HE COMETH was the holy seed of the new Dispensation. Out of it sprung the Agapemone, the Heuse" (in Somersetshire) 'where Christ has put His new Name as the Son of Man.'

After building up step by step the demonstration that Conscious States or Feelings are an appanage only of nerve actions, "no more capable of being dissevered from the physical conditions on which they depend than is Heat to be dissevered from its physical conditions." Bastian necessarily proceeds to enquire *the motor* of those nerve actions out of which consciousness, feeling, thought, all mental operations, arise. "To say that Heat is a 'mode of motion' takes for granted the underlying fact that we cannot have motion except through a something which moves" (moves=causes motion). And then, in this inquiry, there arises in the cool cautious scientist who wrote *'The brain as an organ of the mind'*, the same prepossession which we find in the emotional assailant of Christianity, the author of *'The creed of Christendom'*. "In the free-will of man," writes Mr. Greg, "we do believe and must believe, however strict logic may struggle against it." Similarly Bastian, while saying that "to show how these particular motions in nerve tissue arise which underlie conscious states * must ever remain impossible," will not admit that they have not a 'natural origin,' i.e., that they are not effected by man himself:—for, if not, then "all notions of Free Will, Duty, and Moral obligation would * be alike consigned to a common

grave." Gravity, wrote Newton to Bentley, "must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws." No scientist would conceive that the motions of the spheres, or of other particles in space, are self originated—why then those of the molecules in the human brain! All goes back to a Supreme Will, and that Will alone can it be* which originates 'these particular motions in nerve tissue which underlie conscious states' and which thus causes the nerve actions of thought which are the result of those motions.

From this Supreme Will must have come then [! Ed., C.R.] the mental aberration under which Brother Prince declares himself to be the Messenger of Christ, sent in His Power and Spirit to announce His immediate coming. And as every operation of that Will of a Being all-wisdom and all-love must be for good, must absolutely tend to the completion and perfection of His creation, we have to seek the explanation in such results as we see. Those results are that the confidence of Brother Prince in his own mission—inspiring similar confidence in numerous persons who accept him upon the credentials of his evident holiness, and of his inspiration to declare truths which they intuitively perceive to be true—has raised up in England, Ireland, Norway, and America, a body of Christians peculiarly filled with the graces of meekness, charity and the spirit of prayer and praise. Brother Prince's hallucination has been the means used to this end, and it is presumably the sole means which could have effected it in minds so constituted as to absolutely need a human guide speaking with what they believe to be divine authority. "There are diversities of operations," writes Paul, "but it is the same God which worketh all in all." Some minds can only find repose in committing themselves to the guidance of the Holy Ghost residing in the 'person who is Bishop of Rome for the time being. Others regard that Divine Spirit as incarnate in Brother Prince. Others again, such as Bible Christians and Plymouth Brethren, are content to feel that Spirit guiding themselves directly; experiencing personally the truth of John's statement that "ye have an unction from the Holy Spirit and ye need not that any man teach you." All these diversities are by the Supreme Will, in pursuance of the purpose of the *perfection of all*, though each absurd little group supposes the perfection to be for itself only. What does it all matter, cries Paul; so long as "Christ is preached I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

We have referred, in the early part of this article, to the risk of perversion of Brother Prince's vicarious theory of sin:

* [To refer our Wills to the Supreme Creative Will, and to make them one with IT, are very different things.—Ed. C.R.]

He himself admits that it seems dangerous. "In like manner formerly did the doctrine of justification by faith without works seem dangerous. * * Those who make objections of this kind do not perceive that the *love of Christ*, is the power of God to preserve the individual from sin, and to make it hopeful to him." Certainly it is true that, when Christ has been born in any man, then 'the spirit warreth against the flesh.' As John says (New Version) "whosoever is born of God sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God keepeth him." The doctrine so crudely held on the Bride is dangerous only until the 'new birth,' and that, after all, must come to each man sooner or later. Again, Brother Prince guards against misapprehension of his teaching that the 'new-born' cannot die. He has never said "that they cannot die in the ordinary sense of the word 'die.' What they have been taught is that, regarding death as the separation of soul and body, the unclothing of the soul by the removal of its body, they cannot die, because * they are already clothed upon with a spiritual body, and raised above death as Children of the Resurrection." This presentment of the 'new birth' is what the common sense of Christians is already arriving at. [Really? Ed., C.R.] "How be it," says Brother Prince, "what the Bride of Christ is *looking for* is not death of any kind but translation without death." This we before explained to be the expectation of each member of the Bride, because Christ must arrive, if not to-day, at least to-morrow.

We cannot do better, in concluding this article, than to extract from two pamphlets, published in 1888 regarding the exposure of that lurking personal devil who is the Bride's *bête noire*, Brother Prince's scattered notices of himself and his Agapemone. "In the year 1845 there was publicly proclaimed in many places in England this important Testimony, *Behold He cometh*. There was then declared, in the power of the Holy Ghost, the near approach of Christ in judgment, and the Church and world were solemnly exhorted to prepare to meet Him. Out of the many to whom this Testimony was preached a few believed it. As may be supposed, their acknowledged reception of this Testimony, as a message from God separated them from the rest of the professing Church. * *

* * The person from whom this religious movement originated was a Clergyman * * This Clergyman having been prohibited by the Bishop of Bath and Wells * also was prohibited by the Bishop of Salisbury * * also by the Bishop of Ely * Thinking he was hardly dealt with the Curate wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury * but the Archbishop replied that he could not interfere. Prevented thus from preaching *within* the pale of the Established Church

Brother Prince, after some months waiting upon God for guidance in faith and prayer, proceeded to preach *without* it. * * * A piece of ground was purchased, and a chapel and small dwelling house built on it. This place, gradually enlarged as more persons came to reside there, * was subsequently called the Agapēmone (abode of love). It was there, where several of those who had received that Testimony resided, and whither the rest at various times resorted, * that Christ accomplished the great work I speak of—the taking hold of that spiritual Leviathan the Devil, so as to draw him out of that deep in which he had so long concealed himself, to his destruction. * * Those brought to reside in the Agapēmone had been led by the testimony of Jesus, *Behold He cometh*, to look for the speedy coming of the Lord in judgment. Ere long He did so come, though in a way very different from that they had expected, and was revealed among them as the Son of Man in judgment. * * He brought to light in them the secret of the *fallen nature* of the flesh, namely, THE PRESENCE IN IT OF THAT SPIRITUAL LEVIATHAN THE DEVIL. * * * In such a terrible position there would doubtless have been utter destruction, but for one thing which alone did keep them from making shipwreck of their faith in God. It was this: they did hear *the voice of His Spirit*, as he spake by His messenger. * * This strange and terrible state of things—it is now many years ago—continued for some time; the heat of the day waxing and waning as it were until it culminated in the bringing to light of that wicked one * and the destruction of that Levathan * to their complete and most blessed deliverance. * * * The whole of this period is replete with painful recollections, and, though a terrible reality, it seems, at this distance of time, like a hideous dream. The subject is not pleasant either to speak or write of; but it was needful to mention these things as being involved in the account of the manner in which God visited His people in judgment. * * But what was the result in these inhabitants of the earth, of this destruction of the Wicked one by the sword of the Lord? * * By the destruction of that *consciousness of self* they have learnt, of any evil in them, that it is not *they* but the Evil one; so they do not condemn themselves for it, and do overcome it; and of any good in them they have learnt that it is not *they* but the *Holy one*, even Christ; so they cannot glory in it. * * * Accordingly I say that this place is worthy of its name, the Agapēmone, * and I add that it is not the abode of love in the sense in which it has been represented. It is not the abode of sensuality, casual-mindedness, lasciviousness, uncleanness, or impurity; but it is the place from which all these things have been utterly

banished. * * I repeat, the place is worthy of its name; and they who live there do live in purity of body and simplicity of life, and in unity, peace and love, not seeking their own. * * This is their home life; and it is manifestly so as they live abroad; for they live for little else than to go about doing good * * not as a duty but as their privilege and blessing, and all in any way connected with the Agapēmone, especially the poor send as a matter of course to them for assistance. Nor is this account to be strictly limited to those who live in the Agapēmone, for others share in these ministrations * it is no exaggeration to say that, for Jusus' sake they make themselves the servants of all. * This assistance is not restricted to those that are connected with the Agapēmone but is freely rendered to all * and rendered often to any who have before been bitter in opposition."

All the above, regarding Brother Prince's followers, is *true*. The Bride, whether in the Agapēmone or elsewhere, does most evidently show forth the beauty of holiness. "By their fruits" said the Master, "ye shall know them," and by that it is this the work of the Spirit of God. Truly "God has spoken at sundry times" and in very "divers manners;" and evidently it is no small thing that such a movement of sanctification and perfecting should have originated from a hallucination which, He caused* to arise in the mind of His servant, the Church of England, curate, Mr. Prince.

* We should think it is the other way. God can "cause" no hallucination (even though He may permit evil spirits to do so), but He may overrule it for "sanctification," but not the *unhealthy exorcism* of "Brother Prince and his Bride."

One word more;—we seem to have come again to the grand old times of *Methuselah* in the above article, which is by a well-known Military Officer!—Ed., C. R.

THE QUARTER.

SOUTH AFRICA.—We regret that the three months past have brought no betterment in the unfortunate "war" which has been raging in South Africa for two years past. No betterment in any way. The unpractical theorists at home, united with the "man-in-the-street" element, still can only see what they call "a war to the finish"—just as if it was a prize-fight—and not a statesman's opportunity. At the same time, we record the same number of losses—in June it was double, or two officers and 22 men—every day at the seat of the struggle, and our military position is even worse. We have now actually 252,000 troops on the field, while the number of forces of the "enemy" are increasing every day by considerable additions from the Dutch in Cape Colony. The mere invasion of the Cape Colony which we last noted, is spreading into a cross flagration, and we have been obliged to give up guarding the through communication by rail of the Cape line. For the rest we have been obliged to construct block-houses, lest our communications in the two States and with Natal be also cut off! At the same time, the same mendacious and, toned down stories are being officially circulated at home to keep the "man-in-the-street" in humour. Here are two independent, and by no means "pro-Boer," accounts, the one from a Colonial yeoman, and the other from the correspondent of the *Standard*, which cut directly against Messrs. Brodrick and Chamberlain's glozing accounts:—

"The situation in Cape Colony in brief is this: From Colesberg to Orange River Station along the Orange River small parties of marauders constantly appear in Cape Colony. Westwards, towards Kenhardt, a small commando composed largely of local rebels appears and disappears with annoying regularity. Further south, in the Grahamstown, Burghersdorp, and Colesberg Districts, small but very successful commandos under Kruitziuger, Scheepers, and Van Reenen (a Cape rebel) have so far defied the many columns sent after them, pillaging with scarcely any hindrance and but little loss to themselves. There is no doubt whatever that Kruitziuger's commando originally but 250 to 300 strong, has been considerably reinforced by local rebels, with the result that new commandos are constantly being heard of as working independently."

"The general position in the Colony is absolutely deplorable. Stories of robbery and outrage come from places so far apart as Barkly West and Klipdam, North of Kimberley, and Elandsval only two hundred miles north of Cape Town. From the Transkeian border in the east to the confines of the Kalahari in the north-west, the Colony is over-run by small bands of rebels, who are absolutely reckless of their lives, and equally indifferent to the ordinary

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requirements of civilised warfare. From the Cradock District alone as many as six hundred British subjects have joined the invaders since April last, and from the Somerset East District another two hundred rebels have taken up arms. They are living on the fat of the land, and have few wants. The reports that they are a mere rag-tag and bobtail are quite untrue. Prisoners who have been with them for three or four days declare that they are better clothed and better fed than our own men. For ammunition they depend on the all-too-frequent captures they effect, and, despite our large seizures of horses, they are still well-mounted. The naive stories that they have been driven from strong positions are, as a rule, worthless. The whole country is terrorised."

But it is even worse than all this—the "war" is degenerating into absolute murder. This, the last phase of such unhappy and wicked—and really "civil"—war, is what might have been expected from all the circumstances—the gradual wearing out and depletion of the Boers, the refusal of ordinary honourable terms, and the employment on our side of colored help. It is too much in human nature to expect that two years continual harassing warfare will result in lenient and reasonable views, or that wholesale hangings and confiscations will not be resented. And as it is now degenerating to pure and simple murder it is quite possible that the "enemy" instead of generously letting their numerous captives go free, as they have always hitherto done, will just shoot them. In such a case, there is little doubt which side will suffer most, for we cannot, even as reprisals, shoot down men in cold blood—men who are fighting for their independence even as the Scotch of old—and if we did, we should probably at once see the whole of the Cape Dutch—now so carefully restrained—rise and we lose South Africa (plus that everlasting make-bate Rhodes and his Kimberley mines) for ever. As it is, in regard to a rising of the Cape Dutch, a *Daily Mail* telegram says that the invaders are swarming in the Eastern and Midland Districts and number 7,000 to 10,000, and the Colony, from Dordrecht to Willowmore, across to Kenhardt on to Namaqualand, is virtually in the possession of the Boers. General French, who was going away on sick leave, has been persuaded to remain and take charge of the operations against them, but neither he, nor Lord Kitchener, can work miracles. Meantime Kruitziuger, a German, and Fouche, a Frenchman, who are leading the Boers, have placarded the northern districts of the Colony, stating that they were annexed to the Orange Free State at the beginning of the war, and warning the inhabitants against divulging the whereabouts of the commandos under pain of a fine for accompanying the commandos. Natal too, on the Zululand border, has been raided, while even close to Pretoria foraging attempts are made, and several severe engagements

have come off, in one of which—Vlakfontein—our casualties were 14 officers and 177 men. A charge having been brought of our wounded being killed in cold blood by the Boers, was found to be, as usual, grossly exaggerated, and Mr. Bennet Burleigh, the war correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, had to write and say. "the Boers on the whole have behaved very creditably, courageously, and kindly. They have rarely maltreated their prisoners, and hardly ever when their officers have been present. And they have been usually generous and tender towards our wounded." How can they be otherwise when they are a grave race brought up strictly in the Reformed (Scotch) faith, and (we speak from personal knowledge) many of them kith and kin with ourselves, born, too, at "Home," and speaking the same tongue. To confirm this General Lyttleton who is returning to South Africa with Lord Milner, has publicly stated in England, that "the Boers were brave men, and I did not think the atrocities that had been reported were the acts of the regular Dutch burghers, but of some of the ruffians who got into armies." General Lyttleton is supposed to be going to replace Lord Kitchener (who has been selected for the Chief Command in India, and will come out here after a brief rest at Home), and this (with other facts) points to a possible pursuance of a more liberal, generous, and truer policy, which may lead to a solid, honourable and lasting peace. In this connection, and with reference to Mr. Kruger's asserted impracticable attitude, we draw attention to the paper on South Africa in this number of the *Calcutta Review*, written by one who knows what he writes about. We ourselves have already drawn attention to the evil effect of this utterly foolish "war" on our position in China, and that means in Asia; and Lord Salisbury, with Messrs. Chamberlain and Balfour, are directly responsible for it as having brought about, and continued, the struggle in South Africa. Meantime, "Proclamations" are flying about on one side, and the other, on our side threatening pains, penalties, and death for resistance after the 15th September, and on the Boer side—"no peace will be made and no peace conditions accepted by which our independence and national existence, or the interests of our Colonial brothers, shall be the price of aid." The prospects, however, are that there will be peace soon. Else,—what? For the South African Lands Commission reports that unless strenuous efforts are made to establish a thoroughly British population large enough to prevent the recurrence of disorder—which can never be done,—the whole expenditure of blood and treasure in the war may—even as we have in previous numbers asserted—be wasted. And, "owing to the impossibility of the Cape"

