

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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January 1902.

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.

CALCUTTA.

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE GREEKS IN INDIA,*

IN the earlier years of British administration it was, by no means, generally thought that any previous European Government had existed in Hindustan. But before the middle of the nineteenth century, attention began to be attracted to certain inscribed pillars, at Allahabad, Delhi, and other seats of ancient state; and these were decyphered with marked success by a local antiquary, Mr. James Prinsep, whose posthumous essays were edited by the late Edward Thomas in 1858. From these it appeared that, shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, there had been a ruler in Northern India who was in friendly relations with certain Macedonian Kings. Not long after came Captain Cunningham—known to later days as Sir Alexander, who laid bare a series of coins, statues, and architectural fragments indicating the influence of Greek art and thought in the vast region extending from the Indus to the Jumna. Since then Colonel Biddulph's *Report* on the tribes of the Hindu Kush has brought to light the existence in those hills of mountaineers as fair as Europeans, drinking wine, using chairs, and talking a variety of dialects even now betraying traces of Greek idiom: some further information as to these people was about the same time collected by the late Dr. Leitner.† Their peculiarities of appearance and customs do not, of course, prove that the Dards are descended from Greeks, but they help to support the theory, which is further corroborated by the later writings of Mr. Vincent Smith, I.C.S.‡ This able observer shows that Greek influence prevailed on the banks of the Indus for about two centuries before the Christian era. And he is even inclined to attribute to legends of Apollo at Delos much of the mythology attaching to the founder of Buddhism.

* *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce.* Comte Goblet d'Alviella, Paris, 1897.† *The Languages and Races of Dardistan.* 4to. Lahore, 1877.‡ *Græco-Roman influence on the Civilization of Ancient India.* [Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 58-61.]

Under the inspiration of such a change of view, other scholars have been taking up the question of Indian culture, and endeavouring to show that long before the modern disturbance of her exclusive tranquillity, the great peninsula had undergone European influences which had, in fact, an immense part in creating standards of taste and canons of science. Fifty years ago the indefatigable Lassen had, in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, made a collection of the principal classic texts bearing upon the subject. Following Lassen, the erudite A. Weber ransacked Hindu literature for traces of Greek inspiration. In 1890 a French Professor, M. Sylvain Lévi, brought out the passages in Indian documents in a little Latin treatise;—*Quid de Græcis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*: and in the same year M. Emile Sénart, of the Institute, in his *Notes d'épigraphie indienne*, criticised, from a similar stand-point, the older Sanskrit inscriptions. Nor have Anglo-Indians been idle. Sir A. Cunningham, who ultimately became archæologic surveyor to the Indian Government, laboured, in his generation, to supplement the work of Sir E. C. Bayley and the late E. Thomas, in the way of cataloguing the earlier coins, in which labour of love he has been himself followed by Percy Gardner and V. Smith already mentioned.

It was thus, with no defective material, that Count Goblet d'Alviella recently undertook to construct his memorial, "Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce;" availing ourselves of which we hope to lay before the British reader as complete a sketch of the action of the Greeks in this behalf as he will be disposed to consider or accept. Indian topics are not universally popular; and—with a few striking exceptions—their exponents have not done much to take away the reproach. But the versatile Professor of the Brussels University was fortunate in the choice of an unfamiliar and piquant aspect of India, and has given us an able summary of the facts, with all the lucid order of a French writer and with more sobriety and attention to fact, than French writers always display. By walking in his footsteps one may obtain a glimpse of things not wholly devoid of interest, even for those who usually find India a bore.

Mr. Goblet has to start with an admission which will hardly be deemed prepossessing by scholars. The conclusions to which he has been led are to some extent, and owing to inevitable difficulties, unhappily provisional. Having allowed so much, he will not quarrel with us if we sometimes venture to point out certain still-existing doubts and limitations.

Among the incontestable facts one has no hesitation in accepting are these: From the time of the invasion of Alexander—who, in 326 B. C., planted colonies and founded cities in the Punjab—the Greek language was known and used in that part

of India, as well as in what is now known as Turkistan. After the death of the great Macedonian the valley of the Upper Oxus was made into the Province of Bactria, attached to the Seleukid kingdom of Syria: becoming a distinct realm under Diodotus about 256 B. C. This separation of the satrapy was synchronous with an extension of the Buddhist Empire of Palibothra, under Asoka, who adopted the Bactrian Alphabet, and employed it in one of his famous edicts in the extreme N. W. This may indicate that the Macedonian colonies in India were not very strong or influential in the days of Asoka; but that Emperor was himself partly Greek by birth, his grandmother being the daughter of Selenkos. In any case, whatever decline the colonies may have experienced under Asoka, was amply retrieved in the succeeding century, when the successes of the Parthians completely separated the Bactrian Greeks from their base in Syria and turned their faces towards the South of the Hindu Kush passes. Under this pressure Demetrius—the then Basileus—appears to have settled in what is now called "the Sind-Sāgar Duāb"—where he issued bilingual coins, and stamped them with his own haughty Greek countenance, surmounted by a helmet made out of, or in the likeness of an elephant's head. About 175 B. C. Demetrius—known in ancient Indian books as Dattamitra—was replaced by a military adventurer named Eucratides, as related by Justin, the historian of the Macedonians. Eucratides, in his turn, was succeeded—and probably killed—by Heliocles (155—120 B. C.) in whose time the dynasty was finally expelled from Bactria, and forced to reside entirely upon Indian territory, by the overwhelming incursions of a Scythian tribe which has been identified with the Jats: the Parthians even became tributary to these enterprising barbarians who, for the moment, probably preferred not to entangle themselves in the southward passes.

The first purely Indo-Greek King was, apparently, Apollodotus, celebrated in the *Mahabharat* under the slightly disguised form of Bhagadatta: he is there said to have been "King of the Yavanas" (or Ionians) whose superiority in fighting power is candidly allowed: this Grecian ruler is represented in the epic as the ally of Arjuna in the battle of Kurukhet, near the modern Panipat, so often the scene of Indian battles.

The successor of Apollodotus is believed to have been Menander (*fl. Circ.* 110 B. C.) in whose time the Indo-Greek power in the Punjab attained its brief meridian. Strabo (*Circ.* 20 A. D.) assures us that Menander passed the Sutlej, reaching an eastern river supposed to have been the Jumna; and M. Goblet thinks that it was under him that Sravasthi and Patna were temporarily conquered by the Indo-Greeks. The coins of Menander have been found, in any case, as widely diffused as

from Cabul to Muttra; but the eastern incursions of the "Yavanas" may possibly be taken as those of the Scythian successors of the Greeks; for a time came, when the word "Ionian" was applied to any foreigner. The Scythians were certainly not long after the Greeks in crossing the Hindu Kush, and there is reason to think that they were partially Hellenised either by their stay in Bactria or after their coming into the Punjab. For a time they even ruled side by side with the Greek remnant; and when that became gradually absorbed, the Scythians—an Aryan people—long continued to use the Greek character upon their coins, perhaps, only showing that the monetary art had become hereditary in the Eurasian descendants of the original Macedonian mint masters. About 25 B.C. Hermaios, an Indo-Greek, shared his power with the Scythian Chief, Wema Kadphises; but the latter became sole ruler when Hermaios died.

Of the dynasty which thus became extinct, we are left to infer that it retained, while it lasted, a degraded but real penumbra of Hellenic culture. No temple of Zeus has arisen out of the dust of ages to convey to us latter-day enquirers any information as to religious institutions; and, what is no less remarkable, no explorer has discovered one single line of inscription, either as memorial or mortuary epitaph. As it is notorious how fond the European Greeks were of this kind of literature, its entire absence appears to argue a complete lack of culture. It is true that Philostratus (*fl. Circ. 200 A.D.*) represents his hero Apollonius of Tyana, as conversing in Greek with the princes of India; but the book is a romance in which it is not thought possible to point out the items of truth—if indeed such there be. Moreover, it was not composed until the time of the Emperor Severus, when a new intercourse with India had begun. Strabo reports of a letter to Augustus in Greek; from a successor of Porus; and the coins and other monuments of the period are ample proof that some European culture lingered, however faint; but the colony had, doubtless, rapidly degenerated since the days of Seleukos; as indeed everything European does in India.

It appears here desirable to clear up a point which M. Goblet has left in some obscurity. After the Bactrian Greeks had settled in India they had two principal centres; one at Taxila—now Deri Shahān near Rāwal Pindi; the other at Enthydemia, usually identified with Sāngala in the District of Jhang. It is in one or other of these places that all the purely Greek remains have been found, with the exception of one or two pieces of sculpture. The so-called Gandhāra objects—the Corinthian columns and the Buddhist images found in the Yusafsai country—are all Roman or Byzantine, belonging to a later period

and a different series altogether. It was the fate of the Bactrian Greeks to die out by slow degrees, as a degenerate race, absorbed by their Indian surroundings: somewhat as would have happened to the adventurer George Thomas, had he succeeded in founding a dynasty of Eurasians in Hurriāna. A couple of centuries later a Scythian kingdom arose S. E. and E. of Cabul, into which Roman travellers made their way up the Indus, having landed at Barygaza (the modern Barōche). But it is worse than idle to consider them or their influence when examining the action of Hellenic culture upon India; neither the time, the place, nor the men themselves can be fairly brought within our immediate purview.

We return, therefore, to the Greek Colony driven from Bactria and settled in the Sind-Sagar Duab, between the Indus and the Jhelam. Their superiority in war, and their skill in art and science, were at one time sufficiently obvious to be recognised in popular poetry, and this period may be safely assumed to have been the last century preceding the Christian era. It even seems that they were held to be a kind of *Kshattria*, the class peculiarly regarded as hereditary nobles and warriors. They encouraged sculpture and architecture, affected taste on coins and medals, and possessed some, at least, of the more popular Greek books—especially the *Iliad*. In their early days they worshipped Zeus and Heracles, and one of the best and oldest statues—found, it is true, west of the Indus—was certainly intended for Pallas Athene. The culmination of this brief period was—we have seen—the reign of Menander. Of this king three coins from Mr. Gardner are engraved in M. Goblet's book, and each bears strong signs of likeness: the forehead being in each case high, the nose prominent, and the mouth and chin of refined boldness, on each we clearly read the Greek words ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΩΤΗΡΟΣ, while the reverse contains the Sanskrit translation.

M. Goblet derives his conception of the life and times of Menander from a sort of Platonic dialogue translated by Mr. Rhys Davids, and included in vols. 35, 36 of the *Sacred books of the East*, edited by Prof. Max Müller. But the picture there presented is probably no more than a brilliant mirage of the old writer's mind; and the chief interest of the drama, or historical fiction, that he has given us arises from the mental habits ascribed to the Indo-Greek King and the steps by which he was led to become a convert to Buddhism. The city of Enthydemia—described under the name of Sagala—may have been better constructed and better kept up than the clay-built towns and villages of which we are told by Arrian; but M. Goblet is probably right in referring for comparison to the *Arabian Nights*: this is the ideal offered:—"The streets

resounded with words of welcome addressed to the apostles of all creeds, and the teachers of every sect found an asylum there. . . . All the jewels heart could desire abounded; and the dealers in objects of luxury displayed their wares in bazaars extending to every quarter of the horizon. So full was the city of coins, and of objects of value in gold, silver and precious stones, that it seemed a very mine of dazzling wealth." In this brilliant scene we are to suppose the half-caste king, "instructed, eloquent and wise; a faithful and intelligent follower of his own religion." A master of all the sciences, he was an invincible dialectician, manifestly superior to the professional teachers and sophists. In personal qualities he was equally conspicuous, as much in bodily vigour as in wisdom; and his army consisted of countless brave soldiers. After reviewing his troops he was wont to devote the remainder of the day to conversation and discussion with the men of various schools of thought, whose presence in his capital has been already noticed. Like his great successor Akbar, he collected these sages around him, and bade each in turn expose and defend the several doctrines professed by each.

Nor was this the result of mere *dilettante* curiosity: Menander is presented to posterity as a sincere enquirer. "Venerable lord!" said a Buddhist doctor, to him, on one of the occasions under reference, "do you desire to argue as a scholar or as a king?" "What may be the difference?" asked His Majesty. "The difference" replied the sage, "is this: when scholars argue there is no violence, and the one who is convicted of error has to acknowledge his conviction. When the King disputes, on the other hand, those who disagree with him are liable to be punished by his people." "In that case," announced Menander, "let us be scholars: Your Reverence is free to cast aside all reserve, as if discussing with a colleague, a disciple, a slave."

This courteous monarch had often talked over matters of religion with the Brahmins who attended his Court; but these he had easily vanquished without the necessity of having recourse to regal argumentation. Weary of these facile triumphs, he had experienced the satiety of success. "Is there no one then?" he asked in his despair, "no philosopher or priest, who can set my doubts at rest? The land is void, it seems, of all but talk." Such was the mood in which Menander met the man who was to guide his feet into the way of peace: the Buddhist teacher, Nagasena by name, expounded the new doctrine, and prevailed over the scepticism of the earnest monarch, in virtue (so the Buddhist author is careful to assure us) of a long series of deserts acquired in former stages of existence: the King professed himself convince and embraced the creed of his antagonist.

What was the ultimate fate of Menander is not quite clear: though the story of his conversion is by no means improbable. Perhaps his family and followers were offended at his giving up the failing faith in Zeus and Pallas, and forced him to abdicate and retire to a monastery. Perhaps Plutarch was well-informed when he recorded that he died in camp, and that his ashes, after cremation, were distributed among the various cities of his vast dominion. In any case the dynasty did not long survive him, becoming extinct before the commencement of the Christian era. M. Goblet calls his reign the union of two conflicting civilisations, at the apogee of their development; but that is perhaps too strong. Hindu civilisation—even in the ancient form—was not fully developed at so early a period; and the sons and grandsons of the Bactrian Greeks could never have had more than the manners and customs of military hybrids. Nevertheless, the picture of semi European soldiers, endeavouring to found a kingdom in the Far East, is not devoid of a certain charm for those who are sensible of the similar antagonism.

If we leave these romantic scenes and address our minds to the practical results of that primitive contact of West and East, we shall find something, though perhaps not very much to reward us. The architectural influences of which, following in the steps of the late Jas. Fergusson, M. Goblet has so much to say, are in a manner ruled out of Court by the twofold consideration that they did not originate with Greeks and did not extend into India. Neither India nor Greece in those days used the arch; and the traces of arched buildings in the Pusafai highlands must have come either from Rome, Byzantium, or Persia. When we note the extremely floriated capitals of the columns out of which these arches spring without any entablature, the Roman (or Byzantine) alternative is almost forced upon us, in spite of the obvious difficulty of accounting for the presence of Romans in that remote nook. But, as we know that after the Christian era intercourse by sea began, by which Alexandria in Egypt was brought into regular communication with Barygaza (modern Baroch or Broach) it seems possible that Roman adventurers may have found their way, by Gujarat and Sindh, to the Indus: this route of course landing them in the neighbourhood of Pushpaura (or Peshawar) without their having occasion to enter the Punjab Proper. This immigration, though clearly distinguishable from the earlier settlement from Bactria, has an interest of its own as being that which probably introduced into Indian religion and mythology those Christian elements which have been the cause of so much discussion. But that was not one of the direct results of Grecian influence, which was con-

fined almost entirely to aesthetic matters, such as medal-casting, architecture, statuary, and some forms of literary art.

In this last ascription there is great danger of running counter to deep prepossessions. The drama of which Kalidasa is the representative has been highly extolled not only by natives but by Goethe and other famous Europeans: while the Great Indian epics have come to be venerated almost more as Scripture than as mere literature. But equally great works in both kinds have had to suffer analysis. The worshippers of Shakespere have been compelled to admit that their idol was not always original in his plots: orthodox believers have learned, without offence, that parts of the Bible are founded on Assyrian legends*: and admirers of Indian poetry must submit to be told that motives and incidents in their favourite works may have been inspired by the myths of Orpheus and Alcestis, the abduction of Helen and the Trojan War. A like indebtedness is found in science; while art shows Poseidon on a medal passing into an effigy of Shiva, and the carrying away of the serpent-queen by the bird of Vishnu modelled on the rape of Ganymede.

We must conclude by acknowledging that this obscure episode of history has not been adequately lighted up at present; and with hoping that further discoveries may give fuller information. Meanwhile, coins and medals dating from about 150 B. C. give irrefragable evidence of the existence of a Hellenic colony in the Punjab, while later remains attest the presence of European elements of culture in regions beyond the frontier. At no time was the culture high, and the later elements were probably of a merely imitative character. Absorbed and assimilated by Oriental surroundings, the Greek colony relapsed into the general ideas and habits of the indigenous community, much as the descendants of the present British denizens would do if the sea-power were taken from our country and India were once more left to her native princes. Some traces of British influence would linger for a time; and then "the brooding East" would resume her secular repose.

There was once a general consensus, on the part of all who took any interest in the subject, that Europe was debtor to Asia for all its higher culture. Great diminution must result to this belief from the discoveries so skilfully summarised for us by M. Goblet. In place of the old device "*Ex Oriente Lux*," the Royal Asiatic Society may end by adopting Virgil's alternative:—

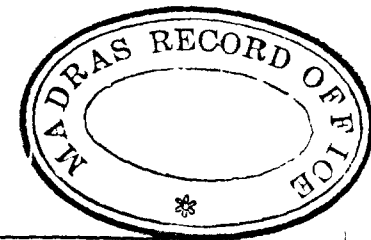
"*Aut redit a nobis Aurora, diemque reducit.*" It almost amounts to a reversal of former doctrines. Asia proves to be

* [This is misreading both the Assyrian legends, and the sources of Mosaic records.—ED., C.R.]

little more than a passive recipient; a soil lying inert until the wandering West digs it and implants new germs. After times find these either withered or run wild; and the jungle is once more lost to human uses until cleared anew and subjected to fresh seed and cultivation. It is painful to part with any long-cherished error; yet the plainest truth will be found more useful than the most picturesque delusion.

Count Goblet has, in this charming little work, adopted a quite undogmatic attitude; contenting himself with placing before his readers the result of modern research. Accepting the theory of an Aryan race with a primitive Diaspora, presumably from an Asiatic centre, he makes short work of supposed mythologic connections or obligations of Pythagoras and Plato. He does not believe in influences from Persia or India, affecting the ancient culture of Europe *before* the time of Alexander the Great; and *after* that time the influence was all in the opposite direction. The picture that he draws of the Greek stations in the further Punjab is imaginative but not without elements of fact; and he shows how—even after the communication between the colonists and the mother country had closed—Northern India continued for sometime to use the language and culture that the Greeks had left.

H. G. KEENE, L.L.D.



ART. II.—EUROPEAN AND HINDU SYSTEMS OF MUSIC.

(COMPARISON AND CONTRAST.)

THERE is not a single nation on the face of the earth, whether civilized or uncivilized, which is not in some degree susceptible to the influence of music. With the march of civilization, music, like its sister arts, has passed through various phases of development. The European music of the modern day is supposed to have attained its highest development, while the music of many Oriental nations is believed by foreign critics even as yet not to have progressed beyond a rudimentary stage. An appreciation of music like other things, truly follows the law of relativity. What is considered to be good music in one country is regarded as something akin to noise in another country. The highest forms of polyodic music are not relished, if not actually hated, by many whom simple melodies have pleased for a long time. Most fascinating melodies of the Hindu music fall flat on the highly-trained ears of the European. Such relativity of tastes is quite within human experience. There can therefore be no absolute standard by which music of different nations can be tested, "sounds sweet in themselves and sweet in their combinations, which yield to unfatigued ears intense pleasure, become at the end of a long concert not only wearisome, but, if there is no escape from them, causes of irritation," while such is the case with one and the same individual, how much more varied should be the tastes of nations born and bred in entirely different climes and under entirely different influences? It is therefore absolutely necessary that considerable discretion should be exercised in judging of the relative merits of any two systems of music.

It may not be considered to be a serious digression here to refer to a few reasons for the dislike of Europeans generally for Hindu music. In the first place, ignorance and want of opportunity are a few stumbling-stones in the way of a due appreciation of our music. Hindu music is imbedded in the almost impenetrable rock of abstruse Sanscrit which baffles all attempts to study it from original sources, and want of opportunity is an important cause for the prevailing ignorance as to the very existence of classical music among the Hindus. Street music is what generally Europeans in some of their hurried tours have come across, and these have no hesitation in concluding that it is the prevailing form of music of the

land. No more foolish generalization can be made. It is as fallacious as to conclude, from an acquaintance with one or two Frenchmen, Italians, or Russians, the characters of the entire nation. In many cases, the greater the ignorance, the greater is the presumptuous character of opinions expressed. On the other hand, many a European who has had the patience to study the Indian Literature has formed a more accurate estimate of the science and art of Hindu music. Another circumstance which blinds one to an intelligent appreciation of the materials at his disposal is prejudice by which he is easily led astray. "One's interests, fears, antipathies, likings, poetic ideals and religious sentiments" are a few circumstances which predispose even a fair-minded person to error. A man's ignorance may be excusable, but his utterances and opinions, based on preconceived notions, are entirely untrustworthy and must be received with caution. "A blind guide is certainly a great mischief; but a guide that blinds those whom he should lead is undoubtedly a much greater." Prof. Max Muller has truly observed: "We must not neglect to make full allowance for that very important intellectual parallax which renders it most difficult for a western observer to see things and thoughts under exactly the same angle and in the same light as they would appear to an eastern eye. A symphony of Beethoven's would be mere noise to an Indian ear, and Indian Sangita seems to us without melody, harmony, or rhythm."

The author of "An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer" says "We are born but with narrow capacities: our minds are not able to master two sets of manners, or comprehend with facility different ways of life. Our company, education, and circumstances make deep impressions, and form us into a character, of which we can hardly divest ourselves afterwards. The manners, not only of the age and nation in which we live, but of our city and family stick closely to us, and betray us at every turn when we try to dissemble, and would pass for foreigners. In a similar manner, unless we are perfectly well-acquainted with the manners and customs, and mode of life prevalent amongst a nation, and at the very juncture of time which the poet describes, it is not possible to feel the effect intended to be conveyed." How truly are these remarks applicable to such of the foreign critics as are determined to under-estimate the worth of the Hindu music without entering into its spirit and investigating the causes underlying its growth. A fair and unprejudiced enquiry would disclose beauties which are not recognised for want of leisurely research. Captain Willard, after remarking that foreign music would always be repugnant to the European

taste till habit reconciles itself to it, asserts with much force that "if a native of India were to visit Europe, and who, having never had opportunities of hearing music in its utmost perfection—who had never witnessed an opera, or a concert, directed by an able musician, but had merely heard blind beggars, and itinerant scrapers, such as frequent inns and taverns—were to assert that the music of Europe was execrable, it would perhaps never have occurred to his hearer that he had heard only such music as he would himself designate by the same title, and the poor traveller's want of taste would perhaps be the first and uppermost idea that would present itself." Helmholtz, remarking on a standard of musical judgment, writes: "The feeling for historical artistic conception has certainly made little progress as yet among our musicians even among those who are at the same time musical historians. They judge old music by the rules of modern harmony, and are inclined to consider every deviation from it as mere unskilfulness in the old composer, or even as barbarous want of taste."

Perhaps no nation has emphasized the importance of music to the same extent as the early Aryans of India. To them it was as indispensable as any of the necessities of life itself. The birth of a child is announced by music. The various ceremonies attending a youngster's schooling are heralded by music of some kind or another. A Hindu marriage is a continuous feast of music and the last, though not the least, one's final exit from this world is marked by that quaint but solemn music which combined with words of true philosophical import, makes one for the time being callous to all mundane affairs and makes grief itself sufferable. No festivities in India are celebrated without music and universality of its use for religious purposes is an acknowledged fact. The music that is referred to here does not on all these occasions necessarily partake of the character of any of its higher or classical forms; but the national custom strictly enjoins the necessity of some form of musical accompaniment, on such occasions which is certainly not felt to be obligatory in other nations, with whom it is more a matter of social convenience than one of religious obligation, the non-performance of which implies social odium.

No musical historian can ignore the value of the early Vedic hymns as an invaluable help in fixing a landmark in the progress of the musical science in general. No nation on the face of the earth has developed its musical talent in the infancy of its existence to the same great extent that the early Hindus have done and the Vedic hymnal chants have never been surpassed, if ever equalled, for their tonal beauty.* As a

* [Our very able writer on Hindu Music in making this assertion is not aware of the truly *Divine* melody and "tonal beauty" of the Hebrew

matter of course, they are not intended here to be compared with any of the modern advanced musical compositions of harmony and fugue or even the splendid strains of melodic succession. But none can fail to observe the inherent beauty of the distinctive cadences of these primeval songs whose solemn and majestic character can be realized only by listening to them as they are sung by a group of trained reciters.

Although careful research has established beyond doubt the antiquity of Hindu music, still critics are not wanting who would ascribe its sources to foreign and more especially to Greek influences. This tendency to refer every origin to Greek sources is as much to be deprecated as that on the part of another class of critics who would derive everything Grecian from Indian source. Much discretion has to be exercised in judging of original sources, and one country is not to be sacrificed for "a paltry prize which is hardly worth the cost." Meagre study and circumscribed vision are two dangerous factors in a critical valuation of an intricate subject. A comprehensive and impassioned consideration would facilitate the balancing of judgment on that side on which the best arguments have been advanced with the view of sifting truth from falsehood. The existence of musical modes among the Greeks which correspond to a few of the Hindu modes or ragas has been the cause of a considerable speculation that in this case the Hindu was the borrower. The holders of this view are, it is needless to say, in hopeless ignorance of the very elements of Hindu music, whose foundations are as old as the Himalayas themselves. This is a fond idea of those that had no opportunity to hear the classical music of the land. Even European savants who devoted their life-time to a sympathetic study of the Indian Literature and Arts, were diffident enough to express that "it is hardly fair that an art so little really understood even among the natives of India themselves should be judged by such a criterion and then put aside as worthless because solitary individuals have been deceived by parties of outcast charlatans whose object is mere gain."

Hindus might be accused by the Greeks for astronomical or other kinds of knowledge, but no student of musical history can be easily persuaded to place his faith in a direct origin of Hindu music. Though historically the division into seventy-two modes is of much later date, yet it seems to be sufficiently anterior to a period when the Greeks might be supposed to have influenced them. Hindu music is peculiar

Psalms. We are sure he would find it even worth his while to study Hebrew for this purpose; and, indeed, alter his opinion in regard even to the (merely) *sonorous* and *lythmic* Sanscrit Vedic Hymns.—ED., C. R.]

to the soil of its birth. Its distinguishing features are destructive to a faith in an influence. The modes of their employment are sufficiently distinctive in character to leave any the slightest doubt as to their foreign origin. The comparative paucity of the Greek modes points to sterility of the Greek genius*. A superficial knowledge of a few of the Hindu modes may, by their apparent resemblance, tend to create a doubt, but a sufficiently penetrating research would disabuse a reasonable mind of all hesitation as to their real origin which are of such great variety and structural beauty as to possess a unique character of their own. A musical dilettante who adheres to the former view may be supposed to argue in this way "why, this is exactly what the Ancient Greeks called Authentic Modes; (from Authentic, to rule) (*i.e.*) scales which exercised a superior power over other subsidiary scales, which were called Plagal; and I lay a wager that your distinction between melas and ragas will, on analysis, be found to be absolutely identical with this ancient idea of Authentic and Plagal modes, even if you can prove that it was not directly derived therefrom." To this it has been answered that "the distinction between Authentic and Plagal modes was really no distinction at all, the main difference lying in the compass or range of notes between the starting point and the Final. Three of the topmost notes in the Authentic modes were transposed below the tonic, so that the melodies in the Plagal modes commenced from the Dominant while the Authentic had their sounds comprised within an octave from the Final. This was the silliest of possible distinctions and has wisely been discarded in modern European music." The following extract from Haumann's History of Music will, on the other hand, shew the nature of Asiatic influence on the Greek music: "This insertion of quarter-tones may have been the result of Hellenic connection with the Orientals, who, as we already know, loved to glide from note to note by the smallest possible interval. It is, however, just possible that the Hellenes copied the procedure from their Asiatic neighbours, a practice which would greatly harmonize with the Hellenic theory of dividing tones into infinitesimal portions."

The European system of music recognises only two important modes, namely, the major and the minor, suited to purposes of harmony, whereas the Hindu system recognised seventy-two modes. The major and the minor are only two of the several modes falling under the Hindu classification of

*[As well argue about the "sterility of Greek genius" (!) from the Greek alphabet being fewer.—ED., C. R.]

modes. The comprehensive character of the Hindu musical system, may, not unjustifiably, give rise to the impression that the early Greeks might have interpolated their modes from the Hindus, and therefore have been the early borrowers. It is at the same time not inconsistent with reason to admit that they might have had an independent origin. But it is certainly puerile, if not absurd, to refer the Hindu modes to a Greek origin, as the early elaboration of Melakartos and Janaya Ragas gives sufficient indication of their independent origin, and no musical virtuoso can be unmindful of the immense variety of effects resulting from the many combinations of notes in the same scale, which was not the purpose for which they were employed by the Greeks.* Modern church music is still said to employ some of the Ancient Greek and ecclesiastical modes, which only proves their importance. Many of the Hindu modes are of such great beauty that their existence cannot be ignored in a proper appreciation of scales in general. It has been observed that "the wide divergence of taste in the matter of music between European and Asiatic nations has doubtless arisen from the fact that while Western nations gradually discarded the employment of mode, and clothed the melody with harmony, the Eastern nations in this respect made little or no progress, and now in India, the employment of authentic modes and melody-types (or ragas) is still jealously adhered to." Pure and simple melody is the basis of the Hindu, and for the matter of that, all Oriental music, whereas harmony which is "the practice of combining sounds of different pitch," is believed to be the exclusive music of the European nations. Helmholtz remarks "the essential basis of music is melody. Harmony has become to Western Europeans during the last three centuries an essential and, to our present taste, indispensable means of strengthening melodic relations, but finely developed music existed for thousands of years, and still exists in ultra-European nations without any harmony at all." Harmony is a plant whose native soil is Europe. It is curious that it has not succeeded in taking root in other soils where it has been transplanted and where it has proved exotic.

Melody plays the most important part in musical composition. Although it has gone through different phases, it will always continue to be the "soul of all music." The distinction between melody and harmony has been clearly explained in the following: "In simple phrase Melody is a well-ordered series of tones heard successively; Harmony, a well-ordered series heard simultaneously; Rhythm, a symmetrical grouping

*[The elaboration and perfection of the Hindu 72 modes, just as of the Hindu Alphabet, proves just the other way.—ED., C. R.]

of tonal tune-units vitalized by accent. The life-blood of music is melody and a complete conception of the term embodies within itself the essence of both its companions. * * *

* * * Melody is Harmony analyzed; Harmony is melody synthetized." It may be of much interest and instruction to study the several stages (and in this connexion the circumstances also that led to them) which melody passed through before harmony was recognised to be an important factor in the musical system of Europe; why, of all nations in the world, the Europeans should have become tired of melodic compositions; and why a form of music which still continues to give unbounded pleasure to *thousands* of individuals should have become an anachronism or simply appear in an unbecoming disguise, whereas even now its "more cultivated European sister should continue to please only *hundreds*." The musical antiquarian has a wide field before him for a critical investigation into the times when melody by itself presented a bare appearance and had to be clothed with harmony to justify its further existence, and at the same time for an estimate of the mental attitude of the oriental nations with whom melody has always constituted one of the many simple luxuries which gratified them beyond description.

The growth of melody through successive stages into modern harmony may be an interesting subject for consideration, but want of space forbids us from pursuing the subject at any great length. The ears of a modern European trained in the grandeur of harmony have an aversion for the barbarous music of the East whose melody is regarded as uncouth and rhythm, vague; though one is constrained to admit that harmony which is the *sine qua non* of modern civilized music is to Orientals, an unmitigated noise, meaningless and confused.

The discovery of the leading note is regarded by European musicians as the greatest triumph of the modern art; whereas from a melodic point of view, its use has always been considered by Oriental musicians as "effeminate, ear-splitting and heart-breaking." The use of accidentals which forms an important factor in the harmonising of chords is condemned by the Hindu musicians as exotic, and, in some cases, as outrageous intrusions. Modulation which is the change of tonic is to the Hindu a "deliberate breaking of regularity and destruction of symmetry." Some of the melodic successions of notes interspersed in elaborate pieces of harmonic music are highly charming, but the whole has not the same effect on the Hindu as it has on his more cultivated brother. Such a fundamental difference in appreciation must be attributed to something more than a mere want

of opportunity to acquaint oneself with different kinds of music. A greater patience, however, on the part of the European exercised in hearing our music would reveal to him the beauties of Hindu melodies which he fails to appreciate, being fully tinctured with prejudice. The Hindu, on the other hand, from a constant hearing of European bands, is in a better position to estimate the beauties of harmony, although frequent modulations and constant use of accidentals are repugnant to his ear. A musical critic writes: "But to many persons the noisy confusion of certain modern compositions for orchestras and voices is delightful; voices yelling and growling, and, in the orchestra, all sorts of heterogeneous instruments mingled together to make a chaos of deafening noises. When we find in a celebrated German orchestra, musical effects attempted to be produced by cracking of whips, firing of pistols, jingling of post-horse bells, ringing of bells of all sorts and sizes, thrumming on the Russian balalaika, beating of drums and so on, and all received with rapture by a civilized European audience, we may well be justified in saying that it is hard to tell what the human ear may or may not be trained to relish in music or rather in noise."

Many a European musical savant has recognized the importance of subordinating harmony to melody. The critic quoted above thinks that "the study of melody is by far too much neglected. Harmony has generally in these days usurped its place; and we find ten good harmonists according to rule for one good melodist. The reason is that a man without real musical genius may become a very good scholastic harmonist, while a great melodist must be a man of great genius. Handel was in his day one of the most remarkable musicians for general excellence in both melody and harmony; but he was a man of the highest musical genius, and his profound skill in all the harmony of his time could never altogether check the flow from the spring of melody which existed in his mind. * * * In the proper order of musical study, melody ought to precede harmony." Beethoven is said to have been placed under a master destitute of genius for melody but a profound harmonist and a learned writer of fugues and canons, etc. The result was that these lessons and rules served him as a 'telescope' to enable him to perceive a wide field of composition far beyond them all. In short he was a man of first rate musical genius, and therefore by nature a great melodist and fortunately for the world, his injudicious training could not extinguish his passionate feeling for melody and his charming expression of it in his best works." The strict jealousy with which his introduction of new modes into modern harmonies was viewed was sufficient to discourage even Beetho-

ven who, on his death-bed, said that his new quartette would "please some day." Carl Engel points out that "a fine melody is more important than the finest harmony." Rousseau declared harmony to be "a barbarous invention which we never would have contemplated if we had been more sensible of the true beauties of art and of music truly natural." Exaggerated though this may appear to be, still it may not be entirely devoid of truth. Melody is by musicians often called the soul of music; nevertheless it is lamentably neglected by many of our composers for the sake of harmony; and some skilful contrivance in the latter—the result of labour merely mental—is made to supply the want of expressive melody, the creation of which requires genius as well as talent, and is therefore beyond the power of many professional musicians. A really fine melody is expressive without harmony." Such is the opinion of one on the relative merits of melody and harmony who has not confined himself to the narrow groove of one form of music, but has impassionately and critically studied the melodies of various nations which have pretended to any kind of musical taste.

G. B. Doni, the Florentine musical amateur and antiquary, observes that "true melody is perfect and finished and as it were completely coloured." Captain Willard thinks that "there is no doubt that harmony is a refinement on melody; but much modern music, divested of the harmony which accompanies it, presents to us its blank nudity and want of that beauty which warranted the expression "and most adorned when unadorned the least." Although I may be very fond of harmony and it cannot but be acknowledged that it is a very sublime stretch of the human mind, the reasoning on harmony will perhaps convince the reader that harmony is more conducive to cover the nakedness, than shew the fertility of genius. Indeed, perhaps, all the most beautiful successions of tones which constitute agreeable melody are exhausted, and this is the reason of the poorness of our modern melody; and the abundant use of harmony which however in a good measure compensates by its novelty. At the same time we are constrained to allow that harmony is nothing but art, which can never charm equally with nature." Very frequently harmony contains little or no melody, properly so-called. It must be kept in view that harmony has its own peculiar means of producing effects, independent of melody, or at least of any prominent melody. It is more vague in its effects than melody, and being more complicated is less generally relished and understood than the latter. A chorus of Handel or a symphony of Beethoven requires a trained ear to relish and understand it fully. Haydn was a great advocate for melody. He used

to say "every composition that has a fine melody is sure to please," and experience proves the truth of the assertion. He was of opinion that "the most *recherché* and learned harmony without melody was only an elaborate noise, which, if it did not please the ear, excited neither the feelings nor the imagination." M. Rousseau and some other critics are believed to have expressed that music is not really improved by the use of harmony. The former produces various arguments to prove that "it is a barbarous and Gothic invention." Dr. Burney writes that "Tartini has asserted that melody is the offspring of harmony as being deduced from it. I cannot presume to dispute so great an authority, but I would only beg to question whether melody or harmony was first practised in the world. Every unprejudiced person will, I believe, coincide with me that although melody can certainly be deduced from harmony yet the former is the elder sister by many a thousand year. Notwithstanding the dependence of melody upon harmony, and the sensible influence which the latter may exert upon the former, we must not however from thence conclude, with some celebrated musicians, that the effects of harmony are preferable to those of melody. Experience proves the contrary." A few had gone the length of asserting that "modern melody has not the merit of the ancient and that harmony is used with the view of compensating for its poorness, and diverting the attention of the audience from perceiving the barrenness of genius." It is remarked by an eminent musician that "the pleasures of harmony though great, were monotonous, and could not express the momentary variations of sentiment, which are as fleeting as the light and shade of prospect, while the dappled clouds fall across the sky." In a similar strain another critic observes that "we may here likewise observe, that as all musical instruments without exception are inferior to that unrivalled gift of nature, a good voice and a single voice is not able to sing in parts, it may be deduced that music in parts was never intended by nature." These are a few opinions of some of the greatest European musicians whose unprejudiced investigations and patient researches had led them to express convictions which are at once honest and trustworthy and which experience easily convinces.

Harmony in the sense in which it is now employed is certainly absent from Hindu music. But some kind of harmony is believed to characterize the music of Oriental nations. Carl Engel believes "some Asiatic nations—as the Chinese Hindus, etc., seem the least to derive gratification from the employment of harmony—still with these also it is by no means so entirely foreign as has often been asserted. The instrumental accompaniments to their songs are always kept in

unison with the voice ; and they possess, besides, some instruments which if we may judge from their construction, are obviously calculated to produce chords, and which cannot be used for unison. Even the bagpipe which is found not only in almost every European country, but also in Hindustan, Tibet and other parts of Asia emits a rude kind of harmony in which the drones hold to the melody a relation called in musical composition *motus obliquis*. The accompaniment of a drone-bass bears therefore a close resemblance to the *Pedal*—a continuous bass-note as sometimes introduced by our composers."

We have thus passed in a hurried review the salient characteristics of melody and harmony ; the early birth of the former and the later growth of the latter ; the naturalness (so to speak) of melody, and the artificiality of harmony : how harmony found its native soil in Europe and how, though it has been transplanted in other soils, it could not thrive ; the causes which tended to develop harmony ; how the discovery of the leading note in the time of the first Crusades, led to the formation of the two important scales—the major and the minor ; how the use of accidentals and systematic change of keys, known as modulation had buttressed it up for duration ; how distinguished men like Rousseau and Dr. Burney were not so completely enamoured of its influence and how these emphasized the uses, importance and beauty of melody ; and lastly, how Oriental nations had some kind of harmony. All this has been reviewed perhaps to an undesirable length. But the importance of the subject will, I believe, justify the detailed account given above. The comparison, it would have been seen is not entirely against melody which, in spite of the harmonic tendency of the modern times, "was the beginning, and will ever be the essence of music through all ages," and which is deemed by even great harmonists to be essential for good music. I shall next attempt to bring out the prominent characteristics of Hindu music, which is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, systems, which has from time immemorial recognised the beauty of melody and revealed its extensive possibilities and which possess compositions which for their splendid style and fine structure are destined to survive all time, notwithstanding the development of harmony.

The important use to which the genius of the Hindus has applied music is the idea of Raga—a conception which appears to be unknown in the musical annals of other countries. The musical system is based on the true understanding and real enjoyment of the beautiful effects of Raga. The meaning of what is implied by it is rather difficult to make clear without much circumlocution. An approach to its true import can be effected

by explaining it as an elaborate improvisation of combinations of notes appropriately interspersed with the graces peculiar to each Raga and sung without words and devoid of rhythm, according to well-defined principles, tending to produce a highly pleasurable effect on the mind of the hearer. Raga literally means an affection, passion or feeling. According to *Bharata*, the original author of the system, each Raga has for its purpose, the play of one or another of the infinite number of passions that sway the human mind. Such was its supposed connexion with the passions that, according to *Sangita Narayana*, there were as many thousand Ragas as there were Gopis at *Mutra*, each being allowed to sing one Raga choosing a passion which is at the moment uppermost in her mind with the object of fascinating Krishna. In its physical aspect, it is a felicitous combination of the notes sung as in a fantasia. In its aesthetical aspect it makes "a direct appeal to the sense of hearing resulting in the sensations pleasing to the auditory nerves, and the pleasure derived from its affecting the higher emotions of the heart and the various indefinable feelings and yearnings begotten thereof is the most indispensable character of a Raga." The beautiful effects of a Raga are better felt than described.

With such significance attached to Ragas, the system of Ragas has come to occupy the most prominent place in the musical code of the Hindus. The more ancient system of Ragas and Ragines never seems to have taken root in Southern India. When, how and by whom the Carnatic system had been originally elaborated is difficult to guess, although tradition ascribes it to Narada and the northern system to Hanuman. The scanty materials at our disposal do not enable us to follow the tracing of the musical history of the South after this period. There can be no doubt that the system in vogue here is far more elaborate and scientific than its sister of the North, which is said to have had its origin in Nepal, the looseness of whose musical laws is attributed "to the transformation it had undergone during the long course of its existence, and in its travels through various countries where the free local peculiarities added to its continued metamorphosis and brought about a laxity which is opposed to strict canon." The system of Ragas and Ragines seem to be an arbitrary one. The classification into seventy-two modes is strictly scientific and is sufficiently comprehensive to include under that category every possible variety of note-combination. Excepting the use of accidentals which is not permissible it may be said to be complete for all purposes of melody formations.

The classification of the seventy-two parent modes which has been arrived at by an ordinary arithmetical process forms

the ground-work of the system.* These modes are framed on the principle that every possible combination of notes, which a refined ear can tolerate, should be admitted in the formation of the scales, so that not even an iota out of the enormously rich store-house provided by nature for creating emotional and sensorial effects may be left unutilized." Without going into the details of the process of their formation, it may be briefly stated that they are based on the chromatic division of the scale. Of these a few are highly popular, while the major portion of the modes has been relegated to the limbo of oblivion or only practised by those theorists whose object is not so much monetary acquisition or popular applause as an instructive desire to systematize and simplify the intricacies of the science. Their purity is well preserved and their utility as landmarks in the progress of the science is obviated by a scrupulous adherence to their real forms in spite of a want of popular appreciation. The service that has been thus rendered has been immeasurably great. Many of the popular modes of the Hindu music seem to have been freely utilized in European music. "It will be thus seen that although only two modes are stated to exist in European music, there are really three or four in ordinary use, all of which are in the Indian system. Besides these Melakarta No. 57 (Simbendramadhyama) is found in Hungary, while a good number of others are met with in Irish and Scotch melodies* * * *. The Oriental tinge is strongly visible in the melodies of Hungary, Andalusia, Sclavonia, Scandinavia and other European countries. Of all Spanish songs, those of Andalusia are the most beautiful. In these the Eastern element is deepest and richest, and the unmistakable signs of its presence are the following traits:—first, a profusion of ornaments around the central melody; secondly, a polyrhythmic cast of music,—the simultaneous existence of different rhythms in different parts; and thirdly, the peculiarity of the melodies being based on a curious scale which is apparently founded on the intervals of the Phrygian and Mixolydian modes."

Janya Ragas or secondary or derivative scales play a very important part in Hindu music. These scales have been distributed as Pentatonic, Hexatonic, and Septatonic, the last being the name for the parent modes themselves. The melo-

* [The writer may not be aware why? The *Cabbala*, the Universe of God in the Lord JESUS—the Truth—the Root of all Science, physical (including astronomical), physiological (including philological and ethnographic) or Divine—which is imbedded by Moses, by Divine Inspiration, in the *Pentateuch*, and embraces the whole of the Bible, to the Book of Revelation, contains the answer.—Ed., C. R.]

dies formed from the former two are very beautiful and highly pleasing. These scales have been again divided into Sudha, Chayalaga and Sankirna. Sudha Ragas are those which are strictly amenable to rules as enunciated by the ancient Rishis; Chayalaga are those in which foreign influences have worked changes sufficiently distinguishing them from their original nature and Sankirna Ragas partake of the characteristics of both. Many popular Ragas still preserve their pristine purity, which a few, though now and then deviating from recognised principles, have owing to their intrinsic beauty come to be regarded as indispensable for the purposes of good music. Their employment has received the sanction of singers with high musical repute. Some of the most attractive little pieces which are highly popular belong purely to the last class.

The singing of a Raga implies the bringing out of all the graces and embellishments peculiar to it. This species of singing seems to be entirely confined to Hindus among the nations of the world. Musical compositions abound everywhere confined within the limits of time-measurement rarely varied, but an elaborate singing of a Raga with an entire absence of words accompanying it, is a peculiar feature of the Hindu music. This species of singing is known as Alapa. It is the completest expression of a Raga by means of a few unmeaning syllables, such as To, Re, He, Tom or sometimes by words such as Sankara (a name of God, Siva). It is not confined to any tala or measure of time, and may be considered to be a sort of vocalization of successions of notes, whether slow or quick the passage from note to note should take place without the smallest change either of vowel-sound or of tone-quality, and without the slightest escape of useless breath and consequent cessation of vocal sound between the notes or evidence of mechanical effect."

The seventy-two modes and the many subsidiary scales derived therefrom form the main buttress of the Hindu musical system. An important place is assigned to them by some European musicians whose unprejudiced insight into the true principles underlying the science of music has enabled them to take a more impartial view of national systems of music. Reicha, the celebrated German philosopher and musician, in his volume of 36 Fugues proposed what he considered as a new system of scales, harmonies, and cadences which he considered as relative to the usual major and minor scales. He says enthusiastically "according to this system we should have two primitive scales, a major and minor and five relative ones, and by transposition, twelve primitive minor scales; in all eighty four scales and as many cadences. He further adds "it remains for philosophers and men of genius at a future period

to deduce all the consequences from this important system as well as from the compound measures, and their use. But the subtlety of a conventional taste, the ignorance and the prejudices as fatal to the progress of the arts, and which are peculiar to narrow minds, will be long opposed to such deduction."

The Hindu musicians have early recognised the importance of time-measurement as an indispensable accompaniment to singing. It is unnecessary in this short discourse to discuss the intricate theory of time which has been most elaborately worked out and systematized with a thorough-going accuracy. Many measures of time which have been introduced are, from their intricate nature and practical difficulty, to us only of a historical interest, and few singers will be found equipped with a knowledge of many of these elaborate Talas which can be utilized in the field of practice. The prodigious number of Talas is sufficient to stagger a beginner and few will be found equal to the task of mastering their complexities. Two modes of reckoning time have been employed;—one by reckoning Aksharas, for which the Anudruta corresponding to a Quaver, and the other by Matras whose unit of measurement is the Laghu corresponding to a minim. The Matra Talas have never been utilized in any musical compositions that have been in vogue. These were exclusively employed (if at all) for Pallavi-singing, which is a kind of fantasia abounding in grace where the Raga elaborated *ad libitum*, being throughout governed by a Tala selected for the time being, when the musician not only has to exhibit his knowledge of the principles of the Raga, a strict regard being paid to the Tala selected. Pallavi-singing is regarded as the highest test of a musician's capabilities, though very often it seems to become monotonous and dull owing to want of variety in either the Raga or the time-measurement.

The more important and the more popular are the Jati Talas which are thirty-five in number, the principal varieties being the Eka, Roopaka, Tripufa, Mattya, Dhruva, Jhampay, and Ata Talas, each of which is subdivided into five subsidiary measures which vary according to the value of the Laghu is the constituent element in a bar. But, as the popular mind does not trouble itself with the intricacies of the science but is generally satisfied with ordinary measures of time which sufficiently enliven music, composers had to confine themselves only to a few Talas which from their simple character have greater effect.

In the European system, two measures of tune, *viz.*, simple and compound tune are recognised. Here the rhythmic value of the bar is determined, not by the number

of notes it contains, but by the number of its beats. A measure is said to be in simple tune "when each beat is a whole note, and therefore divisible by two; and compound tune when each beat is a dotted note and therefore divisible by three." The most common forms of the simple tune are the *Alla Breve* which contains in every bar, four beats, each represented by a minim (laghu) or its value in other notes; the common or four crotchet tune containing four beats in a bar, each beat being represented by a crotchet or its value in other notes. The forms of compound Time, most commonly used, are Twelve-four Time with four beats in the bar, each beat represented by a dotted minim or its equivalent, three crotchets; Twelve-eight Time with four beats in the bar, each represented by a dotted crotchet or its equivalent, three quavers; Twelve-sixteen Time, with four beats in the bar, each represented by a dotted quaver or its equivalent, three semi-quavers. There are also other measures of Time, such as unequal or Triple Time, compound Triple Time, quintuple and nonuple Times which are only rarely used. It will be thus seen that the European measures of time are comparatively simpler than the complicated *Talas* of the Hindu system. Simple measures are always fascinating and glide smoothly with music. The *Matra Talas* and their intricacies are least calculated to enlighten the music with which it is associated. They have, therefore, been wisely discarded. The European measures of Time are far more natural and easily understood and followed. The spontaneous activity they give rise to points to their inherent importance as a superior auxiliary to music.

We shall next consider the systems in the light of 'Agremens' or graces which embellish the music in each. Their greatest value is that they elucidate the character of music. A plain singing of the notes is not calculated to please the ear. It is the musical embellishments which enliven and improve it, without which all music will appear empty and meaningless. Though there is no doubt that a long time must have elapsed since the graces came to assume their present forms, still no music, however primitive, seems to be without at least some simple graces. The drawing and elongation of notes which characterise the folk-songs of every country point to primitive efforts at musical ornamentation. In the course of their evolution, many at first employed were replaced by others, till the national voice has secured for them a permanent place. The earliest in the European music is said to have been the invention of a celebrated French organist of the time of Louis XIV. But they were not actually codified and no definite rules for their application were laid down until

Emanuel Bach treated them fully. As is the case with music in general, an appreciation of the graces of any musical system is only relative. The favourite graces of one nation are discarded by others who prefer their own. It may be broadly stated that the most important circumstance which has tended to differentiate one system from another, is the peculiar characteristics of the graces which one nation gives preference to, as compared with others. Many of those embellishments that are highly valued and appreciated by Europeans, are least likely to find favour with orientals generally.

The graces recognised in the Hindu system are varied and complicated in character. The earliest works on Hindu music make mention of several *Gamakas* as having been in use. Some restricted them to fifteen, and others to a still greater number. Judging from those now generally employed, those that were formerly employed must have differed considerably from their modern substitutes. Those that are now frequently employed can be divided into classes, namely, *Gamaka Jati*, and *Varika Jati* including what are known popularly as *Ravi Jati*. These may be compared to the "smooth and staked graces" which are supposed to have characterized old English music. The smooth graces (or *Varika*) are the more simple which are well-adapted to stringed instruments of the violin group, where they are executed by sliding the finger along the string. *Gamaka Jati*, in the restricted sense of the term, perhaps corresponding to the "skaked graces" are adapted to *Vina*. An expert musician's test of skill is the productive of *Gamaka* graces with the best and most accurate effect. In vocal music, all these varieties can be produced without much effort. The employment of quarter-tones which is disliked by Europeans has facilitated the introduction of the 'shaked graces' which have now become a *sine qua non* for music of the best kind. The theory of the Twenty-two *Srutis* has obviated the employment of quarter-notes. A sort of *gliding* from one note to its adjoining notes through the intervals of the *Srutis* composing the note or notes is what constitutes the beauty of Hindu music and which does not so readily appeal to the ears of other nations whose music may be said to skip rather than smoothly glide.

Hitherto, I have considered the more important features of the European and Hindu systems, such as the comparison of melody and harmony, the use of accidentals and modulation on the one hand and the theory of *Ragas* and their subsidiary scales on the other. It may be interesting, as well as desirable, to study a little more minutely some of the more important details which accentuate the difference between the systems.

The use of the leading note in European music may be taken to be the basis of harmony and counterpoint. The reason why it is called by preference the leading note is supposed to be "its melodic tendency to lead up to the most important note in the scale." It is not found in the early Greek and ecclesiastical scales. It was at first looked upon with disfavour so much so that Pope John XXII passed an edict against it in 1322. But its position in the scale immediately below the tonic and separated from it by only a semi-tonic led musicians to adopt it for purposes of harmony. But this note seems to have been recognised very early by the Hindus, as it is found in the earliest Hindu scales. It is found employed in the early Vedic chants. It had, however, never attained the importance which it did in Europe. It is only one of the four notes which lead to the tonic, *viz.*, *Shudha Dhivata Chatusruti Dhivata*, *Kisiki Nishada*, and *Kakali Nishada* (the leading note of the European music). There are many beautiful scales which end in these four notes. Especially the scales which have the ending of *Chatusruti Dhivata* are very much appreciated and liked by the Hindus. In the European music, a cadence without the leading note is considered to be imperfect; but in Hindu music, cadences of all sorts are found, which are very beautiful and which contribute to their highest enjoyment. The only modes recognised in the former are the major and the minor, which correspond to *Dhirasankarabharana* and *Natabhiravi* of the Hindu music. Two other forms of the minor scale in use correspond to *Kiravani*, and *Gouri-manohari*. Even here the ascending and descending scales differ. In the European music, the seventh note of the minor scale is sharpened in ascending for the purpose of assimilating the cadence with that of the major scale, with a view to harmony; whereas in Hindu music the ascending and descending scales are the same. In some cases (in the case of *vakra* or irregular scales) though the scales in ascending and descending differ, the difference is not due to an introduction of any note foreign to the scale, but the same consists the different arrangement of the notes. European music is entirely based on the use of accidentals. Europeans delight in the free interpolation of accidentals (*i.e.*) sharps and flats foreign to the key-signature of the mode. In Hindu music, accidentals are strictly prohibited, but they have crept into some *Ragas*, such as, *Khamboji*, *Bhiravi*, *Sarang*, *Natakuranji*, *Gowlipantu*, *Atana*, *Sourashtra*, etc. "Accidentals are strictly forbidden in purely Indian modes, and are only tolerated conditionally in the case of a few exotic melody moulds; but this does not create monotony. Endless variety is obtained by modulation from *mode* to *mode*, as in the case of *Raga malikas*, but this

is subject to the inexorable law that "all such-transitions should be made without changing the key-note."

The usual method of determining pitch before commencing any piece of vocal music, is in the European method *c, e, g, c*, (*sa, ga, pa, sa*), with *c* natural (Antara Gandhara) for the major mode and *c* flat (Sadharana Gandhara) for the minor mode, in the ascending scale and *e, g, e, c*, (*sa, pa, ga, sa*) in the descending scale. In the Hindu music, it is *c, g, c* (*sa, pa, sa*) which is common to all the seventy-two modes, in both ascending and descending scales.

In European music, all melodies commence with some one or other of the Sruti notes, *Do, Mi, Sol, Do*, or *La, Do, Mi, Sa*, as this facilitates part singing. In Hindu music the initial notes depend upon the Raga which is sung, those notes which bring out its true characteristics, being generally those with which the Raga is commenced. But the ending is always with the key-note. The belief held by European musicians that the singing among us ends anywhere or on any note is wrong. Sometimes a piece is closed with *Parchama*, or the fifth note, which is rare and is resorted to for the sake of variety. "In European music the Sruti notes sounded before beginning a piece to determine the pitch at which it has to be sung, always include the third or *Mi* (Gandhara). This note is deliberately omitted in Oriental pitch determination, because its signature varies in so many of the modes, whereas the notes *Sa, Pa, Sa*, remain immutable and are applicable to all in the seventy-two mela-karthas. In European music, however, it is precisely this third which is the characteristic note distinguishing the major from the minor mode, being the Antara Gandhara in the former, and the Sadharana Gandhari in the latter. This note also plays a most important part in Harmony. Another important distinction counts in the sequence of notes in a melody, which proceeds more by degrees (*di grado*) in Oriental music, following closely the Arohana (ascending) and Avarohana (descending) of the scales, while the movement is more by skips (*di salto*)—*Dhalu*—in the music of the West."

It has been pointed out above that the measures of tune in European music are more simple than those of the Hindu music, symmetry in the arrangement of music being more cared for and value of notes being more or less uniform. On the other hand the *talas* of the Hindu music are more complicated and less easily comprehended. It is difficult for ordinary persons to at once indicate the true value of a measure or its beats, while all sorts of unexpected positions in a bar are emphasized, which tends to mystify the hearer, so that the charm of music is sacrificed to a comprehension

of the measures employed. The so-called *Vishama* (irregular) *talas* are specially difficult to follow owing to the beats falling on unimportant positions. The most important use made of these measures is in what is known as *Pallavi*-singing which perhaps bears some remote resemblance to what is called the 'working out' in the European music. This consists of three sorts of movements, of which *Pallavi*-singing may correspond to the development portion where "the music is carried on by working out or developing the figures and phrases of the principal subjects, by reiterating and interplacing the parts of them which are most striking and subjecting them to variation, transformation, fugal treatment, and all the devices both technical and ideal of which the composer is master." I do not mean to say that *Pallavi*-singing corresponds actually to the description but certainly differs from it in several respects. But still so long as the form of the movement is concerned, the composer or the singer in both cases is left to a great extent to his own resources and judgments; the variations and transformations to be employed depend upon his consummate knowledge of the subject and his powers of improvisation, which, either in vocal or instrumental music, are regarded as the test of the highest culture. The characteristics of *Pallavi*-singing are described below: "A stock subject is taken up—generally the first words of a well-known song consisting of one *Avarta*—from which the musician proceeds to extemporize variations without end, first confining himself within the limits of this *Avarta* and reverting to the original theme at each step, in strict conformity to the requirements of the science, and then interweaving an elaborate net-work of labyrinthian wanderings around the principal theme, starting at different positions on the scale intermingling *swaras* with the *sahitya*, doubling and quadrupling the original tune, changing the Raga and so forth. The existence of stereotyped melody-moulds facilitates improvisations of this character which are so original and variegated that the performer when encored is seldom able to repeat the same strain in the same way as he first sang it." This execution of *Pallavi*-singing is a very difficult task, and can only be undertaken by musical experts, not unfrequently this is performed to a weary length and then it becomes positively tiresome.

Such is a very brief sketch of the two systems in their important details. It is impossible to reconcile them now, the divergence having become pronounced in the course of ages. The Oriental mind is conservative and change of any kind is resented, whereas the European longing for novelties is prepared to assimilate anything from whatever source it might be received. It is not likely that Hindu music can be im-

proved by foreign methods, though variations may be borrowed for subordinate purposes. The stage music of the modern day has borrowed some of the fine tunes of English music, whose spirit and racy style favour their reception, but it should be remarked that a wholesale assimilation would positively disfigure our music. Some attempts to play our Ragas on the model of European note-combinations have met with serious disapprobation and they are not likely to be repeated. My task is now done, and I have only to hope that indulgent critics would view the drawbacks (if any) of Hindu music in a favorable light, as it is one of the standing systems which have been the fountain-source of many a modern one. A common bondage will, I have no doubt, unite the votaries of the two systems, as music is, in the words of Swinburne,

"A tone

Of some world far from ours,
Where music, and moonlight and feeling are one."

