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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXV.

July 1902.

*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
profit by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage
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
worthy to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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"WHERE THE SUN (LIGHT) NEVER SETS."

VISIT OF THE INDIAN CORONATION CONTINGENT TO PORT SUNLIGHT.

To those members of the Indian Army who have been privileged to visit England, the memory of the reception which they received by all classes in the Mother Country will never fade. Wherever they went there was an enthusiastic welcome. But nowhere was the welcome more cordial than at Port Sunlight, the village which is known all over the world as the home of Sunlight Soap. Messrs. Lever Brothers took advantage of the visit paid by our brothers to Liverpool, and invited them to view their works and village. The invitation was accepted, and on Monday, July 28th, the entire contingent, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Dawson, travelled by special steamer from Liverpool to New Ferry, where they were met by the Port Sunlight Silver Prize Band, and escorted to Port Sunlight, about a mile-and-a-half away, through gaily-decked streets lined with cheering crowds of people. Flags and banners were displayed at every point, and the day being gloriously fine, the scene was most enchanting. As the stalwart soldiers marched along, many complimentary remarks were heard, and the impression they created was highly flattering. Mr. W. H. Lever, the Chairman and founder of the company, received the contingent at the door of the Offices, and each detachment was guided through the works by an official. The reserve so noticeable in the Indian soldiery was somewhat broken down, as wonder after wonder was viewed; and many expressions of delight and astonishment passed from man to man as they visited the various departments. After leaving the works, the detachments were re-formed, and entered Hulme Hall—a large and handsome dining room for the work-girls—where the officers and men were entertained with light refreshments, fruit, cigars, cigarettes, &c. Before leaving the hall each man was presented with a book containing views of the Village and Works, describing in detail many points of interest to the visitor, and also a cardbox containing sample tablets of Sunlight Soap, each box bearing labels in the seven principal Indian languages. The men were charmed with their visit, and those who could speak a little English expressed their regret that they had only been able to stay such a short time. To the villagers the sight of a body of men of such splendid physique and attired in such varied uniforms was educational, and the distinctly polite, gentlemanly manner of all the soldiers impressed everyone. There was at no time the slightest semblance of rushing or crowding. Everything was done in the most orderly style, and where favours were conferred the soldiers were profuse in their thanks. On the other hand, our Indian brothers will take back to their countrymen and to their loved ones in India pleasant stories of their visit to Port Sunlight, and a tangible gift with ample and easily read descriptions of the uses of that Sunlight Soap of which they have often heard, which has made the pretty village on the Mersey possible and famous.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 229—JULY 1902.

ART. I.—THE KAMA MYSTERY: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE DRAMATICS.

IT is the constant complaint of historians of the stage that it is impossible to hand down to future generations the accents and gestures of great actors and actresses, and that the impression they made on their audience cannot, for subsequent students, be made sufficiently permanent to serve as means of comparing their skill with that of their dramatic heirs. This is, of course, true to a certain extent of the art of oratory, though in some cases, as in that of written orations that were never actually delivered, the gain may be somewhat on the side of the reader.

It is not enough to reconstruct the stage of any given former period and reproduce old methods and antiquated costumes. The effect of a stage play on its audience does not so much depend on the relation that the play (as represented) bears to dramatic art in general, as on its relation to the dramatic standard of the hearers. The general spread of a tiquarian knowledge may, in the present day, help to save a play, in revival, for the "historical truth" of dresses and scenery; when it was unpitifully damned by the audience for which it was originally written, an audience, which, less skilled in history or actually living in the period delineated, had a counterbalancing increase in the faculty of dramatic criticism. In short, if we are to institute intelligent comparisons, we must reproduce the audience that saw a given play in olden days and examine the play and the acting through the coloured medium of its effect on that audience.

The study of the drama has not, in England, reached such a pitch of perfection that we can afford to neglect the theory now advanced. We have in England, occasional opportunities of seeing dramatic revivals which produce on their audiences results that can be somewhat minutely differentiated.

There are the Shakespeare Society's revivals, the Westminster Latin Play, the Bradfield Greek Plays and the Cambridge Greek Plays.

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Without being in any way invidious, it must be admitted, that the difference in the effect of these plays varies far more by reason of the difference between the dramatic mental level of the play and the dramatic mental level of the hearers, than by reason of the difference in the intrinsic excellency of individual plays. Had the writer any skill in the mathematics, this proposition might be set out as a mathematical formula; as it is, let us pass on to the examination of it in its somewhat cumbersome form, as above given.

The Shakespeare Society's revivals are distinguished by an entirely admirable truth to detail in their archaic staging and mounting, yet, if we leave aside the plays of Shakespeare, the plays of the Elizabethan dramatists, as produced by the Society, make a deep impression because the audience has, in process of time, become like in spirit and temper to the audiences that heard them in the days of the Virgin Queen. And this likeness, without ingratitude be it spoken, is not the result of fidelity in reproductions of Elizabethan staging and mounting, but of the mighty times in which we live, and of the wonderful Renaissance that the last twenty years have seen:—

"Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
"Come silent, flooding in."

It may be noticed, in passing, what charms a play within a play has possessed for authors and audiences of the Elizabethan and subsequent ages. Whether we are watching "The Taming of the Shrew" by the side of Christopher Sly, or chuckling over prentice Ralph turned player, or waiting for the effect of the Players' Scene on the guilty King, we experience a peculiar pleasure in this double illusion. To bring a final illustration; what superb use has Rostand made of this device in his splendid "heroic comedy," the crowning glory of the drama of the nineteenth century. One might almost hope that after this poet no one will venture, in serious drama, to introduce a "Players' Scene." It can never be anything but a comparative success, since the production of this final and perfect illustration of its possibilities. The pleasure that this and less notable instances give to us consists in the added reality of the principal play, before the characters in which this subsidiary play is performed. The suggestion of reality thus conveyed is more subtle but more powerful than that produced by the "real water" and "live horses" of spectacular drama, the modern successor to last-century pantomime.

To return to our main theme. The Westminster Play, being performed before a specialised audience in a language which most of them have known, or know, pretty accurately, doubtless produces its effect as a play rather than as a dramatic curiosity. The *locale* of the Bradfield Greek Plays is such, as to bring, a

profound influence to bear on such of the audience as can follow the dialogue; while at Cambridge equal accuracy in reproduction has to make up for the absence of such peculiarly favourable local conditions. The acceptance that a Greek Tragedy will find, with an audience that can understand it, is due to the eternal, primal passions that move its characters and make them live again even in

"the prose of Bohn—"

It is the simplicity and directness of the motives that make the tragic heroines and heroes live again "in the dust of that dim prose;" as Mr. Lang writes of the translation of Homer. When the dramatist leaves this clear atmosphere for more complicated or more homely themes, the difference between the audiences of that and of the present day comes up again and disturbs our calculation of the effect of the play as first produced. The party spirit of his day would affect the reception of Aristophanes' "Frogs" or "Clouds" just as much as the party spirit of Addison's time affected the reception of his "Cato."

It would be possible to amplify this subject, but the Ober Ammergau Passion Play will afford us what further illustration is needed before we approach the Kama Mystery, the subject of our final consideration. A little thought will shew us that the effect of this play, even apart from its subject, must be different for the peasant audience, to whom it is their natural drama, and for the audience of visitors to whom it is merely a single form of dramatic representation.

The Kama Mystery Play, as the writer saw it in a little village on the banks of the sweetly-named Amravati River, was at once a mystery or miracle play; a mime; a tragedy, that strangely recalled the Greek choral tragedies, and a satyric drama. These various ingredients gave it a quaint nebulous character, the play now crystallising into mere drama and again dissolving into a religious rite. Just as an understanding of the Greek mythology is necessary for the full grasping of the meaning of a Greek Tragedy, so it is necessary to portray the legend which is the basis of this mystery, all the more as the characters are Hindu gods.

Kama, then, is the Hindu Cupid, not a tiny child like the Roman god of love, but more like Eros. Who has not read in "The Palace of Art" of the picture, where

"Over hills, with peaky tops engrail'd,
'Mid fields of corn and rice,
The throne of Indian Cama slowly sailed,
A summer fann'd with spice,"

and has not wondered what part the god of love plays in Hindu mythology? He has beautiful attributes. His bow is of the

sugar-cane ; his arrows are tipped with flowers, and his bow-string is a chain of bees ; a pretty touch, that recalls the swallow song of the Homeric bowstring. For all that, the genius of the country has modified the local idea of Eros. He has long ago found his Psyche : in point of fact, this Hindu Eros is a married man. His wife, Rathi, is the other speaking character, and she certainly displays a beautiful eloquence, not unfitting her position. Moreover, like every married man, Kama has a father-in-law, and here the tragedy begins to loom out of the playful surroundings of a god of love, of whatever nation or clime.

Siva, the destroyer, he of the bright blue neck, the dweller, as Kama tauntingly says, among graves and dead men's ashes ; Siva, mighty in penance, is father of Rathi. In the play itself he is not even a *muta persona* ; he does not appear at all ; what he does is only adumbrated by the action or song of the other characters. The legend strikingly illustrates the Hindu view of penance. Briefly stated, it is, that anyone who performs any penance, (however absurd to occidental thought) for a sufficiently long time, acquires such a store of power and virtue, that the very gods themselves cannot stand against it. Hindu mythology affords many examples of this belief. Siva himself, in one of his incarnations, saved the whole Indian Olympus and the universe at large from a demi-god, who, by years of penance, had become highly charged, as it were, with power, like a religious electric "accumulator." The early sages and heroes of Indian story had greater facilities for the acquisition of this reserve of power, in that their lives lasted for centuries or even æons. It may be imagined that three centuries of penance increased the performer's strength to a degree not expressible in modern figures !

In this case, the gods had viewed with alarm a penance which Siva had begun and which threatened to make him master of all creation. In spite of a few grotesque attributes, the mythology lends to Siva a character at once terrific and awe-inspiring ; when his third eye was closed on one occasion, the universe was involved in darkness and the legend under discussion presents a solemn picture of the god, sitting with his rosary in sackcloth and ashes, immersed in his unending penance. Kama was deputed to break the spell. Accompanied by his nymphs he sported before the recluse, taking all shapes that could

"shake the saintship of an Anchorite"

till this oriental St. Anthony, but too thoroughly aroused, opened his tremendous frontal eye, and with a flashing glance of rage, consumed the rash intruder on his solitude.

Such is the legend which supplies the closing scene of the

life of Kama, a life that is celebrated, as March begins, with several days' rejoicing in every town and village of Southern India.

The writer had seen the heap of bricks that support the Kama pillar in a village which he visited a few months after first landing in India. As March came round he saw them in whatever village his work brought him, and the legend was impressed on his memory by a case in court in which the momentous word "Kamadakshinasivalingamedai" (or "the high place-of-the-emblem-of-Siva-who-consumed-Kama") was pronounced by the various witnesses at five-minute intervals. It was not, however, till the spring of 1900 that an opportunity presented itself for witnessing the performance of the Kama Mystery.

The time of representation was the night, the playtime for old and young in India. It has this special advantage, from a theatrical point of view, that everything in a village street takes on an adventitious beauty. The heaps of dust, the ragged huts lose their prominence, the palm trees become beautiful, and the tower of the temple grows in majesty. Everything that is ugly or incongruous seems to disappear, till the facade of a wealthy Hindu's house wears the dignity of the old Grecian palace proscenium. The rag torches give a soft strong light that adds effect to the spangled and laced robes of the actors, and leaves the auditory in semi-darkness, quite in accordance with Wagnerian stage tradition.

Kama was represented in full dress, with a towering, crocketed, gilded mitre or helmet, such as is worn by the images of all South Indian gods. He is not like the unadorned Eros of the Greeks, and he shows his Indian blood by the green which paints the upper half of his face. Kama had the bow of sugar-cane, and Rathi, otherwise dressed like a wealthy Hindu bride, also bore a smaller bow of the same. This brings us to the third bow-bearer, who stood in some danger of being left out of reckoning. The buffoon or Vice must not be omitted. He figures in every Indian play, and here, besides the distinction of a girdle of massive cowbells, gracefully supporting his paunch, he showed his connection with this love drama by a small bow of sugar-cane fastened upright, by one tip, to the peak of a high dunce's cap.

The play began by Kama boastfully and at great length announcing his intention of disturbing Siva's penance. Rathi did her best to dissuade him, but every argument she could use only stirred up his pride and made him more determined on the adventure. The dialogue was sometimes sustained by the characters themselves, sometimes they sang with dreadful harshness, sometimes they but swayed to and fro, as if in a Roman

mimus, while the best voice in the company sang their songs for them. Now and then the musicians would break into a chorus which strikingly re-called, but for the absence of dancing, the Greek tragic chorus especially in their idea of inevitable destiny and in their lamentations over the disastrous end of the undertaking. Meanwhile, the Vice played his part with more or less success, and backed up the astonishingly skilful and witty acting of the players, who provided the "comic relief." In most Tamil dramas the action of the play is now and again suspended, while one or more comedians stroll on to the stage and amuse the audience by a "*vesham*," i.e., an impersonation of different well-known street characters, sustained with a surprising fidelity, which is all the more remarkable and diverting that the characters represent men (and women) not only of different castes, but of different nations. Needless to say, the parts they play have little or nothing to do with the subject of the drama, but they afford great scope for delineation of character. There is not, of course, in Southern India the uniformity in dress that we notice in England of the present day. A man's trade, profession, religion and sect are expressed by his dress and ornament—or lack of both. To mention three of the different "*veshangal*" shewn on this occasion, there were a Mahrattah tattooing-woman, a north country fakir, and a man and woman of the Malsar caste, each of the parts being "dressed" to perfection and admirably sustained. The Malsars are a low caste and employed in certain parts as bearers of announcements of death (written on palm leaves) from the family of the deceased to relatives at a distance. As they hobbled about, bending over their short crooked crutch-sticks, with turbans of twisted straw and bark and girt with scanty and dirty sackcloth kilts, they would have made a mummy laugh; and they were equally mirth-provoking, when they broke into a rough song and dance peculiar to "chucklers" when more than usually intoxicated.

There can be little doubt that the comic scenes in the old dramas have lost for us some of the amusement that they possessed for their original audiences, from the fact that we can no longer distinguish the fine shades of humour that may lie in the tie of a shoestring or a very faintly unusual intonation.

When Kama had finally declared his unalterable determination to engage in his contest with Siva, a point which was only reached after discussion almost as interminable as a dialogue in Euripides, the performers and part of the audience moved off in a procession, which slowly perambulated the town and halted for prayer before the village temple. The "stage wait" was filled up by some simple playing and singing by a few local amateurs.

This brought on the climax of the tragedy. The Kama stake, to give it an appropriate English name, was now ready. This was a slight stake or pole, a little above a man's height, planted among a few bricks, as mentioned in the early part of this study, and made inflammable by a thatching or coating of "cholum" straw bound round it. The top of this straw pillar was composed of a separate sheaf. When all was ready and the chorus had sung a strain expressive of grief at Kama's doom, a rocket, representing Siva's fiery glance, shot along a string and (with some external assistance) lighted the Kama-stake, thus closely following the procedure in an Italian church festival, which will be familiar to many people. The player who represented Kama now retired into the background, as he was supposed to be dead, and the rest, hopping and dancing, circled slowly round the fire wailing for his fate. It seemed to be a matter of special import to the audience that the stake should be completely consumed; this was an omen of prosperity in the coming year. The funeral dance round the fire continued for a long while, and when it was but a short time to sunrise, the mummers were still beating their breasts round the smouldering ashes.

It seemed that, though some of the songs were composed for the occasion, a great part of the play was traditional and the audience knew what to expect at any given period in the performance. At one stage it was whispered that "now the giant would come in and lift up a sheep with his teeth." In a few moments he made his appearance and proved to be a highly comic monster. His arms, legs and body were tightly swathed in neatly twisted strawropes, leaving only his feet and hands bare. His head was covered by a huge canvas mask, flat on front and back, so that the actor had the appearance of having introduced his head into the empty shell of some gigantic crab. On the flat front of this mask-dial was painted a terrible giant's face with portentous tusks. Thus equipped, the giant skipped round the various characters, to the terror of the Vice, brandishing a quarter staff and executing vigorous *moulinets*. An unwilling sheep was pushed into the ring and the Giant, after much struggling, tossed the animal bodily over his head with a dexterous fling that convinced most of the onlookers that he had really performed the feat with his teeth!

Such was the Kama Mystery, as the writer saw it in the spring of the last year of the century. Local tradition is probably not very strong in the place where it was performed, for it is possible that the village is of not more than a century's existence, but the main points in the drama date back to the earliest dawn of Aryan mythology. Even with the leaven of Western learning at work all over Southern India, it is probable that if the

world sees the end of the twentieth century, the same play will be played before much the same audience at that now far off *fin de siècle*. Theatrical tradition has never so much vitality as when it is wedded to religious legends.

It was a curious experience to be sitting among such an audience. For them, every name and every allusion in the play meant a link with legends and traditions, that commanded their fullest belief. Even with the protagonist Siva left entirely out of the actual representation, their entire acquaintance with all the terrific story of his "works and days" gave them a brooding sense of his overwhelming presence and sounded the note of doom, now soft now loud, throughout every phase in the drama. It was a proof of how great an advantage an author possesses when, like Milton, he can embroider his theme with slight allusions and far off references which, he knows, will be grasped at once by the audience and will lend, as it were, a special tint to the passages which contain them. Allowing for this advantage, which, after all, is within the reach of any playwright who makes historical events or religious legends his theme, it would seem that the actors of the ancient days, in India as elsewhere, depended very much more on their personal attainments for success, than on elaborate scenery or stage mounting. It may be thought that we can, in modern times, redress the lost balance, and by this wealth of scenic adornment bring the audience into the plane of the audience of more simple days. This, however, is open to some doubt. Leaving "the groundlings" out of the question, is it not certain that those who are so far advanced as to set a high "pretium affectionis" on strict historical accuracy and on beauty of staging, will have their attention distracted by this very perfection from the beauties of the dialogue and the skill of the actors? In the great spectacular dramas the audience listen to a play which would not hold their attention for half an hour, but for the beautiful scenery that is displayed in it. In fact, the part of the actors and actresses, in most scenes of such a play, consists in making the stage picture of the scenery more beautiful by having living people moving about in the landscape. These spectacles are very beautiful and effective, but they seem to have had the unfortunate effect of causing managers to drown other plays in what should only be an adjunct to the drama and not the perpetual motive for it. It is surely a greater fault for an actor to speak a line inharmoniously or with misplaced emphasis, to move clumsily or in any other way depart from the best possible representation of his rôle, than for the chape of his dagger to be incorrect in moulding, or the cut of his doublet too modern for the date of the play; while of some it might be said that their "make up" and dress is so perfectly proper to the character they represent,

that when they speak they do but destroy the illusion. With the hope that what has been here recounted and the theories here put forward may be of use in determining the principles of the admirable art, the writer would close his narrative.

SYDNEY ROBERTS.

ART. II.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

(Continued from January 1902, No. 227.)

V.—THE EVANGELISMOS AND TRIPOLITZA.

οὐτίνος
δοῦλοι κέκληνται φῶτος οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

SLEEP at the rough inn overlooking the market-place of modern Megalopolis was a little disturbed, first by harsh barking of the Megalopolitan watch-dogs, then more pleasantly by a slightly mysterious kind of dream-music. It seemed to wander forward and back along the road, was stringed and lively, and occasionally a not displeasing voice broke in. It was quaintly oriental, yet had tune. It haunted the borderlands between sleeping and waking with a vaguely soothing effect.

We rouse a little before the sun is up in time to catch a lovely radiance over the hills. But the day soon clouds over and the wind is still cold. As we have all the morning now to reach the railway, we enjoy an unusual sense of leisureliness. But there is an unexpected at hitch as to breakfast: at 7 o'clock our cook-shop is still fast closed and barred. In fact all the shops are shut and all Megalopolis seems trooping to church. So we make a virtue of necessity and follow the fashion. Led by the summoning bell we cross the green of the market-square and find the little church crowded already and still filling up. Evidently something a little out of the common is going forward. We are put into stalls against the wall at the west end of the church: there is a sort of high fall-stool in each, on which one can prop oneself as one stands. The congregation are nearly all standing and all crossing themselves vigorously:—all men, or school-children in front of us, the women crowded behind a screen at the back. The customs of the Eastern or Orthodox Church are in some respects very like those of the Western or Catholic. Every one who enters, man, woman or child, first kisses an icon, or picture, then lays a small coin—from a half-penny to a paper drachma—on a table heaped up with coarse yellow candles of many sizes. A candle of proportionate bulk is allotted to the giver—a meagre taper for the small coins, a portly length of tallow for the drachma, with considerable range of sizes between. The sacristan, a stout red-faced man in rather shabby everyday clothes, is kept busily employed without pause or stay gathering in the pence, dealing out the candles, lighting the newly dedicated, and extinguishing the half-consumed. A

vigilant supervision is exercised by the congregation over the exact discharge of these duties. Whenever the functionary himself is busied with the big candle-stick and some new-arrival places his or her contribution on the plate, one or other of the by-standers is careful to select and set apart a candle of suitable size ready to be set up in due course.