meeting in the present state of the country—that names of other constitutional government now at the Cape—the suppose not decided to meet expenditure by the issue of Imperial Master, or much for the year initiated by Messrs. my (!) whom hon and the League in union with the riff-raff having a strong and others figuring as "Uitlanders;" begun by which the gain in conjunction with the "man-in-the-street;" been overtaken by Lord Salisbury (in his infirm old age) and the East to the utter detriment of England, her honor, and many. Gain the East. Let us have some sense of truth, honor and magnanimity. We do not know either "Brummagen," nor "the man (hooligan) of the East," and we believe we have lived longer of men and nations, than either Mr. Chamberlain, or Mr. Balfour who would rather fit into a chair of "Sophistry" in a small University than be where a, and

untaken.—We stopped in our last with the beginning of the new Act in this great drama. How it will exactly go on, and difficult to predict, though the disastrous results may be very foreseen. The Indemnity question has been hastily settled, though we are not yet quite sure of the proposed increase of the Opium tax not still blocking the way, or that the whole question may not go before the Hague Tribunal. The Protocol with China, too, still remains unsigned, and the latest news regarding it is that it omits the punishments of provincial officials, and does not provide for the destruction of forts—so that the Chinese are recovering ground though England alone protests. Foreign troops are all withdrawn, save the Legation Guards. The increase of duties in China—5 per cent. *ad valorem* on all articles except flour and rice—will seriously affect Indian trade and manufactures. Germany and France both maintain garrisons in Shanghai, to the dismay of the local British population, and England quietly accepts the situation. Another fire in Peking has destroyed the priceless Imperial Library, with all the archives and records. The Manchurian Agreement between Russia and China of course holds good, and there are rumours of Russian and Chinese troops fighting insurgents side by side. Prince Tuan has managed to get hold of his son, the heir to the throne, and has raised an immense following of Mongols with whom he proposes to drive the "foreigners" out of China. It seems that Tung-foo-tsiang also proposes to do the same with another army. Meanwhile, no one can say whether the Emperor is dead or alive, and the Empress Dowager refuses to return to Peking, and has fixed on a new capital at Haiseng-foo, the capital of Honan Province on the Yang-tse, 300 miles

from Nankin. Bands of Boxers are again terrorizing China. The Chinese Government have still burnt brought and smokeless powder factories, and are preparing Boers, was to manufacture arms. "I shall carefully" Mr. Bennet comments of the Third Act. At present things look Telegraph, ing for the "foreigners" in China—Boxerism have behaved the Chinese re-arming, Russia and China in have rarely France behind them), England's supreme position, officers the foreign troops mostly recalled for contingents and home and on the score of expense. It is possible otherwise Act will really begin concurrently with a still reformed to be enacted in Europe, in which, say, the many of Turkish Empires will topple to pieces, England, after Jerusalem (!), Germany seat herself at Constantinople, Baghdad, and Russia absorb interiorly the delicate morsel of Persia.

Of other countries there is not much to be said this addition. Russia has received a Tibetan Mission, the object of which was merely to secure privileges for Buddhists in the Russian Empire. The Russian Geographical Society is sending another scientific expedition to the Pamirs under the leadership of Dr. Fedshenko. A Russian Squadron, commanded by the grand Duke Alexander has been visiting Constantinople, and also the Bulgarian and Roumanian ports. The Russian Journal *Novosti* states that it is a great mistake of the German and Austrian Press to consider Russia and England as adversaries, and there is no question of India. A straw shows sometimes which way the wind blows, and the amicable tone towards one, and reproof as well as the report, statement of the visit of the Czar to France to others, may mean something. Even the *Times* in reviewing the situation of the Balkans, and the unusual anxiety displayed at Vienna, say that the spirit of resistance ominously manifested on the part of the races subject to the Turks is little calculated to inspire the hope that tranquillity will long be maintained.

France has expelled her Religious Orders and Associations, and the Pope has been deeply grieved over it. Many of the expelled have gone over to England. Paris expects to see Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Foreign Minister, in September, as well as the Czar later on to a grand Military Review. A Frenchman is stated to have solved the question of aerial navigation! Indo-China is to have railways constructed immediately; and a dangerous French sub-marine torpedo has been invented. Relations strained with Turkey as we write.

Germany has received back Count Waldersee safe and alive, and the Emperor has covered him with unusual honors. But the Count, unlike the great Von Moltke, has been making

laudatory and aggressive speeches, and stated that while the names of other nations have sunk, Germany's has risen!!! I suppose nothing better can be expected from him. His Imperial Master, meanwhile, has been toasting the French Emperor (!) whom he called "glorious," again urged the necessity of having a strong fleet, and has held a grand Military Review at which the Queen of Holland was present. The Queen has been over to Berlin, it is supposed, to place her Colonies of the East Indian Archipelago under the protection of Germany. Germany is now determined to have a separate Colonial Army (!)—what this can mean we do not quite see, two or three islands and a corner of New Guinea in the Pacific, and some inconsiderable parts of Africa, do not need a "Colonial Army." There is, perhaps, more in it than appears on the surface, especially when viewed with the garri-soning of Shanghai, occupying Farsan Island in the Red Sea, and probably "protecting" the Dutch possessions. Count Von Bülow, too, imitating Count Waldersee, has publicly declared "that Germany, lying in the middle of Europe, was bound to be always *en vedette*"—the reason for which, too, is very convincing. Evidently the trio—the Emperor, his principal general and his Minister—are all worthy of one another, and they are working on a plan which we shall know as soon as either the Austrian Emperor dies, or the Balkan troubles begin—unless Russia and France force his hand presently, which would probably be the most advisable course. There is, however, an enormous shortage of grain produce in Russia, and a severe commercial crisis in Germany owing to over-production in factories and over-financing of new undertakings, including in the latter probably the increase of German trading steamers in the East from 26 to 45.

Austria has no history; Spain is still full of Anarchist troubles and anti-clerical riots; Italy is shaking herself more and more free of the triple Alliance, which now probably exists only in name; and Turkey, as usual, is falling into trouble, and "doing the grand," even though her pretentious mission to China has, as we predicted, been simply scouted by the Chinese and been obliged to return without having set foot in China! The Khedive has been to Stamboul, and has been banquetted by the Sultan at the Yıldiz Palace; an official communication to the native press saying that the object of the visit is to pay homage to the throne! (Lord Cromer has also proceeded to London.) And while the plague has entered both Turkey and Egypt, foul play is suspected in the Sirdar's, General Wingate's, train being detailed between Cairo and Alexandria; and Turkey is angrily contesting England's right to interfere in the

interior of Aden! At the same time, she has just fallen into a quarrel with France about certain quays in Constantinople owned by a French company. The Aden expeditionary matter does not seem to be quite settled yet as we write, but of course it, as well as any trouble in Egypt, will be firmly and promptly met with by England. What with these signs, and the Ameer's reported diplomacy of drawing all the Mahomedan States together, with Arab intrigues even in Java, and bringing all "the Faithful" together into common objects and a league to acknowledge the sovereignty of "the Khalif," as by the proposed Railway to Mecca, there may be something brewing and we may do well to take heed betimes.* From all this mesh perhaps Persia remains free,—(and she has been just removing very vexatious restrictions on her commerce—inland customs being abolished)—we may also add, even Moorish Envoys have been careering all over Europe, to be only thrown into prison on their return home for spending two millions sterling!—; but we cannot feel sure that the *Cenoussis* of Africa have not been at the bottom of it all. It may seem far-fetched, but Mahomedanism can never rest, as we may refer our readers to a most valuable article on the subject that will appear in the next number of the *Calcutta Review*—written by one of the most competent authorities on the subject—an article that will perhaps draw as much attention in France as at Home on this particular development of Mahomedanism. Japan has changed her Ministry, and the two, Corea and Japan are still bickering and playing with one another. The Abyssinian Menelik has sent 15,000 troops after the "Mad" Mullah, and despatched a congratulatory letter to the King of England. We now come to Home and our English-speaking countries and colonies.

ENGLAND has again had to mourn a loss of a prominent member of the Royal Family, the Dowager-Empress of Germany and our former Princess Royal. Notwithstanding her early wilfulness, she had attached herself to the affections of Englishmen; and from her long and sad life, as well as her prolonged sufferings from the malady which terminated in her death, had come to be much respected. She could not resist to her ideal of good work owing to the crass and cross German nature of her adopted countrymen, and she has early followed her mother to "her reward." All England mourned for her, and King Edward went to her death-bed. Thence he proceeded for three weeks to Hamburg. The Queen has been also spending some time at Copenhagen. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, has been inaugurated Grand Master of English Freemasons in succession to the Prince of Wales.

* Mr. Amir Ali is utterly mistaken in his *Spirit of Islam*.

who resigned on succeeding to the throne. The Crown Prince of Germany has paid a visit to England, it is supposed on a matrimonial project. The King has issued a Proclamation announcing that the Coronation of himself and his consort will take place in June next, and appointed a large Commission to consider the ancient Coronation customs. The Coronation will be limited to that portion of the ceremony usually performed in Westminster Abbey. The King also received the Moorish Mission, and conferred honors on the Ambassador and on the Sultan of Morocco. The Duke of Cornwall has been immensely enjoying his trip to Australia since we last wrote, and has visited all the capitals of the several Colonies, besides a number of places in New Zealand, receiving a great Maori welcome at Rotorua, where 5,000 natives assembled to shout and give war-dances. About the Leeuwin, as well as between New Zealand and Hobart, very bad weather was met with, and in the former case the party had to return to Albany. After leaving Australia the Duke has successively visited Mauritius, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Simonstown, and Capetown, everywhere meeting the most enthusiastic reception. He and the Duchess are now on their way to Canada.

The Parliament have been occupied with various important and unimportant matters, but little progress has been made in anything. The matter of the Coronation Oath has taken up the turn we indicated last quarter. The Bill was introduced after the Committee had reported in favour of the amendment by a declaration affirming disbelief in Transubstantiation and declaring the adoration of the Virgin contrary to the Protestant faith, and the House of Lords passed it. But Lord Salisbury, referring to the prospects of the Bill, said it was now evident that the Roman Catholics did not desire the withdrawal of the offensive words unless the Declaration securing the Protestant succession was simultaneously withdrawn. They were not entitled to complain whatever happened. It is understood that the Government will drop the Bill and not renew it next year. A Bill also to elaborate and add to the King's Title has been passed, but what the precise form is yet to be determined. We think this idea of going after Titles will be no improvement, and is a mark of the degeneracy of the age. Lord Roberts has been made the recipient of a grant of £100,000. The Reorganisation Scheme for the Army has made little headway; and while twelve millions have been sanctioned for Military and Naval expenditure, including the breakwater at Malta, it has come out, England would have to look for Naval Reserves elsewhere than in the Mercantile Marine, in which British seamen were

5,000 fewer than they were 30 years ago! The Education Bill, which satisfies only a section, has passed, and that (with the passing of the Home Estimates) seems to have been another that have been accomplished, along with a new closure rule enabling estimates to be voted in groups instead of separately! Expression was given in Parliament to the subject of the Colonies contributing a share to the upkeep of the Navy, but to any one who knows Australia, that day is very far off indeed. Even the bribe of representation in the House will not move them. The head of Australia is moved by the tail, even as the Kangaroo—apt emblem! And yet, there is no better race on the face of the earth than the “upper crust” of “Young Australia,” but these are a handful in the millions of the “wurraking classes.” The Parliament stands prorogued after the ordinary speech from the Throne in which there was nothing remarkable or striking to notice. It could not close, however, its useless existence—which even Lord Salisbury deprecates, only he lays the blame on there being no Opposition, and not on himself—without betraying its littleness, this overwhelming and magnificent “Khaki” Parliament, by bickerings with the Press, including the *Globe* and the *Daily Mail*, the Editor of the former having been called to express regret before the bar of the House, and the latter being told that it had been guilty of a breach of privilege. These are signs of the end. The defences of Gibraltar, which are in a perilous state owing to Spain’s new works opposite, were adverted to, but nothing very essential can possibly be done. Some Naval Manœuvres closed with an important battle off the Lizard, but the decision of the Umpires is awaited as we write. The following is a return of the fleets of the various powers as they stood on 15th January 1901:—

BATTLESHIPS.			PROTECTED CRUISERS.	
	Built.	Building.		Built and building.
England	... 50	16	England	... 107
France	... 28	5	France	... 40
Russia	... 15	10	Russia	... 14
Germany	... 19	10	Germany	... 22
Italy	... 15	6	Italy	... 16
United States	... 7	11	Japan	... 16
Japan	... 6	1		
ARMOURD CRUISERS.			TORPEDO CRAFT.	
	Built and building.			Built and building.
England	... 29		England	... 247
France	... 22		France	... 316
Russia	... 12		Russia	... 223
Germany	... 7		Germany	... 169
Italy	... 6		Italy	... 168
Japan	... 7		United States	... 49
United States	... 11		Japan	... 92
SUBMARINES.				
France	... 22			
United States	... 8			

One ought to notice that there has been considerable to do in the Liberal Camp, the Imperialists going further away from the Moderatists. The outcome of a number of dinners and speeches has been that things remain pretty much where they were before. Only Lord Rosebery has again come forward and declared that he will lead if he will be followed! We are afraid he has none of the elements of a leader. He is a mere trifler, who thinks too much of himself. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has declared the very truth that mere petty personal jealousies prevent the consolidation of the Opposition. There are too many merely brilliant men, and few Moderatists and those willing to submit to the yoke. Even Mr. Labouchere has got a decent following of ultra Rads! The end of the Boer War, with a peaceful settlement, will doubtless result in the resuscitation of a respectable Opposition. With reference to the weakness of the present “Khaki” Parliament, which was forced on the country, and which came in with such a flourish, even the *Times* writes that “It is idle to attempt to disguise the fact that there is a great deal of discontent in the ranks of the Unionist majority. It is not by any means confined to the Liberal Unionists, and perhaps its most decided and uncompromising exponents are identified, by life-long allegiance, with the old Conservative party;” and Mr. J. M. Maclean’s withdrawal from the Carlton Club and estrangement from the Conservatives means much more than the mere solitary fact. He has only had the courage to do, what every true Conservative would do tomorrow to get free from the “Brummagem” Club of Mr. Chamberlain, and the unnatural union between Whigs and Tories. The Jingo Spirit has been considerably exorcised of late, and probably before long will turn to a new form of rabies in regard to home matters of taxation. The details of the recent Census have been published, and show that 77 per cent. of the population live in the towns. The population in England and Wales has increased by 12·7 per cent. as compared with 11·65 in the preceding decade. The decennial birth-rate, however, is only 31·57, as compared with 34·24 in 1881-91 and 37·89 in 1871-81. But for the war, immigration would for the first time have exceeded emigration.

We may fitly conclude this section of our remarks by quoting Mr. Andrew Carnegie’s solid words of wisdom in a late *Nineteenth Century* as against Sir Michael’s interested words that it was all right at a Bankers’ Banquet. Mr. Carnegie writes:—

“The true statesman will soon turn his attention to the bettering of conditions at home, for it is here that the greatest increase of British trade can most easily be effected. A profitable home market is the strongest weapon that can be used to conquer markets abroad.

After British employers and employed reach the American standard of economical production Britain will still remain heavily handicapped in the industrial race by the enormous load of taxation under which her producers labour as compared with America. It seems to the writer that this should be one, if not the chief, controlling factor in determining the world policy of the nation. It must soon force itself upon statesmen.

"The blood has not deteriorated. It is the financial and political situation which is alarming, for it needs no prophet to foretell that continuance of the aggressive temper which alienates other Governments and peoples, and which has mistaken territorial acquisition for genuine empire-making, must soon strain the nation's power and lay upon its productive capacity such burdens as will render it incapable of retaining the present volume of trade which is essential to the preservation of Britain's position as foremost in the world financially, commercially, and industrially (American Union *hor concours*).