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU, M.R.A.S.

ART. III.—WILL ENGLAND RETAIN INDIA?

UNDER this title the veteran journalist, Meredith Townsend, has put forth a collection of papers, contributed from time to time, during the past twenty years or so, to various periodicals of London. Readers will look elsewhere for criticism of the literary sort, of the clear exposition, the brilliant technique, perhaps the occasional falsetto. It is our province to enquire into the political qualities of the series; and to ask how far the statements and conclusions are likely to be useful in the formation of opinion. Especially, will those interested in British India, turn to the paper, headed with the question, "Will England retain India?" which he answers with a negative. Now, as to this prognostic, we may say at once that Mr. Townsend adduces abundant reason for the opinion that the gradual admission of Indian natives to the various branches of the service might eventually lead to a virtual transfer of power from our hands to theirs: barring the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and one or two other high functionaries, all Indian officials will be, possibly, Hindus and Native Moslems, outside the ranks of the European military officers. That, at least, is a conceivable outcome of the competitive system, supposing that the Asiatic candidates should become so numerous and so competent as to swamp the whole of the Christian competitors. But this, unlikely as it seems, might yet happen without breaking up the existing relations between the two countries.

Mr. Townsend bases his pessimistic forecast mainly on the impossibility of a genuine feeling of loyalty on the part of the Indian races towards the representatives of the Empire. And it is just here that the weakness of the whole fabric may be found. For, if the absence of loyalty be not general, or tending to become general, then the forecast, that the Indian races will shake off the British yoke, must lack foundation.

Mr. Townsend was best known in recent times as the Editor—with the late R. H. Hutton—of the *Spectator*, one of the most esteemed of London weeklies. Nevertheless, his apprenticeship to journalism was not passed in London, but in Calcutta—or rather in the suburbs of Serampore—where he, with much success, conducted the *Friend of India*, at a time when that periodical enjoyed the favour not only of the Bengal public but of the Government of India. But such an apprenticeship, it is important to observe, was by no means an ideal training-ground for an Indian publicist. Calcutta is not even now—still less was it in the days of Lord Dalhousie—

a central capital of India. It might, in the winter, afford headquarters for the Supreme Council and some of the Departments; but to the bulk of the natives it was no more, otherwise, than a quasi-maritime entrepôt at the mouth of a river in Bengal. And Bengal was a remote Province with a population of peculiar habits and character, speaking a language of which no one else understood a word; in short as much—and as little—interesting to a man at Lahore as Rio de Janeiro can be at this moment to a Mexican. How, then, was the Editor of an English journal in such a place, (before the existence of railways) to form a completely accurate judgment of the state of public opinion all over a peninsula, as large and at least as well-populated—to take Mr. Townsend's own words—as Europe, west of the Vistula?

If we wish for a concrete example of this difficulty we could not find a much better instance than one which is afforded by the author's statement—positive, as is usually the case with him—to the effect that the people of India have never submitted to alien rule. The fact being that they have never done anything else, so far as can be ascertained; from the time when they were conquered by Dravidian and Aryan invaders to the days of Lord Ripon's self-government resolution, when they declared piteously that it was the business of the British Civilians to conduct their affairs, and were as aggrieved at being asked to take part in administration as the members of the Carlton Club would be if they were suddenly called upon to bring up their own dinners from the kitchen. The main need of Asiatics is not to govern but to be governed; and so long as they are governed well there are no more grateful people. Mr. Townsend talks about the Mutiny-time: had he been up-the-country in fifty-seven he would have seen the truth. In Oude, indeed, there was active sympathy with the sepoys; and for this many cogent reasons existed into which there is no time or space to enter here. But in the older Provinces there was no such feeling shown; in the latest conquered—the Punjab—least of all. People who did not rebel against a ruined government that could not rule its own soldiery and appeared to have no other available force, were not in a state of very active discontent.

As to "loyalty" as a sentiment, Mr. Townsend does not show any sign of a sense of Asiatic feeling on the subject. Has he never heard of the *Condottiere*, Michel Raymond, who died in the Deccan more than a hundred years ago; nor of John Nicholson of days much nearer our own? Does he not know of the homage extorted by the valour and justice of such men, so that their tombs are to this day shrines of perpetual worship and sects are called by their names? Or,

to take a still more recent case, has he not read what Mr. Theodore Morison of Aligurh has to say of the almost idolatrous regard in which the late Queen was held, and which so clings to her memory that the comparatively poor community of India has contributed three times as much as we in Britain to raise her monument?

Doubtless, the peoples of the Great Peninsula are entitled—if they so desire—to look forward to a day when, their consolidation having been completed and their political training made adequate, their present teachers and guardians may retire and leave them to their own devices. If the people of our Islands found that all posts of honour and emolument in India were occupied by natives, there would be no other interest left for them, but what belonged to commerce; and for commercial interests due provision would be made if Britain retained Bombay and Calcutta as she retains Hong-Kong. But that solution is widely different from that which is contemplated by the able but pessimistic publicist from Serampore. What has impressed him is the opinion of the "Babu" class: and probably the same feelings exist in most large towns where Pleaders and Editors of vernacular papers get together to moan over the absence of adventure and gain. That class is very likely fostered by the Pax Britannica; but their opinion is only their own. They represent no one but themselves; and they will never expel the British. And here we are brought to the last and the most plausible of all the arguments that are urged in support of Mr. Townsend's unwelcome hypothesis. If the public opinion of India were not strongly in favour of cashiering the foreign administrators, why he asks—should the vernacular Press be so universally disloyal? The conductors of newspapers do not habitually maintain opinions that are at variance with those of their readers: acting and reading on each other, the public reads what it likes to read, and the Press echoes and enforces the public sentiment. Well, that is the case where newspapers are generally read; but it is notoriously not the case in countries like Russia where the bulk of the population is absorbed in the pursuit of life's necessities and without the habit of reading. Even less is it so in India, where so few of the men read and none of the women: the newspapers in which the spirit of disloyalty is shown are not produced for the public: their primary object being to terrorise native officials and levy blackmail, it is enough if the sentiments and tone are such as to ventilate the grievances of the *Umedwar* class and foster the envy, hatred and malice of disappointed graduates.

What, then, is the conclusion? Surely not that there is yet in India a consolidated nationalism, a united community,

inspired by patriotic ardour and yearning for political independence. A Poona Pundit, a Bengali Babu, does not take the same view of things as a Tamul ryot or a Punjab lumberdar. Eighty per cent. of the vast and varied millions in India subsist by incessant application to agriculture. *Rāya*—the root of our “Ryot”—only means “protected,” and the desire of the peasant is to be protected at his plough and to live without observable taxation. And both of these ideals are satisfied by the “British Raj.”

Unless where dogmatic inaccuracy seems likely to enforce erroneous conclusions it would be ungenerous to dwell upon the misstatements of so distinguished a writer as Mr. Townsend. Doubtless, he has acquired, in the course of his journalistic experience, a belief that to convince the average reader there is nothing more effective than a tone of peremptory oracle unfettered by fact. Every successful writer has his way; and this is sometimes the way of Mr. Townsend. But, however striking or however plausible it be, the public ought to have protection against unfounded assertion used as a basis of reasoning. When Mr. Townsend asserts that no European could rise as Haidar did in the Deccan or Runjeet in the Punjab, he forgets obvious facts like the existing dynasties of Sweden and of Leuchtenberg; but no dangerous doctrine is placed before the reader. It is otherwise when we are informed that Asiatics are never conquered and that India has never endured a foreign yoke. If that were so, the pessimism of the book would have more justification; but it is not. Alexander found no difficulty in conquering Asia; and the power of his successors endured for ages, as has been abundantly shown by Count Goblet d'Alviella. India endured the yoke of various foreign invaders from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries of our era; nay, Mr. Townsend himself draws attention to the sentiment of the sepoys in fifty-seven, who voluntarily rallied round the phantom of the Great Moghul representative, as he was, of alien conquest. A profitable antidote, to what is wrong in this undoubtedly interesting book, will be found in a similar collection of papers by Captain Mahan, U. S. A. From him we may learn a lesson of true statesmanship. Each continent is useful to the other; but in borrowing ideals, the less progressive ought to apply them on indigenous lines. A better feeling may be thus fostered; and the word of Virgil accomplished—*sic redit à nobis Aurora, diem que reducit*.

C.S., C.I.E.

ART. IV.—LIST OF LITERARY LANGUAGES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

I HAD long considered that it was desirable to compile a list of this sort; it seemed better to divide the subject into two Sections:

I. Literary Languages, and Dialects.

II. Illiterate Forms of Speech.

The first Section is quite clear: where there is a Text in existence of a form of speech in some intelligible Written Character, Grammars and Dictionaries spring up round this Text, and we are dealing with something real and substantial. In the other Section we find only names of rude Dialects, Patois, and Jargons, some one of which may eventually settle itself down into a Language, but is not yet worthy of the name. So my attention is restricted to the first Section. If anyone thinks, that I have omitted any form of speech, this must be my excuse: I do not consider it as yet a Literary Language.

I wished the thing to be done, so I addressed the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, which I had joined as far back as 1851, in the following letter:

Sir,

I have the honour to suggest to you the expediency of preparing and publishing in the year 1900 Maps and Lists, exhibiting the number of Languages spoken in the British Dominions, and that a copy be presented to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Such a list of names, and the wide distribution of those names, present Phenomena, which have never been equalled in the History of the World, as every variety and Family of Languages is exhibited.

At some subsequent period, but unconnected with this proposal, it would be expedient to publish a specimen of each of these Languages representing the words “God Save the Queen.”

As a Fellow of this Society for a very long period, I beg to tender my gratuitous services in the preparation of these lists, and should be proud to be permitted to be so employed.

I beg to subscribe myself, your obedient Servant,

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST,

Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

October 23, 1899.

SUGGESTIONS OF DETAIL.

- I. That the last year of the Century be assumed as the date, and the five portions of the World, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, as the Geographical Divisions.

2. That each Division be represented by a small Map, and a separate numerical List of Languages be prepared for each Division : the number of the Language only to be exhibited on the Map.
3. That these Maps be prepared in the office of the Royal Geographical Society. They will not all be of the same size: that of Europe will be very small, as there are only ten Languages spoken in British Dominions in that Continent : English, Welsh, Gaelic, Erse, Manx, German, French (in the Channel Islands), Spanish (at Gibraltar), Italian and Arabic (at Malta). In Asia and Africa the number will be very large.
4. The undersigned, having compiled several volumes and treatises on the Languages of different parts of the World, is able to supply a correct list of names, properly expressed and spelt, and to enter their numbers in the proper place, and draw up a list as nearly as possible correct and up to date. He has the advantage of many valuable referees, such as Mr. Ray for Oceania, and the lists of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, etc., etc.
5. The words "British Dominions" shall for this purpose be held to include "Semi-independent States," "Protectorates," "Spheres of influence," and "Hinterlands," in fact, every part of the World in which England is the Paramount Power to the exclusion of any interference by another State.

R. N. C.

I received the following reply:

I, SAVILE ROW, BURLINGTON GARDENS, W.
14th November, 1899.

Dear Mr. Cust,

The Council have given their earnest consideration to your proposal to prepare for publication by the Society a list of Languages spoken in the Queen's Empire at the end of the Nineteenth Century, to be embodied in maps prepared by the Society. The Council desire to assure you of their appreciation of your extended labours in this connection, and their sense of the interest which such a work would have. But they do not consider that it comes within the scope of the Society to undertake a publication so purely linguistic in character, and as there are many heavy calls of a geographical nature on the Society's resources, the Council desire to express their regret that they do not see their way to comply with your request.

Expressing my personal regret at having to send you so unfavourable a reply.

I am, yours very truly,
J. S. KELTIE.

I then applied to the well-known Cartographer, who had assisted in the maps to my published volumes on the Languages of the East Indies and Africa, but my proposal did not find acceptance, so I had to fall back on my own resources. I looked around me to see what materials were already available.

I. "The Imperial Souvenir," by H. Anthony Salmoné, Christmas, 1897, being a Translation of the Third Verse of the National Anthem rendered into Fifty Languages, spoken in the Queen's Empire. Some of them are dead Languages, such as Hebrew and Sanskrit : in other respects the execution is worthy of praise.

II. A most pretentious volume: "The Lord's Prayer in 400 Languages." This, of course, embraced a wider area than the Dominions of the Queen, and the execution is wholly inaccurate and insufficient. The order of arrangement is Alphabetic, instead of being by Geographical Regions. The same form of words of the identical Language entered twice over under different names, such as Norwegian and Danish. The nomenclature of Languages incorrect. Dead Languages such as Hebrew, Sanskrit, Samaritan, Slavonic, Syriac entered: the same Language entered in two forms of script with a view to swell the sum-total: in fact, all the blemishes appeared which attend a list compiled unscientifically. I allude to this as a caution to future compilers of similar works prepared merely for show, and not for use.

III. The List of Translations of the Bible and other Books of the following Societies:

- (1) British and Foreign Bible Society.
- (2) Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- (3) Religious Tract Society.
- (4) Other Societies, English or Foreign, of the same kind.

I was employed the best part of the year 1900 in working out my *Œcumenical* List of Bible Translations in the whole World, and in whatsoever country prepared: the restrictions upon entry on the list were threefold:

I. Each entry must consist of at least one Book of the Bible.

II. It must be in print and actual circulation.

III. The translation must not be obsolete.

This being done and in print, it was necessary to find out within the area of what kingdoms each Language was spoken, and then to compile a *bonâ fide* list of Translations into forms of speech spoken by Nations or tribes the subjects of the Empire of Great Britain: this was a laborious task and required peculiar experiences.

The dominions of Great Britain were taken in the widest sense:

- (1) The Mother Country.
- (2) Colonies.

- (3) Dependencies.
- (4) Protectorates.
- (5) Spheres of Influence.
- (6) Hinterlands.

This required some degree of Geographical Knowledge, but I think that the task has been accomplished.

The rough materials being ascertained, they have been distributed in the Five Portions of the Globe:

- (1) Europe.
- (2) Asia.
- (3) Africa.
- (4) America.
- (5) Oceania.

Maps may be subsequently prepared, and the Forms of Speech of each portion of the Globe be printed on separate sheets for the convenience of entering new names as time goes on.

It was my good fortune for many years to pass week by week from the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies to the Bible House and Christian Knowledge Society, and thus to approach very different sources of knowledge, as the Geographer would know nothing of the name of a newly translated Language and the Translator little or nothing of the Geographical position of the Language which he translated. Having myself compiled volumes on the Languages of the East Indies, Africa, Oceania, and the Caucasus Group in Asia, I know both features, and I had the materials ready for a sketch of the Languages of America should time be available.

In spite of omissions, and inaccurate entries, the first attempt must be made, and at the age of 80 I attempt. I shall welcome corrections for a Second Edition.

I have to thank Mr. George Grierson and Mr. Sidney Ray for their kind revision of my Proofs, and the corrections and additions made. Their knowledge is of a later date than mine. But I could hardly have accomplished my task so soon, had I not had the experience gained in compiling the Œcumenical List of Bible-Translations. Every Form of Speech honoured with a Bible-Translation is *ipso facto* a Literary Language. Many more are worthy of that honour, and will soon have it.

I. EUROPE.

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
1	English	...	... British Islands.
2	Welsh	...	... Wales.
3	Erse	...	... Ireland.
4	Gaelic	...	... Scotland.
5	Manx	...	... Isle of Man.
6	French	...	... Channel Islands.
7	Spanish	...	... Gibraltar.

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
8	Arabic	... Malta	... Isle of Malta.
9	Italian	...	...
10	German	... Yiddish	... Among the Jews in London.
	Languages	...	... 8
	Dialects	...	... 2
			Total ... 10

II. ASIA.

1	Greek	...	... I. of Cyprus.
2	Portuguese	... Indo-Ceylon	... I. of Ceylon.
			INDIA.
3	Persian	...	... Panjab and Sindh.
4	Baluchi	...	... On the Frontier.
5	Pashtu	...	...
6	Kashmiri	...	... Kashmir.
7	Panjabi	... 1 Standard	... Central Panjab.
		2 Dogri	... Hill Country.

8	Western Panjābi (Lāhada, Multāni, Uchhi, Déraval)	...	... W. Panjab.
9	Western Pahari	... 1 Chambāli	... Hill Country.
		2 Kangri	...
		3 Kuluhi	...
		4 Sirmauri	...
10	Khowar	...	... Chitrāl.
11	Shina	...	... Gilgit.
12	Sindhi	...	... Sindh.
13	Hindi	... 1 Standard	... North-West Provinces.
		2 Urdu or Hindustani	...
14	Eastern Hindi	... Awadhi	... East of Banāras.
15	Central Pahāri	... 1 Gurhwāli	... Hill Country.
		2 Kumaoni or Palpa	...
		3 Jaunsāri	...
16	Bengali	... 1 Standard	... Bengal and Oriya.
		2 Mahometan	...
17	Oriya	...	...
18	Bahāri	... 1 Maithili	...
		2 Magohi or Maghadi	...
		3 Bhojpūri	...
19	Kortha	...	... On the confines of Assam and Bengal.
20	Assāmi or Assamese	...	... Assam, Nepal, and Tibet Frontier.
21	Nepali	...	...
22	Lepcha or Rong	...	...
23	Lushai	...	...
24	Manipūr	...	...
25	Tibét	...	...
26	Garó	...	...
27	Angāmi	...	...
28	Khási	...	...
29	Mikir	...	...

LIST OF LITERARY LANGUAGES

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
30	Típara or Mrung	...	Assam, Nepal, and Tibet Frontier.
31	Khamti	...	"
32	Nora	...	"
33	Phakiyál	...	"
34	Tairong	...	"
35	Aiton	...	"
36	Rajasthání	1 Standard 2 Marwari 3 Jalpuri	Central India.
37	Khond	...	"
38	Gond	...	"
39	Kurku	...	"
40	Mandari or Kol	...	"
41	Santál	...	"
42	Malto or Rajmahali or Máler	...	"
43	Oraon or Kurukh	...	"
44	Gujaráti	1 Standard 2 Parsi	Bombay.
45	Maráhti	1 Standard 2 Konkani	"
46	Téluḡu	...	Madras and Ceylon.
47	Tamíl	...	"
48	Tulu	...	"
49	Toda	...	"
50	Koi	...	"
51	Malayálim	...	"
52	Kánnada or Kanarese	1 Standard 2 Bádaga Dákhani	"
53	Hindi	...	"
54	Sinháli or Cinghalese	...	"
55	Barma	...	Barma and Indian Archipelago.
56	Shán	...	"
57	Kachin	...	"
58	Karén	1 Bghai 2 Sgau 3 Pwo	"
59	Pegu or Mon or Talain	...	"
60	Nicobár I.	1 Standard 2 Nancouri	Andaman Is.
61	Alfuor	...	Celebes I.
62	Dyak	...	I. of Borneo.
63	Malay	1 Standard 2 Low 3 Samarang	"
CHINA.			
64	Canton	...	Hongkong.
65	Mandarin	...	Weihaiwei.
	Languages	...	65
	Dialects	...	20
	Total	...	85

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
III. AFRICA.			
A. NORTH.			
1	Arabic	...	Egyptian Sudan.
2	Nuba	...	"
B. EAST.			
3	Swáhili	1 Zanzibár 2 Mombasa	Zanzibar I. and Mainland.
4	Giryáma	...	"
5	Chagga	...	"
6	Sagalla	...	"
7	Pokómo	...	"
8	Kamba	...	Zanzibar I. and Mainland.
9	Gogo	...	"
10	Tavéta	...	"
11	Galla	...	Nyasaland.
12	Yao	...	"
13	Nkondi or Kondi	...	"
14	Nyanja	...	"
15	Nyasa	...	"
16	Nyika	...	"
17	Nganga	...	"
18	Tonga	...	"
19	Ngoni	...	Zambesi Province.
20	Sena	...	"
C. CENTRAL EQUATORIAL.			
21	Ganda	...	Uganda Province.
22	Toro	...	"
23	Nyoro	...	"
24	Sukúma	...	"
D. WEST.			
25	Kuranko	...	Sierra Leone.
26	Temne	...	"
27	Mende	...	"
28	Bullom	...	"
29	Susu	...	"
30	Akrá or Gá	...	Gold Coast.
31	Ashanti	...	"
32	Fanti	...	"
33	Ewé	1 Anlo 2 Popo	"
34	Yóruba	...	Lagos I. and Yorubaland.
35	Hausa	...	Niger Territory.
36	Ibo	1 Niger 2 Isoáma 3 Qua Ibo	"
37	Idzo or Ijo	...	Niger Territory.
38	Igbíra	...	"
39	Nupé	...	"
40	Effik	...	Old Calabar.
41	Umon	...	"
42	Akúnakúna	...	"
43	Dualla	...	Kamerún.
44	Isubu	...	"

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
E. SOUTH.			
45	Chuána	...	Transvaal, Orange State, Bechuana-land, Ba-Suto- land, Rhodesia, Cape Colony.
46	Pedi	...	" "
47	Dutch	... Cape	" "
48	Gwamba	... 1 Thonga 2 Ronga	" "
49	Shona	...	" "
50	Tabéle	...	" "
51	Suto	...	" "
52	Zulu	...	" "
53	Kafir or Xosa	...	" "
54	Khoi-khoi or Hotten- tot	...	" "
	Languages	...	54
	Dialects	...	4
	Total	...	58

IV. AMERICA.**NORTH.**

<i>Arctic Coast.</i>			
1	Eskimo	... 1 Greenland	Greenland, Labrador.
		2 Labrador	
2	Tukudh	...	Canada.
<i>Pacific Coast.</i>			
3	Haida	...	Columbia.
4	Kwagutl	...	Vancouver I.
5	Zimshi	...	Columbia.

CENTRAL.

6	Beaver	...	Canada.
7	Blackfoot	...	"
8	Chipewan	...	"
9	Iroquois	...	"
10	Kri	... 1 Hudson Bay	"
		2 Musoni	
11	Malisít	... 1 Standard	New Brunswick,
		2 Abenagui	
12	Mikmak	...	"
13	Mohawk	...	Canada.
14	Ojibwa or Saulteaux	...	"
15	Timné or Slavé	...	"

SOUTH.

16	Acawóio	...	British Guinea.
17	Karib	...	Honduras.
18	Yáhgán	...	Tierra del Fuego.
	Languages	...	18
	Dialects	...	3
	Total	...	21

No.	Language.	Dialect.	Region.
V. OCEANIA.			
POLYNESIA.			
1	Rarotonga	...	Harvey and Cook Is.
2	Níue	...	Savage I.
3	Tonga	...	Friendly Is.
4	Maori	...	New Zealand.
MIKRONESIA.			
5	Gilbert I.	...	Gilbert I.
MELANESIA.			
6	Fijí	...	Fiji Is.
7	Rotúma	...	"
8	Lo	...	Torres Is.
9	Mota	...	Banks Group.
10	Deni	...	Santa Cruz I.
11	Wango	...	San Christoval I.
12	Uláwa	...	Canturiata I.
13	Flórida	...	Florida I.
14	Bugótu	...	Isabel I.
15	Panaéti	...	Louisiade Archipelago. New Guinea.
16	Roro	...	Yule I.
17	Motu	...	Port Moresby.
18	Kéapára	...	Hood Lagoon.
19	Hula	...	Hood Peninsula.
20	Suau	...	South Cape.
21	Suau	...	East Cape.
22	Tavára	...	Milne Bay.
23	Dobu	...	Goulvain I.
24	Wedau	...	Bartle Bay.
25	Kiwai	...	Delta of Fly River.
26	Toarípi	...	West of Cape Possession.
27	Mer or Miriam	...	Murray I.
28	Saibai	...	N. W. of Torres St.
29	Mabuiag	...	Jervis I.
AUSTRALIA.			
30	Diéri	...	Cooper's Creek (South).
	Languages	...	30

APPENDIX.*Number of Forms of Speech.*

I. EUROPE	...	...	10
II. ASIA	...	...	85
III. AFRICA	...	...	58
IV. AMERICA	...	...	21
V. OCEANIA	...	...	30

Total ... 204

R. N. CUST.

ART. V.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

III.—KARYTÆNA AND MEGALOPOLIS.

"Ἀλφεὺν παρ' εὐρυδίνον

Bacchylides, Od. V.

FROM the hospitable doors of Leonarites of Andritsæna the road lies fair before us and we start with a confident expectation of reaching Megalopolis without difficulty by night-fall. It is said to be eight hours to Megalopolis and a carriage-road all the way; as appears indeed, from the map. But the map gives little indication of the scale and intricacy of the mountains eastward from Andritsæna. A broad and easy high road, all through the day's march, we freely and thankfully acknowledge, but it winds and twists round gigantic grooves in the hill-side, diverges at intervals to make the circuit of some enormous basins scooped out of the ridge and in one way and another gets prolonged beyond expectation. Ultimately we fetch up at the foot of the cliff, on which perches the town and castle of Karytæna, about six in the evening. But it is a grand walk taking us back by midday within sight of the Alpheus,—now in its middle course (some thirty miles above the point we crossed on Sunday below Olympia), a mountain stream flowing at a great depth below, in a rocky channel between precipitous cliffs. These cliffs form the "Stæna" or "Straits" of the Alpheus, a narrow passage through a broad barrier of high mountains that separate the upper from the lower waters of the Alpheus, and along which the river bores its way through sheer rock from the plain of Megalopolis to the low-lands of Elis. The latter part of our march lies right along one side of these straits or "Narrows," till we reach Karytæna itself. A grand stretch of scenery it is, far too good to hurry over—a spell of travel most fitly taken with a certain deliberation, with occasional halts and leisurely survey. It is vastly enjoyable on this method, and we are subsequently too pleased with our experiences of Karytæna to regret that we stopped there.

Clear of the town we are at first merely following down the ridge on which Andritsæna is planted at the head of its broad and fertile valley. The spaciousness and careful cultivation of the open slopes below the road sufficiently account for the size and prosperity of the town. We continue for a couple of miles or so in a northerly direction, and approximately on one level, then break through to the right, and thereafter the road laboriously descends in a long sweep to round a huge gap, ultimately crossing a stream at the lower margin.

Arrived at the bridge we rest delightfully in the shade beneath it in the comfortable belief, that the scanty stream that flows by us is the Alpheus, which would make us to be already half way to Karytæna. We prove to be very much out of our reckoning, for we are not yet quite half way to the Alpheus; but it is none the less pleasing to sit idly for a time in the shadow of the bridge (it is very hot) and watch the water in complacent forgetfulness of everything but the contentment of the moment. From the bridge we begin a long ascent and presently open up a new prospect of fine open mountain country, as varied and as ample in scale as that we have left behind. Soon the road is skirting the top of another great ridge-line and we are overlooking the "Straits" of the Alpheus. The river is discerned winding far below us a pale whitish green, and some distance further down the stream a great rift breaks in from the north, through which flow the waters of the Gortynius. The steep slopes are fairly well-wooded and all round the mountains rise high.

A little further on we come upon a shepherd sauntering near the road-side, watching the flocks that are scattered far down the steep incline below. He smokes a cigarette with us and points out the "Castro," a fortress like a mediæval castle on a pointed rock away to the right and across the great ravine we are skirting. This, though we do not at first recognize it, is the 'Castle' of Karytæna.

We now begin to look out for the Khan of Dragomani, which should lie somewhere on our road. We find it about an hour from the bridge at the far end of another recess falling back from the main gorge, round which our road follows. At the head of this shallow ravine is a bridge, and just before the bridge a few scattered houses. Here we are for the time being transplanted into softer regions—a quiet comfortable hollow running deep from the Alpheus, pleasantly rural and carefully cultivated, a bit of ideal Arcadian scenery. One of the houses proves, as we conjectured, the *khan*. We know it by the bench and table in front and a cellar like interior. A dog slinks away round the corner of the house as we come up, unlike most of his truculent race. An old woman's head appears for a moment at a window above; otherwise there seems no one about. We drop on to the convenient bench, shift our packs and await developments. Hens wander about the legs of the table and flutter down from the loft above our heads. Presently a well-favoured peasant woman comes out and provides wine and bread and store of cool water. Often do we bless the abundant water-springs of the land and the good custom which supplies a large tumbler of water with whatever else of meat or drink the wayfarer requires,

be it wine, coffee, mastic or "lookoumi." Nothing could look less promising than this forlorn barn-like little hostelry, yet a tentative request for rice leads to the display of a few grains of that cereal and we order some to be boiled, as a change on the inevitable eggs and bread. There is no milk and the boiled rice lacks savour, but it turns out eatable and cooling. A comely woman is our hostess and not without intelligence but she tries to overreach us in the reckoning; this last a rare experience with us, so that we go on our way a little saddened.

The road ascends once more and at last, after long winding, brings us back into the main valley with the *Castro* still provocingly inaccessible. We come out rather suddenly once more upon the gorge of the Alpheus, which is now very deep and narrow. The *Castro* proves to be on the far side, not on the nearer as at first it seemed to be, and is separated from us by an immense chasm. The houses on the right of it must belong to Karytæna as well as those on the left. The scenery is grander than ever. The Alpheus has cut for itself a deep channel through the solid rock and goes tumbling from one level to another pretty well a thousand feet below. The rocks rise in sheer precipices on the far side, while on the nearer there is in places a steep cultivated slope. Here and there the river is lost to sight among the rocks. The battlemented citadel tops the cliff defiantly and completes a very romantic picture. It occupies a most commanding position and looks from this side quite impregnable. Down again we wind, steeply and continuously, turning in succession to every point of the compass. Finally we are heading well to the S. E. in exactly the opposite direction to Karytæna.

On reaching comparatively level ground, we turn once more, and this time decisively, for the town on the hill and soon overlook the curious mediæval bridge which here crosses the Alpheus. We have loitered so pleasantly, that it is now obviously impossible to reach Megalopolis before dark. We look at the serried ranks of the houses of Karytæna high up the steep and wonder what accommodation we shall find there for the casual stranger. We do not doubt we shall find some. Hospitality is a virtue which still flourishes in primitive fashion in the interior of Greece, and the first peasant you meet will share his cottage with you, if you have no better shelter. As we make on for the bridge, two men come out of a comfortable country-house by the road-side, one in Greek dress, the other in the sober garb of the west. This seems a good opportunity of gaining information. The old gentleman in the black coat answers our enquiries courteously and in French. There is no hotel, but if we ask for the house of Panagiotes Balasopoulos, we shall find food and lodging. The bridge is

charming, quaintly battlemented and spanning the river in six arches at a considerable height above the water. On the further side is a little chapel, dedicated to the Panagia and intended as a sacred protection against wintry floods' says Leake. (Morea II, 21.) It is consolatory to find that so practised a campaigner as Leake found Karytæna equally difficult to reach. "The road" he says "makes such a circuit in reaching Karytæna, that its hill remains behind us as we descend into the plain to the southward of the town," and adds: "It takes near half an hour to ascend from the bridge to the town; we do not arrive till 7 P.M., though the direct distance from Andritsæna is not more than eight miles." (*Ib.* p. 22.) We, too, find the ascent laborious, but shorten it somewhat by following two peddlers up a mule-track which cuts across the great curve which the carriage-road takes and rejoin the latter as it enters the town. We pass a small church with a little campanile, with two-light round-headed windows, exactly like the campaniles one sees in Lombardy. Can this be Lombard? The map shows a place "Langobardos" further south on the Messenian Coast? Plainly castle and bridge and campanile belong to the time of Frankish occupation, when French knights were princes of Achaia and there was actually a barony of Karitæna. But one does not specially connect the foreign domination with the Lombard. We fall in with a troop of school-boys who ask if we are Germans, probably because it is generally the Teuton who goes on foot. We enquire for the house of Panagiotes Balasopoulos (Anghice Valasopoulos) and the whole troop forms an escort for us. Our new friends lead us up by a side path, and bring us into the court-yard of a substantial homestead in the higher part of the town. We are very kindly received, and are shown into an upper chamber, with windows on three sides, delightfully airy and commanding a view of the castle. Here the whole household group round us with smiles of welcome, the good man himself, four sons of various ages, a grown up daughter and two charming elderly ladies, whose precise relationship it is difficult to guess. We are speedily at home: water is brought for washing, and towels and a basin and slippers for our feet. Then with no long delay plentiful supplies of food and drink on a cosy table laid with a fair white cloth—eggs and bread and *κράσι* and rice-and-milk flavoured with nutmeg, some rather suetty butter, and a delicious confection of guavas. Coffee and cognac to finish up. Evidently we have fallen on our feet. The food is more abundant, and better and better served than at Andritsæna, and the supply of plates and spoons less restricted.

Clouds had been hovering about all day and by evening

the sky was overcast. Soon after we got in the wind began to rise and a storm seemed to threaten. Our room has altogether five double windows. There are shrewd gaps in several of these, in some cases a whole pane is wanting. Consequently the room becomes a little breezy and many and ingenious are the contrivances of our hosts to keep the wind out, pillows being freely pressed into the service—I should rather say the gaps. Nevertheless it tends to become chilly and we find it expedient to go to bed early.

It is broad day-light before we are up: the wind is still boisterous and the sky louring. For breakfast we have some excellent fish, fresh-caught from the Alpheus. We have first to see the 'castle,' one of the sons offering to show the way. A short climb up a steep path takes us to the outer walls. Our opinion of the strength of the position is fully confirmed on a closer acquaintance. The rock is absolutely precipitous on three sides, and steep and easily defensible on the fourth. The castle is now a deserted ruin, two or three dismantled muzzle-loading guns alone suggest its former uses. In a vault under the main building is a large well from which the women of Karytæna still draw water: there are so many this morning that the castle rock is quite populous. It would be difficult to find a more airy situation than the ramparts: the views all round are magnificent.

At the entrance to the castle is a very interesting little church apparently of the same age as the fortress and the bridge, with two Byzantine columns, the capitals curiously carved: also a rood screen with modern painted panels representing scenes from the life of Christ. This chapel is still in use as a church of the Orthodox faith.

Karytæna is described by Leake as 'one of the most important military points in the Morea.' The *Castle* was abandoned even at the time of his visit, and the town, too, he found "much depopulated of late; there now remaining about two hundred families, of which not more than twenty are Turkish" (Morea III, p. 23.) Yet town and castle played some part in the struggle for independence, as is witnessed by a marble obelisk on the path up to the citadel which commemorates a Greek patriot, Liacus, son of Liacus, who fell there in an assault upon the place. The monument is set up by his son, a Colonel in the Greek service. All this the inscription records. Karytæna figures also in Mr. A. C. Benson's novel *The Vintage*.

We decide to go on, relying on our kind hostesses' assurance that it will not rain to-day, or not rain much. Our revised plan is to get with all speed to Megalopolis and make at once for the unfinished railway between Kalamata and Tripolis which approaches at Marmaria within an hour's distance (so we gather) of Megalopolis. The train from

Kourtaga is timed to leave Marmaria at 2 P. M. As Megalopolis is about eleven miles from Karytæna along a smooth road with no high ground between, it seems that we ought to do well enough, starting about 10.

The whole Balasopoulos household assembles to speed us on our way. We take an affectionate farewell: then swing out down the easy slope of the road to the plain. We turn our backs with genuine regret on Karytæna and its hospitalities: our experiences there have been so pleasant. Nothing could have been kinder than our reception and entertainment—nor more enjoyable. The great brown upland plain shelves away at the foot of the hill, far to the southward. Behind us are the Narrows (Stena) of the Alpheus, through which the river takes a circuitous course to Olympia and the western sea. Along the side of a cliff to the northward climbs the road to Dimitzana. Our road is now marked out by stades on solid stone pillars, the first we come to on the level, showing seventeen to Megalopolis, or a little over ten miles. So it is a perfectly definite and straight-forward piece of work. The sky is still overcast and a refreshing breeze blowing, which is all in favour of the pedestrian. Rain threatens all the morning and is evidently heavy over the hills about Andritsæna; we get nothing as yet but an agreeable drizzle. It is really a piece of luck to be thus screened from the sun on what must otherwise have been an exceptionally hot march in a shadowless land. Presently we edge up into the low brown hills to the left of the plain. Then round a picturesque gorge or two, sheep-haunted as nearly always in this country, and ultimately out of the valley of the Alpheus and into that of its tributary the Helisson on the banks of which the *great city* of the Arcadians was built. We press on steadily. Stade posts, like kilometres, have this advantage over mile-stones that they recur with a more encouraging frequency. It is no heavy task to devour the plain from one to the next, and to-day, under the combined stimulus of the fresh air and a desire to catch a train (oh, that we should have come to this two days' journey from Bassæ!), the stones succeed each other with very creditable rapidity. At about two stades from the modern township, which has borrowed the name of Megalopolis, though in reality, some distance from the ancient town, we sight the triple-arched bridge over the Helisson, and just short of it, pass at no great distance from the road, recumbent pillars, scattered stones and other obvious signs of the archæologist militant. The Theatre, too, was within sight on the further side of the river, if we had known, requiring only a little attention to detach its tiers of seats from the low rounded hill against which they are built.

And so at speed into the main street of Megalopolis. On the first opportunity we enquire as to the train. Yes, there is a train, and it starts from Marmaria at half-past one *μισή μία*. This is half an hour earlier than we were reckoning and puts out our calculations, for it is now one, and the distance to the station is estimated at an hour. 'Can we get a carriage?' 'No, but we can have horses at eight drachmas each.' Now the *ἄλογον* or brute-beast of the country has his own pace and cannot readily be induced to adopt yours, however pressing your hurry. We judge the chances not good enough and give up the railway for to-day. We must make the best of Megalopolis whereby we secure for the morrow the most varied and interesting day of our march.

Accordingly, we reconnoitre the 'grand square,' a patch of waste or common flanked by roads and good-sized two-storied houses, evidently the centre of city life and commerce at Megalopolis, in quest of an inn. We select the most prepossessing *Ξενοδοχεῖον* and call up "mine host, a big, ruddy, jolly-looking, brown-bearded Greek, who would not have looked out of place as a brawny craftsman in a picture of the Roman Forum in the early days of the Tribunes. Him we follow into a courtyard through a passage under the house, and so up some rickety wooden stairs, outside to the upper storey. Passing in from the verandah, we find a couple of rooms, in size and structure very like those we have occupied at Andritsæna and Karytæna, clean enough, but somewhat bare and poorly furnished. The larger is spacious and square and untidily hung with gaudy changes of raiment, presumably belonging to our host. Even here there are photographs and the inevitable print of Colonel Smolenski, the hero of Velesino," seemingly to-day the most popular man in Greece. This room has only tables, chairs, boxes, and a mirror round which the photographs are ranged. Both rooms look on to the square or *ἀγορά*. Below, our host has a shop. We are now to make trial of the ordinary traveller's accommodation in a Greek county town, instead of being privileged guests in a private house; and this experience also has its piquancy. In Greece, the inn where you lodge and the house where you eat, are distinct and separate: the one is a *ξενοδοχεῖον* or inn, the other an *ἐστιατόριον*, or eating house. For coffee and the news there is further the *Καφίον* or Café, which is different from either; and there is again the *δινωπωλεῖον* or wine shop. When you have once fallen into the way of it, you can ring the changes on these places of entertainment amusingly. Our next concern is lunch, which we get at a corner shop close by. A Greek eating-house offers unique facilities for seeing and choosing

the raw material of your repast, and, if you please, of seeing it cooked. On one side, generally near the door, are set out eggs, vegetables, bread, fruit, dried fish and three or four covered pots. If you want to know what these last contain, the proprietor, who is also cook, raises the lid and you appraise the savoury mess by sight and smell. If you don't fancy any of the hot dishes ready cooked, you may safely order eggs to be boiled; we found the eggs in Greece invariably 'new-laid;' but unless you like them in a fluid condition, be careful to add "*πολὸν βραστὰ*" (*pollee vrastah* i.e., well-boiled. Sometimes you can get an excellent omelette made. On this occasion we lunch plentifully, even luxuriously,—on fish, bread, salad and a little glass of mastich (seeing it is raw and cold) and the whole feast for the two of us costs two drachmas, or about a shilling. We then bethink us of 'antiquities,' and in particular of the theatre, excavated by our fellow-countrymen. First, to a Café to glean information. The upshot is, we are guided by a party of shock-headed Arcadians, who are going in the direction of the excavations, and a Megapolitan boy who has probably an eye to gain. We diverge from the road across ploughed fields and through maize already knee-deep in the direction of the Helisson, and in about twenty minutes come upon the site of the Theatre. The Theatre at Megalopolis was built against the slope of a low hill facing the river, the wings of the auditorium being artificially banked up. The magnificence of these remains is a pleasant surprise: we had not expected anything so good, indeed in our simplicity—I should rather say in the presumption of ignorance—fondly deemed that there was nothing at Megalopolis to stay for. On the contrary it would be well worth one's while to go a good bit out of one's way to see the Theatre. It must have been enormous when complete, and the whole, with the exception of the upper tiers of seats, remains and has been excavated—the orchestra, proscenium, several of the lower rows of seats, all in excellent preservation; and also the outlines of great buildings behind the stage. If the ill-supported British School at Athens has been unable to accomplish anything to compare with the German excavations in the Olympic plain or the French excavations at Delphi, it has done a good sound piece of work here at Megalopolis.

The lower tiers of seats in the auditorium—some half-dozen rows of them—are nearly perfect. The sections of the lowest half-circle are furnished with stone backs, and with arms at the extremities of each division (where the passages that form the blocks or 'cunei,' run up), and these divisions are inscribed with outlandish names, probably of the Arcadian tribes that combined to found the city. All the stone has disappeared

from the upper rows, but the shape can still be traced on the hill above. The passage that forms the "parodos" is very plainly marked, and there is only one such passage instead of two; also a long, narrow platform, which unless won over to the new theory of Dorpfeldt, you unhesitatingly assume to be the stage. Behind this line and towards the river are broken remnants of pillars extending over a wide space and walls of a less massive character than those belonging to the theatre. These are the remains of a building once known from its founder's name, as the Thersilion, the house of assembly of the "Myriad Arcadians."

Megalopolis was the youngest of the cities of ancient Hellas; it was built under peculiar circumstances, being founded in 370 B. C., the year after the overthrow of Spartan military supremacy at the battle of Leuctra. Large number of Arcadians were persuaded, or otherwise induced, to leave the villages and townships in which they had lived from remote times and go and settle in Megalopolis, which was made into a great city of the usual Hellenic type, little to the satisfaction, perhaps, of many of its new burgesses who had all the mountaineer's attachment to their old homes. It was a big place, as its name implies; the population is estimated at 60,000, but it has no history to speak of. It derives some lustre, however, from Philopœmen and Polybius who were born there.

The English excavations at Megalopolis were carried out in three periods, making altogether six months of work during the years 1890 and 1891. The site of the Theatre was cleared in the last period, from March 21st to the end of May 1891. The depth of earth that had to be cleared from the orchestra was 10 feet. The chief points of interest are thus summed up by the excavators in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*:

"The Theatre at Megalopolis is, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting Greek Theatres hitherto excavated. The auditorium as a whole is, indeed, far less perfectly preserved than the corresponding part of the Theatre at the Hieron of Asclepius near Epidaurus, and the general beauty of the design is less striking. But the seats of honour at Megalopolis are in better condition than those at Epidaurus, and the stage buildings have undergone less alteration in later times."

"Again the Megalopolitan Theatre has several features, which are altogether without parallel elsewhere. The connexion of the Theatre with a great covered hall (the Thersilion) the portico of which served as a background for theatrical representations, is an altogether new feature. And the same is true of the Σκανοθήκη, which was the corollary of the Thersilion, since the latter occupied the place usually assigned to property and dressing rooms."

Journal of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Papers No. 1, p. 91.

The Skanotheka, which was a store-house for stage properties, is the building on the right. It was identified by means of tiles found on the site inscribed Σκανοθήκας.

The work of the British School comprises several other excavations in other parts of the town and a tracing out of the line of the old walls. The whole site would take a long time to explore, but no other very considerable remains have been unearthed. The walls have a special interest, because Megalopolis differs from nearly all other Greek cities in having been built in a comparatively open plain; but an exploration of the site has brought out the fact, that it was not chosen without a due regard to military considerations; and, indeed, we could expect no less from the military capacity of Epaminondas. Remains of wall have been found in twelve distinct places, and the great extent of ground included bears out the statement of Pausanias that the circumference was 50 stades.

H. R. JAMES.

ART. VI.—THE TANTRA IN RAJPUTANA.

MY previous article dealt generally with Tantric Literature, putting off the consideration of its contents to a subsequent paper, as requiring a separate treatment. The literature is so very extensive and so very diverse that one article will not suffice to give it anything like a full consideration; the more so, as it has never received, as far as I am aware, a comprehensive treatment up to this time. Professor H. H. Wilson included the Saktas among the religious sects of which he wrote "sketches"—but a very meagre sketch he gave of the Saktas and still more so of their literature. He was not in possession of the necessary material. The search for MSS. which has been carried on all over India, by orders of the Imperial Government, has removed this excuse from the present day Sankritists. Still not one of them, as far as I am aware, has availed himself of the accumulations of these 30 years. What we are now troubled with is an *embarras de richesses*, a plethora of material of a kind. Hence our passing over Bengal and our selecting Rajputana, where we have just one great library, but that a very full one, reported on not by 'apprentice hand,' but by one who had already earned his spurs in a warfare for MSS. in the Bengal search, in which he completed ten volumes ere he laid down the pen as far as this life is concerned.

The work * before us contains 'Notices' of as many as 1619 MSS. of which 204 are Vedic, that is Sanhitas, Brahmanas, and Aranyakas; or, in other words, Hymns and Ceremonials. These, with the Upanishads and Vaidikas, are classed together in the first chapter under the heading "Veda Sastra—Vedic Literature."

Chapter XIV is devoted to "Tantra Sastra (Mysticism)" as expressed in the Table of Contents, or simply as "*Tantra*" in the body of the volume. The chapter embraces 130 Tantric MSS.

The object of this paper is to give some clear idea as to the contents of these 130 MSS. and to elucidate, as far as we can, from Dr. Mitra's Notices, the system of religion which they embody.

* A catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of H. H. the Maharajah of Bikaner, compiled by Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E. Published under orders of the Government of India. Calcutta, 1880. Pages 758 octavo. The Tantras in the volume number from No. 1243 to No. 1372 inclusive, pp. 574—626. The arrangement of the MSS. in the catalogue is simply alphabetical; the section beginning with *Ankola* and ending with *Yogini*.

The Tantras are said to treat of five subjects. I have failed to find any trace of such a systematic treatment of destruction, power, union or emancipation and *Sarshti* or becoming god, as the statement seems to imply. Scarcely can any two Tantras be found treating of any such system, or indeed of any such system as one is led to expect; so I have to make a system, arrangement of subjects, or programme of my own. I begin therefore with a definition of the Sakta religion founded on these 130 Tantras as described by Dr. Mitra. It is to begin with, a ritualistic, ceremonial, esoteric religion, having in the first place, a spiritual emancipation, union or fellowship, if not identification, with God, as its end, and in the second place the acquisition of supernatural powers and selfish ends, by means of mantras, enchantments, incantations, magic, sorcery, charms, spells, gesticulations, diagrams or yantras, regulation of the breath, the five *makars* (or M's), lucky shells, lighted lamps, and the alphabet, and we might add many other means and aids. The worship is directed towards gods and goddesses, more especially to the latter under the designation of *saktis* or female energies, that is goddesses, Durga or Kali being, far-and-away, in one or more of her many forms, the deity worshipped. Instruction is imparted in regard to the worship by means of books, *Tantras*, all of which are in the Sanskrit language, and in manuscript. Some of these MSS. are enormously large, extending to 60,000 slokas, and some infinitesimally small, only one sloka, at least so small as to be encased in an amulet worn on one's arm. Some of them are spoken of as original—64 in all—and the others compilations, many hundreds in number. Some take the form of hymns, others are digests and yet others are commentaries. Some consist merely or mainly of liturgies or descriptions of rites, almost all of which are said to be mystic or mysterious, and some bestial, and all are esoteric professedly. Some of these books are medical treatises and others astrological. Some are dogmatic or philosophic and others are mere stories or myths. There are but very few of this last class. There are some whose contents greatly vary. They treat of various matters, while others confine themselves to only one or two subjects. We may give specimens of the contents of some of each kind and directly or indirectly of all. Here, for example, are the contents of *Bhuta-Damara*, (No. 1250) which is said to be one of the 64 original Tantras, largely quoted by compilers, but very rare—in fact a complete copy as yet remains unknown.

CONTENTS OF THE BHUTA DAMARA TANTRA.

1, Introduction giving an account of *Bhuta-Damara*, a goblin attendant of Siva; 2, maledictory incantations; 3, secret

worship of Sundari, a mystic form of Durga; 4, secret worship of *Pisachis*, or female imps, to bring them under subjugation; 5, secret worship of *Kātyāyanī*; 6, secret worship for the attainment of transcendental powers or siddhis; 7, secret worship of Kainkari; 8, secret worship of the Chatikas, the maid servants of Durga; 9, ditto of Bhutinis or female devils; 10, ditto of Apsaras or the courtesans of Indra's heaven; 11, ditto of Yakshinis or female Yakshas, a form of demigoddesses; 12, ditto of eight Naginis; 13, ditto of Kinnaris (women with horse heads); 14, on passions of particular forms, 15, secret worship of Aparājita and other goddesses.

In the Rev. Mr. Beal's *Tripathaka* mention is made of a work of this name translated into Chinese.

Again *Sakti-Sangama* is also an original Tantra, including the whole circle of the Sakta cult and is said to have, originally, contained 60,000 slokas, divided into four parts, of which the first comprises twenty chapters, the second sixty-five, the third nineteen, and the fourth eleven chapters. But only some 300 folios have as yet been discovered.

Sarada-Tilaka (3,000 slokas) is a good specimen of a Tantric compilation. It is, we are told, of great reputation in Bengal.

CONTENTS OF SARADA TILAKA.

1, Vija or seed mantras of different divinities, that is mantras which are believed to be specially fruitful or efficacious; 2, different divinities and their appropriate Saktis; 3, 4, initiation in mystic mantras; 5, eighteen appropriate *sanskaras* or sacraments for neophytes; 6, caste; 7, forty-two letters of the alphabet and their magic powers; 8, worship with mystic mantras; 9 to 18, mantras and adoration of Jagaddhatri, Tvarita Devi, Durgā, Tripura, Gonesha, Chandrama, Vishnu, Nrisinha, Purushottama, Mohesha; 19, mystic mantra for the attainment of every desirable object; 20, of Aghora; 21, Gayatri as a mystic mantra and the mode of adoring with it; 22, mystic mantra of Atidurga; 23, mystic mantra of Traiyambaka; 24, mystic diagrams; 25, various forms of Yoga meditation.

Having given two or three specimens of the contents of some of the larger Tantras, I shall now, following the wording of my definition, give specimens of smaller Tantras, dealing with only one, or two or three subjects each.

I have said that the Tantric or Sakta religion is ritualistic or ceremonial. Here are illustrations of what I mean. No. 1262 treats of certain mysterious rites to be performed when worshipping the Devi. 1263 gives the rules and mantras for the initiation of neophytes to the mysterious worship of the goddess Tripura-Sundari. 1349 tells the time for initiation, the diagrams and rituals to be used, how the breath is to be regulated and what gesticulation is to be performed.

Tara-Tantra (1355) gives simply "the rituals for the worship of Tara;" while No. 1360 treats of nothing but the rituals for the worship of Tripura-Sundari. *Tantra-Raja* is "a comprehensive digest of Tantric rituals."

Omitting, in the meantime, our remarks on what we called the first aim of the Tantric religion, which might be more properly called the ultimate, we take up the second, the acquisition of supernatural powers and selfish ends, by the employment of very various means, some innocent and others far from innocent. We need not here again repeat them. Our quotations will make quite clear what we here mean.

The first Tantra in our catalogue—No. 1243, *Ankola-Kalpa*, is described as a collection of charms to be recited when taking medicines, with the view, of course, of making the medicines efficacious. The MS. is singular, not in the use of charms, but in the fact that while the *mantras* or charms proper are in Sanskrit (they would have no power in the vernacular) the directions for using them are in Hindi.

The next, No. 1244, can scarcely be regarded as innocent. It consists of rules for performing various rites, for subduing, injuring or killing enemies and making women complaisant. It is spoken of as *marana* and *mahana* or sympathetic magic, and includes practices at one time common all over the world. The following Tantra (No. 1245, *Asuri-Kalpa*) is of the same nature. It is "a collection of malevolent incantations," which Dr. Mitra describes as "fitly named demoniac rites," succeeded by an abridgement, stating how the incantations are to be recited, and what rites are to be performed with them. No. 1277 is also a collection of incantations, "whereby many malevolent designs can be carried out." No. 1279 introduces us to a new class of female victims, different from the women who are to be made complaisant. They are called "female imps." Dr. Mitra informs us that it treats of the "secret worship of Pisachis or female imps and how to bring them under subjugation." No. 1251 again changes the objects of the magical performance. Now it is "alchemic preparation of silver and of various mercurial compounds and salves of magic power." 1273 treats generally of "enchantment by means or incantations" and 1329 of "magic, incantations and legerdemain." There is one mode of working which Dr. Mitra tells us he put to the test, but with no effect, it is by a "lucky shell," the conch *Dakshinavartta*, so-called from its whirls turning from the right to the left side—apparently an ammonite. This shell, (Dr. Mitra was told) when kept at home was sure to bring great good fortune and immense wealth to the owner, with the result that fabulous prices are paid for it by rich Hindus. Dr. Mitra got one of the shells with no perceptible increase to his fortune.

Divination was largely practised by the Tantrikas. 1314 treats of divinations by means of the sounds of the clouds, crows, etc. 1342 treats of divination by dreams (oneiromancy) and of rites for overcoming the consequences of bad dreams. The letters of the alphabet were also used for the same purpose. (See number 1323.)

The power is generally said to reside in the proper mantras, properly recited. These powerful mantras are called Bija or Vija mantras; and a whole Tantra is devoted to the "derivation of the Vija mantras of Sakta divinities." It is said to mean etymologically *seed*, that which is sown, grows and bears fruit. The 1st chapter of *Sarada Tilaka* (1323), as we have seen, treats of Vija mantras of different divinities. 1291 is a collection of mystic mantras. 1292 is a compendium of the various mystic formulas and mantras used in worshipping Hindu divinities and the routine of worship. It is followed by a commentary on the above. The text of No. 1292 is by Mahidhara. It treats of Tantric rites and mystic formulæ. 1294 is a collection of mystic mantras, and is followed by another collection of mystic mantras.

Quite a number of Tantras, six in all, are taken up with what some of us are very familiar—the lighting of lamps in honour of some Tantric divinities. The divinities, thus honoured, each having a separate MS. to herself, are Maha-Vidya, Matangi, Bhuvaneshvari, Dhumavati, Tripura-Sundari and Vagalamukhi, all different forms of the one goddess Durga. No. 1368 treats of the offering of lamps to Vatuka-Bhairava, (a companion, not even a female, still less the consort, of Siva), who is often taken for Siva himself. He is worshipped when there is a serious case of illness in a house, or a sudden misfortune is apprehended.

The Saktas worship not only Durga in all her many different forms, but also as personified in all members of the female sex when purified by mantras, and even to females of the lower animals. Hence we find No. 1269 consists of directions for offering lighted lamps to Hanuman, the monkey. The worship is conducted in various ways—as for example, by diagrams, gesticulations, regulation of the breath, etc. No. 1327 is taken up with symbolical figures, diagrams and stories of Kali; 1335 contains directions for the worship of Devi in six mystic diagrams called *Shat-chakras*; 1349, the *Tantra-ratna*, among other things, treats of mystic diagrams, regulation of the breath, and gesticulation during worship; and 1371 dilates on the worship of various diagrams and symbolical figures called *Yantras*. The triangle, single or double, lying the one on the top of the other, are favourite ones with Saktas, as they were with European astrologers and

mystics in the Middle Ages, when they believed in Yantras and words of power. The two equal triangles, when lying the one on the other, forms a hexagon, and, with the sides produced till they meet, six other triangles equal to one another. (See the "Lay of St. Dunstan" in *Ingoldsby Legends*.)

Charms occupy a very prominent place in the Tantras and in the Sakta religion. We have seen above how charms were administered with the medicine to make the latter efficacious. Charms were largely used in amulets, as they are by very many still. No. 1264 consists simply of a charm bearing the name of *Ganesa*. It is intended to be worn in an amulet. 1276 is a charm containing the mystic mantra of *Kārtika*; 1302 bears the name *Paramahansa*. 1370 tells how to put on a similar amulet bearing the name of *Kali*;—it forms part of the Tantra called *Virabhadra*. We are informed in No. 1372 that *Vira* is one who can worship with spirituous liquors, a very common mode of worship.

Panchami Sadhana (No. 1301) is a description of a mystic rite so-called, by which certain transcendental powers may be acquired, and the essentials of which are wine, flesh-meat, fish, parched grains and women—the five M's called *Makars*. The text is an original Tantra, named *Brahmānda-Yamala*. The transcendental powers above named are known as *siddhis*.

Sakta-Krama supplies rules for the performance of the various rites and ceremonies enjoined in the Tantras for the adoration of Sakta divinities. It is followed by *Sakti-puja*, a compilation on the worship of Sakti; while *Siva-puja* is, of course, on the worship of Siva, according to the Aghora form. It is, as reported by Dr. Mitra on the authority of this Tantra, "performed at night, with wine, women and bestial rites." 1333 is an enquiry into the divinity of Siva and the rituals of his worship, while 1341 treats of the adoration of Svachchhanda Bhairava, a form of Siva, and 1343 supplies the rules for the worship of Syamā, a name for Durga, derived from a name of Siva. No. 1308 *Rudra-Paddhati* is on the worship of Siva; and 1322 gives directions for the summary worship of Syama. 1344 contains the rituals for worshipping Syamā, 'the black goddess,' standing on the breast of her husband.

As stated above, the worship of Durga or Kali forms a leading characteristic of the religion of the Tantras. We find a large number of the 130 Tantras here reported on, devoted to the worship of her in one or other of her many forms. There is *Lalita* for example, 1286 is a liturgy for the worship of Lalita. 1287 supplies a description of the order in which Lalita should be worshipped. 1288 treats of the worship of Lalita, and 1388 does the same, but under a different title.

Tripura-Sundari seems to be a still more popular form of

Durga. No. 1300 gives the rules for repeated recitation of a hymn, in which a 1000 epithets of T. S. are strung together; and 1316 supplies rules for offering lighted lamps to her. *Sundari Kalpa* is on the worship of Sundari, a form of Durga. 1358, a part of the Tantra Gandharva, contains a charm, bearing the name of T. S.; 1359 supplies rules for her adoration; and 1360, the rituals for the worship of T. S.; while 1366 treats of offering oblations on fire in honour of T. S.; and 1367 gives directions for worshipping her.

The form, Kali, does not seem to be so popular. We have seen that 1327 supplies symbolical figures, diagrams and stories on the glory of Kali. We have also seen that in No. 1370 that directions were given as to putting her name in an amulet, and Nos. 1271-2 treat of the mystic worship of Kali. But beyond these four instances, I do not remember meeting her name, 1252 treats of her worship under the name of Chandi; and 1254, 1255 supply rituals for the worship of her as Chhinnamasta, who decapitated herself and drank her own blood. And 1266 contains a hymn, in which are 108 of her epithets strung together.