The priests dimly appearing and disappearing behind the altar-screen chant and pray; two lay readers occupy lecterns on opposite sides of the nave and read out sentences alternately. Though the Church seems full even to the point of inconvenience, a fresh stream of school-boys flows in (the swarms of school-children, boys and girls, already in front of us testify to a zeal for education in latter-day Arcadia), pushes sturdily through the crowd in the nave and somehow is eventually absorbed. Despite the keenness of the morning air the atmosphere is heated and heavy with the smell of incense. Presently a well-dressed layman enters a small pulpit and begins a spirited harangue. It is not easy to follow the modern Greeks, but here and there a resonant phrase reaches the intelligence—'resurrection,' 'freedom,' 'the nation,' 'grand awakening,' 'heroic struggle,' it flashes upon us that this must be the great national festival, the birth-day of the Greek nation in modern times, the day which commemorates the uprising against subjection to the Turk.

After the address is a collection, in the stir of which we slip out into the open air. It is indeed, we find, the Evangelismos (this being the name by which the anniversary is popularly known, since it coincides with the feast of the Annunciation), and it is for this reason that the shops were shut. Now that church-time is over they are open. In the town there is little or no excitement, only small groups of rough Arcadians from the villages lounging with an aspect of boredom at the street corners. We set off after breakfast along the high-road in search of Marmaria and the railway. It is a sound rule when journeying in an unknown land never to pass the door of a tavern, especially on a hot day; and to-day in spite of early chilliness it soon grows warm. So we halt at the first khan on the road to Tripolitza and noticing a great wooden pail in which churning is going on, we ask, and obtain a drink of milk. A casual allusion to 'Liberation-day' unexpectedly kindles the latent patriotism of our somewhat sleepy-looking host. We feel bound to pledge him and his country in his best red wine. This makes him more enthusiastic: "εὐδα," "καλὴ πατριδα" the toast passes round with due honours.

After a couple of hours over the plain—a broad plain here with low hills to right and left, and a close array of stern mountains barring the way ahead, we begin to look for our

railway. Telegraph posts and a level track reveal it in the expected direction: we have in fact for sometime been moving parallel with it. It is a simple matter to strike the line itself by the first likely path across the fields to the right and to follow the railway-track. Then red-roofed buildings and a water-tank come into view, and a little later we find ourselves at Franco-vrysis, the station next beyond Marmaria toward Tripolitza. Marmaria we have overshot without knowing it. We left the carriage road at nineteen stades, that is about a dozen English miles from Tripolitza.

At Franco-vrysis—the name recalls the Franks again, meaning apparently the ‘Franks’ water-spring’ (it is also very nearly where Pausanias puts the sources of the Alpheus)—we are received with great friendliness by the station-master, a smart little man, Cretan by birth. He brews us some quite excellent coffee in his snug bachelor quarters at the station. His position there is somewhat lonely, no village near, no houses even, and no company but his own and a porter’s. To be sure Tripolitza, quite metropolitan in its way, is less than a couple of hours’ journey off, and a train runs through twice a day; and the carriage road we left passes within half a mile. At any rate the duties of the station-master at Franco-vrysis cannot be very arduous. Our new friend is unmarried and has fifteen years’ service with the railway company. Promotion, he complains, is slow. We learn from him also that the line will be finished in a few months’ time right through to Kalamata. It will then be possible to travel by train from Athens to the sea-coast on the south of the Peloponnesus, and one long day’s ride will take the traveller on from Kalamata to Sparta.

As a Cretan the station-master is naturally elated at the autonomy recently won for Crete. We are privileged to see his quarters. On the wall is a brightly-coloured cartoon representing Crete as a young woman with bleeding wrists and blood-stained garments, kneeling in a little pool of gore, and supported by the three powers who have done most to rid Crete of Turkish rule. The central figure is Queen Victoria, bending compassionately over the sufferer, one hand under her right arm, the other clasping the black hair that falls over her shoulders. The Czar on the left of the picture holds her right hand, and on the other side Felix Faure (Φῶρ!) representing France, supports her left elbow. Fetters lie upon the ground along with a broken Turkish standard and an encrimsoned scimitar. One iron ring still encircles the woman’s left wrist, while to the right of the picture King Umberto of Italy and the Cretan Demos are busy bursting the links of a long chain, which still fastens her foot to a great block of stone. The King of

Italy holds a sharp instrument against one of the links, and the Demos, habited as a warrior with cartridge belt slung over either shoulder, smites lusty blows with a great mallet. On the extreme left scowls Abdul Hamed, and behind him, under a triumphant arch decorated with flags and inscribed with the dates of Cretan rising from 1770 to 1897, stands Prince George with the Greek statesman Sphakianakes. Above the central figure hovers but not with the grace of the Victory of Paconios—an angel in pink déshabille bearing a trumpet, a laurel wreath, and a scarf inscribed *Χαίρε Κρήτη ελευτέρα*. This cartoon, if crude in execution, is interesting as proof of the grateful recognition by the Greeks of the services rendered (tardily it is true) to the Greek race by the European Concert of 1898, and of a specially warm feeling for England.

Our train comes well to time and takes us into Tripolitza by 4 in the afternoon. The scenery on the way is striking but rather grim. We wind deep into the mountains; for Tripolis is planted on a table-land hemmed in between rocky heights, north the mountain masses of Central Arcadia, the border range between Arcadia and Sparta south. In token that civilization is again claiming us, the station platform is beset by hotel touts. These we avoid and make our own way to the Plaza or central square to choose for ourselves. The ‘Syntagma’ (Σύνταγμα) recommended of Murray, a little way down a street to the west of the square, looks the most promising. The room we are shown to is furnished with a wash-stand and basin, and we know that we are indeed back in civilization. There is a restaurant attached to the hotel, though you must pass out into the street to get to it: an unquestionably up-to-date restaurant, spacious and set out with little tables and all due table furniture: also a buffet, coffee in French style, glass doors opening on to the street and an ornate menu-card.

We go out to see the town which is somewhat en fête. In the last days of Turkish rule, Tripolitza was the capital of the Pashalik and the seat of Government. It is still a considerable place. The Cathedral, an imposing structure, formerly a mosque, overlooks the Plaza from the east side. We meet three venerably apostolic priests who show us round with mute courtesy and are properly impressed with our ability to read the Greek scriptures. The Cathedral, though massively built, has no special architectural features or objects of interest. The Plaza is large, planted with trees and garrisoned with shoe-blacks and paper-boys, another sign manifest that we have returned to civilized society. We saunter down side streets but make no discoveries of note: only the shops and cafés are a little more pretentious than those we have lately met with.

This serves, however, to fill up the time till dinner, an event to-day of unwonted interest. That dinner at the Syntagma is consecrated in grateful memory. We cannot pretend to have endured severe privations on the way from Olympia to Franco-vrysis. Still, if we always had enough, there was little variety in our food, while the manner of preparation and serving was decidedly primitive. To-night we dine really and royally. And all for seven drachmas (less than four shillings), including an excellent bottle of Chalcidian wine! We made acquaintance with several agreeable Hellenic vintages later on in Athens, but never tasted a better than the bottle which we broached at Tripolitza in the evening of Thursday, April 6th, 1899. We heartily commend the wine of Chalcis to those that come after.

Not only was Tripolis en fête this night of our arrival, but the diversion of a mild earthquake was likewise provided for our entertainment. We had just set down to our little corner table by a window, expectant of soup, when the candelabra and crockery rattled and there was a sound of hurrying feet. Straight-way waiter, cook, boy, doorkeeper and the stout proprietor himself made a bolt for the door. We had too near an interest in dinner to be lightly moved from our places, and while we mildly wondered the incident was over. Our waiter returned and said there had been an earthquake and we felt duly grateful for the experience. This was fortunately the only interruption to an adequate and well-appreciated dinner. We went out afterwards to see the fun. A military band had been promenading the street and was now playing in the square. The open space was filled with a miscellaneous but very orderly crowd, and in front of the Cathedral a gaudy fire-balloon was in act to be released. It rose and dropped fire indiscriminately, but harmlessly over our heads. An attempt was made to get off a second and larger balloon, but something went wrong after it was lighted, and despite all efforts to set it free, instead of soaring into space it was ignominiously burnt a few feet from the ground.

This concluded the outdoor entertainment and the crowd in the square soon dwindled away. We therefore looked about for a Café. Tripolis boasts a lordly coffee-house (at the corner of the road that leads to the Syntagma), lofty, commodious and decorated in the latest style. There is even on this evening a 'Café Chantant'; four ladies who sing Italian songs and a gentleman with a violin, who is also 'director' of the company. The Café fills by degrees and is evidently a great social centre. A military officer, grey-moustachioed and keen, takes possession of a centre table and then writes despatches and issues orders: subalterns and orderlies come and

go before him. We take him for at least the military commandant. Yet the task of keeping order on this night of festivity does not appear to be a difficult one. Assuredly the Greeks are a temperate and well-conducted people, though they grow good wine and it is fairly heady. When we withdraw about 10 o'clock the streets are almost deserted. Tripolitza is, and remains, quite quiet.

ART. III.—A JUDICIAL TRIAL DURING THE INDIAN MUTINIES, 1858.

A Letter of Remonstrance from the Sessions Judge of Lahore to the Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb.

I HAVE the honour to report on the case of Talay Asud-doola, late Risaldar of the 3rd Panjáb Cavalry, as directed in your No. 2616 of the 9th current. The delay has been caused by the non-receipt of additional evidence required from the Deputy-Commissioner of Derah Ghazi Khan.

I regret that the prisoner has not been confronted with the witnesses, who give testimony against him, and that he was not tried at once, when the offence took place of which he is charged. He has been many months in prison without access to his friends, and in these respects has not had a fair trial.

He is not charged with any overt act. Major Gordon, commanding 1st Sikh Infantry, deposes on oath that in July, 1857, he was informed by a Sepoy that some Sepoys of the 3rd Cavalry (he thinks a Duffadar and Seward) had been talking treason, and alluded to receipt of a treasonable letter by a Risaldar or other native officer of the regiment. Here we have hearsay evidence of what the deponent heard second-hand, and the prisoner's name is not mentioned.

The second charge relates to the supposed receipt of a treasonable letter by the prisoner. The existence of the letter is placed beyond doubt by the evidence of Captain Gell; but the important feature of its having been received by the prisoner is *not proved*, as admitted by the Deputy-Commissioner of Derah Ghazi Khan and Captain Gell.

But conceding the circumstantial proof of its having been received from the known fact of other letters having arrived safely, we have the known legal maxim that the receipt of a letter must not be accepted as evidence, *that the receiver concurred in the sentiments of the writer*. This principle has been strongly illustrated in the summing up of the Lord Chief Justice Campbell in the case of the Queen *versus* Bernard. Indeed, common-sense suggests the principle. I should be very sorry to have my opinions as to the proper mode of dealing with Natives in this rebellion, deduced from the sentiments expressed in the letters of my correspondents.

I make no remark on the trap laid by the Commanding Officer for the entanglement of the Risaldar by reading an intercepted letter, and reclosing it, and sending it on. In a case of a similar kind in the District of Fatehpore, where a trap was laid to catch the Head Clerk, Mr. Thomason,

the Lieutenant-Governor denounced the proceeding. I should be sorry to hear this case quoted in the House of Commons.

At the time of the crisis many things were justified. The proceeding of the Commanding Officer in dismissing the Risaldar was quite necessary and proper. I should have been prepared to proceed much further, had I been called upon to try this man at the time, for stern examples were required, and the safety of the State is the highest Law.

But we have no such pretence now: the man has languished a year in prison, he is dismissed, dishonoured, his property confiscated, he is neither an object of fear nor of sympathy. The crisis is past. Let this man retire to his home as soon as it is safe: he is not a fit object for a great Government to wreak their vengeance on, departing from all forms of procedure laid down by Law and admitted by the agreement of Nations, *viz.*, that a man charged with a crime shall be tried at once, on the spot, and confronted with his witnesses.

Such was the opinion with regard to the disposal of the prisoner of the Commander-in-Chief, recorded May 3 on the back of the letter of the Deputy Commissioner, dated April 28, 1858. Such are my opinions. We must remember that these trials will be reviewed by posterity, after the passions of the moment have cooled down. In the case of any overt act of Mutiny or Desertion, I unhesitatingly consign the party to the gallows, but I draw my line there; I will not lend myself to any constructive treason.

Your decision in the case of Gunga v. Singh, No. 2237, of June 15th, 1858, has compelled me clearly, but respectfully, to record my convictions. In the reign of Henry VIII "a Crown Trial was an order to condemn: the Crown properly or improperly wished to get rid of a subject." The remarks of Brigadier Chamberlain, dated May 5th, 1858, recorded on a paper, which is that of a judicial proceeding, in which he suggests transportation for this prisoner, are calculated to give an unfavourable opinion of our criminal system. If, as he says, a Military Commission would so sentence him, let one be convened at Derah Ghazi Khan.

My opinion is therefore that recorded by the Commander-in-Chief on the 3rd of May, that the defendant be kept in prison till such time as the rebellion has settled down, and then allowed to retire to his house.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

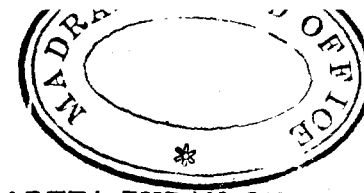
July 13, 1858.

In spite of my remonstrance the man was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in the common gaol, though he was a soldier of high rank. He never saw either witness or judge. All his property was confiscated. I got him released two

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years afterwards, when we released all the rebels and mutineers who had not shed blood.

The highest Judicial Court in the Panjáb passed the sentence as a Court of Original Jurisdiction, which again was entirely illegal. There was no animus in the matter. The very officer who passed the sentence was always on the side of mercy.



ART. IV.—BRAHMABAIBARTTA PURAN ON DISEASES.

[THEIR PREVENTIVES.]

UNLIKE *Charak* and *Susruta* the *Brahmabaibartta Puran* is a religious work. The great sage, Krishna Dvaipayana Vedavyas, is its reputed author. It is thus far from being an authority on the Ayurvedic or Hindu system of medicine. But like all the classical works of the Hindus, it is a compendium of everything that man is most in need of either in this world or in the world to come. As Hygiene forms but an important part and parcel of that everything, it has been beautifully touched upon in course of a discourse between Narayan, one of the Hindu Triad, and a sorrow-stricken widow, Malabati, begging him for the life of her spouse. Before her appears the kind-hearted god and thus delivers himself: Those, who wash their eyes, who give the system due exercises, who apply oil to the sole of the foot, to the ears, and to the head, are free from sickness and diseases. Those, who walk abroad in spring, and sit for a short while by the fire, are invulnerable of their attack. Those, who bathe in the cold water of a tank, besmear themselves with powdered sandal and air themselves towards evening, and who bathe in warm water and not in rain-water in rainy season, are not subject to sickness and diseases. Those, who keep themselves aloof from the sun in autumn and bathe in a pond and are temperate for the season, who bathe in like manner, sit by the fire occasionally and take warm rice for the period just preceding winter, are not preyed upon by them. Those, who take fresh meat, fresh rice, and a regular drink of milk and are not averse to taking *ghee*, and drink cold water, and are used to a regular rumination of betel, are far from catching the malady. Those, who live on curd, butter and other products of the cow, and put a check on animal propensities, are not taken ill.

THEIR CAUSES.

Those, who eat warm meat, expose themselves to the sun when in Virgo—and take stale curd, are the fit tenement of diseases with their attendant evils.

Silly are those, who are audacious enough to feed on curd at night, who attach themselves to public women. For sin and disease go hand in hand. Diseases and other ills are caused by sin. Look here; sin brings on diseases, sin brings on sickness or general debility. Sin brings on us poverty. It is

owing to sin that man suffers. This is why the sages of India have all along shrunk from sin, the root of all evils. The system of the high-souled is proof against obstinate and severe diseases. The truth of the above should not be lost sight of in connection with the unseasonableness of a malady and in regard to the rules of Hygiene. When the exact hour is struck, death must needs come on us. All other diseases are the offspring of Fever, inasmuch as the latter is the offspring of Wind, Bile and Phlegm. How these three get into the system I shall presently see. Bile is secreted when acute hunger is not satisfied. Shortly after eating a palm-fruit, a *bael*, those who drink water, court Death through Bile. Those, who take a drink of warm water in autumn and bitters in the month of Bhadra, induce Bile; of which coriander seed powdered and mixed with cold water, gram and all the products of the cow but butter milk, ripe *bael* taken with sugar-cane juice, ripe *bael* taken with the molasses of sugar-cane, ripe date-palm, ginger, *mug* (*phaseolus mungus*) (a sort of kidney-bean), and powdered sesamum with sugar are antidotes. A bath after meal, a drink of water when not thirsty, create phlegm. *Til* (sesamum) oil and other cooling oils and the cooling product of emblic myrobalan cause phlegm. Those who eat boiled rice soaked, drink butter-milk, eat well ripe plantain and curd, drink rain sherbet prepared of sugar and very cold water, cannot avoid phlegm. The milk of cocoanut and a lot of other articles similar to those already named as causing phlegm I omit making any mention of, lest the paper be charged with tautological expressions.

Any sort of stirring after meal, heat, oft-repeated roaming, grief, dryness, hunger, quarrel, ill words and constant fear and grief, these are the causes of Wind (*Vayu*), which has an efficacious preventive in cocoanut, palm, date, the fruit of emblic myrobalan, a bath in tepid water, application of powdered sandal to the body, and such fanning as has a cooling effect on the system. In case of a man *Vayu* is caused by trouble, physical and mental—and by lust. As any more details are comprised in the Aryan medical works, I stop here.

NAKUR CHANDRA BISWAS.

•• We have excised a few lines in the above paper unfit for publication.—ED., C. R.

ART. V.—HINDU CASTES AMONGST THE MAHRATTAS.*

THE Marathi-speaking people inhabit the Bombay Presidency, some districts of the Central Provinces and the Berars. Some big cities in the North-West Provinces like Benares, and Allahabad also contain Marathi-speaking people. The districts of the Central Provinces in which Marathi is spoken are Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Wardha and Balaghat. In the districts (of the Central Provinces) where Hindi is spoken, some Mahratta settlers are to be found.

In this short account, the existing Hindu castes shall be described under the four original divisions of Hindu society, *vis.*, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas and Sudras. The present Brahmins of the Marathi-speaking country are sub-divided into several orders. The followers of the Rig Veda are divided into three orders, the Rigvedis, Aswilyans and the Apastambas. The followers of the Yajur Vedas are also divided into several orders, such as the Kanawas, the Madhandins and the rest. Besides these are the Bhagaris, Malveés, Narbadis and the Shanvayees.

Then again there are sects among them according to the deity they worship, for instance, those who are worshippers of Siva are called Saivas, those who worship Vishnu are called Vaishnavas, and those who worship Shakti or Devi are called Shaktas. The bigoted people among any one of these sects are sometimes on terms of antagonism with the members of any one of the other two sects; and they go the length of abusing the deity of that sect. Still if these sects belong to the same shakha or branch, they intermarry.†

There is an amusing story which shall illustrate the antipathy borne by one of these sects towards another. Once it so happened that a Shaiva's daughter was married to the

* The customs which distinguish the Mahratta-speaking Hindus from other Hindus are the following :—(1) They can marry the daughter of their maternal uncle, if the mother of the bridegroom be older than the father of the bride. They call their father-in-law *mama*. (2) Their females do not observe the purdah. In support of the first they repeat a saying to the effect that in the South, people marry the daughter of their maternal uncle; in the West people drink water kept in leather-bags, (such as the Marwaris); in the North people eat the flesh of buffaloes (Cashmerees); and in the East people eat fish (Bengalis and Ooriyas).

† The Rigvedis and the Aswalyanis are one and the same, they intermarry with the Apastambas, and dine with them as well as with the Kanawas and the Madhandins, but they do not intermarry with the Kanawas and the Madhandins.

son of a Vaishnava. When she came to the house of the father-in-law she used to perform domestic work. One morning she was plastering the floor of the house. As a rule while so engaged her hand moved right and left. The father-in-law was there and he saw this. He thought her conduct was sinful. He at once ran towards her and struck her in the face. The girl was taken by surprise, and in order to know what fault she had committed that she was beaten, she asked her father-in-law in an humble tone the reason why she was struck by him. The father-in-law replied that though she was the daughter of a Shaiva she was married in a Vaishnava family and so she must follow the rule of a Vaishnava family. Every act, in a Vaishnava family, must be done perpendicularly and not horizontally as she was doing. Afterwards, one day, the father-in-law was cleaning his teeth by rubbing some tooth powder against his teeth, with one of his fingers, while so engaged he was observed by the same daughter-in-law. She found that her father-in-law was moving his hand horizontally and not perpendicularly, while cleaning his teeth, as he had ordered that every act should be performed in the family. She thought that it was a good opportunity to teach him a lesson. So she at once ran towards him, gave him a good slap on the face, and reminded him that he was a thorough Vaishnava who must not wash his teeth in that way.