"If ever a nation had clear and unmistakable warnings, as the writer thinks, that the time has arrived when it should henceforth measure its responsibilities and ambitions throughout the world with its resources, and cut its garment according to its cloth, it is the dear old motherland of the race, with its trade stationary, an army of 30,000 men or more to be provided for in South Africa even after peace comes; its expenditure and taxation increasing, and its promises to pay already at such a discount as to attract capital from across the Atlantic. Rocks ahead, sure enough, but this does not mean that the officers of the ship of state are to drive it full steam upon them. On the contrary, it should mean that the rocks, being now in sight, should be avoided."

In Australia as well as in Canada the Census shows an increase of population, Canada of half a million and Australia of three-fourths of a million. Canada seems to have had no further history during the quarter. But in Australia, the claim of the House of Representatives to exclusive power to grant supplies has been abandoned. The Lower House has sole power in originating Appropriation Bills, but both Houses have equal power in granting supplies. The Defence Bill provides for a small force of Regulars and large forces of Militia, Mounted Infantry and Volunteers, and the classification of all adult males. All male British subjects between 18 and 60 years of age are liable to serve in time of emergency. An official return of the Defence Forces shows that there are 61,223 men and 15,000 cadets (grown up school lads). The Duke of Cornwall lately reviewed 9,000 men of all arms in Sydney, N. S. W. Mr. Chamberlain having recently disallowed the local Queensland Anti-Asiatic Act, because it placed Japanese in the same category as Asiatics generally (where are they to be?), and excluded Indians solely on account of race and colour, Mr. Barton, the Commonwealth Premier, has introduced a Bill containing a drastic restriction on immigration, including an educational test. He has also, in view of the recent move for the employment of lascars

on the Orient Steamers, announced that the Commonwealth favoured the exclusive employment of whites on the Mail Steamers. (The Australian Labour Unions, who dominate the country, have raised the outcry against the lascars, in view of the Orient Line's move and the recent decision by the King's Bench regarding space for white and colored seamen.) The Senate, however, rejected a proposal that vessels carrying Mails should be exclusively manned by whites. Mr. Barton has promised to take action in regard to future contracts. Western Australia has at last thrown off the incubus of the Forrest Ministry, and Mr. George Leake is now Premier and Attorney-General, with Messrs. Illingworth, Holmes, Kingsmill, Gregory, and Sommers with other portfolios. New Zealand is determined to keep out of the Commonwealth, and being annoyed at something done by the British Admiralty, has intimated to the Cape authorities that no further discharges of New Zealand troopers will be allowed in South Africa, but they must be sent home (N. Z.). New Zealand is very cheeky, and yet has Women Suffrage!

Finally, we have our cousins the United States. General Chaffee has been appointed military governor of the Philippines. A great Pan-American Congress exclusive of Canada, and into which Chili seems disinclined to enter, will be held in Mexico under the presidency of the United States, to which all the independent states in North and South America invited. The silver "question" is believed to have dropped out of American politics. There has been a great steel strike, involving most of the great companies and 100,000 men. The Chinese merchants in America are organising a movement in favour of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act on the grounds of fair play, in return for the opening of Chinese ports, and also demand to be placed on the same footing as the Japanese. The American Admiralty has acceded to Admiral Schley's request for a Court of Enquiry into his conduct at the Battle of Santiago, a recent history of the navy having accused him of cowardice and mendacity. There has been terrible heat during the summer, and large number of deaths from it, as well as much crops withered up. An immense international Salt Trust, to comprise all the great companies in America, Canada, and England, has been spoken of; and Mr. Pierpont Morgan and over twenty delegates from the New York Chamber of Commerce have been over to England, where they have been banquetted by the London Chamber of Commerce, and afterwards received by King Edward and the Queen at a special interview granted them at Windsor Castle.*

* As these pages are passing through the press, we learn that President MacKinley has been assassinated by an Anarchist.

INDIA—POLITICAL.—We must here still give the first consideration to the subject of the memorial to Queen Victoria. The collections have not advanced very much further, though the New York Chamber of Commerce has subscribed five thousand dollars, Sir Henry King five thousand rupees, and the Army in India nearly a lakh. The total we suppose will ultimately amount to about forty lakhs, a very handsome sum and sufficient for the purpose had an appropriate Art-memorial been determined on, or the plan of granite shafts or pillars marking the boundaries and capitals of the Empire, but not nearly enough for a building—even if not “faced with marble”—in the proximity of Government House which is to show any other than contemptibly small beside it. We have to take the foundations into consideration, for these, in a soil which was practically once the soft bed of the river, have to be sunk to an extraordinary depth and then even probably supported on platforms! Let us make no mistake in regard to the cost even if we have to construct merely a second Museum in a city which already boasts of an Imperial Museum, rich in treasures of every kind, and in a corner room of which all the old chain armour and faded letters (also misplaced busts!) which the Viceroy prizes so highly, could be accommodated. We have hopes of making a convert of him even at the eleventh hour. An incomplete Museum, of a partial and trifling character, excluding, too, the entire great Hindu period which alone truly marks the nation, for the Mahomedans are mere late exotics—we had almost said excrescences on the national life—and that when nine-tenths of the subscriptions have flowed from Hindu Princes, would seem to be self-condemned. And all this when the erection cannot but seem mean compared to the vast adjacent pile of Government House, when the money will not suffice, and the most of it be sunk in the foundations, when it is merely the carrying out of a private notion of the Viceroy which he had before this occasion rose—as he has himself ingenuously confessed—what right has he to introduce his private and previous notions into a great national Memorial subject like this?—and finally, which he will hardly see begun, and no one will after see carried through, and will ultimately fall into a melancholy spectacle. As excluding the Hindu period it does injustice both to the true, great and real Hindu nation of India, as well as to the vast and large body of Hindu subscribers. As a private, and selfish antiquarian matter, it has no business in a public national Memorial of such a great and peerless Queen. It is entirely beside its object and will appear mean in comparison with it, will swallow up all the money in foundations alone, and will never be seen through by its originator or by any one.

Let it, therefore, we say, even at the eleventh hour be given up, and a truly national and representative Committee (to include ourselves) be ordered to report as to its form and even as to the site. If in Calcutta, the Zoological Gardens will furnish the best site. It will be a sad thing for our popular, pleasant, hard-working and energetic Viceroy, to whom India is indebted for being pushed ahead, to be remembered in future in connection with the phrase (invented, we believe, by the *Pioneer*) “Curzon’s Folly,” and as always happens, by that alone, for the good deeds done by him will all be forgotten in the catch-phrase. We trust it will be seen that we speak even for his own true fame and name. It is also not consistent in our opinion, for him, the ruler and chief of one of the great empires of the earth, to descend to writing magazine articles, even if in support of his views as he has lately done in the *Nineteenth Century*. It has amazed us. It is not only unconventional, but *infra dig*. When we find in it statements of the most extraordinary description to support his pet project, depreciating Delhi and its Imperial site, character and claims, by referring to it as “merely the residence of a Commissioner,” and so forth, we can hardly believe our own eyes and are dumb-founded. No more can Rome in Italy be run down, or the Jerusalem of Solomon’s Temple and Titus’ Siege. Delhi is the Mecca of India, and Lord Curzon will never be able to belittle it. Lord Curzon may be sure that Delhi and its Imperial glories of three thousand years will outlast all he can say against it (and he is the only one we remember who has ever done so)—we had almost said outlast the future! But as we have a whole article—for which we have not space in our present number—on his paper in the *Nineteenth Century*, taking it ruthlessly and mercilessly to pieces, we refrain from saying any more on the subject at present. We are sure he would not like to see the article. As a matter both of fact and wisdom, there was no need at all of the *Nineteenth Century* article; and still less of any reference to, or belittling of Delhi. When one has a bad cause, it is best to remain silent. In conclusion we shall be only too glad to be able to say in our next Quarter’s Notes that he has made over the whole thing to a representative Committee, and washed his hands entirely of the matter; and we venture to say that he, too, will be mightily glad. (There will also be no further need of publishing the cutting and slashing article we have referred to.) In all this controversy we note with the greatest pleasure the gift of the King-Emperor of a series of paintings which were executed by command of her late Majesty, and illustrate important events in her life and reign. This was only what might have been

expected of the invariable sense of appropriateness evinced by His Majesty, and his regard for both his beloved Mother and India. Should the Memorial take another form, the paintings may appropriately grace the great Marble Hall of Government House. It is also pleasant to note the considerable success of the Victoria Scholarship Fund originated by Lady Curzon, who is soon—we are extremely pleased to know—coming out to join the Viceroy, and who has lately had a special audience with the good Queen Alexandra at Windsor. The Fund now amounts to four-and-a-half lakhs, and may ultimately reach five lakhs, and a great deal of good will be done with it. The Indian Women's Victoria Memorial Scheme (which almost cut against the above Fund) started by Lady Harnam Singh, although excellent in its aims, has not made the progress that was anticipated of it, but we trust much good will come of it. It is charitable and educational in its objects, and unites all classes and nationalities of Indian Women socially and in a common and worthy aim. Before we pass from the subject of Memorials, we may as well say that the very large sum of several lakhs, collected in the North-West Provinces, seems to be absolutely thrown away as divided among merely a few statues of the late Queen-Empress whose statues are numerous and common enough. Instead of these, one great Art-Memorial in the centre of Prince Alfred Park in Allahabad, would have been far better. This matter, of the statues, however, is now beyond recall and Sir A. McDonnell is responsible for it. We may now proceed with matters more appropriately political,—and they are more numerous than ordinary—in due order, and we must give the credit to Lord Curzon, though he has had trying times of it, and in some few instances has even been hard hit, that on the whole he comes out pretty well off. No life, least of all a public ruler's or statesman's life, is one unvarying success or succession of triumphs; and whatever he may himself think, or however much some writers and portions of the press, for reasons, may flatter him into entertaining such an absurd belief, he will find what we say to be true. And first as to Mr. Fanshawe's retirement. We refrain from passing any comment on this for the reason that we have not the full evidence before us whether it was the result of an undue or a justifiable sensitiveness on the part of Mr. Fanshawe. There is no doubt that the Punjab has had the proud title of "The Frontier Province" taken away from it—in our opinion the separation is a mistake, and will be proved to be such, and we have been offered a paper on this view of the case by an old Punjabi, which we may yet accept—; and further, that its officers lose immensely; and Mr. Fanshawe's resignation may

have been necessary from a public point of view. That Mr. Fanshawe alone should have done so may be due as much to his very prominent position in the service, as to his extreme and keen sense of honor—all the Fanshawes from a long gone age have been known to us as possessing a most chivalric and keen sense of honor. That Lord Curzon should have made no attempt, if possible, to retain such a man in the service of the Government of India, is without excuse. Better than some already occupying some high positions, Mr. Fanshawe would have proved an able ruler. We cannot say if there is yet time for the Viceroy to induce Mr. Fanshawe to withdraw his resignation, and place him in one of these seats. *Noblesse oblige*, and India would be benefitted, while a bad wound would be healed. It may be a "counsel of perfection," but it is on righteousness, mercy, grace, humility and truth that even public life is based, and Beauty (grace) and Strength go together to form the pillars of the portal of the Temple of Wisdom and the Universe of God. As for the remarks of the London *Spectator* on the subject, they are simply impertinent. The *Spectator* has long lost touch of India, though it still makes a show of knowing something about it with catch-phrases and inconsequential assertions. We are sorry to have to say this of a paper which, while Townsend lived, was once so highly respected. Before we pass from this subject of the creation of the "Frontier Provinces" and its untoward consequences, we may refer to the creation of a new Government, a Chief Commissionership, out of Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, and the Eastern portion of the Central Provinces, both the Governments of Bengal and the Central Provinces being quite too large and unwieldy, and these outlying portions, which would form an extensive Government, being in consequence very much neglected. We are sure that Lord Curzon would both do the right thing here, promote progress and efficiency, and wound no undue susceptibilities. Our present Governments—their limits—were formed on mere haphazard and as occasion rose. There was no principle underlying, for instance for Orissa and Chota-Nagpur going along with Bengal, or even Ganjam with Madras, or the Sumbulpore division of the Central Provinces first going along with Orissa and then being included in the Central Provinces. This is a large subject. At present we only allude to it, and draw Lord Curzon's serious attention to relieving both Bengal and the Central Provinces of heavy and unnecessary burdens, and starting an immense tract of country on a new and prosperous basis even as was done with Assam. For a name we should call it the Curzon Provinces! With reference to the contemplated removal of the Headquarter of the Punjab Government from Simla we think

it would be most unwise, even if we neglected to consider the matter of expense. Lord Curzon has to consider the case of future Viceroys who may know nothing of Central Asiatic or Frontier matters, and the proximity of the Punjab ruler would be of the greatest help to such. Besides contingencies may arise when the Lieutenant-Governor's near presence—even as Sir Frederick Halliday had to shift from Alipore and take up his quarters near Government House during the Mutiny—will be demanded with any Viceroy at Simla. Lord Curzon, however, has scored in having set the Imperial Cadet Corps project into motion. The subject was not absent from Lord Dufferin's mind when the Imperial Service Troops were instituted, but it was not thought judicious to move too fast and undertake too much at once. And the *Statesman* has shown that the idea of an Imperial Cadet Corps was first set forth by that famous soldier and administrator (and also, we will add, however little recognised as such, *author*), Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the oldest and most prolific contributors to the *Calcutta Review*, where probably some germs of his suggestion now carried out, may be discovered. We have no doubt the *Cadet Corps* will be highly popular among the class to whom it applies. As a career for the *younger* sons of Native princes, there can be nothing better. But they will have to live "laborious days"—for soldiering is no trifling matter now-a-days—and probably on scanty fare as compared with their present reckless extravagance. In order to follow up his action, the Viceroy has deputed his Private Secretary, Mr. Walter Lawrence, to visit the Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Indore and Rajkot, to arrange preliminaries with the Political Officers and Principals of these institutions. The official *communiqué* issued to the press recognises that there are many difficulties in the way of the project being a success, and that the experiment at present will be of a tentative character. We quote it here at length:—

"A large field is already provided for the military employment of Native officers of good birth or position, of whom there are nearly 3,000 in the commissioned ranks of the Native Army, but there has been a dearth of a corresponding opening for the sons of Indian princes, nobles, and gentlemen, who are every day receiving a superior education, but for whom opportunities of active public service when they reach years of manhood are restricted. The desire to devise some outlet for the military aspirations of these classes has long been felt, but the difficulties in connection both with selection and tuition, with military rank and military duties, have barred the way. The experiment which has now been sanctioned will be of a tentative character, and some time will elapse before its details have been fully worked out. It rests upon the periodical selection of a small number, probably some twenty to start with, of scions of families such as have been described who will with rare exceptions be drawn from the Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmere, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore, and who will constitute what will be known as the Imperial Cadet Corps, and

the command of a specially selected Commandant and Adjutant. The cadets will pass through a two years' course of training in the cold weather and will from time to time be in personal attendance upon the Viceroy on ceremonial and other occasions. At the end of the second year there may be some among them who will be called away to either military or civil employment in the States or Provinces to which they belong. There may be others who will not have developed any taste for a military profession. For the remainder it is contemplated that a more sustained military course in a garrison class should be instituted in the third year, and that upon such as emerge successfully from this test and have satisfied the requisite standard of efficiency the rank, position, and duty of a British officer in the Staff or other extra regimental military employment should, as suitable vacancies occur, be conferred, in such a manner that a military career would be opened to those who had satisfactorily vindicated their character and capacity. It is manifest that the success of the scheme will depend upon the co-operation which it meets with from the princely and noble classes, whom it is intended to befriend; upon careful selection in the first place, and careful management afterwards. It can only be slow in its operation, and its future must in the main be dependent upon experience. It would be unwise, therefore, at the present stage to form exaggerated expectations, but it is the hope of the Viceroy and the Government of India that in the detailed plans which will be elaborated between now and the cold weather may be laid the foundations of a reform that will both be esteemed as a recognition of the patriotism of the Indian aristocracy, and may in time become a source of strength to the State. The scheme has been honoured with the cordial approval of His Majesty the King Emperor, who has desired it to be made known that he has welcomed this opportunity of testifying his confidence in the loyalty of his Indian feudatories and subjects in the opening year of his reign."