Tara, another form of Durga, is referred to in 1351, which treats of *salvation* through the medium of her worship; 1352 is a compendium, in five chapters, of the principles of the Sakta faith and the rules to be observed in the worship of Tara. It is followed by a commentary on a Tantric work named *Tara-rahasya*; 1354 is a hymn to Tara; 1355 is filled with the rituals for the worship of Tara; and 1356 is "an essay on *salvation* through the medium of worship to Tara." 1363 treats of the worship of a form of the goddess Durga, named *Ugra Tara*; 1366 gives the rituals for the worship of Pranesvari, another form of Durga; while 1317 enjoins the dedication of lighted lamps to Vaglamukhi, also another form of Durga.

One of the most common names given to Durga is simply *Devi*, the goddess; hence we find Tantras like 1334—treating of the mystic worship of the *Devi* on particular specified nights, and 1335 gives directions for the worship of the *Devi* in six mystic diagrams, called Shat Chakras. The same Tantra contains a hymn to Annapurna, another name for *Devi*. It is followed by a Tantra on the mystic worship of the *Devi*. Yet another name, under which she goes, is *Subhagā*. Directions for her worship under this name will be found in No. 1337; and *Tantra Kaumudi* (1346) is a compilation of her worship in different forms. A ritual for her adoration as Pitambara, "the yellow-robed goddess" is in 1303; as Sulini in 1339; and as Pranesvari in 1306.

On the other hand, 1369 supplies the rules for the adoration

of Vagradini, or Sarasvati, the goddess of learning and daughter of Durga; and 1299 contains the rituals for the worship of Nila Sarasvati.

Among the Saktis—the female divinities—must, we suppose, be placed the 'mothers,' and consequently we read among the 130 Tantras of His Highness's Library, a Tantra entitled *Mātrikā-Pūjana* (No. 1297) in which we find the "Liturgy for the worship of the Matrikas, or the primitive mothers of creation."

So far for the female divinities, the Saktis, of whom Durga, in her various forms, is not only the chief, but who, in her own person, constitutes almost the whole. We have, however, the popular goddess, Lakshmi, the bride or Sakti of Vishnu, and *Lakshmi-Tantra* (No. 1289) contains rituals for worshipping her.

Turning now to the male divinities and to the Tantras bearing on them, we find that both are very few in number and of no great importance in themselves. The Tantra of most importance among them is *Gautamiya Tantra* (No. 1265), which counts up 2,028 slokas in both the Bengali and Nagara characters, the one to be seen in Benares and the other in Bikāner. It is described by Dr. Mitra in these words:—

A Vaishnavite Tantra comprising, in 31 chapters, a complete system of rituals for the guidance of Vaishnavas, and the adoration of Krishna, in a variety of forms. The work is designed with a view to apply the rituals of Sakta worship with all its forms, mysteries and mummeries, to the cult of Krishna, and is always appealed to as a leading authority in all questions regarding rituals. It is held in high estimation by Vaishnava house-holders, but ascetics and more devout and ardent followers of Chaitanya do not implicitly carry out its ordinances.

CONTENTS OF THE GAUTAMIYA TANTRA.

1, Ten-syllabled mantra of Krishna; 2, derivation of that mantra; identification of the mantra with the deity; the mystic syllables of the mantra; the source of the universe; the mode of using the eighteen-syllable mantra of Krishna; the object of the mystic particles in the mantras; regulation of the breath; 3, mental assignment of the various parts of the body to different tutelary divinities; 4, description of Vrindāvana; the mode of meditating on Krishna; 5, characteristics of spiritual guides and neophytes, time meet for initiation; 6, altars; 7, initiation; daily prayers and adorations; 8, twelve forms of purifications; 9, purification and forms of worship, observances and rituals during worship; 10, adoration of Krishna through the medium of ammonite stones; 11, Homa or worship through fire; 12, offerings; 13, imparting of man-

tras to disciples ; 14, attainment of mastery over mantras ; 15, occasional forms of worship and rosaries ; 16, daily threefold worship ; 17, worship of Krishna in his infantile form ; 18, derivation and uses of various Vaishnava mantras ; 19, means of causing dementation ; mantras for female divinities ; 20, differences in the forms of adoration, and advantages of adoring Krishna under different forms ; 21, various mantras of Krishna ; 22, attainment of superhuman powers and various mantras ; 23, attainment of eloquence ; mantra, etc., of Rama ; 24—28, various mantras, etc. ; 29, characteristics of mastery over mantras ; 30, duties of persons accepting particular mantras ; 31, attainment of true knowledge ; praise of the Tantra.

Tantra-sar (No. 1350) is a work held in high estimation all over India, north and south, east, and west, and is very extensively quoted as a standard authority. We simply refer to it here as a summary of the Tantric cult, comprising mantras, diagrams and rituals for the adoration of the different Hindu divinities, both *Sakta* and *Vaishnava*. 1284 is also a Vaishnava Tantra, containing directions for worshipping Krishna, and 1280 supplies details regarding the secret mantras of Vaishnava deities.

1330 is a handbook of Vaishnava religious duties, diurnal periodical and optional, including the several feasts and fasts enjoined in the Vaishnava Calendar.

Ganesa, under the name Uchchhishtaganapati, has a MS. (1278) devoted to his worship—a part of a leading Tantra which is very scarce.

Kartavirya (Nos. 1274-75) is worshipped by the dedication of lighted lamps to him eight months in the year, as stated, and a manual for his worship as found in No. 1275. He is elsewhere described as a monster with a thousand arms, and as a great king, the same upon whom the Jains look with great respect as a universal monarch of great sanctity. He is said to have invaded Lanka and taken Ravana prisoner, and yet to have been killed by Parasurama.

We have just seen that there are both Sakta and Vaishnava Tantras, and others mixed. The *Mantra Mahodadhi*, 1292, is a compendium of the various mystic formulas and mantras used in worshipping Hindu divinities ; it contains the routine of worship. The MS. is by Mahidhara, the commentator of the white Yajur Veda. What adds a good deal of interest to the volume is that while the mantras are all taken from the Tantras, the ritual throughout is Tantric, with a leaning for the Sakta cult, yet the mantras of Vishnu, Ganesa, Gopal, etc., are all included in the work.

The *Uddisa Tantra* (496 slokas, No. 1362) treats of sorcery of different kinds. Its contents are : Incantations and necromantic

rites for bringing on the death of an enemy ; ditto for bringing on dementation ; ditto for bringing on inertness in intelligence, arms, affection, men, clouds, winds, etc. ; ditto for bringing on enmity between particular individuals ; for bringing on the ruin of a person ; for securing the good-will and favour of a king, a husband or a woman ; for attracting attention ; for effecting magical exhibitions for bringing demons under one's control ; for performing alchemical preparations ; for ascertaining the past and the future ; for digesting enormous quantities of food ; for overcoming hunger and thirst ; for producing aphrodisiac effects ; for changing the colour of grey hair ; for bringing on devilish fevers, grey hair or baldness ; for finding out hidden treasures ; for bringing on pregnancy ; for preventing abortion, miscarriage, and childlessness ; for bringing success in warfare ; for aphrodisiac medicines ; for alchemical solutions of metals ; for the destruction of manliness ; for overcoming malevolent imps ; for overcoming evils likely to result from ferocious animals ; for inviting serpents to an enemy's house ; for preventing mischief from evil dreams and portents. The work is divided into eleven chapters.

Manuals, digests and commentaries abound. There are as many as five different MSS. 1256 to 1260 inclusive, all manuals for the daily worship of Dakshina Kalika alone. Commentaries also abound ; three on *Sarada-Tilaka*, 1324 to 1326 ; one on *Tantra-raja*, another on *Tara-rahasya*, and yet another on *Yogini-Hridaya*, and so on.

There are treatises on medicines as e.g. No. 1315, which describes the symptoms and treatment of various kinds of fever ; and one on astrology, e.g. No. 1253, which is described by Dr. Mitra as an astrological miscellany, compiled from various works, but principally from the following five Tantras, viz., Rudra-Yamala, Brahma-Yamala, Vishnu-Yamala, Umā-Yamala and Budha-Yamala, as also *Adi-Chudamani*, a work said to have been compiled by the chief of the Jainas, that is, Jina himself. It contains directions for, and the mode of divining the past, the present and the future ; loss, gain, and success in warfare ; accidental death ; attainments of wealth ; human thoughts ; the contents of a closed fist ; hidden property ; empty receptacles ; the names of thieves and those of their villages ; figures and dates ; assaults on forts ; famine ; the measure of rain during the rainy season ; overthrow of kings ; revolutions ; the best sites for tanks, wells, fountains and gardens ; the locale of fish ; merits of horses, elephants, and other animals ; trade, sale and purchase ; the councils of kings ; the transition to heaven or hell after death ; in short, all and everything that exists in the three regions of the universe, and that occur among men, gods and Titans.

One of the Tantras referred to in the above is *Rudra-Yamala*, No. 1309, an elaborate and original Tantra, including the whole range of Sakta knowledge about religion, social orders, castes, sacred places, modes of adoration, forms of ceremonies, etc., etc.

In conclusion the library has Tantras on such subjects as sin, salvation, expiation, yoga, dogma, the Guru and his disciples, as well as the principles of the Sakta religion taken generally.

In No. 1307 we read of a fast named *Purascharana*, whereby one's sins may be expiated; in No. 1323 we have seen the various forms of yoga meditation with a view to ultimate union with the Supreme. No. 1305 is a compilation of the principal dogmas inculcated in the Tantras; and 1352 is a compendium, in five chapters, of the principles of the Sakta faith; and, as we have seen above, No. 1323 contains eighteen appropriate *sanskaras* or sacraments for neophytes; while 1312 treats of the *guru* or spiritual guide and the means of obtaining blessings from his feet. The institution of the *guru* originated with the Saktas, and there is no limit to the praise bestowed on it and him in the Tantras. In the *Yogini Tantra* (1372) we read: "This S'â-tra has the *guru* for its root; this world has the *guru* for its root; the *guru* indeed is the highest Brahma; the *guru* indeed is Siva himself. Even the gods bow before him to whom the *guru* is subject. Nay, should anyone drink the water for washing his feet, dropping from a sore, considering it as *amrita* (ambrosia), he will go to the city of Devi. The *guru* is the way, the *guru* is Deva. The Guru is Devi too. He moves in the spheres of heaven, mortals and Nagas. The holy water of a guru's foot is equal to bathing at all Tirthas or sacred pools. All the fruit a mortal may acquire in bathing at all Tirthas, that fruit he may acquire from a drop of the water of the *guru's* feet. . . . The man who carries the *guru's* dust on his head, is emancipated from all sins, is Siva without doubt."

A little further on in the same Tantra, emancipation is attributed to a son being born to a man. Then, the father, "having attained the place of emancipation, rests for ever."

K. S. MACDONALD.

ART. VII.—A TRAVANCORE MAGICIAN.

TALES of the marvellous and the supernatural, be they wild or gruesome, possess an element of interest to the ethnologist, because of the light they throw on the dark places of the native mind. They afford piquant illustrations of the belief in evil spirits, and of the practices connected with witchcraft and sorcery, spells and love-potions, charms and incantations—practices which survive among the non-Aryan jungle-folk of Southern India. The Hindu *puranas* tell us that five thousand years of the degenerate Kali age have now rolled by, and Kali, or the spirit of evil, has now attained his zenith. But centuries ago, when his malign influence was not so visibly felt as it is now, arts of magic and necromancy were not only looked upon as practicable, but assiduously cultivated. When Kerala was under the sway of the Chola viceroys or Perumals, magic, like astrology, was recognized as one of the chief sciences, and afforded honourable and lucrative occupation to its votaries. But "the tune of the time" has changed since.

Of the many *mantravadies* or magicians who flourished at that epoch, Surya Kalati Bhattathiri was the most distinguished. Like old Merlin, the Mage at Arthur's Court, he was the most famous man of the time, and a past-master in Gramarye. As a forceful personality who carried on a war of extermination against the powers of the unseen world, he is celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Kerala. He sits enthroned in the midst of his court like a king. His claim to be considered *facile princeps* of Malayala *mantravadies*, contemporaneous or other, is not disputed; but rests upon scores of performances which might be cited as instances of magical skill at their highest and best: performances beside which those of Michael Scott or Merlin are a mere trifle. It is not exactly related of him—

"That, when in Salamanca's cave,
Him lifted his magic wand to wave
The bells would ring in Notre Dame;"

or that he could put forth "the charm of woven paces and of waving hands:" for all that, in his day, he was known to fame as a potent and courageous practitioner of the art having no match or rival, and now shines firmly set among the fixed stars of the *mantravadi's* heaven.

Surya Kalati was born in the village of Kumarnallore in Kottayam, North Travancore. He came of a good and ancient Nambudri family, the scions of which are, to this day,
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venerated for their meek piety and saintliness. The present head of the *illom* or family is an honoured guest at the Court of Travancore, his presence there being indispensable on certain state occasions. There is a weird and popular tradition which records the tragic end of Bhattathiri, senior—a circumstance which tended, as it were, to preordain the career of his posthumous son. For, it was, surely, not overweening ambition that stirred the imagination of Bhattathiri *fiis* and in the crimson flush of the earliest summer of life, urged him on to the study of the Black Art. One night (so runs the story) the Bhattathiri and a friend of his happened to pass along the *yakshee paramba* in Trichur. It was—in those days—a dreary bit of open wasteland, strangely contrasting with the quaint picturesqueness of the surrounding country side; its grim sullenness only partially relieved, here and there, by rows of tall, dark-coloured *karimpanas* or palms, silhouetted against the sky like a colonnade of granite pillars: each carved stem set in its leafy crown and base, and its green-gray fronds swaying in the gentle zephyr. To this day, people avoid this place at night; it being, according to popular superstition, the favourite resort of *yakshees* and their lovers, the *gandharvas*, (the celestial nymphs and centaurs of Hindu mythology). The former are a sort of dryads or fairies. They roam about at nights in the guise of impossible young women, whose witching beauty is overpowering to frail mortal eyes. They are tall, *cham-paka*-coloured, with flashy eyes, glistening teeth, and an opulent mass of dark raven tresses that hang down to the ground. They rarely venture abroad after dawn. All day long, they hide in grassy glade or wattled woodland, assuming eerie enchanted forms. At night, they lurk in trees or pathways and attract travellers. But to falter or turn behind, or answer their call, spells death. The *gandharvas*—Southey's "Glendoveers"—are a species of demons or demigods. They are the musicians of heaven, and like the *rishis* or sages, are gifted with the power of denouncing imprecations on mortals.

But to return to our story. The night is far advanced when the Bhattathiri and his friend approach the solitary and cheerless expanse, beloved of fairy folk, above described, and bethink them of seeking shelter for the night, of the first passer-by. Suddenly, they find two damsels coming towards them, mystical paragons of beauty, who accost them, explain that they are returning after the *pooram* or annual festival then going on at a neighbouring temple, and with exceeding grace and naivete, press them to pass the night under their roof. The travellers gratefully accept the proffered invitation, and accompany the fair strangers homeward.

Like children at the heels of the mad piper they follow them and tread the primrose path of dalliance—beckoned to by their sinister grace and sly voluptuous enticements. Presently they arrive in a magnificent house, are hospitably received and lodged in exquisitely-furnished separate chambers. Then the tragedy begins. The travellers, careless and unsuspect, have all but closed their eyelids in sleep, when the harrowing truth is on them! The fair women are *yakshees*, and they have resumed their demoniacal forms! The grim irony of the situation makes their flesh creep. One of the *yakshees*—her unearthly figure "unhidden by any earthly disguise"—now approaches the Bhattathiri, and rapidly makes a meal of him. Like the student who dances with the goddess in "Rosa Alchemica," he experiences a chill sensation—of the fairy "drinking up his soul" (and life-blood) "as an ox drinks up a wayside pool." But the other *yakshee* can do no harm to the Bhattathiri's companion, for he holds in his hand a *grandha* or palm-leaf book sacred to Bhagavati (*viz.*, the *Devi Mahatmya*, or narrative of the exploits of Devi or Bhagavati). This blessed preservative he religiously clings to and frantically clutches, as through the slow-moving hours of the night he hears a hideous din—the rattling and crunching of human bones. But imagine his feelings at day-break on finding himself resting on the topmost frond of a palm-tree, and cruellest cut of all—the bones of his friend lying scattered underneath another palm-tree yonder.

Soon after, the Bhattathiri's widow gave birth to a son, the subject of this sketch. When the latter was eleven years of age, she related to him the strange story of his father's death. This so inflamed the young hopeful that he vowed eternal revenge on the whole host of *yakshees* and *gandharvas*. And like a sensible boy, he set about preparation for his life-task. As a *brahmacharia* he prosecuted the study of the Vedas with diligence, and by the time he came to man's estate was an adept in Shastraic lore and all manner of learning. Then he betook himself to a lonely forest and did incessant *tapa* (penance) there, for a period of seven years. We may well conceive of a study of revenge overtaking and overriding his beautiful and unambitious soul—who might else have pursued the noiseless tenor of his way, and avoided those wastes over which magicians wander lost and die damned—now driving him like a goad to wrest a moral victory from an almost impossible situation, but in the hour of victory, hurling him in the drag of a current which in its wake sweeps him on to the brink of eternal ruin. Moved by the rigour of the austerities practised by, and pleased with the assiduity and devotion of young Kalati, Surya, the sun-god,

now appeared before him in human form and handed him a *grandha* or magic-book, which is to this day the greatest work extant on magic. The marked favour of the sun-god explains the prefix "Surya" to the magician's name. Thus dawned "the hour for which the years did sigh."

To master the contents of the *grandha* was the work of a few days. Surya Bhattathiri put it to such very good use that he soon acquired the just reputation of being the most expert *mantravadi* (or dealer of magic) of the time. Princes now courted his favour and none dared offend him. The next phase was the commencement of a mighty *homa* (or burnt sacrifice) with the avowed object of destroying the magician's sworn enemies, all manner of living things—frogs, lizards, scorpions and myriads of ants—being thrown in the holocaust. The fierceness and severity of the magical rite and the power of the incantations produce the desired effect. *Yakshee* after *yakshee* is compelled to pass in procession before him, and last, but not least, the *yakshee* who had devoured his father. She begs hard for mercy, offering to serve him faithfully. But he would have none of her and makes her enter the sacrificial fire, and she is consumed. Then her *gandharva* lover, mortified at the loss of his beloved, turns up, most inconveniently, and curses the Brahmin magician to suffer death on the forty-first following day. The tables are turned, the biter bit. The magician in his turn sues for mercy and the *gandharva*, more merciful than the Brahmin had been to the *yakshee*, extends it to him. On one condition, however, that on the forty-first day he would worship at the Alangat Tiruvalore temple in expiation. Naturally, he goes to fulfil it and preparatory to worshipping, descends into the temple tank to bathe. All at once he is seized with delirium and raves like a maniac, biting the wooden beams of the bathing shed. He dies after enduring frightful agonies. The marks of his teeth are to be seen to this day!

The story of Surya Kalati Bhattathiri points to an obvious moral—namely, that only evil would result from the study and practice of the Black Art. Such old-world tales possess the great charm, that in them we discover for ourselves an inner meaning and import of life. We irresistibly feel that the Bhattathiri's life spells failure, that his wonderful powers, though they converged to one focus so as to impress us with his personality, did not somehow work smoothly together. As in Merlin's case, so in his, we see the strange story repeated :—

"Death in all life and lying in all love,
The meanest having power upon the highest,
And the high purpose broken by the worm."

with this difference, that whereas the former comes to lie in the hollow oak—"lost to life and use and name and fame," the latter is not forgotten: for his voice, though hushed in the silence of the funeral pyre, yet speaketh with most miraculous organ.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

ART. VIII.—A HISTORY OF THE BENGAL HIGH COURT

FROM THE TIME OF THE OLD SADAR AND SUPREME COURTS TOGETHER WITH NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES, BARRISTERS AND VAKILS.

CHAPTER I.

The Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat.

THE battle of Plassey marks the commencement of an important epoch in the history of India. It gave the death-blow to Moslem rule, thereby virtually transferring the overlordship of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the English. But the formal transfer did not take place until the grant of the Diwani to the East India Company in 1765. This grant, which was the immediate consequence of the battle of Buxar, was made by the Emperor* of Delhi, who, though in reality deprived of all sovereign power, was in time-honored deference to a great name still looked upon as the Lord Paramount. The *Farman*, under which the transfer was made, runs as follows:—“We have granted them the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa † from the beginning of the Fasl-i-rabii (spring harvest) of the Bengal year 1172 as a free gift and *Altamgha* ‡ without the association of any other persons and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Diwani, which used to be paid to the Court. It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Daula Bahadur, and regularly remit the same to the Sarkar (Government); and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, we have granted them whatsoever may remain out of the revenue of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the royal Sarkar and providing

* Shah Alum II, by whom the grant was made, “never possessed,” as Mill truly says, “a sufficient degree of power to consider himself for one moment as master of the throne.” He was, in fact, till his death, a mere puppet in the hands of whatever power had the ascendancy for the time. With him, if not with his father Alumgir II, the Mogul sovereignty must be considered to have finally terminated.

† Cuttack having been ceded by Nawab Ali Verdi Khan to the Marhattas, only a portion of Orissa, therefore, was actually included in the Diwani grant. It was not till 1805 that that district came into the possession of the English. By Regulation xiv of that year the district of Cuttack was included in the jurisdiction of the Provincial Court of Calcutta, and was placed under the control and superintendence of the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

‡ “Altamgha (from the Turkish *al*, red, and *tamgha*, a stamp or impression), a royal grant under the seal of some of the former native princes of Hindustan, and recognised by the British Government as conferring a title to rent-free land in perpetuity, hereditary and transferable” (Wilson).

for the expenses of the Nizamat.* In its common acceptation the term “Diwani” is limited to the collection of revenue and the administration of justice in civil cases†. But the *Farman* which granted the Diwani to the East India Company, gave larger powers. From the fact of the said Company having been empowered “to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces,” it is abundantly clear that they were authorized to undertake the military defence of the country‡ to exercise military power, and so to assume one of the most important prerogatives of sovereignty. Thus it appears that the grant of the Diwani was a cession to the East India Company of the military government of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, of the right to administer civil justice, and of the complete control of the finances, subject to the payment of twenty-six lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, and to providing for the expenses of administering criminal justice, and the maintenance of the police. It was in point of fact, though not in name, a cession of sovereign power over those provinces, seeing that it was a cession of all the essentials which constitute such power. The *Farman* aforesaid was accompanied by an imperial confirmation of all the territories previously held by the said Company under grants from Nawabs Mir Kasim and Mir Jafir, within the nominal limits of the empire of the Great Mogul. The Nizamat§ or administration of criminal justice and police, was, at the same time, conferred upon the Nawab Nazm-ud-Daula. The Diwani grant was recognized by an agreement, dated the 30th of September in the same year, by the Nawab|| who formally accepted his dependent position by consenting to receive a fixed stipend of fifty-three lakhs of rupees for the

* Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. i, p. 61.

† See Harrington's Analysis, Vol. ii, p. 25.

‡ It is worthy of notice that in February, 1765, that is, nearly six months previous to the Diwani grant, Nawab Nazm-ud-Daula had entered into a treaty with the East India Company, enabling them to exercise his authority. Sir James Stephen's *Nund Comar and Impey*, Vol. i, p. 40, note. This was probably the “new treaty” spoken of by Mr. Aitchison as having been concluded between Nazm-ud-Daula and the Company by which the latter took the military defence entirely into their own hands, and among other conditions the Nawab bound himself to appoint, by the advice of the Governor and Council, a Deputy to conduct the Government, who should not be removable without their consent.—Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. i, p. 4.

§ Under the Mohamedan Government, the *Nazim*, from which term the word *Nizamat* is derived, was the Chief Officer charged with the administration of Criminal Law and the Police, as the Diwan was charged with the administration of Civil Law and the collection of revenue. The term *Nizamat* denoted the office and duties of the nazim. The provincial Governor, commonly called *Subadar* in his capacity of Nazim, was styled the Nawab Nazim, that is, the Deputy of the Emperor's Nazim.

|| Nazm-ud-Daula succeeded his father, Mir Jafir, in January 1765, and was himself succeeded on 8th May, 1766, by his brother, Saif-ud-Daula, a youth of sixteen. Aitchison's Treaties p. 4. Thus it appears that the recognition was made by the former Nawab, and not, as is said, by the latter.

support of the Nizamat, and for the maintenance of his household and his personal expenses.

In the following year, Lord Clive, the President of the Council of Fort William, took his place as Dewan, or collector of revenue for the Mogul; and in concert with the Nawab, who sat as Nazim, opened the *punneah*, or ceremonial of commencing the annual collections in the Darbar, held at Motijheel near Moorshedabad. From this time the functions of Nazim as well as of Dewan were ostensibly exercised by the British Government; the latter, in virtue of the grant from the Emperor, and the former, through the influence possessed over the Naib or Deputy, the Nawab Nazim himself having submitted to become virtually a pensioner of the State.

But though the civil and military power of the country and the resources for maintaining it were assumed on the part of the East India Company, still it was not thought advisable either by the local Government, or by the Court of Directors, to vest the immediate management of the revenue, or the administration of civil and criminal justice, in the European officers. It may, indeed, appear doubtful whether the European servants, with a few brilliant exceptions, possessed at this time sufficient knowledge of the civil institutions and the internal arrangements of the country, to qualify them for the trusts. In these circumstances the administration of the provinces included in the Diwani grant was left, and that very wisely, in the charge of native agency; and two tried officers of acknowledged merit and ability were entrusted with the Government of Bengal and Behar, respectively, an imperfect control being exercised over the former by the Resident at the Nawab's Court at Moorshedabad, and over the latter by the Chief of Patna. The one was Mahomed Reza Khan,* a Persian nobleman, "able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them;" the other was Raja Shitah Roy,† a high caste Hindu whose valour and attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. The zemindari lands of Calcutta, and the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, as well as the Twenty-four Parganas, which had been ceded to the East India Company by previous grants from the Nawabs Mir Kasim and Mir Jafir, and which had been, as stated above, confirmed to them by the Emperor's *Farman* in August 1765, had been placed under the management of the Covenanted Servants of the Company.‡

* Mahomed Reza Khan with his co-adjutors, Raja Woolubram and Jagut Sett, had been appointed before the Diwani grant, to conduct the public affairs under Nawab Nazm-ud-Daula. Resolution of the President in Council, dated 21st June 1765.

† Shitah Roy's gallantry at Patna was very highly praised by Captain Knox.

‡ Vide the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated the 28th of July, 1812, quoted in Harington's *Analysis*, Vol. ii, pp. 2-3, note.

In the year 1769, when Verelst the Good was Governor of Bengal, supervisors were appointed for the superintendence of the native officers; and they were furnished with detailed instructions* which were issued to them in the form of a letter from the Resident at the Durbar (Mr. Becher), and which gave them ample powers to inquire into the history, existing state, produce and capacity of the provinces, the amount of the revenues, the regulations of commerce, and the administration of justice; they were likewise directed to make reports thereon to the Resident at Moorshedabad and the Chief of Patna.

These inquiries furnished ample evidence of abuses of every kind. Extortion and oppression on the part of the public officers, and fraud and evasion of the payment of just dues on the part of the cultivators prevailed throughout the provinces; and with respect to the administration of justice it was remarked in a letter from the President in Council at Fort William, that "the regular course was everywhere suspended; but every man exercised it who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decision."† The appointment of supervisors was followed in 1770,‡ by the institution of two superior Councils§ of revenue at Moorshedabad and Patna, to superintend the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue and to exercise the powers before vested in the Resident and the Chief. But this arrangement does not appear to have been successful. The improvement of the public revenue, which might have been expected from it, was indeed frustrated in a material degree by a dreadful famine which was computed to have swept away a third of the population of Bengal.||

The glaring abuses referred to above, continued for seven years unremedied; and it was not till the year 1772, when, in consequence of the determination of the Court of Directors ¶ "to stand forth as Diwan, and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and

* Governor Verelst in his instructions to the Supervisors, observes:—"It is difficult to determine whether the original customs, or the degenerate manners of the Mussalmans have most contributed to confound the principles of right and wrong in these provinces. Certain it is that almost every decision of theirs is a corrupt bargain with the highest bidders."

† Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, p. 5.

‡ In this year Nawab Saif-ud-Daula was succeeded by his brother Mubarak-ud-Daula, with whom an engagement was made whereby the Nawab Nazim's stipend was fixed at 31,81,991 rupees. This is the last treaty which was formed with the Nawab Nazim. In 1772 the stipend was reduced to sixteen lakhs a year, at which rate it continued to be paid down to 1880. (Aitchison's *Treaties*, pp. 4-5.)

§ These Councils were subordinate to the Supreme Council at the Presidency.

|| Harington's *Analysis*, Vol. ii, p. 6. Macaulay has given a graphic description of this "fell Famine," in his well-known Essay on Lord Clive; so has Hunter in his popular "Annals of Rural Bengal."

¶ See their letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 28th August 1771.

management of the revenues,"* the office of Naib Diwan was abolished, that the efficient administration of the internal Government of those provinces was committed to British agency. A proclamation was issued on the 11th May, 1772, notifying the removal of Mahomed Reza Khan from his office of Naib Diwan, and entrusting the Chief and Council of revenue at Moorshedabad, for the present, with the duties of the office. A similar proclamation was issued at Patna, removing Raja Shitah Roy† from the office of Naib Diwan in the province of Behar, and placing the immediate charge thereof under the Chief and Council of Patna, until a plan could be formed for the future management of the business thereof.‡ Warren Hastings, who had already acquired a considerable reputation by his talents, and who had served with great credit both in Bengal and Madras, was now Governor, he having been appointed to that important office in the preceding year. No time was lost in adopting measures to correct abuses, in providing against undue exactions, and in making such arrangements as circumstances admitted, for a more regular distribution of justice. The Court of Directors appointed a Committee for the purpose, consisting of the Governor and four members of the Supreme Council. § The Committee, headed as it was by Hastings, digested a plan for the more effective collection of the revenue and the administration of justice. This plan || which bears witness throughout to the soundness of the views entertained by that illustrious statesman, consisted of rules which were stated to have been framed with a view to adapt them "to the manners and understandings of the people and the exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to their ancient usages and institutions,"¶ and although the constitu-

* So far back as 1761 Mr. Holwell had advised the Calcutta Council to adopt some such decisive policy, but Clive who then guided its deliberations, did not think it advisable to act upon his advice. Holwell's bold words were:—"We have nibbled at these provinces for eight years, and notwithstanding the immense acquisitions of territory and revenue, what benefit has resulted from our success to the Company? Shall we go on nibbling and nibbling at the bait until the trap falls and crushes us? Let us boldly dare to be Soobahs ourselves."

† Both Shitah Roy and Mahomed Reza were tried for misconduct in the discharge of their duties. The former, who was a very honest and upright man, was in no time acquitted with honour. The innocence of Reza Khan was not so clearly established, his accuser being the notorious Nund Coomar. But as Hastings, before whom the trial took place, was not disposed to deal harshly, he after a long hearing, pronounced that the charges had not been made out, and accordingly, ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty.

‡ Harrington's *Analysis*, Vol. ii, pp. 11, 12.

§ The Council itself, as it stood before the Regulating Act, consisted of an indeterminate number of members, usually about twelve, many of whom held other offices than that of Councillor both at Calcutta and in the various inland factories. It was a loosely constituted, ill-organized body. Stephen's *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. i, p. 14.

|| Adopted by Government on 21st August 1772.

¶ Proceedings of the Governor and Council at Fort William respecting the administration of justice amongst the natives of Bengal, p. 4, 4to, London, 1774. The impossibility of introducing English laws, as the general standard of judicial decision in

tion of the Courts was shortly afterwards completely altered, many of the rules which it contained were, and are still, preserved in what is called the Bengal Code of Regulations.

In pursuance of the plan of the Committee, the Exchequer and the Treasury were removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, and a "Board of Revenue," as it was styled, consisting of the Governor and Council, with an establishment of native officers, was constituted at the Presidency, for the management, not only of the collections, but many of the most important duties of the municipal government. The supervisors appointed under Verelst's system, became "Collectors," one of whom presided over each considerable district, assisted by a native officer called Diwan* and the lands were leased to the highest bidder who could produce the requisite security for rent, for a period of five years. In each Collectorate or provincial division was established a *Diwani* or Civil Court for the administration of civil justice, which was presided over by the Collector on the part of the Company as Diwan, attended by the provincial Diwan and other officers of the Collector's Court. This Court took cognizance of "all disputes concerning property, real or personal, all cases of inheritance, marriage, and caste, all claims of debt, disputed accounts, contracts, and demands of rent," excepting, however, questions relating to the succession to zemindari and talookdari property, which were reserved for the decision of the President and Council. A *Fouzdari*, or Criminal Court, was also established in each district, for the trial of "murder, robbery and theft, and all other felonies, forgery, perjury, and all sorts of frauds and misdemeanours, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery, and every other breach of the peace or violent invasion of property." The *Kazi* and *Mufii* of the district and two Moulvies sat in the *Fouzdari* or Criminal Court to expound the Mahomedan law and to determine how far accused persons were guilty of its violation; but it was also provided that the Collector should attend to the proceedings, and see that the decision was passed in a fair and impartial manner according to the proofs exhibited. Two Superior Courts, that is, Courts of the last resort, were established at the chief seat of Government to be called the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and *Sadar Nizamat Adalat*; the former

these provinces, without violating the fundamental principle of all civil laws,—that they ought to be, as Vattel says, "suitable to the genius of the people and to all the circumstances in which they may be placed,"—has been duly stated by Mr. Verelst, whose local knowledge and spotless character entitles his opinion to respect. His sentiments are also supported by those of Sir John Shore whose perfect acquaintance with the inhabitants of India, added to his high and well-merited reputation, his eminent public and private virtues, must ever give weight to his deliberate suggestion, that "the grand object of our Government in this country should be to conciliate the minds of the natives by allowing them the free enjoyment of all their prejudices, and by securing to them their rights and property." See *India Papers*, Vol. v, 1787.

* Afterwards called *Sheristadar*.

to be presided over by the President and the Members of Council, assisted by the native officers of the Khalsa or Exchequer, and to be a Court of Appeal * in all cases where the amount in dispute exceeded 500 rupees, and the latter† to be presided over by a chief officer of justice, to be called the *Darogah-i-Adalat* on the part of the Nawab Nazim, assisted by the Head *Kazi* and *Mufi* and three eminent Moulvies, with a similar control to be exercised by the Chief and Council, with respect to the proceedings of the Court, as was vested in the Collectors of Districts. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat was to revise and confirm the proceedings of the Fouzdari Courts in cases involving fines exceeding 100 rupees, and in capital cases to prepare the sentence for the warrant of the Nazim. Their proceedings were subject to the control of the President and Council, so as to ensure regularity and impartiality.

One of the leading features of this plan was, that in the Civil Courts Mahomedans and Hindus were entitled to the benefit of their own laws in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages and institutions.‡ In criminal matters, however, the penal system of the Mahomedans which had guided the administration of criminal justice in Bengal for more than two centuries, was allowed to have its sway both over Mahomedans and Hindus. Indeed, the Hindu Criminal Code• so long exploded, was but ill adapted to the actual state of society; and the Hindoos as well as Mahomedans had become accustomed to, and acquainted with, the ordinances of Mahomet, "however defective and irrational,

* It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the Sadar Diwani Adalat is merely a Court of Appeal. No one could be a better authority on the subject than Hastings who was the framer of the system under which that Court was established. In a masterly minute recorded on the 29th September, 1780, he expressed himself most clearly on the matter. After premising that the Sadar Diwani Adalat "has been commonly, but erroneously understood to be simply a Court of Appeals," he goes on to say: "Its province is, and necessarily must be, more extensive. It is not only to receive appeals from the decrees of the inferior courts in all causes exceeding a certain amount but to receive and revise all proceedings of the inferior courts, to attend to their conduct, to remedy their defects, and generally to form such new regulations and checks as experience shall prove to be necessary to the purpose of their institution." In view of these multifarious duties of the court, which it was simply impossible for the Supreme Council to perform, even if it were to devote half of its time to this department, he proposed that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who had not much to do, should be appointed also to preside at the Sadar Diwani Adalat. This was, no doubt, a wise proposal, but such was the spirit of the times that the appointment, so far from being approved of, proved a fruitful source of trouble both to Hastings and Impey. *Nand Comar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 225, 226, 233.

† The Nizamut Adalat, or the Supreme Court of Criminal Justice, was sub-divided into the Roz'-adalat, or Court held on a Sunday by the Nazim for the trial of capital offenders, and the Adalat-ul-'Aliyat, the High Court in which affrays, quarrels, cases regarding personal property were tried; this was usually presided over by Nizam's Deputy, or Darogah. See Glossary appended to Morley's *Administration of Justice in British India*.

‡ Sir William Blackstone says very truly: "In conquered or ceded countries, that have already laws of their own, the King may, indeed, alter or change those laws; but till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unless such as are against the laws of God."

however much opposed to those principles of law, which respect alike the rights of the individual and the interests of the Community."*

Such is the outline of the system first proposed by Warren Hastings, a system unavoidably imperfect, from the limited knowledge possessed at that period by the English, of the habits and character of the natives, and indeed, of almost all that was requisite for rendering it effectual, but which must, at the same time, excite our admiration, considering how sound and solid a foundation it laid for future statesmen to build on. The Committee of the House of Commons, in the celebrated Fifth Report, speaking of the Revenue and Judicial Regulations which were made under this system, observe, that they evince "a diligence of research and a desire to improve the condition of the inhabitants by abolishing many injurious practices which had prevailed under the native Government; and thus the first important step was made towards those principles of equitable Government which, it is presumed the Directors always had it in view to establish, and which, in subsequent institutions, have been more successfully accomplished."†

Soon after the adoption of this plan by Government, the Regulating Act of 1773 (13 Geo. III, c. 63) was passed; but this Statute, notwithstanding its pretentious title, so far from mending matters, made them worse still. It provided for the political administration of India by the appointment of a Governor-General and Council, and for its judicial administration by the establishment of a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. But the respective powers of the Court and the Council were so ill defined that it was not long before they were at terrible feuds with one another. Something like a reign of terror began, and the country lost the little peace it had been enjoying for some short time.

The year 1774‡ was certainly not a year of unrest for Bengal, but it was a calm of that portentous character which precedes a dreadful storm. In that year an alteration took place in the constitution of the Mofussil Diwani Courts by the recall of the Collectors and the appointment of six Provincial Councils of Revenue for the respective divisions of Calcutta, Burdwan, Dacca, Moorshedabad, Dinajpur and Patna. The administration of civil justice was transferred from the European Collectors to the Native Amils, from

* F. L. Beaufort's *Digest of the Criminal Law of Bengal*, p. 1, 2nd Ed. 1857. For an enumeration of the Criminal Courts which existed at the Capital during Moslem rule, see page 4 of the same work.

† Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, p. 6.

‡ The Supreme Court Judges arrived in November, but they had not commenced their sittings in that year, nor had Francis and Clavering shown their open hostility to Hastings.

whose decisions an appeal lay in every case to the Provincial Councils, and thence, under certain restrictions, to the Governor-General and Council as the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Mr. Hastings, to whom the superintendence of the administration of criminal justice had been particularly entrusted by the Government, now found this duty too onerous, and, therefore, relinquished it. Accordingly, in October 1775* the Nizamat Adalat was moved back from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and Mohammed Reza Khan was, on the recommendation of the Governor-General and Council, appointed to the office of Naib Nazim; and Foudars were appointed in the several districts for apprehending and bringing to trial all offenders against the public peace,† dacoity, or gang-robbery having by this time become very common. The administration of criminal justice was, it is true, still conducted in the name of the Nawab Nazim and by his officers; but the Company's Government effectually controlled and directed all its details, as would appear from the instructions given to Mohammed Reza Khan and the sanction accorded to arrangements proposed by him.

These arrangements for the administration of justice remained in force, with scarcely any change till March 1780.‡ The famous Patna cause having exposed the flagrant abuses and irregularities which existed in the Provincial Councils, Hastings deemed it necessary to do something in the direction of bettering the position of affairs, and the Supreme Council, accordingly, adopted a new plan for the arrangement of the business of those Councils. It was divided into two parts—

* From some months before, the Supreme Court Judges had fallen out with the Governor-General, and the consequence was that the Sadar Diwani Adalat was practically abolished. In a minute recorded on the 11th April, 1775, the majority of the Council say: "The Council have for some months past declined taking cognizance of appeals in the apprehension that the legality of their jurisdiction might be disputed by the Supreme Court." Impey also refers to this fact and says that the Sadar Diwani Adalat was abolished or discontinued, and that the Governor-General and Council never sat in that Court since 1775. *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, p. 181, and note. This sad state of things seems to have continued till the close of 1779.

† Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, p. 6. In that Report, the establishment of Foudars and Thanadars is stated to have taken place in 1774.

‡ Indeed, during the whole intervening period, the country was in a very disturbed state owing to the fierce quarrel which raged so very violently between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council. The dissention came to a head in the beginning of the year 1780. Both parties were to blame, but it seems that the Court was more so than the Council. As Macaulay in his usual slashing mode, says: "All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court." (*Essay on Warren Hastings*). Stephen justly takes exception to this high-flown language and criticises it somewhat severely in his work on *Nund Coomar and Impey*.

the revenue business and the judicial business, which consisted in deciding civil suits between private persons,—and for this latter business courts, independent of those Councils, were established at each of the six towns* where they sat, and afterwards at other places as well. The jurisdiction of the Provincial Councils was confined exclusively to revenue matters.†

Each of the Civil Courts so established was to be presided over by a Covenanted Servant of the Company, styled Superintendent of Diwani Adalat, who was to have jurisdiction in all cases of inheritance to zemindaries, talookdaries and other real property, or mercantile disputes,‡ and all matters of personal property, with the exception of what was reserved to the Provincial Councils who were still to decide in all cases having relation to revenue as well as on all demands of individuals for arrears of rent, and on all complaints from tenants and cultivators of undue exaction of revenue.§

The decision of the Superintendent was to be final in all cases where the amount in dispute did not exceed 1,000 rupees, but above that amount an appeal lay to the Governor-General and Council "in their department of Sadar Diwani Adalat."

At this time the many avocations of the Governor-General and Council compelled them to give up sitting in the Sadar Diwani Adalat,|| and a separate Judge was accordingly (on the 18th October 1780) appointed to preside in that Court. The person selected for this high office was no other than Sir Elijah Impey,¶ the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and his accept-

* Impey in a letter which he wrote to Dunning in the spring of 1781, says that the Judges so appointed were *junior* servants of the Company, and that with the exception of Mr. Dugal Campbell and Mr. Thomas Ives, who were appointed to Calcutta and Moorshedabad respectively, none of them possessed necessary qualifications. As for Mr. John Guichard Booth, who was placed in charge of the Patna Court, he is described as "of the meanest natural parts, totally illiterate in his own and ignorant of any Eastern language, and one of the lowest, most extravagant dissipated young men in the country." *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 223, 224.

† Bengal Judicial Regulation i, 1780, s. 3.

‡ Bengal Judicial Regulation i, 1780, s. 5.

§ Bengal Judicial Regulation i, 1780, s. 3.

|| As a matter of fact, however, this Court seldom, if ever, sat since the breaking out of the quarrel between the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court. Sir James Stephen observes that the Sadar Diwani Adalat as Appellate Court "was an even more shadowy body than the Courts of First Instance." *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 221, 242.

¶ It had been proposed that Hastings as well as Impey should be recalled, one for giving, and the other for accepting, this Judgeship; but the proposal as to the former was not adopted. This was no doubt a very wise exercise of the power of refusal on the part of the Court of Proprietors; for, as Macaulay very properly observes, if Hastings "had been taken from the head of affairs, the 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America." *Essay on Warren Hastings*.

ance* of it was one of the principal charges from which that much-calumniated judge so triumphantly cleared himself. He has been accused, by an eminent writer, of having accepted the office as a bribe†; but whilst his legal attainments and position sufficiently account for his selection without having recourse to that odious supposition, the self-denial‡, so rare in India in those days, with which he “declined appropriating to himself any part of the salary§ annexed to the office of Judge of Sadar Diwani Adalat until the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor should be known||,” of itself sufficiently refutes an accusation couched in terms as virulent and unfair as the statements it contains are themselves partial and unfounded¶.

But apart from the question whether Impey was justified in accepting an office to which a salary was attached, there can be no doubt that he did full justice to it. In the course of the eight months between the end of October 1780, and July 1781, he prepared a set of judicial regulations, which formed a new code of procedure, founded on the earlier regulations and including many new ones which he proposed for adoption. He was thus the first of Indian Codifiers,—a fact which testifies much to his honour. Impey’s Code** is Regulation VI of 1781. It consists of ninety-five sections, which fill thirty-eight folio pages, and repeals all other regulations then in force relating to Civil Procedure. It is not a work of genius like “Macaulay’s Code,” but it is none the less a creditable

* Elijah was recalled for having accepted the office, and his appointment formed one of the articles of impeachment against Hastings. It was said that the office was given, as “a sop to Cerberus,” to stop the mouth of the Chief Justice and bring him over to the side of the Governor-General.

† Macaulay, speaking of Hastings’ appointing Impey to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as an expedient to avoid any further quarrel with the Supreme Court, says that it was “neither more nor less than a bribe,” and concludes with these words.—“the bargain was struck, Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.”

(Essay on Warren Hastings.)

‡ The appointment was worth Rupees 7,000 a month, or at least Rupees 5,000, as appears from Impey’s letter to Lord Thurlow in April 1781. *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. II, p. 232.

§ The fact, however, is that Impey regularly drew the pay for two years as Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Whether he refunded the amount on his appointment not being approved of by the Home Authorities is a matter of doubt, although from entire silence on the point one might be disposed to answer the question in the negative. Would Impey had acted without taking any salary at all, or at least without drawing any until the pleasure of the Lord Chancellor was known.

|| Impey’s letter to the Council, dated 4th July 1781, quoted in Impey’s *Memoirs* by his son, p. 221, quarto. London, 1846.

¶ Vide Morley’s *Administration of Justice in British India*, p. 50, 1858.

** This code was translated in the Persian and Bengali languages. The Persian translation by Mr. W. Chambers was printed in 1782, and the Bengali version by Mr. Duncan in 1785. Morley’s *Administration*, p. 51, and note.

performance, written in vigorous, manly English, and is well arranged. It gives the effect of some regulations which were passed in 1780 and the earliest part of 1781, by which eighteen* courts were established, in each of which, except four, was a Judge independent of the revenue authorities. In four the Collector was to be judge, but in distinct capacities, and, as Civil Judge, wholly independent of the Board of Revenue, and subject only to the authority of the Governor-General in Council and of the Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Regulation defines the local jurisdiction of the courts and their jurisdiction over causes. It provides for the limitation of suits, giving in most cases a term of twelve years. It lays down a system of procedure which contains a greatly simplified version of the old English special pleading. It provides for the mode of trial, and contains regulations as to arbitrations and appeals, besides many other matters. An appeal is allowed from the Provincial Diwani Adalat, in cases where the amount in dispute exceeds Rs. 1,000, to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Regulation remained in force for six years, when it was repealed, but re-enacted, with amendments and additions, by Regulation VIII of 1787. †

Under orders of the 6th of April, 1781, the Fouzdars instituted in 1775 were abolished, and the Police jurisdiction was transferred to the Judges of the Civil Courts, or, in some cases, to the Zemindar, by a special permission of the Governor-General in Council. The Judges,‡ however, were not empowered to punish, but merely to apprehend offenders, whom they were at once to forward to the Darogah of the nearest Fouzdari Adalat; and the Judge of the Civil Court, the Darogah of the Fouzdari Adalat, and the Zemindar were to exercise a concurrent jurisdiction for the apprehension of robbers and disturbers of the public peace.§ A separate department was established at the Presidency, under the immediate control of the Governor-General, to receive reports and returns of the proceedings of the Fouzdari Courts, and lists of prisoners apprehended and convicted by the authorities in the

* Midnapur, Chibrah,* Patna, Durbhangah, Tanjepore, Boglepore,* Rungpore,* Nattore,* Dacca, Backergunge, Islamabad,* (Chittagong), Morely, Burdwan, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Masey, Rajepur, Sultance. In those marked with a * the Collector was to be Judge.

† *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 245, 246.

‡ As Magistrates, they were also empowered to hear and determine complaints for petty offences, such as abusive language, or calumny, inconsiderable assault, or affrays, and to punish the same, when proved, by corporal punishment, not exceeding fifteen rattans, or imprisonment not more than fifteen days. This was the first direct exercise of criminal jurisdiction by European functionaries in the Mofussil. Field’s Introduction to the Bengal Regulations, p. 140, note.

§ Judicial Regulation xx, 1781, ss. 6–8.

provinces.* To arrange these records and to maintain a check on all persons entrusted with the administration of criminal justice, an officer was appointed on a salary of 1,000 sicca rupees a month, to act under the direction of the Governor-General, with the title of *Remembrancer of Criminal Courts*.† The ultimate decision still rested with the Naib Nazim at Murshidabad. In the same year the Provincial Councils were dissolved, and a Committee of Revenue established, to be entrusted with the charge and administration of all revenue matters, to be vested with the powers of the Provincial Councils, and to be under the control of the Governor-General and Council.‡

The arrangement made for the appointment of a separate Judge to the Sadar Diwani Adalat not having found favour with the Home Authorities, the Governor-General and Council, in compliance with the orders sent out by the Court of Directors, resumed charge of the Court on the 15th of November 1782. In the meantime the Regulating Act, which had given rise to such terrible dissention between the two supreme powers in the land, had been amended and explained by the Statute 21 Geo. III, c. 70. By section 21 of the Amending Act, the Sadar Diwani Adalat had been constituted a Court of Record, and was thus become in reality a King's Court, although it was generally looked upon as the principal Court of the Honourable East India Company. The Statute declared the judgments of the Governor-General and Council in appeal from the Provincial Courts in civil cases to be final, except in civil suits, where the amount in dispute was £5,000 and upwards, when an appeal lay to the King in Council.§ By the 23rd section of the same Statute, the Governor-General and Council were empowered to frame regulations for the Provincial Courts,—an enactment which, as Sir James Stephen says, was the legal foundation for the body of regulations, of which the Permanent Settlement is the most famous portion.

The judicial system, as it stood towards the close of 1781, was allowed to remain intact for the next four years. At any rate no material alteration seems to have taken place in it. But a change was wrought in the region of politics and a great change it certainly was. A terrible hue and cry hav-

* Judicial Regulation, xx, 1781, ss. 11, 12.

† Judicial Regulation xx, 1781, s. 14.

‡ Revenue Regulation i, 1781.

§ Under authority given to His Majesty in Council by 3 and 4 Wm. IV, cap. 41, s. 24, an order was made on the 10th of April, fixing Rs. 10,000 as the lowest sum for which an appeal might be preferred to the Privy Council from any Court in India as matter of right. The limit still remains at this amount. There is, however, no right of appeal in criminal cases (see *The Queen v. Joykrishen Mukherji*, 9 Moo. In. A., 168).

ing been raised in England against the East India Company on account of these grievous oppressions of the people of India, the Home Government could no longer abstain from interfering in their affairs. Mr. Fox was then at the head of the Coalition Ministry, and the nation with one voice called on him to legislate for India. In response to the national call, that famous statesman, actuated as he was by the purest and most benevolent motives, brought forward his celebrated India Bill. With all its merits it was a drastic measure, pure and simple: it aimed at the very existence of the Company. The King naturally took alarm, apprehending that it would take the diadem from his head and place it on the brows of Mr. Fox; and, therefore, although the Bill passed the Lower House by a triumphant majority, it was thrown out in the House of Lords. In the next year (1784) Mr. William Pitt, "the boy Minister," as he was called in view of his tender age, who had been placed at the head of the new Ministry, brought forward a Bill on the same subject. Although there was not in truth any essential difference between it and that of Mr. Fox, still it met with a different reception and passed through both Houses without opposition. The Bill lay the axe at the root of the power of the Company by substituting the control of a Minister of the Crown, assisted by a Board, which was to be termed the Board of Control. While, therefore, the Company continued to exercise a nominal executive power, every act was to become known to, and regulated by, the new Board. The authority of the Court of Proprietors was confined within narrow bounds; and three only out of the twenty-four members who composed the Court of Directors, were admitted to the privilege of association with the Board in political affairs. Mr. Dundas was appointed the first President of the Board, and he continued for sixteen years to manage the affairs of India with an ability which has never been surpassed.

Warren Hastings was at the head of the Company's affairs till 1785. He was succeeded by the Marquis Cornwallis who, in the following year proceeded to India as Governor-General, carrying with him detailed instructions from the Court of Directors, which were dictated by a wise and considerate spirit, stating "that they had been actuated by the necessity of accommodating their views and interests to the subsisting manners and usages of the people, rather than by any abstract theories drawn from other countries, or applicable to a different state of things."

In compliance with these instructions, Lord Cornwallis directed the *re-union* of the offices of Judge and Collector in the same person, who was also to have the power of apprehend-

ng offenders against the public peace, their trial and punishment being still, however, left with the Mahomedan officers of the Nawab Nazim; and, accordingly, the Civil Courts were, in the year 1787, placed under the superintendence of the Collectors.* District Courts were established in Moorshidabad, Dacca, and Patna, presided over by Judges and Magistrates who were not Collectors, that office being unnecessary as their jurisdiction was circumscribed by the limits of those cities.† The proper Collectors or Revenue Courts were kept distinct from the Diwani Adalat, although presided over by the same persons.‡ From the latter appeals were allowed, within certain limits, to the Governor-General and Council, in their capacity of Judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat§; and the decisions of the revenue Courts were appealable, first, to the Board of Revenue, and thence to the Governor-General in Council.|| The Collectors were also appointed to act as Magistrates in apprehending offenders against the public peace; but with the exception of the chastisement of petty offences, they had no power to try or punish offences.

The administration of Criminal Justice remained in the hands of the Naib Nazim until the end of the year 1790, when the Governor-General, convinced of the inefficacy of the different plans which had been adopted and pursued from the year 1772, declared that, "with a view to secure a prompt and impartial administration of the criminal law, and in order that all ranks of people might enjoy security of person and property," he had resolved in Council "to resume the superintendence of the administration of Criminal Justice throughout the provinces."¶ Accordingly, the Nizamat Adalat was again removed from Moorshidabad to Calcutta, and was appointed to consist of the Governor-General and the Members of the Supreme Council, assisted by the Head Kazi and two Muftis.** This Court was at once a Court of Criminal Appeal and a Board of Police, as it took cognizance, not only of all judicial matters, but of the general state of the Police throughout the country.†† Magistrates were empowered to try only trivial cases of assault, abuse, or affray, and award light punishment, and in other cases they were to hold a preliminary inquiry, and if the offence charged was *prima facie* made out, to commit the delinquent for trial before the Court of Circuit,

* Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, s. 2: Rev. Reg. xx of 1787.

† Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, ss. 2, 11: Rev. Reg. xv of 1787.

‡ Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, s. 19: Rev. Reg. xxiii of 1787, s. 1.

§ Judicial Regulation viii of 1787, ss. 53—72.

|| Revenue Regulation xxiii of 1787, s. 42.

¶ Judicial Regulation xxvi of 1790, Preamble.

** Judicial Regulation xxvi of 1790, ss. 41, 42.

†† Judicial Regulation xxvi of 1790, s. 52.

always admitting him to bail except in cases of murder, theft, burglary or robbery. Four Courts of Circuit were established for the divisions of Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, each to be presided over by two Covenanted Civil Servants of the Company, assisted by a Kazi and a Mufti as assessors. These Judges were required to hold a general gaol delivery every six months,* and in capital cases, to report their proceedings to the Nizamat Adalat at Calcutta for confirmation.† The two Judges sat together, but in the event of occasional absence or indisposition of one, the other might act alone.

In 1791 the Judges of the Circuit Courts were required to transmit to the Nizamat Adalat all trials wherein they disapproved of the proceedings held on trial, or of the Futwa of the law officers.‡ In the same year the cruel punishment of mutilation was abolished, fourteen years' rigorous imprisonment being substituted for the loss of two Tibbs, and seven years' imprisonment for the loss of one§; and the Court of Nizamat Adalat was empowered to pass sentence of death, instead of granting Diyat to the heir ||, as it was called.

In 1792 the rule that the refusal to prosecute by the relatives of a murdered person was to bar the trial of the offender, was abrogated¶. In the same year the Government took the management of the police entirely out of the hands of the zemindars and farmers of land, who were no longer to be held responsible for robberies committed in their estates or farms, and placed it immediately under the Magistrates, who were required to divide their respective zillahs into police jurisdictions of twenty miles square each, to be superintended by a Darogah**, and a suite of police officers, to be paid by Government††. The village watchmen (Choukidars) were declared subject to the orders of the Darogah.

Like a wise and wary statesman who has a grand scheme in contemplation, but who does not like to give it publicity without duly considering the subject in all its bearings and under a variety of circumstances, Lord Cornwallis had, in

* Jud. Reg. xxvi of 1790, s. 31.

† Jud. Reg. xxvi of 1790, s. 52.

‡ Jud. Reg. xxxiii of 1791, s. 3.

§ Jud. Reg. xxiv of 1791.

|| Jud. Reg. xxvii of 1791, s. 3.

¶ Jud. Reg. xl of 1792, s. 1.

** The Darogah had authority to arrest offenders on a written accusation or charge, and when the offence was bailable, to take security for appearance before the Magistrate. Of all the provisions of the new system this proved to be the most baneful. The Darogah, who was often far off from the seat of control, enjoyed almost unlimited power of extortion, and became the scourge of the country. Marshman's *History of India*, Vol. i, p. 475.

†† Judicial Regulation xlix of 1792.

the last six years, been throwing out random hints in the shape of petty judicial reforms, with a view to ascertaining the true state of affairs, and it was not until he thought that he had made his ground sure that he brought forward his new system which has earned for him a high place in the roll of legislators and made his name a household word in Bengal. The year 1793 is certainly a wonderful year so far as administration of justice in India is concerned. In that year was ushered in his excellent codification of the regulations which is the basis of the Regulation Law, prevalent throughout India at the present time. At the outset of his career Lord Cornwallis had, in compliance with the instruction of the Court of Directors, united the offices of Judge, Collector and Magistrate in the same person; but experience—that slow but sure corrector of errors—satisfied him that the result of this system would be to sacrifice the administration of justice to the fiscal interests of Government. As the moral poet says:—

“Where self the trembling balance holds,
’Tis seldom right adjusted.”

He therefore determined to vest the collection of revenue and the administration of justice in separate officers, to abolish the Mál Adalats, or Revenue Courts and to withdraw from the Collectors of revenue all judicial powers, transferring the cognizance of all causes previously tried by the revenue officers to the Courts of Diwani Adalat. The considerations which induced him to make this change, are set forth in the Preamble to Regulation II of 1793. After setting forth the grounds for the alteration the Preamble goes on to state:—“The Revenue Officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the Regulations, must be subjected to the cognizance of Courts of Judicature, superintended by Judges, who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The Collectors of the Revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the Courts of Judicature.” At the same time Government lodged its judicial authority in Courts of Justice, reserving to itself only, “as a Court of Appeal or Review, the decision of certain cases in the last resort;” and in order that Government itself in superintending the various branches of the resources of the state, might be precluded from injuring private property, the Governor-General in Council “determined to submit the claims and interests of the public in such matters to be decided by the Courts of Justice, ac-

ording to the Regulations, in the same manner as suits between private individuals.*”

The following is the constitution of the Courts for the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice, as remodelled by the Bengal Code† of Regulations: I. The *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and *Nizamut Adalat*, which may be regarded as a single court having a civil and a criminal side. The Judges of this Court were the Governor-General and the Members of Council, with the addition, on the criminal side, of the Head *Kazi* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and two *Muftis*.‡ II. *Four Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit*, one for each of the Divisions of Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. Each of these Courts was presided over by three Judges.§ III. *Twenty-three Zillah and three City Courts*, each presided over by a single Judge, who also held the office of Magistrate for the zillah or city under his jurisdiction, in which latter capacity he was further vested with the superintendence and control of the police. These three classes of Courts were European Courts, that is, they were presided over by European Officers. The fourth and last class was the only Native Court, whose *Commissioners*, as the officers holding such Court were called, were chosen from amongst the principal proprietors of land, farmers, tehsildars, managers, under-farmers, merchants, traders, shopkeepers, altamghadars, jagirdars and kazis. Thus the remark made by some of the impartial European writers—that the service was closed by Lord Cornwallis to all natives, except in the most inferior positions—is quite true and correct.