All these Brahmins speak the Marathi language or a dialect of that language. As regards their writing, all the ordinary business is carried on in Marathi *lipi* or character,* books and Sanskrit pothis being printed or written in Balbade or Dev Nagri character.

Again among these Brahmins there are two divisions. Some are Grihastas and others Bhikshuks. Bhikshuks are those who live upon the charity of others, such as priests and other *bhuts*. These priests are generally family priests called Upadhyas and Joshis. Upadhyas are confined to some families among the higher classes, while the *Joshis* have a wider scope and their services are engaged by all the villagers, including the lower castes.

Then we come to the second division or order, *i.e.*, the Kshatriyas. This order is strictly speaking extinct. But there are some castes which put forth their claims as belonging to the Kshatriya class. These castes are *Rajputs*, Marathas, and Jâts to some extent.

Rajputs and Jâts originally lived in the northern and north-

western parts of India; but a portion of them came to live in the Marathi-speaking country. Those that live in the Marathi-speaking country have adopted the Marathi language. In olden times, under the native rajahs, they were employed in the army as soldiers. But now under the British rule, only a few join the army, and the rest support themselves either by private service or by cultivation.

Then there are the Marathas, already mentioned, who are a different and independent caste altogether. They claim to be descendants of the Ancient Kshatriyas. They originally lived in the Deccan. They were a martial race. Once they were so powerful that they ruled over not a small tract but had sway almost all over India. The name of Shivaji is well known. In course of time his descendants lost all power and there is no more a kingdom ruled by the caste called Marathas. All their glory is gone. Some of them migrated to the Nagpur country from the Deccan and they are the famous Bhonslas and their dependents. In Shivaji's time, their mode of living was simple, but in course of time, they have become luxurious. The people belonging to the Maratha caste who live in Nagpur, depend mainly for their support upon what they have received from the Government in the nature of pensions, inam lands, mokasas, etc. But the majority of them are in distress, being too much involved in debt. The reason of their indebtedness appears to be that they have not altogether abandoned their luxurious habits. Some of them have entered into the service of Government, or of private persons and others maintain themselves by cultivation. They observe all the festivals that are observed by the Brahmins. They observe the *Dusserah* festival with some degree of pomp, and thus we see in Nagpur when on the day of the Bejaya Deshami, the so-called *rajahs* and *raises* of Nagpur go out in a procession from their houses to the temple called the Raja Baksha's Maroti with elephants, horses, camels and attendants, accompanied with music. They have no objection to eat flesh or drink liquor. The latter they take to an excess and get drunk. Many a Maratha family in Nagpur have been ruined on this account. A few people of this caste have received English education and so they hold some appointments under Government. It has been already mentioned that they speak the Marathi language, but they do not, as a rule, speak it correctly. They have their own slang expressions. We then come to the third order the Vaishyas. Now-a-days this class comprises several castes and they are the Sonars, the Lohars, the Sutars, the Guravs, and the Kasars.

The word Sonar (goldsmith) appears to be the contracted

* The difference between morhi, the ordinary written business characters and the balbade or printed characters is similar to the difference between the Roman characters and the handwriting or italics in the English language.

form of the word Suvurnakar. Their profession or business is to prepare golden or silver ornaments. They are good skillful workmen and their skill is appreciated in the East and some parts of the West. Some people of this caste acquire a smattering knowledge of reading and writing. But they are notorious as secret thieves. In making any golden article they keep back some gold.

Then comes the Lohar caste (the blacksmiths). They make iron instruments: those who live in small villages make iron things of a coarse kind. They are useful to the peasants. They make for the agriculturists, their iron plough-heads called *kasha* and other iron implements, such as the *pass*, the *edia*, the *intia*, the *khant*, the *pavada*, the *kudal*, the *kasalia*, and the instrument of daily use, the axe. Those *Lohars* who live in towns make better sorts of iron and steel articles, such as the *adkila* (betel-nut-cracker), *katri* (scissors), knives, pen-knives, nails, chains, iron safes, etc. When a blacksmith (Lohar) opens his small shop in a village he works upon the hot iron by beating it with the hammer, while his wife or mother blows the air into the fire with a pair of bellows; and if he has a son or younger brother he puts coal into the fire. From the tenants of the village whose agricultural implements they make or repair the village smiths do not get their remuneration in cash but in kind. When the ears of jawari are plucked and collected, he gets a big basketful of the ears of *jawari*; and after the threshing is over he gets about two *kudos* of jawari. At the time of reaping of the *rubby* harvest, such as wheat or gram, if he goes from field to field, he gets about half a kudo. Besides this, he gets *hurda* (ears of jawari, etc., when they are about to be reaped) of every kind of crop. At the time of cutting these crops, he receives *themlas* and *pendhis** of wheat, gram, pea, etc. In this way they earn their livelihood. After the labour of the day the recreation or entertainment in his shop consists of country songs sung by him and several other villagers who gather in his shop. The instruments of music used for singing are a *chonake*, a *dholke*, a *manjira*, and sometimes a *duff*. They sit singing till about midnight, when all the folk disperse to their houses. Drinking liquor is allowed in this caste and some of its members waste all their earnings in it. Recently I observed one instance of a drunkard blacksmith with my own eyes. Last June when I was in my village Karanja, one evening I happened to go out for a walk towards a field to see the sowing operations. While passing through the market in the company of the school master and a few others, I was confronted by a young man of my acquaintance belonging to this caste. He saluted

* Various sorts of bundles of the stalk of corn.

me, saying, "Deshmuk Saheb, *ram ram*." At that time, his eyes looked as red as hot iron and his legs were shaking and his speech indistinct. I asked my companions what was the matter. They said: "The fellow has got drunk; although he earns about eight or ten annas a day he cannot maintain his wife and a number of children." The fellow had put on a torn *dhoti*, a torn over-garment, and a cap. He could not provide himself even with a *bandi* (shirt). The fellow accompanied us to the field walking in a staggering and trembling manner. From the market he had purchased about a *paili** of jawar for the evening bread. While walking about the field, the bundle which contained the jawar got loose and some of it fell to the ground, he being in a half-conscious state. Being interrogated as to how he lost the jawar he said he had sown the jawar in the field. One of the company made his bundle tight remarking that when the fellow gets home and comes to his senses, he will weep for the loss.

In this caste the principal holidays are *jivti* and *mandoos*. On these days they do not work but worship the tools with which they work and spend the days in festivity.

We now come to the caste of *sutars* or *badhais* (carpenters). We shall first speak of village *sutars*. As a rule, in every village there is the house of one carpenter. He is under the control of the Patil or *malguzar* (landlord) whose favour and good wishes he must always try to secure. He earns his livelihood mainly by making the wood-work of the implements of husbandry of the agriculturists. He makes for them their *Bakar* and *Nangar* (plough), including also their *Douras*, *Dindas*, *Tiphan*, *Halis Ju*, and other agricultural implements. For his work the carpenter does not get his remuneration in cash but in kind, i.e., grain.

If he goes to the fields, at the time of reaping the jawar, he gets one or two basketfuls of ears of jawar, otherwise every tenant reserves that quantity for him. Besides this he gets one or two *kudos* of jawar and other things such as *Hurda*† and *Umbya*. So, it is evident, his remuneration is similar to that of the village smith. If the carpenter is a man advanced in years, he is regarded with some degree of respect by the villagers. During the day many a cultivator sits in his *kamtha* (shop) while their work is being done and while away the time in idle gossip. If he has a liking for songs, a singing party meets at his shop, during the first part of the night as at the smith's shop. If in the village the *malguzar* (land-

* A wooden measure of grain.

† *Hurda* means ears of jawari or Indian corn almost ripe. To burn the *hurda* and eat them at the season is considered a great pleasure by this people.

lord) or any tenant has a sugar-cane plantation, and he chooses not to sell the standing crops but wants to manufacture raw sugar or gul, then the machine called in Marathi ghana, is prepared by the village carpenter, and for his work he is given a certain quantity of gul and also a number of sugar-canes. So much for the village carpenter, then we come to the town carpenter. Town carpenters earn their livelihood by working for hire and receiving their wages in cash. They build houses in towns. Some of them are skilful workmen. Their skill consists in fitting and joining the several parts of the thatching. Some of them acquire a little knowledge of reading and writing. In Nagpur and other adjoining districts the sutars or wadhis used till lately to eat food prepared by Brahmins, but now I have observed in my part of the country that they do not. They have a Sankaracharya or religious tutor of their own who visits different places and reads to them some *pothis*. They have changed their caste-name and call themselves sukh-washi Brahmins: they now put on soolas* like Brahmins, after bathing, till they eat their dinner and try to live like Brahmins. They were all till lately taking flesh, specially on the Ras or threshing festival, when a sheep or a goat is sacrificed to the field deity.

Let us now turn to another caste of the Vaishyas—the Kásars. They are those persons who deal in brass and copper vessels. They, to some extent, correspond to the Sonars of whom an account has been already given. These Kásars often do not make the brass or copper vessels or utensils themselves, as they purchase them from another caste called Tambulkars† and sell them at a profit. In the Central Provinces they are found in the Nagpur division as well as in the Narbada division. Perhaps they are few in number in the other two divisions. In the Bombay Presidency they live in big cities like Puna, Satara, Pandharpur and other places. People of this caste are of an enterprising character.

Then there are the Gurav. They form a caste of their own. They divide themselves into two branches—one branch devotes itself to the service of Shiva or Mahadev; they fetch belpatra, clean and wash the temple of Siva. They perform the worship of that deity. They maintain themselves by whatever they get in the temple in the shape of offerings or presents before the god Shiva.

Another branch of this caste does the business of wagentri or bajentri (musicians). They play on the *Sanai*.

The several castes who claim to belong to the Vaisha order

* Soola is a silken or tusser dhoti worn both by males and females when they take their meals.

† Tamars.

have been described—the Sonars, Lohars, Sutars, Kásars and Guravs. The male members of all these castes put on janava or sacred thread after their marriage.

Then we come to the fourth main division of the Hindus—the Sudras. It comprises a large number of castes. First the Kunbis. They are agriculturists. Even at the present day the majority of Kunbis are cultivators, some of them holding a little higher status of a malguzar or Patil. There are several sub-divisions among the Kunbis—they are Tirolye, Bavul, Zade and others. Many of these Kunbi agriculturists personally work in the field. They hold the plough and till the land usually with their own bullocks, but occasionally by hiring the bullocks of other people: the hire is called *khand*. Some of them have seed of their own, while many borrow it either from the Patil (landlord) of the village or from any creditor, *sahukar* or seth in some neighbouring town on *didhi* or *savai*. At times they even borrow food grains such as jawar called *podga*. They work in the field during the day with their wives and children. When the season for watching the corn comes the male members go to the field during the night and watch sitting on a *mala* or stage. Even during the day time the cultivator usually does not go to his house for food, he takes his breakfast of the previous day's bread and chatni either in the house or in the field; in the noon his wife or son brings for him fresh bread (*roti*) and bason or pulse or vegetables cooked. On the arrival of his meal, he goes either to a running brook or a well close by and satisfies his hungry stomach and then takes a short rest under a tree while his bullocks graze. In the afternoon he resumes his work in the field. In the evening he grazes his cattle, and when it is dark he takes his bullocks to the village. On reaching home he gives fodder and cotton-seed to the bullocks. His wife then gives him a hot-water bath and places before him fresh food for supper: after taking which, he sits near a fire in the cold season, smokes his chilam, and then goes to bed. This is the life of a country *Kunbi*. Some of the *Kunbis* have taken to other trades. One of them is that of a *bania* (grocer) dealing in sugar, gud, salt, cocoanut, betel-nut and other such articles. Others deal in cloth and other substances.

Then there is another caste which has agriculture for its occupation. It is the Bhoer caste. Bhoers correspond to Kunbis. They solely depend upon agriculture for their support. They speak a mixture of Marathi and Hindi. Many of them speak colloquial Marathi, though not correctly.

The Telis form another Sudra caste. Their occupation is to extract oil from various sorts of oil-seeds, such as linseed, etc., in their rough oil-mills and then sell the oil; but now

some of them have taken to agriculture. As a caste the Telis are regarded as lower in the gradation.

Then comes the caste of Shimpis (tailors). This caste does the business of sewing; both males and females do the work in the house. They also deal in cloth. They purchase cloth from big cities and sell them in small towns and villages.

Then there is the caste of barbers. They are called Mhalees or Nhavees: their business is to shave. Besides which they hold torches and guard the houses of their masters.

Then comes the caste of washerman, called Dhobis or Parits or Varthis. They bleach as well as wash clothes. In the old days people used not to give their clothes to be washed by the washerman so often as they do now.

The caste of Bhoi. They maintain themselves by catching fish and selling them in the market.

The Govari or Gaoli—they breed and tend cattle. They were once a flourishing caste. They used to keep a large number of cows and buffaloes.

The name Ati-Sudra includes Mahars, Dheds, Chamars, Mangs, etc. Mahars are generally the village watch-men—the Kotwals. Dheds and Mangs do the business of playing on Sanai: they are called Wajantris. Chamars make shoes.

NOTE.—The above account of the Hindu castes in the Marathi-speaking country must not be considered as exhaustive. For instance, there is no mention of the Wanis or Banias. I have heard that they belong to the Vyasa division in Nagpur and in places towards the west of Nagpur. There is also no mention of the caste of Chitnavis or Parbhus. They correspond to Kayesths in other parts of India. This article is taken from a lecture delivered by Mr. Baliram Deshmuk, B.A. (Cal.), at Wardha, in the Central Provinces, slightly altered with his permission.

R. B.

ART. VI.—LEGENDS OF ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

IT seems to be instinctive to human nature to preserve and reverence relics of the great and good. Particularly is this true in connection with religious matters, and whether we go to Christianity, or to Buddhism, or to Islam, we find scores and scores of objects, which are revered for their connection, supposed or real, with the founders or upholders of their faith.

Sadly enough, whilst the veneration of sacred relics begot much that was best in men, it nevertheless was responsible for much that was evil. The desire of communities and monasteries to possess relics soon grew beyond even an appreciation of what was honest. That which could not be bought, and the traffic in spurious relics attained vast proportions, was as often as not stolen, and it was by no means uncommon for one monastery to wage a marauding campaign on a neighbouring one for the sake of some coveted relic.

With the Reformation there came a huge reaction, and whilst the veneration of sacred relics forms a prominent feature of the Catholic Church of to-day, the abuses of the Middle Ages have vanished for ever. How far such relics may be genuine is not, of course, a matter that comes within our province to discuss.

Many of our readers are doubtless aware of the existence of St. Thomas' Mount. Some seven miles south of Madras, it is a granite and syenite rock, about 220 feet above sea level, overlooking a military cantonment. The ascent is made by some 200 steps solidly built on the north-eastern face of the rock. Right on its summit is the little chapel that is now the curious old Portuguese Church of "The Expectation of the Blessed Virgin." In the chapel there exist two important relics, one a picture of the Madonna, reputed to be painted by St. Luke, the Evangelist, and the other "the bleeding cross." It is said that the Portuguese found "the bleeding cross" when they were digging for the foundations of a hermitage amidst the ruins which marked the spot of the martyrdom of St. Thomas. Curious to state, the ruins were found in the possession of a Mahomedan fakir. The discovered cross was erected over the altar of the chapel which was built on the new sanctuary. On the face of the black marble slab is to be seen the cross in relief, a bird like a dove over it, with its wings expanded as the Holy Ghost is usually represented

when descending on our Lord at his Baptism, or on our Lady at her Annunciation. There is also an inscription, supposed to be in Pehlevi, the exact translation of which is an open question.

That there was a large and influential Christian community at Mylapore and its neighbourhood, in very ancient times, goes without saying; but it does not appear what cause had destroyed it. The probabilities are that being of a warlike spirit the Christians were forcibly converted to Islam when the Mahomedans of the North triumphed over the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

According to the Chaldaean Breviary and certain Fathers of the Catholic Church, St. Thomas converted many countries of Asia, and found a martyr's death in India. The meagre tradition of the early Church was expanded by the Catholic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The abstract by Vincenza Maria makes the Apostle commence his work in Mesopotamia, and includes Bactria, Central Asia, China, "the States of the Great Mogul," Siam, Germany, Brazil and Ethiopia in the circle of his missionary labours. The apostolic traveller then sailed East again to India, converting the Island of Socotra on the way; and after preaching in Malabar, ended his labours on the Coromandel Coast. The final development of the tradition fills in the details of his death. It would appear that on the 21st December, A. D. 68, the Brahmans stirred up a tumult against the Apostle, who, after being stoned by the crowd, was finally thrust through by a spear upon the spot, now known as St. Thomas' Mount.

Another legend ascribes the honor of the conversion of India to an Armenian merchant. It is said that in the eighth century (A. D. 780) Thomas Cana, or Mar Thomas, as he is sometimes called, settled in Malabar for purposes of trade, married two Indian ladies, and grew into power with the native princes. He found that such Christians as existed before his time had been driven by persecution from the coast into the hills. Mar Thomas secured for them the privilege of worshipping according to their faith, led them back to the fertile Coast of Malabar, and became their Archbishop. On his death, his memory received the gradual and spontaneous honor of canonization by the Christian communities for whom he had laboured, and his name became identified with that of the Apostle. He was doubtless the rebuilder, but was certainly not the founder, of Christianity in India.

There is an interesting tradition that at the end of the ninth century (A. D.) 863 the shrine of St. Thomas was devoutly visited, by the ambassadors of King Alfred the Great, and

their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery.

When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the Coast of Malabar, and the difference of their color and character attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms and arts they excelled the natives of Hindustan. The husbandmen cultivated the palm tree, the merchants were enriched by the pepper trade, the soldiers preceded the nobles of Malabar, and their hereditary traditions were respected by the gratitude or fear of the King of Cochin and the Zamorin himself. They were governed, even in temporal matters, by the Bishop of Angamala. He still asserted the ancient title of Metropolitan of India, but his real jurisdiction was exercised in 1,400 Churches, and he was entrusted with the care of 200,000 souls. The religion of these Christians would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese, but the Inquisition discovered in the Christians of St. Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman Pontiff, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian Patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained at Mosul held spiritual sway over them. In their Syriac liturgy, the names of Theodore and Nestorius were piously commemorated: they united their adoration of the two persons in Christ: the title of Mother of God was offensive to their ears; and when the image of the Virgin Mary was first presented to the disciples of St. Thomas, they indignantly exclaimed, "We are Christians, not idolators;" and their simple devotion was content with the veneration of the cross. Sixty-four years of servitude (A. D. 1599-1663) and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but as soon as the Portuguese Empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted, with vigour and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused; the arms of 40,000 Christians were turned against their falling tyrants; and the Indian Archdeacon assumed the character of Bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the Patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the Coast of Malabar.

When, in 1547, the Portuguese came across "the bleeding cross" and had it let into the wall behind the altar of their Church of "The Expectation of the Blessed Virgin," they held an annual festival on St. Thomas' Mount. The date was the

21st December, the anniversary of the death of the Apostle; and while mass was sung, it is alleged, the cross sweated blood profusely, a miracle performed by the martyred Saint to strengthen the faith of the weak and wavering. And a well-known historian quaintly observes that "the Saint performed an annual miracle till he was silenced by the profane neighbourhood of the English."

E. H. BROOKES.

ART. VII.—THE SAKTA RELIGION AND THE FEMALE SEX.

IN Hinduism there are two systems of religion, and only two, the Vedic and the Tantric. There is no third. The Vedas are the sacred books of the former, the Tantras of the latter. No woman, Sudra or outcaste, is permitted to read a word of the Vedas. These are, to all intents and purposes, outside the pale of the Vedic religion.

The Tantras, on the other hand, are for all, irrespective of caste or sex. It is contended by some that the Tantras were especially intended for women, Sudras and outcastes. Whatever truth may be in the statement, the fact remains that Brahmans, males as well as females, have, in great numbers, adopted the Sakta religion and the Tantra scriptures. Still, true it also is, that the position of woman in the Tantric cult gives a special importance and interest to the study of the Tantras. To that study we would now apply ourselves, so far as it is to be pursued by the help of whatever knowledge we may obtain from the books to which we have access, and the people among whom we live, always remembering that both the Tantras and the religion are held to be secret, and the people taught to deny their connection with either.