As if, however, the fates were determined to cloud Lord Curzon in even this, Mr. McLaren Morrison, well-known as a leading merchant of Calcutta, and also author of some really nice books, has come forward to claim the credit of having put it before the Viceroy. The Private Secretary of the Viceroy has denied Mr. McLaren Morrison's assertion. Mr. Morrison unhappily was not aware of Sir Henry Lawrence having really first originated the idea, or that it was one that was seriously contemplated by Lord Dufferin. But for the *Pioneer* to write of Mr. McLaren Morrison as "somebody called Mr. —, etc., is ludicrous. Mr. Morrison, as every one is aware, is a leading and well-known Calcutta merchant, and has written several very useful books, the perusal of one of which—*Life's Prescriptions*—we would strongly recommend to the journalistic scribe above referred to, and who, we are sure, would be glad to make the "somebody's" personal acquaintance, although he has such a horribly long Scotch name.

Coming to another, though almost related matter with Indian Princes being trained to modern warfare, we find that not only the Mahsuds, but other tribes are showing signs of unusual activity. Even in Swat there has been internal strife

which we have put down. Questions have been put in the Home Parliament about this unrest, and "answered"—as usual. There can be no doubt, however, that, assuming the Ameer dies soon, or somehow or other does something which leads to something else for which he is not officially, or even morally, responsible, there will be some sort of repetition of former troubles for which we should be prepared, even if we have not a Sir William Lockhart or Colonel Warburton now living, and Lord Curzon may find his inception of "the Frontier Province" break down at the first start, and only make confusion worse confounded with the Punjab inter-related, and yet separated. We are not yet aware what effect this creation of the new "Frontier Province" has had on the imaginations and ideas of the tribes, though this may account for the unrest.

Orders have been issued for the Government of India Offices to close in Simla on the 2nd November, Saturday, and to re-open in Calcutta on the Monday following, the 4th, but Lord Curzon himself goes by a long and unfrequented route by way of Manipur to Burmah,—during which he will be cut off from the immediate Government of the country, as there are many marching stages,—returning to Calcutta only by the middle of December. We do not see the necessity of his going by that route at all, nor of his thus cutting himself off from the rest of India, at a time, too, when he may be urgently wanted.

Meanwhile, there will presently be a great shuffling of the cards of high Government appointments and Lieutenant-Governorships owing to a number of them falling in, and both Sir John Woodburn and Sir Antony McDonnell have been up at Simla. An article on "Our Rulers" in this issue, written in a vein, we should like to see absent, especially as against our very amiable and earnest-minded Viceroy, will be found treating on the subject of these changes. It is a fact, however, that if Mr. Rivaz is to go to the Punjab, Sir John Woodburn may have to be indented for for the North-West Provinces, while Sir Richard Fryer may go to Bengal, and Mr. Cotton sent to Burmah, Mr. Fuller taking the latter's place in Assam. With the exception of Mr. La Touche,* who has already officiated for the North-West Provinces, there is no one save Sir John Woodburn, and he originally belonged to those Provinces. Colonel Barr, as having passed his life in political service, and as a military man, could not oust the claims of the Civil Service. We may add that Mr. Buckland has some claims for promotion, and if the new Curzon Province of

* Mr. La Touche has since we note the above been appointed to the N.-W. P.—the best that could have been made.

Chota-Nagpur, Orissa and Sumbhulpur (capital Ranchi) be formed, Mr. Buckland may gain a step there and the Central Provinces given to Mr. La Touche. Should Mr. Fraser be sent to Assam Mr. Fuller may have his turn in the Central Provinces, Mr. La Touche being sent to the new Province. Really, we think that even as a matter of justice to the Service in regard to promotion the new Province we advocate should be created. In all the preceding changes we have forborne naming Mr. Ibbetson for obvious reasons, but his name may be interchanged with Mr. Cotton's, or Mr. Fraser's, or Mr. Fuller's, or Mr. Buckland's, he being hardly ripe yet for any of the higher posts of Bengal, Burmah, the North-West Provinces, and the P. P. And able as is Mr. Barnes, he has had as yet little administrative experience, and as a Political Officer he is unrivalled. He cannot be spared from the Foreign Office for a long while yet. Pursuing his idea of the curtailment of Reports, the Viceroy has placed Mr. Impey, Commissioner of Agra, on special duty in the North-West Provinces. At the same time, a critic of the measure has appeared in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Cotton, who draws attention to the "constant and irksome reference to the statements in the appendices" in his Resolution on the Sanitary Report of the Province for 1900. We are afraid that the measure, though affecting at present only some few score of clerks in the public offices, will run itself out. Things must take their course—even if a spick-and-span new Native Minister in Mysore is quick to follow the Viceroy's lead—and there is really more inconvenience suffered by the change than advantage. We should think a private instruction to the heads of Governments, or of Offices, to the effect of using moderation according to requirements would have been better calculated to serve the Viceroy's ends. Under his Resolution, as pointed out, we believe by some paper, the old and extremely valuable Reports—on which almost all our knowledge of India is based—would have been impossible.

The matter of religion in education, to which sentiment Lord Curzon gave utterance in his speech at Alighur, bore the fruit that might have been expected. One of those Bengali papers which know how to twist the most ordinary utterances to advertise themselves, and to *pose* as public saviours, came forth with a leader beginning:—

"We hear that the Government of India is ready to introduce into our schools and colleges the study of the Bible," and so on, inventing minute details of the scheme from his own fertile and crooked brain, even dragging the Metropolitan's and the Maharajah of Durbhunga's names into it! To any one who knows what the lower Bengali newspapers are no

refutation was necessary : the whole thing was an invention for an end. Unfortunately the end was attained by the *Pioneer* giving currency to the article by a translation, and Sir Antony McDonnell sillily taking it up. This, of course, could only lead to an official denial by the Supreme Government through the same person. We gave credit to Sir A. McDonnell of greater sense, wisdom and gravity. The Maharajah of Durbhunga also denied any knowledge of the wicked lie. Whatever our own personal views of the introduction of religion—or of the Bible—into public Government institutions may be,—and we do think the whole system of such public education is wrong in every essential,—the question is one that cannot be practically discussed at present owing to the system being a perverted one. How and wherein the system is to be altered, both for the true progress of education and not the mere turning out any number of ill-educated clerks who even if B. As. cannot often write a correct sentence of English, and for supplying religion as a basis for life and conduct, is not under discussion before us at present. But, taking the text of the Metropolitan's pious and Christian aspiration that he hoped this century, before it ended, would see the Bible included in Colleges in India, which the *Pioneer* had previously misunderstood, the Bishop of Madrás, caught at the opportunity of delivering another of his carefully-worded semi-political speeches on the subject, in which he certainly misapprehended, as did previously a portion of the Press whom we should have expected to have been better informed, or misconstrued,—the excellent Bishop Welldon, to be himself, in turn, very justly taken to pieces by the Native Chairman of the Meeting Mr. Justice Narhari Row. We regret that we have not space at present to furnish fuller details of a very interesting matter except to completely exonerate the Metropolitan. In the matter of the Bible in schools the Viceroy needs no exoneration. The invention or lie should have been treated with profound contempt and utter silence instead of a public and official denial, got up, we may say, by Sir A. McDonnell. We come now to the incident of what has been termed "the Cooper's Hill Snub." Here again it was a "friendly" paper—we wont particularise—which led the way by terming the few words in which Lord Hamilton merely observed on the inconvenience caused to him by certain claims being pressed on him, "a sharp rebuke," "a snub," and the like. Where there was neither "sharp rebuke," nor "snub," such a view taken by a leading journal, and accordingly repeated almost necessarily at once everywhere, made it one, and placed Lord Curzon in a most unenviable position before the whole public, from which he was only released by long telegrams and the subsequent explanation offered by Lord Hamilton. It is true

that Lord Hamilton is and must be an autocrat in his own sphere, and can "rebuke sharply" if he has occasion for it, and would not hesitate to do so even to a Viceroy if necessary, but we can state that the present Secretary of State for India is marked by courtesy in his dealings and communications even with lesser persons than his chief subordinate in India, and it seems to us exceedingly wrong, if not wicked, in any leading Anglo-Indian journal or journals to breed trouble between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State even though going on (admittedly) faulty telegrams, while professing to take the former's part. In this matter, indeed, the Viceroy had need to exclaim, "save me from my friends!" However, the incident is over, and Lord Hamilton has since and subsequently, as we shall see, in his Budget speech, shown conclusively his appreciation of our Viceroy's general work. Lord Hamilton is no more to be debarred from alluding to "grave inconveniences" caused by any one than Lord Curzon himself. The Viceroy, evidently smarting under the public comments,—for he refers in his telegram to "widespread attention,"—calls it in his wire a "severe censure" and a "public slur." Lord Hamilton replied:—"Without entering at present upon the question whether the course adopted by your Government was in all respects necessitated by my instructions, I wish to point out at once that the last sentence of my Despatch does not apply to your action generally, but merely to the method in which certain claims were admitted and calculated (see paragraph 9 of my Despatch) and was not intended to cast the smallest slur upon your Government. You are at liberty to publish your telegram and this reply"—a very good reply to a false and created situation. The "Governor-General in Council" has authorised the coming into force of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, and the immediate result, as seen in an auction since, has been the going down of the price of land from Rs. 100 to Rs. 40 per acre—a terrible blow to the Province. The Viceroy must bear with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province the responsibility of this terrible blow to the wealth of the Province which was strenuously opposed by the native member and which went directly counter to the teachings of political economy for certain supposed humanitarian reasons. Sir James Lyall, at a meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall, to hear a paper read advocating the measures of the Bill by Mr. Thorburn, forbore to give it his support and judiciously said, "he did not think any one could say at present how it would work out." We are afraid it spells reduction of half the value of the land of the Province in order to avert a possible evil. It also means the stamping of the rural classes as such for ever, and will have effects deteriorating the national

character even as Bengal has found to be the case from its unfortunate Permanent Settlement.

Lord Curzon is also pushing on the extension of irrigation scheme. A review of irrigation in India in 1899-1900 shows a nett return of close on 7 *per cent.* on the total major works. The total area of crops irrigated or protected by the different classes of works during the year exceeded eighteen millions of acres. An important Commission on which the various Provinces will be represented will tour through India next cold weather to inspect the irrigation works which are to be undertaken under the scheme started in connection with famine prevention. In the memorandum issued by Mr. Higham, Inspector-General of Irrigation, for the guidance of officers employed in collecting information in connection with the proposed famine protection works, the following were the projects regarding which details were asked for: *Bengal*: The Bagmati Irrigation Project in Muzafferpore District, the Jujuti Canal from the Damodar River in Burdwan and Hughli Districts; the Kamla Irrigation Project in Darbhanga, and tanks in Chota-Nagpur. *North-West Provinces and Oudh*: The Ken and Tonis Canals, the Belan Project, the Dassan River Canal stoppage reservoirs in Bandelkhand, and the Sarda Canal. The first four are already under investigation. It is not known whether any cities have ever been proposed or examined regarding reservoirs in Bandelkhand. As to the Sarda Canal, a full report on this project was submitted long ago, and nothing more is required, unless additional evidence is now forthcoming. This canal has not been favourably regarded by the experts. *Central Provinces*: The construction of tanks of moderate size in certain districts, schemes for irrigation from the Hiran, Kanhan, Pench and Wardha Rivers, canals from the Narbudda or the Tapti. *The Punjab*: Storage works in Gurgaon District, small inundation canals in Jhelum, Shahpur and other districts; irrigation works in Gujerat District; Markanda Canal. *Madras*: Tungabhadra project in Bellary District, extensions of irrigation in Nellore District, storage works in the Cauvery valley and Paddukottah. *Bombay*: Irrigation Canal from the Tapti for Surat District, storage works in the Deccan. The memorandum referred to stated that the

"main object to be kept in view is to ascertain about all protective irrigation works which have been proposed on apparently reasonable grounds, and to ascertain and bring together all those which appear sufficiently promising to merit closer examination based on proper surveys and detailed enquiries. An effort is to be made to report, in sufficient detail, on important works which have already been under investigation to enable final recommendations to be made regarding them in view to sanction being given to an early commencement made on those which are promising, at

the same time that investigations are continued on other projects. The fact that such works may have been negatived a good many years ago is to be no bar to their reconsideration, conditions having since largely changed. The point to be specially borne in mind is not so much whether any particular irrigation work will pay, as to whether, if constructed, it would have caused such a reduction in the enormous sums spent during the past five years on famine relief as would have outweighed the financial loss that might have been expected on it, and whether such loss would be too high a price to pay for its probable value as protective work in preventing or mitigating the horrors and cost of famine.

A Mineral subject may fitly follow Irrigation, as the Viceroy has specially interested himself in giving scope to Prospecting as increasing mining operations and the development of the wealth of the country. But he is hardly aware how his Rules are carried out. In our last we recommended his getting quarterly returns from the Central Provinces and Burmah. The *Madras Mail*, the *Statesman* and other well-informed journals followed up, and improved on what we had said, by recommending the publication of such quarterly returns, *i.e.*, furnishing copies of them to the press. It is not without reason that we urged the Viceroy to get these returns, as we have had instances furnished us which go far to show what may be done by small Local Governments to defeat the Government of India's object in revising and enlarging the Rules and committing the carrying out of them by the Local Governments. And this is borne out by the other journals' comments.

The Central Provinces, which are immediately under the Viceroy's supervision, probably need more attention than any other, as it has been doing uncommonly badly under Mr. Fraser as Chief Commissioner. The death-rate, evidently the result of the famines, rose last year from a mean of 32.44 to 56.75—in 1897 it was 69.34 per mille—from the small total of some ten millions of population, more than *two millions* have perished during the last few years! And the pinch of poverty—which ultimately means death—is still heavily felt all over. Of course, for the scarcity Mr. Fraser is not responsible, but for the steps taken to meet that scarcity so as to save life, and for other steps to lessen poverty by increasing employment for the labouring classes as in mines, etc. What has been done as regards these? Mr. Fraser has been only "unfortunate" some will say, and we are reminded of the first Rothschild's maxim to "exclude unfortunate and unlucky men from any relations with your operations." The Central Provinces, which extend from Ganjam on the East Coast to Rajputana on the West, form too large a charge for any ordinary Chief Commissioner. (Only Sir Richard Temple in his younger days, by his marvellous activity—and there were no railways then—was ever able to meet the requirements of his

position); and this matter of size may have had something to do with Mr. Fraser being "unfortunate"

In regard to the late Census, a change in the age tables is notified, with a view of illustrating accurately the extent to which Infant Marriage prevails. There has also been considerable commotion among the "Khetry" class by their being included among "bunniahs." The *Indian Social Reformer* writes that if the Government of India wished to set the several castes of the Hindus by the ears, it could not have devised a more effective scheme than the institution of the so-called Caste Precedence Committees which are creating so much dissension in the country. Indeed, we fail to see how any Government can attempt to decide in the matter of castes. It may be right to take some general—say the four—divisions, but to go beyond is both futile and impossible, and as shown above even causes mischief. It is a matter of race, origin, religion, and occupation, and we had best let it alone. In the matter of the Khettries, or Kshettryas as some spell it, we have ourselves in times long gone by, when castes were better recognised and more rigidly separated or distinguished, specially made enquiries about them, in various parts of India, and have found that though pursuing ordinary occupations they formed an upper class—nearly related to the second or military class. It is not surprising then, that even now, a couple of generations removed from those times, when much has been done everywhere to obliterate even Brahmins they should revolt against being placed among "bunniahs." We trust that moderation and good sense will rule in the matter, and that everyone's estimate of himself will be taken even if he says he is descended from Rama. We may have something more to say on this point regarding the Khettries, as it involves large numbers of very influential and prominent people everywhere. Mr. H. H. Risley is in charge of the census work.