The *Sadar Diwani Adalat* exercised no original civil jurisdiction, being a Court of Appeal and Superintendence only. As an Appellate Court, it took cognizance of appeals from decrees of the Provincial Courts, in cases in which an appeal was allowed by law, and its decisions were final in all suits whatever. It was also empowered to receive original suits or appeals in which the Zillah or City Judges, or the Provincial Courts had respectively omitted or refused to proceed, and could by precept command those authorities to proceed to hear and determine them.¶ In like manner, it might receive petitions respecting suits or appeals pending

* See Preamble to Regulation iii of 1793.

† Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Barlow, a distinguished Civil Servant, had the chief hand in manipulating this Code of 1793. The Bombay Code of Regulations commenced in 1799, and the Madras Code in 1802.

‡ See Section 2 of Regulation vi of 1793, and Section 67 of Regulation ix of 1793.

§ These were in fact the Courts of Circuit established in 1790, remodelled as to their constitution and jurisdiction.

¶ At Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna.

¶ See Regulation vi of 1793, ss. 4, 9.

before the said authorities, in case they had refused to receive them, and might direct those authorities to receive such petitions and pass proper orders thereon. It could suspend Judges of the Provincial or Zillah or City Courts, who wilfully disobeyed or neglected to perform the commands contained in any process, rule, or order of the Courts to which they were subordinate.* It was also empowered to receive charges of corruption against the Judges of the Provincial Courts, or of the Zillah or City Courts. Such charges could be tried by the Sadar Diwani Adalat; or in the case of a Judge of a Zillah or City Court by the Provincial Court; or, in the case of a Judge of a Provincial Court, by a Special Commission of three or more Judges of the other Provincial Courts; or the Governor-General in Council might order the accused party to be prosecuted in the Supreme Court of Judicature by the law officers of Government. If the charge were established, the Governor-General in Council might remove the Judge, or suspend him from the Company's service, or pass such other order as might appear just and proper.

The Sadar Nizamat Adalat had cognizance of all matters relating to the administration of criminal justice and the police, and was authorised to exercise the same powers as were vested in it when it was superintended by the Naib Nazim.† Its sentences were, in all cases, to be final; but the Governor-General in Council had the power of pardoning or commuting the punishment awarded‡. All the Criminal Courts, from the highest to the lowest, administered the Mahomedan law as modified by the Regulations. The Courts of Circuit, which bore the same relation to the Nizamat Adalat as the Provincial Courts did to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, were directed to report to the Nizamat Adalat every instance in which it should appear to them that the Magistrates had been guilty of neglect or misconduct in the discharge of their duties. Those Courts were also enjoined to acquaint the Nizamat Adalat whenever the Magistrates omitted or refused to obey their orders.§

To the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat, as to each of the two lower classes of European Courts, there was attached a Register who was selected from among the Covenanted Civil Servants of the Company. The Register was the chief Ministerial Officer of the Court, and also exercised minor judicial powers. The Registership of the Sadar Court often proved a stepping-stone to that Court.

Such is a sketch of the constitution of the Sadar Diwani Ada-

* See Regulation v of 1793, s. 15; and Regulation vi of 1793, s. 13.

† See Regulation ix of 1793, ss. 72, 73.

‡ See Regulation ix of 1793, s. 79.

§ See Regulation ix of 1793, s. 63.

lat and Nizamat Adalat as organised in 1793. Many alterations and improvements were gradually introduced in the system, and this is as it should be. The edifice of law cannot be erected all at once and for ever. As Sir James Mackintosh has very properly observed, it requires to be built up gradually, in proportion as the facts arise which render some addition or alteration necessary. The Regulations which have from time to time been enacted by the British Government in India, illustrate the truth of this remark. The Sadar Court as constituted in 1793 had undergone some material changes before it was amalgamated with the Supreme Court in 1862.

For the purpose of expediting the business of the Courts of Civil Judicature by aiding the Judges in the disposal thereof, it became necessary to appoint a certain number of vakils or native pleaders. The first attempt in this direction was made by Regulation VII of 1793, which after receiving some minor amendments in 1797 and 1798, was recast and remodelled by Regulation XXVII of 1814. By this latter Regulation the Sadar Court Judges were empowered to appoint to the office of vakil such a number of persons as might, from time to time, appear to them to be necessary. No examination worth the name was required to be passed before one could be made a vakil.* If the Judges thought that he bore a good character and was otherwise fit† for the office, he was at once granted a sanad empowering him to practise as a pleader in the Court. This privilege, however, was not given indiscriminately; in fact, it was accorded only to *bona fide* natives of India. Before entering on the duties of his office, a pleader was bound to take an oath according to prescribed form. Fees for the services of pleaders were fixed by law, and no pleader was in a position to settle with his client for less than the prescribed fees. As a safeguard against such settlement being clandestinely made, parties employing pleaders were required to deposit in Court their fees. Pleadings after accepting a vakalatnama were prohibited from being employed in the same cause against the party who may have so retained them. The duty of the Govern-

* True it is a public examination was prescribed for candidates for the office of pleader by Circular Order. No. 88 of the 19th April of 1850, but before the passing of that Circular, the examination which used to be held was a mere farce. And even after the passing of the said Circular, the rule prescribed for examination was only partially observed; it was only when a pleader who, by acting in disregard of the rules for the conduct of pleadings, or by general incapacity, had shown himself to be unfit for the office of pleader, that the rule was enforced in all its strictness in case he was not summarily removed by the Court. See Carrau's *Rules of Practice of the Presidency Sadar Court*, p. 49.

† A competent knowledge of the Urdu language was absolutely necessary for a pleader. See Carrau's *Rules*, p. 49.

ment pleader* was to advise Government in legal matters and to conduct its cases. He was strictly prohibited from acting in any way against the interests of Government. The engaging a pleader, however, in a case was not absolutely necessary, for there was nothing in the law to prevent a party from pleading his own cause if he chose to do so.

Having completed his work of judicial reforms, Lord Cornwallis left for England in October 1793. He was succeeded by Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) who assumed charge of his high office towards the close of the same month. Sir John had distinguished himself in the Bengal Civil Service, and his knowledge of India and its affairs was far above average.† But he did not prove a strong Governor. During his administration the jurisdiction of the Sadar Courts was extended to the province of Benares. This was done by Regulation X of 1795, so far as the Sadar Diwani Adalat was concerned, and by Regulation XVI of the same year, so far as the Nizamat Adalat was concerned. In 1797 the limit of value for appeals from decrees, passed by the Provincial Courts on appeal, for money or other personal property was raised from one thousand to *five thousand* sicca rupees‡; and in the year following the same limit was extended to decrees for land or other real property§. These changes were made with a view to diminishing the number of appeals, and so to reduce the work of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; but by reason of the various public duties of the Governor-General and of the Members of the Supreme Council, delays could not be avoided and hence the file of undecided cases in appeal became heavier and heavier still||. In this state of circumstances it was deemed essentially necessary to the impartial, prompt and efficient administration of justice, and to the permanent security of the persons and properties of the native inhabitants of the Provinces, that the Governor-General in Council exercising the supreme legislative and executive authority of the State, should administer the judicial functions

* There were two Government pleaders, one called the Senior Government pleader and the other, the Junior Government pleader. The latter generally looked after the criminal business of Government. Above the Government pleaders was the Government Advocate. See Carrau's *Rules*. The office of Advocate-General was not established till 1779. See *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, p. 157.

† Sir John was also a good literary scholar. His Life of his friend, Sir William Jones, is a very creditable work.

‡ In the same year rules were also framed for the conduct of appeals to the King in Council from the Sadar Diwani Adalat, requiring that the petition of appeal should be presented within six months, and the judgment appealed against should amount to £5,000 sterling. *Vide* Regulation xvi of 1797.

§ See Regulation v of 1798.

|| See Preamble to Regulation ii of 1801.

of the Government by means of Courts of Justice distinct from the legislative and executive authority of the State. Accordingly, a Regulation* was passed for the purpose, whereby it was enacted that the Court of the Sadar Diwani and the Court of the Sadar Nizamat should thenceforth consist of three Judges to be denominated respectively Chief Judge and Second and Third Judge, of whom the Chief Judge was not to be the Governor-General or the Commander-in-Chief, but was to be one of the Members of the Supreme Council to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council; and the Second and Third Judges were to be selected from amongst the Covenanted Civil Servants of the Company, not being Members of the Supreme Council. These appointments were given to Peter Speke, Esqr., an old Member of the Council, John Lumsden, Esqr., who was the Register of the Sadar Court, and Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esqr., who was well read in Hindu Law and a profound Sanscrit scholar. The salary of the Chief Judge was fixed at £6,000 a year, and that of each of the other Judges at £5,500†. Both Mr Speke, the Chief Judge, and Mr. Lumsden held their office only for a few months. The former was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir George Hilario) Barlow, and the latter by Mr. John Herbert Harington, who, a few years after, produced his famous *Analysis*, a masterpiece of its kind.

By section 6 of the above Regulation, it was provided that the Sadar Diwani Adalat should be an open Court and was to be held by not less than two Judges; and that no decree or final order should be valid unless passed by at least two Judges. In case of difference of opinion arising, when the three Judges were present, the opinion of the majority should prevail; but if difference should arise when only two Judges were present, the matter should be referred to the Third judge. Every decree should be signed by the Judges present at the passing thereof; and all processes issued from the Court should be signed by the Register.

By section 7 the Sadar Diwani Adalat was empowered to suspend from office Judges of the Provincial, Zillah and City Courts in cases of misconduct, and to notify such suspension with all proceedings and papers relating thereto for the determination of the Governor-General in Council.

The Nizamat Adalat, it was enacted, should possess all the powers hereinbefore vested under the existing Regulations in the same Court, and should perform all the duties hereinbefore required to be performed by that Court.‡ It should be an open Court, and be subject to the same provisions as were prescribed

* Regulation ii of 1801.

† See London Jurist, Vol. iii, p 670, 1832.

‡ See Regulation ii of 1801, s. 12.

in section 6 for the Sadar Diwani Adalat.* At the same time the Court was invested with powers of suspending the Judges of the Circuit Courts and the City and Zillah Magistrates, similar to those previously conferred upon the Sadar Diwani Adalat in the case of the same functionaries as Judges of the Provincial Courts and of the Zillah and City Courts. The Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat were further directed to report† to the Governor-General in Council all instances of wilful neglect of duty or aggravated misconduct by a Covenanted Servant employed in any of the Courts in a judicial or ministerial capacity.‡

Thus the judicial authority vested in the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat was entirely separated from the executive and legislative authorities of the State, and it was by this much-longed-for severance that the Marquis Wellesley put the key-stone to that grand fabric of policy—the constitution of British India—of which the foundations had been so strongly laid by Warren Hastings.

As years rolled on and new territories were added to the Company's dominions, the jurisdiction of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat went on increasing. In 1803 their jurisdiction§ was extended to the Provinces ceded by the Nawab Vazier of Oude, and in the course of the following two years, to the conquered Provinces and Bundelkund.|| By section 2 of Regulation XIV of 1805, the district of Cuttack having been included in the jurisdiction of the Provincial Court of Appeal for the Division of Calcutta, the jurisdiction of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was, as a matter of course, extended to that district. At the same time the Appellate jurisdiction¶ of the Nizamat Adalat was extended over the French Settlement of Chandernagore and the Dutch Settlement of Chinsura, these two places having come into the possession of the English by right of conquest. In the same year, in order that “the separation of the judicial authority from the executive authority in all their respective branches and gradations” (which formed a fundamental principle of the “constitution” of 1793) might “be carried into full and complete execution both in form and in practice,”** it was enacted that the

* See Regulation ii of 1801, s. 13.

† See Regulation ii of 1801, ss. 7, 14.

‡ A Zillah Judge was empowered upon urgent necessity to suspend a Principal Sadar Amin, Sadar Amin or Munsiff. When the Commissioner and the Judge differed as to the propriety of removing any of them, they were both to send their opinions to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Commissioner might recommend a removal when the Judge did not take the initiative. Principal Sadar Amins and Sadar Amins could not be removed from office without the sanction of the Governor-General. Munsiffs could be removed by the Sadar Diwani Adalat. See Regulation v. of 1831, s. 16.

§ See Regulation v of 1803 and Regulation viii of the same year.

|| See Regulation viii of 1805, ss. 10 and 14; and Regulation ix of 1804.

¶ See Regulation xvi of 1805.

** See Preamble to Regulation x of 1805.

Chief Judge was no longer to be a Member of Council, but was to be selected from amongst the Covenanted Servants who were not Members of the Supreme Council; and, accordingly, on the 25th of July, Mr H. T. Colebrooke was appointed Chief Judge in the place of Sir George Hilario Barlow, Bart. This provision, however, was rescinded in 1807, and it was enacted that the Courts of Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat should consist of a Chief Judge, *being a Member of the Supreme Council*, but not the Governor-General nor the Commander-in-Chief, and of three Puisne Judges to be selected from amongst the Company's Covenanted Servants*. The result was that Sir George H. Barlow, Bart., who had had to make room for Mr. Henry T. Colebrooke, was restored to his former place as Chief Judge, while Mr. Colebrooke reverted to the position of Second Judge. The Fourth Judgeship created anew by the Regulation was given to Mr. John Fombelle.

As a necessary consequence of the extension of their jurisdiction, there had been a considerable increase in the work of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat. Such heavy work it was found impossible for three Judges to cope with, and, accordingly, in 1807, a new Judge was, as we have seen, added to the number. But this addition did not go far enough to meet the difficulty to its full extent. At the same time no further addition could so soon be made consistent with the principle of economy which had all along been the guiding policy of the Court of Directors. In this state of things, the Governor-General adopted the only course which was left to him to follow, namely, that of increasing the power of a “single-seated Judge,” as such an officer is styled in England. Accordingly, in 1808,† it was enacted that, when it was necessary for the speedy determination of cases, one Judge of the Nizamat Adalat might sit and exercise the powers of the Court‡; but when he did not concur with the Court of Circuit, he was to wait until another Judge could sit with him, before orders were passed§. And similarly, in 1810, one Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was empowered to hold a sitting of this Court, when from unavoidable cause, a second Judge was not available, but he could not *reverse* or *alter* any decision or order until a second Judge sat with him.|| But these expedients did not prove quite

* See Regulation xv of 1807.

† In the same year it was declared that all trials of persons for robbery with open violence and liable to transportation for life, should, on the conviction of the offender, be referred to the Nizamat Adalat. See Regulation viii of 1808, s. 4.

‡ According to Regulation ii of 1801, no less than two Judges could form a Court.

§ See Regulation viii of 1808, s. 6; and Regulation xxv of 1814, s. 17.

|| See Regulation xiii of 1810, s. 8.

successful, and the work of the Courts went on accumulating. The call of duty was very urgent, and it was absolutely necessary that better means should be adopted for the administration of justice with reasonable despatch. It is true that slow justice is better than speedy injustice, but it is equally true that justice, however desirable, should not "be made sour by delay." In order to expedite business without detracting from its efficiency, it was enacted, in 1811, that the Courts of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat should consist of a Chief Judge and of as many Puisne Judges as the Governor-General in Council might, from time to time, deem necessary for the despatch of the business of those Courts. The words, "being a Member of the Supreme Council" were here omitted as a necessary qualification for the Chief Judge.* Agreeably to the above enactment the number of Judges was increased to five, and the work of the Courts which had become very cumbersome, was, to a certain extent, lightened; and the result would have been better still if the Judges had been more carefully selected. Not long after, Sir John Leach, the then Master of the Rolls, in a case which came before him on appeal from Bombay, remarked that the Judges of the Company's Courts were neither acquainted with law nor justice, and that it was high time for the Ministers of the Crown to interfere.† Although the remark was rather sweeping, and did not apply to all the Judges, still it could not be denied that there was some truth in it. And this undesirable state of things, it would seem, Government had been cognizant of, from before. Accordingly, we find that in 1814, some step was taken with a view to removing it at least to a certain extent. In that year it was made a necessary qualification for the office of a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat, that the person to be appointed should have officiated for not less than three years as Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal or Court of Circuit; or that he should previously have discharged judicial functions, civil or criminal, for a period of not less than nine years.‡ At the same time the Sadar Diwani Adalat was empowered to transfer to its own file and try suits amounting to 50,000 current rupees, or 43,103 sicca rupees (being the amount fixed for appeals to the King in Council), whenever from pressure of business in the Provincial Courts, it appeared that they could in this way be more conveniently or expeditiously tried.§ In the same year more definite rules were enacted with respect to the admission of special appeals which were

* See Regulation xii of 1811.

† See the London Jurist, Vol. iii, p. 167, 1832.

‡ See Regulation xxv of 1814.

§ See Regulation xxv of 1814, s. 5, cl. 1.

directed to lie to the Superior Courts only when the judgment should appear to be inconsistent with precedent or some Regulation, or with the Hindu or Mahomedan law, or other law or usage which might be applicable, or unless it should involve some point of importance not before decided by the Superior Courts.* Summary appeals were also directed to lie from the Provincial Courts to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, in cases where those Courts had refused to admit or investigate any regular suit or appeal, regularly cognizable by them, on the ground of delay, informality, or other default.† And all decisions of the Provincial Courts,‡ whether original or in appeal from the Zillah or City Judges, where the claim exceeded 5,000 rupees, were declared to be appealable to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.§ In 1817 it was directed that special appeals should be allowed where decrees, passed by one or more Courts, were inconsistent with each other.|| Several extensions and definitions of the grounds for the admission of special appeals had been at various times enacted when, in 1819, it was further declared to be competent to the Provincial Courts and to the Sadar Diwani Adalat to admit a second or special appeal whenever, on a perusal of the decree of a Lower Court from whose decision the special appeal was desired, there might appear strong probable ground, from whatever cause, to presume a failure of justice.¶ This provision, vague and too general as it was, was ere long, rescinded, and the Courts were directed to conform to the former rules with regard to the admission of special appeals.**

Side by side with the changes made in the powers and privileges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat, there were similar changes in the sister Court of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. In 1817 all trials where persons were convicted, in the Courts of Circuit, of robbery or burglary, not within the provisions for robbery by open violence, if accompanied by murder, attempt to commit murder, or wounding, were made referable to the Nizamat Adalat.†† In 1825 the Judges of Circuit were empowered to pass *final* sentences and to carry them into execution without reference to the Nizamat Adalat, on the ground of their want of authority to inflict sufficient punishment, in all cases of

* See Regulation xxvi of 1814, s. 2.

† See Regulation xxvi of 1814, s. 3.

‡ The number of Judges in all the Provincial Courts was raised from three to four in 1814; and in 1826 the Governor-General in Council was empowered to appoint to each Court as many Judges as were necessary for the despatch of business. See Regulation v of 1814, and Regulation i of 1826.

§ See Regulation xxv of 1814, s. 5.

|| See Regulation xix of 1817, s. 7.

¶ See Regulation ix of 1819, s. 2.

** Vide Regulation i of 1825, ss. 4, 5.

†† Vide Regulation xvii of 1817, s. 8.

culpable homicide not amounting to wilful murder*. This power of passing final sentences was extended in the same year to persons convicted of robbery by open violence not attended with murder or attempt at murder; the punishment, however, being restricted to thirty-nine ratans and rigorous imprisonment for fourteen years†. In 1829 the Courts of Circuit were abolished, and in their stead Commissioners of Circuit were appointed, with like powers, to hold gaol delivery twice a year, to perform all duties heretofore discharged by the Superintendents of Police, and to be under the authority of the Nizamut Adalat‡.

Up to the year 1831 the natives of India in the British provinces had been systematically denied all participation in the government of their country. Under the pressure of public necessity a few inferior officers, it is true, had been created for the relief of the European functionaries; but the declared policy of the Government both in England and in India was against the measure of opening public employment to the natives of the soil, on the ground that it was pregnant with danger to the existence of British authority. It was reserved for Lord William Bentinck§ to break through these long-standing, and, with few exceptions, persistently maintained, opinions, and to carry out salutary reforms with the aid and co-operation of the able and liberal-minded Members of his Council who, fortunately for this down-trodden country, were quite in accord with him. The principal reform,—the one with which we are at present concerned,—was applied to the Judicial Department in the creation of native Judges worthy of the name, and their primary jurisdiction over civil suits, thereby not only relieving that department of a heavy load of work which could never be completely got rid of, but also opening a way to official service which, in later years, has received considerable extension with singular success.¶ This material change in the policy of Government was effected by Regulation V. of 1831, under which Principal Sadar Amins, now called Subordinate Judges, were appointed at the Zillah and City Stations. By section 28 of that memorable Regulation it was provided that, from the decisions of the Principal Sadar Amins

* Vide Regulation xii of 1825, s. 7.

† Vide Regulation xvi of 1825.

‡ Vide Regulation i of 1829.

§ In concluding his famous Essay on Lord Clive, Macaulay thus extols his hero:—"His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck."

¶ See Meadows Taylor's *Student's Manual of the History of India*, pp. 621, 622.

in suits of the value of 5,000 rupees, a regular appeal should lie to the Zillah and City Judges, and from the decisions of the latter in appeal, a special appeal should lie to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Provincial Courts of Appeal, which were not in good grace with the Government, were gradually superseded, and the Zillah and City Judges were empowered instead to have primary jurisdiction in all suits exceeding in value 5,000 rupees. An appeal lay from their original decisions direct to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.*

The Regulation aforesaid has also done yeomen's service to the legal profession,—a profession which at one time was identified with fraud, chicanery, and extortion, but which has now assumed such a high and noble character as would well compare with the most honorable professions in the world. Hitherto none but *bond fide* natives of the land were allowed to join the bar of the Sadar Diwani Adalat; but this restriction which was of a purely arbitrary character was removed by the said Regulation, and the office of pleader was thrown open to all persons, without distinction of creed, colour or nationality, who, in the opinion of the Judges, should be deemed eligible for it. In point of fact, while the invidious distinction referred to above, was in force, the character of the profession was anything but creditable, nay, it deserved to be condemned in no measured terms. A writer in the *London Jurist* for 1832, in an able article† on the *Administration of Justice in India*, thus observes:—"In the Company's Courts there is no semblance of jury trial, either in civil or criminal cases; but there is a bar, under the name of vakils or pleaders,—frequently an ignorant and not unfrequently a very corrupt class,—such, in general, as would be designated in this country by the word 'pettifogger.' At this bar, no Englishman, or any other Christian is allowed to practise." There is no doubt that the article from which this passage is quoted was written before the bar of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was strengthened by accessions from the Christian community. For we find that in March 1832 Mr. N. B. C. Baillie, who has achieved deathless fame by his works on Mahomedan law, was admitted to the same bar, and that in May next he was followed by Mr. C. French. Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland‡ joined towards the close of the following year. Indeed, almost in every year there were additions from the European quarter. In 1843, two intellectual giants, if one might say so, entered the ranks of pleaders, one a Hindu native of high rank and respectability, and the other a true-

* See Regulation v of 1831, s. 29.

† See Vol. iii, p. 165.

‡ Mr. Sutherland has done good service to the profession by editing Reports of Select Cases in the Sadar Diwani Adalat from 1832 to 1844.

born Briton who bore a poetical name and was remarkable for his legal learning and forensic ability. Need I say that I refer to Prosunno Coomar Tagore, a recognized authority on Hindu law, and Mr. J. G. Waller who was the first man amongst the Christian pleaders of his time. Indeed, the removal of restriction, in the matter of the appointment of pleaders, had a very wonderful effect. The character of the bar was at once changed, and a very happy change it certainly was. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in his evidence before the Committee appointed to consider the question of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter of 1831, said that, "many pleaders of the Sadar Diwani Adalat were men of the highest respectability and legal knowledge, and were treated by the Judges in a manner which made them feel that they had a character to support."* This very marked improvement in the status of the native bar proved a tempting bait which even the highest intellects in the land thought it worth their while to nibble at. Rama Prosad Roy, whose fame as a pleader has not been eclipsed by any subsequent native luminary of law, and Krishna Kishore Ghose, whose knowledge of the Regulations was almost unparallèled, both of them joined the Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1844. In this way the native bar attained such a character for ability and knowledge of law that it was quite in a position to hold its own against the well-trained members of the Supreme Court bar, and so Government very properly thought that it would not be doing injustice to the pleaders by allowing the barristers of the Queen's Court to practise in the Company's Courts. Accordingly, an Act was passed in the beginning of the year 1846,—indeed, it was the very first Act of the session,—whereby the office of pleader was not only thrown open "to all persons of whatever nation or religion," provided they were certified to be "of good character, and duly qualified," but that barristers of the Supreme Court were also permitted to practise in the Sadar Court, subject, however, to all the rules in force "applicable to pleaders relating to the language in which the Court is to be addressed, or any other matter."† In other words, barristers who were able to argue cases in Urdu or Hindustani, were welcome to practise in the Sadar Court. At the same time parties were given by the Act power to make private agreements with their pleaders regarding the remuneration to be paid for professional services. These agreements could only be enforced by a regular suit in a Court of Justice. By a subsequent Act‡ the privilege accorded to barristers-at-law by the Act of 1846,

was extended to attorneys-at-law of the Supreme Court, subject, of course, to the rules applicable to barristers pleading in the Sadar Court, "whether relating to the language in which the Court is to be addressed, or to any other matter." Thus, with the onward march of time, the long distance which intervened between the Supreme Court and the Sadar Court was being gradually lessened, thereby paving the way to their final union in the year of grace, 1862.

We have seen that both in 1808 and 1810 some powers were given to single Judges in certain cases in consequence of heavy arrears in judicial work. Similar reason led the Legislature to enlarge those powers in 1831. This was done by Regulation IX—*A Regulation for the more speedy and efficient administration of justice in the Courts of Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat*. By section 2 of this Regulation a single Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was declared competent to confirm decisions in appeal where no sufficient ground had been shown to impugn the decision appealed against, or to issue an injunction for a revision of the decision pointing out its defects. He was also empowered to admit a special appeal of his own authority, and stay execution of judgment or order until final decision. In cases of difficulty or importance, he might refer the matter to two or more Judges after recording his own opinion. Similarly, a single Judge of the Nizamat Adalat was declared* competent to reverse or alter the sentence or order passed on any criminal trial by any Court of inferior jurisdiction, provided such reversion or alteration should be in favor of the accused. In cases in which the Commissioner of Circuit differed from his law officer, a single Judge concurring with the Commissioner might pass final order except for capital punishment, whatever might be the *futwa* of the law officer of the Nizamat Adalat. But he was not competent to convict and punish against the opinion of the Commissioner, if the latter was for acquittal, or otherwise in favor of the prisoner.

In the same year a Court of Sadar Diwani Adalat was instituted for the North-Western Provinces, with the same powers in those provinces as were vested in the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta.† Thus the work of the Calcutta Court was to a certain extent reduced. But this diminution in one respect was ere long followed by increase in another. The Provincial Courts, which for some years past had been suffering from the disfavour of Government, were finally abolished in 1833, and the business of those Courts was distributed between the Zillah and City Courts on the one side and the Sadar Diwani Adalat

* Raja Ram Mohan Roy's English Works, Vol. ii, pp. 528, 529.

† The words, "any other matter," as explained by Peacock, C. J., in *Kamta-prosd Maser vs. Ram'al Sookool*, mean "any other matter of the same description."

‡ Act xx, p. 39.

§ Act xx of 1853.

* See Regulation ix of 1831, s. 4.

† See Regulation vi of 1831.

on the other, all original suits then pending being transferred to the former, and all appeals, regular, special, or summary, so pending, to the latter.* To cope with the extra work thus thrust upon the Zillah and City Courts, their ranks were strengthened by fresh recruits from the Covenanted Service.†

In 1813, by the Statute 53 Geo. III, c. 155, s. 107, British subjects residing, trading, or holding immovable property, in the provinces, were made amenable to the Company's Courts in civil suits brought against them by natives; but in order to differentiate their case from that of others they had been given a right of appeal to the Supreme Court at Fort William in cases where an appeal would otherwise have lain to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. This invidious distinction, however, was removed in 1836, in which year it was enacted that the said right of British subjects should cease to have any force or effect, and that no person by reason of birth or descent should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts,‡ or be incapable of being a Principal Sadar Amin, Sadar Amin, or Munsiff.§

In 1837 the powers of the Principal Sadar Amins were further enlarged, and they were authorised to set aside summary judgments passed by Collectors.|| They were also authorised to take cognizance of suits of any amount which might be referred to them by the Zillah or City Judges¶; as well as of any civil proceedings, miscellaneous or summary, so referred to them with the sanction of the Sadar Diwani Adalat.** Orders passed by Principal Sadar Amins in such proceedings were first appealable to the Judge, and thence specially to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Decrees in original suits up to the value of 5,000 rupees were first appealable to the Judge and thence specially to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.†† Decrees in suits above this amount were appealable direct to the Sadar Diwani Adalat.‡‡

In 1838 rules were passed by Her Majesty in Council whereby it was prescribed that after the last day of the year no appeal to the Privy Council should be allowed by the Sadar Diwani Adalat unless the petition was presented within six months from the date of the judgment or order complained of, and unless the value of the matter in dispute amounted to the sum of 10,000 Company's rupees at the lowest. After the above date the limitation of 5,000 pounds sterling heretofore existing in respect of appeal should wholly cease.

We have already stated that the Sadar Diwani Adalat and

* See Regulation ii of 1833, s. 5.

† See Regulation viii of 1833, s. 2.

‡ See Act xi of 1836.

§ See Act viii of 1836, s. 1.

|| See Act xxv of 1837, s. 2.

¶ See Act xxv of 1837, s. 1.

** Com. Act vi of 1811, s. 27.

†† Com. Act vi of 1871, s. 28.

‡‡ See Act vi of 1871, s. 22.

Nizamat Adalat had attached to them a Register, who was chosen from amongst the Covenanted Servants of the Company, and that his powers were very great, only next to those of the Judges presiding in the Courts. Not to speak of his ministerial capacity, which was of the highest kind possible, he also exercised some minor judicial powers. He was competent to take evidence when directed to do so by the Court, and discharged other important functions, acting, for instance, as Secretary to the Court in the exercise of its administrative powers.* Owing to increase in the work of the Sadar Courts, there was also corresponding increase in the business of the Register. This being the case, it was found necessary to employ men to assist him. Accordingly, a Deputy Register and an Assistant Register were appointed to act in subordination to him. By Act VII of 1841 it was enacted that any person, not being a Covenanted Servant of the Company, might, when it was deemed expedient by Government, be appointed Deputy Register or Assistant Register of the Sadar Courts. The Deputy was empowered to sign Circulars and attest copies of papers given to parties on stamp papers, and to perform the duties entrusted to the first Assistant.† The latter was empowered to sign precepts and attest copies on plain paper issued by order of the Court, or referred among its records.‡ It would seem that Benj. Gould Shorne was the first native Deputy Register of the Sadar Courts. At any rate there is no doubt of his having been so in 1847, when Mr. John Abraham Hawkins was about to be elevated to the Bench from the Register's chair.

In the year 1841 it was enacted that, from every sentence or order passed by the Sessions Judge, there should be permitted one appeal within three months to the Nizamat Adalat, and that the sentences or orders passed on such appeals should be final.§ Powers of general superintendence were, however, given to the Nizamat Adalat, enabling that Court, whenever it should think fit, to call for the whole record of any criminal trial in any subordinate Court and pass such orders thereon as it should deem just and proper, but not so as to enhance the punishment awarded, or punish any person acquitted by the subordinate Court ||.

In 1829 the denomination of Chief Judge, Second, Third, etc. Judge had been abolished,¶ but the cumbrous designation of

* See Field's Introduction to the Regulations, p 151, note.

† For a detailed account of the duties of the Deputy Register, see Carrau's *Rules of Practice of the Sadar Court*, pp. 39-46.

‡ See Circular Order, dated the 3rd April, 1840.

§ See Act xxxi of 1841, s. 2.

|| See the same Act, ss. 3, 4. This was again re-enacted in 1848.

¶ See s. 4 of Act xix of that year.

¶ See Act iii of 1829, s. 2.

Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat was left untouched. This desirable change*, which sense of convenience so imperatively required, was made in the year 1842, whereby the simple designation of "Sadar Courts" was substituted for the old uncouth names. Thus, both the style of the Courts and the nomenclature of the Judges were made as plain and simple as ever. The Chief Judge came to be designated the Senior Judge *par excellence*, and this distinction was made evidently in view of his higher pay. The Senior Judge present, whoever he might be, should be considered the organ of the Court, and should conduct the proceedings of the Court and communicate their decision.†

One of the most remarkable features of Indian procedure is, as Dr. Field says, the great latitude of appeal which it has always permitted. However sound such a system may be in theory, there is no doubt that in practice it is attended with considerable expenditure of money, and it is this costliness which takes off much from its utility. Very few suitors can afford to undergo such expenses, so that in most cases the law remains a dead letter. But as this complicated Law of Appeal forms a part of the Indian Statute Book, we cannot, in a subject like the present, avoid giving some account of it.

Finality was given to no decisions of the Courts established in 1793, except certain decisions of the Provincial Courts. In original suits two kinds of appeals were generally allowed, namely, regular or first appeals, and special or second appeals. As to appeals to the Sovereign in Council, they were allowed only in certain cases, the number of which was comparatively very small.‡ The procedure in cases of regular appeals to the Sadar Court was, after many alterations, finally laid down in detail in Act XV of 1853. This Act provided § that every petition of regular appeal, in a case appealable to either of the said Courts, should be presented to the Court in which the decision was passed, within six weeks from the date of that decision. Such petition of appeal should, except in cases of appeal *in forma pauperis*, contain only notice that the party being dissatisfied with the decision was desirous of appealing from it. The time for making such petition might be extended at the discretion of the Court. The petition of appeal together with the record of the Lower Court, should be certified to the Sadar Court as soon as conveniently might be

after the presentation of the petition of appeal.* On arrival of the appeal record at the Sadar Court, notice should be affixed to the Court-house of the said Court, requesting the appellant to file, within six weeks from the date thereof, his grounds of objection to the decision of the Court below.† On the filing of the grounds of objection by the appellant notice should be affixed in the Court-house of the Sadar Court requiring the respondent to file his grounds of objection, if any, to the appeal or to the decision of the Lower Court within four weeks from the date of such notice.‡ At the expiration of the time allowed to the respondent for filing his objections, the record should be deemed complete and the case ready to be called up for decision on any day the Sadar Court might notify.§ The respondent was also competent to file a separate petition of appeal, if he desired to object to any part of the decision of the Lower Court not involved in the appeal.|| The grounds of appeal should be stated distinctly and concisely without any argument or narrative of facts, and should be numbered consecutively, and should be on a proper stamp paper.¶ No decision should be reversed or altered, nor should any case be remanded on appeal to the Sadar Court on account of any error, defect, or irregularity not productive of injury to either party, nor opposed to any express enactment contained in the general Regulations or Acts of Government.** The provision as to injury or no injury being occasioned to either party also found place in Act IX of 1854; and it was again incorporated in section 350 of Act VIII of 1859.††

In 1843 very important provisions were made in respect of special appeals. The law as laid down in Act XXVI of 1814, was that no special appeal should be admitted unless upon the face of the decree or on the documents exhibited therewith (assuming all the facts of the case as stated in the decree to be true and correct), the judgment appeared to be inconsistent with some established judicial precedent‡‡, or with some regulation in force, or with the Hindu or Mahomedan law in cases required to be decided by those laws, or with some other

* See section 5.

† See section 6. □

‡ See section 7.

§ See section 8.

|| See section 7.

¶ See section 10.

** See section 15.

†† For further particulars regarding regular appeals, see Carrau's *Rules of Practice*, pp. 39-41.

‡‡ That is, as explained by Reg. xix of 1817, s. 7—another decree of the same Court or of another Court having jurisdiction in the same suit or in a suit founded on a similar cause of action.

* See Act viii of 1842.

† See Carrau's *Rules*, p. 35.

‡ For rules regarding Appeals to the Privy Council, see Carrau's *Rules of Practice*, pp. 8-16.

§ See section 2.

law or usage applicable to the case, or unless the judgment involved some point of general interest or importance not before decided by the Superior Courts. As a check on the admission of special appeals, it was subsequently enacted* that no such appeal should be admitted unless *two* Judges concurred in the propriety of its admission, the law having been that *one* Judge could, of his own authority, admit it. By Act III of 1843, it was provided that special appeals should lie to the Sadar Diwani Adalat from all decisions passed in regular appeal in all subordinate Civil Courts, when it should appear that such decisions were inconsistent with some law or usage having the force of law, or some practice of the Courts, or involved some question of law, usage or practice upon which there might be reasonable doubts. It is to be observed that the words in the Regulation of 1814, "unless the judgment involved some point of general interest or importance," were not repeated in this Act. Hence it was open to doubt whether a case involving some point of general interest or importance was fit to be brought before the highest tribunal. Parties were not, however, allowed to file special appeals as a matter of right. They had in the first place to apply for leave. Such applications were heard by a single Judge, who, if he thought that the case was a fit case for special appeal, was required to reduce the point or points to writing in English in the form of a certificate. At the hearing of the appeal, the Sadar Diwani Adalat was to determine the point or points so certified *and no other point or part of the case whatever*.

Act III of 1843 was repealed by Act XVI of 1853, which allowed a special on the following grounds:—(1) That the decision had failed to determine all material points in difference in the cause, or had determined the same or any of them contrary to law or usage having the force of law; (2) on the ground of the misconstruction of any document; (3) on the ground of any ambiguity in the decision affecting the merits; (4) on the ground of any substantial error or defect in procedure, or in the investigation of the case, provided such error or defect were apparent on the record and had produced, or was likely to have produced, some error or defect in the decision of the case upon the merits. No special appeal was, however, to lie, nor was any decision to be reversed, altered, or remanded, upon the ground that the decision of any question of fact was contrary to, or was not warranted by, the evidence duly taken in the cause, or any probability deduced from the record. A petition of special appeal was required to be presented within three months from the date of the decision appealed against, unless the petitioner could show just

* See Regulation ix of 1819, s. 5.

and reasonable cause to the satisfaction of the Sadar Court for not having presented it within such limited period. Every such petition of appeal should be accompanied by authenticated copies of the decree objected to and of the decree of the Court of the First Instance. Applications for the admission of special appeal were to be heard by one or more Judges. If any application were heard by two Judges who differed in opinion as to admitting the appeal for hearing, it was to be admitted. If heard by one Judge, who was for rejecting it, the application was to be laid before a second Judge, and was to be admitted or rejected according to his opinion. Every order for admitting a special appeal was to specify, for the information of the Court, the grounds upon which it had been admitted; but neither the Court nor the parties were to be confined to those grounds at the hearing. Special appeals, when admitted, were to be heard by three or more Judges of the Sadar Court.*

The Courts, both Civil and Criminal, were for a long time unprovided with any rules of evidence. The Mahomedan Criminal Law had long been in vogue, but it, too, gradually ceased to have operation.† This was the state of the law as to evidence when Act II of 1855 was passed "for the further improvement of the Law of Evidence." But this Act introduced a certain amount of difficulty, inasmuch as it assumed the English rules of evidence to be in force in the Company's Courts, which was not actually the case, except in so far as they had been adopted as a source of guidance where the Legislature had not laid down any authoritative rule. At length, however, a Code of Evidence was drawn up and passed into law under the auspices of that well-known jurist, Sir James F. Stephen. This is the present Indian Evidence Act (I of 1877), the provisions of which apply both to Civil and Criminal proceedings.

In the Mutiny year, or in the year preceding it, no material change seems to have been made in the judicial system. Indeed, the attention of the authorities was engrossed by events of a most alarming character which hardly left them time to attempt at erecting "trophies of Peace." With the suppression of the Mutiny ended the glorious rule of the famous "John Company," and a new epoch was ushered in by the Government of India Act, 1858 (21 and 22 Vict., c. 108), which declared that India was thenceforth to be governed by, and in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of England. This radical change in the policy of Government was announced

* See Field's Introduction to the Regulations, p. 181. For further particulars regarding special appeals, see Cairau's *Rules*, pp. 4-6, 41, 42.

† See *Mir Khedmath Ali vs. Mussumut Nasirunnissa*, 2 Sev., p. 449.

by the Royal Proclamation of the first November, 1858. It is very remarkable that this very measure had been proposed by that far-sighted statesman, Mr. Fox, so far back as the year 1783, but as the times were not then deemed favorable, it was shelved in until a better opportunity arose for its revival.

Having won victories of war, Government now directed its attention to winning victories of peace. The legislative mill was set in motion, and the result was that very valuable work in the shape of judicial enactments was turned out. The two earliest and most important of them were the Rent Law and the Civil Procedure Code. By the former Act, the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts was wholly taken away and an exclusive jurisdiction given to the Collectors' Courts in cases relating to rent and its adjuncts. By section 160 of that Act it was provided that in suits of the amount or value exceeding five thousand rupees an appeal should lie to the Sadar Court in its civil side. Almost simultaneously with Act X was passed Act VIII, otherwise called the Code of Civil Procedure. This valuable ornament of the Indian Legislature, which is a real gem of its kind, had been prepared by that sound lawyer and eminent judge, Sir Barnes Peacock, and although in course of time some additions and alterations have been made therein, still its material framework remains almost in the same state in which it was first presented to the profession and the public. The Civil Procedure Code was followed in 1861 by a sister Code for the guidance of the Courts of Criminal Judicature. This Code, too, owed its origin to the same distinguished jurist, and it well deserved to stand side by side with its kinsman of a more pacific mind and mood. As is the case with the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, too, though it has undergone some changes in the course of years, still retains its original character; and if Sir Barnes were to rise from his grave, he would not find much difficulty in recognising the pet offspring of his judicial brain.

The Sadar Diwani Adalat and Nizamat Adalat theoretically derived their jurisdiction and authority, not from the British Crown, but from the Native Government, in whose name the East India Company acted as administrators of revenue. They were Company's Courts, not King's Courts.* Now that the Company had ceased to exist as a governing body, and the Crown had assumed the direct rule of the country, it was high time that such distinction should be removed altogether, and, accordingly, the Sadar Courts were wedded to the

* See Sir C. Ilbert's *Government of India*, p. 46.

Supreme Court, thereby making them one body and one soul, or as the English Virgil says,

"One common soul animates the whole."

This happy union had been proposed so far back as the year 1780 by that eagle-eyed statesman, Warren Hastings, but as the match was not then deemed desirable by the Authorities in England, the proposal fell through, and would most probably have remained in abeyance longer still, but for the Sepoy Mutiny which gave an altogether new feature to British domination in India. The fusion of the two Courts was effected by means of the Statute 24 and 25 Vict., c. 104, and to give significance and importance to this felicitous union, the Courts so amalgamated were given a new name and were called the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. Till the time of this fusion the old abuses had, to a certain extent, continued to prevail, though they were not much complained of. The clumsy remedy of the Supreme Court actions was applied, but the disease to which it had been applied was not cured. When this much-desired union was effected and when the various Codes of law, especially the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, were prepared by able and experienced English lawyers, the whole administration of justice in India was brought into one general system, based upon definitely ascertained principles, and administered by a single set of Courts in each province, the High Courts formed out of the Supreme Court and the old Sadar Courts standing at the head of the system in their respective provinces.*

We cannot better conclude this account of the Sadar Courts of the Bengal Presidency than by giving a short summary of the laws administered in those Courts. These laws might be classed under five distinct heads, considering Mahomedan law, Civil and Criminal, as one head only :

1. The Regulations enacted by Government previously to the 3rd and 4th Wm. IV., Chap. 85, and the Acts of the Governor-General in Council passed subsequently to that Statute.
2. The Hindu civil law in all suits between Hindus regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions.†

* See *Nund Coomar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 192, 193.

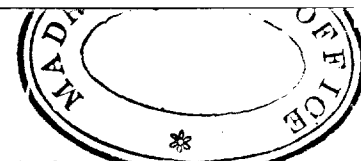
† In cases where the parties were Hindus, the law of contract, family customs (*kulachar*), and the customs of particular parts of the country were in practice, commonly recognized in modification of the Hindu law as reserved by the Regulations.

3. The Mahomedan civil law in similar suits between Mahomedans.*
4. The laws and customs, so far as the same could be ascertained, of other natives of India not being Hindus or Mahomedans, in similar suits where such other natives were parties.
5. In cases for which no specific rule might exist, the judges were to act according to justice, equity and good conscience, which has been generally understood as meaning the law of the ruling Power that is, the English law.
6. The Mahomedan criminal law as modified by the Regulations. Persons not professing the Mahomedan religion were, on claiming exemption, excepted from trial under the Mahomedan law for offences cognizable under the general Regulations.†

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

* In practice the Mahomedan law has been applied to a variety of cases which may be arranged under the following heads: *viz.*, Inheritance, Sale, Pre-emption, Gift, Will, Marriage, Dower, Divorce, Parentage, Guardianship and Minority, Slavery, Endowments, Debts and Securities, Claims and Judicial Matters. These subjects have accordingly been dealt with by text-writers on Mahomedan law.

See Bengal Regulation vi of 1832, s. 5.



ART. IX.—MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD AND THE KORAN.

FIRST PAPER.

MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD, the Prophet of Qadian, has burst forth in a new place. He writes from Qadian that he is going to establish a new monthly magazine—these monthly magazines seem to be all the rage at present in India—called *The Review of Religions*, and that it deserves “special attention.” He hopes some one will “kindly spare a portion” of his “valuable time” for going through a certain *Prospectus* and publish a review of it in some “esteemed journal.”

We need not say that we welcome his re-appearance on a new, and that the literary, war-path, and from the following paper he will see that we give him as much as he can wish. There is a “Modern Monkey Gospel” becoming current among a certain class in Western lands, mostly in England and America, but this movement of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is a nobler and truer thing viewed in its essence. Setting aside minor, though essential, points, this is a protest against the inordinate materialistic tendencies of Europe, especially England and America,—for these old hashed-up ideas have not affected the other great countries of Christendom,—against the modern idea so sedulously believed in by that class, of the degradation and objectless existence of man. “When the enemy shall come in as a flood, the spirit of the Lord shall raise up a standard against him;” and so we find a standard raised up against infidelity even by a Mahomedan, whatever we may think of his Divine claims. If the English-speaking world is vastly concerned about the truths and facts of religion—as if they are either in doubt or far to seek—the natural tendency, however, being now, as pointed out in the last October number of the *London Quarterly Review*, to go back from Darwinism to Calvinism—Dr. Alexander Japp proving that there are no such things as “survival of the fittest,” “natural and sexual selection,” or “Nature abhorring self-fertilization”:—if the English-speaking world are earnest in going to “the roof of the matter”—the existence of God, His Word, and His Gospel,—on the other hand the impact of the Western Light, of the Christian Faith as well as Science, on India is producing a most remarkable and observable effect. The old faiths of India, especially Hinduism and Mahomedanism, have become unfixed, and people are everywhere,—from the learned Hindu “Judge” who regularly reads his Bible and yet is not

a "Christian," down to the humblest failure of the "Matriculation" Examination,—striking out one way or other, groping for "The Light," and not finding it. India, in fact, in all its faiths and religions, is seething and boiling over. Among even the markedly unprogressive Mahomedans, Syed Ahmed Khan's followers would represent an enlightened criticism of the Koran—but strict adherence to it, which implies a contradiction of terms—the "old" party reckon the preceding as heretics; Mr. Justice Ameer Ali comes forward to explain and apologise for the Blood or Tribute policy of a rude barbarian to a tolerant, civilised, polished and hyper-critical age; and our friend Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sets himself up as "the Messiah" in *the Spirit*—this being perhaps the most enlightened and important development of all. His claims being considered "the Messiah" in the special sense in which the title is applied to "the Son of Man and Son of God" may be contested; but the Mirza probably knows what he is about. And he has our warmest wish that he may succeed in his *spiritual* work.

It will be seen from his manifesto that he throws unfaith and evil-living on Christians, *i.e.*, Europeans; that he sets himself forth as the Divinely-appointed Messiah; and that he calls on all Christians and Moslems to believe in him.

We should think that, for the present at least, Christians are quite content with their own Christ. Let the Mirza first of all get those of his own kind, especially the *Syeds*, to believe on him, or in him, and then, no doubt, it will be time for Christians to look into his credentials. We may add for his particular information, that his conception of "the Messiah" is not that of "the Son of God," Divine in Essence and Nature, the "Mediator" (*Goel*) and Deliverer (atonement by sacrifice) from Sin—which Christians believe in.

He also specially stands forth as the defender of the Koran, and as a first "exercise" for his forthcoming *Review of Religions*, and for him to prove himself a worthy champion of the Koran—and of Mahomed—we set forth here the asserted origin of the Koran and Mahomed's share in it, and as viewed from a rational stand-point, in which it will be seen that a renegade Armenian or Syrian monk bulks very largely. At all events, we live in a critical and questioning age, not very much inclined to believe in Archangel Gabriel's bringing down special revelations as to modes of private behaviour with wives, and of appropriating other peoples' spouses, or even of giving a definite law and polity for a few scattered tribes of barbarous Arabians. We live in an age not inclined to go to the supernatural without cause corresponding, or when the natural is sufficient to explain things. And it will be seen

from the following account of Mahomed, the renegade Christian monk, and the Koran, that in it everything exactly meets the position and the details. And it may be said there is no other rational account that does meet them.

The history of Mahomed is very well known—we, of course, exempt therefrom the "traditions" of fond and enamoured followers. Mahomed was employed by the wealthy widow Khadijah as one of her overseers of trade *Kafilas* proceeding to Syria. Syria was then over-run with Arianism which denied the Divine "Word of God"—the Divinity of Christ; and peopled with monkish fraternities of Syrian and Armenian so-called Christians. Many of these brotherhoods' monasteries were halting stages for the caravans of the wild Arabian tribes, and Mahomed, accordingly, came to hear of such elements of Christian Faith as were there really current, and to his plain common-sense, these appeared to be far superior to his own rude native idol-worship. Like our friend Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, and like many another person in every land and every age, he felt "an inward call," *i.e.*, his inclinations moved in a particular direction—the said direction being to displace the worship of idols prevalent in Arabia, for that of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,—and of the Christians,—who had revealed His Faith by the Holy ancient Prophets and Apostles. He, Mahomed, however, had never acquired learning, nor had had any literary training, and to set forth a revelation to rival the inspired strains of the Hebrew Prophets was a task beyond his powers, unless he got some one to help him with productions—*Suras*—embodying the revelation. With all the "tales" he had heard of the old Hebrew Prophets in the monasteries he had halted at, or of the elements of the Christian Faith then locally current, he also knew enough that his knowledge of them also was defective and incomplete. His "business"-like head at once formed the "plan of campaign," and he got a renegade Syrian or Armenian monk to supply the "inspired" *Suras*. Many of these monks in Northern Arabia (Syria) were extremely learned in the language and literature of Arabia, and one of these he persuaded over, hiding him in the celebrated cave whence he (Mahomed) used to issue forth with his "inspired" *Chapters* given directly by the Archangel Gabriel, the said monk being the "Archangel." There was water sufficient in a well in the cave, and food Mahomed himself managed to keep him privately supplied with. At last, when Mahomed began to meet with some success in his "Mission," people began to be naturally very curious as to his visits to the cave and his interviews with the "Archangel." In fact, there were "doubters and scoffers" even in Mecca—there were unreasonable people who even asked him to per-

form a miracle!—Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's time for that is yet to come—; and as the watching and prying became too close and unpleasant and risked discovery—this was when the earliest and best portion of the Koran had already been "revealed"—and the monk could not be got away secretly, Mahomed, by this time quite "advanced" in his "views," saw no help for it but to "do away" with his unfortunate and wretched partner in the cave. He was either to do that and obviate discovery, or stand exposed as an arrant imposter. Between these very disagreeable alternatives he made up his mind to do what he did. Just when discovery became imminent, he paid his last visit to his unsuspecting "Archangel Gabriel," and while conversing with him near the edge of the well, suddenly gave him a push, toppled him in into the "pit," and while the poor wretch was drowning, followed up his action by throwing so much rubbish and stones after him as to completely cover him and end his misguided career. After this he was safe from discovery, and it will be found that after this, too, the high note of religious devotion and "inspiration" became absent from the *Suras*, which henceforth were his own plain, poor, very mundane, and laboured-out productions—such, indeed, as he himself could produce.

Such is the account given of the Origin of Koran, and of Mahomed's and the "Archangel Gabriel's" share in it; and the account is human, reasonable and natural, and fits into all the circumstances. It is an account that is firmly believed in by Oriental Christians, and is known also to some few Mahomedans who can only reject it with vile objurgations; and if Mirza Ghulam Ahmad will set himself to answer it, and to show to ordinary people of plain common-sense that Mahomed was not such as is therein set forth, and that the Koran was not the product of the renegade Christian monk, he will—we venture to say—prove himself to be even a greater than Mahomed! The idle tales and legends of the childhood of Christ, and the peculiarly Arian denial of the Divinity of the Saviour, as well as of His Sufferings and Death on the Cross and subsequent Resurrection, which are incorporated in the Koran, will all be seen to be explained. That Mahomed did a great work in quenching—but it was *in blood*—the old idol-worship of Arabia is undoubted; that he was a "great" man is still more certain. He was the "Prophet of Arabia." But that he was anything more, or ever communed with "Archangels," will never be believed in by the present questioning age, or by any enquiring and enlightened mind—no more than in Joe Smith's book of Mormon and pretended revelations produced under similarly asserted circumstances. Here is Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's paper:—

"THE REVIEW OF RELIGIONS.

"A monthly Magazine of the above name has been started by the Anjuman-i-Isha'at-Islam, Qadian. Its objects are stated further on. It starts with the solution of the all-important question of 'How to get rid of the bondage of Sin' and expects to offer not only an impartial review of the various religions sifting truth from error, but also the solution of the vital questions for which religion exists and upon which it is founded. It further undertakes to refute all objections against Islam, the holy Quran and the noble Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, and for this purpose the editor shall be glad to receive all such objections for which sufficient grounds are stated, and an answer to these shall appear from time to time in the pages of the Magazine.

"We are further bound to state that in setting before us the grand and all-absorbing object of revolutionising the existing forms of religion, and in undertaking the tremendous responsibility of pointing out the true method for release from the bondage of sin and breathing into the seekers after truth the spirit which should invigorate them to act upon the principles of truth, we would have undertaken a task quite beyond our power or that of any other mortal, had it not been for the guidance vouchsafed to us in this matter by the All-wise and All-powerful God through the foundation of the heavenly Mission known as the Ahmadiyyah. This propaganda has been established by the hand of God in accordance with His eternal and unchangeable laws. A messenger has come from heaven when all eyes had been looking up to it in the expectations of his appearance. The prophets of God had spoken of this time, and the sacred writings gave the glad tidings of the holy man from the East in the latter days. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, whom God has chosen to be His Messiah, has come in fulfilment of the prophecies given to Jews, Christians and Muhammadans. Where and for what purpose this sun of righteousness has arisen, we shall state elsewhere. Here we wish only to point out that in almost every number of the Magazine we shall be able to give translations of his learned and masterly expositions of difficult religious questions.

"Contributions from the pens of other learned writers shall, however, not be excluded from its pages, and the editor shall feel obliged to receive contributions from all gentlemen, of whatever persuasions, who have any sympathy for the objects with which the Magazine is started.

"The Magazine shall be issued from Qadian on the 20th of every month from January 1902. It shall contain from about 40 to 50 pages of printed matter. The prospectus is issued as a

specimen. The annual subscription shall be for India Rs. 6; single copies, 8 annas; for other countries the subscription shall be 8s. 6d. Intending subscribers should apply without delay, as the first number is going to press before the New Year. The first number shall be sent by V. P. Post to subscribers who do not remit their subscription money with the application. Applications should be made and money orders made payable to the Manager, "The Review of Religions," Qadian, District Gurdaspur (India). Our Lahore agents are Rama Krishna & Sons, Anarkalli, Lahore.

THE OBJECTS OF THE MAGAZINE.

"Our object in starting "The Review of Religions" is twofold. Firstly, to draw the world to truth, *viz.*, to teach true morals, to inculcate true beliefs, to disseminate true knowledge, and last, though not least, to make men act upon the principles of truth ordained. Secondly, to draw them with a magnetism so mighty in operation that it may create in them a power to act upon the doctrines taught. It is admitted on all hands and not to be treated with indifference, that mere knowledge of the virtues cannot make a man good. Want has always been felt, on the other hand, of the appearance in every age of a person who is naturally endowed with the power of drawing and electrifying other persons. Who is not aware that the founder of the religion which now has so large and highly-paid an episcopacy to build up the Church of Christ "from within, in the true faith of God, and in holiness of life," which is supported by thousands of philosophers, and which squanders wealth like water in employing millions of missionaries to gain fresh adherents, had none of these means, yet notwithstanding its plenty of resources, the absence of true magnetism which was the vital force in its conquest over sin in its founder's days, makes Christianity a dead log devoid of true worth. One would now in vain seek in Christian countries that purity of soul and righteousness of heart which the Gospel taught. The large cities of Europe and America are, to draw it mild, theatres where horrible and odious scenes of obscenity and debauchery are commonly represented. Were it possible for Jesus Christ to rise from among the dead and witness the state of the millions who call themselves the flock of Christ, it would indeed strike him with wonder that the generation of people whose lawlessness knows no bounds, who have abandoned themselves to demoralizing excesses and resigned themselves to passions of flesh, and who are overcharged with the cares of this world, go by his name and claim to follow in his footsteps. It cannot be denied then that the fold of Christ

to-day is walking in a path different from that in which it walked in the days when the presence of its holy keeper exercised its wholesome influence over it. What is the reason of this marked difference? What causes have led to this change for the worse? Why is it that the vast majority—almost all of the professing Christians, departing from paths of purity and righteousness, have taken to licentiousness, intemperance, luxury and bestiality? What has led the people who were told to "take no thought for the morrow," and "lay not up treasures upon earth" to hanker after earthly advantage and the amassing of wealth? How are we to account for the depth of immorality and the existence of hundreds of thousands of harlots amongst a people whose Book contained the plain injunction "that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart?" Where are we to seek for that purity and chastity upon which Jesus laid so much stress? Is it in the people among whom the man who commits adultery with an unmarried woman is not deemed as guilty of a crime, but if he marries her he is a criminal? Is this the boasted morality of Christianity? Can the pure conscience of a man bear witness that this was the purport of Jesus' teachings? Were the elect of God and the holy messengers of heaven, whom He appointed to teach truth and purity to generations of men, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David and Solomon, who stuck to polygamy to their very death, guilty in the sight of the Lord? Is the wholesale debauchery and excessive drinking of Christian Europe in accordance with what Jesus taught?