Initiated women, be it noted, are allowed to read the Tantras, and what to them, in their ignorance of Sanskrit, is of much greater importance, to hear them read and expounded in secret assemblies. Nay more, they themselves are allowed to act as *gurus* or spiritual preceptors, as priests or mohunts, having *chelas* or disciples of their own. A female mohunt became a convert of the Gopalgunge Evangelistic Mission, and a most excellent convert she has proved. "A woman," says the *Yogini Tantra*, (6) "who is virtuous, well-behaved, devoted to the *guru*, of subdued senses, knowing the meaning of all *mantras*, modest, a zealous worshipper, she is fit to be a *guru*, widows being excepted." Initiation by a woman is said to be auspicious, that by a mother is recorded to be so in an eight-fold degree. A widow may give a mantra if empowered by her son, and a daughter if empowered by her father, also a wife if empowered by her husband. "Being *enceinte* does not invalidate initiation by a woman, but she must not perform such function in the tenth month on pain of going to hell." *Tantra Sar*, 6. Vedic mantras, such as the Gayatri, Om, etc., are, however, prohibited to women. Priests representing them perform the worship of the gods by offering a Bhojya in lieu of the Vridhi Sraddha and the

Kusundika and Basudhara ceremony with due reverence. *Mahanirvana Tantra*, p. 200 (Dutt's English Translation).

Among other functions of great importance which a woman is allowed to discharge, is *Purashcharana* (invigoration of the mantra). "This is as necessary to the mantra as life is to the body . . . one may do it for oneself with the permission of the *guru*, or get it done by the *guru*, or if he is not available, by a properly qualified Brahman, or a properly qualified woman." T. S. 17. Then there is the *Homa*—sacrifice. "In cases of inability to perform *Homa*, etc., twice the number of repetitions of the mantra may be substituted. But it is only in the case of women and Sudras—who can perform *Homa*, etc., vicariously through a Brahman—that such repetition is quite as effective as the *Homa*, etc., whose place it takes." T. S. 19. "Proper performance of *Purashcharana* secures union with the deity."

No woman, according to Buddhism, can go to heaven till she first becomes a man. The great sin or blunder of which the founder of Buddhism considered himself guilty, and which was a burden upon him all his life-long was his admitting women into his Order. He prophesied that, because of it, the life of the Order would be limited to 500 years. The Sakta religion, apparently from the beginning, admitted women into its Order; some think too much so. And as to going to heaven why, she becomes, or is by her very nature divine on earth. More of that anon.

But here we must try and explain first what is the *Sakta* religion, what is the meaning of the name, and what the distinguishing characteristics of the religion as such. The answer is simple.

The Sakta religion is the worship of energy or power as personified in a female. The word *Sakti* means female energy, a goddess, Kali or Durga, worshipped as the Supreme Being. The distinguishing characteristic of the religion is the prominence given to Kali, or Durga as Sakti, the wife of Siva or Mahadeva, the third in the Hindu triad. She is worshipped under very many different names or 'forms,' each having its own mythological history. Subordinately to her or them every female, as representing the goddess, may, at any time and especially at the secret midnight meetings or circles of the initiated, be set up as the divinity to be worshipped. The worship is also directed to images having the form of a woman, or simply to her emblem, as in a diagram made by the fingers or on paper, etc., or in conjunction with the Linga, Siva's emblem, or in the living woman.

So far as the living female is worshipped as the representation of the Supreme Being, the cult has a curious resemblance

to the Religion of Humanity, known as Positivism, created and set up by the mad philosopher of France, M. Auguste Comte. The *Kumari Tantra*, of which more below, says:—"The whole world is embodied in the woman. One should be a woman one's self. Women are vitality." "Of Siva and Sakti, both of whom are eternal, the greater is the Sakti." "Again, Sakti gives strength to Siva, without her he could not stir a straw; she is therefore the cause of Siva" (*Sankara Vijaya*).

The same state of feeling is indicated by the position given to the females in the compound phrases *ma-bap*, (mother, father), *Lakshmi-Narayanan*, *Sita-Rama*, *Radha-Krishna*, etc., even when no exclusive or supreme worship is intended for the female. The phrases are by some supposed to be survivals of the time when men looked for their ancestors to the mothers only, and not to the fathers, as is the case to the present day among the Nairs of South India, and among some tribes in the Himalayan valleys and in the Kasi hills of Assam.

The Tantric religion, it must be remembered, embraces a large number of devotees of other goddesses than Durga or Kali, such as Lakshmi or Mahalakshmi, the bride of Vishnu, and Sarasvati, the bride of Brahma; though we hear nothing of the worship of either in the Vedas as brides of their respective lords.

It will thus be seen that the worship given to these female divinities in the Tantras is, as we proceed, not to be confounded with the customary homage rendered by all the Hindu sects to the wives of the gods whether Vedic or otherwise. In the case of the Saktas, that is, of all who follow the teaching of the Tantras, under whatever name Sakti is worshipped, whether as the bride of Siva, or the spouse of Vishnu, or the consort of Brahma, the worship forms a religion by itself totally distinct and different from anything found either in the Vedas or the Puranas, though something like its germs or seeds, subsequently developed, may be discovered in some older Shastras, Vedic and Puranic; and while the Tantras have a good deal of mythology (which must not be confounded with their religion) quite distinct from that of the older Puranas and Vedas, much also of the latter is blended with that of the Tantras. Still the Tantric or Sakta worship, religion, or cult as such, and with special reference to females, the subject before us, is totally distinct from the ancient Vedic religion of India. It is a unique religion which may be said to have originated in Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era; that is, it materialized or took definite form as embodied in scriptures known as Tantras then and thereabout; and

though it must be admitted that there is a wide gulf between the right-hand Saktas and the left-hand or Vamacharis (known sometimes as Kaulas), yet in the worship given to Sakti or female divinities they are one and the same, and quite distinct from all other Hindu sects,

Yet it is also true that even as regards religion proper, attempts have been made to introduce into it Vedic mantras and rites and customs, as for example in the introduction of Om and the Gayatri with the prohibition that females are not to use them; and in the Shradha ceremony where they are treated with the Sudras in regard to the prohibition of the sacred sacrificial thread. "Let one eschew the sacrificial thread in the Shradha of a Sudra or woman." Y. T. 87. Sometimes the attempt is made to base the Tantric custom on a corrupted text of the Vedas as in the Sati which seems to have originated with the Tantras.

In the Yogini Tantra, we find the rules:—"Save at Mukti-tirtha, let not a Brahmani follow her husband in death; in the way of Mukti-(tirtha) let her not even ascend a separate pyre. The work should be done for ten days; it is forbidden elsewhere. One dead by hanging, or one drowned, or a corpse a night old, or dead by consumption or leprosy,—let not a Brahmani follow him in any place but Mukti-tirtha. Women with many sons, or pregnant, or again menstruous, disgracing their families, or unchaste,—never. Then for the following of him, let her set up the corpse one day. She may follow him the next day, no fault arises thereby. In the event of the husband dying in a foreign country, then, anything known to be her husband's—having placed that object in her heart, let her follow the rule of Kshatriya women, etc. If a Sudra be chaste and given to thinking of her husband, she may follow him in death; and this is pronounced the Vaisya's rule also. If the husband die on the third and she follow him on the fourth, let the wise man do her Shradha annually on the husband's *tithi* (religious rites performed at the conjunction of particular planets). If they died in one place, let him scatter the Pinda in one place. Let him have the Shradha performed simultaneously—even so will be the completion of it. A man should have the Pinda of a man and wife made round. Let him make a covering with a garment, let him sprinkle milk. Let him not give milk mixed with the Pinda." Then follow the names of the different kinds of fruit which may and may not be given with Pinda, and the places at which it may be presented. Of one place it is said that "bathing there gives precedence to the mother." Y. T. 89.

The injunction—"No injury to woman must be done by

the disciple"—is no more than what is to be expected. Y. T. 98. In the Tantras the institution of Sati seems to be at home, and being modified or regulated under modern influences; while in the Veda it is unmistakably foreign, and foisted into the text and against the context by simply corrupting the original Sanskrit. In the *Mahanirvana*, a comparatively modern Tantra, it seems to be utterly condemned. Says Siva to his loving spouse:—

"Mortals above the age of five, should, on their demise, be burnt on the cremation ground. A chaste woman should never be burnt on the funeral pyre with her husband. A chaste woman resembles thyself (Kali) and her semblance pervades the entire universe; and she is condemned to hell when out of folly she burns herself on the funeral pyre of her husband." According to the instructions left by them, the worshippers of the *Kaulas* should be floated on the river or interred under the ground or burnt down after their death. Death on holy fields (e.g., *Kurukhetra*), in places of pilgrimages, by the side of the image of the goddess Bhagabati, or near *Kaula* worshippers, has been described to be commendable. He that gives up the ghost forgetful of the three worlds and meditating on the eternal one, becomes unified with the Supreme Spirit."

With like tenderness towards the female sex the same Tantra says, p. 81, "A male beast should be offered as a sacrifice. According to Siva's mandate, a female beast should not be slain." We can offer no explanation why a she-jackal seems to be made an exception. *Tara-Vilasodaya*, a Tantric compilation on the worship of Tara, another form of Durga, devotes chapter ix to "sacrifices of she-jackals and other animals to the goddess."

Another matter of great importance is the marriage of females who became widows in childhood. The words of the *Mahanirvana* (p. 233) are these suggestive ones, which I emphasize:—

"If a married girl becomes a widow before she knows her husband, she can be given away in marriage again."

Only yesterday I was waited on by the female friend of such a woman who has arrived at years of maturity. She became a widow, to all intents and purposes, when only three years of age. She has never seen, as far as she knows, her husband from that day, and of course has never lived with him. She does not know whether he is dead or alive. Can she legally marry again? Supposing she knew he was dead, could she, a member of a Sakta family when she was married, plead the *Mahanirvana* as a legal authority for her re-marriage? What standing have the Tantras in our law courts? Can

they be pled as 'customary laws of the Sakta sect?' These are questions which we would like to see authoritatively answered.

We have referred to the tenderness of the Tantras towards members of the female sex. It meets us in various forms, alike in relieving them from disabilities, as we have seen, and also in punishments inflicted on such as cruelly use them.

Here is an example of the latter from the *M. N. T.*, p. 233. Only the punishments might, we think, be made more severe. The difficulty is the securing of even this modicum of punishment. I refer to the words: "If a husband uses harsh words towards his wife, he should fast for a day; if he beats her, he should fast for three days; if he sheds her blood, he should fast for seven days. If out of anger or stupefaction, a person addresses his wife as mother or sister, he should by Siva's mandate, fast for seven days, to cleanse himself of his sin." To address a woman as mother or sister is to disown her as wife; she is thus really divorced. The difficulty is who is to see that these punishments are inflicted. It must not be supposed however that the *Tantra* overlooks the other side. No Hindu would do that; and if the sins of husbands are punished, much more are those of their wives. Into these we will not look save to refer to the fact that to the unfaithful wife there are no funeral rites, nor any other rite. We have in this paper to do only with the wives.

We may quote a passage on the *duties* of women, so as to show that they are not overlooked. "As regards women," says Siva in the *Tantra*, "they are not required to go to the holy places, or to observe fasts, and other such acts, or perform any vows, except obeying and reverencing their husbands. The husbands of women are their *Tirthas* (sacred places), their *Tapas* (penances), their acts of charity, their religious vows, and their spiritual guides; therefore, with all their hearts, women should obey and serve their husbands. By words and by deeds of tender care, a woman should always please her husband, she should always be obedient to him in all things, and should also please and satisfy his relatives and friends. A chaste and dutiful wife should never look at her husband with cruel and wicked eyes, or speak hard and vile words to him, nor should she ever do anything, even in her thoughts, that would be displeasing to her husband. She who by her body, soul and words, satisfies her husband by always doing acts pleasing to him, attains to the status of the Brahma (or, in other words, emancipation, or absorption into the divine essence). Following the behests of her husband in all things—she should never look at the face of other men, or speak to them or show her limbs to them." *M. N.*, p. 136-7.

The first chapter of the *Kubjika Tantra* treats of the *faults* of women. Were it not for this and like facts, as well as the list of forbidden things—given above and elsewhere—or commandments of the nature 'Thou shalt not,' one would think that being regarded and worshipped as living breathing divinities they would have no faults. The Sakta sees, however, no inconsistency in their faith and practice in this respect. Kali herself is not regarded as sinless. To the Hindu there is no necessary connection between divinity and moral perfection. When we read the *Negamalata*, a Tantric compilation "for the attainment of perfection through the adoration of women, according to the Kulachara system"—we are not to understand moral perfection, as in the words of Jesus to His disciples—"Ye therefore shall be perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect."

So far is woman from being regarded as perfect in the Tantric religion, that she cannot be trusted. "In her childhood a woman should remain under the care of her parents, on her attaining youth and maturity under the care of her husband, and on the advent of old age, under the care of her husband's relatives and friends; but she should never be independent. The girl that does not know the respectful consideration that the husband deserves, she that does not know how to please and serve her lord, and she that is ignorant of the rules of duty and decorum, such a girl should not be given away in marriage by her father." *M. N. Tantra*, pp. 136-7. This passage which we have broken into two is interesting from more than one point of view; first it takes for granted that some girls are never married because of their unfitness for the married state; secondly, that girls are married after arriving at years of maturity, and never while mere children. Child marriage is not countenanced in the *Tantra*, while the adult marriage of girls is. Hindus at present insist on *all* girls being married at or even before they are twelve.

Another point of interest is the Saiva marriage as distinguished from the Brahma marriage. Siva allows that "the wife who is taken in a Brahma marriage is the real wife and mistress of the house. Without her permission no one can contract another Brahma marriage. . . . A son begotten on a wife married according to Saiva rites is not entitled to inherit his (father's) property. But the issue of the Saiva marriage and their descendants are entitled to proportionate maintenance from the owner of the property." Saiva marriages are of two sorts ordained by Tantric rites, *one lasts till the completion of the Tantric rite only*, and the other for life.

A Tantric, with a controlled mind and with mutual consent, marries while performing the rite of Chakra in the presence of

his own people and the Sakti worshippers. He should communicate his desire unto the followers of Siva, saying—"Do ye grant us permission in this Saiva marriage?" Having obtained their permission and reciting 108 times the mantra consisting of seven letters, he should bow unto the great Kali. Then in the presence of the Sakta worshippers he should address the woman, saying, with a guileless heart, 'Dost thou elect me as thy husband?' Thereupon electing him with fragrant flowers and unhusked rice as her husband, according to Tantric rites, she should with great reverence place her hands in his. Then with a suitable Mantra the pair should sprinkle the head of the chakra with water. "Thereat all the Tantric worshippers of the circle should welcome them with benediction. . . . Distinction of caste is not observed in a Saiva marriage. By the command of Siva one can thus marry any woman of another family who has no husband. . . . The offspring of a Saiva marriage, where the mother's caste is superior to the father's, should perform social and religious rites like those of the caste to which the mother belongs" pp. 196-7.

The fifth essential of Sakta worship, known as *Maithuna* ('co-habitation,' as Mr. Dutt translates the word) is performed; or as the passage may otherwise be paraphrased 'a Saiva marriage is solemnised, consummated and, with the close of the meeting, dissolved;' and all this in a public so-called religious meeting—public so far as the full admission of all the duly initiated male and female are concerned, otherwise secret.

The society for the protection of children, of which the Honourable Kanwar Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E., of Kapurthala, is President, was established with the view, among other things, to prevent the sale of little children, especially girls. It is pleasant to observe that the Tantras speak strongly and in no ambiguous terms in condemnation of this practice (p. 235). "The king should exile that sinful wretch who sells sons and daughters or gives his daughter to a ruffian."

What could be better said than the Tantra says it?—"A daughter should be cherished and educated with great care, and she should be, on the attainment of the proper age, given in marriage to an educated bridegroom with dowries and money and jewelleryes," p. 123.

The divinity worshipped *par excellence* is spoken of as *The Mother*, "The Mother of the Universe." As a modern writer in the Calcutta *Oriental* monthly says—"The Motherhood of God is never more emphasized than in the *Tantras*." Kali is thus very frequently referred to. And all mothers, if not indeed all females, are regarded and spoken of as divinities to be worshipped as semblances of Mother Kali, and that apparently from mere sexual considerations.

Siva addresses Kali :—"Thou art pleased with the adoration of the maidens, and art the abode of the worshipper of the maidens. Thou dost take delight in feeding the maidens and dost assume their form," p. 102. On this Mr. Dutt, the editor and translator of the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, remarks :—"The Tantrikas consider the worship of the *Kumari* or the maiden as a great rite. In every temple of Durga a number of such maidens is to be seen." With accredited information before us as to the result, we can only say 'the more the pity.'

Kumari Pūjā Tantra is a compilation of 55 slokas, which gives "directions for worshipping virgins of various castes, ages and characteristics." The Kumari Puja is well known in Calcutta. A householder, intent on thus worshipping the Sakti, gets (from outside the membership of his own house) a girl, sets her up as a goddess on a small board or platform surrounded with nine or twelve other females, (men not excluded), places a plate under one of her feet, and to that foot makes the usual offerings of flowers, water, &c. A Brahman gentleman who has himself been present at one or more of these Kumari Pujas, tells me that in Calcutta they are not uncommon. In the *Yogini Tantra*, (53) the great Mahadev says : "Those gods ever desire a Brahman, a virgin, Sakti, fire, Sruti, and a cow for worship on their sacrificial grounds. If one virgin be worshipped, it will be a second puja. The fruit of virgin worship cannot be told by me. All this (universe) movable and immovable belongs to Kumari (virgin) and Sakti. If one young damsel be worshipped, seen only in spirit, then actually all the high goddesses will be worshipped without doubt. . . . Whatever is given to Kumari and to Sakti never perishes throughout kotis, hundreds and myriads of kalpas (*i.e.*, years innumerable)." Y. T. 42. A little further on, Siva returns to the subject in the words :—

"I am unworthy to tell the fruit of Kumari Puja, even with 1,000 kotis (or krores) of tongues and 100 kotis of mouths. Therefore one should revere Bala as born in every caste; no distinction should be made in Kumari (virgin) worship. By distinguishing caste, one escapes not from hell. And the mantra speaker, who is full of doubt, will certainly become a sinner, therefore one should worship her, realizing that she is Devi, and with great devotion." Observe that in the above extract, the terms Kumari and Bala are practically interchangeable with virgin and damsel, and worshipped as identical with the goddess. "For Kumari is identical with all Vidya (form of Kali) beyond doubt. Bala worshipped alone will be equal to all worship. Should a worshipper by chance get a maiden born in a harlot's family, let him zealously adore her even with all he has,—gold, silver, &c.,—joyfully. The great siddhi

is produced for him. . . . When endowed with all *siddhi* (supernatural powers) a man sports Bhairava; assuredly he has entrance into heaven, earth and Patala (hell). On a sudden is produced whatever occurs to his mind. Assuming the aggregate of bodies, he can become all-pervading, with his commands unobstructed everywhere, like Purandara (Indra). Wives of Devas, Gandharvas, Nagas and Kinnaras, and Vihyadharies, and royal women, serve him day and night. In the end the highest excellent Nirvana is obtained by him; in time, by Kumari-worship, the worshipper obtains Sivahood. Where Kumari is worshipped, that country purifies the earth; the places all round for five krores will be most holy. There one should do Kumari Puja; there breaks forth great light manifest in the land of Bharata (India). A king named Visvambhara, sprung from the Chaitra race, worshipped that Kumari (in the person of a girl) born in a harlot's family, named Kanchi, dark-coloured, filled with all auspicious marks. At the time of worship, Kanchi became sparkingly bright; enveloped in the mass of that brightness, the king obtained liberation," &c. Y. T. 54.

"Maha-Kala-Bhairava said—'I am eternally pleased with this hymn of thine, my son. Go quickly to the Yoni-pitha, resorting to the peak of Devi. Worship Kali, intent upon Kulachara and harlots. Erelong will be thine the desired *siddhi*, without doubt.' 'Where do I see the Vira worshipper surrounded by harlots?' thus says that Kali; therefore be thou intent on harlots. . . . With that, having bowed to Mahākālī as *guru*, in many ways, joyfully, and having gone to the Yoni-pitha, resorting to the peak of Devi, and being attached to the five courtezans, and intent on Kulachara," &c., &c. Y. T. 60.

Tantric teaching in regard to what is lucky and unlucky is suggestive of remarks, but our space forbids. We satisfy ourselves by giving the following excerpts "Prepared food, a flesh-ball, cooked food from a vessel, a *guru*, a fish-ball, excellent necklaces, are all propitious in going south. Maidens, twins, harlots, full jars, also women, beasts and birds moving on the left hand, work one good." Y. T. 64.

Women of various kinds figure largely in these Tantras—"In this life good fortune, wealth, food, lovely women of all kinds will be theirs who perform a pilgrimage in Kartika. . . . If one also performs the pilgrimage on the full moon of Chaitra. . . . Such a one becomes best among givers and young women." Y. T. 69.

Of a special mantra and a special pool or Tirtha in Kamrup it is said—"By merely bathing with this mantra on the 13th of the dark part of Vaisakha, one purifies one's family on both sides (father's side and mother's). . . . Having there bathed and gratified the *Pitris* (ancestors) according to rule, a man will deliver his ancestors, though evil-doers, without doubt." p. 72.