The Agricultural Banks Commission, which we reported, meeting at Simla last quarter, has come to the conclusion we foresaw—experiments suited to provinces.

The total revenues to the end of June this year is one and a half crores better than to the same date in 1900. There has also been a considerable increase in the Post Office, and it seems time that while some of the urgently-called-for reforms indicated in our last number by "Augareion" are taken in hand, some slight additions be made to salaries all round, down to even the Postal peons. The lower and lowest grades of the Post Office are miserably ill-paid, and their responsibilities, and also temptations, are great. But they are also exceedingly hard worked—harder perhaps than in any other

department of the State. The Rupee Loan for one crore in this country was covered six times over, which is very satisfactory considering the failure of the three millions loan at home. Finally, in regard to imperial matters, the Ghazipur correspondent of the *Statesman* wrote saying that the Opium Cultivators of that—the largest—Agency have gone on strike and refused to accept the advance usually made to them annually. They want a higher price of course—which spells reduction of the revenue raised by Government from the Opium Monopoly, and, what we advocate, the throwing open the cultivation and leaving it under ordinary conditions of trade. Government could easily, a few short years ago, see the "mote" that was in the Bengal Indigo Planter's eye, but cannot see the "beam" that is in its own eye in regard to this Government—ordained Opium Cultivation, which deprives the ryots and others of probably a couple millions sterling annually. There is an easy way of getting out of it, and yet maintaining the quality and the revenue, and Lord Curzon may yet see fit to rid the Government of the double foul blot of manufacturing Opium to force it down the Chinese throats, and of depriving the poor ryots of the gains that now go into the pockets of Jews and Marwarries. If the above strike extends throughout India, it will be too late to take the matter in hand.

In the Local Governments, a Resolution of the Bengal Government on the

"Report on emigration from the port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies in 1900 states that of the 11,674 emigrants who embarked, 10,095 were Hindus and 1,575 Mahomedans; of these 4,588 proceeded to Demerara, 1,878 to Trinidad, 670 to Jamaica, 1,753 to Mauritius, 481 to Natal and 2,304 to Fji. These 11,674 emigrants included 235 return emigrants. Steamers conveyed emigrants to Mauritius and Natal only, ships proceeding to the other Colonies. The death-rate on the whole appears to have been high, being 2.50 per cent. on the 15 sailing vessels, as compared with 1.05 per cent. on 17 vessels in the preceding year. The number of emigrants who returned from the Colonies was 3,147, as compared with 2,421 in 1899. There were 88 deaths or 2.78 per cent., as compared with 52 or 2.12 per cent. in the previous year. The largest number of emigrants, *viz.*, 1,145, returned from Demerara with aggregate savings of Rs. 1,59,730, or an average of Rs. 139.8 per head. Trinidad comes next with a smaller number of returning emigrants, *viz.*, 730, and shows an average saving of Rs. 214 per head. The smallest number, *viz.*, 17, returned from Reunion, without any savings. The all-round average saving per head was Rs. 165, as against Rs. 159 in the previous year. Of the total number of emigrants who returned to India, 1,727 brought back savings."

Mr. Geidt, Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal affairs, who lately officiated at Noakhali as Sessions Judge after Mr. Pennell was suspended, has been appointed a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. There is a considerable local

Agitation for the appointment of more Judges and Officers of the High Court. In Madras there has been considerable distress in the great Arcot district, and the press has already begun to inweigh against Lord Amptill for not having met it in time. A new Court of Wards Bill is to be considered, and that not before its time. Indeed the case of Lodd Govindas, who has sunk twenty lakhs of rupees in one of these Wards' Estates, is without a parallel for absolute injustice. The Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson, on his return to India from England in the beginning of October, will be placed on special duty in Madras in connection with Agricultural Banks and will return to Calcutta for the Supreme Legislative Council Session in the middle of December.

In Bombay there has been considerable class-opposition to the Land Revenue Bill, and the Government has taken the unusual course of replying at length to the criticisms passed on its Land Revenue Bill. On the main point to which criticism has been directed, *viz.*, that the passing of the Bill will mean a reduction of the status of the ryot over a large area in the Presidency, the Government asserts that there is an unaccountable misapprehension. It is entirely at the option of any person to accept the lease under the special terms proposed. The Secretary of State at Home has characterised the agitation as having been got up by the money-lending class.

In the North-West Provinces it is understood that Sir Antony MacDonnell resigns his office as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces on the 6th November and leaves for England a few days later. We believe few will regret his departure, for few like great ability, united with a strong and merciless hand, and the desire—it may have been unconscious—to advertise himself, which last was so discernible in his quickly taking up the absurd matter of the Bible in schools and even trying to hit the Metropolitan. We say only trying; for he has not succeeded. We shall have to say something more regarding this below in its proper place. The Land Tenancy Bill, which he has lately succeeded in forcing on the charge under him—forcing by his powerful intellect—is already being cried out against even by European landlords. It is supposed the matter will be sent up to Parliament. We do not know why everywhere there has been of late so much Land Legislation in India.

We conclude this section of our remarks by the following proceedings in Parliament relating to India :—

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF INDIA.—Mr. W. Redmond asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state the total public debt of India in 1875 and in 1900; and also the total military budget of the Indian Army in 1875 and in 1900.

LORD G. HAMILTON.—Taking the Indian figures as pounds of Rs. 15

each, the total public debt of India was £95,163,672 on the 31st March, 1875, and £199,127,535 on the 31st March, 1900. But during this period £109,700,320 has been spent on Public Works, Railways, and Irrigation, bringing in a large revenue. The net military expenditure in 1875-76 was £9,763,913, and in 1900-1901 £14,239,100.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.—Mr. Field asked the Secretary for India if he could say when the Indian Budget would be introduced.

LORD G. HAMILTON was afraid he could not state the exact day.

MR. MACNEILL: Will the Report of the Famine Committee be issued before the Budget is introduced?

LORD G. HAMILTON: I do not think it will be possible the papers of the Famine Commission must be considered in Council, as the questions were complex and most important and it would be unable to come to a conclusion thereon for some little time.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.—Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the first Lord of the Treasury whether he would endeavour to arrange for the Indian Budget to be taken this session at an earlier date than was usually the case; and, if so, whether he could give any indication as to when the debate would take place.

MR. BALFOUR.—I do not think in the present condition of public business that I can hold out any hope to the Hon'ble Member that any unusual facilities will be given to the discussion of the Indian Budget.

THE INCOME TAX LIMIT IN INDIA.—Lord George Hamilton stated that he was not disposed to raise the limit of income tax exemption in India, and that any changes in taxation must be regulated by the condition of the Indian finances.

THE INDIAN BUDGET IN PARLIAMENT.

London, 16th August.—In the House of Commons to-night, Lord George Hamilton presented the Indian Budget. He said he doubted whether since India was first under the jurisdiction of the Crown, any Secretary of State had been able to make such a satisfactory statement. The surpluses had been large, continuous and progressive. Notwithstanding the drought India as a whole had been prosperous, and this was conclusive evidence that the economic movement in India was on the up grade. He hoped in a few years that the coal output would be doubled. He proposed to appoint a Railway expert who would start immediately; but before he finally reported he would investigate the systems in America with a view of introducing them in India, and would attend specially to the development of light railways in populous agricultural districts. The Land Revenue assessments were not above the capacity of the average cultivator, unless he was in the hands of money-lenders. An experiment would be made in establishing an Agricultural Banks Agency, which, next to Railways and Irrigation, helped the fighting of famine.

There would be an enquiry into the Educational system. It was believed that too much attention had been given to secondary instead of primary education.

He eulogised the work of Lord Curzon, promoting as it did everything tending to the internal prosperity of India, and said he used his rare power with his sympathetic eloquence to bring home to the native communities the beneficence and unselfishness of British intentions. There were inevitable difficulties ahead which could never be solved unless we carried the conviction of the great mass of the population of the integrity and probity of the British.

Lord George Hamilton hoped that the new century would be associated with a fresh era of the recuperative progress of India, he held out no hope of a reduction in the military expenditure, and feared that probably there would be some increase in ensuing years. The Government was incurring a large capital expenditure on rail roads and irrigation, and would be able to meet the bulk of this expenditure from its cash balances, surpluses and other resources, and the remainder by loans in India and Great Britain. Referring to the recent abortive issue of a sterling loan, he declared that, owing to an increase in the estimated surplus, he thought he would be able

to meet all requirements without difficulty this year. He reserved discretion regarding the method of raising the capital required for certain Railway Companies, and suggested that there should be an enquiry into irrigation works, and encouraging local bodies or well-to-do individuals in storing and distributing water.

To wind up:—A permanent monument to the memory of Sir Donald Stewart, who may be said to have been our salvation in the last Afghan War, is proposed by a large number of distinguished Military Officers, among whom we are pleased to see Lord Roberts' name. At least he can never forget what he owed to Sir Donald Stewart. Mr. T. W. Holderness has got an appointment in the India Council, to the great loss of India. An Indian Famine Union has been started by Mr. Wedderburn to report on suggested remedies as irrigation, Agricultural Banks, re-forestation, administrative reform, village industries, migration, grain storage, export duties on grain, and technical education; and both Messrs. J. D. Rees and Dadabhai Naoraji, after being on the Committee, have resigned! Finally Lord Harris, who is always willing to oblige anybody, in his seat in the House of Lords, brought up the subject of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief and the two Governors of Bombay and Madras taking leave of absence out of India, *on medical certificate!* Of course the *ballon d'essai* failed. We have a shrewd suspicion of *who put him up to it*.

NATIVE PRINCES, STATES, &c.—We note here first, as connected with a cause of rejoicing, and charity, the marriage of the young Nawab of Bahawalpur. Over 12,000 guests, about half of whom were native ladies, took part in the marriage procession. The Nawab set an example to other Chiefs and Nobles by curtailing the expenditure originally sanctioned for the festivities by one-half, and forwarded a liberal contribution to the Mahomedan Orphanage at Lahore. He has also forwarded a gift of three lakhs to the Famine Trust Fund originated by the munificence of the Maharajah of Jeypur. Colonel Grey is the representative of Government in Bahawalpur.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has been lately going over many parts of North India to see and note things for himself. Of his great enlightenment, putting many of ourselves to shame, we have already referred in our last quarter's notes. Under such a Prince, Baroda is sure to progress morally, socially, and materially, and it is not surprising therefore for us to note that His Highness has caused to be published in his *Gazette* a Bill to legalise the Re-marriage of Widows on the lines of the British enactment of 1856. That His Highness is supported by his subjects in the proposed reform may be seen from the Praja Mandal coming forward to

thank His Highness, and even to suggest that clauses should be inserted in the Bill prohibiting the ill-treatment by disfigurement of widows and entitling re-married couples to sue successfully in a court of law in cases of contempt and persecution by their caste.

We referred in our last to impending changes in Hyderabad official circles, and recommended the employment of a Hindu Prime Minister. This has since been done by the Nizam, and we trust the result will justify his selection.

We referred to the "revolution" in Nepal in our last, the notorious Bir Shumshere having gone or been sent to his final account. He was succeeded by his eldest brother Deb Shumshere Jung, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Things, however, did not seem to go well in the country, and the Maharajah Dhiraj dismissed him on the 26th June, appointing a far more capable man Chandra Shumshere, his—Deb Shumshere's—younger brother. It is strange to see the ignorance betrayed by the general press in connection with this event. The *Pioneer* wrote saying:—"Whatever the causes which led up to the *dénouement* it is clear that Deb Shumshere would not have taken his dismissal so placidly but for one of two things; either the Maharajah Dhiraj is a much more powerful force in Nepal politics than he used to be, or Chandra Shumshere must have had complete control of the Army. The latter is probably the true explanation. The King is now twenty-six years of age, but there is no reason to suppose that he has ever thought of breaking through the trammels of a consecrated precedent which has always left the real power in the hands of the Prime Minister." The Maharajah Dhiraj, who is supposed here to be merely a *Roi fainéant*, is the only and sole supreme governing power in the country, deriving his authority directly from the gods, whom he represents. Hence, too, his seldom appearing in public acts, and delegating official duties to another, who is merely his deputy—all influential while retained—removable in an instant. Many of the Nepal Princes are very enlightened, and we reckon some of them as readers and subscribers of this *Review*.

Among the Honors conferred for China, Major His Highness Maharajah Siromani Sri Gunga Singh of Bikanir has been made a K.C.I.E., His Highness Colonel Sir Protap Singh of Jodhpur and his Highness the Maharajah Sindhia of Gwalior, Honorary Aides-de-Camp to the King-Emperor.

We have already referred to the military career opened for the younger sons of native princes and political chiefs, and it is stated that the first cadet corps camp will be formed this winter in Calcutta, while Agra or Delhi or some other place will be selected for a training camp for the garrison classes,

the cadets returning to their own states in the hot weather. There is no doubt that the scheme will afford a needed stimulus to the existing chiefs' colleges. The Maharaj Râo of Kotâh will shortly be attached to the Deolalie Irregular Force for a course of military training.

Jhallawar, which recently had three coinages extant has adopted the British coinage. It were to be wished that all the States, notably the Nizam's, adopted the same in the interests of trade.

The inconveniences caused in every way are incalculable. The coinage at least may be made of uniform value with the British, the stamps indicating the names and rulers of the States. In this connection we note the introduction of a new coinage in Travancore, which is very little of an improvement on the old. It comprises a two Chuckram piece and a one Chuckram piece of silver and eight and four cash pieces of copper. The coins have a "chank" on one side and the letters "R. V.," with the coin's name in English and Malayalam, on the other side.

The "model" Durbhunga Râj is in trouble with its ryots, and we are afraid not much can be said for it.

Travancore is a happy Hindu country, and from its last Administration Report by the Resident, Mr. Mackenzie, we learn that it is prosperous in every direction. We regret we have not room here for a few extracts which we should much like to give. We may recur to the subject. But of all native chiefs and princes—a Prince without a territory, but owning extraordinary religious allegiance among a class of fanatic Mahommedans—at present mostly engaged in trade in India, who should receive an Honor is His Highness the Aga Khan, and who should give it but the German Emperor! He has conferred on the Chief of "the Assassin" tribe of Crusade times the Crown Order of the first class. His Highness lately was in Germany, but we trust that, as a *British subject*—does he not reckon himself one?—he first obtained permission of the Indian Government. If he did not, where is he in this matter? He is a most enlightened Prince. We have, in previous quarters drawn attention to the want of a well-defined phraseology regarding the Titles of Native Chiefs and Princes. At present men like the Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Rampur are confused with "Nawabs" in Patna, Meerut, Dacca, and Calcutta men non-political and zemindars, of whom there are several scores. We cannot say where Cooch Behar stands in this connection as a "Maharajah," and were rather surprised to find a number of its rising generation advertised as "Princes" and "Princesses" in a P. and O. boat lately. A French journal became quite merry over it or something similar, and referred to

imaginary "Prince" passenger who has "native troops in Calcutta, going to congratulate King Edward in the name of the Indian Army," and to confer with "Colonial Minister Chamberlain on the question of colonial reorganisation!" The due separation of political and non-political titles, and the appropriate phraseology to be applied, are really important matters now that India is rising in the scale of nations and of political progress. A "Nawab" in Dacca or Calcutta is not to be confounded with *the* Nawab of Murshidabad or *the* Nawab of Bahawalpur, nor *the* Maharajah of Gwalior with *a* Maharajah in Nattore. We trust to be able to say more on a future occasion on this very important subject and to suggest what distinction should be made in the phraseology. It is Government here, which is the chief offender, and after that the newspapers. Since we wrote last, we have to note the decease of Her Highness the reigning Nawab Shah Jehan Begum of Bhopal, her daughter, Nawab Sultan Jehan succeeding her. The latter is married, and her husband has been recognised as the Nawab-Consort. The real rule, however, is in the hands of a Calcutta native named Mouly Abdul Jubber, though under new circumstances it may not long remain so. In regard to this decease Sir Edwin Arnold, now suffering under a heavy infliction with his eyes, has written a lot of his usual nonsense with his usual perfervid poetical imagination. We have no space here to do more than to barely refer to it.