"Do Christians follow the injunctions of their Master who told them to turn the left cheek when smitten on the right? Are not these matters of the deepest concern? What is the wanting factor that the result is so different? What is the cause of the total failure of Christianity as a reforming agency? Is it not true that it is all owing to the absence of the holy personage who worked so wonderful a transformation in the apostles? Jesus, it is true, has not ascended to heaven, and his sacred body lies entombed* in the sacred dust of Khan Yar Street, in Srinagar, Cashmere, as we shall show elsewhere in the pages of the Magazine, but it is equally true that the magnetism—the transforming power which came with his person into the world—has long since disappeared and ascended to heavens. It is also written in the sacred writings that that magnetism shall once more descend upon earth in another manifestation which, on account of the identity of the motive

* The spiritual death of Christianity is important evidence of the death of its founder; for if Jesus is living why does not his influence work?

force, shall be looked upon as the second coming* of Messiah. But these are things to which only passing reference can be made here, their full discussion being reserved for another place. Here we wish only to point out that books are not sufficient to impress upon the heart moral and spiritual virtues, nor is power granted to a man for the performance of deeds of virtue through their sole agency. Release from the bondage of sin and the slavery of passion cannot also be effected by preachers who are themselves slaves to their passions, who go out preaching virtue and righteousness in the streets, but when alone in their homes, take a glass too much and lie intoxicated till late in the day. The fact is that none can inspire a heavenly life and enable human beings to soar to the heavens but he only who comes from heaven. Who sees can alone show to others, and who comes himself purified and transformed, can alone purify and transform the human race. The secret of God's existence is a deep one, and he only can break this seal who, cleansed of all impurities, leads a pure life. He again brings us face to face with the question, how to be enfranchised from the bondage of sin, and how to get out of the impurities of life? There is only one answer to this all-important question, *viz.*, that such a regeneration can only be effected by him who comes with a magnetism from heaven, who on account of the extreme purity of his soul and the surpassing cleanliness of his heart is metaphorically called a manifestation of the Deity, who removes the poisonous matters and gives the *elixir vitæ* in their stead, and who burns the carnal passions and low motives of worldly life and ennoble the soul with the pure and exalted divine morals. Look at the sun and the moon; each new day requires a new appearance of the glorious orb of light. The holy one that rose in the days of Pilate among the Jews was, no doubt, a sun of righteousness, but only so long as his magnetism attracted the hearts and his light worked a heavenly transformation in the souls of his followers. He is now a sun but one that has passed below the horizon. The radiant light which shone from his face and the brilliant lustre which he cast around him is shorn of its beams and grown quite obscure, not the least trace of it being visible among those that call themselves after his name. † The holy one that sheds such light is not and cannot be God, but there is no doubt that he is one with God and his soul is in constant and close communion with God. He is the fountain-source of the divine powers, and the rare and hidden manifestations of the powers of the

* The advent of John The Baptist was regarded as the second coming of Elias for that very reason.

† [Especially in the "*Piz.*"—ED., C.R.]

Almighty which are not generally disclosed, are revealed through him. Such persons are called the manifestations, incarnations and representatives of God. In the manifestation of the divine powers they sit on the throne of God's glory.

"God is one and without any partner or rival, but persons of this type, the elect of God, whom the world has seen, may be counted by thousands. We may see a single face reflected in a thousand looking glasses, and yet there are not really a thousand faces but only one face of which there are so many reflections. This world is a grand reflector; in other words, it is a palace of glasses for the reflection of the face of God and the face of Satan. God stands against some of the mirrors and therefore the image of God is seen in them. Against others Satan makes his appearance and his likeness is consequently witnessed in them. But from these reflections it should not be imagined that the images are so many different gods. There are thousands of the manifestations of God, and thousands of those of the Devil. To allow multiplicity in the manifestations of the evil one and to limit those of the Deity to a single one, is both irreverent and unjustifiable. God made Adam in His image and after His likeness, and the Prince of the Devils manifested himself in the person of Cain. The manifestations of the Deity and the Devil have since then been appearing in the world, and therefore it is unreasonable to assert that in the whole world and during all ages there has been but a single manifestation of God. Every age stands in need of new light and a new representative. Whenever this light grows dim in a people and the influence of a heavenly magnetiser is not felt among them, they bend down solely to the earth and its mean cares, and carried away by the current of carnal desires are drowned in a flood of sins and impurities, being unable to get out of it. History bears strong evidence to it. As already stated, the vast difference between the spiritual conditions of the followers of Christ among whom he lived and taught and the Christians of to-day, points to the same conclusion. With the death of the great Teacher and his apostles there came a change over the people; and as the distance of time from the great Founder increased, the faith in God gradually lessened and their moral condition became worse and worse. Such has been the lot of Christianity; and Islam, although in some respects it has fared better, presents a similar history. The mighty and powerful magnetism of the Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, not only ennobled the souls of his companions only so far as to make them bow to the glory of the eternal and living God

instead of images and creatures and exchange their false religions for the truth concerning God, but at the same time breathed into them the soul which annihilated all their passions for and hankering after the world and its advantages. They saw God and sacrificed their lives in His way with such zeal and resigned themselves so completely to His will that each one of them was an Abraham in his relation towards God. The great and noble deeds which they did with true sincerity, to declare the glory of the living God and blot out the false dignity of the images from the hearts of men, are unparalleled in the history of the world. Their sincerity was blessed by the Lord and achieved for them such successes in the conquest of the countries as even fire-arms are unable to do. When we consider, on the one hand, the darkness which spread over Arabia and the unbelief and image-worship which disgraced the whole country, and cast a glance, on the other, at the transformed peninsula and its sons after the companions of the prophet had done their part in the cause of their benighted countrymen, we are obliged to confess that a new spirit of truth and zeal had been breathed into them.

"The holy zeal and sanctity of the Prophet, may God pour His eternal blessings upon him, had exercised its saintly influence over them. They shunned every vice and transgression as if they stood in the awful presence of God's majesty. Their only ambition was to vie with one another in virtue and goodness. Such was the righteousness of the companions of the holy Prophet of Islam, and nearest to them in sanctity and virtue was the generation that followed them. Even the third generation, *i.e.*, the people who saw and learnt from the followers of the companions of the holy Prophet, was so pre-eminent in righteousness compared with the generality of the following generations that it could have hardly recognised them as following the precepts of Islam. What was the reason of this? The same that we have described in the case of the change that passed over Christianity. The time in which they lived was so remote from the time of the great magnetiser that they hardly felt the influence which had operated upon the companions, or those that were directly or indirectly their disciples, and hence they could not abide by the righteousness which so eminently distinguished the first three centuries of Islam. Notwithstanding this change that has passed over Islam, we evidently find the Muslims superior to the Christians in four respects. Firstly, they believe in the one living and true God, and do not worship or deify creatures. Secondly, intoxication which is the root of all evils and the great enemy of all good morals, is so rare among them that compared with the

wholesale drunkenness of Christian nations, they may be declared to be quite free from the pestilence. Thirdly, the great Christian vice of gambling is also comparatively rare among them. Fourthly, God has protected their men and women from the widespread of prostitution which forms a sad feature of the Christian communities. This difference is to be attributed to the appearance in different ages among the Muslims of such reformers as draw people to virtue. It is, however, true that in the intervals when such reformers were not to be found in their midst, their righteousness and love for God have also been on the wane.

"All these facts point to but one conclusion, *viz.*, that for the true reformation of the world it is of the first importance that when one great magnetiser has passed away from the world and on account of the remoteness of period his influence too is not felt over hearts, another magnetiser should appear to re-establish the influence which vanished away with the lapse of time, and to draw the souls of all those who unite themselves with him towards spiritual and moral progress in the same way as the steam-engine draws the carriages that are annexed to it. In short, this principle is the key to the guidance of mankind, and it is established by the combined evidence of all the prophets and messengers of God that regeneration can only be effected by one whom Heaven has granted the magnetism to draw all people into one society and one fold. He establishes and strengthens a twofold relation in them, *viz.*, (1) close communion with God and complete resignation to His will, and (2) mutual relationship which establishes a brotherhood among men in the true sense of the word.

"It is clear from these remarks that there must be some peculiarity in the person of the magnetiser who works a pure transformation among his followers and draws people towards truth by the power which nature has granted him. From the word of God we learn what that peculiarity is. It tells us that the man who guides people to the path of truth and virtue combines two excellences in his person. Firstly, his love towards God is so deep that his own personality is consumed in the fire of love, and the divine lights attract him within their own pale. His person becomes a manifestation of the divine attributes in the same way as iron under the heat of fire becomes like fire. The first stage is that in which his soul feeling aversion to the sensual worldly life is naturally inclined to get out of darkness. He therefore breaks off all bonds which could keep him united with darkness and removes every obstacle that could keep him away from God. His soul is freed from the trammels of earthly passion and cleansed of faithlessness, vanity, selfishness, the fear or hope of others

than God and regard for one's own ends when pretending to serve God, which is the root of all evils and low motives. Thus relieved of every weight and freed from every obstruction, his soul soars higher and higher towards its Creator, and flowing like a drop of water at last attains the desired proximity to the ocean of existence and is fully invested with the divine morals. The result of this complete union is that as God in his very nature loves man and provides for his good, so does the transformed and perfect man naturally love his fellow-beings and has at heart their well-being in this world and the next, and this is the second excellence which he possesses. For sympathy with man he is granted a simple heart free from cunning and craft. When he speaks, it is only out of sympathy for man and for his guidance, and not under the fear of losing or the vain desire of being able to sustain well a part in a religious controversy. He is granted the divine attributes of true Providence, Mercy and Justice. Divine morals are represented within him as a reflection, through the mirror of his pure and transparent nature. In this sense he really becomes a substitute or representative of God upon earth. When the perfect man reaches this stage, God who does not waste any energy or capacity in man, seeing in him the admirable qualities of sympathy and philanthropy, charges him with message towards the people that delivering them from sensuousness he may lead them to higher and spiritual life. The holy Quran refers to this in the verse *دنى فتدلى فكان قاب قوسين او ادنى*

i.e., the perfect man upon whom the revelation of the Quran was sent down became so near to God that vested with divine morals he was sent back with the mission of deliverance to the world, and as his nature was gifted in the highest degree with two forms of zeal, *viz.*, a zeal for the love of God, and a zeal for sympathy with mankind, therefore the chord of his soul fell within these two arcs. Like the chord which is common to two arcs, being semicircles, the holy Prophet of Islam occupies a position bearing the same relation to God as to man. His spiritual position is therefore intermediate between the Creator and the created.

"In brief, this is the real philosophy of God's sending His vicegerents upon earth. No prophet was ever charged by the Almighty with the message of reforming the world unless he had attained the perfection to which reference has above been made. The assertion that the prophets of God were themselves involved in sin and darkness and therefore not able to release others from the bondage of sin, is both erroneous and irreverent. Even worldly governments cannot take such a foolish step as to entrust the administration of a portion of their territory to incompetent and unprincipled governors who, instead of doing

anything for the welfare of the country, shall lead them to certain ruin by their evil example. If then worldly governments exercise their powers so judiciously in the selection of their officers, what is it but heresy to assert that the Almighty and All-wise Ruler of the Universe upon whose choice of a reformer hang the everlasting destinies of the human race, could not exercise even so much judiciousness in His selection as the weakest ruler upon earth? The truth is that earthly people do not know the man that comes from heaven, for he is not of this world. He is subjected to cavils from the blind, for the blind do not see him. As darkness is eternally hostile to light, it does not like that light should come into and illumine the corners of the world. The sons of darkness are up in arms against light, and after a great spiritual struggle light is victorious, and the overhanging clouds of darkness are dispelled.

"It must also be pointed out here that the divine law according to which the vicegerents of God have been appearing upon earth for the guidance of men is not a dead letter now. If it is true that God will now as He willed in time past that men should repent of evil and be righteous, we undoubtedly stand in need of an inspired reformer who, like the former prophets, has the magnetism to draw people to goodness, who possesses divine attributes, whose life stands out in purity eminently above others, whose teachings have the power to attract and who can show extraordinary signs.

Our object in this Magazine is to show—

- (1) who this inspired reformer is;
- (2) what arguments and signs there are which support his claim;
- (3) what is moral teachings are;
- (4) what beliefs he inculcates and what he rejects;
- (5) what truths and knowledge he has brought and in which of the divine books they are to be found; and
- (6) what path he teaches for seeking union in God.

"Under these six heads falls the vast variety of the subjects to which the pages of the Magazine shall be devoted. Besides these it undertakes to refute every objection against Islam, the holy Quran, the holy Prophet Muhammad, may the blessings of God be upon him, and the great Reformer, the holy founder of the mission to which reference has above been made. It shall defend the cause of truth and oppose every false doctrine or erroneous teaching which is in violation of the rights of the Creator or the created." *

"CAWNPORE."

* We shall be happy to insert any reasonable (and not abusive) reply should the Mirza, or better Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, send us one to the preceding paper.—ED., C. R.

ART. X.—SIR SYED AHMED; AND THE ALIGARH COLLEGE.

(EMINENT NATIVES I HAVE KNOWN.)

I.

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN'S name is a deservedly respected one among Mahomedans in India; and I, who perhaps knew him better, and longer, than any one else in both his private life and his public work—in this the first of a series of papers on Eminent Natives of India—proceed to furnish the following details of his long career; especially as exhibiting his character, and his connection with the College at Aligarh of which he is supposed to have been the founder—both of which have been much mis-understood, and of which the present generation are grossly ignorant.

Of the Syed class, and originally from Delhi, with the title of Moulvi—which is common enough—we find him first in the subordinate Government service. He was of an enquiring mind in matters of faith, and though he had no doubts of the truth of his Koran,—being especially a Syed—he was willing to extend his knowledge even if with the help of Christians. It was this willingness to learn even from Christians and Europeans, and this enquiring mind, which marked him off from his co-religionists in those early days after the Mutiny, and which attached European gentlemen of influence and position to him and, along with the natural desire to push himself forward, led to his subsequent prominence and advancement. In those days there were some leading Baptist Missionaries in the North-West, and one of these he induced to read over the Koran and the Bible with him, to understand their ground work, and to see wherein there may be anything objectionable in his own religion. For, it should be known, that the Mahomedans accept the Bible as the Revealed Word of God, only that they but too generally pass it over, and confine themselves to the Koran, which is not as it ought to be. Accordingly Moulvi Syed Ahmed, after such light and teaching as he had from the Baptist Missionary, set forth, in print, his own conclusions regarding the Koran. This was the beginning of his public career, or career before the public. There is no saying what might have been the result in him had he had for his expositor and guide a well-equipped Church of England Clergyman;—it is quite possible that the Moulvi might have figured as a "Reverend." However that be, the publication of his notes and comments on the Koran roused a storm of

opposition against him among more bigoted co-religionists, who regarded him as a downright pervert. The result of this was that he became estranged from his own people, and set him still more in the way of European ideas and learning. He knew very little broken English, but he extended his knowledge so far as to know that English Christians were a reading people and thought much of "science." At that time there was a stir about new and improved methods of cultivation, and being stationed at Aligarh, he laid out two or three acres of ground to make such experiments in agriculture as were then in vogue in science. He had already possessed himself of a small press, where he had printed his comments on the Koran, and now began to issue stray leaves on his experiments. He thus became known as an earnest and striving man. Then, becoming known, he started a reading room, which, with the help of the surrounding native gentry, was expanded afterwards into the "Aligarh Scientific Institute," which still exists. This was next to his own modest Bungalow, where I used often to see him of an evening,—with his two fine boys standing one on each side of my chair,—for I naturally took an interest in the man who showed such evident signs of advancing himself and the district. It was my earnest desire in some way to bring him forward, the more so as though I worked and resided at distances even as great as Allahabad and Lahore, and even Bengal, I had the editorial charge of the *Weekly Gazette* which was issued in connection with the "Institute," and which was called the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, being the only "native" journal then published in the North-West.

Aligarh in those days was a very different, quiet and even rural, place to what it has now become. The native town and bazaars were pretty much the same, though even here these have been innovations. But on the Eastern side of the Railway line, it was almost an open plain. There were no Railway Bungalows and buildings, no high-level bridge, but only an ordinary level crossing, no spick-and-span Court-houses and Schools, no Church of England Mission or Workshops, and, of course, no Jubilee Memorial or the College in the distance; and I often found my way there for a quite time of it. It was on one of these occasions, and if I remember right—I have, however, the exact time—in June or July of 1866 that I earnestly discussed with the Syed some plan whereby he might be brought prominently forward to the favorable notice of the powers that were. "Education" even then was "in the air," and I had often told him that the system of English Government Colleges could never affect the life and mass of the people. To give the Moulvi due credit, though he had no ideas of his own on this or on many other subjects

that we, jointly, took up, he always agreed with me, wherein he showed his wisdom, and also his excellent spirit—of those days—of docility and child-like unquestioning faith and obedience. I had indoctrinated into him a reform in educational methods, and first I propounded it in the columns of the *Gazette* then, and after, in my editorial charge. I told him it would bring him forward if anything would, and he said he left it entirely in my hands and would do whatever I told him. During a whole year after that, I proceeded to indoctrinate the powers that then were with the same “True Education Policy for India,” both from Lahore and Bengal in the Press, and afterwards published my views separately and sowed the pamphlet broadcast. The idea met with approval everywhere, from Sir John Lawrence the Viceroy down to the Director of Public Instruction in the North-West, then Mr. Kempson, and a public and official meeting was called in Agra to consider it. As it had first appeared in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, Syed Ahmed was also called to attend the meeting, and among others to formulate any definite plan he might have on the subject. This, of course, he had not, for he had not two ideas to rub one against another on such a high Educational matter, and though I was then nearly a thousand miles away, and extremely busy, he implored me to furnish him with the necessary details regarding the foundation, management, instruction, &c., of an Institution, College, or University, that would meet the requirements of the case. This I did at much sacrifice of my time, for I had not an hour to spare then. I remember it took me a whole week to think out and elaborate all the details so as to carry conviction and be successful both in my object and with Government, as well as the Native Community. This paper carried the day at the meeting, the support of Government was accorded and assured, and Syed Ahmed was directed to go about and collect subscriptions for the purpose. After that the erection and progress of the M. A. O. College, as it was called, are matters of well-known history; only it is not known that in my scheme religion and religious worship were included, and the institution appealed equally to Mahomedans and Hindus. By the time sufficient subscriptions were collected, Syed Ahmed had become a man of some mark, with the effect of entertaining an opinion of his own, that there should be no religion, etc., in the College. At that time I had left India. On my return, after many years, I found the College both suffering in popular esteem from the exclusion of religion, and Hindus almost entirely absent from among the students, and told him he was unwise in having, if only in these particulars, departed from my plan. He was then again stationed in Aligarh, being on pension, but in a very much

larger Bungalow, and he drove me to and took me over the College—to “my (not his) College”—as he termed it—his name, however, figuring at the gateway as “the Founder.” Then, and years subsequently, on the occasion of my visits to India,—he was still only a “Moulvi,”—I never lost the kindly feeling I had entertained towards him from the first when he was an unknown and unnoticed man, and helped him on still, and finally, saw Lord Dufferin confer on him the K.C.S.I. That—the M. A. O. College, and the being made a “Sir”—was the *finale* of my acquaintance with the docile, young and obedient young man who “left everything to me.” I found he had also sent his sons to be educated at Cambridge, and that the fine, happy and smiling boy who used to stand at my right hand on the occasion of my early visits to his father, had become a judge of the High Court of the North-West Provinces.

Sir Syed Ahmed has now been dead several years full of years and honour, and that fine, happy, smiling boy has retired on pension, and is grey, with no traces remaining of his early good looks and happy face; but I still am, and the very same I was forty years ago, though perhaps more grey and bald than I was then.

NOTE.—On the occasion of my very last visit to Aligarh. I was much disgusted by finding the College used mainly as a training ground for Mahomedan law students—entirely diverted from its true educational purpose!—and a false sentiment of loyalty to the Sultan of Turkey very much current. It was then, with my sanction, that the statement was set forth in *The Lucknow Advocate*, and references made in the *Indian Daily News* and other papers, as to some one else—a European and a Christian gentleman not the Syed—being the true Founder of the College. And as the Editor of this *Review* referred to the statement in the last issue, he allows me to furnish it here. Here it is:—

“We set forth below the true story of the origin of the College, so long attributed to, and quietly assumed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The things mentioned, happened thirty years, or a generation ago and will be quite new to the public of India, but they are quite true. Both Mr. A. (we shall call him here Mr. A.) and the Syed are still living, and the former will answer any call made on him in reference to this matter in these columns. He has the proofs, letters and papers, some of them in the Syed’s own hand-writing, and all in proper and indubitable form, and is able to produce them if required. It will now be seen what very scant title the Syed has to the name or honor of being the “Founder,” as he sets forth to each College. We believe he even takes care to set forth to each

new Viceroy a printed letter regarding the College, and of course himself as its Founder. To ignore the true originator, because he happened to be away for a quarter of a century from India, may square with the Syed's ideas of things, but we leave the Government and the public to judge for themselves whether it ought so to be.

"We now proceed with the facts. Mr. A., at the time a leading editor and journalist, and interested in the advancement of the natives through education, herein leading the way to the later efforts of Dr. Leitner in the Punjab, during a journey to Lahore, was induced to turn aside and see Moulvi Syed Ahmed at Aligarh, as the latter had started a small *Gazette* which he considered might—instead of containing jejune and ungrammatical paragraphs—be utilized in setting forth to the Government the objects and aspirations of the natives and the ways and means of promoting them. Mr. A. definitely and distinctly told the Syed that it would also mean advancement to himself (he was then only a Subordinate Officer in the service), and that the first thing to be taken in hand was the matter of education, real and true education, and not the partial and sectional thing so often seen. The Syed could only assent to what Mr. A. said, for he himself had not many ideas of his own. This was in June or July 1866. Mr. A. then and there wrote out his views on "A True Educational Policy for India" and published them as a "leader" in the *Aligarh Gazette* aforesaid, and pursued his way to Lahore. In those days the old and only Punjab paper, the *Lahore Chronicle*, both from its own merits and from Sir John Lawrence being the Governor-General, and at the time at Simla, held a very high and leading position, and Mr. A. at once followed up the paper in the *Aligarh Gazette* by reproducing it bodily in the *Lahore Chronicle*. This, of course, attracted considerable attention, the more so, as a gentleman of then the highest reputation in India as an educationist, the late General W. Nassau Lees, L.L.D., at the time Principal of the Calcutta Madrassah and Fort William College, Calcutta, was known to be associated with Mr. A. It will be noticed in Graham's fulsome life of the Syed, that he, the former, states distinctly in it that he saw the Syed in the early part of the year, and then the Syed never had any idea of a College, whereas later in the year he, the said Mr. Graham, was surprised to find that the Syed was full of it, and thinks it very unaccountable. The above plain statement will explain the Syed's silence in April or May when Graham saw him and his being full of it at a later period. It does seem very strange that even then the Syed should have carefully concealed the authorship of Mr. A. and his efforts.

"But Mr. A. having once taken up the subject, pursued it

still further, and next year had the same paper reproduced in another journal in Bengal, a paper of influence second to none, and of which it was said that it was the only Indian newspaper that was suffered to lie on the private (domestic) drawing-room table of the Viceroy and the Bishop. The reasons being that it excluded all quack and dubious advertisements, and all police and criminal and adultery reports, and at the same time maintained a high tone of Christian faith. Immediately after reproducing it in this journal, Mr. A. printed a pamphlet, and incorporated his previous remarks in it, on the subject, at his own expense, and furnished copies of it throughout India to the leading high officials from the Viceroy downwards to the Directors of Public Instruction, and to the leaders of public opinion, European as well as natives. This was at a time exceeding a year from the original paper by Mr. A. in the *Aligarh Gazette* and this long continued agitation in the most diverse organs of public opinion from the *Aligarh Gazette*, a native paper, through the *Lahore Chronicle*, a strong official paper, to the———an independent European organ—and the general talk about it induced Sir John Lawrence and the then Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, to move in the matter, and see if anything could be done in the direction indicated in the pamphlet. In all this bringing the matter to a head—the original idea, the repeated re-publication everywhere of it, and the dissemination of the pamphlet, will be seen there is no mention at all of the Syed, nor need there be, for he had nothing to do with them.

"The Official *fat* having gone forth, the Director of Public Instruction of the North-Western Provinces called a public meeting, we believe it was at Agra, but this can be determined easily if required, for the original printed notice of it is available with all the other papers, letters, pamphlet, etc., of native gentlemen of prominence, to set forth their views of how best to carry out practically the plan recommended in the pamphlet. Moulvi Syed Ahmed received one of these circulars, as was only fitting, considering that Mr. A. first broached the subject in the *Aligarh Gazette*. The Moulvi, however, as he had not conceived the subject, had neither two ideas to put together on it, Mr. A. was far away on the borders of Bengal at the time and laboriously engaged in occupations that took up all his time. The Moulvi, however, urgently appealed to him to come to his aid with some practical and well-thought-out scheme that would carry out his (Mr. A's) views. Else, the Moulvi said, he would be dreadfully let down at the proposed Conference. Mr. A. met this appeal made to him, and sketched out the *Original Plan of an Oriental College in every the minutest detail*; and forwarded this paper to the Syed. Armed with it,

he appeared at the Conference ; and this was his *first* appearance in public in any connection as regards the College ; and it will be seen he was only the mouthpiece of Mr. A.

"As may be inferred from all that has been stated above, and Mr. A.'s then great influence, *this plan of his carried the day at the Conference*, and effect was to be given to it at once, Government coming forward liberally to contribute to the expenses, and the Moulvi, now well patted on the back and smiled on,—desired to make collections of private Raises towards the desired object. This he proceeded to do ; and in meantime Mr. A. left India.

"The above plain, and unvarnished, true tale will show who was the real and original Founder ; and what right and title the Syed (who even got his Knighthood from it) has to be being so-called. He never had two ideas of his own on the subject—nor could he possibly have had them. He was merely a Collector of private contributions, just as much as any other paid Collector of any other institution—for, in truth, he got his pay for it, though not in money.

"As we have said, the original and true author of the College is now in India, Mr. A., but he has been perfectly astonished at the cool way the Syed assumes to himself the origin of the College,—which might perhaps be overlooked even though Government should be apprised of the true fact,—and heartily and painfully aggrieved at finding his noble plan of Oriental Education, carried through by him even at his own private expense and at such labour and pains, and so largely assisted by Government, converted into a mere machine for turning out Mussalman pleaders, vakils, tahsildars and Court amlah.

"It is for these reasons that he now comes forward with an *exposé* of the truth, and hopes that Government at least will refrain from thus throwing away its money and even perpetrating an injustice to its Hindu subjects. Sir Antony Macdonell will doubtless see to it. (*Communicated.*)"

The above statement was prefaced by the Editor with the following lines :—

"* * * We give prominent insertion to the following contribution from a European friend. It deals with facts, the correctness of which may be questioned. The writer gives here one side of the story which he is ready to prove by public documents. If there be another side widely different from the one presented to-day, that side will also find expression through our columns.—*Editor.*"

It is needless to say that the challenge thus thrown forward was never met—there was no "other side." The *Lucknow Advocate* was then, and perhaps is still, the leading native paper of greatest influence in Oudh and the N.-W. P., and a

copy of it was specially sent to the Syed. The statement was published in a native paper for the natives to see it, as the matter concerned them,—and it was headed by the Editor :—"The True Origin of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh : A REVELATION,—" as it was ! It will have been abundantly seen from my previous lines about the Syed's career that there is no tinge of private feeling one way or other, and the same may be said of the following summary of his character, which should be known if only to instruct his fellow religionists and urge them on :—

Three persons helped to mould him :—A Baptist Missionary in regard to his ideas about the Koran and the Bible.

2. Mr. Graham, socially, and in regard to knowledge of European ways.

3. The present writer in regard to ideas for the public good, progress, etc.

The elements in him which brought him on were :—

1. An enquiring mind.
2. Docility—which is also humility.
3. Following up good ideas.
4. A free and generous heart.
5. Personal self-seeking or—Ambition.

Per Contra :

1. He had little spirituality—not even fanaticism.
2. He used a popular mistake to further himself.
3. Latterly—vanity.

In private life he was very warm-hearted.

"ALIGARH."

[If there have been hitherto doubts about the Origin and True Founder of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, this paper will set them at rest for ever. All the documents, letters, etc., to prove the statements made in it have been placed with us, and are open to any notary public for inspection.—ED., G. R.]

ART. XI.—THE BISHOPS OF CALCUTTA.

THE close of Dr. Welldon's episcopate affords us an opportunity of passing under a brief review the prelates—mostly all eminent men—who have, up to the present, filled the see of Calcutta. As a see, it yields an importance to none—not even in England. As vast in mere extent; with an alien Government standing in a paternal and tolerant relation to its varied and immense populations; with mixed populations of Europeans and varieties of Native Christians, and also Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Moslems and others; it must ever be considered a most important spiritual charge. Hence, the Home Government has always shown an excellent selection of eminent men and scholars to occupy the post. With the exception of one or two, they have been all eminent, and all have worthily adorned their exalted and responsible position. In all, from near the beginning of the last century there have been nine Bishops. Their names are Middleton, James, Heber, Turner, Wilson, Cotton, Milman, Johnson and Welldon. At a time not long ago, with Bishop Wilson, all India constituted one diocese, and India then extended to the Straits Settlements, and Bishop Wilson had Ceylon too. Indeed, his spiritual rule extended even beyond the Straits and Ceylon—to Borneo and Australia! And worthily and indefatigably the good, able, and single-eyed man fulfilled all his arduous duties over this enormous extent of the globe. But we are anticipating.

Let us premise before we take up each Bishop in succession, that there never was raised any question of the Bishops of Calcutta “interfering” with the Hindu or any other Asiatic Faith. It is only lately that we have seen this false and wicked,—we had almost said malicious—charge, laid against the last eminent holder of the see, and that by only one very peculiarly-conducted journal. We need say nothing further in regard to this, than that no native of any position, influence, note, or education—and as for the vast mass they never think a thought on such a subject—believes that Government *as* Government, will, or can, “interfere” in religion, *as* religion. As for Bishops, natives recognise them as nobodies in the political world—mere “spiritual” chiefs. The cry is now and then raised of “neutrality” in religion, “interference” and the like, only by some few for private personal or interested motives—besides carrying an appearance of being smart—and is well understood by the natives themselves to be mere *bunkum*. And the one English journal, above referred to, lends

itself to the cry merely to impose on the public and the ignorant at home—in effect, to enact a lying farce. The press and public at home should know this well.

The first Bishop was Dr. Middleton. He was a great Greek Scholar and had written a work on *The Greek Article* which brought out its true force and character, and at the same time cut at the root of the Socinian heresy of the denial of the Divinity of our Lord. The work is essential to the study of Greek, and still holds its place in the libraries of scholars. Dr. Middleton would assuredly have obtained an English Bishopric had he stayed at home. He chose, however, to accept the call, the first Government *cum* Missionary Bishop to India. His portrait shows him to have been a man of culture and gentleness, and the work he did, proves him to have been able and fully worthy of his high post. He had far-reaching views for the Church in India. He not only attended to his ordinary current official (Government) duties, but had worthy coadjutors in chaplains like Dr. Buchanan to make enquiries into the Native and Syrian Churches of South India, and laid the foundations of the first Missionary College—called Bishop's College—near Calcutta, which subsequently rose to the noblest pile of collegiate buildings India has yet seen—those near the Royal Botanical Gardens, but now converted to a secular use. Worthily and well, as we have said, wisely and surely, Bishop Middleton did his work, which he, untimely—like so many others of the Calcutta Bishops—laid down with his life. He had a sunstroke while taking an evening drive at 6 P.M. in his open carriage, and he died of it.

His successor was Bishop James, scholarly after another kind. In those days the “scepticism” in regard to religion which came to a head afterwards, was just beginning to show itself in society, and James wrote a work called the *Semi-Sceptic* which at once marked him for a profound logician and thinker, and he was rewarded with the see of Calcutta. His episcopate, however, was very brief, and he did not live long enough to add to anything his predecessor had done.

He was succeeded by the gentle, inimitable, loving and lovable, scholar and poet, the rapt “sweet-singer of Israel,” Heber. Of course, he would have had any Bishopric open to him at home, but he who could write “Greenland's icy mountains” found his proper place on “India's coral strand,” and for many years he not only visited his extensive diocese, but commended to all round the pure and loving, gentle and peaceful, faith of his Saviour. He also worked hard himself in Bishop's College, then under the great scholar, Dr. Mill, and endowed numerous scholarships in it, which have been the means of educating and sending forth numerous missionaries and scholars

into all parts of India, and even into countries far distant. His views of India, its men, manners, and institutions were particularly sensible and true, as may be seen from the two volumes of interesting narratives of his travels in various parts. His—also untimely, and most melancholy and sudden—death, while in a bath in Trichinopoly, is too well-known to be repeated here, and he early—to the great loss of India and the Church—was admitted to that “City of God” of which he had previously sung in such noble, rapt, and ringing strains.

After Heber, came Turner, who, after a few months, resigned and went home, to be succeeded by the prince of the whole series.

Bishop Daniel Wilson, whose episcopate was the longest as it was the most fruitful of expansion of the Church in India, arrived here in middle age. He was not noted for scholarship or learning, but for what was even better, an earnest, active, and living devotion to his Saviour and entire sacrifice to His service. His preaching powers were also immense, and he used to hold spell-bound the largest congregations in his Church in London. But he was, further, eminently practical. In fact, though we knew him intimately, his character was, we may say, so very remarkable, and so completely *livingly* Christian, that we find ourselves unable to describe him adequately. He was always earnest, kind, and leading men to the *Redeeming Blood* of Christ. He worked very hard, and was always making the round of his great diocese, at one time going even to Singapore. (Afterwards he consecrated in the Cathedral—St. Paul’s—which had been built with funds mainly supplied by him—for he possessed ample wealth—the first Bishop, Dr. Macdougall, of Labuan and Sarawak in Borneo.) “Political expediency” never troubled him when in the service of his Saviour, and he could rebuke “Kings”—Governors-General—to their face if necessary. (And also his own Archdeacons in open Church!) He even went out of his line and helped in useful secular undertakings, and was the real founder of rapid mail communication between India and England. And with all his vast and varied labours, he found time to write a number of the most useful and valuable works on the *Evidences of Christianity* in 2 vols., *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians*, and others, which may still be studied with profit. He was an earnest enemy, and one of the stoutest and most prominent opposers of the then new Tractarian movement of Oxford, which succeeded afterwards in quenching the Evangelical Revival of the Church of England, and is now represented by an aimless and lifeless Ritualism on the one part, and “broad” infidelity on the other. Bishop Wilson combatted Tractarianism and *Priestism* as hiding, covering, and doing away with the One and True, Great

High Priest’s work and His Personal relations with every believer. He even found time whenever in Calcutta, to take classes in Bishop’s College, like his predecessor Heber. Altogether he was a most wonderful man for his natural powers, his varied ability and knowledge, his earnestness, and his single-eyed devotion to the work of bringing souls to their Saviour. He lived to a patriarchal age, dying after an extended episcopate when past eighty—also by an accident. He had a fall in his own “Palace,” and in the language of Scripture he “gave up the ghost” and “was buried with his fathers” within the altar-rails of his own Cathedral—a noble monument of the prince and greatest of the Indian Bishops. His picture hangs in the Calcutta Town Hall. During his period, the Bishoprics of Madras, Colombo and Bombay—and it may be others—were formed. The operations of the Church, too, whether Governmental or Missionary, were extended in every direction from Peshawar to Pegu, and Cashmere to Comorin. He was held in great and deserved respect not only by Government both here and home, but by every denomination of Christians, whether Dissenters or others. The then budding—budding in India—Tractarians feared and dreaded his scathing and powerful exposures. He was, in fact, not only the Bishop of the Church, but the Head of all the Christians of India.

He was succeeded by the wise, gentle, and saintly Cotton, Head Master of Marlborough College. Dr. Cotton had many of his old pupils out in India in the services; and was an influence for good and for Christ, wherever he went. He, too, was indefatigable in travelling about, though not endowed with the naturally vigorous constitution of his predecessor. He was scholarly, and, we add with some little pleasure, set some store on the writer of this paper, our articles, whether in religious or secular papers and journals (for he wrote also for the then most able secular press which, notwithstanding Mr. Skrine’s ignorant and impudent assertion to the contrary, stood then at a higher plane in every respect than it has ever done since even with Mr. W. W. Hunter’s aid) often appearing side by side with his. Had, too, the present writer, listened to Dr. Cotton, it is possible that Keshub Chunder Sen, who afterwards bloomed into the Founder of Brahmoism, and whom we knew well, would have become a Christian Apostle, and the current of Brahmoistic thought diverted to Christianity. Bishop Cotton, too, had far-reaching views for the infant Church of India; and while opening new Missions in every province in his then contracted diocese, from Assam to the Gond Wilds, he set on foot and established the splendid European Hill Schools which bear his name for the domiciled and country-born community. If our memory serves us right, he even established

a "City Mission" in Allahabad, then over-run with loafers and poor Europeans, and, also, even explored the depths of the *Kintals*—the back slums—of Calcutta. Peace and a worthy fame rest with his name, and he will probably never be forgotten in India as one of its truest benefactors. He also died untimely and suddenly of an accident. In the dark he slipped on a foot-plank connecting a river-steamer with the shore at Goalundo, and his body was never again found. He was so universally loved and respected, that a mournfully-chill sensation was felt all over India when the news spread that he was so suddenly and almost mysteriously taken away in the dark, and his body even not recovered. He wrote a *Commentary on Job*, one of the confessedly difficult books of the Bible, which showed the trace of a considerable degree of scholarship.

After Cotton came Dr. Milman, who only got his position through his name, being nearly related to the eminent historian Dean Milman. He was an earnest *Churchman*. He was nowhere as a scholar. We believe other bishoprics were also established in his time. In his judgment he was often very and unmistakably wrong. For instance, it was at his recommendation that Bishop's College, hallowed by associations of the learned Middleton, the saintly Heber, the earnest Wilson, and Doctors Mill and Kay, and which was a nursery for Missionaries, Chaplains, and School-masters, was abolished. The splendid ecclesiastical pile of buildings, in the best site in or near Calcutta, was sold to Government for a mere trifle for an Engineering College—the "College," or its "remains" rather, being moved into an ordinary mean building near the Bishop's own residence on the Calcutta side of the river in order that he may the better go and see it—and an inferior class of work taken up. He was, unfortunately, troubled with a painful disorder all his life. Another point showing presumption, as well as an extremely weak judgment,—we might almost say miserable and inexcusable jealousy,—was his passing an unfavourable opinion on Dr. Kay's previous work in Bishop's College—Dr. Kay having before refused the bishopric of Calcutta, and other home bishoprics, and at the time being in England regarded, and truly, as about the highest pillar of learning in the English Church! It was like a flea trying to bite an elephant. However, peace rest with him, for both he and Dr. Kay are now in the grave. Dr. Milman, we believe, did not end his life either untimely, or by an accident, and had an episcopate of average length.

Johnson, an Archdeacon of Chester, was the next Bishop; why, or how he came to be offered such a high appointment is a mystery. He continued long enough in the country to establish some minor bishoprics; to see the Methodist Missions

succeed and almost oust the Church of England Missions; and to disgust the entire numerous and powerful body of Dissenters with him and the Church he represented. He then retired home and "took unto himself a wife" after declaring here that his days for such frivolities were over! While for the succeeding appointment of Dr. Welldon, Lord Curzon was unquestionably responsible, there can be little doubt that for his mistaken views of Europeans in India,—which he subsequently considerably modified,—he had Bishop Johnson for his "coach," and this latter accordingly has to bear the odium that fell on Dr. Welldon for false impressions of the country.

Dr. Welldon, the last of the number of Bishops of Calcutta, and who has just left us, was the Head Master of Harrow, and a fast friend of the young, impetuous and thoughtless Lord Curzon, whom his colleagues in the Home Ministry had dismissed by sending him to India. The two came out together full of enthusiasm each for his own work and in his own line. Bishop Welldon, whose learning was well known as the translator of Aristotle, soon won the affections of the entire body of Christians, both Churchmen and Dissenters, and afforded every promise of a useful, long, and successful episcopate. Early, however, it was made manifest that his constitution was unsuited to India, and for the two or three years he stayed here he had to retire to the hills in summer. Then, while travelling in South India and Ceylon he contracted a malarious fever, which compelled him first to take leave home and then retire. He has been appointed a Canon of Westminster by King Edward, and will probably in time get a home bishopric. We believe his interest in the conversion of India to Christ will continue.

"LAYMAN."

ART. XII.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

[We have been favoured by a South African who saw the article on the "Settlement of South Africa" in our last July number with the following paper on the subject.—ED., C. R.]

HOW to soften the blow, how best to hold out the olive branch of peace to such men as are the Boers, is not the work of a Military General, and he, too, flushed with conquest, nor of a Secretary of State thousands of miles away in England and who has no practical knowledge of Boer populations. It is useless—nay, it is worse than useless, it is positively mischievous for any one to speak of Military rule, Crown Colony Government and then, if the Boers behaved themselves, self-Government, just as if we were not speaking to a high-spirited nation suffering under every loss that can make life worth living, but to a pack of school boys or Cingalese. A whole nation, so to speak, deprived of their birth-right of independence; a fierce, stubborn and fighting race; and mostly very ignorant; have to be dealt with; and it requires, under all the circumstances, special knowledge and special wisdom—we had almost said special grace—to deal with them. That is, to deal with them so that they will give up their opposition, and join heartily in their future career as portions of the great British Empire. Let us see, then, how it is possible this may be accomplished. As we have said, it will not be done by a Military General, or by Military rule—by hectoring, dragooning, threatening and bullying; confiscations and the like. Such things may be good enough for Asiatics—not even for all Asiatics. The work must be entrusted to Civilians, and, if possible, to those on the spot. The hopelessness of resistance must be fully demonstrated by the continued presence of large Military garrisons; and at the same time, without the interval put forth by Mr. Chamberlain, and even by such a pronounced Liberal as Lord Brassey, of a Crown Colony Government. This would be of the nature of continuing a bad open sore; and we may add, it would be a measure unsuited to the character and genius of the people. Let the people see that though their flag is gone, they have still their old home and election rights, even though an English Governor or President sits at the head of their Council table. And for all the purposes of Government their own administrative organisation, which has become a portion of their nature, should be left to them as suiting them best. As we have said, this granting of self-

governing rights, with the continuance of their own administrative modes, should be conferred on them at the earliest moment, or at once. It will be found that they will soon settle themselves down peacefully under the new conditions which, however, to them will not present any novelty, being the old ones under a British authority. The Government will be British, the Army and garrisons British, but the people—Dutch, French, British who constitute the Boer population—will order and rule their home matters for themselves. And it would be easy, in regard to the Upper House to have in it a numerical majority of the higher and better educated Boers who value and hold to the British rule, in order to checkmate any wild measures of the Lower House. We trust every one will see the inadvisability of pure Military rule, or of a Crown Colony Government, to "settle" the two Boer States or Colonies. Civilians should at once appear on the scene; and the way—only possible way—for them to deal satisfactorily with the great question, one on which the future of South Africa if not of the Empire depends, is the one we have indicated above. It would be too much, perhaps, to expect Mr. Chamberlain to call in the assistance and advice of his political enemies—men like the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. James Bryce, Lord Brassey, and one or two others, to form an Advisory Commission for the Settlement of South Africa; but the matter is a national and not a party one, and it is one of the greatest importance; and it is not too much to hope that the wisest and most moderate men, along with Lord Milner and Sir Hely-Hutchinson—men on the spot—should be joined together to settle it. Precipitancy, theories, and haste will be avoided, and even the Boers themselves will admit that we wish to do the right thing by them—not being vindictive, but, rather wishing to unite them into one with us, while leaving them every liberty.*

"SOUTH AFRICA."

*[Since the above we see that Sir J. Jardine advises the same course. In a late speech at Hawick, after referring to the cruelties practiced in Scotland, he says—"How were these memories overcome in the case of Scotland? Simply by treating the Scots as a free nation to be freely united with England. Let us then contrive some scheme of conciliation, now that even Cape Colony had become the theatre of war, and that martial law was extended to all its seaports. Let us, as Mr. T. Shaw, M.P., proposed, have a commission with some great states man, some past Viceroy of India, say, as Chairman, to study some way of bringing this war to an honorable close. Let Lord Kitchener have a voice in it, and see whether his scheme might not be better than any which Mr. Chamberlain had framed."—ED., C. R.]

ART. XIII.—THE PLACE OF ELOCUTION IN CULTURE.

THERE is no good that has not its attendant evil. The truth of this is generally recognised and our every day-life will suggest to us many instances of it. So too, public agitation in this country, whatever the end, though good in itself, is not without a dark side to it. It has put into the minds of many young men, otherwise excellent, the idea that a glib tongue is a *sine qua non* for public recognition. The result is a large manufacture of prigs. Prig is another name for bore and a bore has been defined as one who intrudes himself upon others without the least concern for their feelings. This evil forces itself upon one's notice wherever a handful of young men assemble either to attend a meeting or discuss a topic. Hackneyed phrases and quotations, a cloud of words conveying little or no sense, studied gestures oftentimes savouring of the ludicrous; all these are so many proofs of its existence. If it were confined to young men, there is no need to be anxious about it nor is it difficult to root it out. But those who can lay claim to some culture and whose example is eagerly copied by the young, are not free from it. Even practical England does not seem to have escaped its grip. What the late Prof. Huxley once wrote warrants this assumption. He wrote "that mellifluous eloquence, leads far more surely than worth, capacity or honest work to the highest places in church and state." Whether in India or in England, this vice, if left unchecked, will end in undue importance being given to what is called the 'gift of the gab,' while true merit and solid culture will remain unnoticed. It is true, what distinguishes a man from the rest of the creation is his power of expression. As Dr. Channing says, "a man of more than ordinary intellectual vigour, may, for want of expression, be a cipher without significance in society." The power of distinct utterance of one's thoughts, is indeed, necessary, but to labour at it, at the expense of everything else, is to cultivate a part without harmony in the whole. It is also true that in the past ages as in the present, tongue athletes made great noise in the world and loomed large before it. This was inevitable in days when men left the trouble of thinking to a few and contended themselves with doing their bidding. But now, when the average intelligence has gone up, and as a consequence hero-worship has gone down a little, the triumph of the mere orator is on the decline. Yet the folly of overrating the virtues of the tongue is holding up its head in unsuspected corners and

stout lungs push their way to the front. If intellectual development in its richest diversity is what culture is and ought to be, then it is well to fix a place for elocution in it. Elocution has been defined as the art of speaking with grace, suitable gestures, intonation and the rest of the lot. It requires steady effort and unwearied cultivation till one is dubbed a perfect elocutionist. Naturally, one is at greater pains to learn how he says a thing than what he says—which is more important. Art subdues nature and machine takes the place of man. In a word, the substance is lost in the shadow. Indignation that is a fortnight old, is made to appear as anger of the moment. Telling sentences of regulated length and rehearsed over how many times no one knows, are palmed off as happy ideas and inspired thoughts of the hour. The audience cheers the orator to the echo and the curtain falls on what is nothing more than a dramatic performance. The effect is only what it can be. Everybody is loud in his praises of the orator's personality, his marvellous memory, the volume of his voice and of everything except the subject about which he thundered. This is neither intellectual worth nor moral dignity. It tickles the vanity of the speaker while his hearers are not the wiser for the show. It is contended that suitable gestures add to the effect of a speech. This means that the speech by itself is not effective enough. It wants the mechanical aid of the hand. We don't prize a wooden leg because it helps a cripple to walk and rate it above the natural one. The tongue is the seat of expression. If so, the aid of the hand is either superfluous or supplies a defect. Superfluity in anything one ought to avoid, and the defect must be made good by improving the power of the tongue itself. Again motions of the body in speaking are not a sign of culture. Animals which are denied the power of using their tongue express themselves by mere gestures. They shake their horns or lash their tails and communicate their wants in similar ways. Take the savage or man in lowest scale of civilization. He does not speak a word without following it up by an expressive gesture. Or even take civilized men when moved to anger. Anger is an abnormal mood in man. It makes him lose his self-control and fairly approach the savage. Then he violently sways his body and limbs to and fro. Thus it will be seen that all extraneous aid shows only defect and not perfection in speech.

Now, those who have talked most are not those who have contributed much to contemporary thought and literature. Great thinkers have seldom been renowned as speakers. Perhaps the contrary is true. The seclusion of the scholar's closet has done greater service to humanity than the ring of the platform. English Literature is full of such instances. Goldsmith

talked like poor poll, Addison conceived without holding forth anything. Burke holds his place in Literature more by his calm and sober writings on political philosophy than by his flowery rhetoric and high-flown speeches. It is a notorious fact that Burke's rising to speak in the House of Commons was invariably a signal for members to quit their benches and attend to their creature comforts. 'He went on refining; and thought of convincing, while they thought of dining.' The worth of English Literature will greatly suffer by the absence of masters like Goldsmith and Addison. Yet their oratorical accomplishments neared the freezing point. Who can say that if Burke had not paid so much attention to his speeches, his would not have become a greater name in Literature? The fact is that flights of fancy which are hand-maids to oratory are stepmothers to solid culture. Their presence stunts its growth and cultivating them is to sap its life. Thus, it will be seen that elocution does not necessarily form a part of culture, but on the contrary impedes its growth and limits the scope of its usefulness. In India, especially, it will do more harm than good. The fascination of a foreign tongue is great. We are carried away by the glitter of its words and the glamour of its rhetoric. We care more to speak sentences than sense. Add to this, we are as a nation imaginative. When imagination runs riot, there is no knowing what it will say and will not. Direct and sober expression of one's thoughts is out of the question. What we need as Hindus, is very much less of imagination and a great deal more of solid thought. As men in general and Hindus in particular, our aim must be real culture and elocution in any case will not help us much in acquiring it. If graceful speech is a sign of culture, as it undoubtedly is, then in cultivating it we can do no better than lay to our hearts the words of the poet—

'If to your heart, your tongue be true
Why hunt for words with much ado?'

S. M. RAJARAM RAO.

ART. XIV.—THE MODERN MONKEY GOSPEL. FIRST PAPER.*

"I the Lord will answer him according to his idols:" *Ezekiel*.
"They shall turn away their ears from the truth, and be turned into abels:" *St. Paul*.

THESE divinely-inspired writers view the evil from its root. Even St. Paul's "itching ears" may be assumed to be due to sin, and instability of character, which again, may be traced to sin. But we may be permitted to ascribe other causes, such as want of a thorough grounding in logic, a lop-sided growth, and the repetition of "vain" words or the use and blind acceptance of a bad currency (of words)—all which may be included in one, that is, ignorance. Ignorance may not amount to a wilful "turning away from the truth;" but people who undertake to talk about such high matters, should themselves know that they ought to be, at least, intellectually qualified. What should we think of a "layman" coming forward to insist there is no such ailment as plague, or a person ignorant of figures to assert there is no science of astronomy? It is presumption in the highest degree, and in a matter like this, in effect, rises from sin and unbelief. The Modern Monkey Gospel means simply a denial of the Bible, Revelation and Redemption.

The quarrel is an old one between two parties: one deals with existing facts and sets forth the one and only true view of man's creation, existence, fall and redemption, and hence worthily called the *Gospel*; the other deals with fancies and "fables" and sets forth man as "evolved" from monkeys—from "primordial ooze"—with the moral responsibility and destiny of monkeys, that is, of matter, pure and simple. The idea (of "evolution") seems to be grounded on the uniformity of cell-growth and all animals being formed on the same basis or plan, which—as an adumbration of the Coming Son of GOD, Who was the Former as well as the Archetype of Creation—making man in His Own Image—was prominently brought before the "lay" public last century, by Hugh Miller in his *Testimony of the Rocks*, and from which, twisting it the other way, the so-called disciples of Darwin have derived their fatuous idea.

It may be remarked before we pass on, that even if man "evolved" from a monkey, and monkeys from gnats, and

*[We set aside our own paper for this one which has come in subsequently. Our own paper deals differently with the subject and will appear in our next number.—ED., C. R.]

gnats from newts and fish, and animals from plants, and plants from one sole and irreducible original cell in the ooze—all which, we need not add, are pure assumptions, besides, what about the "ooze" itself, that is, *matter*?—man would still remain with the "Stars of GOD" crowning him, the soles of his feet only touching the "earth," and the Gospel would still mean Renewal, Peace, Purity, Love, Faith, Goodness, and Moral Beauty: the Son of GOD would remain the Son of GOD, Spirit Spirit, the monkey would remain the monkey, and matter matter. GOD and His Word simply cannot be dethroned or displaced under any view, whatever and however mistaken.

A few even high scientific names have been unequal or lopsided in their mental development—not minding what the Poet writes—

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell"—

and have made startling assertions without the least proof, being obliged to their shame subsequently to eat their words—Huxley, Haeckel and others. These have been the originators of the modern "Fairy Tales of Science," termed by St. Paul "profane and old wives' fables."

In a matter like this, which affects our character, happiness and comfort, our very being, our present and future, there is the more need to be careful in receiving new theories, inasmuch as old, universal, and well-supported and acknowledged facts established from the beginning and in continuous and present existence, have to be cast aside. Such are the Seventh Day of Rest, Worship, Paradise, the Serpent, the Tree of Life, and we may even include the covering of our naked bodies (see *Genesis*)—all these are found equally in Revelation and in Nature, and may be regarded in the light of "laws" in both.

What we find, on scrutinising closely, is assumption on assumption that would not be tolerated in an elementary class of logic; such as would not guide an ordinarily sane man in the commonest affairs of life;—the grossest credulity such as in ordinary business, would mark one out as an idiot. Lately (September 11th, 1901) the eminent Lord Kelvin, speaking before the British Association, referred to the Atomic Theory of Creation in the following words:—

"Matter and ether we were asked to believe experienced a wish for condensation and a dislike of strains—they strove for condensation and they struggled against strains. We were to picture, in fact, a lively struggle between the clay and the potter, the one with as much life as the other, and each understanding the other, but struggling together to make a pot." And what is even more: these two unintelligent inchoate

noumena did actually succeed in turning out the most extraordinary, intelligent—star-measuring and calculating—"pot," or man, who turns the tables on his own makers, and governs and rules, modifies and moulds, both!*

When we come before GOD who—as we said before, remains a Necessity—we cry, in His Presence of Infinite Holiness and Requirements—"Unclean! Unclean!" We are ourselves compelled by the moral fitness of things, if we are to stand there at all, to stand in a "Righteousness" not our own (which appear there as "filthy rags"); that is, as we have it not, in that His Own Righteousness which He has provided for us in our Federal Head and Creator to draw us nigh Him and restore to us our Original lost Divine Image. Before this Intense Burning Purity and Presence of GOD, our self-condemnation and the question of our "Righteousness," how utterly trifling, vain, worthless, contemptible, and even wicked, are such questions as "who was Adam?" "Were we evolved from gnats and newts?"—"Did Moses ever give the law or write the Pentateuch?" For ourselves we would rather speak of the former subject; and if we here consider the latter, it is a concession to meet a shallow and unreasoning age.

That some men will misbehave themselves in these days is not surprising—men who will deride the most solemn convictions of all humanity—men who without an elementary training in science or logic decide off-hand on the deepest problems underlying consciousness and which perplexed even the intellect of a Spinoza—problems explained and satisfactorily dealt with, not by the wit and wisdom of man but only by GOD Himself. Such men, as a fact, neither comprehend the subject nor understand the words they use, and yet stand up to fight against facts and the Wisdom of God!

As we have said before, the quarrel is an old one. There were "scoffers" in the days of Enoch and Noah before the flood, and there were "scoffers" also in the age of the Apostles. There have been "scoffers" always and everywhere. Fallacies make up for them the want of argument and fancies of facts—now superciliousness and sneers, now assumptions and lies, now scorn and even impudence. Sin must ever flee GOD'S Holy Presence and deny Him, and wilful ignorance must ever go astray. Assuming excusable ignorance and perfect fairness and sincerity in some, such opposers of the Gospel Truth forget a great fact, that men's minds and capacities vary, and every one may not see just as they do, or, possibly, may know more than they do. Even these, thus, are inexcusable.

*[That is, although "out of nothing nothing can come," out of nothing or zero something has come, and 1 to infinity!—ED., C. R.]

Such people confound being formed on one type or basis with an intermingling, fusion, and derivation of one from another of separate and distinct laws and principles—and believe that all came from nothing! Animals have trunks, arms and legs, and trees have trunks and branches; *therefore* man was originally a vegetable, and has been derived from it, strychnia from wheat; and *à fortiori*, man from monkeys!

It is to be observed here that the question of reason, intelligence, calculating power, is an even higher one and quite different—one even more impossible than the other. How many *æons*, it may be asked, separates the intelligence even of the highest ape from the devout and powerful intellect of a Newton or the beautiful and diverse mind of a Shakespeare? And even higher still, whence comes the peculiar sense of Responsibility to a Personal Moral Governor, or the conviction of a Future Life, which differentiates man from the brute? Only an idiot can believe in the possibility of Intelligence and Spirit being the product of or “evolving” from, matter—the All from the Nothing.

How the “Modern Monkey Gospel” has grown may be easily seen. First, there was, as we have said, Hugh Miller’s “Archetype” (Hugh Miller took it from the theologians and “Fathers”), from which the whole idea was derived. Plants and animals lived in congenial and suitable, or other, surroundings, and adapted themselves to them (as if being derived from them, they would not be just suited!). Some died off, some survived, others were slightly modified. Hence the fictions of “survival of the fittest,” “natural and sexual selection,” and “evolution”—an impossible extraordinary superstructure on the lightest airiest foundation! Everything—distinct and separate laws of plant-growth, or of animal life, poisons and food chemically distinct, distinct microbes even in the internal passages of apes and of men, brain capacity, and spiritual capacity—all regarded as if they were not! As for GOD specially creating Adam, or man, in His Own Divine Image to Reflect Him and for His Own Glory,—this grand and fundamental truth underlying the whole Universe and Revelation, is cast aside for the “fable”—man from the monkey! Verily, only a monkey intellect can fall so low.

“Evolution” is a fine, five-syllabled respectable word, with a full rolling-sound, and with a flavour of “science” about it, and “men-in-the-street” and others consider the use of it renders them “superior-like!” We all knew it in its etymological and legitimate sense always of old, but only of the last thirty years or so it has sprung up with its present evil, misleading, applied Darwinian sense. “Germinant”—a word superior, and even true in such matters—was more often in

use among theologians, but it has gone under for the present (probably to only rise again). In “germinant” there is an infolding or promise, but one does not produce the other.

From “the Fathers” Divine theological and teleological argument of the “archetype” the descent, however, has been made to the degraded material assertion of a pure fiction. And along with it have come a host of other fictions and assumptions also in matters of geology and ethnography, till the age of the earth has gone back into an incomputable, series of *æons* that may not be even applied to the existence of the whole Universe. The appearance of man on the earth, too, has gone back to the old story of *autochthones*—men who everywhere sprung up out of the ground, or were “evolved” everywhere, and that—well, many many millions of years ago! “Fairy tales” of “river-drift men,” “glacial period dwellers,” “shell-fish eaters,” “lake dwelling builders,” and “stone-implement users”—all of these who are authentic being existing before our eyes!—have had given to them “pre-Adamite” existence, and even conveniently assigned particular regions and quarters of the globe. Thus it is that a modern Solomon, who believes in the “Monkey Gospel” and can write “F. R. S.” to his name, can put forth that “it is indeed, very likely that Professor Philips’ view, that the caves in the glaciated area of Yorkshire, are of pre-glacial age, will probably be found to be true, not only there, but in the whole of Middle and Northern England, and the whole of Wales. In the south of England, too, the occurrence of implements in an ancient river deposit at Crayford in Kent, beneath a stratum containing evidence of the action of melting snow and ice, proves that the River-drift man was in that district before the extreme glacial severity had been reached. There we can mark the spots where he sat on the bank of a tributary to the Thames, and fashioned his implements out of the blocks of flint brought down by previous floods. In the silt, in which these are covered up, the wild animals, both of the northern and the southern groups, but more especially the latter, are represented. In other parts of Southern England, as, for example, at Salisbury, there is no means of ascertaining his relation to the Glacial Period, because all glacial deposits are conspicuous by their absence.”