The worship of the sun does not occupy the position in the Tantras that it does in daily life, but it is there, *e. g.*—"The woman whose offspring is born dead by worshipping the sun, (with certain fruit) becomes sonless no longer." Y. T. 78. We must note one point in the interests of woman in which the Tantra scores a point. The Tantra condemns a man's forsaking of father and mother, wife and children for an ascetic life:—

"He that betakes to this mode of existence [*i.e.* the Suniassi or mendicant] forsaking his old parents, devoted wife, helpless relations, and lisping children, becomes a creature of hell." p. 157. "No one should resort to the *Prāvrajya* forsaking his aged mother or father, or devoted and chaste wife and helpless children. He that renounces the world, forsaking his parents, children, wife, relations and even friends, becomes guilty of heinous sins. He that betakes himself to *Bhikshuk-asrama*, or a mendicant's mode of existence, without at first pleasing his parents, etc., is turned into a matricide, a patricide, a Brahminicide, and the murderer of his wife." p. 118. "He that desires to go away from his house, (*i.e.*) to renounce the householder's mode of existence) should, inviting his relations, friends, neighbours, and co-villagers, request their kind permission to do so," (158); his not doing so would be robbing them of their property in him for which he cannot be held guiltless before God.

In a public meeting in Calcutta I heard the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, LL.D., C.I.E., hold up this sin as the one great sin of which the founder of Buddhism was guilty.

Curious are the different kinds or classes of women described in the Yogini Tantra. Here are some—"Madhvi is pronounced peace-making; in subduing a crystal is auspicious; in checking, *Dakini* is recognized; in enmity *Paushtiki* is considered best; in maddening, *Gauri* likewise; and in slaying *Bhairavi* is thought best. These (*i.e.* the Saktis of these four kinds) are now stated. Padmini is pronounced peace-giving; in subduing Sankini is approved; in checking and maddening Nagavallabha is commended; in slaying, likewise, *Dakini* is praised, giving the death of one's enemies. One who is fair-coloured, long-haired, always of horrid speech, red-eyed and good-tempered is Padmini, auspicious in the performance of rites. That Sankini too should give success in mantras. That Sankini should be long-limbed, delighting the world, even-limbed, with Sudra-body, neither too short nor too tall. A Nagini, (wife or daughter of a Naga) should be long haired, well nourished, of gentle speech, dark-limbed, thin, with big teeth, drunken with intoxicants, with short hair, long-nosed always speaking roughly, always angry, big bodied, given to loud shouting, shameless, unsmiling, slothful, gluttonous—such a woman is called *Dakini* and is commended in connection with death. Such are the

Saktis sprung from all castes, with offspring fond of sexual intercourse with sons, born, propitious ; such a fair one is to be received by the best of Kulas, and to be worshipped with devotional frame of mind." Y. T. 13.

"The nature of women," says Siva, "is that which will always remain below having seen, there will still be great desire to know (more)." Y. T. 27. That is, she is unfathomable, 'much still to know.' Siva knew, as no one else did, what Durga's "sweet smile and evil eye" meant when directed towards the Daitya monarch, the lord of Kedara, in the incident recorded by him of her whom he calls the enchantress of the world. He says that she "smote the Daitya monarch with the arrows of desire in a 1,000 places." So the Daitya lord, distraught with the arrows of desire, stretched forth his hands and uttered a very flattering speech—"Come to my breast, become mistress of all with pleasure ; save me, plunged in the ocean of desire, by the gift of thine own person. I can in no wise live any time without thee ; save me, fair one, by embracing me as husband. Then did he address thee (Durga) with flattering words, again and again ; then didst thou *with evil eye and sweet smile*, speak to him thus—"Thou art the lord of all the Daityas, enjoyer of all the earth, thou in sooth art strong, dwelling with all Devas ; thou art valiant and destructive of all ; thee we choose (to be our husband) if thus thou wilt do. Hear now my affair here, as there is no place to abide in ; the terms made by me of old do thou keep, if thou wouldst take me. My mind is this, O Daitya king. Whoever can stand, having conquered me in battle, he and no other is my husband ; for these reasons do thou here essay battle." Y. T. 27. So they set at it as described in the *Devi Mahatmya* or *Chandi* and the Daitya was conquered ; but we do not read that she set down any such rules for Siva before she had accepted him as husband. Further, considering that she was at the time married to Siva, strange she did not set up a plea against polyandry ; or against the twice-married woman. However it must be remembered that if a mistake was committed it might be rectified as indicated in the *Tantra Sar* (6) where we read of a "mantra given by a woman" that it "may be amended by a corrective ceremony," and of another highly important ceremony, the *Parascharana* that "the decking out of a maiden with fine clothes and jewels may form part of the concluding ceremony." T. S. 20.

Fine clothes (including jewels) and children, especially sons, constitute a large portion of a Sakta woman's desires, and both figure largely in their religion ; and consequently are worked upon by designing priests, as seen in connection with the objects advertised as attainable at sacred pools and other

Tirthas. Here is an illustration from Y. T. 94—"Having bathed at the Durga-kupa on the 8th. . . . A woman who is quite barren or has her offspring born dead, she too obtains that state (of pregnancy), especially in the autumn." By touching the tree that stands there, a barren woman will become enciente. If one who has lost a hand bring gold, he in time will recover his hand." Y. T. 105. Of a certain sacred pool it is said "increase of progeny comes by bathing towards the north."

As to the fine clothes I may quote from the Tantric compilation known as the *Brahma Vaiberta Puran*—"Whoever offends or insults a female incurs the wrath of Prakriti, whilst he who propitiates a female, particularly the youthful daughter of a Brahman with clothes, ornaments and perfumes, offers worship to Prakriti herself," that is Durga, the bride of Siva.

There is however another side--Durga asks her learned husband as to "the accomplishment of the Vira's six works," including "perfect behaviour, revelling in all kinds of enjoyment ; and that of women." In the answer we read—"Now I tell thee of the raiment. Best is considered Digambara (i. e., naked), second a tiger skin ; failing that a red cloth. Let him not use any garment other than these." Y. T. 12.

There is a side of "the Sakta Religion and the Female sex" which I am very unwilling to leave altogether out of sight, and yet equally unwilling to touch. I call it the sensual or licentious side.* In dealing with it I shall however satisfy myself, and I hope not displease my readers, by giving not my own words, but those of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, C. I. E., himself a Hindu, with a profound knowledge of Hinduism in its many forms ; and to the words of an anonymous Hindu writer in the pages of the venerable *Calcutta Review*, published in 1855. The article is entitled—"The Saktas.—Their characteristics and practical influence in society." While its statements are clearly those of eye-witnesses, they are supported by excerpts from the acknowledged scriptures of the sect. Dr. Mitra's words on the other hand are almost wholly the result of his and his pundits' reading of the original Sanskrit MSS., in which form almost all the Tantras are still, and but very few in any other language. These MSS. were read and reported on by published orders of

* Dr. Reginald Scot was the first great writer who, proving that the claims of witches, etc., were illusions and that their punishment for their imaginary crimes was unjustifiable, having in the pursuance of his subject to wade through much dirt, warns his readers—"whose chaste ears cannot well endure such lecheries (gathered out of books of divinity of great authority) to turn over a few leaves wherein I have like a groom, thrust their stuff, even that which myself loath, as into a stinking corner ; howbeit none otherwise, I hope, but that the other parts of my writing shall remain sweet."—Howard Williams' *Superstitions of Witchcraft*, p. 124. See note in L. G.'s MS.

the Government of India. I am not aware that any thing has appeared on the subject these 47 years, in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, except from the pen of the present writer in its last two issues. I shall first give the words of the article in the *Review*, which professes to be founded on Professor H. H. Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* :—

"In all the ceremonies, which not only comprehend the worship of the Sakti, but are performed for the attainment of some proposed object, the presence of a female, as the living representative, and the type of the goddess, is indispensably necessary. Such ceremonies are specific in their nature, and are called *Sadhana*s. Some who are more decent than the rest of the sect, join with their wives in the celebration of the gloomy rites of Kali. Others make their beloved mistresses partners in their joint devotion. Here the rite assumes a blacker aspect. The favourite concubine is disrobed, and placed on the side or on the thigh of her naked paramour. In this situation, the usual calmness of the mind must be preserved, and no evil lodged in it. Such is the requisition of the Sastras, say the Vamis, (the left-handed Saktas), when reproached for their brutal practices. But here we first remind them of the five-fold *Makâras* (the five M's), and then ask them the plain question, how many among them can really boast of ever attaining to such a state of perfection, and such thorough control over the passions, as to keep them unruffled, or from being inflamed in the midst of such exciting causes?

"In this way is performed the rite called *Mantra Sadhana*. It is, as must be expected, carried on in great secrecy, and is said to lead to the possession of supernatural powers. The religious part of it is very simple, consisting merely of the repetition of the *Mula Mantra*, which may or may not be preceded by the usual mode of Sakta worship. Hence it is called *Mantra Sâdhâna*, to distinguish it from other sorts of *Sadhanas*. After 10 P. M., the devotee under pretence of going to bed, retires into a private chamber, where, calling in his wife or mistress, and procuring all the necessary articles of worship such as wine, grains, water, a string of beads, etc., he shuts the doors and windows of the room, and sitting before a lighted lamp, joins with his fair partner in drinking. The use of this preliminary is obvious. When, by the power of the spirit, the veil of shame is withdrawn, he making his wife or mistress sit in the manner already described, begins to repeat his mantra and continues to do so till one, two, or three o'clock in the morning. At intervals the glass is repeated, and the ceremony is closed in a manner which decency does not allow us to state. One of our neighbours, a rich and respectable man in the native community, was in the habit of

holding private meetings with his mistress every night, for the purpose of making the *Sadhana*. He had a string of beads made of Chandala's teeth, which is yet preserved in his family, as a precious relic. The beads are believed to be endowed with a sort of animation, to drink or absorb milk, and to show the appearance of grim laughter when wine is sprinkled over it. We have ourselves seen the rosary and tried its alleged virtues, but found nothing in it verifying the above statements. . .

"We now come to the blackest part of the Vama worship. Nothing can be more disgusting, nothing more abominable, nothing more scandalously obscene than the rite we are about to describe. Human nature, even when it shall have reached the lowest depths of degeneracy, can never be supposed to perpetrate deeds so grossly impure as those that are here enjoined as religious acts of the highest merit and efficacy. The ceremony is called *Sri-Chakra*, *Purnabhisheka*, the ring (circle), or full initiation. This worship is mostly celebrated in mixed societies, composed of motley groups of persons of various castes, though not of creeds. . . Persons of high caste, low caste and no caste, sit, eat, and drink together. . . Thus, while the votaries of the Sakti observe all the distinctions of caste in public, they neglect them altogether in the performance of her orgies. The principal part of the rite called the *Chakra* is *Sakti Sadhana*, or the purification of the female representing the Sakti Although the Vamis are so far degenerated as to perform rites, such as human nature, corrupt as it is, revolts from with detestation, yet they have not sunk to that depth of depravity (asserted by some writers on this subject) as to give up their wives to the licentiousness of men of beastly conduct. Neither is it the ordination of the Shastras. For this purpose they (the Shastras) prescribe females of various descriptions, particularly a dancing girl, a female devotee, a harlot, a washer woman, or barber's wife, a female of the Brahmanical or Sudra tribe, a flower girl, or a milk-maid.—*Devi Rahasya*. Some of the Tantras add a few more to the list, such as a princess, the wife of a Kapali, or of a Chandala, of a Kulala, or of a conch-seller?—*Rebati Tantra*. Others increase the number to twenty-six, and a few even to sixty-four. These females are distinguished by the name of *Kula Sakti*. Selecting and procuring females from the preceding classes, the Vamacharis are to assemble at midnight in some sequestered spot, in eight, nine or eleven couples, the men representing Siva and the women Sakti. In some cases a single female personating the Sakti is to be procured. For this purpose a woman of a black complexion (Kali-like) is always preferred. In all cases the *Kula Sakti* is placed disrobed, but richly adorned with ornaments on the left of a

circle (*chakra*) described for the purpose, whence the ceremony derives its name. Sometimes she is made to stand, stark naked, with protuberant tongue and dishevelled hair. She is then purified by the recitation of many mantras and texts and by the performance of the *mudra* or gesticulations? Finally, she is sprinkled over with wine, and if not previously initiated the *Bija* mantra is thrice repeated in her ear. To this succeeds the worship of the guardian divinity; and after this that of the female, to whom are now offered broiled fish, flesh, fried peas, rice, spiritous liquors, sweetmeats, flowers and other offerings, which are all purified by the repeating of incantations and the sprinkling of wine. . . . Such is the preliminary, called the purification of the Sakti. To this succeeds the devotional part of the ceremony. The devotees are now to repeat their radical (*Bija*) mantra but in a manner unutterably obscene. Then follow things too abominable to enter the ears of men, or to be borne by the feelings of an enlightened community; things of which a Tiberius would be ashamed, and from which the rudest savage would turn away his face with disgust. And these very things are contained in the directions of the shastras. . . . Here the diabolical business closes." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 47. No. 24, pp. 55-60. The author in a foot-note gives in support of his statement a quotation in the original Sanskrit from *Devi Rahasya*, a section of the *Rudra Yamala*, with an English translation,

Manmatha Nath Dutt (*Shastri*), M.A., M.R.A.S., Rector, Keshub Academy, and author of the "Prose English Translation of the Mahanirvanam Tantram" and defender of the Tantric cult, contends that there is "a great esoteric meaning behind them. "All these," says Mr. Dutt, "wine, meat, fish and women are objects of temptation. If a worshipper can overcome this temptation, the road to eternal bliss is clear for him." Not so do the Tantras represent matters. These things are there according to the Tantras to be enjoyed as pleasing alike to the worshipper and to the worshipped. The gods are credited with delighting in their heavens in such sensualities, as well as on earth.

"The Tantras were conceived, if not written," says a writer in a late issue of *East and West* (No. 8) "in the midst of social conditions in which the sense of what we call decency was as completely absent as it still is amongst the lower animal creation; when man and woman went about in a state of nature, taking no thought whatever of what they were about, or much later when sex operations and the mysteries of birth and death were the highest and deepest marvels to their dawning intelligence." Mystery is the key by which much of Hinduism must be explained; and what greater mystery than that of generation?

We shall now proceed to look into the Tantras referred to by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and quote from some of his and of his Hindu pundits' 'Notices' of them. We shall see that they fully confirm all that the writer in the *Calcutta Review*, as quoted above, says concerning them.

The *Ananda Kalpa* seems to be devoted specially to the worship of woman under the designation of Ananda, another name for Durga. It treats of charms bearing her name, and the adoration of her emblem and of her through women representing her. For this purpose a fair damsel of eighteen is used as a substitute for a jar. Mantras are given to be used when pouring sacred water into jars. The whole thing looks rather suspicious as many of the things recorded in the Tantras do, in addition to those passages where there is no attempt to hide the immoral practices indulged in.

Charms associated with this side of the Sakta religion are not uncommon—like that named *Kumari* (the virgin goddess) of which *Kumari-Kava chollasa* Tantra treats.

Nigama Kalpa druma is a Tantra specially devoted to "secret or licentious worship." It praises wine, flesh, fish, gesticulation (?) and female society, in fact the five M.'s. as the noblest form of worship, and women as an instrument of worship. While I keep close to Dr. Mitra's language, I have to admit that I omit two classes of expressions; first, such as do not bear on the subject before us; and, secondly, such as are too suggestive of what is obscene and vile. In other respects I keep close to Dr. Mitra's phraseology so as to avoid giving offence, and if the words used be regarded as in any way offensive, my responsibility will be so far lessened.

Another word of explanation is to the effect that words are used which, when the nature of the religion is kept in view, must be held as suggesting practices which all other religions condemn. For example when Dr. Mitra says that the *Nigama-tattva-sara* is taken up with directions for "secret worship" of the goddess, for the attainment of perfection in Sakta mantras, we take for granted that as above the 'secret worship' means 'licentious worship'; and that the perfection is not what we regard as perfection. So also when the *Nila Tantra* is said to treat of "connexion with women of different classes as a part of religious duty" we conclude that the religious duty includes licentious worship; and so again of the *Niruttara Tantra* when we read "of the mode of worshipping the goddess at night," and in the same Tantra "of the characteristics of courtezans who may be engaged for the Kaula form of worship, and of the purifications of wine, flesh, meat, fish, gesticulation, and female society, or the five essentials of Kaula worship;" and when the *Nishachara-puja* is

described as a "manual for the worship of the Devi at night," we conclude that licentious worship is presumed. Among the contents of the *Pichchhila Tantra* is the item "worship of virgins," and "rules for bringing people under control by charms," which taken with the following is suggestive of what is highly criminal—"incantations for overcoming enemies and securing the affection of unyielding females." Dr. Mitra's No. 995, an extract from the *Todala Tantra*, "gives the ritual for performing a disgustingly obscene religious ceremony;" the *Bala Tantra* is really a medical treatise in which the troubles and diseases of women and children are treated, including barrenness, miscarriage, abortion and delivery, and may possibly contain nothing very objectionable.

Gupta-Sadhana Tantra treats of the "esoteric, secret adoration of Sakti according to the Kaula cult," apparently to the exclusion of all other subjects; *Nigamalata* is "a Tantric compilation for the attainment of perfection through the adoration of women, according to the Kulachara system." There is nothing in the Sakta religion that has done greater harm to the morals of its devotees than that which is dwelt on in the *Samaya Chara Tantra* and referred to in the words—"females to be accepted as Sakti and males as Siva," coupled with the adjacent words—"the five essentials of Tantra worship, fish, flesh, gesticulation, wine and female society" and "procedure for acquiring power over Sakti." We must further say that we regard only with disgust "the description and praise of the figure, the right half of which is male (Siva) and the left half female" (Durga). As a picture, it is both disgusting and unnatural; as a reality it would be monstrous. But the Sakta worshipper seems to delight in the disgusting. To illustrate this we have, in *Syamarahasya Tantra*, the adoration of Sakti while seated on a corpse, "or the worship of women as the representative of Sakti." The same Tantra deals with "the impropriety of treating wine, flesh, and other articles used in Sakta worship with disfavour," the last of the five articles being women.

The *Shava Sadhana* rite is performed on a burning ground with a view of acquiring power over, and secure aid from, male and female goblins—a horrible ceremony it is, at which the presence of a dead body is necessary, better still the dead body of a Chandal who died a violent death on a Tuesday or Saturday, days sacred to Kali; and most powerful still, if performed on a small platform or board supported by four heads, the worshipper furnished of course with the five M's. Under the influence of terror, he sees the dead body becoming alive and attacking him, resulting frequently in his falling down insensible if he does not go mad.

The *Kamakhyā Tantra*, as might be expected from its name, is "devoted to the worship of the female emblem with the usual adjuncts of wine, flesh, meat and women." We can fancy it to be a favourite Tantra with the pilgrims to the famous temple of Kamakhya at Kamrup, in Assam.

The *Bhuta Damara Tantra* professes to take its readers up to some superhuman planes or regions, to the secret worship of Pisachis or female imps to subjugate them, as also the maid servants of Durga, Bhutinis or female devils, Apsaras or courtesans of the god Indra, the demi-goddesses known as Yaksas, the eight Naginis (wives and daughters of the Nagas or Serpents) and Kinnaris or women—not to speak of Aparajita and other goddesses. As might be expected from what is known of Chinese worship, no astonishment need be felt on finding that this work is found among the Chinese.

The *Dattatreya Tantra* is a fitting companion to the *Bhuta Damara*, not so much by its dealings with the female sex, as by its traffic in the Black Art of magic. As regards the former subject, we notice only that it supplies incantations for the bringing on of pregnancy and for the preventing of abortion, miscarriage and childlessness, which, barring the incantations, may be innocent enough, what cannot be said of the incantations for aphrodisiac medicines and the destruction of manliness.

Allied to these we have in the *Pichchilā Tantra* mantras for removing infertility in women and for cure of certain female diseases, as well as mantras for performing incantations for subjugating and dementing people.

Taking into consideration what we have already seen of the Tantras, we need not be astonished to find the Rasa festival or amorous rejoicings of Krishna and Radha at Brindaban, adopted into the Tantra literature, as is done in the poem *Rasagītā*, in the *Rasollāsa Tantra*.

The *Sakta Krama Tantra* is very full and interesting. As bearing on our subject, we find the worship of virgins of different ages, recommended; as also the sacrifice of she-jackals, and the worship of shoes, and, worse and worse, "diabolical rites for causing stupefaction, subjugation, etc."

Tantra Kaumadi defines religion and religious bridges, and tells us that Kali is the highest divinity, and that from her union with Siva, sprung the Hindu triad, Siva himself being one of the three. It treats also of sexual genesis, but we are not able to say what its conclusions are on that subject, only we are pretty sure they do not accord with those of modern science. Then we have amulets fitted, so we are told, to effect subjugation, and so on.

The *Agama-Sangraha* is a remarkable Tantra, treating

of many subjects of interest, including "ritual slaughter" and "offering of blood." Our subject is only indirectly referred to in Dr. Mitra's 'Notice' of it in the phrases—"Three kinds of nocturnal worship," "dead of night (*Mahānisā*) defined," "*Yoni-Kavacha* defined," "women fit for the rite," "*Yantras* or symbols of Sakti."