There has also deceased the Elaya Rajah and the Senior Rani of Travancore, also the Maharaj Rana of Dholepur, followed immediately after by the decease of his Rani. Some suppose she committed suicide. The family was related to the Patialas, where no sooner was the late Maharajah's body taken out for cremation than his wives were sent off, notwithstanding their remonstrances, to the citadel, whence they can only emerge on a bier; and this it is said had an influence on the Rani of Dholepur not to survive her husband. We can hardly advise in such a matter, except to say that the Government Resident should be present, or consulted, or informed. There may then be no suicides, or half a dozen Queens sent to a prison for life for no crime. The late Rana of Dholepur was entirely given up to "sport," and contrasted in every way with his noble, gentle, useful and enlightened (native-enlightened) father whom he succeeded. Dholepur is a small State, but let us trust the new young Rana, now only eighteen years of age, will be better guided as to his duties by the Viceroy.

In connection with such deaths, it may seem out of place to refer to the annual ceremony of keeping the anniversary of the death of Michael Modhu Sudhan Datta, the greatest of

Indian poets since the Hindu heroic age. He was a Christian, and our old and intimate personal friend, and as we purpose to write some notes on him in connection with Buckland's *Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal*, where his life is briefly sketched out, we omit to say more at present than that if he was not a "prince" in the ordinary acceptation of the word, he was one in genius.

A large number of native gentry and literary bodies in Calcutta united on the occasion at the Circular Road Cemetery where his mortal remains were interred, made speeches, read poems, and decorated the grave. The Muhindra Maharajah Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore, the leading nobleman of Calcutta, was a particular friend of the deceased poet, and it does credit alike to Sir Jotindro's head and heart that he still remembers him and mourns him. Finally, Rajah Bun Behari Kapur, the father of His Highness the Maharajah of Burdwan, the leading nobleman of Bengal, has been interesting himself in the matter of the proper place of the Kshetryia caste or class in the Government Census Classification, and has presided over many meetings for the purpose from the N.-W. Provinces downwards. As stated previously, we may have more to say on this subject on a future occasion.

We cannot, however, conclude this section without referring to Mian Bhure Singh of Chumba, whose decoration with a C.I.E. we noted in our last number, stating the reason to have been his affording such excellent sport to the Viceroy last year. We have since been informed on good authority that the Mian received his decoration upon the recommendation of the Punjab Government as for years he has been the practical administrator of Chumba on behalf of his elder brother the Rajah. In regard to the "sport," the Viceroy, "as it happened, had none," which is to be regretted, just as he afterwards also was disappointed of his intended *battue* against the Indian lions of Guzerat. A warm admirer of the Viceroy also asks us pathetically in regard to another portion of what we wrote of Lord Curzon spending a twelfth of the year in sport:—"Is Lord Curzon to be the only Viceroy never to spend three weeks on a shoot?" We say decidedly "yes; neither to spend so much time in mere long journies." It is our regard for him, and the demands of the country and its good, as outlined in his famous "twelve or fifteen" Articles of his Creed—that lead us to say so. He is comparatively young, and can "spend and be spent," following the high Apostolic practice, and that of other Viceroys, for India. We and some of our *collaborateurs* are nearly double his age, and we work ourselves to death without a single "shoot" to enliven us, or holiday occurring save the blessed and God-given *rest* of the Sabbath—two months—a sixth of

the whole year's—of a day's rest recurring every week. Surely what is good enough for us who are physically best described as with "one foot in the grave," and good enough for humbler workers, ought to be good enough for the Chief Ruler of the land, whose example herein is of the greatest influence. No, Lord Curzon must have no "shoots" or long jungle "marches." Has the writer of this pathetic expostulation any idea how the junior members of the Civil Service throughout the country are worked to death, worse than very slaves? If he had, he would not have written to us as he has done for the Viceroy. The good Commander-in-Chief shares in the lot of the meanest soldier in the camp.

EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC.—While Mr. Carnegie is conveying millions to the Scotch Universities, our late Viceroy, Lord Elgin, K.G., being the Chairman of the Trustees, among whom are Mr. Morley and Lord Kelvin; and the University of Edinburgh, the Principal of which is our old friend Sir William Muir, is honoring Mr. C. A. Cooper, the Editor of the *Scotsman* by the grant of the LL.D. degree; we here in India seem to be almost in the throes of important educational changes. Considering how the whole system is a perverted one—one only fitted to turn out second-rate clerks, instead of thoroughly educating the country—we refer to the secondary and so-called Higher Education—it would take too much of our space here for us to set forth even the barest outline of the needed form. At the same time, from other points of view of special features and not affecting the root of the matter, we have Dr. Welldon and others proclaiming at home what they think proper, the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller putting forth here various views of his own regarding "Educational Problems," resolutions in the Calcutta University regarding B.A. and other examinations, Sir A. Mc Donnell in Allahabad trying to make things there worse instead of better by proposing to shorten the period for "B.A." (!), and *inter alia* Professor Ramsay setting forth "The Functions of a University," and Professor Geddes writing a long rhodomontade—with, however, a solid germ of the truth—in which, among other things, we are informed that he is a believer in the extremest and most absurd form of evolution—one contradicted by science itself! We have no space at present to examine all these, but reserve them for our next. We are also promised a paper on the subject by a competent authority, which we may receive in time for insertion in our next.

An Educational Conference among a number of "experts" is just about to be held in Simla, it is believed to deal with the question of extending Primary Education. The Conference, however, may express views on other educational

matters, and hence too the propriety of reserving our own remarks at present. Among minor matters here, an Agricultural College is soon to be established at Cawnpore, so that Indian Natives will not have to go all the way to Cirencester at home. The Cotton College has been formally opened in Gauhati for Assam. Hostels or boarding-houses for students have been opened in Allahabad, following the example set by the S. P. G. in Calcutta—(Calcutta itself crying out to Government for such—why cannot they establish their own hostels?). The Trustees of the Doveton Institutions in Calcutta have obtained power to raise Rs. 70,000 to pay off a mortgagee and to meet other expenses. It seems that the Administrator-General of Bengal retains certain property in his hands to the detriment of the Institutions. The whole of the Doveton case is peculiar, and on account of its importance should be met by Government—which so largely supports other Hindu and Mahomedan Colleges—in a liberal spirit; and the Trustees themselves might ask Government to do so. We are but imperfectly informed of the ins and outs, but consider the above suggestion would suit any view regarding it. At all events, we shall be glad to see it out of monetary difficulties and set on the same stable foundations as the Martinière. Finally, in the Poona College of Science, which has done so much good work for Western India, in consequence of the large increase in the number of students in the engineering branch since the year 1898-99, it became necessary to limit the admissions in 1901 to 40, and to select those to be admitted by a competitive examination. Neither the accommodation in the College nor the teaching staff is calculated to admit of an indefinite extension of the numbers attending, and the restriction, was absolutely necessary to provide for the efficient working of the institution, which is maintained primarily for the supply of candidates for Government service in the Public Works Department. It is open to private enterprise to provide instruction in engineering for those who desire it and whom it is impossible to accommodate in the Government College.

IN LITERARY matters, and taking journalistic literature first, we note that of the better class of native journals the *Hindu* of Madras is going to be placed on a sound financial basis—it having, alas! no “contract” system to enrich it—by its connexion into a Limited Company. “Improvements,” too, are contemplated. We wish it every success. We have referred to the “contract” system—this was the usual way in old times of subsidising newspapers in the interests of Government, both Local and Imperial. To give only one instance out of any number that we remember, one

of our old friends was paid Rs. 300 a month for writing up once a quarter a few lines of the “annals” for the Supreme Government. Remains of the old system, variously covered and disguised, may perhaps yet be found of a few we know. We except from our observations the *Indian Daily News* which is owned by the richest proprietary of any in India, and has long been taking a pronounced lead in journalism in India with its early important Home information; and also the very popular *Statesman*, which has the largest circulation in the Empire. But we would recommend the excellent *Indian Daily Telegraph* for a subsidy. A Tamil Church paper is about to be started by Church authorities. The paper is to be edited by a Committee of four clergymen, one of whom shall be Editor-in-Chief. We once had the Editorship of a Church paper—not in India—in which we had a Committee of eight clergymen, including the Dean and the Archdeacon, to assist us, found ourselves virtually the sole and one Dictator and Referee whenever any difficult matter cropped up; at other times, and on all ordinary matters the “Committee” did the most part of the work. The case of the native paper alluded to in our last as having as alleged defamed a European has not ended with the apology that was tendered. And as other *Bengalee* papers repeated the asserted libel, there are several actions now pending. The complainant is a Mr. Hoff. The Hoffes were once respectable people in Calcutta in days when there was not a single Bengali journal in existence. We believe Mr. Hoff is right in proceeding to law. The alleged libel was of a kind that might have prejudiced another case he had in Court at the time, which he fortunately won. Our old friend, Sir Charles Lawson, writing in his Madras journal, says that once on a time there were seven newspapers in Madras, namely, the *Madras Herald*, the *Madras Gazette and Examiner*, the *Madras Courier*, the *Conservative*, the *Madras Circulator*, the *Spectator*, and the *United Service Gazette*; as well as the bi-monthly *Thursday Budget* and the monthly *Madras Roman Catholic Expositor*. We can also recall a good many in Calcutta and generally in Upper India—there were three at one time in Lucknow alone!

We may fitly conclude this rambling note of old days by the following extracts from letters just received by us from old friends of the *Calcutta Review* who were both of them very prominent in Upper India, and both of whom made a name for themselves during the Mutiny and are, we believe, authors of some of the “Rulers of India” series and other noted works:—The first says:—“It (the *Calcutta Review*) is associated in men’s minds with very great times, when Hardinge was beating the Sikhs, and Sleeman taming

the Thugs [we used to see some of his captures—they were a queer-looking lot—with very Kali-like countenances]; and Lawrence, Kaye, etc., were among the contributors." The other writes:—"I am now 'well stricken in years' . . . past my time, and unable to supply suitable articles for the *Calcutta Review*. I have always thought, and see no reason for altering my opinion, that the *Calcutta Review* contains more original information than any other of its kind known to me. Had I been younger, I might have tried. For many years I have taken a great interest in it—even from days when it numbered such amateurs as supporters as Sir Henry Elliott and Henry Torrens." We need hardly say that we can yet boast of not a few leading men both here and at Home being among our most prominent supporters and contributors. Our younger men in the service, however, are not so bold in coming forward as they should be though we have a few. Our present Viceroy is happily "one of the old sort," and looks for merit wherever he can find it, even if discoverable in the pages of this *Review*. In concluding about "ourselves," we may just also quote a few lines received from Home from the author of the excellent summary of Herbert Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy our last:—"I have no complaint whatever to make of the *notes* which you have appended to the article. On the contrary, my only regret is that you did not find it possible to develop your views at greater length. No one pretends that Spencer has said the last word on the questions at issue between religion and science."

A nobleman of Japan has brought Professor Max Müller's Library for the Tokio University—what a chance lost for India! And while no steps are being taken to get up some sort of Memorial for him either here or at home, a very large and influential Committee are moving for one to Miss Charlotte Yonge whose decease and good work we referred to in our last. The subject for the Gold Medal of the United Service Institution for next year is, "the training and equipment of Cavalry and Mounted Infantry in India and their respective rôles in War." The Metcalfe Hall has now been completely turned over to Government for the Imperial Library, the Agricultural Society giving up the lower floor for Rs. 25,000 in cash, and a perpetual annuity of Rs. 6,000 unfettered by any conditions—an enormous price to pay for another of the present Viceroy's fads. A question having been raised about the Hundred Best Books on India, while we have noticed the veriest trash mentioned some of the most essential, to which one would first turn for information on any important subject, are omitted. The general knowledge of India is evidently on a par with the knowledge of the books relating to India.

Colonel Quentin, Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Calcutta, is bringing out an English translation, with notes, of that ancient "black classic" the *Bāgh-ô-Bāhār*. A History of India during the eighteenth century in Persian, translated into English by a Frenchman, and published in 1789, dedicated to Warren Hastings, is shortly to be reprinted and brought out by a Calcutta publisher under the patronage of Government. The Rev. P. Hoiler, B. D., a Member of the German Oriental Society, and a Missionary attached to the German Mission in the Godavery District, has written a Student's Manual of Indian Vedic-Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali Literature, containing lists of commentaries, text-editions, translations and expositions of the books, a chronicle of Indian authors and useful appendices. In a short preface the author says that his aim in writing this work has been to give in a nut-shell as much information about Indian Sanskrit Literature as possible, and to arrange the material according to chronology. The book gives a brief but excellent description of every branch of this ancient system of literature and is replete with facts and suggestions, which, if elaborated and expanded, will supply matter for many volumes. Over a thousand Indian Sanskrit works have been described or systematically enumerated, not counting the several recensions or commentaries. No work of real importance has escaped the author's observation. An undoubtedly good work has been disfigured by bad printing and typographical and idiomatic errors.

Dr. Stein, whose explorations in Central Asia we formerly noticed, has evidently finished his work for the present, and has gone home by the Central Asian Railway. Some colossal Buddhas have been excavated. Surgeon-Colonel Waddell's explorations in and near Patna are about to be published; and Dr. Stein writing about them says, that his own former researches there confirm the opinion advanced by Dr. Waddell as to the remains of the old Capital being preserved deep down in the alluvial south of the old river bed known as Gunsar. But there is a lot of Art and Archæology not only in Behar, but in other little suspected parts of India now in deep tiger jungle, as well as in South India, Asia Minor, and Cyprus. We may have some notices of some of these in our pages in future numbers, two very interesting papers, as connected with the Alphabets being already in our hands, one of which, however, it will be impossible for us to produce early, as it involves much special alphabetical diagram work on lithographing stone, costing too an enormous expense which, in our opinion, is better incurred by some patron of Sanskrit Literature than by a *Review* such as ours. Out of the twelve known tribes of Andamanese, the numbers remaining are estimated at a total

of only 844 men, 717 women, 192 boys, 129 girls, or 1,882 souls, 1,257 of whom belong to the fierce Jarawa and Ouge tribes who will have no dealings with either Europeans or friendly aborigines. Twenty years ago the lowest estimate was 3,000; so that these interesting remains of a pre-historic Oceanic, and perhaps inland race, will probably come to an end during this century. With reference to the Ethnographic Survey of India mentioned in our last, the *London Spectator* takes to the queer speculating of measuring the *minds* of the various races! The *Spectator* is always funny. Several shocks of earthquake have recently been felt at Shillong, Darjeeling and even distant Simla. There has, however, been one of the usual violent eruptions in Java, which is connected in the circle one extremity of which ends in the Head of the Bay of Bengal. The volcanic region of this portion of India would furnish a more practical and useful field for scientific examination than measuring the bodies of the tribes of India male and female.