And again:—

“The River-drift hunter lived on the continent before any glacial phenomena were manifested in the British area and that he arrived here, following the migrating bodies of animals northwards, before the extreme severity of the glacial cold was felt. He may have observed the gradual creeping downwards of the ice from the mountains into the lowlands, and,

have been driven, like the animals which he hunted, to take refuge in the lowlying districts of Middle Europe and Southern England. He probably, too, was familiar with the shore of the glacial sea, during the time of submergence. After the emergence of the land he certainly followed the chase in the valleys of the North Sea and of the English Channel, and into the forests and uplands of South-Eastern England, after the Glacial Period. He was probably in Britain while glaciers still crowned the Highlands of Scotland, and the higher hills of England, Wales and Ireland.

"While we may construct a picture, such as this, of the arrival of primeval man in Britain and of his surroundings, the question naturally arises in our minds,—What was his relation to the existing inhabitants of Britain? The answer is clear and unmistakable. He cannot be identified with any one of the stocks from which the British peoples have been derived. Nor can he be identified with any one living race outside Britain. He probably represents a primitive phase of barbarism common at that remote age to the whole of the old world; and possibly also, a generalised type of human physique not now to be found in any one section of his descendants."

It is "indeed" and in truth "very likely," and "probably" an imaginary "picture" of the writer—a "fairy tale." "Possibly," too, our own "fairies" were of the same race. Procter, a professed astronomer, was the first to introduce poetry and imagination in the severely mathematical science of astronomy; and he was discarded from Government service therein. He was justly and severely punished. But who can punish these his imitators in geology and other sciences. We can only send such, who make all kinds of assumptions and proceed on "probably" and so forth, to school again to undergo a course of training in elementary Logic.

We will now close by writing out the first chapter of Genesis according to the "Modern Monkey Gospel":—

GENESIS CHAP. I.—ACCORDING TO THE EVOLUTIONISTS.

1. Primarily the Unknowable moved upon cosinos and evolved protoplasm.
2. And protoplasm was inorganic and undifferentiated, containing all things in potential energy; and a spirit of evolution moved upon the fluid mass.
3. And the Unknowable said, "Let atoms attract," and they did so, and their contact begat light, heat, and electricity.
4. And the unconditioned differentiated the atoms, each after its kind, and their combination begat rock, air, and water.
5. And there went out a spirit of evolution from the unconditioned, and working in protoplasm, by accretion and absorption, produced the organic cell.

6. And cell by nutrition evolved primordial germ, and germ developed protogene, and protogene begat coozon, and coozon begat monad, and monad begat animalcule.
7. And animalcule begat ephemerae; then began creeping things to multiply on the face of the earth.
8. And earthly atom in vegetable protoplasm begat the molecule, and thence came all grasses and herbs on the earth.
9. And animalcule in the water evoked fins, tails, claws, and scales, and in the air wings and beaks; and on the dry land they sprouted such organs as were necessary, being acted upon by the environment.
10. And by accretion and absorption came the radiata and mollusca, and mollusca begat articulata, and articulata begat vertebrata.
11. Now these are the generations of the highest vertebrata in the cosmic period, when the Unknowable evolved in the bipedal mammalia.
12. And every man on the earth while he was yet a monkey, and the horse while he was yet a hipparion, and the hipparion before he was an orodon.
13. Out of the ascidian came the amphibian and begat the pentadactyle and the pentadactyle by inheritance and selection produced the bilobate, from which are the simiadae in all their tribes.
14. And of the simiadae the lemur prevailed above his fellows and produced the platyrhine monkey.
15. And the platyrhine begat the catarrhine, and the catarrhine monkey begat the anthropoid ape, and the ape begat the longimanous ourang, and the ourang begat the chimpanzee, and the chimpanzee evolved the what-is-it.
16. And the what-is-it went into the land of Nod and took him a wife of the longimanous gibbons.
17. And in process of the cosmic were born unto them and their children the anthropomorphic primordial types.
18. The kornunculus, the prognathus, the traglodyte, the autochton, and the tarragen; these are the generations of primeval man.
19. The primeval man was naked, and not ashamed, and lived in quad rumanous innocence, and struggled mightily to harmonise with the environment.
20. And in process of time, by inheritance and natural selection, did he progress from the simple and homogeneous to the complex and heterogeneous, and the weakest died and the strongest grew and multiplied.
21. And man grew a thumb, for that he had need of it, and developed capacity for prey.
22. For, behold the swiftest men caught the most animals, and the swiftest animals got away from the slowest men; wherefore it came to pass that the slow animals were eaten, and the slow men were starved to death.
23. And as types were differentiated the weaker types continually disappeared.
24. And the earth was filled with violence, for man strove with man, and tribe with tribe, whereby they killed off the weak and foolish and secured the survival of the fittest.

WAZIR BEG, M.D., LL.D.

ART. XV.—A LADY'S JOURNEY ROUND THE GLOBE.

(INDIA AND CEYLON.)

[Liverpool to Montreal, across Canada to Vancouver, from Vancouver to Yokohama, (Japan), and out again at Kobe. Thence to Hong-Kong, Canton, etc., and back to Hong Kong. From Hong-Kong round the Malay Peninsula (calling at Singapore and Penang) to Ceylon. Thence through India—Home.]

UPON arriving at Colombo, we drove to the Galle Face Hotel. It is a handsome new building and faces the sea, which is a consideration as one wants every breath of air one can get, Colombo being so close and hot, one is in a constant perspiration. At the Galle Face, electric fans are used instead of punkhas, they distribute the air much better, equalising it all over the room. There are a great number in the dining room, and they can also be fixed in the bed-room for you upon paying a small sum. Native tailors come to your rooms and you can get a light suit or dress made in a few hours.

The Cingalese (the men) wear their hair in a knot at the back of their heads, and round tortoise-shell combs on the top. They do not wear any other head-dress out of doors. The waiters wear one long white garment and no shoes or stockings. They speak in the third person, as "will master like soup," or "will lady take tea?" They are very attentive.

There are monstrous insects in Ceylon. One evening I found a huge spider on my pillow under the mosquito curtain, its body was as large as that of a mouse and it was the same colour and had very long legs, the room-boy soon caught it for me. He said "him no bite missy," and possibly it would not have done so, but I did not care to sleep in the same room with it. There are also snakes, scorpions and centipedes, but they seldom come into the houses. We saw a very large scorpion on the roadside one day while out driving.

Rickshaws are used in Colombo, the same as in Japan, also ordinary horse-carriages. It is impossible to walk, on account of the heat, except for a short distance. People drive up and down by the sea-shore in the cool of the evening, also as early as four o'clock in the morning; few stir out in the heat of the day.

Travellers do not usually stay long in Colombo, Kandy is so much cooler. It is 1,680 feet above Colombo, and the temperature is about the same as it is in the summer in England, perhaps slightly warmer. We were about four hours getting there in the train from Colombo, and the scenery was magnificent, and flowers such as grow here in hot-houses grow wild. There are a great number of tea plantations on the

mountains. Kandy is considered the loveliest place in the world, and certainly I have never been in any place so pretty. The Garden of Eden is said to have been here.

The drives around are lovely. One day we saw some elephants lying on their sides in a lake. They had finished their work and were cooling and resting themselves. There were five of them, and their attendants told them to come out of the water; which they did immediately, and salaamed to us and we patted their trunks, and one held his foot out for my father to walk up on to his back, but as the elephant was very wet and muddy, he declined the invitation; however a boy there was not so particular, and ran up in a second. We threw a small coin about the size of a three-penny piece into the sand, and the elephant found it with his trunk and gave it to the boy. As soon as we turned away, they were told to go and lie down as before. Elephants are wonderfully obedient, and it is very fortunate they are so, or they would be perfectly unmanageable being such huge animals.

We went over one or two tea plantations, it is very interesting, seeing the whole process from the picking of the leaves (which is usually done by young girls) until the tea is packed in boxes ready to send away.

The Botanical Gardens at Paradenia which contain the tall India-rubber trees and gigantic bamboos are very fine. We were particularly interested in the different spices, I should think all the spices we have ever heard of grow in these beautiful gardens.

What pleased us most about Ceylon was the delightfully green and fresh appearance of the vegetation. There was a shower of rain every day, either morning or evening, but it behoved us to be very careful not to be caught in one of these showers; we should have been drenched to the skin in a few minutes.

There was a Mahommedan Festival one day while we were at Kandy. The children were dressed in all their finery velvet, tinsel and gold. Some of them looked very absurd, and I preferred their ordinary garments. One little boy was strutting about very proudly, but certainly he was not over-dressed, for the only garment he had on was a lovely opal necklace. Many of the poorer children are merely clothed in innocence.

Another day there was a festival at the Buddhist Temple, the Sacred Temple of the Tooth, it being the birthday of the High Priest of the Buddhists. In the evening it was brilliantly lighted with candles and little oil lamps. We saw the Golden Shrine covered with gems which contains the great Buddha's tooth. And one morning we fed the Sacred Cobra with eggs under the Bo tree.

The Queen's Hotel overlooks the lake and is in a delightful situation. There were three or four Boer prisoners on parole, from the camp at Diyatalawa (higher up in the mountains), staying at the Hotel, two of them had been very rich men, before the war. One of these looked very sad, and ill, and one evening he was sitting alone looking more melancholy than usual, so I said a few words to him. He seemed so grateful, he told me he had been a prisoner for two years, having been captured at the beginning of the war, naturally he was very sick of the whole thing and thought it most foolish of his countrymen holding out so long. Since my return home he has sent me a cocoanut beautifully carved with the Transvaal arms and some pen-holders and other things.*

Before we left Kandy the death of Her Majesty the Queen was announced. A day or two afterwards all the white people in Ceylon and India were in mourning. Also many of the natives, Government Clerks and people of that sort were wearing a crape band on the arm. Sorrow was universal, and black was hung outside the shops and many public buildings.

We stayed a day or two longer in Colombo before leaving

* The following letter accompanied them :—

"You told me so graciously that you would like to hear how I prospered that though I cannot admit of any advance whatever I hope you'll forgive me.

"Indeed, since that far-off 22nd of January at Queen's Hotel, Kandy, where you troubled to express sympathy with a man wrestling with both physical and mental pain, I have followed you in your journeyings and I conclude that by this time you are safe at home. Home! I wonder if you realise what that means and how much the want of one affects a man for good and evil? Principally evil, for more years than I care to look back upon the want of some such safe anchorage has sent me wandering, and thinking, and questioning and now. . .

"As thy servant liveth, we have nothing to complain about in our captivity beyond that inward searching and the vain attempt to adjust regrets. Nothing whatever! We have kind officials, ample rations and warm coverings, while our privileges as to parole are daily extending, and but for some few who have not yet learnt wisdom would ere this, I fancy, have had a wider scope.

"Another prisoner of war and self spent a day and night at a neighbouring village. A sleepy native "dorp" with a sprinkling of Europeans, a perpetual Kaleidoscope of mournful visaged natives, but there are no barbed wire fences and sentries and I am not sure it is not the ante-room to heaven. Our people have made a new road to this Elysium, as a memorial, which I think will be more lasting than many I could name.

"The health and comfort of this camp will be hard to beat; and the kindness and courtesy of those in authority beyond reproach, but with it all there is the future to be thought of, and the past to be forgotten; a difficult matter in camp. I hope, Mademoiselle, the good God will keep you from two such mental dreams."

the Island, and went to Ragama, about twenty minutes by train from Colombo, to visit the Boer Camp, as we had a letter of introduction to Mr. A. of the Civil Service. He kindly shewed us all over it. It is his duty to read every letter that comes into the Camp, and also everyone going out and stamps it with the "Censor's" stamp. He has to read letters in several languages, and it is often a very tedious process, as there are prisoners from many different parts of the world who joined the Boer army. Five hundred of the worst characters are at Ragama. We were informed that there were six thousand prisoners altogether in Ceylon. They are very well treated, having exactly the same rations as their guards, and the Boer officers have a superior tent to themselves. The prisoners are not obliged to do any work, but the time must hang very heavily. They are allowed to write to their friends upon any subject they please, except on matters relating to the war or South African politics. The high wire fence which goes all round the Camp interested me greatly. It is composed of barbed wire, interlaced a few feet wide, and on the inside a net hangs down with minute electric wires running through it, I was told if anyone touched it bells rang which instantly alarmed the Camp, so there is very little chance of a prisoner escaping.

We left Colombo in the afternoon of January 26th, and arrived at Tuticorin about 8 o'clock the next morning. The steamers are not very good, but few people go that way, preferring to take the P. & O. or other large steamer straight to Calcutta. But we wanted to see something of Southern India, and our intention was to go from Tuticorin by rail to Madras and then take the French Mail to Calcutta. We were very glad afterwards that we had taken the trouble to do this, as some of the finest Hindoo Temples are in Southern India.

The next morning after our arrival at Madura we were up very early in order to be present at a festival which was to take place at the great Temple. We had to drive about six miles, and it was very interesting to see the crowds of people, men, women and children on their way to the Temple. Hindoos of all castes were there. A great number had finished bathing in the tank when we arrived; and having dried their garments² were ready to go into the Temple. Several were making a pilgrimage round the Mountain before entering, and two very pious ones were rolling themselves over and over, it probably took them hours to get round that way. Horrible-looking beggars were lying about in every direction, some even looked at the point of death. They get a good deal of money given to them, nearly everyone throwing them a small coin.

This Temple dedicated to Siva, is considered the most important in India; the carving is magnificent, but inside it is very dirty, as the Hindoos keep sacred bulls, elephants and monkeys in their Temples and these animals are allowed to roam about at their pleasure. After the people have bathed they go to the priest and he puts a mark on their foreheads, so that one can tell by the different marks to what god they have dedicated themselves. Siva seems to be the favourite god, principally I think, because they think it is necessary to propitiate him; he being the destroyer while Brahma is the creator and Vishnu the preserver. And one sees in nearly all the Temples a number of images of Ganesh, the elephant god, the eldest son of Siva; he is a repulsive looking object and they think it meritorious to rub oil over him which does not add to his appearance.

We stayed one or two days at Trichinopoly and went up to the Temple on the rocks, which rises to a height of 275 feet above the street, and where the fortress once stood, which has since been demolished, and drove to the famous Vishnu Temple of Surangam. It is here one sees the beautiful sculptured horsemen in front of the pillars in the Hall of One Thousand Columns. We spent a day at Tanjore and saw the great bronze bull, then went on to Madras.

The "Connemara Hotel" is a short drive out from the town, and the rooms being open towards the ceiling on account of the great heat, three or four families of birds had built their nests in the corners of my room and I was awakened quite early by the quarreling of the different families. The crows are so tame they will eat out of one's hand, but the native servants "shoo" them away as they become very troublesome. The flying foxes are a peculiar sight to strangers; they sleep all day hanging head downwards from the trees and resemble huge pears. They fly about at night and look like gigantic bats.

The Juggernaut procession took place in the black town of Madras while we were there. It was a wonderful sight, the noise was deafening, the yelling and the music. The image stands inside covered with jewels, and the priests sit in front. The multitudes crowd round the car, the sick people being extremely anxious to touch it. By so doing expecting to be healed of their infirmities. Strong ropes are attached to the heavy vehicle, the people pulling it themselves. I think everyone knows that fanatics are now prevented by the British Government from throwing themselves or their children under the wheels.

We went to the Hindoo burial ground, and there were several bodies being burnt. One young woman was brought in to be buried. (Some sects of Hindoos bury their dead,

others burn them.) The bearers put down the stretcher by the grave, which was about three feet deep, and commenced taking off her ornaments, she had necklaces and ear-rings all round her ears, nose-rings, finger-rings, bracelets, toe-rings and anklets. It took nearly an hour to take them all off, the nose and ear-rings had positively to be cut off. It seemed very disgusting pulling the corpse about in that way, but that is the custom. The women do not usually remove their jewels during life from the time they put them on in girlhood.

After the bearers had taken off all her gaudy tinsel clothes, they buried her simply wrapped up in a piece of calico.

The coolest part of Madras is the seashore, where one gets a very pleasant breeze, and there is a wide esplanade. There was a general holiday the day of the Queen's Funeral and the Cathedral was crowded for the Memorial Service. As we did not apply beforehand for tickets we thought it was no use trying to get in, but we saw the procession returning from the Service. First came the Governor and suite, riding in carriages, with a large escort of soldiers, and after him the Officers according to their rank, all in full dress uniform, and the ladies in deep mourning.

We were obliged to take the French Mail to Calcutta as that was the only steamer that stopped at Madras. It was a very small boat, and anything but clean, and the Officers lack that spick and span look English Officers always seem to have. In every way it was inferior to an English boat or the North German Lloyd Steamers.

We did not remain at Calcutta more than four days, but drove to the Botanical Gardens to see the mighty Banian tree, the Zoo, the Museum and Government House. Also the burning ghât on the banks of the Hooghly. There were about a dozen bodies in process of cremation, some had only just been laid upon the wood, with more wood laid over them and only the head and feet protruding, others were nearly reduced to ashes. The usual way is to lay the corpse full length on the back, but one body was placed in a kneeling position face downwards, and were informed that the man had come from another country. It was almost impossible to see through the clouds of dense smoke and I was not sorry to get away into the fresh air again. After the cremation is over the ashes are thrown into the river.

In the cool of the afternoon it is very pleasant to drive to the Eden Gardens, and listen to the Band. It is the favourite resort of the young people of Calcutta.

We travelled all night from Calcutta to Benares, the Holy City of the Hindoos, arriving at noon the next day. In the afternoon we drove to Sarnath, where stand the ruins of two great Buddhist Temples.

Very early the next morning, we took a boat and were rowed slowly round the Ganges in front of the ghâts or steps leading to the water, where every morning and evening pious Hindoos offer their prayers and make their ablutions. Hindoos of all castes, men, women and children were bathing together, in the Holy River. Before commencing their prayers they usually place a small image of their favourite god before them and after making offerings of flowers and fruit make their petitions to him. Many of them fill their brass pots with the filthy water in order to bathe the limbs of their sick relatives who are too weak and aged to go to the Holy Ganges themselves. The Fakirs or religious beggars swarm at Benares. They are disgusting looking objects, nearly naked and their bodies are rubbed over with ashes; and their matted hair is twisted round their heads. Many mutilate themselves, or pose in immovable attitudes perhaps with one arm held in the air until it is impossible ever to move it again; others allow their nails to grow to an enormous length or make their bed upon iron spikes. We saw three or four bodies being burned at the burning ghât. It is the ambition of every pious Hindoo to have his body consumed by the side of the Sacred River, and his ashes afterwards thrown into it.

The lately bereaved widow is not allowed to approach too closely to the funeral pyre as she is sometimes tempted to throw herself upon it, in order to escape the life of drudgery which she knows is to be her lot.

There are hundreds of Temples and Shrines at Benares, many of them very rich and beautiful, but they are spoiled by being so crowded together. The Sacred Bulls pass in and out as they please and are fed by the worshippers. They are not molested in any way and the monkeys enjoy just as much freedom. They are dedicated to Hanuman, the monkey god, there are hundreds of them. They are very tame. Many of them came and ate sweets and nuts out of our hands.

Lucknow is a beautiful place, and the numerous palaces look very fine from a distance, but upon closer inspection one perceives they are only painted or covered with stucco and are very inferior to the lovely marble palaces at Delhi.

The places connected with the Mutiny excite great interest. The Residency, the grave of Sir Henry Havelock, and especially that of Sir Henry Lawrence upon whose tomb are inscribed the modest words 'to the memory of Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty.'

I may here mention that we had the pleasure afterwards of meeting the daughter of Sir Henry Lawrence on our homeward bound vessel; she and her husband were returning

from India where they had been expressly to see her father's grave. She told me she was sent by him to England at the age of seven years, as Sir Henry Lawrence knew at that time something dreadful was about to happen. Soon after she reached England she received a letter from him telling her of a charming children's picnic that had just been given by some ladies and at which she would have been present had she been in India, but the letter concluded with the words "thank God, my love you are not here." She never saw her father again.

We found it quite cold in the mornings and evenings at Lucknow but very pleasant during the day. The evening we arrived, there was a Mahomedan Wedding Procession going through the streets, playing music and making a dreadful noise. They keep up these festivals usually for about three days. Our servant told us he could take us to the house, as rather a celebrated dancing girl was to dance at ten o'clock. There was a large courtyard, and a number of wedding guests, all men, were sitting round on cushions, and the bridegroom with a peculiar looking headdress on his head was in the centre; they were all gorgeously arrayed. They were very polite and offered us chairs, and after we were seated the dancing girl came forward and commenced to dance; it was really more of a shuffle than a dance and there was a good deal of posturing. She was chewing the betel nut all the time, and she kept up a sort of sing song and winked first at one and then at another and our servant told us it was a good thing we could not understand the songs.

No doubt the dancing would have been queer, but a man went forward and whispered something in her ear before she commenced. None of the women were to be seen, they had to content themselves by peeping through the screens that went round the courtyard. It is interesting to go through the Bazaars at Lucknow, I think they are as good here as anywhere. Everything is sold there, and people of all handicrafts are plying their trades; embroidering caps, carving sandal-wood articles, or making lovely things in silver ware. The Bazaars are usually so densely packed it is difficult to walk through them. Over the shops are little balconies in which the women sit, clad in very thin gauze garments, they are usually handsome, but very bold-looking women.

Our native servant was most useful to us; he was an excellent guide, knowing a great deal about all the places we visited. He was also a very good cook, and could get a very fair lunch ready for us in 20 minutes, if necessary. It is sometimes difficult in some of the bungalows in out-of-

the-way places to get anything in a hurry. He also saw to our luggage, and engaged our sleeping-berths; usually managing to get us a carriage to ourselves. He also waited upon us at table.

There are pretty fair hotels in the North-West Provinces, but in Southern India, and some of the native places off the general route, we had to content ourselves with dak bungalows, which are put up by the Government for the use of travellers.

Natives always remove their shoes before entering a room, but keep their turbans on. It is a sign of disrespect to remove the turban.

Cawnpore is principally associated in the minds of English people with the terrible slaughter of the women and children during the Mutiny, and the old man who drove us round was an Englishman, one of the few who escaped that awful time.

He showed us Wheeler's entrenchment, where a number of English people were kept twenty-one days in the blazing sun without any shelter whatever; and unable to get any water from the well in the centre without risk of life, as immediately a man advanced towards it he was shot at. The Memorial Church is near this spot.

At the steps of the Sutte Chowra Ghaut leading down to the Ganges so many British were murdered, after Nana Sahib had promised them they should be allowed to leave by boats; Nana Sahib stood in the Hindoo Temple at the top of the steps and directed the firing, those who were not immediately shot had their throats cut.

We drove to the Memorial Gardens which contain the well into which the bodies of the British women and children were thrown. Over the enclosed well stands the figure of an angel in white marble with arms crossed on her breast and holding a palm branch in each hand; near by is the following inscription: "Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children who, near this spot, were cruelly massacred by the followers of the rebel Nana Dhundu Panth of Bithur, and cast the dying with the dead into the well below on the 15th July 1857."

The fort at Agra faced with redstone presents an imposing appearance. It is a mile and a half in circuit, and seventy feet high. It was the Palace of the Emperor Akbar, but the beautiful Moti Masjid, the Pearl Mosque, was built by his grandson Shah Jehan; it is entirely of white marble and is perfectly dazzling. In the Fort are a number of buildings including the private and public halls of audience, the zenana and other apartments. During the Mutiny between four thousand and five thousand Europeans were sheltered there.

But the most beautiful building in Agra and, indeed, in the whole world, is the Taj Mahal, the gorgeous mausoleum built by Shah Jehan over the body of his favourite wife. Twenty-thousand workmen were employed in building it and it was nearly twenty years before it was completed. Lovely gardens surround it, and when the sun is shining it is almost impossible to gaze upon it. The white marble is inlaid with semi-precious stones. The sarcophagus of the Sultana stands in the centre of the Great Hall under the vaulted roof, and that of Shah Jehan near it. They are exquisitely inlaid in beautiful designs of flowers and fruit. I have never seen anything so beautiful as this; and the sight of it will ever remain in my memory.

Before leaving Agra we drove to Fatehpur Sikri; it is twenty-four miles away; it was built by the Emperor Akbar and most of it is in ruins; but the Palaces of Akbar's three wives, Mohammedan, Hindoo and Christian, are in good preservation, as is also the marble mosque where repose the remains of the Holy Fakir (or sort of High Priest of Akbar's) under a canopy of mother-of-pearl.

We started at six o'clock in the morning and returned in time for dinner, changing horses twice on the way; we found it quite chilly and were glad of our wraps. I was delighted with the lovely green parrots flying from tree to tree, and one sees wild ring-doves, squirrels, peacocks, storks, etc., and herds of queer looking goats, their long ears hanging down. From time to time one passes little native carts, drawn by mild eyed hump-backed oxen, or the uncomfortable looking ekkas like great birdcages which are usually so overcrowded with natives that all one sees is a number of legs protruding.

On our way from Agra to Delhi, we stayed a day or two at Gwalior, an important native state. We went over the palace, which is furnished in modern style, and ascended the steep road up to the Fort on the back of an elephant.

There is much to be seen at Delhi and we spent a week or two there. It is one of the oldest historic cities in the world, and the ancient Mogul Emperors were always crowned there. Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India from this city.

The Jama Masjid built of red sandstone and inlaid with white marble is the largest mosque in the world. It stands between the fort and the city, and is entered by a flight of marble steps.

The Fort contains the lovely white marble and gold Palace of Shah Jehan the Magnificent. Here in the Audience Hall stood the celebrated Peacock Throne which blazed with jewels, and was afterwards stolen by the Persians. Some of the pillars and walls are inlaid with precious stones and are of

the same workmanship as the Taj at Agra; and is nearly as beautiful but not in such good preservation, as many of the stones have been picked out and taken away. The white marble Pearl Mosque is near the private Hall of Audience and is lovely in its simplicity.

We drove through miles of ruins to the Kutab Minar, it is a fluted column of red sandstone and white marble and is 238 feet high; it is exceedingly handsome and was originally built for a praying tower; it is nearly 660 years old. Near by is a Mosque said to have been built of fragments of more than twenty Hindoo Temples. Also a Hindoo Temple which contains hundreds of pillars beautifully carved, but the figures of the gods and goddesses were shamefully mutilated by the Mahomedans many years ago after they conquered the Hindoos. There is one other thing of interest; the old iron-pillar, which was placed in position by a Hindoo King hundreds of years ago. It is much revered by the natives.

One afternoon we drove to the Ridge, and saw the Mutiny Memorial, and the Kashmir Gate where a handful of British soldiers laid the powder bags at the door of the Gate. The shattering of the doors through the explosion allowing General Wilson's forces to enter the city. Many other scenes connected with the siege of 1857 are of the greatest interest to the English people.

The bazaars and shops in Chandni Chauk are too delightful and I could hardly tear myself away from them. We bought quantities of beautiful things, carved sandal wood jewellery, embroideries in gold and silver, ivories and other treasures. Pedlars also come to the hotels and even into one's room, but they are a terrible nuisance, and one cannot get rid of them, as they never take "no" for an answer. It is the same all over India, but we were worried in Delhi more than anywhere else; sometimes they have very good things to sell, much the same as in the shops, and as we bought somethings in nearly every place we stopped at, managed to accumulate a pretty good collection before we left for home.

From Delhi we went to Simla to visit some friends we had not seen for some time. We left Delhi at night sleeping in the train arriving at Kalka next morning at 5 o'clock. We had breakfast and started up the mountains in a private tonga which contained my father and myself, our servant and driver and a little luggage. Our other luggage following behind.

Tonga travelling is very tiring, as the vehicles do not seem to have any springs at all and the jolting is terrible, but the horses were splendid, and galloped all the while. We had fresh ones every four miles and changed them twenty times, so used forty horses in our journey of eight hours. The driver blew

a horn from time to time so fresh horses were always ready for us, and in half a minute we were off again. We stopped at Solan about half way up for tiffin. The same thing was repeated on our return journey. We passed hundreds of camels laden with provisions toiling up the hills, everything has to go up that way or by bullock-cart. We arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon and our friends dined with us at our hotel in the evening.

We found Simla rather cold, a quantity of snow having fallen a few days before, but as the sun shines brightly all the time one does not seem to mind it at all.

Next morning our friends sent their rickshaws for us, and shewed us all the celebrated spots in Simla. We went round Jakko of Kipling fame. Also we went over the Viceregal Lodge, and had an extensive view of the magnificent snow-mountains from the roof. In the afternoon we went to the Skating Rink and spent a very pleasant hour. I was quite surprised to see such a number of people as not being the season I naturally expected Simla to be empty. Ladies of the club kindly take it in turns to provide tea. In the evening we dined with our friends in their charming home. The following day was also spent very pleasantly; we inspected the Church which overflows with a very distinguished congregation during the season. Early the next morning we started on our downward journey arriving at Kalka the same evening.

From Kalka we went to Amritsar arriving at six o'clock in the morning. We spent the day there seeing the beautiful golden Sikh Temple, built by Ranjit Singh, the domes of which are covered with real gold; we inspected the carpet manufacturers and the fine embroideries which can be bought at Amritsar. We found the heat rather trying after the cold at Simla, there had been a sudden change in the weather, while we were in the hills, and afterwards as we journeyed South, we noticed a very considerable change each day. We left Amritsar the same evening at eight o'clock arriving at Lahore about two hours later.

We had an introduction to the successor of Mr. Kipling, the former Superintendent of the Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Museum. This gentleman shewed us all over the Museum, and we saw the pupils at work in the School of Art, and spent some little time looking round his interesting room where Mr. Kipling spent so many hours. Afterwards when we were taking a drive round Lahore we passed the house where Rudyard Kipling wrote so many of his stories, a great number of them being connected with Lahore, especially the tales of the "Soldiers Three."

The next morning we went to the Fort, and inspected the

armoury which contains a fine collection of old Indian weapons. Near the Fort is Ranjit Singh's Burning place where his body was consumed together with eleven of his wives. In the afternoon we drove six miles to a lovely Mosque and garden where our friends had provided a charming *al fresco* tea for us with beautiful sweets and cakes. We left Lahore the next morning arriving at Delhi at eleven o'clock the same evening.

Our next stopping place was Jeypore, an important Rajput State. Here the streets are much wider and longer than in most native states. The people are very picturesquely dressed in the brightest of colours. The Maharajah has a number of very fine elephants, they look magnificent walking in the streets with their grand trappings on. And there are plenty of camels and bullock carts. Everywhere something of interest meets the eye. Boys pass leading the Maharajah's Cheetahs (or hunting leopards) their eyes bandaged. Women sit at the doors of the shops grinding corn between two stones, the same as in the times of the Bible where it says "two women shall be grinding together, the one shall be taken and the other left." I took a snapshot of two women grinding together. People working at all sorts of handicrafts were laughing and chattering. All the houses are washed in a pale rose pink, and the Hall of the Winds part of the Maharajah's Palace is very lovely. We went over the Palace which is very extensive, also the gardens and stables, where two or three hundred horses and a great number of elephants are kept. Also we saw the alligator tank, and the huge creatures were fed with pieces of raw meat for our benefit.

Nearly every day one sees a wedding procession. The bridegroom goes first very grandly dressed sitting on a handsome horse, then the bride in a palanquin, after them the guests. The wedding presents bring up the rear carried by coolies, first large bowls of rice, sweetmeats, etc., for the feast, then vases and choice ornaments, then perhaps a wardrobe, four men staggering beneath its weight, and the cooking utensils carried last of all by women. One procession must have been a mile in length, it was most comical, and reminded me of a Christmas Pantomime.

We visited Amber, the deserted capital of Jeypore, it is nearly all in ruins except the Palace and the Temple dedicated to Kali, where every morning a goat is offered in place of the human being sacrificed in former times. We drove part of the way, and when we reached the foot of the hill going up to Amber, we mounted an elephant, which was waiting for us and rode up to the Palace on its back. The Mahout sits on the neck of the elephant, his legs hanging down behind

the animal's ears, and the huge beast knows which way he has to turn because the Mahout kicks him on one side or the other all the time. He also has a goad with which he pricks the elephant when he is lazy.

We saw hundreds of monkeys playing among the ruin. Amber must have been a grand place centuries ago, but when the Court removed to Jeypore nearly the whole of the population went with it.

From Jeypore we went to Jodhpore, which is considered one of the most picturesque native towns in India; we certainly thought it so, and His Highness the Maharajah was most polite to us and asked us to visit him. The Palace is luxuriously furnished in English style. He is a most intelligent young man and speaks English fluently, although at the time of our visit he had not been in England. Lately, however, he has been to Europe and has had a very fine reception. He placed a carriage and horses at our disposal the whole of the three days we were at Jodhpore and sent a native officer to shew us the sights of the place. This officer took us to the Fort where the State jewels are kept, they were in long cases arranged round the room, there were dozens and dozens of rings, bracelets, watches, head ornaments, nose rings and anklets, three or four crowns, one of diamonds, another of enormous rubies and emeralds, several necklaces, one composed of sixteen rows of huge pearls which the Maharajah wears on special occasions, the lowest row reaches to his waist. We saw the State harness, gold for the horses and silver for the elephants and a golden umbrella.

One thing especially attracted my attention, it was a golden casket given to his late father by the King when he was Prince of Wales, and was visiting the Maharajah during his journey through India. It was a miniature of himself painted on ivory and surrounded by diamonds. And the initials A. E. and the Crown were also in diamonds.

Afterwards we were driven to the old Capital. Among other things it contains an old Hindoo Temple with magnificent stone carving and a Palace containing gigantic figures of heroes.

Before we left he presented me with two fine autographs photographs of himself, one in native dress and the other in uniform, with a polite note which said "With His Highness Maharajah Sardar Singh of Jodhpore's best compliments.

(Signed) SARDAR SINGH."

We noticed numbers of lovely peacocks from the train between Jeypore and Jodhpore, they looked so beautiful with the sun shining on them.

We stayed for two days at Ahmadabad, which contains a number of Mosques elaborately carved; they illustrate the Sara-

cenic form of architecture which is a combination of Mussalman and Hindoo art. The Shrine of Hathi Singh, a rich Jain merchant, is well worth a visit.

The Baulis or wells are interesting, round them are pillared galleries built some distance beneath the surface, and when the heat of Summer is unbearable, the people take refuge there. The finest is Dada Haris with fine carving. A number of steps lead down to the well which is thirty feet below the surface, it has a very curious appearance.

We drove to the ruined city of Sarkhej, built by Sultan Mahmud Begra but now deserted; he made a great lake with steps rising from the water, above which he built a number of palaces and pavilions and magnificent mausoleums for himself and his Queen; very few people visit it, but it is very well worth seeing. We started very early in the morning and enjoyed the drive immensely; we crossed Sabarmati river, where hundreds of people were bathing and washing their clothes, but the water was very low, as there had not been any rain for many months. This was one of the worst famine-stricken districts and we noticed everywhere the barrenness of the trees, in some instances not a single leaf was to be seen. And we were told the Summer before it was not an uncommon thing to see numbers of dead bodies of human beings and cattle lying about the roads. We found the beggars very troublesome, they looked so thin and woebegone, I think we gave more "pice" away that day than any day in India. However, the Relief Fund has done much to mitigate their sufferings, but so many people seem to need help in India.

We saw a great number of monkeys playing about the trees, and hanging from the boughs, the parent monkeys would often slap their children to keep them in order. It was a very amusing sight.

On one occasion we visited the Hospital for sick animals. The Hindoo is not allowed by his religion to kill anything, so when an animal gets its leg broken or is otherwise disabled, or too old to work, it is sent there. We saw dozens of bullocks with broken limbs, and horses, sheep, goats, monkeys, parrots, etc., looking very miserable, and I thought how much kinder it would have been to have put them out of their misery, but they are well taken care of, and sometimes stay there for years. Visitors are expected to give a small donation to help to maintain the Hospital.

We had a delightful time at Baroda, the state of the Gaekwar. His Highness shewed us over his magnificent modern palace, which has only been built 15 or 16 years. It is furnished throughout in English style and has elevators, electric light and fans, shower baths, and all the modern improvements. He

also has a very fine collection of Indian pictures. I remarked that the grounds surrounding the palace reminded me very much of an English park and gardens and he explained that his head gardener was from Kew Gardens. The Maharajah often comes to England, and is a great favourite.

Afterwards I visited Her Highness the Maharanee in her own wing of the palace, she was in native dress and received me with charming grace and was as much at ease as a well bred English lady. She is a beautiful woman, and speaks English perfectly. She accompanied the Maharajah on a visit to London rather more than a year ago.

His Highness sent us in one of his own carriages, a comfortable English landau, and servants in his own livery to see the old palace, and gold guns. There are two of them of solid gold weighing nearly three hundred lbs. each, and four gun carriages of silver. Unfortunately we had not time to see the pearl carpet and regalia as we were obliged to leave for Bombay late the same evening.

We spent two or three days at Bombay. The public buildings are extremely fine. We were shewn over the Yacht Club, I suppose the largest Club in India. We also went through the Crawford Market, and drove to Malabar Hill, on the top of which are the Towers of Silence or Parsees' Burial Ground. There are a great number of Parsees in Bombay and many of them are very rich and charitable; they are called "Fire-worshippers," as they always have a sacred fire burning in their House of Prayer, which is never allowed to go out, or they face the sun while making their petitions, but the fire is merely symbolical of the Glory of God. The Towers of Silence are surrounded by beautiful gardens, but we were not allowed to enter on account of the plague. Round the summit of the Tower are crowds of vultures waiting for a funeral to approach. The bearers enter and place the body naked on a platform; after they have withdrawn the vultures swoop down upon the corpse and in a few moments they have picked the bones perfectly clean. Some little time after the bones are placed with others in a deep well in the Tower.

There are also a great number of Eurasians in Bombay; they were originally the offspring of European fathers and native mothers, but are now a distinct class, and intermarry among themselves; many of them are very useful to the Government.

We went in a steam launch to the celebrated Island of Elephanta. I was carried up the flight of steps (there are 200 of them), which lead to the caves in a chair fixed on poles. The roofs of the caves are supported by massive pillars, and all round the walls are monstrous figures carved out of the solid rock. They are more curious than beautiful.

Unfortunately they were terribly knocked about by the Portuguese (who let off cannons at the mouth of the caves), when they held possession of Bombay and the neighbouring islands some years ago.

The caves date from about the 10th century. In one of them is a sort of bath cut out of the solid rock. There is always a certain amount of water in this bath although it is impossible to tell where it comes from. The caves are dedicated to Siva, "the destroyer," but there are other Hindoo gods and goddesses, some of them very ugly with faces of birds and beasts.

There are a number of cobras and other snakes on the Island, also a quantity of beautiful green beetles; we bought a number of these from the children who followed us down to the water.

We had an introduction to a Hindoo gentleman in Bombay. The morning of our departure he called to say good-bye, and brought us bouquets and necklaces of flowers, and a cashmere shawl for myself and a silver card-case for my father.

We sailed from Bombay March 23rd in the "India," and were not sorry to be on board, as it was getting hotter each day in Bombay, and one could not feel really comfortable except under a punkah. We had a delightful passage, the sea was perfectly calm. The heat in the Red Sea did not affect me quite as much as I feared it would, but I believe people notice it more on their way out from England.

Her Excellency Lady Curzon was on board and we had dances and various amusements to pass away the time. Just at the entrance of the Suez Canal, the "Ophir" passed us on her way out to Ceylon.

Many of the passengers disembarked at Marseilles, but we went round by sea, and the only little bit of disagreeable weather we experienced was in the Bay of Biscay. We landed at Plymouth and went by train to London, and found it very pleasant to be in a comfortable English hotel again. We arrived home a day or two later and were glad to settle down and rest awhile after our many changes and varied experiences.

C. MILLICENT KNIGHT,
Whateley Hall.

ART. XVI.—ALFRED NOBEL AND HIS FESTIVAL.

THE present era is remarkable for the generous donations and bequests of wealthy philanthropists. A Carnegie endows a university and finally a Swedish millionaire endows humanity. To promote its welfare directly, he has erected and dowered a foundation with prizes of unprecedented value that will be annually awarded to the greatest benefactors of mankind.

The first ceremony of the distribution of these prizes took place on the tenth of December. They were awarded on the same date in Christiania and Stockholm. There were five prizes, of which the worth of each amounted to £8,000. Four of them, *viz.*, those for physics, for chemistry, for medicine, and for literature, were bestowed at Stockholm, while the fifth, the prize for peace was adjudged in the Norwegian capital. But before we note the events and circumstances of that interesting day, with its dawn of hope for humanity, we will briefly recount the career of Alfred Nobel, whose biography* has yet to be written.

He was born at Stockholm in 1833, and was the son of Immanuel Nobel, an eminent engineer and inventor. The latter emigrated with his family to St. Petersburg in 1837, where he established a manufactory of quick-firing muskets. In 1842 he made successful experiments with submarine and subterranean mines. The Russian Government rewarded him liberally and enabled him to set up an extensive laboratory. He was assisted by his sons, of whom the two eldest, Robert and Lewis, were also remarkable engineers.

The service of the mines was gradually relinquished by the Russian Government. Then the Oriental War broke out in 1854, even the models of the submarine mines were lost, and it was necessary to reconstruct them in great haste. At the instance of Immanuel Nobel, this construction was entrusted to Alfred's eldest brother, Robert, and it was said that it was owing to the excellence of the mines laid down by the latter that the English fleet was unable to force its way through the channel that led to the capital of Russia.

At the close of the Crimean War, owing to the stagnation of business that ensued, the Nobel family, with the exception of Lewis, the second son who remained at St. Petersburg, in

* His life has been sketched by A. Werner Conquist, a Swedish writer in the Swedish periodical, "*Ord och Bild*," Stockholm, January 1897, by Professor Louis Henry in "*Review des Questions Scientifiques*, April 1901, and in the *Review of Reviews*, December 1901.

order to superintend his father's manufactory, removed to Stockholm. They devoted their attention to the improvement of explosives, and made experiments with that object in the preparation of nitro-glycerine. In the year 1862 Immanuel Nobel invented a new form of that dangerous explosive which was called Nobel's blasting oil. Shortly after Alfred made an improvement in his father's invention and took out his first patent in 1863.

His first important discovery was an improved method of exploding nitro-glycerine. After many investigations he arrived at the conclusion, that to produce the complete explosion of that substance, a preparatory detonation was needful; and he invented a glass tube with a percussion cap for that purpose (in 1864). His new contrivance was subsequently employed successfully with gun-cotton.

A fatal mishap arrested for a time Nobel's activity. A terrible explosion in which his youngest brother, Oscar, lost his life, took place in a manufactory of blasting oil in a suburb of Stockholm. In consequence it was forbidden for a time to make that explosive on dry land, and its preparation was only permitted in a vessel moored out at sea. After some improvements, however, it came into general use for mining and in the construction of railroads and highways. He subsequently received permission from the Swedish Government to found a nitro-glycerine company. Several manufactories were established in Sweden and with the aid of German capital a company was started at Hamburg under the name of Nobel and Co. in 1865. A French company was formed in 1871.

Nevertheless owing to the danger attending the employment of nitro-glycerine in the form of blasting oil, its use was prohibited in America, where it had caused some terrible explosions. The danger was owing to its liquid form, and the leakage which often ensued. Nobel applied himself to remedy that defect. He perceived it was necessary to transform blasting oil into a solid, and in that intent, mixed it with a sand,* that absorbed its own weight of the explosive. He called the new compound dynamite, and took out a patent in 1867.

The world is fully aware of the importance of that great invention, that is even still more generally employed in peace than in war. For a time, however, it fell into evil repute, owing to the unholy use to which it was put both by Communists and Anarchists. In France its manufacture was

* *Kieselguhr*. "A very finely-powdered silicious substance composed of the shells of fossilised *infusoria*." Review of Reviews. December 1901.

erected into a monopoly, which was granted in 1871 to Nobel's French Company that set up a fabric at Porto-Vendres on the Mediterranean. Another fabric was established in Scotland at Ardeer, where it is said a tenth part of all the nitro-glycerine employed throughout the world is prepared.

But Nobel was not yet content with his inventions. After repeated experiments he found it possible to replace the sand in use with nitro-cellulose, that while it increased the force of the explosion still further diminished the risk attended with its employment and altogether precluded leakage. It obtained a patent in 1876, and was named *gun-dynamite*, and when combined with salts, extra-dynamite. It was a perfect explosive and surpassed all inventions of the kind.

By increasing the proportion of nitro-cellulose in its combination with nitro-glycerine, Nobel invented the smokeless powder, that is used in every army. Apart from its practical importance this discovery from a scientific point of view was most remarkable: two substances, each of which ignites by itself a thousand times more rapidly than gun powder, are made by combination to ignite even more slowly than the latter. Subsequently Nobel still further improved his smokeless powder or ballistite by varying the igniting velocity of the tubical grains of which it is composed. The development of gas was thereby increased and a uniform pressure given to the missile, while it was still in the bore.

Nobel subsequently united with his elder brothers, in founding a company for the purpose of utilizing the petroleum wells in South-Eastern Russia. Robert, the eldest of the brothers, was chiefly instrumental in developing that industry that is now known throughout the world, but which before their efforts was merely a local one. They invented cistern-waggons and cistern-ships, and thus reduced the price of transport to a fraction of its former cost.

In his private life Nobel was exemplary. He was a model son. His affection for his mother, a woman of remarkable character who died at an advanced age, was not replaced by any stronger attachment, and so he remained unmarried. Her birthday was a family festival to celebrate which he was wont to return to Stockholm, despite his multifarious duties in distant lands. He was, besides, a model employer of labour, and so contented were his workmen, whose number amounted to some 24,000, that no strike was ever known in the factories that were under his own or indeed under his brothers' direction. He was amiable and unassuming, making little case of outward distinctions. He was also extremely generous, and contributed with his fortune and influence to succour his countrymen abroad and to promote their welfare.

He had a high opinion of the Swedish system of scientific study, and in consequence he entrusted the award of the prizes for science under his foundation to the learned institutions of his countrymen; he was almost as partial to Norwegians, to whom he left the responsible task of adjudging the prize for peace.

He bequeathed an immense fortune. Nearly £2,000,000,* of which he disposed in the following way: "The capital should be transformed to a fund of which the yearly interest should be distributed in prizes to those, who, during the year preceding their award, had benefited mankind the most. The interest of the capital was to be divided into five equal parts, of which one part should be bestowed on the person, who had made the most important discovery or improvement in physics; a second part was to be bestowed for a similar success in chemistry; a third was reserved for the greatest discovery in physiology or medicine; a fourth should be bestowed on the man of letters, whose works were the most remarkable from an ideal point of view; and a fifth part was to be given to the most efficient promoter of the fraternization of nations and of the abolition or diminution of standing armies, who had also been the most active in assembling and popularizing peace congresses. The prizes for physics and chemistry should both be awarded by the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm. The prize for physiology or medicine was to be conferred by the Caroline Medical Institute on the same capital. The prize for literature should be decided by the Swedish Academy, while the champion of peace should be rewarded by a Committee of five persons that were to be appointed by the Norwegian Parliament." "It is my express wish," so Nobel worded his testament, "that in the distribution of the prizes, nationality should not be taken into consideration, so that the worthiest may gain the prize, whether he be Scandinavian or not." It is plain that Nobel desired first and foremost a fair field and no favour, and it was quite a secondary object with him to raise the prestige of his own country and his sister kingdom by leaving to them the honour of the award.

He died on the tenth of December (1896). It is to commemorate the anniversary of his death, that the annual ceremony of the prize-distribution is fixed for that date.

II.—THE CEREMONY OF DECEMBER 10TH AT CHRISTIANIA.

The Norwegian Capital had long anticipated it with a certain

* The total sum amounted to 46,000,000 francs, that after reductions by taxation, etc., realized about £1,680,000. That sum invested at 3 per cent. would bring in about £50,000 per annum, or £10,000 for each of its five prizes. Owing to deductions arising from the cost of administration and other expenses, the sum yearly allotted to each prize will not exceed £8,000.

feeling of pride. The Parliament of Norway had been entrusted with the honorable task of choosing the Committee that should award the prize for peace, the great and novel feature of the Nobel-foundation. It was the general opinion that Durant, the originator of the Red-Cross of Geneva, would be the successful candidate. Though the Red-Cross had been conspicuous on every field of battle that had been fought within the last quarter of a century, yet the noble name of its designer was all but forgot. It was rumoured that he was in straightened circumstances, neglected and forlorn, there was the more reason therefore by a splendid and substantial recognition of his services to succour his declining years. Still there was a doubt about his success; however meritorious was his work in mitigating the horrors of war by his care for the wounded, he had not directly laboured to abolish standing armies, or to assemble peace-conferences, as the regulation for the award of the prize prescribed; yet through his humanity for the wounded irrespective of nationality, it could be said that he had indirectly promoted the fraternity of nations.

The name of Passy was also mentioned in connection with the prize for peace, and the supposition that the award would ignore neither of these candidates was justified by the event.

The town had the aspect of a quiet fête. The festivity was enhanced by the presence of the German fleet, that had arrived a few days before. It was the most powerful fleet that had ever approached Christiania, and it was the object of general interest, even if the immense battle-ships did not harmonize with the peaceful character of the occasion. The actual ceremony commenced at the unusually early hour of 10 o'clock in the *Storting* or Norwegian House of Parliament. Nearly all its members were present, and the majority bore the national order, the Cross of St. Olaf with its broad majenta ribband. As the ladies who were present wore a quiet morning toilette, the cross and ribband were perhaps the sole ornamental features of the festival that was distinguished by its sober character, by the complete absence of all pomp, especially of the pomp of war, an absence that was in harmony with the great homage paid to peace. Not a uniform was to be seen. Even Prince Henry of Russia, the brother of the German Emperor, wore plain clothes. The Royal Family was represented by Prince Charles, the King's third son, and Princess Ingeberg (of Denmark) his wife.

The Committee, to whom the task devolved of awarding the prize, took their places in front of the speaker's desk. That body, which, as we have already mentioned, consisted of five members, included, Steen, the Norwegian Prime minister Loevland, one of the Ministers of State, and the Poet Bjornson

The speaker (Ar. Berner) opened the ceremony with a pithy speech: "The Norwegian people," he said, "has ever been minded to maintain its independence, and has ever been willing to defend it. But at the same time a lively inclination and desire for peace has permeated that people. In peace and good understanding with other nations our country has wished to work for its intellectual and material development. This main thought has repeatedly and with increasing force found expression through Norway's Parliament."

Time after time that Parliament has pronounced in favour of the conclusion of treaties of peace and arbitration with foreign powers, in order to prevent disputes from being decided by an appeal to arms, and to ensure a righteous decision by peaceable ways.

"We may well believe that this inclination and lively desire of the Norwegian people for peace, and a good understanding between nations, a sentiment which has thus found expression through our National Assembly induced Dr. Alfred Nobel to confide to the Parliament of Norway through the agency of five chosen men the honorable task of awarding the prize to the man who has shown that he is most deserving through his labours in behalf of peace and brotherhood among nations."

"To-day when the prize for peace is to be awarded for the first time, our thoughts turn in reverent gratitude towards the man, who was high-minded enough, and had foresight enough to raise the great problems of civilization,—and among them in the first rank the work for peace and fraternity of nations,—to the foremost place of honour. It is our hope that what he has done to promote this great object may lead to a result that will correspond to the giver's noble intention."

The Chairman of the Nobel-Committee then announced that it awarded the prize for peace to Henri Durant and Frederic Passy, who should share its value.

After a few additional words by the speaker of the house in which he expressed the hope that the event of that day "might encourage the nations and in the first place national assemblies to strive through co-operation to promote peace and arbitration between the peoples" the brief ceremony came to an end, amid the approval of the spectators at the choice of the Committee. The whole affair, which scarce lasted half an hour, was distinguished by its simplicity and at the same time dignity.

The career of Henri Durant, that was bound up in the foundation of the Red Cross Society, has already been indicated. With regard to Frederic Passy, who shared the prize, we may mention that he was born at Paris in 1822 (he is therefore

a little older than Durant who was born in 1828, at Geneva). He was educated as a jurist, but early devoted his attention to the study of scientific and economical questions. At the age of twenty-six he wrote a book, in which the reforms that during the last decades have taken place in French schools were advocated. With the help of a few colleagues he established a course of lectures on political and social questions and travelled through the French provinces in order to deliver them. He acquired great consideration among his countrymen in that way. It was partly owing to the influence his talented pen exercised that war was averted between France and Prussia about Luxembourg towards the close of the empire. He then founded the "international and permanent league of peace," the name of which was changed later to "the French Union of the Friends of Peace" at the head of which society he continued to preside. He has always laboured for the cause of peace as well as for the diffusion of knowledge and enlightenment. He was one of the first to conceive the thought that the parliaments of the world should unite to avert war. He was thus the principal founder of the Interparliamentary Union of Peace and Arbitration, was its first president in 1888 and 1889, and has always been one of its most active members.

III.—THE CEREMONY OF STOCKHOLM.

It was far longer and more elaborate than the ceremony that took place on the same day* at Christiania. There were four prizes to be awarded; the number of the candidates was of course larger; and instead of one small legislative body, represented by a single Committee there were three learned bodies, represented by as many Committees, that participated in the award. The large hall of the Academy of Music was the scene of the festival. The most distinguished members of Stockholm Society, including the Crown-Prince attended; and the interest of the occasion was still further enhanced by the presence of the prize winners with the exception of the French poet, who had won the palm for literature.

The ceremony commenced with a festival overture that was conducted by the Chief Court Director of Music. Boström the Prime Minister, and President of the Nobel-foundation, next addressed the company in a long speech in which he pointed out the merits of the founder. Wérsen, a poet and a member of the Swedish Academy (that corresponds to the French Academy), then recited a poem of his own composition in which he feelingly alluded to the honour and respon-

* The writer, who was present at the ceremony of Christiania, was for that reason prevented from attending the proceedings at Stockholm.

sibility that had befallen Sweden through the nobility of her great son. A choir of men's voices under the leadership of a second musical director, sung one of the favourite songs of Sweden and the award of the prizes began.

The first was the prize for physics. Odhuer, the President of the Swedish Academy of Science, announced that Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen was the successful candidate owing to the discovery with which his name is knitted—of the Roentgen rays, or as their discoverer preferred to call them of the X-rays.

In the course of his address the President remarked that the real nature of the radiation of energy was still unknown, but that many characteristic qualities of that energy had been discovered first by Roentgen and subsequently by other physicists who had devoted their researches to the subject. He thought that there was little doubt, but that the physical sciences would make far more extensive acquisitions, when that peculiar form of energy was more adequately investigated and its wide sphere thoroughly examined. He remarked in conclusion that the reward of the discoverer with a Nobel prize must be considered in an eminent grade corresponding to the legator's views. He then addressed Roentgen, who sat in the platform with the remaining prize winners, and taking his hand, led him off to the Crown-Prince, who amid prolonged applause handed to the famous discoverer a diploma in an artistic binding.

Odhuer next announced that the prize for chemistry was awarded to Jacobus Henricus Van't Hoff for his epoch-making work in osmotic pressure and chemical dynamics. "Through his investigations," continued the speaker "of the theory of atoms and on the subject of molecules, Van't Hoff has made the most important discoveries for the theory of chemistry that have been made since Dalton's time.

First with regard to the theory of atoms Van't Hoff, adhering to a thought omitted by Pasteur had established the hypotheses of fixed rallying points* geometrically arranged in space, for elementary atoms; and that view as regards carburets, led to the theory of the asymmetry of carbonic atoms and to the foundation of stereo chemistry. Van't Hoff's discoveries in the theory of molecules were even more complete. The law, which is named after the Italian Avogadro, and which determined that the number of gas-molecules in a given volume are alike for all gases, if the pressure and the temperature are the same, was developed through Van't Hoff's investigations, so that it holds equally good

* In Swedish *antagingspunkter*: apparently a neologism, signifying literally 'building up' or constructing.

for matter in solution; provided that the pressure in the latter, the so-called osmotic pressure, is taken into consideration in the same way that it is with gas pressure. He demonstrated the identity of gas pressure and osmotic pressure; and therewith the identity of the molecule in a gaseous state with the molecule in a solution; whereby the molecular theory gained a consistency and validity that had not previously been suspected. He found, too, the expression for the chemical balance in transformations, and the electric motory force that reaction can produce; he explained, too, the transitions between the elements' various modifications, between hydrates with different proportions of water, the formation of double salts, etc., etc.

By the application of these simple principles originally derived from mechanics and thermal dynamics, Van't Hoff has been one of the founders of chemical dynamics. His investigations have essentially promoted the immense development of physical chemistry; and in that sphere his discoveries have been met by the great contribution that other researchers, even in our country,* have made in electro-chemistry, and in the theory of chemical reaction. New and vast prospects have thus been opened for researches in natural science. In another respect the elucidation of the *status* in solutions has induced the greatest practical results of which the advantage for mankind will be best perceived, when we reflect that chemical reactions principally take place in solutions, and that the vital functions of living organisms are maintained through the transformations of matter that are effected in the solutions.

The next prize awarded was for medicine. Count Möerner, the Rector of the Caroline Institute at Stockholm and the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee appointed by that body, addressed the audience in a long speech, in which after referring to the interest that Nobel took in medical science, and the unexampled progress that that science had made in the second half of last century, which had been so fruitful in brilliant discoveries, he remarked that though it was not possible even to indicate them by name, "it may be permitted me to mention bacteriology, and to remind you of Pasteur, the founder of that great system,—of Robert Koch, who, in the same department, has made such brilliant discoveries—of Lister, who has opened the way for the beneficent application of the new science to surgery." He emphasized the importance of bacteriology not only for surgery but for medicine. "Through our knowledge of *bacteria* as the *fosterers* of disease, and through our insight into their conditions of existence, the possibility has been disclosed of controlling disease even in

* Sweden.

cases in which *bacteria* have already succeeded in winning a firm foot-hold, and in developing themselves within the organism. And the most brilliant example of what has hitherto been attained in that respect is offered in diphtheria.

"So far back as the knowledge of human disease can be traced, diphtheria, and the variety of that disease, called *quinsy*, has been one of the scourges of humanity. At times, indeed, it has diminished, so that it has apparently died out, but always after the elapse of some time, it has flickered up again, and often spread as a devastating epidemic of greater or less extent. For several decades it has now prevailed in the various countries of the civilized world." He then alluded to the terrible ravage of diphtheria in previous ages, and remarked that at the present time it was comparatively free from danger owing to the excellent weapon with which they were now armed against it.

"The year 1883 marks a turning point in the history of diphtheria. It is true that before that date the opinion had been held by a few that diphtheria was a disease, which was owing to *bacteria*, but on the other hand that view was contested by eminent specialists. There was, however, no positive knowledge in the subject, and the scientific explanation of problem was still lacking. Still less could it be said that we possessed any positive knowledge of the kind of parasite which fostered the disease."

In that year Loeffler completed his comprehensive and extremely important research on the bacteria of diphtheria; and that work has laid the foundation of the further development of the theory of the disease. Through Loeffler's work the enemy was thus compelled to throw off his mask, and he discloses his mode of warfare. To turn the enemy's weapon against himself was reserved for subsequent labours.

The *bacteria* fostering the disease produce in general poisons, and by their means infect the individual in which they are developed. It is on account of these poisons that *bacteria* become so dangerous. It has, however, showed itself that under advantageous conditions the poisons could cause the organism to foster substances, that would render them innocuous and even counteract the bacteria's development. The individual in whom such a state of "immunity" has developed itself can become unsusceptible for the *bacterium* in question, and at the same time be able to resist the effect of the poisons it generates." Science has succeeded in taking another step, that is of the utmost practical importance both with regard to diphtheria and other diseases. Blood-humour,—the matter that is called blood *serum*,—taken from an individual who has acquired immunity against the poison of a certain

bacterium can, by its introduction into another individual's organism, enable him to resist that bacterium and its ravages. It is upon this principle, that modern serum-therapeutics are grounded. It is in combating diphtheria that *serum*-therapeutics have hitherto in the foremost place won such brilliant results; its importance is not, however, limited to that disease, but stretches infinitely beyond it. The sphere, that through the development of serum-therapeutics has been opened to research is therefore—for the present time—beyond the power to survey. In that sphere much has been already done, and we are justified in expecting far greater progress.