The name *Yoni Tantra* and the descriptive 'Notice'—"rites and rituals in honour of the pre-eminence of the female principle in religion"—are suggestive, to say the least, of indelicate treatment. The same remark may be made in regard to the *Nigama Tattva-sara Tantra* in which we read that "the best method of worship is in the present age by the use of animal food, wine and women."

The last Tantra in Dr. Mitra's ten volumes of "*Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*" to which I shall refer is *Vastkaranādi-Vidhi* which treats of "the process of performing the Tantric ceremonies with the object of killing enemies, stupefying and fascinating men and women and so on." Our reporter on the *Kalpa Druma* quotes the following as "a typical sloka" of what is to be found in it:—"He (the devotee) sees Kali, who, placing the tilak on his forehead—intently, with hair let free, seated on a corpse or copulating with a woman in a graveyard, in a lonely place, or on an idol pedestal, or awakening the divine energy, situated in the *mula-dhara* of a Siva's temple"—the *muladhara* being a Sakta diagram or "circle of primary receptacle."

A word of explanation as to the nature of some of the diagrams or *Tantras* as they are called, and used in connection with Sakti worship in the Tantric cult. The diagram representing Siva and Kali consists of two triangles, generally equilateral and equal to one another, the one triangle standing on the other; each triangle has its three sides cut by the other into three equal sections, thus forming six equal triangles round an equilateral hexagon. The one triangle represents Siva, uniting in himself the three great attributes. The other triangle represents Kali with the same character and attributes. The characteristic mark of the Shaktas is an angle bisected by a straight line (*Cal. Rev.*, Vol. 24, p. 63). Shaktas are distinguished amongst the crowds of visitors at the sacred places in and around Benares by three concentric arcs made of red colouring matter on their foreheads. As, however, they are bound down to secrecy and to deny their ecclesiastical connection, these sectarian marks are seldom in evidence. Here is the rule as to the wearing of the symbol, as laid down in *Yogini Tantra*:—"One should wear the *Yantra* (diagram), a man on his right hand, a woman on her left, and a child near the throat." Y. T. 11.

As less likely to be seen by our readers we quote here from a description by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra of a Buddhist Tantra in 18 Chaps.:—"In the 5th Chapter are detailed the characteristics and qualifications necessary for a neophyte to undertake certain forms of secret worship, and among the practices enjoined which promote the attainment of perfection, debauchery of the most bestial character (not even excepting mothers, sisters and daughters) is reckoned as most essential, p. 261. *Nipalese Buddhist Literature*.

Of a Hindu Tantra (1331 in the Bikaner Catalogue) Dr. Mitra writes—"The worship is performed at night with wine, women and bestial rites." What otherwise could be expected when even in the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, we read that every male worshipper brings to the worship with him a female worshipper who is spoken of as the man's own *Sakti*? It matters not who she may be but the lower in the social scale it would appear the better, and "then," as we read in the Tantra, "having placed his own Sakti (the female representing the goddess Durga in Tantric worship) on a separate seat on his left, or seated on the same seat with her, the worshipper should place a charming vessel (by which to practice magic). The drinking cup should not be more than five *tolas* or less than three in weight. . . . The Tantric women should not drink, but only smell it. . . . The men should drink so long as their eyes do not roll and their mind is not agitated. . . . Then holding the flowers offered in the worship of the goddess on his head and putting a mark of sandal between his two eye-brows, the intelligent worshipper should roam on this earth like a celestial." *Mahanirvana*, pp. 99-100, end of Chap. vi.

We conclude our extracts by a few more from the pages of the *Yogini Tantra* :—

"Kali is known in all the Shastras as the mother of the worlds. . . . If a man is equal to me (Siva), or a woman to thee (Kali), his mother is blessed." Y. T. 4.

"For perfection of knowledge, let him thoughtfully feed Brahmans and virgins." Y. T. 11.

Here is an account from the same source of an incident which we fear is typical of many under the temptations of the Tantric teaching, human nature being what it is. "One Bahlika, Kirni by name, virtuous and kindly, young, beautiful and attractive, ascetic and high-minded, went in her desire for sons to Kasi (Benares) and practised austerity, day and night, standing before Visvevara, at my (Siva's) door in the Mukti Mandapa (temple). Then Vana, the son of Bal, Mahakala, very strong, being the door-keeper, beheld and captivated her. Having taken my prerogative, the Bhairava, wild with love,

with garland of skulls, having the mad vesture of one exhilarated with wine, having assumed the ascetic vesture, became a shameless leader in passion. Then was born of Kirni a mighty Bhairava." Y. T. 43.

There is nothing in the above but what is compatible with the character borne in popular estimation of the so-called ascetics or Yogis or *Yatis* or *Sunnyasis* of Hinduism—men who profess to have in a special degree renounced the world and controlled their passions. Yet of even them it is said in the Tantra, "Maithuna is pronounced the highest material for *Yatis*." Y. T. 21.

Of an *Avadhuta*, i.e., "person washed or purified well—hence an ascetic who having renounced the world, has been purified by the performance of his expiatory rites" it is said in the Y. T. 21,—“Apart from his mother's womb an *Avadhuta* *Asrami* may enjoy Maithuna with all wombs. One not a virgin should be repelled; let him not repel a virgin, for by repelling a virgin arises danger to success. . . . The practices of *Avadhuta* are all allowed in the case of a *Sudra* particularly with reference to his Maithuna. Avoiding Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaisya women, let him wisely practise Maithuna, undertaken with reference to some deity. . . . Maithuna is strongly advised even in the *Avadhuta Asrama*.”

A good bit further on in the same Tantra, Siva informs Kali of some rather questionable experiences of his own. He tells her of “a beautiful *Yogini* (female *Yogi*), sprung from a *Mleccha* body.” Of her he said—“To win me she did excessive austerity. . . . By her austerity I was purchased, and fearlessness was given to her. She bore a son, Vinu, begotten of my virility. As the mother of Nandi is my wife, so that *Yogini* was considered my wife; as *Bhringarita* is my son, so was Vinu my own begotten. The kings of his descent will divert themselves ever with troops of divine damsels with beauty and youth as sport the *Bhairavas*.” Y. T. 41.

To the same effect is the picture given to us at p. 45 of the same Tantra of the amusements and enjoyments of the Hindu divinities:—

“Having brought *Rambhā*, *Tilottamā*, *Kancī*, *Kurangakshi*, and *Monaharā*, he taught them to dance with *Rambhā*. Then all the courtezans chosen by him went, filled with delight. The bewitching one (*Monaharā*) pleased *Indra* with divers ways and arrangements. *Kausangi* too was bewitched, being approached by the king of the gods, (saying) through their dance and song there will be excitement of desire. At this point the heavenly courtesan *Monaharā* . . . with her king with delighted mind. She (*Monaharā*) erring in *Kamarupa*, stumbled in song and dance. In that stumbling arose slowness

of desire on the part of those two, again. There upon, knowing her mind, *Kausangi*, wild with anger, said harshly to *Monaharā* ‘Having become a harlot, very depraved, thy mind stupefied with drink, so that thy thoughts have wandered to our amorous sport, ho! harlot, go to earth, and get a king for thy husband.’ Hearing this cruel curse, issuing from the mouth of *Kausangi*, she, distraught, fell at *Kausangi*'s feet. She lamented much, seizing her two feet repeatedly. Then spake *Kausangi*, ‘having for 32 years on earth endured the curse, *Monaharā*, thou shalt again attain well-being.”

Our next extract from the *Yogini Tantra* introduces us to another phase of our subject.

“To the south of Ganga, seven bow-shots off, *Bhagawan* (*Siva*) sports in the great burning ground with troops of women” (Y. T. 109) reminding one of the great and well-known scene witnessed in the Auld Alloway Kirk by ‘Tam O’ Shanter,’ as so graphically described by Burns, the Scottish bard.

We have hitherto dwelt chiefly on females of the human species. There remains that we should look for a few minutes on the Sakta Religion and females super-human or demoniacal, and their relation to witchcraft, so far as discoverable in the Tantras.

Our representation of the Sakta Religion and the Female Sex would want the life and soul and guiding spirit of both the Sakta Religion and the Female Sex if we left Kali out of consideration. This we now intend to supply by the *Yogini Tantra*'s picture of her drawn professedly by none other than Siva himself, and set in the opening page of his book. As her worship, guided by the Sakta religion and the Tantric scriptures, has extended all over India from Kamrup in the N. E. to Malabar on the S.-W. we will also reproduce from the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal her picture as penned by S. Appadorai Iyer and worshipped in the Malabar. I shall, however, give precedence to Siva's own representation of his terrible spouse given in the opening words of the *Yogini Tantra*:—“Her who is crane-like (i.e., white), with rows of teeth resplendant as the beauty of lightning, having the effulgence of a smooth new cloud, sprung up in the rainy season, charming with rows of skull necklaces, with flowing hair, clothed in air (i.e., naked) with lolling tongue, with dreadful voice, with three eyes all red, having the circle of her mouth oozing with crores and crores of moons, having a brilliant circle of crowns consisting of the radiance of new moon *kalas* (digits into sixteen of which the moon's monthly course is divided), with two corpses as earrings, bedecked with various gems, having ear-ornaments

sparkling with multitudes of sun-stones and moon-stones, girdled with thousands of dead men's hands, with smiling face, whose countenance is flecked with streams of blood, dripping from the corners of her mouth, whose four arms are adorned with sword, severed head, boons, and security, with great teeth, supreme and eternal, with blood-bedecked body, mounting upon the corpse of Siva, standing over Maha-Kala, having her left foot set upon the corpse and under her right the world-distinguished one (Siva himself). . . . conspicuous with Yoginis full of hunger, with skulls in their hands, accompanied by females with faces flushed with wine, and dread-formed, great-voiced Bhairavas, hugely powerful, who, having seized up skeletons, are intent on shouts of victory, dancing and taken up with music, and always clothed in air; her who stands in the midst of burning-grounds, resorted to by Brahma and the rest."

In these words Kali is represented to us by her beloved husband in her milder and more gracious form.

The late Professor Max Müller who was always inclined to look with favour on everything Hindu and Indian could not bear Kali. He regarded her as non-Indian or rather non-Aryan. He regarded her as "decidedly non-Vedic in her conception," a conception originating in some "outlying half savage tribe." "I therefore," said he, "hold that neither Durga nor Siva can be looked upon as natural developments, not even as mere conceptions of Vedic deities. They seem inexplicable except as importations from non-Brahmanic neighbours or as adaptations of popular and vulgar deities by proselytizing Brahmins."

Mr. Moncre D. Conway, also specially interested in India and sympathetic towards its inhabitants, in his great work "Demonology and Devil Lore," classes Durga with the Demons or Devils rather than with the gods or goddesses. The Thugs "claimed that Kali left them one of her teeth for a pickaxe, her rib for a knife, her garment's hem for a noose, and wholesale murder for a religion. The uplifted right hand of the Demoness has been interpreted as intimating a divine purpose in the havoc around her, and it is possible that some such euphemism attached to the attitude before the Thug accepted it as his own benediction, from this highly-decorated personification of human cruelty."

Kali as seen and worshipped, as we have seen in Malabar, S. India, is described by Appadorai Iyer in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III, No. 1, 1901, pp. 30-31; not assuredly a Missionary or even Christian periodical. He tells us that neither Siva nor Kali is found in Malabar in their milder forms. He appears in "the grim form in which he

decapitated Daksa, surrounded by his legions of Demons.* Similarly Parvati, instead of appearing in the milder form, appears as Kali or Durga, or Bhagavati, thirsting for blood. She is displayed with bending limbs and open hands, with fingers extended; a serpent forms her girdle, and she appears in a state of nudity, except that a scanty cloth is round her loins; her belly is attenuated and shrivelled; her breasts pendent with long nipples; a serpent circles her neck, and turning on her bosom projects its head to support her long rough protruding tongue; her chin is peaked; immense teeth and tusks are fixed in lipless gums; her nostrils and eyes are distended, and snakes are knotted in the pendant lobes of her ears with their heads raised and with expanded hoods; and her hair is stiffened out to enhance her frightfulness. Although human sacrifices have long since been prohibited, there is no doubt that they were formally offered. Now goats slaughtered on the last day of the annual festival. . . . The deity, responsible for the weal or woe of cattle, is an incarnation of Sakti of Siva."

So also of the Tantric worship given to the other female divinities to which we have referred above, it is an imitation of that given to the spouse of Siva. M. Barth puts the facts to which we refer in the following form:—

"Below her in rank are arrayed her emanations, the *Saktis* of Vishnu, of Brahma, of Skanda, etc., (an order which is naturally altered in favour of Laksmi or of Radha in the small number of writings belonging to the class of Tantras which Vishnuism has produced) and a whole heirarchy, highly complex and as variable as complex of female powers, such as the *Mahamatris*, the Great Mothers, † personifications of the productive and nourishing powers of nature; the Yoginis, the 'sorceresses,' whose interference is always violent and many other classes, almost all malignant, and whose favour is secured only at the expense of the most revolting observances. All this in combination with the male divinities goes to form the most outrageous group of divinities which man has ever conceived. Herself inconceivable in her supreme essence, the Mahāmâyâ, the Great Illusion, is worshipped under a thousand designations and invested in an infinite variety of forms. But these forms correspond, for the most part, to one of the aspects of her two-fold nature, *black* or *white*, benevolent or cruel; and they constitute in this way

* See I. E. R., April 1902, pp. 392, 414, 415.

† In a work before us *Matri Durma* (the worship of the mother) the author represents the world as the creation and manifestation of a female divinity whom he styles *The Mother*, whose divinity seems based upon the Hindu idea of *Adya Sakti*, the original Sakti.

two series of manifestations of the infinite energy, as it were two series of supreme goddesses, one series presiding more especially over the creative energies of life, the other representing rather those of destruction. To both a two-fold cultus is addressed, the confessed public cultus, the *Dakshina-châra* or "cultus of the right hand;" which, except in one particular, namely insistence on animal sacrifice in honour of Durga, Kali and other terrible forms of the great goddess, observes essentially the general usages of modern Hinduism; and the *Vâmd-chara*, the 'cultus of the left hand,' the observances of which have always been kept more or less secret. Incantations, imprecations, magic, and common sorcery play a prominent part in this last, and many of these strange ceremonies have no other object than the acquisition of the different *siddhis* or supernatural powers. . . . Nowhere have they found a soil so congenial as in Saivism and the cultus of the Saktis."

Many of these rites especially such as were associated with human sacrifice, the taking of human life, and robbery, as in Thugism and dacoity, have been put down by the strong hand of the police. This is not the case, however, even now, with those coarsely sensual and obscene observances which form the other side of these secret cults, and the indecent regulations in regard to which the Tantras expound with minuteness. The use of animal food and spirituous liquors, indulged in to excess, is the rule in these strange ceremonies, in which *Sakti* is worshipped in the person of a naked woman, and the proceedings terminate with the carnal copulation of the initiated, each couple representing Bhairava and Bhairavi (Siva and Devi), and becoming thus for the moment identified with them. This is the *Sri-chakra*, 'the holy circle,' or the *Purnabhishêka*, 'the complete consecration,' the essential act, or rather foretaste of salvation, the highest rite of this delirious mysticism.

It will thus be seen that the worship given to the female divinities in the Tantras is not to be confounded with the customary homage rendered by all the Hindu sects to the wives of the gods whether Vedic or otherwise. In the case of the Saktas and of the Tantrikas generally it forms a religion by itself, totally distinct and different from anything found in either the Vedas or Puranas, though something like its germs or seeds, subsequently developed, may be discovered in some older Shastras, Vedic and Puranic. Yet the worship, religion or cultus as such is totally distinct from either the more ancient or more modern phases of Hinduism. It is unique.

In the *Kamadhenu Tantra*, Siva is represented as worshipping the fifty letters of the Bengali Alphabet as young maidens. See the July, 1902, number of the *Indian Evangelical Review*.

And though it must be admitted that there is a wide gulf between the right hand Saktas and the left hand known as the Kaulas or Vamacharis, yet in the worship given to Kali and Durga, they are one, and quite distinct from all other Hindu sects.

In bringing this paper to a close I may be allowed to draw attention, as a fact in comparative religion, to the prominence and importance given to the female sex, to the emblems of generation and to sexual enjoyment, in the idea and worship of the Supreme Being or divinities in the Sakta religion. Contrast all this with the complete absence of such from the idea and worship of Jehovah in the religion and scriptures of the Jews. Closely related to that is the emphasis put on the motherhood of God, in the Sakta religion in contrast with the fatherhood in the Jewish scriptures.

It is interesting to note that long before the rise of M. Comte's Religion of Humanity in pre-Christian times, women were held by the German tribes, as here by the Saktas in high respect and were believed to have something divine in their mental or spiritual faculties. 'Very many of their women they regarded,' we are told, 'in the light of prophetesses, and when superstitious fear was in the ascendant, even of goddesses.' History has preserved the names of some of these Teutonic *deities*. In Christian times (thirteenth to seventeenth centuries) the witches were on the other hand in Europe looked upon as old, lame, blear-eyed, pale; foul, and full of wrinkles, poor, sullen, superstitious, lean and deformed, showing melancholy in their faces, to the horror of all that saw them—the very opposite of the proverbial 'Lancashire Witches,' whose spells and charms were those of natural youth and beauty, and of the young Kamrup witches, "whose powers of fascination practised in years gone by on unwary travellers made them forget their homes, wives, and children for these Kamrup witches."

'There are one or two other points distinguishing the Sakta witches from their European sisters in Christian lands, with the naming of which I shall bring this paper to a close. As in the profession of spiritual teachers or *gurus*, their sex did not disqualify them from the profession of sorcery or witchcraft, yet the number who betook themselves to it constituted but a small fraction of the whole profession, among the Saktas; it was altogether different in the West where the proportion of the sexes was completely reversed, the wizards being very few in number compared with the witches.

Again, in the West the profession was regarded as criminal and its members were persecuted to the death by Church and State. In this persecution many thousands of poor miserable

women were burnt alive under charges of practising witchcraft. All over India the practice was regarded as honourable and instructions are given in the Tantras as to the ways and means of practising it for the benefit of royal personages as well as for their less-favoured subjects.

K. S. MACDONALD, D.D.

ART. VIII.—THE SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN SACRIFICES AMONG THE KHONDS.

MR. RUSSELL, senior member of the Madras Board of Revenue, and subsequently member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George, who rendered such distinguished service to Government by repressing the insurrectionary outbreaks in the Districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, brought to the notice of Government in 1836 the existence of the rite of human sacrifice and of female infanticide among the Khonds; and prevailed upon the Government to take measures for procuring the abolition of these barbarous rites. The result was that operations were conducted by the Local and Supreme Governments, for the suppression of these rites, from 1837—1854, and over 2,000 victims were rescued. A history of these operations is contained in the *Selection from the Records of the Government of India, No. 5* (1854); and the information contained therein as to the manners and customs of the Khonds is of so interesting a nature from the point of view of Anthropology that it deserves to be made public.

These remarks will be dealt with under seven heads:—(1) The limits of the country over which the rite of human sacrifice and female infanticide extended. (2) An account of the Khonds who practised these rites. (3) Origin and causes of these sacrifices. (4) Mode of sacrifice. (5) Steps taken for the suppression of the sacrifices. (6) The number of victims rescued and disposed of. (7) The ultimate result of the operations.

1. *The limits of the country over which these rites extended.*

In 1836 the country over which the Khonds were scattered extended from the north of the Mahanadi to very nearly as far south as the Godavari. With respect to the revolting practice of *Meriah* (victim) sacrifice, known also as *Toki Pujah* or *Nariboli*, and to female infanticide the region may be divided as follows:—

(1) The tract of hill country included in the zemindaries of Gumsur, Boad, and Duspulla, the area of which was estimated at 2,500 square miles. Its inhabitants offered *Meriah* sacrifices, but did not practise female infanticide.

(2) A strip of country connected with the zemindaries of Coradah and Suradah, about 400 square miles in extent, in which neither rite was practised.

(3) A tract of 2,000 square miles included in the zemindaries of Coradah, Suradah, Bodogoda and Chumia Kinedi, where the practice of female infanticide alone was universal.

(4) In a portion of the Bodogoda zemindary, the extent of which was 400 square miles, these barbarous rites were not practised.

(5) The region near the south-western frontier of Gumsur, about 2,000 square miles in extent, in which the *Meriah* sacrifice alone was practised.