Surgeon-Major Alcock, Superintendent of the Indian Museum, and author of a variety of zoological memoirs and papers has been selected for the honor of F. R. S., and Dr. George Watt, Reporter on Economic Products, has been awarded the Hanbury Gold Medal for Research. He is the third Englishman who has been recipient of this medal. We have a deal more to say about Anti-venine, Geology and Mineralogy, Indigo, Sugar (especially in connection with Mr. Minchin's efforts), the Kasauli Institute, the Malaria Commission, and even Linguistic matters, which we are compelled to hold over for the present. In fact, were we to do justice at length, and at once to only our Scientific and Literary matter in hand, we should have to give up this whole number of the *Review* to them alone.

THE BISHOPS AND RELIGION, &c.

[Here we come, we regret, on troublesome, matter.]

The good Metropolitan has thrown off his fever at home, and seems to have been quite busy with tackling the Secretary of State to allow him to be called an "Archbishop," writing to the *Times* on Indian educational matters, and delivering addresses. In regard to his wish to be called an "Archbishop" we should think the proper authority should be the Archbishop of Canterbury—the chief ecclesiastical authority, for the matter is wholly ecclesiastical. His views on Indian educational reform, as stated before, we hold over. In regard to his address at Magdalen College, Oxford, an imperfect summary reached India, and forthwith,—a certain paper as usual leading the way in attacks on the Bishop—the Indian press both misunderstood him, and also distorted his words. Forthwith, however, Sir A. McDonnell—alone of all the Governors and Administrators of India!—saw his opportunity of making

some mark (it has proved to be one against himself), and proclaimed himself better, wiser and abler than Dr. Welldon by publicly declaiming against him! We consider the conduct of the press, as well his conduct, to be, to say the least, extremely wanting in good sense and modesty. As for one paper comparing the Bishop to an "awkward squad," it is what one would expect to find only in Reynolds' papers. The *Indian Journal* we refer to has now made itself notorious for the most inexcusable attacks on the Bishop—attacks which were begun even before he landed in India—and we have no hesitation in saying that while the Bishop remains where he stood before, a giant in intellect, good and liberal-minded, simple in character, kind-hearted, and a devout and devoted Christian Bishop, the paper attacking him has considerably sunk in public estimation and influence. Even the Native Pastor of the Brahmo body of Hindus has displayed more kindly feelings, and a truer appreciation of the Bishop and his words, shaming so-called Christians and "leaders" of Anglo-Indian public opinion. Let us hope we shall have no more of these public displays of what appears very like personal attacks. The Bishop wrote at once to the *Times*, and, of course, completely cleared himself, and that with mildness and dignity consistent with his position, contrasting herein with the McDonnell bombast.

According to the *Indian Daily News*, which now leads in Home information as well as other respects, the Bishop has signified his intention to return to India by the first steamer after the middle of October, and we are sure both the Viceroy and India will be glad to welcome him back again. The good Bishop of Bombay is also at home, but his line does not lie in public and semi-political speeches, and we could only wish that the entire Clergy of India followed out what he said in his last charge in Bombay regarding daily services and which we noticed at the time. The Bishop of Madras's misapprehension as to the Metropolitan recommending an immediate introduction of the Bible in Government schools—an attack here, too, on Dr. Welldon was initiated by the same journal previously referred to—has been already referred to by us. Instead of occupying himself in excellently elaborated lectures—semi-political—and which are confuted as soon as delivered by Hindu "Chairmen," were the Bishop to occupy himself in enquiring into the serious and numerous disabilities suffered by Native Christians in parts of his large diocese—disabilities which Lord Curzon refused to consider or passed by with a light and happy heart—he, the Bishop of Madras, would certainly add to his influence, preserve his dignity, and be doing much good. It will hardly be imagined, or credited at home, that natives in various portions of the southern

diocese are deprived of their civil rights on becoming Christians! It is hardly worse in dark fanatical Mahomedan Persia, where a Christian is simply an outlaw. The Bishop of Madras, even as we predicted in our last, will not have a Christian man marry his deceased wife's sister. The Bishop is sound in ecclesiastical argument, but *weak in fact*, and there is no Pope here to grant "dispensations" and reconcile logic with fact. Surely we ought to have some common sense in this "very urgent" matter, and see how Dissenting Churches reconcile the two. The Bishop of London is moving to have a "College of Clergy" in Madras. He says:—"Just as there is an Oxford Mission to Calcutta, a Cambridge Mission to Delhi, and a Dublin Mission to Chota-Nagpur, so there will now be, I hope, a London Mission to Madras." His plan of "considering their work in Madras as done in the Diocese of London" is not a good one. Rules for monuments in cemeteries—Mr. Cotton, I.C.S. of Madras, is doing good work in connection with old monuments in the Southern Presidency—are published for all India except the Madras Presidency. The first step is to send an application, on Form A, which contains a variety of questions, with a "dimensionized drawing of the monument drawn to scale and detailed estimate" to the Chaplain in charge of the cemetery. The Chaplain is then to forward the application to the Executive Engineer, who will fill in column 7—technical details—examine and countersign the drawing and return everything to the Chaplain. The application is then to be forwarded to the Archdeacon, with whom rests the final decision on the matter. What endless trouble!

We may now turn to some broader questions. Our remarks in our last issue regarding the perversion of Evangelising Missions into educational agencies has been held to apply also to the Scotch Missions in India. Some color was lent to this view by the attacks made by Mr. Varley, the Evangelist, at home in Scotland. Our words, however, had no application to the great Scotch Colleges in India. These are, from inception, educational missions, and there is no misunderstanding about them or their work. We refer only to purely Evangelising Missions which have turned themselves aside to educating a parcel of non-descript Hindu clerks instead of proclaiming the Love of the Saviour to a fallen world. The Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller in turn attacked Mr. Varley, and it stands a "pretty quarrel" between the two. Excluding the Scotch Colleges, let us say that if St. Peter or St. Paul had been an educationist, there would have been no Christianity at the present day (not even the Scotch Colleges!).

There has been a large meeting in Calcutta of the Lord's

Day Union in connection with the observance of the Sunday. It will be remembered that we draw attention to this matter in a previous number when referring to Bishop Welldon's instructions to the Clergy regarding it. The Rev. Mr. Bowman presided, and the annual report stated that everywhere there was activity to carry through this great ordinance for humanity—not less than mark of Christianity, all over India. The Rev. Mr. North gave an excellent address, dwelling particularly on its happy influence on home-life, and also, "if men were put to a prolonged strain, their powers for work were lessened." Let us add, that enlightened Hindus themselves in Calcutta and the other larger cities, are glad to have the Sunday's rest; that we are honoured by the heathen for observing the Day; and that the Government of India in the P. W. D. are everywhere the almost sole transgressors of the Divine Law. Unless where absolutely necessary, no work should be permitted, and even "contracts"—the ordinary excuse of irresponsible engineer officers—might easily be regulated. Many previous Viceroys have, in this matter, either spoken, or shown a good example, and we trust our present excellent Viceroy will do both. It will be a great boon to India, without any reference to "Christianity" in it. Among the office-bearers of the Union for the current year we find the names of Bishop Clifford of Lucknow as President; and Bishops Thoburn and Warne, Rev. Drs. Husband (C.I.E.), Ewing, Humphreys, Lucas, Mansel, Roberts, Scudder, Robinson, and a host of other influential men all over India as vice-presidents. They might well unite in a Memorial to the Viceroy—headed by Dr. Welldon on his return—to stop the unnecessary work in the P. W. D., avoiding all debateable questions relating to travelling, etc.

We ought not to conclude this portion of our notes without a reference to an interesting controversy lately carried on in the correspondence columns of a journal about the cost and results of Missionary work in India. Our opinion is that neither of them can (or ought to) be estimated mathematically accurately; and our one advice is to close all the colleges and schools—save such as may be necessary for the Christian converts—and take to preaching the pure and simple Love of God in Christ and mixing more freely among the natives both high and low. Without these nothing will be done. Many high and leading Hindu gentlemen owe much—specially their command of English—to the Bible, and it is pleasant to find in this connection that the late deceased and eminent Mr. Justice Ranade of Bombay was a diligent student of the Sacred Book, and that Mr. Justice Chandavakur is now the same—both head and shoulders over their compeers in Bombay, an un-

usually enlightened Presidency, as stated by the *Rost Gofstar*, a leading non-Christian Native journal.

In a review of Missionary work in Travancore and Cochin by the local Bishop we learn that the agents number 567. The baptized number 35,910; and "total adherents" 41,887. There are Zenana Missions, and Primary as well as High Schools and a College. There are also three Malayalin Magazines. The income locally raised is Rs. 20,715. And yet the Christians in these States are denied ordinary civil rights. There are, of course, difficulties in the way peculiar to Travancore, but the matter should be thoroughly sifted by a joint-Committee of Missionaries and of State Brahmins, and some sort of *via media* found—one of which is, the Brahmin-converts should be excluded from any relaxing law, thus not interfering with their rights. We have much to say about Hindu Revivalism which we reserve for the present.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Mr. Pennell has carried his case before the Secretary of State, and there is little doubt that the foolish and ill-balanced man will be retired. To expect the High Court to acknowledge its grave injustice done to him, or even to apologize to Sir John Woodburn for having led him wrong—as we recommended in our last—would be to believe the millenium was in existence. With reference to our previous remarks on the Boer War, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Bryce, M.P.—the one man at home who personally knows South Africa, on which he has written an excellent volume—writes to us from the House of Commons:—"It is quite true that the policy which brought about the South African War has been a mistaken one, and the war itself has been an unmixt calamity for South Africa"—we may add, also for England's homes and also England's power and influence in China and the East, and also for all the different races in South Africa. It is a pity there is no Burke with his eloquence to impeach Mr. Chamberlain in the House*—Mr. David Yule has delivered a very able and thoughtful speech at the late annual meeting of the Calcutta Bank which should be studied by Government, Banking men, and merchants. During the last decade, the annual total of emigrants from India has risen from 152,196 to 386,430, and of immigrants from 162,665 to 210,226. That means that for such a populated empire, emigration is practically non-existent. There will be more hope of India when instead of a miserable 150,000, the number of emigrants stands at a few millions annually. There is much of Central Africa vacant, and the northern half of Australia, where white men cannot labour in

* We have received also a letter from Mr. T. M. Maclean, which we hope to print in our next.

the open, to draft them to. The reduction of the Indian tariff for English telegrams is in sight, and will be from 4s., the present rate, to 2s. 6d. a word. Mr. Havell, of the School of Arts, Calcutta, shows that the Fly-shuttle in hand-loom weaving can immensely help native weavers. We confess to being ignorant of the Fly-shuttle referred to, but we know that something of the kind, which used literally to "fly along," was in use in olden times in the Dacca of Dr. Taylor's valuable *Topography*; and a Jail Superintendent of Madras comes to say that the fly-shuttle is superior only in the hands of an active worker, while the common shuttle well-worked almost approaches the Fly-shuttle. At the same time, there are many mechanical appliances and contrivances which would immensely increase the industrial wealth and produce of India which Government ought to introduce. Experiments to grow Egyptian cotton in the Central Provinces are stated to be proving more successful than in the Bombay Experimental Farms. Mr. Minchin's efforts on behalf of sugar, and the matter of the indigo question we hold over. Kashmir is going to supply wines and spirits to India. We remember how an effort, some thirty years ago, to place *Jamun* fruit wines and spirits on the Indian market, by the Rev. Mr. Varnier, an Italian (Protestant) clergyman failed; though the produce was declared excellent by doctors and was also cheap. A great industry might yet be created from this Jamun fruit, which is so plentiful all over the country, if the product is kept pure. Locusts have appeared all over India, doing, however, little damage. The Railway Administration Report shows a net profit to the State, after meeting working expenses and interest charges, of Rs. 67 lakhs in the twelve months, compared with a loss of Rs. 12 lakhs in 1899 and of Rs. 78 lakhs in 1898. This is coincident with a net increase of 3,619 miles of open line in these three years. The Railway Conference met at Simla, and only argued about lines to meet the increasing Bengal Coal Traffic. Not one of the many substantial grievances suffered by a hundred millions of passengers was taken up. We have to reserve again the list furnished to us for want of space. "Soldiers' Homes" are the order of the day in India, and a nameless donor has placed Rs. 10,000 for one in Peshawar at the disposal of the Bishop of Lahore. One was tried in Jubbulpore by Dr. Cullen, and Rs. 10,000 was spent on it, and it proved a failure. The indefatigable Rev. A. H. B. Brittain, a Chaplain, is now trying to raise Rs. 50,000 for two "Homes" in Secunderabad, and scouring all India for the money. We are afraid that under him, even with the Bishop of Madras's countenance, the whole thing will be a failure. The right way of going about it is not to have too much of

"bell, book and candle" to frighten the very life or devil out of poor Tommy Atkins. The one at Cawnpore, however,—due to the liberality of Dr. Condon,—has been pretty nigh successful,—but it is under American Methodist guidance. The Bengal Anglo-Indian Association has appealed (!) to Mr. Andrew Carnegie for Rs. 2,60,000 for an education, a newspaper, and a Delegation to London Fund—two lakhs, half a lakh, and 10,000 respectively. The sum, some £20,000, may be a trifle to Mr. Carnegie who only deals in millions; but no decent paper can be started on half a lakh. And why the Delegation? Is there not our kind and sympathetic Viceroy here? We think also that the present press of Calcutta is amply sufficient for all true needs, and no further merely class newspaper is necessary, or will ever succeed. The Educational part is all right; but with a little self-help, Government would doubtless assist here with a grant-in-aid.—Barmaids under forty years of age have been prohibited in Hungary (in Europe) in Burma, and now in Calcutta, and not before it was time. India deteriorates dreadfully in such matters from the home standard, and it is useless for one or two papers to cast obloquy on Sir John Woodburn for such a truly-needed and benevolent measure. Sir John Woodburn will always stand high above his detractors. Even in Australia the prohibition of employing young women about public bars has been legislated for and carried.—The Indian Congress is in a bad way, and proposes actually to sit in London next year—we suppose as a means of "raising the wind," or liquidating the heavy balance of Rs. 3,75,000. Where has all this money gone to? Plague, as usual, now increases, and now diminishes. Meanwhile, it is getting a hold all over the world. What the end will be who will say? In regard to it, Dr. Deane, the Calcutta Health Officer, makes most extraordinary assertions. A certain class of Bengal Zemindars have broke away from the old-and-time-honored British Indian Association and formed an Association for themselves. We are afraid they will make nothing by the move. At all events they wont discredit the old and time-honored Association, which is a power in the country and which has so often stood in the breach. The very idea of separation ought to be disgraceful. It is certainly ungrateful. A number of other subjects we hold over.

We include in our Obituary the following:—

Right Hon. W. B. Beach ("Father" of the House of Commons); Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins; Ex-Chancellor Prince Hohenlobe; Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham; Prince Henry, of Orleans; Baron Nordenskiöld (the Arctic Explorer); Signor Crispi; Sir Walter Besant; Robert Buchanan; Rev Dr. E. B. Underhill (whom we knew in India half-a-century

ago); Bishop Parker, (Epis. Methodist, North India); Dr. E. J. Lazarus, M.D. (the founder of many valuable Indian patent medicines, and whom we knew sixty years ago when he first came out to Bengal); Professor Tait (of Edinburgh); Arnot Reid (Editor and Proprietor of the *Straits Times*, a dear personal friend); Archbishop Goethals, of Calcutta.

☞ *Special articles to appear in our next number:—*

The Story of the Alphabets.

On our Bengal Lieutenant-Governors by C. E. B.

Hindu Festivals in the Maharashtra.

In the Magaliesburg.

Bishop Berkeley's Philosophy.

The Senoussis or the Mahommedan Revival in Africa.

Botanical Kew and British Museum.

The Great Nobel Competition.

The Holy City.

The Chamberlain Dictatorship.

Also others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Indian Mines Act, 1901, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Graham, Barrister-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn, Member of the Indian Mining Association. Price one rupee. The Indian Daily News Press. Calcutta, 1901.