It is to the pioneer of this new path of medical research, to Professor Emil von Behring, that the Caroline Institutes Preceptors' College, has decided to award the Medical Nobel-prize of the year."

As Count Möerner has dwelt so little on the actual career of Emil von Behring, we will venture to add a few words: He was born at Hansdorff in the year 1854, obtained the degree of M.D. in 1878, and served as a Military Doctor in Posen, Bonn and Berlin, until he became (in 1889) an Assistant of the Hygienical Institute of the German Capital.

His great life work was devoted to *serum*-therapeutic. In the year 1890 he prepared an effective *serum* against *tetanus* and shortly after he succeeded in producing a diphtheria *serum*, that is both prophylactic and curative in its effect. Numerous experiments have subsequently shown that this serum was as easy to apply as it was innocuous in its results. For his work on that subject *Entdeckung der Ätiologischen oder Blutserum-therapie* (discovery in etiology or blood serum therapeutics) he received a prize of £1,800 from the Paris Academy of Medicine, at the same time as his French colleague and precursor Roux; and a prize of £2,000 from the Academy of Sciences (L'Institut) in the same capital. Behring handed over his prize to the State with the view of encouraging further research in *serum*-therapeutics. He subsequently published some classical and epoch-making works* on the origin of contagious diseases and on their treatment and on the fruitful result of bacteriology for internal medicines.

The prize for literature was the last on the list. Wirsén to whom it fell to announce the award, remarked that literature also owed a debt of gratitude to Nobel, the award of the Nobel prize for that subject offered especial difficulties: "Literature

* "Die Blutserum-therapie" (1892-i-ii). "Gesammeltes Abhandlungen zur Ätiologischen Therapie von an-steckender krankheit" (1893). "Die Geschichte der Diphtherie" (1893). "Die Bekämpfung der Infektions krankheit" (1894). "Allgemeine therapie der Infektions krankheit" (1898). "Beiträge zur experimenteller therapie" (1898).

was a comprehensive term. The Nobel statutes prescribe that under that head, where it was a question of defining the subjects for which a prize should be offered, not only *belles-lettres*, but other branches that have literary merit through their form and style should be included. But thus the field was enlarged, and the difficulties were increased. If it be already difficult to decide, when the candidates have equal merit, whether the prize should be awarded to a lyric, or epic, or dramatic poet, the task is still further complicated, when it imports to make a choice between the merits of a distinguished historian or a great philosopher, or of a gifted bard." Many excellent proposals had been made to the Swedish Academy with regard to the choice of candidates, but that body had selected from among the names of many who were almost equal in talent, one name that in their opinion should take precedence in the present occasion. It has awarded the first Nobel prize for literature to the "poet and thinker" Sully Prudhomme, member of the French Academy. "Sully Prudhomme was born in March 16th in 1839, and burst open the world as a ripe poet in his 'Stanzas and Poems' in 1865. That work has been followed by others that are partly poetical, partly philosophical, partly prosodical. If the imagination of other singers is for the most part directed outwards, if it mirrors external nature and the people's life, Sully Prudhomme has a more inward turned genius, as spiritual as it is fine feeling. His poesy is seldom concerned with external images, except in the measure that they may serve for political contemplation. His soul's love, his doubt, his unrest that nothing in the world can calm, are the wonted themes of his muse, that is of finished form, and in its chiselled beauty refrains from each needless expletive. As a rule his poetry lacks colours, and only by way of exception has a melodious and musical character, but it is therefore the more plastic in the creation of forms for feeling and idea. A noble, sad and thoughtful soul finds expression in that poesy, which is tender, but not sentimental, while its pained analysis of self, attunes the reader to sorrowful sympathy. Through the infinitely refined charm of his diction and through his masterful art, Sully Prudhomme is one of the greatest poets of our time, and among his poems there are pearls of imperishable value. It was not Sully Prudhomme's mere abstract, argumentative and didactic poems that in the foremost place fastened the Academy's attention; but they were his shorter contemplative and feeling lyrics that captivated by their dignity and nobility as well as by a rare union of fine reflection and a full heart.

There is yet another trait : Sully Prudhomme's authorship

reveals questioning and inquiring soul that finds no rest in the temporal ; and since to his sorrow a knowledge of the invisible seems unattainable to him, still in the domain of ethics in the voice of conscience, in duty and high command, it finds the witness of man's superhuman destiny. From that point of view he represents more truly than the plurality of authors, what the testator has named 'the ideal' in literature, and it is therefore the Academy's belief, that it has acted in the spirit of the testament when for the first award of the prize among the names of many great and brilliant men of letters, it has set its choice on Sully Prudhomme."

A few formalities ensued and the novel and momentous ceremony came to a conclusion. In the evening a banquet took place at which the prize winners were present, with the exception to which we have alluded. The Swedish Premier, Boström, drank the health of the King and Crown-Prince, the latter, in the course of his reply, thanked the Nobel-Committee for their responsible labours in which the whole civilized world had sympathized with high hopes and followed with an interest that was so well grounded. Wirsén made a speech in honour of Sully Prudhomme, and turning to M. Marchand, the French Minister at Stockholm, he begged him to bring a greeting to the French Academy from its Swedish sister, that was now rejoiced to send from the land of Tegnér and Geijer prize of honour to the land of Racine Corneille, and Victor Hugo.

Professor Behring, the winner of the prize for medicine, in reply to a speech of Count Möerner, laid stress on the greatness inherent to the Swedish national genius ; it found an expression in ancient saga, in storied feats of war, and also in the present great work of peace.

Professor Cleve, the President of the Nobel-Committee, elected by the Swedish Academy of Science, to award the prize for chemistry, addressing Van't Hoff emphasized the fact that that prize was not bestowed merely for discoveries, but also for new theories, and at the same time cited Van't Hoff as illustrating the power of theories. The latter thanked the Swedish men of science, who had aided him in his researches and more particularly Professor Cleve, Petterson and Arrhenius. He reminded his hearers that one of his most important treatises was published in the transactions of the Swedish Academy of Science.

Professor Roentgen, the winner of the prize for physics, made an interesting speech. "From his childhood," he said, "he had been more familiar with Norse Mythology than with Greek. He had always been impressed with the saga and adventure therein, and now he experienced himself a new

adventure of a Norse Saga. It seemed like a dream, but it was a joyful reality.

To-day the heir of a 'royal and popular house bestowed splendid prizes, presented by a son of the people, at the proposal of Swedish scientific men. In that noble co-operation of the royal house, of the people, and of men of science, the speaker perceived that which was peculiarly and honorably Scandinavian (*Nordisk*). He would openly admit that he had not thought that he would be recollected in the award of the prize, but now that it was adjudged to him, he desired to explain that he intended to devote it in the spirit of the founder to the disinterested assistance of the further development of science."

So ended the festival, perhaps the most originally humane of modern times. But would we apprise it truly, we must soar in imagination beyond the day far into the future; year after year, the champion of peace encouraged by a splendid tribute, will strive still more unweariedly for that sacred cause; the devoted physician will be enabled to triumph over inveterate diseases that now scourge the human race; the great chemist will find help to make discoveries that will influence our destiny; physicists will solve problems that baffled unaided geniuses; and last, but not least, the poet, ignoring a vitiated task, will have strength to raise aloft the noble banner of idealism that points ever upward and onward. Chill poverty will no longer 'freeze the genial current of the soul' of the world's greatest benefactors; and men may look back on the tenth day of December Anno Domini 1901, as the dawn of a brighter era, the morning gleam of the century.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

NOTE :—The writer ventures to remind those of your readers who might wish to compete for a Nobel-prize that they should address themselves, in order to obtain the necessary information; (1) as regards the prize for peace to Hr. Louge, Secretary of the Nobel-Committee, Viktoria Terrasse, Christiania, Norway; (2) for the prizes for chemistry and physics to the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee of the Royal Academy of Science in Stockholm; (3) for the prize for medicine to the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee of the *Karolinska Institutet* at Stockholm; (4) and for the prize for literature to the Secretary of the Nobel-Committee of the Swedish Academy in the last named capital.

It is required by the regulations, of the Nobel-foundation that all candidates should be proposed by the universities-

learned bodies, or parliaments of the country* to which they belong. All proposals by such bodies with a view to the competitions of candidates together with the treatises or works of the latter must be forwarded to the Nobel-Committee concerned before February 1st, of the year in which the candidates would contend for a prize.

The award of the prizes for physics, chemistry, and medicine will not wholly depend on the treatises or works published in the course of the preceding year as the regulations might lead us to suppose. Other circumstances, such as the career and the labours of the candidate will be taken into consideration. No very hard and fast line will be drawn, so as to exclude works or treatises published before the year preceding the award. It is expected, however, that they should be very recent, something in the nature of the 'last thing.'

The regulations of the Nobel-foundation have not yet been drawn up in as explicit a form as could be wished. It is not explained in them (the writer only has elicited this fact) that it is the wish of the Nobel-Committees that the various learned bodies, universities, medical faculties, academies of science, literary academies, parliaments and outer parliaments, etc., should take the initiative in proposing candidates; but the latter on their side should not neglect to address the Academy, Parliament or Institute concerned.

There was an ambiguity that is to be regretted with regard to the prize for medicines of last year; while Scandinavian medical institutes were expressly indicated as having the right to propose candidates, the medical faculties enjoying a similar privilege in non-Scandinavian countries were not indicated in the regulation, and as far as the writer has been able to discover, have not yet been indicated. Apparently it is intended that the best known medical faculties throughout the world should propose the candidate for medicine, and it is said that a list of these faculties will be drawn up.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

* It is not precisely stated in the regulation that candidates must be proposed by the learned bodies, parliaments, etc., of *their own country*. But conversation that the writer has had with the Secretary of and Nobel-Committee has learnt that this is the intention.

ART. XVII.—CREDE'S LAMENT FOR CAEL.

(From the Irish.)

Moans the haven,
As the wave on Rinn da Barc
Rolls. For the chief from Lough da Thonn
To the billows moaning hark.

How the crane
In the wet marsh, straining wide
Covering wings, her nestlings twain
From the sly fox fain would hide.

Dead the swan
Floats adown the water wan ;
While his brood, in mute surprise,
Bend sad eyes their sire upon.

Left alone
Hear the stag in thicket groan,
Mourning for his slaughtered hind,
Pouring on the wind his moan.

Sadly rise
From yon grove the thrush's cries :
While the blackbird's mellow throat
With as sad a note replies.

Shall I fail,
When e'en beasts and birds bewail,
And winds and waves and water-springs,
Those lifeless things, my slaughtered Cael ?

Dead, aye dead
Lies my hero, cold and dead ;
'Neath the bitter sea at rest ;—
Pillowed but my breast his head !

Tears a shower,
As they tower, the billows pour.
No more joy in life have I
Now that my brave lord's no more.

Glad the days
When my suitors brought me lays
Many an one, to pay me court :
Me and my fair fort to praise.

Cael drew near
In his turn, and to mine ear
Words so sweet he knew to use
That I could not choose but hear.

Since we wed
All too fast the moments sped.
Angry aspect ne'er wore he,
Harsh word ne'er to me he said.

Pale with fear
Grew the foe as he drew near,
Many a chief of loftiest mien
Felt the keen thrust of his spear.

In the field
Sword or spear no more he'll wield,
Nor to weapon-stroke shall sound
E'er again his rounded shield.

What is left
Me now death the band hath cleft ?
What more joy can earth afford
Me, of my dear lord bereft ?

Requiem grand
Ring the waves upon the strand.—
Why didst thou Cael to my grief
Chase that chief beyond the land,

When he fled
 From the field of battle red?
 Why didst thou in following him
 Plunge and swim out toward yon head?

Thinking thee
 One of theirs who strove to flee,
 Lay they on their oars at rest
 Paused nor pressed on out to sea.

O'er the side
 Stretched his hand that chief of pride
 From the ship, and thy strong grip
 Seized, dragged him down into the tide.

Down together
 To the nether sands, 'neath sea tides cold,
 Went ye under, ne'er to sunder
 More from that grim hold;

Sad the strain
 On the shore sung by the main.—
 Death draws nigh to me, I fly
 To my lord my Cael again.

Sad the stave
 On the strand beat by the wave.—
 When I go here lay me low
 Here on the shore scoop out my grave.

M. R. WELD.

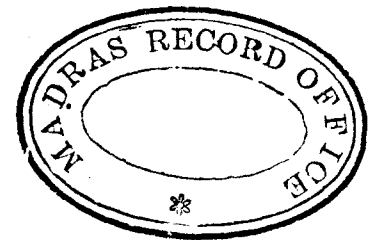
From the *Cabh Finntraga*, the battle of Ventry. Edited and translated by Professor Kuno Meyer. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Mediæval and Modern Series. Vol. I, pt. 4.

Nine Irish stanzas are given in the original, which I have translated in the measure of the original stanzas imitating the rhymes, which recur *within* the lines as well as at the end, the interval rhyming syllable being frequently not the last

syllable of a word, *e.g.*, in Stanza 1, besides the final rhymes *barc* and *hark*, there are *haven*, *wave-on*, *Thōnn* and *Moan-ing*.*

The substance of the other stanzas is from the prose of the romance, their form is after that of the nine stanzas mentioned above.

Crede chose Cael for her husband at a function similar to the *Swayambara* at which *Damayanti* chose *Nala*.—M. R. W.



*[This is like what there is also in Persian poetical measures.—ED., C. R.]

THE QUARTER.

SINCE our last issue some events have been hastening and others have newly sprung up—some of portentous significance as will be seen below. China, for the time being, almost sinks out of view, though its relations with European and neighbouring States have furnished the cause of the greatest political mistake made by England in modern times—we refer to the Anglo-Japanese alliance. We shall notice this in its place. India, at the same time, furnishes us with a more than usually full and varied record of events. It is necessary, therefore, to be brief even to a fault.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN "WAR".—This still drags on with varying success on either side. During twelve months past the Boers have had altogether killed 1,717 and wounded 1,244, and the British—officers killed 209, wounded 420, missing and prisoners 60; and men killed 2,128, wounded 4,197. These numbers do not include prisoners or voluntary surrenders or losses from disease and accidents. It will be seen that our losses are three times as many as those of the enemy. It is stated that our total deaths since the beginning of the war number over 20,000 officers and men. In the month of November last alone there were killed and wounded officers 64, and men 532! Our losses in officers have been so heavy since the beginning of the war that it is difficult now to fill up vacancies with the old superior class, and we are obliged to take up inferior material! In one action at Twefontein, the British losses amounted to 14 officers killed and wounded, 52 men killed, and half the column made prisoners. The Boers also still have their uninvaded independent territory in the north, with their Executive Governments, and also places of arms and recruiting centres, even in Cape Colony! It is not strange, then, that we are calling for more help from the colonies, (imagine the pass we are in when we seek help from small colonies, and ally ourselves with an inconsiderable half-bankrupt Asiatic power against Russia!) and—paying tight for it. For these our losses in mere men, owing to this insane, fratricidal and really "civil" war, is not the worst, or all. We have lost all over the East our old position and *prestige*, we have given place to Germany, Russia and France, and obliged to seek the assistance of Japan to maintain any position at all! We are in trouble with Turkey (and Germany) over Koweit, and Russia bodes something even in regard to Persia. Even the new

ruler of Afghanistan, whom we considered as dependent for his security on the breath of our mouth, has seen fit, as we shall see further on, to snub us openly on the continent. We have acquired a fund of hatred, which, in Germany, has barely been staved off from breaking into war, and which is surely telling on our relations with the great European countries. And internally, England is divided against itself, political parties are still further splitting up, serious Irish troubles coming to a head, trade diminishing, taxes increasing, and several hundred millions of money being sunk irretrievably—in the "War," which, in South Africa, will, in any and every case, have a terrible legacy of future conflagrations and undying animosity to be wiped out in blood. In truth, the whole world, and not the British Empire alone, is in a state bordering on a great and Universal War, which is not merely possible, but sure to come. It behoves us, then, to "put our house in order," and if we have descended so low as to form an alliance with Japan, we may even at this the "last" hour condescend to take our brave brother and fellow-Christian "Boer" by the hand, "save his face," proclaim a general amnesty, and give him some little territory—without the Rand—to hold as his own, his teeth and claws drawn, and no further danger, but probable help, for ever. There will be found in our present number, a paper by a loyal South African which shows how matters may yet be mended and we direct attention to it. Generals Louis Botha, De LaRey and De Wet are still to the fore, and it seems there are as many as seventy recognised Commandoes and bands of the enemy still in the field under them, twenty-six in the Transvaal, thirty-one in Orange River State, and thirteen in Cape Colony. Botha has indeed proved an able General and successor to old Joubert who selected him, and might well take rank with the best "field marshal" in Europe. We may also as well take the frank course of telling "the truth and the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," instead of manufacturing lies to our hurt. Here is what we find in the columns of the *Times* itself:—

"At ***** lost his head, and ordered the immediate evacuation of the place on the rumour of a Boer column, which never came, and we left there 1,000 suits of soldiers' clothing and 8,000 pounds of stores, which the Boers have used since. At ***** we evacuated again in a funk and left behind us 25,000 rounds of ammunition and stores. Now ***** was sent away from ***** not in disgrace, but to a high post elsewhere. Truly the ways of the Army are wonderful, the Press of London should insist on disasters being reported. We have heard, on the authority of men and traders who were near the sites of the disasters, that within the last month, seventy of one regiment have surrendered

in Cape Colony in one batch, sixty of another regiment in a batch, and ninety of a third in another batch in the Free State, and hundreds of individual men, and no mention has been made in our papers here."

The following figures also tell a tale which would make a black Kafir negro's cheek blush:—Of some 115,000 whites, mostly women and children in the "Concentration" Camps, during October and November, there were 5,963 deaths, of which 4,904 were children, and during December there were 2,380 deaths, including 1,767 children—over 8,000 deaths—literally *decimation*—nearly 7,000 being those of children! The "War" has now actually degenerated into bare murder. A despatch says, that "though the Boer Commandants have the will they have no longer the power to repress outrage and murder on the part of their subordinates." A letter from Commandant Fouché states, that "he had shot two Connaught Rangers who were captured." The bodies cannot be found. A French journal, too, states that General Botha is detaining five English officers in his camp, and has warned Lord Kitchener that they "will be shot if Kritzingen, who has been captured, is sentenced to death by Court Martial." Finally, another conspiracy has been discovered just in time, and we may predict that Johannesburg, where it occurred, will be the scene of many another conspiracy and plot—*Britishers* ("Boers") *themselves being the leaders*. We pass on to.

OTHER COUNTRIES.—China is settling down in right earnest to reform, and it seems pretty evident that the Empress had been deceived as to the "Boxer" movement. The Court has returned to Peking, and missionaries everywhere are protected. The "dragon," however, has only been hurt, not killed. What the future may bring forth, with or without reforming Empresses and Emperors, no one will dare venture to predict. China objects to make over Manchouria to Russia, and yet Russia has it, and will keep it in spite of Japan, America and England.

Japan, from an inconsiderable state, has suddenly been accorded front rank by England by what is, in effect, an offensive and defensive alliance against Germany, France and Russia. It reminds us of the blunder made by England during the progress of the late war when she went behind Russia's back to form an agreement with Germany, which came to nothing, and which was, it may be said, the direct incentive to Russia making a separate agreement with China about Manchouria. Neither Germany nor Russia, who have been neglected and distrusted, will say anything now; but whereas it was possible before to secure either Germany as against Russia, or Russia as against Germany, NOW they have

both been alienated from us, both been thrown together as against us, and both, along with France, be found allied against us in war. This is the greatest political blunder ever perpetrated by England in modern times, and is the direct outcome of the small Transvaal War and the senile ineptitude and juvenile inefficiency of the "man-in-the-street" Salisbury *cum* Chamberlain Ministry. Alas! that we should have to write thus at the very beginning of the reign of one of the best and wisest of Kings who have graced the throne of England. But what must be must be, for it is the Devil who drives, for "he knows that his time is short." The world is gathering to the great Battle of Armageddon. The first steps were taken with the interest the Jew Minister of England acquired in the Suez Canal, and his casting a false glare of "Imperialism" into British politics, were continued by the German Emperor's "scramble" for territory in Africa and other parts of the globe and our seizing Egypt, and now are seen in world-wide combinations of States one against another. Let us pass on.

In the Persian Gulf, on the Arabian side, at Koweit, which the German Emperor wants for the terminus of his Syrian Railway, we have also succeeded, by the unwise apprehensions of Lord Curzon as some think,—from his published sentiments,—to pit ourselves against both Germany and Turkey. We are determined to maintain the *status quo*, as if any *status quo* has ever been maintained anywhere in any age of the world. On the Persian side of the Gulf Russia is also advancing her influence, and we have the unique spectacle of our thwarting Russia and Germany both together in their aims in China, and also in Turkey and Asia and Persia. Can the result be doubted, or what it bodes even to India? We may leave France and Japan out of the calculation. "Our Colonies" here will be of little help to us, and even America will be found to take the course indicated by her own interests, which course does not appear quite plain perhaps seize Canada!

Finally, in Asia, Cabul, which we have regarded, and rightly, as going together with India, as subsidised by us, and whose territories are guaranteed by us, the new Ruler, who was considered most probably weak, has shown himself by his proclamations about foreign influences, and the statement in a Russian paper, whether true or false, of his sending a mission to the Czar, to be an Afghan of a peculiarly tough fibre and whom we shall not be able to handle as we would wish. Addressing a great gathering of the leading men, who had gone to Kabul for the Fateha ceremonies, the Amir announced that he would guard jealously his country from foreign aggression, and would permit no violation of its boundaries. He would adopt no foreign customs; even the use of European medicines

would not be encouraged. Railways and the telegraph were not suited to the country, and would not be allowed to enter it; nor would English education or English trade be permitted. Authoritative advices from Peshawar confirm the news of a considerable measure of unrest in Kabul. The quarter from which trouble is expected is the mother of Mahomed Omar Khan, Bibi Halima. She was disappointed at Abdur Rahman's choice of a successor falling upon Sirdar Habibullah. She has already frequently found fault with Amir Habibullah for certain State acts, in which, she maintains, according to the late Amir's Will, she ought to have been consulted. Shahzada Nasrulla Khan is also reported to be at variance with his elder brother. Although we consider ourselves strong enough in India to repel any probable invasion, still the prospects are not entirely re-assuring. "The clouds" may "lift," but they seem everywhere to be growing thicker and heavier. What a "shaking of the nations" is portended, few will venture to prophesy. We are unconsciously here reminded of those solemn and awful words:—"The stars falling from heaven, the light of the sun and moon quenched, and the sea and waves roaring—men's hearts failing them for fear of the things that are going to happen on the earth."

Of Russia there is no other record save that she is quietly driving her bargain about Manchooria with China, and extending her influence in Persia and her railways all over Asia. But that she has been thrown back by us into Germany's arms by our alliance with Japan there can be little doubt. Turkey continues on her Pan-Islamic Mission—which will, by-and-by, be found to tell on us even in India—but we have no space to detail it at present. Suffice it to say that she finds all her efforts at getting hold of Koweit (for Germany) balked by us. At the same time, she has her usual troubles with the Principalities, which may burst forth any time and destroy her. Very destructive earthquakes have occurred in Turkish Armenia.

Germany has made considerable headway since our last date in foreign parts, but is sorely embarrassed at home. First, however, we may mention that she got into a white heat of rage, affecting all classes alike, at the ill-considered and impudent taunt flung at the German army by Mr. Chamberlain which we noticed in our last. Indeed, relations became rather "strained" when Count Bulow had to calm down irate Deputies in the House, and even the Count's well-meant and judicious endeavours were ill-received by that fomentor of all trouble and war for the British Empire, the *Times*. King Edward has tried to throw oil on the troubled waters by deputing the Prince of Wales to Berlin to attend the Kaiser's Birth Anni-

versary; but he, the Prince, is stated to have been received in cold silence by the people. It has been noticed that Germany has long been full of animosity against us, and our further thwarting her by the alliance with Japan, and in the matter of Koweit, will not help to make matters smoother. In China Germany has publicly declared that she has planted her foot in Shanghai and will maintain troops there. In East Africa an Imperial Edict abolishes slavery. In South Africa (German portion) the Boers are allowed to settle. Our mistakes everywhere are Germany's gain. At home there is financial embarrassment and industrial and commercial depression, with a new Customs' Bill protested against by the millions of Socialists. The number of unemployed now in Berlin is stated to be 80,000. The troubles with the Poles, too, are not yet quite over.

France has no further history during the quarter than acquiring Tajurrah on the Somali Coast, opposite Aden, for her ally Russia; and a revival of odious anti-English caricatures, a speech full of hatred of England in the Chamber, and M. Rostand, a famous writer, composing a bitter and biting pro-Boer ballad which has gone all over France.

Of other States, Austria has sought to ally herself with Russia, Italy is pursuing an independent course, Holland has made a fruitless effort to win over England to enter on Peace negotiations with the Boers, and Norway and Sweden have been celebrating their great "Nobel Festival" for the first time, an account of which, written by one who was there, will be found among our papers in this number. Portugal has driven off a band of French refugees of the Religious Orders with volleys of stones. Spain is reeling with Anarchist troubles, and is being placed under martial law. Work, too, is at a stand-still in Trieste, there being some 20,000 rioters on whom the troops had to fire. In fact, the Socialist troubles in Europe, including Germany, France, Italy, Austria and Spain, and also Belgium,—are more portentous than its military armaments and jealousies. Austria, Hungary and Germany all protest against the admission of the French refugee Religious Orders—England alone keeping an open asylum! England will meet her reward, but it may be in a doubtful shape. The venerable Pope is having further troubles regarding the matter of Holy Scripture in relation to a questioning age, though we venture to think that if he had any knowledge of the "Word of God" as disclosed in the Hebrew *Cabbala* being a *Living and Organic Whole* and *One with the Universe of God and Explaining it*—let alone the Hope of Humanity and the Life of Life, the only Light of Life, being set forth by it in the Church in the person of the Son of God—

he would rest assured in calm and peaceful confidence as to the safety of the "Ark of God," though everyone on earth were struck by Disbelief.

Amid all these political and other troubles and commotions science is pursuing her beneficent and peaceful mission unchecked. Indeed, we have to record three of the most notable and prominent triumphs of this or any other age in the complete success of M. Santos Dumont's air-ship, of Marconi's wireless telegraphy, and of an American submarine boat which can remain below for any length of time.

ENGLAND, THE COLONIES, &C.—At home the Parliament has sat, and we have not more to record than the *sequelæ* of the Buller episode, the continued disruption of parties, the United Irish League and its doings, and a few other minor incidents. In regard to the Buller incident, as might have been expected, Mr. Brodrick stated in the House that he did not propose to publish the heliograms from Buller to Sir George White. Sir E. Vincent, M.P., speaking at Exeter, said that the Government "had to justify the dismissal from Command of a General who was appointed to the 1st Army Corps only a few weeks previously; and to justify themselves on the charge that they paid more attention to an indiscretion of speech, a technical breach of King's regulations, than to the infinitely greater and more important question of military capacity." Lord Monckswell at a meeting at the Hotel Cecil "denounced General Buller's anonymous critics. 'Reformer' had made a most savage attack on General Buller, and when he asked him to come out and meet him in the open, he refused to give his name. [Cries of 'skunk,' 'forger' and 'Pigott.'] Could it possibly be because he knew that if he did, he would be found guilty of a far greater breach of discipline than that which he brought against General Buller."

It is not strange, therefore, that rumours are current that Lord Roberts will soon give place to the Duke of Connaught, and retire to that obscurity to which he has sent so many and from which he would himself never have emerged but for Sir Donald Stewart and Rudyard Kipling. It is also probable that Lord Kitchener will have been so worn out by his work in South Africa, that he will decline the Indian Command, which, it is stated, will be given to Sir William Nicholson. The forcible removal of Miss Hobhouse from her steamer to be sent back to England has been taken up by her uncle, the venerable Lord Hobhouse, whom we remember very well in India. But anything may be done now in South Africa, with a Chamberlain *cum* Salisbury Government at home allied to the *Times*, and a Milner in South Africa. Under the present

reigning madness or delusion England's honor has not only been trampled on outside, and her fair and respected name made to stink, but her high traditions obliterated in the mire, and an Englishman is no more an Englishman—he is a "man-in-the-street." We may conclude this brief reference to the "War," by noting that seven Protestant Bishops of Hungary and several hundreds of pastors have addressed a Petition to King Edward, praying His Majesty to "stop the war," and that a peace manifesto signed by 5,245 Ministers has been issued by the Free Church of Scotland, urging the granting of autonomy to the Boers, with an amnesty for the rebels and compensation for those who have suffered losses. The same line is being taken by all the Labour and Liberal Associations in England. After all, Scotland is evidently coming round to the right view of things, and when that has come, the Chamberlain *cum* Salisbury unnatural combination will dissolve and retire never to be heard of again. The Dutch Premier has also been in England with a view to peace, and has stated that the King is earnestly desirous of peace, which is what we ourselves stated several months back.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—we heartily wish his name was not so long—is showing himself more and more capable of leading the Liberals and holding his own. And not only that, but of stinging and riling his hitherto supine "haw-haw" political antagonists. In some of his late speeches, by merely telling the bare truth—which is what England never hears from the present Ministry and their friends—he roused up replies from their entire body,—including even poor Lord George Hamilton, who cannot master the simplest elementary Indian question—and who even had to seek their unfailing ally the *Times* to help them. Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt have also spoken, and spoken well. But of all the speeches made, that made by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, while standing as a candidate for a vacancy, stands out in bold prominence. In scathing language he "cast scorn upon that wild rant and mad-cap alliance, the cult of force, which had its temple in the Music-hall and its high-priest somewhere in the Midland Counties. (Laughter and applause.) He was an Imperialist to the bottom of his soul." He "abhorred that shoddy and bastard Imperialism so much in vogue to-day, the Imperialism of irritation, provocation and aggression, of clever tricks, and jibes, and flouts against neighbours, and of grabbing every corner of the earth whether we had use for it or not ourselves, lest anybody else should possess it. (Applause.)" He "repudiated the economic folly of expansion for the sake of trade. Trade followed the tariff.

not the flag. (Hear, hear.) The Empire needed a foreign policy which made for peace, and neither bragged at one time of our magnificent isolation, nor whined at another time after impossible alliances. (Applause.) It had been reserved for the Tory Party to-day to turn the empire into a word of Party meaning, and to claim a monopoly of interest in our colonies. It was to the Liberal Party in the main that the colonies owed their self-government, and it was by the Liberal Party mainly that it would be maintained. Its interests were surely safer in the hands of Liberals than those of men whose new and irritating diplomacy had dragged us from one graceful concession to another, and left us nothing but universal hatred, dwindling trade, and a depleted treasury. (Applause.) Lord Curzon in 1895 promised us an era of peace, happiness, and prosperity. But we slid from one concession to another. We had yielded in Venezuela, Armenia, Crete, Greece, Siam, and China, and Fashoda was only saved for us by Lord Rosebery. (Applause.) He "characterised the circumstances under which the last General Election was brought about as scandalous, and said the statement that every seat lost to Government was a seat gained by the Boers as being more responsible for the prolongation of the war than anything said by any member of the Opposition. Ministers had said that there was no alternative Government to the present one. If that were so we ought to forswear our Empire and go and dig in our cabbage gardens. The war had weakened our international position, had stopped domestic reform, and adjourned and embarrassed the ultimate settlement in South Africa." We can only trust that Sir Alexander Mackenzie will sit for Plymouth, not merely, because of his clear grasp of the situation, but to show that a retired Anglo-Indian who enters the Home Parliament need not necessarily be a spent force—a nobody with any weight in the councils of the realm. And here we remember that there is another well-known Indian, Sir William Rattigan, who has lately got in for a Scotch constituency, and that he has yet to prove his mettle on this new field as he has done before on other fields, and not sink into the despised rôle of an "Indian Member." By latest accounts Lord Rosebery has finally seceded from the Liberals, and it is a pity he did not do it long before when Sir William Harcourt was virtually leading the party. Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain have since been drawing near each other, praising each other in public speeches, and proclaiming themselves inseparable friends! If only now the Irish party can keep their heads—now suffering under the direst provocations and almost direct incentives to rebellion—the old and effete Tory Party will have to go, a Liberal Government will come

into power, and the Rosebery *cum* Chamberlain combination have to wait outside without voice or influence! And both England and Ireland will come by their own. And this brings us to the policy of the Chamberlain *cum* Salisbury—the present Ministry to provoke Ireland to overt acts. We gave our readers to understand long ago that serious troubles were brewing in Ireland. For no other fault than being in existence so far as we can see, the United Irish League, embracing the vast body of native Irish, have been proclaimed and its meetings prohibited. For making some speeches at these, which might have been allowed to pass even in India, several Irish members of the House have been sentenced to gaol! Our advice is for the Irish still to keep their heads, and the result will be favourable to their cause; still the result of such governmental action has been that everywhere the Irish are determined not to welcome King Edward on his proposed visit. This, too, is a mistake, for King Edward is not Mr. Chamberlain and his crew. Let the Irish pay honor where it is due, for King Edward is also their King, and far above all parties and unworthy tricks; and if they will only keep their heads and behave quietly and decently, they will soon see an end of their enemies. Among the hollow sentimental fallacies which rule the hour with some, we see it noted that Lord Cranborne has sought to impress on the Americans that England stood the friend of the United States at the beginning of the Spanish-American War in preventing the intervention of Europe. Lord Cranborne, however, did not say that England's action was purely selfish, and to save her own interests in America, for England is an American power equally with the United States. By preventing European intervention in America, England safeguards her own possessions in the event of a war against a European State. The United States may be willing to look at the case with their blind eye; but ordinary folk and English statesmen (Lord Cranborne included) have the use of their visual faculties. To convert a purely selfish act into one of high—inexplicable—disinterestedness, however, shows that Lord C. is graduating in the school of his *pater*; and it also marks the extreme gullibility of the unthinking classes and the lies that but too often rule the world. The industrial crisis at home that we stated in our last was coming on has begun to operate. British trade returns from January to November show a decline in imports of 13¼ millions and a decline in exports of 11½ millions this year as compared with last. At the same time Sir M. Hicks-Beach proposes to lay additional burdens of taxation. A possible increase in the tea duty will affect for weal or woe—we believe for weal—the tea industry in India and Ceylon. The *Times*' article on

the subject is unanswerable. Much of the tea that is produced is mere "rubbish;" and the Empire's needs cannot be made to give way to small class interests. We wonder that Lord Curzon, who supported the Indian Association, had not the penetration to see all this, and consequently came in for a well-deserved rebuke from even his own paper the *Times*. He was rather unceremoniously reminded of his "place!" Finally a great deal of opposition has been manifested by large Church bodies to Canon Gore being made the Bishop of Worcester. We can only think his selection must have been due to a philosophic sprig like Mr. A. Balfour, whose ideas of Christianity and the Church may run on similar lines with the wild and imaginative delusions of the author of *Lux Mundi*. A man who denies that "Jesus Christ (or Christian faith and doctrine) is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever" is unfit to be not only a Bishop, but an ordinary teacher of Christian truth. He does not understand the elements of the Bible, or the Christian faith. Canon Gore may be an excellent man, with high aspirations; but neither he, nor his admiring apologist in a late shallow monthly *Review*, is aware of the weakness of their respective characters or the depth of their profound ignorance. The idea of Canon Gore improving or developing the Christian faith is as good as his improving and developing the universe—or, let us say, to bring it to his comprehension, painting a rose or a lily. And he to be a "Bishop" to "feed My lambs and My sheep!"—to stand beside the Throne of "the First and the Last." (Our wish, we need not add, is that he may do so.)

The United States has induced Denmark to part with her West Indies for a million sterling. A conspiracy to overthrow Canadian rule and establish an independent republic in Yukon (!) has been discovered. Australia is ready with more men (her "unemployed!") for South Africa, if England will pay for them, and likewise a commission. Here is an Australian "soldier's" estimate of our officers:—

We detest and despise the British officer, with his eye-glass and his "haw-haw" style; for we have had ample demonstration of his total unfitness for warfare in such a country as South Africa. What with their sports and games and flirting with the Dutch girls, they have afforded ample testimony of their incapacity.

The premiers of the several Australian Colonies have protested against not being included among the public guests at the coming coronation. New Zealand is meaner than any Australian Colony, and yet its premier has been specially invited!

INDIA—POLITICAL.—In the matter of the Queen's Memorial Lord Curzon seems to go further and further from public opinion. We need not repeat what we have said before—show the radical defects of his scheme—but in reference to a

paper or note he has issued in regard to it, the *Pioneer* writes:—

"Thus forty or fifty lakhs of rupees, mostly subscribed by Native Chiefs all over India, are to be spent on a building, foreign alike in conception and in execution, to be built on a site which, while it can be secured only by destroying one of the lahd-marks of Calcutta, will afford only a frail crust of four feet above the Hooghly slime to support this glory of future ages. The material is to be imported, the design is to be imported, the architect is to be imported; and India's Imperial Memorial to the Queen-Empress, who won the affection of her Indian subjects by her interest in things Indian, will not give the smallest scope to the Indian artist or constitute in any sense a monument of Oriental art. All this may follow logically from the original resolve to have a memorial of this kind in Calcutta; but so much the worse for the original resolve."

For ourselves, we have carefully read Lord Curzon's note,—we are surprised the military authorities don't object to an erection which will completely command the Fort,—and can only say that the design as set forth will be—not a masterpiece of Art, which will be "a thing of Beauty and Joy for ever," elevating, refining and educating those who will see it, but a hideous *nightmare in marble*. The idea of an oblong building flanked by towers, with a central dome rising a hundred and fifty feet high, is caricaturing architecture and Art to its utmost stretch, and is the most incongruous mixture. If it was to have been erected in Calcutta—Allanabad would be a far better site as central, with good foundations, and free from the deleterious effects of a Lower Bengal deltaic, etc., climate and dangers of volcanic shocks,—the site might have been better chosen, and the design somewhat more appropriate. To build such an erection on a mere crust, too, is risking the stability of the dome or central portion. It would be a sad day for the Viceroy to see his hundred and fifty feet high marble dome come toppling down on all his *curios* (including misplaced busts and old chain armour!) beneath. However, he is determined to be remembered in the future by a "Curzon's Folly." And as he has rejected good and friendly advice and criticism, we shall waste no more time on him in connection with this Great Effort of his Genius, save to add that a Mr. Cameron, who knows every inch of the mineral resources of India, has come forward in the public press to say that there is the finest marble—pronounced by Mr. Holland to be "equal to the finest Carrara marble"—procurable in India in any quantity for the purposes of the Memorial. How is it, we may ask, that Lord Curzon did not consult Mr. Cameron before putting forth his unfounded statement in the note? Is it yet too late to do it, and keep some fifteen or

twenty *lakhs* in the country? As regards the Ochterlony Monument, it is quite possible to make it fit into the plan of the grounds and leave it undisturbed. And before we finish up this subject once for all, we may remark that enlightened native opinion, too, is here against the Viceroy. Here is what *New India* writes:—

"Whatever Lord Curzon writes or speaks has a stunning effect on the public mind, and one is simply amazed at the good fortune which has befallen India, in the person of a Viceroy who, young in age, is old in knowledge and experience, and who combines in himself the educationist, the politician, the economist, the artist, and the architect, the connoisseur both of manners and marbles, all rolled into one. The lengthy note on the Victoria Hall by the Viceroy, published last Friday,—though we are afraid, it will be read but by few people,—is, however, sure to be admired by all, for the prodigious amount of knowledge, artistic, architectural, and petrological, that is displayed in it. . . . the plans, in which the Viceroy will himself have a hand, for nothing can, in His Excellency's own estimate, be well done unless he lends his own superior knowledge and wisdom to its execution."

And the *Indian Mirror* says:—

"In the Metropolis of British India, we have a sufficiency of subscriptions, but the great hitch is the Viceroy's assertion of his own ideas about the site, plans, material for building, employment of labour and skill and so on."

Lord Curzon will find that in this, as in so many other matters, *he has again missed his opportunity. But it is not yet too late.*

The following Proclamation has been issued by the Viceroy in regard to the Durbar at Delhi to celebrate the Emperor's Coronation:—

"Whereas by His Royal Proclamation, bearing date the twenty-sixth day of June and the tenth day of December 1901, His Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India, has declared His Royal intention to celebrate the Solemnity of His Royal Coronation and that of his dearly beloved Consort the Queen upon the twenty-sixth day of June 1902, I now hereby publicly notify under this my hand and seal, as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, that it is my intention to hold at Delhi, on the first day of January, 1903, an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of celebrating in His Majesty's Indian dominions this solemn and auspicious event. To this Durbar I propose to invite the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Heads of Administrations from all parts of His Majesty's Indian dominions; the Princes, Chiefs, and Nobles of the Native States under His Majesty's protection; and representatives, both European and Native, of all the Provinces of this great Empire. I also hereby notify that I shall forthwith issue such orders in Council as

may be suitable to the occasion and in conformity with the desire that will be felt by all classes of His Majesty's subjects to demonstrate their loyalty by appropriate public ceremonies and rejoicings. Dated at Calcutta this fourteenth day of February 1902."

The Durbar will last a week or ten days, and the functions will include chapters of the Star of India and the Indian Empire. There will be some 30,000 troops present, and the various camps will cover an enormous area of ground. The influx of visitors, too, from Europe, is expected to be very large. We trust that such due sanitary and other precautions will be taken that no plague or cholera break out while the Durbar is in progress.

We have now to take up Lord Curzon from where we left him last—making his "jungle journeys" in the wilds of North Burmah—a march it will be remembered we tried to dissuade him from—and he reached Mandalay and Rangoon without being pounced on by Mr. Stripes. He did nothing in Burmah save to reject every local demand and inflame public opinion, offering herein quite a contrast with those of his distinguished predecessors from Lord Dalhousie downwards who have visited the Province. We don't pretend to judge in the matters in dispute, but it was easy to have granted, even with justice, the few demands asked for. The papers in Burmah have been simply wild at him for having refused them an English Barrister Judge, a University, and the extension of the Railway to China. Even the *Indian Pioneer*—an unusually moderate paper—writes:—

"Lord Curzon has incensed local opinion because, while assuming at the outset the humble attitude of the anxious inquirer, he straightway proceeded to reject, with a confidence which savoured of contempt, even the recommendations upon which the Rangoon public were absolutely unanimous. . . . If ever there was a case in British India where intelligent public opinion for which the powers that be always profess so much respect, had made itself distinctly heard, this was one. For once Lord Curzon has misread the situation and missed his opportunity."

But further, and subsequent to his visit, the Viceroy does not seem to have given satisfaction in regard to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province. The same journal quoted above writes, that Lord Curzon's admirable reputation for the happy selection of high officials is not likely to be enhanced by the settlement arrived at in regard to the successor to Sir Frederick Fryer in Burma, and continues:—"The distinction of springing a complete surprise upon the public both in Burmah and India is the sole satisfaction, we conceive, His Excellency can have in connection with a transaction which is

inexplicable on any creditable theory, the more we consider it." And the article goes on to say that "even if Sir Frederick Fryer's administration had been characterised by the most conspicuous ability and the Burmah public were dissolved in tears at the prospect of his departure, it would have been a doubtful policy to extend a period of office already so long drawn out; but the critics who find anything of outstanding distinction in Sir Frederick's rule have hitherto been remarkably reticent. Apart from Mr. Donald Smeaton, there are half a dozen Civilians, any one of whom could have been expected to fill Sir Frederick Fryer's shoes without fear of comparative results. What has been done is apt to raise doubts as to whether, in this instance, considerations of fair play, the public interest and the opinion of the Province chiefly concerned have been given due weight." Although the paper even still again referred to Lord Curzon's appointments, and in more explicit terms, we do not think, regarding the men available, such as Cotton, Fraser and Hewitt, that a better selection than that of Mr. Donald Smeaton was possible. Mr. Barnes would have done well, and deserved a good lift, but he cannot unfortunately be spared. Perhaps he is reserved for Bengal, when Mr. Ibbetson may become the Foreign Secretary and Mr. Buckland get the Home portfolio.

In regard to Frontier Operations we can hardly add anything to the following from a leading organ of public opinion in India :—

"The recent operations in Waziristan may be designated 'counter-raids' and not an 'expedition': the troops engaged may not be shown in the Army List as on field service; the Battalions that compose the force may not be brigaded: and the nominal command may be left with one Brigadier-General, while Major-General Egerton exercises 'control.' But all this does not alter the fact that more troops have been concerned in this Mahsud business than Sir William Lockhart had with him in the expedition into Waziristan in 1894. It was a Brigade, then, it is a Column now which we hear of marching and countermarching in Mahsud land; but within the last two months the troops have fought over nearly every nullah in the enemy's country, have penetrated as far, if not further, than the force of 1894, and have done more damage than any previous expedition into Waziristan. The work has been arduous and the fighting hard. Since the end of November we have had over 100 killed and wounded amongst the troops, and there are over 1,000 sick in hospital. Nor is the cost likely to be inconsiderable; for we hear of great though unavoidable waste in connection with the transport. There is a line of 20 miles of camels between Daryakhan and Tank in addition to some 1,000 China mules from Peshawar and several thousand Government bullocks for transport trains. We do not

say that anybody in particular is to blame for all this: if responsibility were to be traced anywhere, it would probably be to those who, in opposition to the minority in the Viceroy's Council in 1894, insisted on a policy of irritating meddlesomeness on the Waziri border; but with things as they are up Jandola way, it is supremely ridiculous to applaud Lord Curzon for his firmness in restraining frontier officials from involving the Government in punitive operations."

In the Lyall case—an appeal being preferred to the Viceroy by Mr. Lyall, supported by fresh statements, including one by Mrs. Lyall, Lord Curzon also does not come out well. What was wanted from him was not to review the legal decision of the High Court, or to show that it was wrong, but to remit Mr. Lyall's sentence, which he might easily have done, and which he ought to have done. Lord Curzon, however, declined to exercise his right and left Mr. Lyall in gaol. The public sense was at once shown in subscriptions being started for Mr. Lyall's expenses, and that in the columns of the *Englishman* which has always been a thick-and-thin supporter of Lord Curzon. We can only presume that Lord Curzon had the dread of going against the High Court on the one side, and of offending native sentiment on the other. Whereas the truth is he would have offended nobody, and at the same time done an act of justice and mercy, and satisfied the sense of the European community. We can only wonder, considering all these repeated and numerous mistakes, who can be the Viceroy's advisers or, if he takes no other counsel than what he gets from himself, and whether he is not in the position of the client who has himself for his adviser. Mr. Pugh's contention, too, that the High Court cannot commit any one to any prison outside its own local limits, remains unanswered. For ourselves we firmly believe in Mr. Lyall's story, not only as confirmed by Mrs. Lyall, but as we know very well the kind of men who are recruited from Bilaspur, C. P. The European and Anglo-Indian Association had also sent in a memorial. This Association is the most influential and prominent European Association in India, and comprises most of the leading members of the legal and commercial communities. Lord Curzon thus disregarded the sense of the whole European community.

The Viceroy, however, "cares for none of these things" which tell so damagingly against him, and—having spent a sixth portion of last year in "sport," jungle journies included,—has also begun this year the same game by going off for a fortnight to Darjeeling to view Kunchinjunga and to wander about the ruins of Gaur "note-book and pencil in hand." What a happy man! We could almost envy him, did we not

have enough and to spare of "jungles" and "ruins" of our own. However, we make here a fair offer putting aside our own convenience. If he put himself under our guidance for three weeks, not taking more than a couple of servants with him—or even a rifle, for we shall be in the thick of tigers and bears and even wolves—we undertake to show him within a radius of some odd hundred miles of Calcutta, the greatest natural wonder that is to be seen in India—which will be a revelation to him even after his Western travels—and that no second European eye has yet seen. On the way to and from it he will also see very remarkable historic "ruins" of the past (in a fair state of preservation). We believe our offer will make his mouth water and we shall not draw back from it, only the marches and stages shall be entirely under our control, and we shall not be hurried, nor have quotations or exercises in Latin to regale our private conversations with. Nor shall we have any "dances of Lamas dressed as yaks and stags, the agility of the performers being much applauded." (What a sight for a Viceroy to witness!) To revert;—Lord Curzon has also made a dreadful mistake in his Resolution about Assam tea-planters and Mr. Cotton, which practically sends the latter away in disgrace after a whole life of hard service. It is also not very encouraging to heads of local administrations to feel they are liable to public condemnation by the supreme authority for carrying out principles laid down by that authority. Lord Curzon, no doubt, has to thank Mr. Cotton for a deal of trouble, but—setting aside Mr. Cotton's not getting Burmah, he might have been dismissed in a more handsome way. Finally in reviewing the portion of the canvas filled in by the Viceroy in the last quarter, we have to note his inconsiderate attempt to regulate the imposition of Home taxes in the matter of a possible increase in the tea duty, which brought down on him a real and severe snub from his own old "journalistic love" the *Times*. We need not repeat the words here; but may remark that we trust it will improve his caution and restrain his uninformed zeal in future. There is not, thus, one redeeming point or feature since we last wrote, in Lord Curzon's occupancy of the viceregal office. It is not pleasant for us to write thus, but we cannot obliterate facts. In what we have written, we have merely set forth the views of the public, and in its own words—and, indeed, left out and toned down much. We have ourselves suppressed two papers that would have made him feel very uncomfortable. The universal chorus of praise which welcomed his advent to the country only a short while back has turned slowly but surely all round and among all classes to as general a condemnation of his ungracious

ways, personal sensitiveness, love of *fads*, self-willedness, inability to please the public or carry it with him, and refusal to listen to good advice, which last we have been among the foremost to tender him and have been misunderstood. So far he has shown a genius for only trifles, rushing about from one end of India to the other enjoying himself, making public speeches (which count for nothing unless enunciating high policy), and despising both European and native public opinion. And we say it, that unless he subordinates his private and personal views, and attaches a strong curb or restraint on his idiosyncracies, natural or acquired, he may yet find that it will be best for him to escape the general odium by resignation. He has done some good work—though perhaps more harm—and he may yet do true and lasting work if he will only try to learn. It is vain for him to think that he knows and has mastered India, and her varied problems and pressing needs. Men double his age, with as great a penetration as his, and who know both the languages and peoples intimately, having spent a life-time in the country, confess themselves beaten. What we may ask, does he know of the inner life of the Bengalis, or the sturdier population of the North-West Provinces, or of the Punjabis, or Madrassis, or even of the Parsis, or Burmese? Absolutely nothing of their lives, aspirations and habits of thought. He does not seem to know even where their shoe pinches. Assuming knowledge is a sure way to fail at acquiring the truth. And all importation of Western methods and ideas, and passing them off as current in public speeches, will fail to affect the life or lives of the people in the slightest degree. He will have to live for a generation or two in India, as one with the people, to realise this fact. His bane has been gross flattery from a peculiar class of friends and writers. And of late we have even seen these going the extreme length of instilling into his mind the idea of his going Home to assume a supreme direction of affairs there. We have before said that he, or any man, is capable of doing anything if he has wisdom and self-restraint, and, we may add, faith. But it needs little to expose the falsity and hollowness of this latest phase of the flattery that is being offered as incense to his nostrils. Lord Curzon cannot, under present circumstances, hope for any place even in a Conservative Ministry, who sent him out and away from among themselves; much less the supreme or any leading direction of affairs. He has simply no political following which is essential. He is only known for his impulsiveness and anti-Russian flights of imagination. He has had no "training" for any great political chief's place, and he will have to wait long indeed, and be quite another man, before

he can hope to wear the blue ribbon of politics in England. In a reconstruction of parties, he may possibly come in for the Indian Secretaryship, assuming there is no better man for the place. That is our utmost forecast for him at present. But he has the power, if he can command the right will, to alter his destiny even if the great Shakespeare says the future is prefigured by the past. There are two more years remaining of his Indian Viceroyalty, and he may do much in them, "turning over a new leaf." Though bitter may be the humiliation, let him relinquish the Memorial "Folly"—the "nightmare in marble," as we have termed it—and allow it to be erected in Prince Alfred Park, in Allahabad, out of Indian marble, and according to a pattern that we shall approve of. Then let him proceed on the lines we lay down for him for the great good, progress, and contentment of India. In this connection we gladly observe that he proposes soon to visit the Nizam, and that our recommendation to give this first of Indian States a good start has not been made in vain. We shall have other recommendations to make from time to time, and one great one we have that will go to the root of half the troubles of India, and give it at once a spring of new life, for which we have no space in this number, but which we hope to give in our next.

The useless appointment of Director of Archæology has been given away to a Mr. Marshall of Cambridge, who is supposed to know little or nothing of his subject. Now it is said that a proposal has been sent home for an Architect for the Government of India—another useless and purely ornamental post. And what the "mild sarcasm" in the following paragraph may be we leave Lord Curzon himself to discover:—

"The *Times of India* mentions a rumour that is current in England that the post of Minister of Education in India will be conferred on Mr. H. W. Orange, a gentleman in receipt of £150 yearly as Private Secretary to Sir George Kekewich of the Board of Education. It says that the gaiety of Cambridge would be eclipsed if Mr. Oscar Browning, the friend of quite nice Emperors, was lured to attempt to control anything save the movements of celebrities on the banks of the Cam."

Thus a number of great and useless but very expensive posts have been created by Lord Curzon. If we reckon a lakh of rupees as what each will cost per annum with their office establishments, travelling, etc., we have a capital represented (at 10 p.c.) of three hundred lakhs, or three *crores* of rupees. Is this simply just to India? And as if there was not enough of troubles in India without others being imported from outside, a number of "M. P." globe-trotters—whose visits should really be discouraged—have been giving forth their crude and most absurd and even mischievous views in the

press here. No doubt, papers are glad to get "copy," but what about what appears very like a direct incitement to another Mutiny, by comparing the barrack accommodation of European troops with that of native troops? (This reminds us of a cartoon in the *Hindi Punch* last year which also looked like a direct incentive to rebellion.) And yet one would almost think that Mr. Jesse Collings, who was one of these visitors, spoke as follows, with special reference to the assumed knowledge of the Viceroy:—

"Those who have spent the best years of their lives in India, I find are those who confess how little they know about the vast and complex problems connected with this wonderful country. There are men, however, members of Parliament and others, who think they have an all-sufficient perceptive wisdom (and do not by any means keep the opinion to themselves), who see no difficulties in the matter. After a few months' run through the country they write a book or an article on India, in which everything is made plain and every Indian problem is solved with boldness and confidence."

In regard to legislation, the Administrator-General's Bill has been passed amid considerable opposition from the public as rendering impossible the work of private executors. But, in any case, the public and official Government Annual Report of the Department will be a great and distinct gain. If only there were one or two other official Annual Reports in matters which intimately concern the public but are now kept dark, it would greatly mend some very unsatisfactory and even unsavoury quiet proceedings of a certain class of officers with Government authority.

Among other Home Office matters, a conference has sat to find out how best to popularise the use of Currency Notes, the members being Mr. Lindsay, of the Bank of Bengal, Mr. Hamilton, Commissioner of Paper Currency, Mr. Finlay, Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. Cox, Comptroller-General, Mr. Harrison, Accountant-General, N.-W. P., and Sir Edward Law. We could "popularise" and make universal the use of the Notes in a very short while, but have no "call" to make the plan a present to Government, when all we got for suggesting the original scheme of the Currency Notes (from Singapore 43 years or more ago, to the Right Hon'ble James Wilson, Finance Minister of India) at a time when, after the Mutiny, India was reeling under financial difficulties, was an offer of a subordinate place in the Finance Department! The plan we propose is as simple (and difficult) as Columbus' egg, but we withhold it. We have qualified ourselves over and over again for an ordinary "Civil List Pension" of at least Rs. 1,000 a month by eminent services freely rendered to the State (and also the public) in various lines, but the question still remains—*after forty years*—"will he ever get it?" [The

P. D. at our elbow says, "he will never get it so long as he does not give in to the jungle jurnies" of the Viceroy.] The Commission to enquire into the conduct of Government Presses has sat; but as we stated in our last, the scope of enquiry was too limited, and could therefore do little real good, while there was only one member and he a new-comer, who represented the public. If Government Presses were commercially organised would there be any need of giving away—some say subsidising—*lakhs* of rupees to private presses? Or if there was any common sense ruling in the matter of Stationary?

In regard to subordinate Governments, taking from the East, we have already noticed Burmah, its troubles and its appointments, all the direct result of Lord Curzon's visit, which we advised him against. Lord Curzon has yet to acquire the art of "keeping one's soul from troubles," and we won't let him into the secret. Assam has lost its Cotton under disagreeable circumstances, the result of the mistaken Resolution of the Viceroy which we have already referred to. Like the Viceroy himself, Mr. Cotton was a very hard-working and "honest" officer. He was also an able writer and an author. He deserved a better ending of his career, but we doubted it when his "friends" took Assam up and forced it on the Viceroy's consideration in articles of portentous length in a daily paper—a form of "great tribulation" for even a Lord Curzon. Bengal has, as usual, been happy and quiet under Sir John Woodburn, who, we believe, will be the only Lieutenant-Governor of a very peculiar Province, which unites in it "advanced" Irish-Bengalis and the most progressive British commercial and independent community in India, whose loss will be genuinely felt all round. Sir John has been lately going over several portions of his very extensive charge including Burdwan, and has everywhere met with the most genuine and cordial and gratifying reception. We cannot understand, however, what made him go through the experience of going underground into coal mines. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, too, Sir James LaTouche has inaugurated his period of office by going over most parts of his extensive and important charge, and has received the most gratifying testimony of the confidence and esteem of his forty millions of subjects both high and low. Whether at Benares, or Lucknow, or Agra, or Cawnpore, or in Rampur State, he was received as the known and tried kind friend of every body—even of the very poor. For ourselves we anticipate rest (and progress) for the United Provinces under his rule. We make room here for the first address he received, and his reply, as illustrating our above remarks:—

A deputation of the Oudh Taluqdars waited on the Lieutenant-Governor and presented the following address:—

"It was with sincere pleasure that we, the Taluqdars of Oudh, received the news of your appointment as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and the Chief Commissioner of Oudh. We welcome you as an old and valued friend. Your appointment to your present exalted position is a fitting recognition of your eminent services in the past.

"Your Honour's intimate acquaintance with the agricultural conditions of the United Provinces, and the thorough knowledge you have of the people and of their past history, lead us confidently to hope that during your term of office our rights and privileges will be preserved, and that legitimate encouragement will be afforded to our hopes and aspiration.

"Administrative problems of great importance are certain to claim Your Honour's attention, and we are sure that with Your Honour's mature experience these problems will receive such careful consideration as their importance demands.

"Your generous sympathies with the people are well known and keenly appreciated, and now that you have been placed in a wider sphere of usefulness people will come to you without any hesitation, feeling sure that you will extend your fullest sympathy to them in their troubles and difficulties.

"To you, Sir, who have long been familiar with our habits, thoughts and feelings, we need not speak of our loyalty to the British Throne nor of our sincere gratefulness for the security of life and property and the general blessings of the British rule. We hope to be able to show in our conduct during your administration how deeply we appreciate these blessings."

The Lieutenant-Governor in his reply said:—

"MAHARAJA AND TALUQDARS,—In your address you welcome me as an old friend, and it is a true description, for though in the early years of my official life I had not the good fortune to serve in Oudh, yet as Chief Secretary under successive Lieutenant-Governors, and as member of the Board of Revenue, I have visited every district in the Province, and have learned to share in your love for your beautiful land and its people.