II. A descriptive account of the Khonds who practised these infamous rites, and of their religion and polity.

(a) The Khonds are divided by Captain Macpherson into two classes, the Benuiah and the Maliah, which pass insensibly into each other. The former inhabited a lower range of the ghauts and had adopted to a considerable extent Hindu manners and customs. The following passage from Mr. Russell's Report to Government contains an interesting description of the Khonds:—"Their language differs from that of all other classes, and is understood by very few lowlanders. The women, as far as we were able to judge from the few we saw, are very plain; the men remarkably well-made and active, of a good height, and, generally speaking, good looking. The only dress worn by the latter is a cloth bound round the middle in such a way as to make the end hang down behind, about as low as the flaps of a coat. Their hair is tied in a knot on the temple or forehead, which they are fond of ornamenting with a band of red woollen cloth; or if they cannot get that, with cloth of any other colour or even paper. Every man carries an axe, and the far greater part of them, a bow and arrows also. Not only every tribe, but every village, has its chief chosen, not from any hereditary claim, but because he is the best soldier, or the best spokesman of the day. Like other nations, they have their feuds and frequently war with their neighbours. Head for head is their universal law. Their love of liquor and tobacco is excessive. The fruit of the Ippa tree affords them a very strong spirit, and a palm peculiar to their country yields a toddy which, though pleasant when fresh, is extremely intoxicating in a fermented state."

This description is more applicable to the Maliah Khonds than to the Benuiah Khonds, for Captain Macpherson (the Agent for the Suppression of *Meriah* Sacrifices) says of the latter:—"They marry exclusively in their class; but maintain their blood pure, avoiding marriages with persons of the same tribe. They adopt the Hindu dress and mode of building and speak the Ooria language. They abstain religiously from the cultivation of turmeric, the staple product of the Maliah industry and the most valuable crop of their soil. They exchange the Khond for the Hindu plough. They tread out their grain not with their own feet, but by those of their cattle. They use

milk and ghee which are abhorred by the Maliah Khonds, and they forego as barbarous, the practice of dancing in which the latter delight."

(b) "In their religion," says Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Madras, "we find traces of the primitive elemental worship of the Vedas before it was overlaid by the superstructure which now almost conceals it from our eyes, as well as from those of the generality of the Hindus themselves." The Maliah Khonds held that there is but one Supreme Being self-existing, the source of good, and creator of the universe, of the inferior gods and of man. This divinity, which they styled *Boore Pennu* (god of light) or *Bella Pennu* (sun-god), created for himself a consort—*Tari Pennu* (earth-goddess)—the source of evil, whose wrath could only be propitiated by the *Meriah* sacrifice. The Benuiah Khonds, on the other hand, believed that the sun-god and the earth-god are co-equal "forming an inseparable dual." These gods are not malevolent and delight not in cruel sacrifices. Hence the Benuiahs abhorred the inhuman ritual. These two classes of Khonds like all the primitive races believed in witchcraft and sorcery.

(c) Each Khond village, according to Mr. Russell, had its own chief, but the Khond tribes acknowledged to a certain extent the authority of the zemindars, in whose territories they were included. As observed by Captain Macpherson, the relation between the zemindars and the Khond tribes was founded upon a single common want:—"Mutual aid against aggression was its first condition." The chiefs of the tribes assisted at the investiture of the zemindars, who, in their turn, recognised the authority of the "heads of the primitive race." The Khonds made also offerings of produce; they assembled at the Dusserah festival to eat the buffaloes offered in sacrifice at the Hindu capital; and they dragged the cars at the feast of Jaggannath.

III. Origin and causes of these sacrifices.

(i) It has been already explained that the *Meriah* sacrifice had its origin in the belief in the existence of a malevolent being, the source of all evil, whose wrath it was necessary to propitiate by the sacrifice of nothing less than a human victim. Captain Macpherson reported to Government, on 24th April 1842, that the Khond tribes took counsel together and stated to him the following reasons, which they considered unassailable in reason and in justice for observing "the great and vital rite":—(a) Because the rite had been practised from the beginning. (b) Because it had been sanctioned by the Rajahs. (c) Because it was essential to the existence of mankind in health and to the continuance of the species. (d) Because it

was essential to the productive powers of nature by which men live. (e) Because it was necessary for the gods for food. (f) Because the victims belonged to those who offered them, having been bought with the fruits of their labour upon the soil. (g) And finally because the gods had positively ordained the rite.

(ii) The practice of female infanticide is accounted for (a) by the usages which prevailed among the Khonds, in connection with the property involved in marriage contracts; (b) by the very peculiar ideas which existed respecting the relation of the sexes; and (c) by the general poverty of the Khonds who could not provide food for their children.

The Khond bridegroom gave *Seddee* or consideration for his wife to her father, and in case the wife quitted the husband he was entitled to the return of the consideration. If another man married her the father had the right to recover the same amount from him. Extreme license existed with respect to the marriage tie so that a woman could quit her husband at pleasure, and no man who was without a wife could refuse to receive any woman who chose to enter his hut to become its mistress. Much trouble and vexation arose out of such matrimonial charge, for considering the rule regarding *Seddee* a daughter was any thing but welcome. Hence "it became customary to destroy female infants, by exposing them in the jungle ravines, immediately after their birth."

IV. Mode of Meriah Sacrifice.

The *Meriah* (or the victim) to be immolated could be of any caste, sex or age, but grown men were the most esteemed because the most costly; and children used to be purchased and reared for years with the family of the person who intended to offer this sacrifice. The victims were treated with kindness and never kept in restraint till such time as they were to be offered.

The victims who usually belonged to the Khond tribe or to the tribe of Pawns (whose occupation was said to be "weaving, trade and theft") were sold by their parents or near relatives, or kidnapped by the Pawns, and sold to the *Muttahs* (or districts) which required a victim. We find from Colonel Campbell's Report to Government, dated 17th March 1849, that each *Meriah* cost from five to forty *gunties* each, a buffalo, bullock, pig, goat, a brass pot, being each reckoned a *guntie*; "thus when the bargain is struck for twenty-five *gunties* five of each of the animals and brass pots are paid," which, at the lowest valuation, would come to Rs. 62-8-0.

Mr. Russell reported that the ceremony was performed at the expense of, and in rotation by, certain *Muttahs*, composing a

community and connected together from local circumstances; and that besides the periodical sacrifices, others were performed by single *Muttahs* and even by individuals to avert any threatened calamity. As stated above, the sacrifices were generally offered to obtain from the deity favorable seasons and crops. The ceremony was always performed on the Sunday either preceding or following the Pongal feast.

It must be mentioned that a *Meriah* sacrifice was never offered in any village oftener than once in twelve years, nor was there ever more than a single victim.

The mode of sacrifice differed in details in different parts of Khondistan; but the following extract from the report made to Government on 24th November 1837, by Mr. Arbuthnot, the Acting Collector of Vizagapatam, is sufficient to show how the barbarous ceremony was conducted:—"The man who is destined for the sacrifice is immediately carried before the god and a small quantity of rice, coloured with saffron, is put upon his head. The influence of this is said to prevent his attempting to escape even though set at liberty. It would appear, however, that from the moment of his seizure till he is sacrificed, he is kept in a continued state of stupefaction or intoxication. He is allowed to wander about the village to eat and drink any thing he may take a fancy to, or even to have any connection with any of the women whom he may meet. On the morning set apart for the sacrifice he is carried before the idol in a state of intoxication. One of the villagers officiates as a priest," called (*Zanee* or *Junna*), "who cuts a small hole in the stomach of the victim, and with the blood that flows from the wound the idol is besmeared; then the crowds from the neighbouring villages rush forward, and he is literally cut to pieces; each person who is so fortunate as to procure it carries away a morsel of the flesh and presents it to the idol at his own village."

V. To Mr. Russell is due, as has already been stated, the credit of bringing to the notice of Government the existence of *Meriah* sacrifice and female infanticide; but in pleading that speedy measures should be taken to suppress these barbarous rites, he said, "we must not allow the cruelty of the practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavours to suppress it. The superstition of ages cannot be eradicated in a day." The Government therefore did not resort to military force nor indeed any violent measures to eradicate these infamous customs. The measures taken by Government to bring about the desired reform were as follows:—(1) routes and passes through the wild tracts were opened; (2) fairs and marts for encouraging commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains were established; (3) friendly intercourse with the Khonds was cultivated;

(4) the victims were rescued, and the females among them married to the parties who had purchased them; (5) village schools were established.

It must be mentioned that in 1845 the Supreme Legislature passed an Act empowering the Governor-General to place in the hands of *one* officer to be called the "Agent for the Suppression of *Meriah* sacrifices, the entire control of the tracts inhabited by the Khond tribes, situated in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies. Thus, in the words of the Court of Directors (Despatch dated 8th April 1846) "unity of action (was) secured, which is essential to the successful issue of measures directed to the same object."

VI. From the statements appended to the *Selections from the Records* we find that, from 1846—1853, 1,260 *Meriahs* (victims) were rescued. Out of these, 247 were given in marriage to eligible persons, 200 sent to missionary schools at Berhampore and Balasore, 167 given for adoption to persons of character, 306 settled as ryots, 83 supported by the State, and 12 employed in the public service. Of the remainder 148 died, 77 deserted, and 21 supported themselves by labour.

Besides the 1,260 *Meriahs* rescued, 813 *Poosias* were rescued and registered. The following short extract from the *Selections* tells us what the term *Poosias* means:—"A large proportion of the victims rescued . . . were women with young families which they had borne to the parties purchasing them," and these women and children were liable to be offered up in sacrifice; the Government rescued them and compelled the purchaser to adopt them as his wife and children.

VII. What then was the result of the *Meriah* operations as a whole? The Court of Directors in their Despatch, dated 14th June 1854, say—"Viewing the *Meriah* operations as a whole, they have been highly successful, and are creditable to the officers concerned; nor is it in measures of repression alone that we see cause for present satisfaction and future hope.

It is obvious that the germs of ultimate civilisation have been planted in the country, and we may entertain a confident hope that the advance of the population towards a higher social condition will be in an accelerated ratio of progress."

BENIGUM RAMA RAU, B.A., B.L.



ART. IX.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

(a) Literature.

THE number of publications catalogued during the year was 1,565 as compared with 1,762. The decrease occurred wholly among works classified as poetical or religious.

(1) SANSKRIT PUBLICATIONS.

These publications comprised no original works, but were exclusively editions or re-editions of old texts, belonging, for the greater part, to Philosophy or Grammar. *The Pandit*, the monthly journal of the Benares Sanskrit College, contained the continuation of the translation, by the Principal of the College, of the Vedantic work called *Siddhāntalēsa*. *The Chowkhambhā Series* continued the publication of several texts begun last year and gave the first instalments of other important new works, among them being the commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras, by Vijnana Bhikshu.

(2) HINDI LITERATURE.

Poetry, Drama, and Fiction.

The most important publications of the year were Hindi novels. The largest works were only translations—*Bhayānak Bhraman*, or "Over Africa in a Balloon," and *Sansār Chakra* from the Bengali original of Bābu Prasulla Chandra Mukerji.

(3) HINDI PUBLICATIONS (including Biography, Language, Philosophy and Miscellaneous.)

The most important work on philosophy was *Gurundānak Sūrdāya* in two volumes, translated from Gurmukki into Hindi under the orders of Rāja Vijaya Chandra of Amritsar. *Bhāskara Prākāsa*, by Sowami Tulsi Ram, a follower of the Arya Samāj, is a polemical work of several hundred pages, in reply to the *Dayānanda Timira Bhāskara* of Pandit Jwālānath. It is written in what would be designated the high Hindi of the Pandits. *Dayānād Mata Vidraṇan*, by the late Bhawani Prasad, is based on the *Dayānand Timira Bhāskara* just mentioned. *Avatār Mimāṇsa*, by Pandit Ambika Datta Vyasa, is a collection of lectures on the incarnations of the deity. The subject has been treated from the standpoint of a Hindi lecturer speaking to a Hindu audience. The language is high Hindi. *Navamiddha*, edited and translated by Pandit Braj Nath Bhattacharya, is a collection of tracts, chiefly of a Tantric kind. *Siddha Sankara Tantra*, edited by Pandit Syama Sundar Lal Tiwari and Pandit Kanahya Lal, is a short work of the

same kind. *Santi Prasāvali* is a Jain work treating on the art of foretelling events. *Sri Maheswara Prakāśa*, by Thākūr Maheswar Bakhsha Singh, is a poetical treatise on a variety of occult subjects. *Kantaka Ratnākara*, Part I, by Harishankar Sastra, claims to be an explanation of sleight-of-hand tricks and magical performances. *Sad Vichāra*, by Munshi Ramji Mal, is a translation of "Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects," by the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten, M.A., and is now used as a text-book in schools of these Provinces. *Pāti Vrata Dharma Prakāśha*, published by the editor of the *Maheswari Journal*, Hāpur, Meerut Swamī Press, is one of a series of publications intended to reform the Vaisa community. This number is specially for the benefit of Vaisa women. The teachings are drawn from the Hindu Shastras. *Stri Dharma Prakāśikā*, by Kasiram Varma of Peshawar, is a publication also meant for female readers. It has a chapter on cookery and gives recipes for the ailments of women. "What is our duty in this World?" Part I, by Swami Sridhara Tirtha, is a small book of forty-seven pages, containing advice for the use of seekers after virtue. *Kartavyā-kartavya Sāstra*, by Narayana Pande, B.A., Muzaffarnagar, published by the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, is written on the model of Professor Blakie's book on self-culture. *Vyākhyana-Sāgara*, published by Pandit Buttu Lal Sarma, is a collection of essays and lectures on the orthodox tenets of the Hindu religion. At the end of the book is appended a Sanskrit Vedantic composition with a Hindi translation. *Tatwa-Vetta-rishi-kt-kathā*, by Pandit Kuparam Sarma, is a story in which the writer introduces the founders and advocates of the different schools of Hindu philosophy, each one of whom advocates his favourite views. *Naishadha-Charita-Charchā*, by Pandit Mahavira Parsad Dwivedi, is an essay on one of the standard epic poems of India. *Jayat-Cadasat-Vichāra*, by Pandit Sridhara Pathaka, is a small book of poems of a practical kind. The author reproduces some of Longfellow's best ideas. *The Padmā bharan of Padmākara*, published by the editor, *Bhārata Jīwan*, Benares, is a short treatise on rhetoric, by the poet Padmākara. *Khetī-Vādī*, by Pyarelal, Zamindār, is a book on husbandry. *Haddiyan ke baithalne ki pustaka*, by Pandit Narayan Das, is a small treatise on the dislocation of joints, which gives advice with regard to the remedies to be employed when such accidents occur. *Dhoron ki bimāriyon kā ilāj* treats of the diseases of cattle. *Saraswati* is a monthly journal conducted under the auspices of the Kāshi Nagri Pracharini Sabha. The language is high Hindi. *Bhāsha Chāndrikā* is another monthly journal published at Benares. The language of the *Bhāshā Chandrikā* is somewhat highflown and pedantic.

(4) URDU PUBLICATIONS (excluding Religion, Arts and Science).

Novels.—Among the Urdu publications of the year the most numerous are novels. They deal with a great variety of subjects. Some of them are mere translations of English novels, others modifications of them. There are others that show more originality. *Dhokā yā Tilism-i-Fānūs* is an Urdu translation of one of Reynolds' novels. *The Firdaus-i-Bartn* and *Aiyām-i-Arab* are from the pen of the Urdu novelist Maulvi Abdul Halīm Sharar. Both of them are historical novels. The former gives an account of the rise and fall of a sect of Muhammadans called *Bātiniah*; the latter contains a description of the social life and manners of the Arabs at the time just preceding the rise of Islām. *Lila and Tāra* are Urdu translations of two Bengālī novels. Their object purports to be to make the public acquainted with the way in which the detective police does its work. *Lāl Kaptān* gives an account of the late Turko-Russian War and narrates a love story. Among historical novels may be mentioned the *Chīn va Jāpān*, *Jang-i-Transvaal*, 1899, *Jang-i-Haft Rozah* and *Nāval-i-Armenia*. The first gives an account of the late war between China and Japan; the second narrates the incidents of the Anglo-Boer War; the third is a description of the late Turko-Grecian War; and the last explains the origin and ultimate end of the disturbances that lately took place in Armenia. Of these the first three are from the pen of Saiyid Walāyat Husain, and the fourth from that of Maulvi Saiyid Saīd Ahmad.

Drama.—*Nātak Kushta-i-Khanjar* is an adaptation of "Othello." It is not a literal translation, but the plot and main features of the story are reproduced. *Chālak Vakil* is a translation of a drama originally composed in the Turkish language. It purports to delineate the ways in which pleaders sometimes unscrupulously procure false witnesses, deceive courts of justice and deprive people of their legal rights.

History and Geography.—Among the works on history *Tārkh-i-Turkān-i-Rūm* and *Sair-i-Kashmīr* are the productions of the historian Mirza Muhammad Kāzīm Barlas. The former is a brief history of the Ottoman Empire from its beginning down to 1574 A.D., and the latter is the fifth volume of the History of India intended to be completed in twelve volumes. This volume treats of the History of Kashmīr. *Hasan-bin-Sabbāh* contains the history of the rise and fall of the Muhammadan sect *Bātinia*, together with the biography of Hasan-bin-Sabbāh, one of the most noted personages of the sect. This work shows research. *Ulama-i-Salaf* is one of the works of what may be called the Nadwa literary school. The author endeavours to show how far advanced, in point of

morality and social virtue, the Muhammadan learned men of bygone days were. *Muhdsarah-i-Trdi* is a translation of an English work which gives the substance of Homer's Iliad. *Fasdnah-i-Birtania* is a work on the History of England. It is the first original work on this subject in Urdu literature. The author commences from the earliest records of life in Great Britain and comes down almost to the end of the nineteenth century. In addition to the history of the country, the book contains remarks on the social condition, temper, and character of the nation. The commerce of Great Britain and many departments of the Government are also described in detail. *Haldt-i-Transvaal* is a translation of the travels of Captain Francis Younghusband, C.I.E. It contains, along with the history of the late Transvaal War, remarks on the geography of the Transvaal, the origin, the social condition and the character of the Boers, and a map of their country.

Medicine.—There are only three works on medicine. *Tarjama-i-Qanun-i-Shekh* is a translation of the fourth volume of a large book on the subject in Arabic by Bu Ali Sena.

Philosophy.—*Niyaya Darshan* is an Urdu translation of the second volume of a Sanskrit treatise on philosophy. Sanskrit words and phrases are freely used in the translation. *Shahdb-i-Sdqib*, by Saiyid Mahdi Ali, a Deputy Collector, is a book which treats of theology as based upon philosophy, and discusses the fundamental principles admitted in all the different forms of the Shemitic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islām.

Essays.—Among the essays *Kāindt* is a work composed by M. Muhammad Sajjād Husain of Kasmandi, at present in the service of the Nizām's Government. It represents in an allegorical form the condition of the world, and the progress of man, from the Creation to the Day of Judgment.

(5) URDU AND HINDI PUBLICATIONS dealing with Religion, Arts, and Science.

Ish Upanishad.—This Urdu translation of the Ish Upanishad has been done by Pandit Kripa Ram of Bulandshahr. *Atnah-i-Haqiqat* professes to be a translation of a book found in the possession of a dervish. The book preaches Sufism, and is pantheistic in its teachings. According to it riches and poverty, life and death, day and night, are all manifestations of the same being, and all religions are true in their own way.

Daldil-i-Fazdl-ul-Islām (three volumes) is from the pen of Sheikh Abdur Rauf. The first volume describes the advantages of health, temperance, cleanliness, etc., and defends some of the social customs and usages prevailing among the Muhammadans, such as divorce, polygamy, widow remarriage, and so forth. The second volume is mainly an apology for the

religion of Muhammad. It gives an exhaustive historical account of the Qurán and its compilation. The third volume shows that a prophet was necessary, and that Muhammad was the last and the greatest prophet. The author freely quotes European writers on Muhammadanism. *Aulad-ul-Muslimin* describes the characteristics of a true dervish, and points out that contentment, the possession of sound judgment, and a thorough knowledge of the Qurán, differentiate a true devotee from a false one. *Rahbar-i-Jannat* contains an account of the various ceremonies observed by the Muhammadans. Full ceremonial directions are given regarding marriage, widow remarriage, divorce, etc., and the author prescribes a number of magical formulas to be used for the purpose of averting the various mishaps of life. *Khair-ul-Kalām* is a biographical publication, containing the lives of Muhammadan saints. *Safinat-ul-Buka* is written by Saiyid Zāhid Husain with a view to bring back to memory the days of Imam Husain the martyr. Of the commentaries on the Qurán two may be noticed. *Nūr-i-Mubin* is an exhaustive commentary on Sura Yāsín, written by Muhammad Askari of Kanauj. The other is *Tafsir-i-Mawdhib-ur-Rahmán*, by Saiyid Amír Ali, who has collated the opinions of the more celebrated interpreters of the Qurán.

Zinat-ul-Majlis is an anti-Sunni publication, by Muhammad Husain. *Tārikh-ul-Anbia*, Volume 3, Part I, by a convert to the Shiah faith, Sheikh Ahmad of the Deoband, is written in a calm, dispassionate tone.