MR. Graham is a leading and well-known Member of the Bar in Calcutta, and has done well in bringing this handy little volume before the public. It brings together in a connected form the history of the new mining legislation, and offers such information upon the subject as has been gathered from the English law. Mr. Graham points out that the new rules to be formulated under the Act are of more importance than the Act itself, and urges the importance of avoiding the harassment of a growing industry. He also expresses the opinion that "it will probably be the best thing for the Indian coal industry if the new legislation leads to a larger use of mechanical extraction and a large diminution in the number of miners employed." From this point of view he thinks the mildness of the Act and the elimination of the clauses relating to women and children are to be regretted rather than applauded, because, though inimical to immediate prosperity, the discarded provisions would ultimately have placed the industry on a more spacious and enduring foundation. In this he is doubtless right. The work is well got up at the *Indian Daily News* press, and is sure to command an extensive sale among merchants as well as others interested in all mining operations throughout India.

Hindustani Idioms, with Vocabulary and Explanatory Notes. By Colonel A. N. Phillips. London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner and Co.

THIS book contains over 650 phrases and sentences, illustrating the idiomatic peculiarities (and there are many in the Hindustani language. The arrangement is admirable. Each page consists of three columns, containing respectively the English phrase, the Hindustani translation, and the explanatory notes. The Hindustani here given is, of course, the pure form, and not any of the frightful dialects that pass muster for Hindustani in many parts of the country. But this will not be a hindrance to any ordinary Anglo-Indian who can use the book intelligently. For although it is professedly compiled

for use of candidates for the higher standard, it will be of great service also to those who only use the language for the every-day purposes of business or domestic life. The notes, moreover, are admirably clear and concise, adding greatly to the value, in fact constituting a large part of the value of the work. The Vocabulary is full, and accurate, far more copious than is found in other works of this kind with which we are familiar. Colonel Phillips has evidently bestowed great pains on the compilation of these idioms, and will no doubt be heartily thanked by many a weary student of the language in his transition from the very elementary to a more complete acquaintance with Hindustani. Colonel Arthur Noel Phillips spent a life time in India, and was well-known as a Cantonment Magistrate in many parts. The price of the work is only five shillings.

The History of the Ganjam Malliahs in the Madras Presidency, Edited by H. D. Taylor, Esq., I.C.S., Collector and Agent to the Governor. Ganjam.—Government Press, Madras. 1901.

THIS ponderous work, brought out to the orders of the Madras Government, though "Edited" by Mr. Taylor, has been mostly done, as we are informed in the Preface, by Mr. F. A. Coleridge, I.C.S., during a most trying experience of nearly two years in the Malliah country, during which his health failed and he had to take leave home to recover. The work, however, is not only valuable to the Revenue Officer, but to others who wish to form an idea of most interesting peoples hid away in the jungles and mountains to the west of Ganjam where it joins on to the Central Provinces in the wild and desolate tracts of the Great Ahiri Forest. There are numerous tribes included in the Malliah or Hill tracts area under notice, and not one of them has been omitted. In 3,250 square miles there are 40,000 Sourahs, 140,000 Khonds, 25,000 Uriyas, 25,000 Panos, and 12,000 Gonds and others. Khonds, Malliahs, Meriah Sacrifices, Rebellions, Tribal fights, Muttas, Irrigation, "Rajahs," Traditions, Brahmins, Uriyas, Schools, Cultivation, Vaccination, Abkari, etc., etc., all figure by turns in its pages, and we are only surprised that a single young officer—of seven years service—could have gone through it all or should have done so much. Mr. Coleridge, Acting Special Assistant Agent, certainly deserves some marked recognition at the hands of the Government whom he has served so well and at the considerable risk of his life. He is nearly related to the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, and probably is already marked out for well-deserved promotion. In conclusion, we need hardly say that Mr. Taylor's part of the work in editing the volume,

with additions for the whole district, has been carefully and thoroughly well performed.

The Spoilt Child: A Tale of Hindu Domestic Life, by Peary Chand Mitter (Tek Chand Thakur). Translated by G. D. Oswell, M.A., Court of Wards, Bengal. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.

THIS old Bengali favourite Tale, the only work of real genius as a novel depicting actual life, is here presented to us in an English dress by the industry of Mr. Oswell, who, considering the great difficulties he laboured under of rendering the Bengali idioms, and catching the spirit of the work, has done his work remarkably well for an Englishman. As regards the Tale itself, and its author, both are well known in Bengal. The work was the first Bengali novel published, and at the time we noticed it fully. (See *Calcutta Review*, Vols. XXXI and XXXII.) Almost a generation has passed, and the Tale still holds its place in the Bengali literary market, and now it appears in also an English dress. The hero of the tale is a good-for-nothing spoilt darling of the family, and his character is drawn very bad—perhaps overdrawn. The father is a weak and yielding old man, such as may probably have been found in the days the tale treats of. Ultimately, after ruining himself, the mad youth reforms after an interview with a Benares sage and saint. The plot is simple, but many things—such as Zemindari work, Court trials, etc.,—are introduced in its course. The author is not above popular prejudices, for he makes a *Mahomedan* the “villain” of the piece, and depicts Indigo Planters as anything but gentlemen. This appears very funny to us, for the Hindus certainly beat the Moslems in cunning; and we, who have associated with Indigo Planters from even beyond the times of Peary Chand Mitter, knew them of old to be both of the best Home Families and extremely kind and benevolent to their thousands of poor dependent Hindu folk. As a matter of fact we know of Planters who were robbed of their all by surrounding Hindu Zemindars. We may, however, let this pass. There is no doubt that Peary effected a revolution in Bengali reading, for the Native Tales of those days were even obscene! It must have considerably influenced the rising generation of “Young Bengal” for good.

We may just add, in conclusion, that Peary has also been a contributor to the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. The Bengali gentlemen of those days had not passed through the “B.A.” and “M.A.” grind, but their literary culture, helped on by such men as “D. L. R.” (Captain David Lester Richardson), Derozio, and George Lewis, was true and extensive. Men,

for instance, like the famous “Dutt family,” as well as Michael Modhoo Soodhun (of quite another family of Dutt), strange these were all Christian converts—for literary culture we do not expect again to see in Bengal.

Essays on Islām. By the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., S.P. C.K. S.P.C.K. Depôt, Madras: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London.

THESE essays deal with some aspects of Islām unfamiliar to the general reader, but none the less important. They show strange developments of the stern and simple religion founded by Muhammad and make clear how the eastern mind needed something more human, something closer to itself than the God of the Qurán, who has been well described as ‘sterile in his loneliness.’ The four first essays on the Mystics of Islām, the Babis, the Religious Orders and the Druses, are more or less connected with this feeling which has found expression in the cult of Ali. That and the Shiah doctrine of the Imámat are the root principles on which these various divergences from the orthodox faith of the Sunnis are based.

The Mystics of Islām are the Súfis and a description, as clear as the subject will allow of, is here given of the esoteric teaching of this mystical sect. It is to be sought for mainly in Persian poetry, especially in such books as the *Masnavi* of Jelál-ud-dín Rúmí and the *Gulshán-i-Ráz*. The Persian quotations, given in the footnotes, are well selected and to the point. The English translations might, perhaps, be improved. The whole subject, however, is one very difficult to make clear to any, except oriental scholars; but the student of mysticism will find this essay a valuable contribution to the comparative study of the subject.

The essay on the Babis is mainly historical, though a good summary of Babi dogmas is given. The best authorities have been consulted and the statements may be accepted as accurate. Bábism is a most curious offshoot of the fundamental dogmas of the Shiahs, but this system deduced from them, now forms a sect outside any form of Islām. The Babis have suffered for their beliefs as few people in modern days have done, and persecution has only deepened their convictions and increased their numbers. It is decidedly the most interesting religious movement of the nineteenth century. What its influence will be on Persia remains to be seen. Should the Babis ever attain to political influence, greater freedom and more religious toleration will be the suitable result.

The essay on the Religious Orders deals with the great Islāmic revival in North Africa and in the Eastern, the Central

and the Western Súdán. The activity of the Derwish Orders may lead to political complications of a grave nature. We do not know of any account in English which deals with the rise, nature and influence of the Derwishes so fully as this essay does. The subject of the spread of Islám in Africa through their agency is, however, too large a one to deal with in this review, and we propose to have a special article on it in our next number, easily traceable, but still there, between their worship of Hakim and the development of the doctrine of the Imámat, as it was found amongst the Ismailians. The whole subject is one of great interest as an erratic movement of religious thought, as a religion which grew out of the caprices of a madman.

The status of the Zimmis, or non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state, is shown by a collection of Fatvas, or legal opinions. The conclusion of the whole matter is thus put by the author "though the law is, probably, nowhere now carried out with such vigour, the state of the Zimmis is in all Muslim lands one of political and social subordination. When Muslim countries were isolated, this did not cause much inconvenience, except to the Zimmis themselves; but now that some, at least, of the Mahomedan countries have entered into the circle of civilised States, the result is that the subject populations are restive under the disabilities imposed on them."

The essay on Islám in China gives a concise account of the past and present conditions of the Muslims there. It is probably news to most persons that there are twenty million Mahomedans in the Chinese Empire.

The essay on the Recensions of the Qurán is not a scholarly account of the way in which the present text of the Qurán was formed and how to ensure its success previous recensions were destroyed. Mr. Sell gives the Arabic text and a translation of a lost Súra which some Shiahs declare the Khalif 'Usmán omitted in his revised edition, the one now in use. The late Mr. Garcin de Tassy was inclined to think it genuine; other critics do not. Mr. Sell states the case and then gives his own views thus:—

"On the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be against the Shiah claim. Ali and his followers were a powerful body during the Khalifato of Usmán; they must have known whatever the Prophet had said about Ali, and it is not easy to believe that they would have allowed such passages to be suppressed."

The origin of the religion of the Druses is, in the fourth article, traced back to the Khalif Hakim. The Shiah community early became divided and sub-divided in many sects. Of these the most important is that of the Ismailians who claimed

that with them alone was the true Imám, or spiritual Pontiff, the successor by divine right of the Khalif Ali. This sect and an allied one, the Batmis, are famous for the esoteric views they held and for the activity with which they propagated them. The fundamental principle was that "revelation came through prophets, but interpretation came only through the Imáms. They were the depositaries of all knowledge, and only from them or their emissaries, could men find the right path or the explanation of the many enigmas of life." The way in which the Ismailian Missionaries worked, the secret instruction given to the initiated, the extraordinary power of the leaders, are all clearly set forth. It is only by understanding all this that we can see how such a monster of cruelty, as Hakim was, ever obtained the influence over men that he did. He came to be regarded as the medium of the last and final manifestation of the Deity. The Druses now worship Hakim and, though they have gone very far away from Islám, yet there is a connection.

The last essay on the Hanifs is a critical examination of an interesting point in the history of Muhammad, *viz.*, whether he was influenced by some men who, in his early days, were already protesting against idolatry, or whether his declaration that he came to restore the religion of Abraham was the result of his stay in Madina and altogether an idea of later growth. The point is of some importance, as the latter view illustrates the historical development of the Qurán. The argument cannot be summarised, but it is well worth study.

It is not possible in a short review to do justice to the wealth of information supplied in these essays. We can only conclude by saying that this work supplies a real need, is invaluable to the student of comparative religion and maintains the reputation of its author as an authority on the subject of Islám, to which, as seen in his other works, the Faith of Islám, and the Historical Development of the Qurán, he has given many years of study.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The works of George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne, including Post-humous works, with Prefaces, Annotations, Appendices, and an account of his Life. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hon. D. C. L., Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Glasgow and Edinburgh; Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh; in Four Volumes. Price, twenty-four Shillings. Clarendon Press, Oxford; and Frowd, London, 1901.

[This very valuable edition of a great work receives a special and extended notice in an Article in our next number.]

Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors; being a Narrative of the Principal Events and Public measures during their Periods of Office, from 1854 to 1898: by C. E. Buckland, C. I. E., of the Indian Civil Service; in Two Volumes, with 14 illustrations. S. Lahiri and Co., Calcutta, 1901.

[This excellent and useful historical work will receive several special extended notices.]

Asia and Europe: Studies presenting the conclusions formed by the Author in a long life devoted to the subject of the relations between Asia and Europe; by Meredith Townsend. Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1901.

[Here is our old Serampore friend of fifty years ago with a most acceptable volume which we hope to review at length.]

The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics; by C. Godfrey Gumpel. Price 18 Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, 1901.

[Reserved for closer examination.]

The Standardization of Calmette's Anti-Venomous Serum, with pure Cobra Venom, Deterioration of this Serum through keeping in India; by Geo. Lamb, M.B., Captain, I.M.S., and William Hanna, M.A., M. B., R.U.I., D.P.H., Cantab. Research Laboratory, Bombay, 1901.

[The only work of its kind—a reprint from the *Lancet*.]

Khatti Conference Resolutions, and Rajah Bun Behari Kapur's address.

[This is a contribution to a very interesting subject.]

The Madras Museum Bulletin. Vol III. No. 3. Anthropology. Nayers of Malabar, with 11 Plates; by F. Fawcett. Price 1 Re. 8 As, Government Press, Madras, 1901.

[This is an account of an interesting tribe of Malabar, on which subject probably several papers may be found scattered through the *Calcutta Review*, one on the "Serpent-Worship" practised appearing in this very number.]

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient. Revue Philologique. F. H. Schneider, Imprimeur—Editeur, Hanoi.

The Indian Review. No 7, for July, Madras. 1901.

The Indian Magazine for August. Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1901.

Luzac's Oriental Lists, for May, June, &c., London. 1901.
[Full of useful information to Orientalists.]

The Monist, for July. Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1901.

Report of the Lunatic Asylums in the N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900.

Report of the Jails in the Punjab, for 1900.

Report of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for 1900.

Report of Police Administration, Punjab. 1900.

Report of Punjab Court of Wards, for 1900.

Memorial of Bombay Native Inhabitants to the Governor of Bombay, with Appendices.

Report on Dispensaries, etc., in the Punjab, for 1900.

Report of the Lahore Anglo-Vedic College, for 1900-'01.

[We learn that the College has 400 pupils—with a balance in hand of *four lakhs*, and yet they are crying out "give, give" for a building! Their motto is "Sacrifice is the navel of the world"—which sort?]

Sudha—a monthly Review in Bengali, head office, Murshidabad.

[This has just been started.]

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. No. 12, for the month of March 1901, and for the twelve months, 1st April 1900 to 31st March 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India. Nos. 1 to 4, for the month of July 1901, and for the four months, 1st April to 31st July 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12, for the twelve months, 1st April 1900 to 31st March 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1898-99 and 1899-1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries. Nos. 1 and 2, for the two months, April and May 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1899 and 1900. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Review of the Trade of India in 1900-1901. By J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1901.

Annual Report on the Reformatory Schools at Alipore and Hazaribagh, for the year 1900. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to the British and Foreign Colonies, 1900. By C. Banks, Esq., C.M., D.P.H., Protector of Emigrants, Calcutta. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Annual Report of the Bengal Veterinary College, and of the Civil Veterinary Department, Bengal, for the year 1900-1901. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Annual Report on Inland Emigration for the year 1900. By C. Banks, Esq., M.D., C.M., D.P.H., Superintendent of Emigration, Calcutta. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1900. By R. H. Brereton, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad : The Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. 1901.

Notes on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal, for 1900-1901. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the year 1899-1900. By A. F. Wild, Conservator of Forests, Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1900.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1900. By R. H. Brereton, Esq., I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1901.

Thirty-third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Year 1900. By Major H. J. Dyson, I.M.S., F.R.C.S.; Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

Administration Report on the Jails of Bengal for the year 1900. By Lieutenant-Colonel E. Mair, Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1901.