"For yourselves, I am proud to count many of you as personal friends between whom and myself the tie of mutual confidence and good will already exists, and that tie will, I trust, be strengthened by the more intimate relations created by my appointment as Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

"Apart from our personal relations, you possess an Association adapted to give expression to your joint views on matters affecting the Province. I shall always listen with attention and respect to your views and wishes as represented by your Association.

"I do not anticipate that within the next few years it will be necessary to initiate new legislative measures in regard to Oudh. What was required has been done by the Government of Sir Antony MacDonnell, and on me devolves the humbler, but not

unimportant, duty of carrying out, with your co-operation, the measures already adopted, of removing the obstacles to growth ; of promoting development, and of preparing the way for a further advance if necessary. In undertaking the task which lies before me, it is a great help to me to believe that I am acquainted with your character, your wishes, and your feelings; while your loyalty to the British Crown, and your self-respect which arises from the honourable traditions of your families, will make it all the easier for us to work together for the welfare of Oudh.

In the Punjab Sir Mackworth Young leaves about the 5th of March very much regretted by the whole Province. He is the last of the Lieutenant-Governors of what Punjab was, and not is—the result of Lord Curzon's intermeddling with its old frontiers, and creating the new Frontier Province. Like his more noted predecessors too, Sir Mackworth Young has nobly stood forward and not been ashamed to help the Missionary cause in the Province by speech and example. The open and manly profession of a true faith in Christ, in its rulers, made the Punjab what it became—the salvation of India. Even the heathen honor and respect and follow those who honor their God and serve Him truly in their lives. Sir Charles Rivaz takes up the appointment, and we have no doubt will acquit himself nobly in his post, though under other conditions. The Punjab must, however, remain the bulwark of India against invasion from the North-West. Mr. Fraser has continued working hard at his Central Provinces, and we trust will meet with due success, and notwithstanding Junius Junior's hard strictures, qualify himself for further promotion. And in regard to that trouble in a mineral matter to which we referred in previous issues, after due and full enquiry we learn that he was sinned against by his own *entourage*. Still, he has to bear the blame of his *entourage*. Very small men, as Secretaries and Under-Secretaries, can do an enormous amount of mischief, especially when "chumming" with Deputy Commissioners. We need not go further into this, as it has all been remedied, but it was only after a fearful deal of trouble and a private appeal lodged with the Viceroy that anything was done. Lord Curzon, who has many virtues notwithstanding his failings due to youth and inexperience, was prompt. Of Bombay there is little to record, the Governor dispensing his right royal charities in a way to even astonish the Parsees. In Madras the Wards' Bill has been passed after ineffectual protests and much opposition. Let us hope the Bill will remain a dead letter. At the same time we find we were wrong in saying that a Native Banker had sunk and lost some 20 *lakhs* on an estate without remedy. It seems he got enough for this loan—leave a Marwari alone

to do that ! Lord Ampthill has declared against interpellations in Council of an objectionable nature. He described some questions as "logical pitfalls," intended rather to embarrass than to elicit information. Yet this is the only liberty yet possessed by independent and representative members, and we ought not to put it down with too rough a hand. Even the best native has to be "trained" to understand many things.

The following are the latest Madras revenue returns :—

			To the end of Dec.	
			1900-01.	1901-02.
			Lakhs.	Lakhs.
Land Revenue	...	...	207'06	200'35
Salt	...	...	141'33	142'81
Stamps	...	...	65'45	65'89
Excise	...	...	93'27	97'70
Provincial Rates	...	...	32'25	33'09
Customs	...	...	27'56	35'34
Assessed Taxes	...	...	19'06	19'55
Forest	...	...	16'49	19'27
Registration	...	...	11'19	11'60
Total			613'66	625'60

A great deal of attention is being drawn to the want of a good harbour at Madras. General Sir R. Sankey, writing to the *Times*, states that the Madras Harbour is in the same condition now as after the destructive cyclone of November 1882. He declares that nothing has been practically done to rectify the initial error of design, and dwells on the extreme importance of the work, whether regarded as a naval base or in a commercial aspect. Finally, there is a reported discovery of coal in Madras, and the local press strongly urges on the Government to test the possibilities of the "find." We believe Mr. Cameron has a good record in the matter of discovery of coal fields in India as well as other countries, and further, knows every inch of mineral ground in India, including Madras which he has declared is "literally paved with diamonds." Among other minerals, Mr. Cameron declares that there are four or five places in India—not Burmah—where there are rubies, and there is gold very near Allahabad. He has been now going over India, North and South, East and West, mostly at his own expense, for forty years off and on, and has seen strange sights in the jungles where he has consorted with tigers and bears, leading a "charmed life." In any case, we trust, he will be able to push to a close this matter of his discovery of coal in Madras.

We have no space in this number to give the details of a

plan for the Redemption of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, which will do justice to the Province, to India, and to Government; will injure no one; and which can be carried out at a great immediate profit to Government.

(NOTE: We shall expect our "Civil List Pension" after that!)

INDIAN PRINCES, NATIVE STATES, ETC.—Beginning from the North, the Raja of the small Hill State of Mandi has, as stated, sanctioned an outlay of three lakhs of rupees for a tonga road from Mandi to Bajaura on the way to Kulu. We did not know that the Raja had such a sum in his coffers. Indeed, money is very scarce in his dominions, and we remember when we were up there, the wages of the State employes used to be paid in *salt*, of which there is a range in Mandi territory. Perhaps the road to Bajaura is also to be paid for by salt—if so, of course, there is money enough. The making of a good road may conduce to increased traffic passing down Simla way from Ladak and Turkistan.

Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur has taken up his position as Maharaja of Idar, a state in Mahi Kanta in Bombay, with an area of 1,900 square miles, with a population approaching 300,000, and a gross revenue of some six lakhs yearly. Sir Pertab's father, Takht Singh, came from the Ahmednagar branch of the Idar family, and there has always been a chance that the succession might revert to this branch. The Maharaja of Idar died last year, and his principal wife afterwards gave birth to a son who would have succeeded in natural course. But the boy died in November, and thus the *gadi* became vacant, for the late Maharaja had not exercised his right of adoption, trusting that the Maharani would bear a son-and-heir. The Government of India have now selected Sir Pertab as Maharaja of Idar, and we doubt not that he will make an excellent ruling Chief. He has all the qualities that should make him popular with his new subjects.

The Maharaja of Gwalior has opened a school for nobles' daughters in the hope of inducing the higher classes of his subjects to recognise the importance of education for the ladies of their families. This institution, under the charge of a European Lady Superintendent, was opened in the presence of several European and native ladies by the Maharani Sahiba in person, who delivered a speech in Mahratti setting forth the uses and advantages of education for ladies of high rank.

H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda has taken great interest in Sir Francis Lovell's mission to India and the East in connection with the London School of Tropical Medicine, and has given practical proof of his sympathy with the objects of the institution by contributing Rs. 1,200 as a donation to its funds. The Gaekwar had also recently deputed the Principal of the

Technical College in his State to visit the Paris Exhibition, and within three months of his return to submit a Report giving a concise account of the exposition, and a scheme of the arts and industries that could be conveniently started in Baroda. The Report has now been submitted, and it is under contemplation to start a number of factories which will use the raw materials available in plenty in the State, in the manufacture of many articles at present imported from Europe and America. The Report is an elaborate one, and advocates the revival of old handicrafts that have died out for want of encouragement and the starting of new ones. Detailed information is given regarding industries not requiring machinery, which might be started by persons of moderate means, as well as regarding industries for which the use of big machinery and the investment of a large capital are necessary.

Our readers will also remember a previous reference to a Memorial submitted to His Highness about marriage reform. Mr. Khinji Kayani has received the following acknowledgment from H. H. the Gaekwar:—

"Dear Sir,—I have been desired by His Highness the Maharaja Saib Gaekwar to thank you for your courteous letter. His Highness felt great pleasure in going through your Memorial which was at once sensible and patriotic. His Highness will take another opportunity to let you know in full what his own sentiments and views are on the subject matter of your present Memorial. His Highness is inclined to believe that the necessity of straightforward and fearless conduct on the part of our public-spirited citizens, is not less imperative than the necessity for social legislation, emanating from the State. If people have the courage to hold fast to their convictions and abide by them, the occasion for coercive legislation would be minimised. Such good would result from the people's good understanding and liberal thoughts. However, legislation is sometimes needed in matters of Social Reform and you will hear His Highness' views of the subject of your Memorial on some future occasion. Thanking you again."—I am, etc.

Manubhai N. Mehta, Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar.

From a lecture on Indian Education delivered at Baroda, by the indefatigable Mrs. Besant—at which the Maharaja was present—we learn that there are only two Colleges in all India, the M. A. O. College at Aligurh, and Mrs Besant's own Hindu College at Benares. That is of course from her point of view. As regards the Aligurh College, whatever may be its aims and ideals, when we saw it last, it had practically become a school for turning out Mahomedan Vakils, Tahsildars, etc. As regards Mrs. Besant's Benares College it is too early to say what it will ultimately accomplish, but we suspect it will turn out a school of Neo-Hindus who will upset the old Orthodox Faith for ever. Mrs. Besant may not be exactly a Christian Missionary, but she is doing the work of one, and probably the Christian spirit of

Dr. Pusey, from whom she first received her *impetus*, looks down on her approvingly. Let us hope they will meet together yet once again.

We come next to Hyderabad where everything is proceeding well under the new *regime*, and where the Viceroy himself will soon be to further cement matters, and probably to personally invite His Highness to the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi. To Colonel Barr is due the existing happy relations. At the Banquet at the Residency on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday, where His Highness was present, Col. Barr referred to the extension of his period of service and said :—

"I cannot but feel both proud and grateful for this mark of confidence from the Government I serve, but my pride and gratitude are enhanced by the conviction that the last years of my service in India will be marked by the progress and development of the great State of which His Highness the Nizam is the ruler. And for these happy results I look not to any efforts that I may be able to make, but to the determination of His Highness personally to direct the administration and to the loyal co-operation of all parties. During the past twenty months I have had many opportunities of judging of His Highness' capacity as a ruler. I have been honoured with his confidence, and I trust he will allow me to say that I have gained his friendship, and it is my belief that it is within His Highness' power and ability to carry this great work to a successful end. I can assure His Highness of His Excellency the Viceroy's sympathy with and approval of all the measures taken for the improvement of the administration of Hyderabad. . . . It is the prospect of a bright future for Hyderabad, for its ruler and its people, that encourages me to undertake with a light heart the duties that are before me during the next two years. I want to see the finances of the State established on a sure and certain basis; I wish to see the resources of Hyderabad—its mines, irrigation schemes, railways, and commercial industries—developed and bringing in a large profit to the Treasury of the State, and to all classes of the population, who are engaged in or affected by industrial activities."

To this His Highness replied :—

"Colonel Barr, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most heartily for the very kind manner in which my health has been proposed and received on this happy occasion, and I am much obliged to you, Colonel Barr, for the hopeful sympathy with which you have referred to the prospects of my State. I need hardly say that I owe a great duty to my people, and I always try my best to discharge it. If some success attends my endeavours I should share the credit with all my advisers. I take this opportunity to publicly acknowledge the kind assistance that Colonel Barr has always rendered me, both officially, as representative of His Excellency the Viceroy, and privately, as my sincere friend and well-wisher of my State. He has said he has my friendship and confidence and I trust he will allow me to add he has my esteem and gratitude as well. It is, therefore, with no small pleasure that I have received the welcome news that he will remain as Resident at my Court for two years more. I am very thankful to His Excellency the Viceroy

for having so kindly and readily lent me one of the best officers in India."

Finally, let us trust that that dismal source of irritation, confusion, and loss of time (as well as temper), the *halli sicca* rupee, will give way to a more reasonable coin, one uniform in size and value with the rupee, but with the effigy of His Highness—a plan similar to it being carried out in every State in India which possesses rights of coinage.

Travancore, the only Conservative Hindu State in India, besides Nepal in the extreme North, has published its Annual Report, and the revenue amounts to a *crore* of rupees per annum. The country is highly mineralised, and some efforts are being made to open it up. The Railway to Quilon will do much good to the country. The Maharaja is also trying to open up a harbour at Cape Comorin.

Finally, we have Mysore, and a great deal of it under the able and wise administration of Mr. Krishna Murti, whose appointment, it will be remembered, we congratulated the country upon. Under him Mysore will continue the "Model" State, (though Baroda is running it very hard), and the Maharaja will have easy times of it. From an address of the Dewan to the Representative Assembly, which reviewed the past year's administration, we learn that the revenues amounted to nearly two *crores*, that the amount of gold extracted from the mines was nearly two millions sterling, and that actually nine and a half *lakhs* were spent on Education. We also learn that besides gold, there is corundum in the State, but not paying. We add that we have heard a statement of rubies being found somewhere in, or near, the State. The London *Times* even specially compliments Mr. Krishna Murti for his work, among which, we may add, are settling the long-deferred matter of Mineral Leases, and sending a number of young men to America to be trained as Electrical Engineers for future employment at the Cauvery Falls.

The nuptial ceremonies of His Highness the Maharaja, who was married to a bride from the family of the Rana Sahib of Vana in Kathiawar, in June, 1900, takes place at the Mysore palace this month. Great preparations are also proceeding at His Highness' capital for his installation to the *Gadi* in June of this year. There is also a strong expectation, nay assurance, in Bangalore that His Excellency the Viceroy will pay a visit in August next, and that the installation of H. H. the Maharaja and the opening of the Cauvery Power Works at the Kolar Gold Field will take place about the same time.

As for the future administration of the State when the Maharaja has assumed the reins of Government, we understand that

the Maharaja will probably be assisted by an English Private Secretary, to be specially selected, for the appointment will be an exceedingly difficult one to fill. There will be a consultative Council, in place of the present executive Council. The latter would be out of place in a State ruled over by a Chief, whose responsibility for good government is so clearly recognised and emphasised in the "Instrument of Transfer"—a document which is practically the titledeed under which the Maharaja of Mysore holds his State. Colonel Roberston will doubtless recommend as few changes as possible, and his purpose will be merely to adjust the machinery to suit the main idea, namely, the personal responsibility of the Maharaja without, of course, swamping His Highness with work of too detailed and onerous a character.

THE BISHOPS, RELIGION, ETC.—

India loses Dr. Welldon, whose health compelled him to resign. He was, as Bishop in India, a man of magnificent possibilities. His utterances regarding the 'Imperial Mission' of the Church in conjunction with the Imperial position of the British Empire in the world was misunderstood, and every subsequent pronouncement, however correct, and even mild, was laid hold of by a small *clique* of narrow-minded people at home and in India and, as we view it, purposely and wilfully distorted—these people, be it remembered, not fit to clean the Bishop's shoes. Writing to the native pastor of the Brahmos, the Bishop says:—

"While I accept the full responsibility for my own words, it is ridiculous to suppose that when I make a speech of three-quarters of an hour or an hour in length and it is reported in some 20 or 30 lines of a newspaper, such a report can be any adequate or accurate representation of my mind. You will understand that I never speak upon religion or upon morals in the name of the Government; I speak in the name of Christ. I try to say what His religion suggests as being salutary to the Indian people. Whether it is right or wrong you and others can judge; but it is in my eyes no more than an honest contribution to the study of questions which you would be the first to recognise as intimately bearing upon the welfare of India."

A secular paper well says that, "to the Church of England and to Christianity generally in India, his retirement from this country is a loss. Dr. Welldon's career as Metropolitan has been very short, but during less than three years he exerted a strong influence within the Church in India, and also made it felt markedly outside."

Writing again to the same native pastor referred to above, the Bishop says:—

"My hope is that India will develop a native Christian Church, based, as it must be, upon eternal and immutable Christian truth, but characterised by the tone and method of Oriental life. There need be no wholesale acceptance of "medieval theology" nor any "identification" with ecclesiastical government," but there will be, and there must be, the faith of Christ's Divine Personality, in His Incarnation, in His Resurrection, in His Atoning and Redeeming Love.

The one question which I should ask upon your letter is whether you mean by Christianity what the Church of Christ has always meant and means to-day. I cannot ignore the danger that persons like yourself may use the language of Christianity without accepting its significance. For although I do not understand by the Christianisation of India any special system of ecclesiastical government, or any such system as "Popular Christianity," I do mean that India should accept the cardinal truths which differentiate the religion of Jesus Christ from all other religions in the world.

Finally, let me assure you how entirely I sympathise with your letter when it expresses the wish that Christians in India and elsewhere should more truly reflect the spirit of their Divine Master. But for a comparison of religions it is necessary, I think, to compare not individuals so much as societies. I know Christians may, and do, fall far below the standard of Christ. Bad Christians may be, and are, morally inferior to many Hindus; but no one, I think, can doubt that a Christian Society possesses, and a Hindu Society does not possess, in itself certain distinctive elements of truth, liberty, progress and spirituality. With you and with all Indian reformers, I wish to co-operate in all such efforts as are made for the elevation of Indian Society; but it is my earnest prayer that these efforts may themselves prove the means of drawing the minds of Indian people to the Cross of Jesus Christ; for it is only there, as I believe, that they can ever find the realisation of their destiny and the satisfaction of their highest and holiest aspirations."

Let us add, that political differences may vanish, and people generally may be drawn one to another by the common lot, sufferings, and aspirations of humanity, but the distinctions and differences of religious beliefs and personal convictions will always remain so long as the world is what it is—different sections, occupying different planes of thought and enlightenment and seeing Christ from different points—some (*i. e.*, Christians) as the expression of a Personal God whom finite nature cannot see or know else, others, as merely the greatest of Prophets, others as possibly an Incarnation but certainly a Divine Teacher, and others again as a mere man, even if the best and wisest. In any case, the Bishop in his words, "there must be the faith of Christ's Divine Personality, in His Incarnation, in His Resurrection, in His Atoning and Redeeming Love," and "it is only at the Cross of Jesus Christ that the Indian people can ever find the realisation of their destiny and the satisfaction of their highest and holiest aspirations";—is explicit, even if a Hindu paper replies that, "the only tenet peculiar to Christianity is that there can be no salvation without Christ, and in this the Hindus do not believe." It is not our purpose here to hold forth the Divine claims of Christ

"the Word of God," but we may refer those who wish to know more to "the Word," especially the four gospels, to Plato (and Socrates his master), and to the 53rd Chapter of Isaiah. We need not go further, however much may remain.

We cannot, however, conclude these observations without some reference to an article in a leading North Indian paper—the same that has made itself conspicuous by its attacks on Dr. Welldon—in which the writer, with "exquisite" taste, (if not with something worse) asserts that the Christian Clergy preach and proclaim what they don't believe in, that is, earn a dishonest living. From internal evidence the article appears to be the product of a crooked, warped, and sickly mind and written at Home, but it is a pity the paper inserts such very lying and offensive "rot," and in the prominent place of a "leading" article. We shall be inclined to bracket this journal in future with Mr. Khare (both of the same town!) for whom see our critical notices—both "with foreheads villainously low." The result was that the whole matter of Christian Bishops, Christian Missions, and the newspaper's want of capacity or judgment, or unfairness, was gone into at the Lucknow Diocesan Conference, where Bishop Clifford, "a man among men," hurled back the unworthy jibes and stuck to his colours and a Missionary exposed the crudities asserted by the paper regarding Missions. Several other late public pronouncements by very prominent and *official* speakers, such as the Hon'ble Mr. Ralieggh and Sir Mackworth Young must have also gravelled the paper we refer to not a little. The truth is, that for one blind who cannot see the sun, there are a million who do, and who rejoice in it.

Let us pass on;—the Bishop of Bombay has returned to India, and has officiated for the Metropolitan in Calcutta, stating that the Bishopric of the Central Provinces has already been provided with funds, and the Assam one must now go on. In the meantime Dr. Copleston, Bishop of Colombo, has been appointed to the vacant see. He assumes charge, we believe in May, rather a hot month. Dr. Copleston is one of the great authorities on Buddhism in the East, and is described as "a man of austere principle," a "fine judgment," "self-denying simplicity of life, scholarly application to linguistic and Oriental studies, of untiring industry, in journeyings oft," and we trust will prove a worthy successor of the bright and shining names who have gone before him in the diocese of whom some account will be found in a paper in this number by a "Layman." Dr. Copleston has been working in Ceylon for over a quarter of a century, and is universally loved and respected there. The Bishop of Madras has been keeping unusually quiet, while the *other* "Bishop"—we refer to the

Hon'ble Dr. Miller—has publicly stated before the University Commission that he won't have theology among the studies of the University. Dr. Miller is usually very sound but here we may ask him why? On the other hand, setting aside any reference to Christianity, we can give abundant reasons why theology "the queen of sciences"—should be included in any "University." Our Universities here besides are not teaching bodies—and never can be—but merely examining bodies. Dr. Hodges, Bishop of Travancore and Cochin, has been to the *fête* given to Mar Dionysius, the Syrian Bishop, and been remarking that he—the Mar—has the finest head he has ever met with. He also made a fine, brotherly, speech at the meeting which was much appreciated. Among other Church matters since our last, the Indian Presbyterian Alliance met at Allahabad, and conferred about a name for all the various bodies in India, in which we think the Rev. Dr. K. S. Macdonald's suggestion of "the United Church in India" was the best, but of course, (being the best) was not carried. The proposal to relax the standards of the Church, to meet the immature and unformed views of candidates for the Ministry, (who have no business to come forward as candidates) is a very ill-advised one. From a report of the Annual Meeting of the Telugu Baptist Mission we learn that an Industrial School is to be established at Ongole, and a Girls' High School at Nellore. These, with the College at Ongole and the Seminary at Ramapatam, will make the educational system quite complete. The Mission reports 60,000 communicant members, and the question of organising these numbers into self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches occupied a large share of the deliberations.

Sir Harnam Singh has given Rs. 50,000 to be managed by a Committee for scholarships for poor Indian Christian students in the Punjab. The rules and conditions are now being framed. Sir Harnam Singh is a noble Christian, and with Lady Harnam Singh, is doing excellent work for the infant Church in the Punjab. There are now tens of thousands of converts in the Punjab, where we remember in the early days only a few scattered members here and there. Sir Charles Elliott, in a letter to the *Times*, shows the increase of the Christian population in India, excepting Bombay and Burmah, during the last decade to be over half a million souls or about 30 per cent., namely, Punjab 33, North-West 75, Bengal 45, Assam 120, Central Provinces 100, Madras 20 per cent. Now, with the above exceptions, there are 2½ millions of Christians in India, to which Madras contributes nearly two millions. Mrs. Besant, with that presumption born of ignorance, has not confined herself to mere Hinduism: she has actually ventured

to lecture in Madras, after her usual fashion, on Mahomedanism (!) Sikhism (!!) and even Jainism (!!!). She explained the circumstances under which polygamy was allowed and the conditions with which it was hedged in, leading eventually to the loftier institution of monogamy practised in fact and not only in name. She briefly referred to the sacred war, and stated how those learned in the faith were agreed that the texts in the Quran urging religious war against unbelievers were to be read with the proviso "when they attack Musalmans." She eloquently touched upon the beauties of the Faith of the Prophet, and urged the Mahomedans to raise Islam by making it better understood. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and Mrs. Besant would pull well together. Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar, the Pastor of the Brahmos, has been publicly proclaiming that it is the mission of the latter to "Hinduise Christianity," i.e., adapt it to Indian thought. Let us remind him that not only Indian thought but the thoughts of all the world, are to be adapted to Christ who is "the Wisdom of GOD and the Salvation of GOD to them who believe," and "in whom are hid all treasures of the Wisdom of GOD and Knowledge of GOD," for, "in Him dwelleth all the Fullness of the Godhead bodily." We were requested once when Keshub C. Sen was just sprouting, by Bishop Cotton to take him in hand both in the press and by public lectures, but (reluctantly) declined on the advice of late Rev. Dr. Kay—the friend of Newman, Pusey, Hurrell, and the others, and our most dear friend—; but now, after fully forty years, or more than a generation, we make the offer to lead Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar to Christ if he will accept our offer, but to do it in private, and for which purpose Mr. Mozoomdar must attach himself to us for a period. He will find those old Bishops, the loving Wilson and the saintly Cotton, as well as the learned Dr. Kay, speaking in us to him, besides one who has spent his life in the study and service of Christ in many lands over half the globe. Finally, to go outside India, the Jews everywhere are beginning to faintly perceive that their Messiah after all may have been the Lord Jesus, but for whom, as Michael Madhu Sudhan Datta, "the Bengal Milton," told us one day the Jews would not even have been known at the present day (except as an old and past obscure sect)—which is true in a double sense. The Pope, too, has been troubled about the inspiration and interpretation of the Bible, and has appointed a special Pontifical Commission for the consideration of questions connected with biblical studies. Cardinal Parocchi will be President; Cardinal Segna and Cardinal Vives, Assessors. Roman Catholic scholars all the world over are invited to state their views and difficulties. According to the *Cabbala*, which is known to few Christians and even Hebrews, the Word of

GOD is a *living organic whole*, as living as the Universe of GOD, which it exactly represents, and no one—no more than with the universe—can add to, or take away,—or explain away,—the least portion of it from the first Chapter of *Genesis* to the last Chapter of *Revelation*. There is even an awful doom pronounced on the unwary and presumptuous; for if a being who is presumed to have life, fights or goes against life itself, he can only end in self-destruction, i.e., have his part taken out of the "Book of Life"—whoever he be—Pope, or Archbishop, or Editor, or any other fabricator or forger of fancies and fables or Denyer of the Truth.

EDUCATION.—There is little to be said on this head, as the Commission is now engaged in taking evidence at the principal centres. In the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and the President, the Commission is sure to find out the truth of matters—or whereto testimony inclines. His speech at the last convocation showed everything that was to be done and is so excellent that we wish we had the space to insert it here. However, we can refer our readers to it. The matter of improving the Rajkumar Colleges has advanced a step further by a conference of several leading officials and most of the Principals. There are numerous things to be said here but we wait to see the outcome. There are several great faults in our present Viceroy—the first is he thinks he knows everything. The next is he forgets the old adage to "hasten slowly." Another is he does not look before he leaps.

The abnormally high percentage of failures at the Calcutta University Examinations has seriously exercised the Chancellor and Syndicate of that institution, and a small Committee is considering the matter. The Rev. Father Lafont, Rector of the St. Xavier's College, in his Annual Report for 1901, remarks:—"We sent up 120 candidates for the First Arts Examination and passed 24 only. The B. A. ordeal proved still more disastrous: of 69 candidates only 6 passed." We have always said that the University Examinations offered no true test, the mark for passing being too low. They should be raised at least double, or 75 per cent. A Committee on Industrial Education is also going all over India. A scheme of Commercial Education is being elaborated by Mr. Pedler in conjunction with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and it has Sir John Woodburn's support. The year's Report on Public Instruction in Bengal is very interesting and instructive, and the Lieutenant-Governor thanks Mr. Pedler for the close and enlightened interest he has given to every branch of the great department under his charge, and for the many valuable and some of them far-reaching improvements he has already introduced.

Finally, the *Englishman* wishes the scope of the University Commission should include the question of English as opposed to Vernacular Education, and the *Times of India* also seems to think that the Vernaculars are unduly repressed; while the Director of Instruction of Burmah writes "even in large towns there is a feeling of revolt among the more thoughtful against this invasion of Western ideas, and methods of life, and thought, and manners, that are undermining the simple, pleasing style, indigenous to the country and to the people." So we may add, it is all over India—a feeling of revolt.

LITERATURE, ART, SCIENCE, ETC.—The *Madras Mail* has won its case on appeal, but we have no space here to go into the legal aspects of the question. Both parties were right and both were wrong. The *Indian Daily News* as we wrote before gets out its own special telegrams, and by what looks like a trap laid for his financially weaker brethren, has laid several of them low by the heels. All revolved round the mysterious words "Emil Holah"! We need not say more, for the humiliation of the copyists has been complete. Another new paper, *United India*, has been started in Madras by the late able Editor of the *Madras Standard*, Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer, and also other magazines and papers whose name is legion. We are sorry to have to dismiss them in this curt fashion, but we cannot help it; "life is short." The *National Magazine* of Calcutta, however, gives some promise. An article in a late number on "A Dying River," referring to the Hooghly, shows the extreme likelihood of the great Ganges shifting its bed and flowing over Calcutta (and all its Lord Curzon's Victoria Memorials, "tablets," etc.), obliterating it, as it has done other great cities in Lower Bengal before. In regard to ourselves, we are in constant receipt of most gratifying letters from eminent parties in all parts of the world, but we have no space to print some of them as we should much wish. Even on the continent of Europe agencies for the *Calcutta Review* are sought for—we presume for the many valuable, and independent, features we present. A very leading and enlightened native nobleman of India also writes to us enquiring why "the Editors of native papers do not bring to the notice of the public the excellent articles which have been appearing in the *Calcutta Review* since it has been under your editorial management." The reason is simply that as we do not "exchange" with them, they do not see us, or think we disregard them. We do not disregard them, but we cannot afford to "exchange" with every publication all over India. And yet the better ones among them, such as the *Bengali*, the *Hindoo Patriot*, the *Mirror*, the Lucknow *Advocate*, the *Tribune*, and the Bombay and Madras leading

native papers can always see us near their hand, in Clubs and Libraries, if they wish to. If they don't, it is their loss, and their friends who do see us, should tell them.

The Nobel Prizes for the first year have been awarded, and an article on the "Festival," written on the spot, appears in this issue, and will be read with interest by all scholars and scientific men. We have also been furnished with the likenesses of the prize-winners—these true "lords of the age," and are only sorry we cannot reproduce them, as ours is not an illustrated review. We may, however, briefly sketch them by pen as they appear to us in their main features.

They are six of them, Professors Röntgen of Munich, Van't Hoff of Berlin, Dr. Behring of Halle, Sully Prudhomme, the French author, and Messrs. Dinant, a Swiss, and Passy, a Frenchman. Röntgen is awarded a prize of 150,000 francs for physics. His is a happy face (somewhat resembling Sir John Woodburn's, only younger), with eyes aglow as it were with his own wonderful "Rays." Van't Hoff, also awarded a similar amount for chemistry, has a cheerful but studious look. Both Van't Hoff and Röntgen have long heads. Dr. Behring who gets a similar amount for medicine, has a roundish head, with a very commanding air, square-chinned and determined. He looks as if he was ready to fight any one. Sully Prudhomme, who takes an equal amount for literature, has also a roundish head, with a gentle, thoughtful look about him. Dinant and Passy both share equally in the remaining prize of the same amount, for "Peace." Dinant and Passy have both patriarchal countenances, only the former adds having a long beard. Passy's head is almost round, whereas Dinant's is oval. Dinant looks like the father of the lot, and Passy the uncle, Prudhomme the mild dreamer, Behring the fighting boy, and Röntgen and Van't Hoff the happy and rather "larky" ones of the family. All, one may say, bear that distinguished look which has carried them to the front in the great World-Competition. Let us hope they will have as worthy successors year by year, and that we shall be here to draw their features.

We offered in our last to furnish an estimate of Kipling's place in literature. But we have been so wounded in our tenderest and inmost literary feelings by two similes of Lord Curzon's, that we have no heart to take up Kipling for the present. We refer to Lord Curzon saying in Burmah that his mind "is a vessel which I have emptied for the occasion," and in Calcutta (in Council!) "we all know how readily the bristles of the Englishman (? which) are apt to rise."

For the "Englishman" to be compared to a wild pig or boar is not very complimentary, while it is decidedly inelegant—in fact, it is very "coarse." Lord Curzon may use the figure for

himself, but we abjure it for ourselves, and every "Englishman" we know. (Even Kipling is not coarser!) As for the other figure of his mind being a vessel (with water we presume—or it may be a muddier liquid) pouring out and taking in water, we forget whether it is from some Latin poet, but we are sure a "clean slate" or "wiped-out table" would have sounded more in accordance with English usage. These are, or may be, mere trifles, but such often show "which way the wind blows." At all events, we thought Lord Curzon had been a "Fellow" of his *Oxford* College, and we should not have expected such inelegant, coarse or even laughter-raising figures from him. We trust he will take more care with his figures in future, and not hurt us in our tenderest literary feelings. (We can almost forgive Kipling now!)

Among the books of the period Skrine's *Life of W. W. Hunter* takes a first place. We, however, who knew Hunter from almost the time he landed, and also some things hid even from Hunter, find several inaccuracies. Mr. Skrine says Hunter placed the newspaper level on a higher plane, and Mr. Skrine knows nothing what he writes about. To say this in the face of a galaxy of the most brilliant and able, and even learned and solid writers, who contributed to the press,—men like Bishop Cotton, Dr. Duff, Dr. Kay, Townsend, Hutton, Meade, Forbes, Fenwick and Furrell, the last of whom is still with us—not to mention others in Madras and Bombay, Allahabad and the Punjab—all of whom we knew personally (and often worked along with)—is to write utter "rot." It certainly does not improve Hunter's position, but rather invites comparison, which we forbear to inflict on our readers. Hunter is also stated not to have quite understood Lord Lawrence. No doubt, but Hunter had all his heavy debts paid off in one day by Lord Lawrence, and was also set forward on the way to promotion. There is no use in our going into particulars, nor taking up the numerous other "slips" in an otherwise very readable work. *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* (in the *Rulers of India* series) by Vincent A. Smith, M. R. A. S., (Clarendon Press) is a most scholarly and welcome volume, and we say this though it has "taken the wind out of our own sails," as we were ourselves collecting materials for an account of this old "Emperor of India." Mr. Vincent's work will find a place in most of the best libraries in the world, and we are sorry we have no more room at present to say anything further about the G. O. M. of Ancient India. (He will also be found mentioned in our article on *The Greeks in India* in this number.) Something is being said of Burmese literature, and it is stated that it is both extensive and important, and will compare favourably with any other vernacular literature of India. A truly complete Imperial

Library, which Lord Curzon has planned for mostly English and foreign works, should have samples of all the literature of India and Burmah, ancient and modern, and should be housed in a building like Government House, with four wings, and a centre block.

Dr. P. C. Roy, D. Sc., Professor of Chemistry at the Calcutta Presidency College, has in the press a comprehensive work on the history of chemistry in Ancient India. It will be a large work in two volumes. It is a completely original production, the subject it treats of having never before been dealt with by any Oriental scholar. Dr. Roy has for years been engaged in his researches, and has thoroughly mastered the details about the scientific knowledge of the Indo-Aryans, to be found in the *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, the *Tantras*, and such Sanskrit medical works as *Charaka* and *Susruta*. The author is of opinion that the science of chemistry was cultivated in India so far back as the Vedic times, and that during the middle ages the Hindus knew more of chemistry than the Europeans of that age. We knew of a Hindu "fakir," (who became a Christian) who could transmute quicksilver into gold. The "chemistry of the early Hindus was, of course, *alchemy*. The book is illustrated with interesting drawings. Altogether it promises to command the attention of Orientalists and scientists alike.

With regard to the revision of the Indian *Gazetteer*, the late Sir William Hunter's official *magnum opus*, we understand that the new edition will consist of three more volumes than were originally issued. This is due to the decision of Government to deal more extensively with what may be termed Imperial matters as distinct from those which come under the names of towns, districts, provinces and States. At present there is only one thick volume, No. VI, which relates to India as a whole, and it was to this that Sir William Hunter devoted most of his personal attention. This volume will now be expanded into four, each article being written by a specialist either in India or England.

Sir John Woodburn presided at the last Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society. The number of members stands higher than ever, and the Society has now a balance of over a *lakh* and a half. The Society spent last year upwards of Rs. 10,004 in the furtherance of its Bibliotheca Indica, the published manuscripts being mainly Sanskrit, two of which are highly important, one being a treatise of the 18th century on the Vedanta Philosophy, and the other a codification of the 15th century, on the existing rules of Hindu law and ritual. Important progress was also made in the last year in the publication of Sir George King's costly but very valuable memoir on the Flora of the Malay Peninsula. Speaking

of the financial position of the Society, Sir John Woodburn said that the buildings of the Society were in good repair, and for the first time they were insured. "But though we stand better, there are many directions in which larger money-help from us is most necessary for the prosecution of researches, both scientific and literary. We have therefore seriously considered the question whether we might not, with advantage, dispose of our house and its site and transfer ourselves to a cheaper situation." But the decision on this matter must necessarily depend upon the offers that may be made to the Society for their present house. We trust the old house, where we have not sat by side with men like Dr. Wilson of Bombay, Sir Arthur Grote, and others, will not be sold. The Council of the Society at home are offering annual prizes for proficiency of knowledge of India in the various public schools.

Sir George Birdwood retires from the India Office. In a letter to a Bengali author Sir George writes:—"The people of India in ancient times were the most gloriously apparessed people on earth, and I hope that not only in the matter of costume, but in all else—in literature, philosophy, art and religion, in which they developed a distinct and national personality—they will continue to uphold the traditions of their forefathers against the assaults of the materialistic and degrading civilisation of the West. The deadly fight you have to make in India is to maintain the continuity of your own material, national, social and moral culture: and although you own literary vernaculars (Tamil, Maharati, Hindi, etc.) and Sanskrit, you should give the first attention to Greek and Latin literature and the next to English. You should not give the first place to English, but to Greek and Latin, and approach English through them, the Greek and Latin forming the natural bridge between Sanskrit and the modern languages of Europe."

We have a deal on Art and Archæology, but with the advent of Professor Marshall (of Cambridge) as Director-General of Archæology, we feel disposed to leave the field entirely to him (and Lord Curzon). We shall, however, consider! Swen Hedin, the intrepid Swedish explorer of Central Asia, has come and gone, and the only thing he said worth remembering is that Lord Curzon showed a "great deal of industry" in his work on Persia. That was poor praise if any. We believe there is no demand for this work at present, and that it fell particularly heavy on the market. As regards the hardships suffered by Swen Hedin, others have suffered as much, or even more, without parading them, or getting excited over them. And ordinary sailors in ship-

wrecks everywhere suffer more. With a guard of European Cossacks, and hundreds of animals, in a peaceful country, his adventures were of the tameest.

The Bengal Government have erected and equipped an Astronomical Observatory in connection with the Presidency College in Calcutta. It is also in contemplation to establish a Government Research Station in Behar in connection with the indigo industry, the Governments of India and Bengal subscribing half a lakh each.

On January 26th Mr. V. B. Kalkaria addressed an audience of medical men and others on the subject of the Gumpel salt cure, etc. Hon'ble Raja Peary Mohun was in the chair. The speaker made an appeal for a representation to Government on the subject. We have already stated Government can at least help with statistics, and there should be no objection to it. We shall be glad to learn and record if anything is done.

Dr. R. Walker, of Bangalore, telegraphs to the *Indian Medical Record*:—"I have cogent reasons for believing I have discovered a curative treatment for plague. For bubonic variety, uric acid, zinc, and calcium chloride. For pneumonic variety, lithia, piperazine, calcium chloride. For septic variety, two former combined. I am informing Bangalore, Madras, and Bombay newspapers. Please inform Calcutta papers. Your next issue fuller particulars shortly by post."

Dr. R. Walker also writes from Bangalore, dated 16th January 1902:—"In case I am unable to have the test of the calcium chloride treatment for plague ready for posting tomorrow for your next issue, please insert a small paragraph stating that fifteen to twenty grains of calcium chloride (fused in sticks) is the initial treatment I recommend, repeated every two or three hours for the first twelve hours, then introduce zinc sulphate from one to four grains in pill every two or three hours, giving the lime at longer intervals, and if the case be a bubonic or septic one, after the first twenty-four hours add to the zinc pill uric acid grain $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$. In pneumonic cases, omit the uric acid and substitute lithia citras or piperazine (the former preferably in five to ten grain doses) every four hours. The fuller particulars of the treatment I hope to send you shortly. This much may be of use to some sufferers in Calcutta till I can give details."

A discovery for restoring consciousness by means of rhythmical traction of the tongue is announced from France. It has been very successful. For want of space we omit much matter relating to malarial fevers, commissions and mosquitoes, as well as the wonderful healing powers of chromopathy in a variety of ailments.

Echoing our observations regarding the Mineral Report for last year, the *Mining Journal* writes:—"So far as concerns the present report, the public could hardly have been less informed had it not appeared." (1) We have already referred to the mess made in the management of mineral matters, and how detrimentally it acts on India. We even said we could "put the whole matter straight in one day." But Lord Curzon fights shy of asking us to do it, though his apologists credit him with seeking light and knowledge wherever it can be found. We are afraid this, like many other such things about Lord Curzon, are mere figures of speech. Our only reason for referring to our offer, is for the success of mineral enterprise and the good of India. We have already referred to an alleged discovery of coal in Madras, but notwithstanding the usual practice in the Colonies, and Lord George Hamilton, presiding at a lecture on "The coal resources of India," said that it was Government's bounden duty to use surpluses which were likely to continue in developing India's industries, we believe nothing will be done (at the same time that such absolutely useless and ornamental and highly expensive posts as Archæologist, Architect, Education Teetotum, etc., etc., are at once made and saddled on to the country).

AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, ETC.—We regret we have no space at present to refer to anything beyond the following few items:—While India has been deluged with Resolutions and Committees on all subjects and sundry, the opportunity of her taking a part in the great *British* exhibition in London has been lost—a very remarkable thing to happen under the eyes of a Viceroy who professed so much in his speeches at Home before he joined. Experiments in the Central Provinces to grow long-stapled Egyptian cotton, thrice as valuable as the native product, have, it is said, proved successful. It may be so, though we take leave to doubt it. The true area for growing the finest long-stapled *Orleans* cotton is in another province. Finally, Mr. F. T. V. Minchin, the proprietor of the Aska Sugar Works in Ganjam district and known there as the "Sugar King," has been publishing a good deal of his peculiar "diffusion process," by which he secures 20 *p. c.* more than by the roller mills. As he observes:—"If these figures are applied to the millions of acres of cane similarly wasted in all India, we should arrive at a figure that would go far to meet the interest of the public debt of India."

Mr. Minchin, further, is of opinion that the process may be applied equally to indigo. On some future occasion we may be able to set forth the process. Messrs. Parry & Co., of

Madras, too, have a Sugar Factory at Nellikuppam, and their Chemist, Mr. Royle, has published an interesting report on "Sugar Cane Analyses in Madras." Mr. Royle made the Analyses at the instance of the Board of Revenue, and Government are going to push the enquiries further. The great Sugar Company in North India, too, is going ahead. In fact, all over India, and even in Native States, commercial products as sugar, tea, indigo, etc., etc., are taking an upward bound. Before, however, we close this section we may refer to a public presentation of silver plate made to Mr. Minchin at Aska. Mr. Burkitt, I.C.S., presided, and addresses were read in several Oriental languages (besides English) by leading native gentry.

Mr. Minchin acknowledged the presentation in the following speech:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—On rising to thank you for the kindly sentiments expressed in your Address to me on this the 74th anniversary of my birthday, allow me to express the great pleasure and satisfaction it affords me to meet you all and to assist in another work of public charity. On the last occasion we met to celebrate chiefly the benefactions of our worthy townsman, Mr. Gopal Rao Pantulu. My wife had the pleasure of associating herself with him on that occasion. She asked me to express her great satisfaction that she has the privilege to offer to-day the Panchama sheds. The other two excellent works, the cattle sheds and the poor sheds are, I observe, offered at the hands of their heirs by the late Behara Podano and the late Narasinga Naiko, who, though dead, speak to us through their good works. Your reference to the benefits my Sugar Works have been to the town and neighbourhood suggest to me to tell you that these Works have been established over sixty-one years, and that in this year I complete my Jubilee among you. How few here present had commenced their existence on my arrival among you. You will, I know, be pleased to hear that the machinery added to our Works only two months ago enables us to say that we now extract the whole sugar from the cane. I accept with heartfelt gratification the handsome souvenir you offer me and cordially appreciate the affection and deep regard it is desired thereby to evince. On my part, I ask your acceptance of these full length photos of my wife and myself as a souvenir of my long connection with Aska and you all. I warmly reciprocate your hope that this may not be the last of these happy gatherings on my birthday."

Mr. Minchin has shown what India can do. He has been one of the glorious pioneers, by no means the least, in the building up of an independent commercial India, the aim of all our statesmen. Our wish is that he may live long to enjoy the fruits of his labours and the good will of the rich and poor of his district.

MISCELLANEOUS.—At a Special General Meeting of the British Indian Association, amendments and rules were passed, among which may be noted "a healthy and satisfactory relationship between the landlord and tenant," and the written votes of

absent members to count when recommending a person for a seat in the India or Bengal Council. With reference to the first, may we enquire how it is to be accomplished? The following are among the most important gifts made by native donors for public purposes during the past year:—The late Sir Ahsanullah, about four lakhs and a half, in pursuance of previous promises; Sreemutty Peari Bibi, the widow of the late Babu Nandalal of Bally, Rs. 14,756 for the construction of a bathing ghât on the bank of the river Hooghly at Bally. Rs. 10,000, Babu Hiralal Mukherjee of Sridharpur, in the district of Burdwan, for the establishment of a Sanskrit *tol* in his own village.

Lavatory accommodation for even third class passengers are henceforth to be provided in all State Railways, and some private Railways. The reduction in the Telegraph rates to India is now an accomplished fact. Still, the press—and that means the public—has not been (very unwisely) sufficiently considered. The Imperial Anglo-Indian Association have increased from 200 to 1,800 members, and have struck in new lines with public annual dinners, industrial displays, scholarships and the like—all in the right direction. The speeches made at the Annual (the first) Dinner were all moderate, and excellent in tone and judgment, and a Training ship in connection with the British Navy is now assured. We observe that the name "Eurasian" was avoided by every speaker, and we have never been able to understand why, when the body object to it, it should still be applied to them. Philologically the term is wrong; so is it ethnographically (are Armenians, whose home is the Caucasus Europeans, "Eurasians," or Asiatics?—and so of other races); but socially it is certainly a word to be avoided—when even Goanese and Madras East Indians are entering the Civil Service and are barristers, doctors, etc.—as it would create an inferior *caste*, or even race! And any people are bound naturally to resist such degradation even if not British. Any particular section as in Madras, resting content with it, however "meek" it may be, is not to the point. It is not even natural. For no one can be expected to acquiesce in both racial and social degradation. It is only in India that such degradation is thought of or accepted—French, Dutch, German and others are all ignorant of it. "Anglo-Indian" may, and does, express too much, but it is nearer the truth than "Eurasian." "East Indian" was a word which was universally used for many years previous to this late appellation, and is probably better and less offensive than "Eurasian," which means an inferior race—a *Sudra caste*—due to a "bar sinister." As for their "special disabilities," we don't believe they have any except being legally ranked with Indian Natives. They do, we are aware,

enter into British Regiments, and we don't see what more they can want. We may be ignorant of the controversy. In any case, the Association have turned a new leaf, and we wish it every success. The Census figures for all India have been published, and we hope to find room for them on another occasion. The plague has again mounted up, and also the figures on Famine Relief—15,000 deaths from the former in a week, and the latter approaching half a million. The *Englishman* thinks:—"What India wants is railway communication with Europe. It is intolerable that a country like China, still in the hands of a semi-savage Government, and thousands of miles further away than India, should be able to communicate with Europe more easily, speedily, and cheaply, than a country which has been in British possession for over a hundred and fifty years."

The Agent of the Trans-Siberian Railway states that by May next a fortnightly service each way will be opened between Paris and Peking, whereby passengers will be taken in the luxurious carriages of the International Company the whole way for the sum of £52, food and everything included. At first, there will be two breaks in the journey, one at Lake Baikal, and one at Yingkon (Newchwang). For the convenience of passengers to and from Central and South China and Japan, Dalny and Port Arthur will be served by sections of the same train, and it is understood that the Manchoorian Railway will put on a line of fast connecting steamers between Dalny or Port Arthur and Shanghai, so that Shanghai will be within three weeks or so of London. The International Palace Hotels Company is proceeding with the construction of a grand modern hotel at Peking and another at Yingkou.

We have also received some private notes about the cost of the passage overland *via* Siberia which we hope to print in our next.

LATEST.—Canon Gore has been consecrated Bishop of Worcester—as it is "the Black Country," he will probably have some of his crude theories knocked out of him—indeed, the appointment of the most "high-flying" bishop to a colony of iron, coal, and other "low-grade" workers, seems to savour of appropriateness and poetical justice—or, "the irony of Fate."

A tremendous controversy is raging between Berlin, London and Washington regarding the attitude of the Powers before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. There is direct conflict between the German and British Embassies as to what actually occurred. We have already said that England's action was specially self-interested, and it is no wonder that other nations take offence at Lord Cranborne taking credit for it. We close our "miscellaneous" remarks by a note regarding the

late eminent journalist, artist, etc., Mr. Stillman. He persistently investigated the claims of "Spiritualism," and came to two main conclusions: First, that there are about us spiritual individualities; second, that the human being possesses spiritual senses, parallel with the physical, by which it sees and hears what the physical sense cannot see or hear, these spiritual senses appertaining to a spiritual body which survives the death of the physical. Stillman was American Consul at Rome in the 'sixties.

OBITUARY.—The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava; F. M. Sir Neville Chamberlain; Onslow Ford, the Sculptor; Sydney Cooper, the Painter; Aubrey de Vere, the Poet; and Rev. Dr. Davidson, Hebrew Scholar and Critic.

Sir Neville Chamberlain joined the Indian Army in 1837, and afterwards became a name to conjure with in the annals of Indian warfare, including the Mutiny. He was entrusted with the conduct of the difficult Umbeyla Campaign. The Emperor William showed a fine sense of respect for the great old hero when he sent a wreath for the funeral, and was represented by a Military Attaché. Among deaths in India, we may note those of the late Sir Ahsunoolah—whom we remember a very small boy,—his father we knew as a lad, and even his grandfather—a great public benefactor to his native town of Dacca; and of Syed Mahomed Latif, Khan Bahadur, District Judge in the Punjab, one of our contributors. He was created Khan Bahadur in recognition of services in 1892. He will be remembered for long for his histories, translations and compilations. He was very popular and always took great interest in Mahomedan education. We wish there were a few more like him among the Mahomedan body.

It is not to be supposed we have nothing to say of the greatest of the names above, that of Lord Dufferin. No eulogy of his varied career over three Continents can do him justice. In India alone he leaves a name among the greatest of her Viceroys. He annexed Burmah just in time to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. He allayed the passions which divided the Natives and Europeans into two hostile camps when he joined. He expanded the constitution as far as it was possible to go, and gave the Natives of India a share in the Councils of their country. He also originated the Imperial Service Troops. But for him the late Ameer of Afghanistan would not have been secured. Of many other matters we need not to speak. We who write thus had a bitter public controversy with him about the "Revolution" in Nepal, but our private relations originated it may be said in Canada and continued through the other Continents—were never disturbed, and we take this opportunity of acknowledg-

ing many acts of great personal kindness and favour. Able to the tips of his fingers, he had a pure heart without guile, and was humble and modest to the last degree. Only two anecdotes will show the manner of man he was. On an occasion at a Railway Station, he took a poor "Eurasian" child from the arms of its mother, and played with it, and we believe even kissed it. Again, when Mandalay had been taken, and the question arose whether more troops were required from India to enable us to say "What we have we'll hold," the Viceroy consulted his Chief Commissioner and his Commander-in-Chief. The latter (who was Lord Roberts), on evident reliance on the former, said he thought no more soldiers were required. Lord Dufferin came to no decision at the moment, but in the afternoon took a stroll with a certain Colonel, (Sir George White) who held high post. The two together ascended to the top of a commanding hill, and from the summit the Colonel indicated to the Viceroy the limits of British jurisdiction, "but," added he, "I think we shall have great difficulty in holding even that with our present forces." Again Lord Dufferin said nothing, but the same evening he had telegraphed to India for 10,000 additional men, every one of whom was eventually required, as proved by the course of subsequent events. And this he did without mentioning a word to either his Chief Commissioner or Commander-in-Chief. Such was his political foresight, and decision in any supreme hour. England will find it difficult to replace him. The funeral took place at his seat, Claudeboye, and the King-Emperor sent the Duke of Argyll to represent the Sovereign at the grave. Telegrams of sympathy were sent to Lady Dufferin by the King and Queen, and all the leading members of Royalty.

The Native Indian Press, (who are hardly aware of what he did for them and the country, and how his constant thoughts were for them) too, have mourned his loss. With Lady Dufferin's his name will never pass out of India's affections, remembrance, and gratitude. As for his latest misfortunes, the *London Times* observes that the ancient Greek would have said that the gods were jealous of so successful a life, and that before he died he was bound to taste of its bitterness.

Our concluding comment is, "we shall not see his like again."

Special Articles to appear in our next number:—
The Pandora of Gathe, by Sir William Rattigan, M.P.
A Lady's Travels round the Globe, continued.
The Modern Monkey Gospel, by Editor.
The Great Mahomedan State of the Punjab.
A Judicial Trial during the Mutiny, by C. S.
 And others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Selections from James Anthony Frowde's Works. Macmillan and Co.

THESE selections from the most prominent literary writer of the later Victorian era, will be welcome to many who admire good writing and deep thought. Mr. Allen, who edits it, has performed his work with great discretion, though there is not a word of introduction from him.

The Great Co-operation. By Colonel Dowden, R. E. (Retired). Lucknow, Methodist Publishing House. 1901.

THIS is a valuable work, more for thinkers and leaders than the ordinary rank and file. It is, however, very lucidly and plainly written, and may be studied with advantage by everyone who wishes to "get on," as well as lead a peaceful and happy life. It applies to all classes. The following table of contents will give an idea of the range and character of the work:—Co-operation. Its nature and uses. Absence of co-operation in the beginning. Work done single-handed. Work done by co-operation. The plan for co-operation. Character of men necessary for working it. The workers—Employers and Employed. Co-operation in the Home. Husband and Wife. The Children. Servants. Production and Distribution. The Industrial Class. The Commercial Class. The Professional Class. The Unoccupied Class. Government, its uses, and various forms of. Co-operation of Governments. Hindrances to co-operation. All things possible through co-operation with Christ.

The author in sending us the work, accompanied it with the following lines:—

I have ventured to send you a copy of a little book I have had printed, called "The Great Co-operation." It has been classed by the American Printer here, under the head of 'Sociology.' I have printed it, not with a view to profit, though the Printers are offering a few spare copies for sale. My object has been to make a brief survey of existing Social conditions, of a Home, and also an International character, viewed from the Christian standpoint, in the hope that it might be of service in the great cause of education and practical Christianity.

It appears to me also, it is only by some such class of cheap literature, that the spread of Anarchist and other impracticable ideas can be counteracted; which is my apology for asking the favor of your acceptance of a copy for review.

India's Three Great Educational Needs, and How to Provide Them. By John Murdoch, L. L. D. (With some remarks on University Reform.) S. P. C. K. Press, Vepery, Madras. 1902. Price, 3 annas.

WRITTEN in Dr. Murdoch's usual racy style. Very readable, and full of information. As it is so cheap everyone can procure a copy.

The Review of Religions for January 1902. Albion Press, Lahore.

THIS is the new Magazine—we are having too many of them—started by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, who proclaims himself to be "the Messiah"—a spiritual one—of the age. He ought to publish an Urdu version of it, as we are afraid he will find the case of the Christians hopeless. *Verb. sap.*

The National Magazine, September 1901. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co.

THIS is one of the few native periodical publications worth glancing at. There is a good article in this number on "Robert Belchambers" by the Editor, and Mr. Belchambers' numerous friends will like to look into it. Mr. Belchambers' intellectual activity and phenomenal powers of work—both which still mark him at an advanced age—are here well shown.

Poems of Joseph Furtado (a Goanese gentleman). Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.

A MOST extraordinary work, and we advise everyone who wishes to open his eyes, to see it.

St. Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine.

WE have had several numbers of these and heartily recognise the good work they set forth. What these Homes, at Kalimpong near Darjeeling, are may be seen from the following:—

Hon. President: His Honour Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I.

Hon. Vice-Presidents: Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., The very Rev. Prof. Charteris, D.D., L.L.D., Principal: Sir Wm. Muir, K.C.S.I., The Hon.

J. Buckingham, C.I.E., L.P., Pugh, Esq., The Hon. C. H. L. Fraser, Mr. Justice Aikman, and Rivers G. Currie, Esq.
President : The Hon. J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I.
Chairman of Ex Com. : G. Grant Gordon, Esq.
Hon. Superintendent : Rev. J. A. Graham, Kalimpong, Bengal.

Object :—To fitly educate and provide suitable openings for Eurasian and European children by giving such a course of training as will fit them for emigration to the Colonies, or make them more robust for work in India.

Thirty-one children have been already received ; twenty additional are expected immediately ; and twenty-five still more for April next.

URGENT PRESENT NEEDS.

1. Regular Subscribers for Support of Children.—Rs. 18 a month supports a child.
2. Funds to build and furnish an additional Cottage and a Central School and Halls.—Rs. 10,000 required for the Cottage and Rs. 20,000 for the School and Halls.

The Magazine itself is got out in the best style, with numerous illustrations.

Christ and Christianity. By R. Khare, B.A., L.L.B., etc., etc., Allahabad, Indian Press. 1901.

OR, we might paraphrase the title to, "Christ and R. Khare, B.A., L.L.B., etc., etc., etc.—Choose between them"! In effect, Mr. Khare asks us here to consider his mental state as regards Christianity. When he regards the old Hebrew Prophets as "epileptics" (I), Christ as a "lunatic" (though "harmless") !!, and denies the existence of a Personal Supreme or Creative Will (!!!), we are afraid he is so inflated with inordinate or (to quote the Government of Bengal in Mr. Pennell's case) "malignant vanity"—we should say *ignorant* vanity,—that he can never know that others in other ages and countries have expressed the same unfortunate mental state in far more elegant, and courteous, and even attractive terms. For instance, the Persian poet sings :—

"Boy, let you liquid only flow,
 And bid thy pensive heart be glad,
 Whatever the frowning zealots say."

Even Omar Khayyam with his saddening stanzas is a "saint" compared to this Allahabad obfuscated New Light. But Omar Khayyam was an Astronomer and a Persian. When Khare has studied Astronomy and can "tell the number of the stars," and Anatomy and can explain why, and where, the nerves unite in one to serve the Immaterial Will, and Biology so as to know the varied and diverse laws that govern life in men, plants, and animals, we shall be glad to hear from him again as to his views of a Supreme Personal

Moral Being (Will), and the credibility of His Revelation of Himself to man in Christ. We are afraid, however, we shall have to continue to rank him along with the *Pioneer*—both of Allahabad—as utterly hopeless—"too far gone" in the "upper storey!"

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Archæological Survey Report, N.-W. P.

General Report, Public Instruction, N.-W. P.

The Indian Ladies' Magazine for February.
[As bright and well-written as ever.]

Public Instruction Report of Madras.

The Same for the Punjab.

Administration Report of Madras.

The Arya Magazine.

Punjab Stamp Department Report.

Punjab Criminal Justice Administration Report.

Punjab Municipalities Report.

Punjab Civil Justice Report.

*Sudha, a monthly journal, published in Murshidabad. [The *Friend o*,
Assam writes about it, "it has made us laugh for hours and hours
together"—a remarkable feat!]*

East and West. Bombay. [Useful politically, but we are having too
much of politics altogether. For ourselves we wish we had not a line
of "politics" to write in the whole course of our life. The Greeks
had no "muse" of Politics.]

The Indian Studies of A. Weber (in German).

Report of the Zoo, Calcutta.

Madras Museum Bulletin. Vol. IV, No. 3.

The (English) Indian Magazine.

The Indian Health. [A new "monthly" of Madras with very useful
papers.]

Notes on Books. Longmans.

Note on the Late Cotton Crop of Bengal.

Final Report of the Sugar-Cane Crop of Bengal.