Most of the Hindi publications, like the Urdu, are of a controversial nature. *Yawan Mat Pariksha* is an attempt on the part of an Arya Samajist to refute the objections raised by Muhammadans against Hinduism. The author takes his stand on the Vedas, and his object is to establish their superiority to other religious books. *Ishwar Prāpti-kā-Upaya*, by Pandit Ganesh Prasad Sarma, is a collection of religious exhortations, gathered from the Upanishads, the Mahabharata, and the Purans. *Jiva Bichār* is a discourse on the soul, written by the author of the above book (Ishwar Prāpti).

In this volume he preaches the doctrine of transmigration. The *Manu Smriti*, translated into Hindi by Pandit Tulsi Ram Sharma, is a carefully-written treatise. *Sanātan Dharm Darpana*, by Pandit Ram Sarup Sarma, is a book treating of the various rites and ceremonies prevalent among the Hindus. *Bhagwat Bachanamrit*, by Sita Ram Sarma, may be divided into two parts. The first part contains a chronological list of the *rishis* of Ajudhia, with a description of the shrine there. The second half of the book is merely a Hindi version of the twelfth chapter of the Bhagwad Gita, interspersed with Hindi

verse. *The Bairdgya Salaka* of Appayaya Dikshit has been translated into Hindi by Pandit Ram Sarup Sarma, an appreciative student of the doctrine of Renunciation. *Kavir Asháng Yog*—Is a book in verse, and treats of the principles of *Yog* and *Vedant* as interpreted and adopted by Kavir and his followers. The volume is divided into three parts, the first two being in the form of a dialogue between Dharma Das and Satguru, and the third between Sukrit and Yogjit. The book aims at teaching *gyán* (or spiritual knowledge), by which *mukti* (or salvation) can be obtained. *Makhzan-i-Sanat-o-Hirfat*, by Muhammad Qamar-uz-Zamán, is a treasury of practical receipts. It shows how to prepare various kinds of oils, varnishes, inks; how to repair watches, to paint on crystals, etc.

(6) ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS.

The English publications of the year were, as usual, of a very miscellaneous kind.

"*A defence of the Urdu language and character*" is a pamphlet issued by the Urdu Defence Association, containing a somewhat lengthy statement. "*Solutions of controversial Hindu Problems*" is a reprint of letters addressed by a Vakil of the High Court of Allahabad to the *Pioneer*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and other daily prints. Theosophy was presented in its metaphysical and popular aspects by Mrs. Besant in two tracts entitled "*What Theosophy is*" and "*Man's place and functions in nature*." On the metaphysical side the writer claims to start from "ancient hidden wisdom," by which seems to be meant the various opinions of the Upanishads, and to which it is sought to give more definite meaning in terms of modern thought and experience. On its practical side Theosophy is declared to be a religion of love. "*An Indian District, by A District Officer*," is a statistical work of general interest. "*Hinduism, Ancient and Modern*," by Rai Bahádúr Lála Baij Nath, B.A., Fellow of the University of Allahabad, and "*The Divine Wisdom of Indian Rishis*," by Swami Shivgan Chand, are both works written from the standpoints of renovators of Hinduism as a social institution, and the writers of both endeavour to expound the Hindu philosophies. The writer of the first is specially interested in the reform of the Kayastha community.

(7) ARABIC PUBLICATIONS.

Pára Qurán Sharif is the ninth out of thirty equal portions into which the Muhammadans have divided the Qurán. It is printed with two interlinear translations, one in Persian and the other in Urdu. There are also notes at the head of each page in Urdu and notes on the variety of readings.

Usvate Hasanahfima sabata bis-sunnah is a work of sixty-three pages long, devoted to proving that it is not binding, though it is better, to have a turban on one's head while saying one's prayers according to Muhammadan doctrine. *Tazib-ul-Aqdíd* is an Urdu translation of an Arabic work named *Sharh-i-Aqdidi Nasafi*, a guide to the Muhammadan, or rather to the Sunni, doctrines of the Muhammadan religion. The original work was written by a famous author, Muhammad of Nasaf, a town in Túrán in Persia, who died at Samarqand (461—537 A.H.) about seven centuries ago. This work was commented on by Sád-ud-din, another author of Taftázán in Persia. It is the latter whose work has been translated into Urdu only lately by Maulvi Muhammad Najm-ul Gani Khan of Rámpur. *Lamat-ul-Islám*—Is a selection of traditions of the Prophet Muhammad by Háji Muhammad Ismáíl Khan of Datauli, Aligarh. They treat of the Prophet's sayings regarding the social life that a Muhammadan is expected to adopt. The text is written with interlineary translation into Urdu. *Sharh-ul-Viqáyah* is a well-known Arabic work on Hanafi doctrine, by the author Ubai-dulláh Ibn-i (son of) Masúd (son of) Mahmúd, who died 1349 A.D. It is said to have been accepted throughout the Muhammadan Hanafi world as one of the most authoritative works on legal doctrines of the Hanafi sect. Both the *Viqáyah* and *Sharh-ul-Viqáyah* are used for elementary instruction in the Muhammadan colleges. This volume of the work contains chapters on Sales; Exchange; Security; Transfer of Power; Business of a Judge; Evidence; the Office of an Agent; Law suits; Confession; Agreement of the contending parties; Commission; Trust; Lending or Borrowing; Grants; Hire; and Rent, etc. There are fifteen chapters in all. *Majmuah-Farhús Samá* (or correctly *Majmú'ah-e-Rasá'il Arbaah*) is a collection of four pamphlets. Each of these pamphlets is in Arabic, and discusses whether a Muhammadan may hear singing and music. They unanimously decide that he may do so. The first is named *Farhul Asmá birakhs-is-Samá*, by Muhammad, son of Ahmad of Tunis, who lived early in the present century. The second is by Muhammad, son of Ali of Shoukan in Yaman (Arabia the happy). He lived in the last portion of the eighteenth century and died early in the nineteenth. The name of his work is *Ibtál-i-Dávil Ijmá ala Tahrim-i mutlaq-is Samá*. The third is by Imám Muhammad Gazál, born at Gazál, a cottage in the suburbs of Tú's in Persia. He was author of treatises, large and small, on science and religion. He was born in the year 1058 A.D. and died 1111 A.D., aged 55 lunar years. The name of his work now noticed is *Kitábu Banáddiq-il-Ulama fitakfir-i man yuharrim-us-Samá*. The fourth work is by Isa Abur-Rúh, son of Abdur-Rahím, who was the Qázi or the chief judge of Gujrát in India, and lived

about a century and-a-half ago. He gave no name to his pamphlet. *Al-Hizbul Azam*, with Urdu Translation, is a collection of prayers derived chiefly from the Qurán and Hadís, composed by Mulla Ali Qári of Mecca, and divided into seven parts, to be read by the pious Muhammadans on the seven days of the week. *Mirdh-ul-Arwdh* is composed by Ahmad ibn-i Ali who lived about 300 years ago. It is said to be looked upon as one of the authoritative works on Arabic etymology, and is in common use among the Arabic scholars in Afghánistán and the neighbouring countries. *Fath-ul-Mubín*, *Tunbth-ul-Vah-hábitn*, *Dobús-ul-Muqallidín*, *Fauz-ul-Muhagiqín*, are controversial works between the Wahábi and non-Wahábi sects among the Sunnis. The points under discussion are chiefly concerning the manner in which prayers should be performed, and the necessity or not of following the doctrines of one of the four Imáms. The controversy in these books is chiefly between the Hanafis of India and the so-called Wahábis. The work under review is in support of the Hanafi doctrine. It is really written in Urdu, though it contains numerous quotations from Arabic works. The author is Maulvi Muhammad Mansúr Ali of Moradabad, still living. *Sunan-i Ibn-i Májahmaa Sharh-i Miftah-ul Hájah* is one of six authentic collections of the traditions of the Arabian Prophet Muhammad, with a commentary on the margin. The original work is by Abdulláh, son of Májah, resident of Qazwín in Persia, who lived about a thousand years ago, and the commentary is by Muhammad Ibn-i Abdulláh, an author still living in India. *Sunan-i-Abi Hanífah* is a collection of the traditions of the Prophet, by Imám Azám Nomán-Ibn-i Sábit Abú Hanífah, with copious marginal notes by Muhammad Hassan, a Muhammadan Jew of Sambhal, Moradabad, in India. *Jámi-ul-Tirmizi maa Shamáil-ul-Tirmizi* is also one of six authentic collections of the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, by Abú Isa Muhammad-Ibn-i Isa, of Tirmiz in Persia. To this work Shamáil-i Tirmizi, with annotations, has been appended. The Shamáil contains only traditions descriptive of the appearance and the life of the prophet. *Safinat-ul-Baldgat* is an Arabic selection by Muhammad Zamán Khan of Sháhjahánpur, who was assassinated about 25 years ago at Hyderabad, where he is buried. *Minháj-ul-Miráj* is a commentary on Maárij-ul-Ulúm, a small work on logical principles, by Mulla Hasan of Shaholi, a village in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. The commentator was Muhammad Hasan of Bareilly, who served as a Subordinate Judge under the British Government, and died only a few years ago. It is annotated marginally by his son, a Sub-Registrar. *Husám* is an original work on the principles of the Muhammadan law, by Muhammad Husám-ud-dín, who died in 644 Hijra, about

700 years ago. *At Táliq-ul-Hámi* are marginal notes on the above, by Maulvi Faiz-ul-Hasan (now dead), the late Professor of Arabic at the Lahore College on the Oriental side. *Mukhtasar-ul-Madni* is the shorter commentary by Sád-ud-dín Taftázáni, on the abridgment of a large work by Sakkáki, which treats of the most important subjects of Arabic literature. The original work is composed of six chapters. *Sharh-i-Viqdyah* is the 4th volume of the work of Muhammadan Hanifi doctrine commencing from the chapter on freeing a slave on condition of payment of money. *Hasn-ud-Dirdyah* is a commentary on the above, by Maulvi Abdul Azíz of Lucknow, a living author. *Munyat-ul-Musalli* describes the Muhammadan prayers. *Tarjama-i-Fúrssi* is its translation into Persian, interlineary with marginal notes. This work is based on the Hanafi view of the performance of Muhammadan prayers, which is said to find favour with the Afgháns and the people of Turkistán. *Diwán-i-Ali ibn-i Abi Talib* is a collection of poetical works attributed to Ali, son of Abú Talib, the fourth Kálifah who lived over twelve hundred years ago: the marginal notes are in Persian. *Al-kálam-ul-Idiq* is a Persian commentary on Nizám-ul-Mantiq in Arabic, by one Ahmad Husain, a living author. The original work is a manual on deductive logic in common use among Arabic students in native schools.

(8) PERSIAN PUBLICATIONS.

Of the eight books among the publications under this head, viz., *Masnavi-i Maulavi Mánavi*, *Akhldq-i-Muhsini*, *Malfúzat-e-Sháh Mina*, *Maktúb-i-Khwdjah Muín-ud-dín-i-Chishti*, *Maqásid-us Salikín*, *Malfúzat-i-Sikandari*, *Zir-o-Bam* and *Makhzan-i-Akhldq*, that treat of Tasawwuf and morals, the first four were written in ancient times. The first mentioned is considered to be a sacred book of the East by Jalál-ud-dín Rúmi. M. Abdul Jalíl has read 17 different commentaries on it, one in Arabic, in six volumes, printed in Egypt. Its language is Pahlavi. The present edition, which has been printed at Cawnpore under the direction of M. Muhammad Rahmat-uláh Rád, contains different readings and notes. "*Waqdi Tasallut-i-Rús bar Eshiya*," "*Tazkirát-i-Mashá-htr-i-Jaunpur*," and "*Mahá bhárat-i-Farsi*" are three historical works. The first is a history of the Russian rule in Asia. The second book is the biography of the *savants* of Jaunpur. *Qánún-ul-Táún* sets forth in detail the causes, treatment, etc., of the existing plague.*

* We have unearthed this intensely interesting and instructive report of a year's publications in the vernaculars by native authors in the N.-W. P. from an official publication where it would have lain buried for ever.—ED.

ART. X.—FAMINES IN INDIA.

[SOME FACTS AND SUGGESTIONS.]

I.

NO evil is altogether unwelcome which brings some good in its train. The current famine in India is an evil of this description. It suggests much that is gloomy and depressing; but it is not without its redeeming and hopeful aspect: the fearful loss of life and the painful sufferings of an immense mass of humanity which are associated with it have touched the hearts of the good and sensible people of this country; and although the War in South Africa has proved of absorbing interest, the Famine in India has continued to excite no small sympathy. One smells the odour of the Indian famine inside the Houses of Parliament, in other public places, in private drawing rooms and on the top of the omnibus. One hears it discussed in private conversation, at public meetings and in places of worship. This I consider to be the bright side of the famine calamity that it has, to some extent, called the attention of the British public to the condition of the people of India. John Bull has been compelled to ask himself some pertinent questions: "Am I responsible for it?" "Is it not avoidable?" "Have I made mistakes?" "Have I been too selfish hitherto?" "Did I not mean well?" "Are not the habits and usages and thriftlessness of the Indian people themselves to blame?" and so forth. Such heart searchings must prove of mutual benefit to India and to England.

Such a state of the public mind is my excuse for presenting a few facts and attempting an analysis of them with a view to suggest remedial measures. I shall scrupulously endeavour to keep to the facts and I shall indulge in no fancies. I shall advance no opinions except tentatively and in a spirit of scientific research. The facts I shall proceed to submit relate to one district only, but they are more or less typical. I may also state that I have a personal knowledge of the facts, having been charged with the management of the famine relief operations of the district of which I was the administrative head.

The district I refer to is the Amreli District. It is that part of the Baroda State which lies in the peninsula of Kathiawar on the West Coast of India.

The district covers an area of about 1,200 square miles, and, for administrative purposes, is sub-divided into five parts. But

it is not a compact district. It is made up of patches of territory situated wide apart from each other—a circumstance which adds to the difficulties of administration. Nor is the population of the district, about 180,000 souls, according to the census taken in 1891, homogeneous. It comprises "all sorts and conditions of men," rich and poor, priestly and farming, literate and illiterate, Hindoos of all denominations, and Mahometans of all sects, provident and thriftless, law-abiding and criminal. Speaking generally, it is, what may be called, a poor district. Its soil is not uniformly of a high degree of fertility, nor do facilities for irrigational agriculture abound; and the cultivators are not particularly famous for skill and industrious habits, many of them being distinctly of a feckless character and possessing only a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. It also suffered from a succession of unfavourable seasons, the rainfall being uncertain and insufficient. The people tried to tide over bad times with some difficulty, until in 1899 they were overtaken by the severest famine of recent times brought on by a failure of the rains just when they were most wanted.

The district possesses hardly any perennial rivers, except one or two small ones, and absolutely no reservoirs of water. In parts of it there is sub-soil water which can be reached by boring through substrata of more or less hard rock.

Large areas of land remained unsown, and where the seed was sown it grew only to perish, and not a blade of grass had grown. The cultivators felt perplexed and despair seized hold of him. How to save himself and family, how to save his cattle from destruction were the two questions which confronted him. A large proportion of the cattle were sent to the hilly regions miles away in the hope of finding fodder and water; but some of the cattle perished on the way from exhaustion, and on reaching the hills others died from want of grass and water. The cultivators and their families held out as long as they could. They had grain and other food stuff to suffice for their needs till in the usual course the annual fresh supply should come in from the fields, that is, till about the month of December. Wherever facilities existed for raising crops by irrigation they set about making use of them, old wells were cleared and harnessed so to say and the water was applied to grow wheat and other suitable crops, and wet lands by the side of brooks were dug up and planted with early growing crops. But such facilities did not exist in all the villages; nor were all the inhabitants cultivators. There were many in every village who ordinarily lived by working as day labourers in assisting the farmers in the numerous operations of agriculture. Such

labourers found no work and no wages, and these were threatened with starvation at an early period of the season in about September. They had no savings in money or grain to fall back upon. In the villages and in towns there were also artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, oil-pressers, weavers, masons, potters, *et hoc omnegenus*. These started to emigrate to towns and other centres of industry such as Bombay and Karachi. Some of the unskilled agricultural labourers, shepherds, cowherds and other such classes started to emigrate aimlessly.

It became evident that (1) relief works must be commenced forthwith to give work to such of the labourers as were able and willing to earn decent wages; (2) that the infirm persons in every village who ordinarily live on the public charity of the village, or are looked after by their relations, should be gratuitously provided for owing to the drying up of the fountain of private charity; and (3) that such cultivators and others as were willing to tide over the hard time by means of pecuniary loans must be offered such loans by the State according to proved exigency in each case in the absence of private bankers declining to advance such loans. These and other measures were adopted and were responsible for arresting aimless wandering, for a satisfactory proportion of the area of land which came under irrigation and produced food for men and fodder for cattle and, on the whole, arrested emaciation and loss of physical stamina of the population.

It would be beside my present purpose to describe the conduct and organisation of the famine relief operations in all its branches and details, and the results with which it was attended, and suffice it so say that notwithstanding very many difficulties the great object of saving human life was, by common consent, eminently achieved, for which one can only be thankful to Providence.

II.

For a few months nearly a third of the total population were in receipt of relief from the State in some shape or other, *viz.*, advances of money, gratuitous doles of food, or wages at relief works. The phenomenon was well worthy of study. I had, therefore, almost at the very outset made out a census of men and cattle of every village, and every month additions or diminution of the numbers noted at commencement were recorded, with causes to which they were due; and during my visits to the villages I never failed to inquire into the condition of the villagers and of their migrations, as well as of their cattle. The information I collected was very interesting and afforded a clue, fairly reliable, as to what classes of persons were affected with the famine conditions and to what degree and at what

stage. I shall ask the reader to bear with me while I present a few samples of my notes. Though abbreviated, they will, I think, prove very suggestive.

December 9th, 1899.—Very satisfactory activity in all villages with regard to wheat-sowing, most of the old wells cleaned and repaired, and some new wells dug; liberal money advances made by the State to tenants have been utilised; the acreage under irrigated wheat and green fodder considerable, and if all goes well for two or three months, the industrious cultivator is hopeful of tiding over the present crisis as far as his family and his plough-bullocks are concerned. At Challala a well-sized and well-to-do village, 33 new wells are sunk and more are in hand; of these 2 were sunk with the aid of State subvention and 31 with private resources; 51 old wells + 33 = 84 wells; at 5 bigahs irrigated under each well, total acreage = 420 bigahs; at $13\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of wheat or other grain per bigah, total estimated outturn = 5,460 maunds; total number of holders of land = 176, who have all been accommodated on the wells and, in addition, about a dozen families, who have come from other villages, have also been accommodated; average population 2,916, which, with temporary accretions from other villages, has risen to 3,200 persons; the village serves as a market for the neighbourhood and imports grain; there are about 20 helpless poor which the village maintains, and if the wheat harvest proves satisfactory, will continue to maintain; the village has sent its quota of non-agricultural labourers to the relief works.

Vavdi, Dharangni and other villages of the neighbourhood busy at wells; Dharangni has also a running river. Samdhiala-mota has 26 old wells + 8 new wells; about 300 bigahs under wheat; total population 1,124, out of which 94 have gone to relief works and 1 to another village to grow wheat.

Anida has 8 old + 4 new = 12 wells; area under wheat = 77 bigahs; total number of holders of land 38, all accommodated on wells; total population = 376, out of whom 13 persons have gone to Dittla village to grow wheat and 32 persons to relief works; cattle are still saved, but most of the cows, she-buffaloes and horses look emaciated and, except the plough-bullocks, will perish for the most part.

December 16th, Khambha and surrounding villages—hilly and rocky, soil unfertile, villages poor, houses not substantial, climate malarial, much pasturage ordinarily, but this year nil, cattle dying in numbers; wherever possible, cultivators busy with irrigation; most holders of land have combined for mutual help and work at wells in partnership; those who could get no such accommodation have gone with their cattle to neighbouring villages to live and work with their relations or friends;

non-agricultural labourers in excess of the number supportable in these hard times when the agricultural industry has become dislocated, have left in search of employment, or have taken refuge at the relief works.

Khakhberi—60 holders of land, most of whom have accommodated themselves on 40 (35 old + 5 new) wells; cultivated land, ordinarily; 3,200 bigahs population 205 men + 205 women + 150 girls + 161 boys = 721, out of these 32 persons have emigrated = 7, to relief works; 2 for irrigational facilities elsewhere; 2 carpenters to Bombay where they have found work; 17 to Bhavnagar port for work and labour; 4 to relations in a village of the Bhavnagar State. There are 520 cattle = 183 bullocks; 128 cows; 57 she buffaloes; 108 calves; 44 male-buffaloes.

Ningala—ordinarily 2,442 bigahs of land under cultivation; holders of land 35; wells 9 old + 1 new = 10; wells repaired and constructed without State aid; about 150 bigahs under irrigation, all holders of land accommodated on the 10 wells, but members of the families of some of them migrated to other villages for growing irrigated crops in partnership with others; population 281 souls made up of castes as follows:—

Caste.	Living in village.	Emigrated.
Luhana (traders and cultivators)	...	1
Shoe-maker	...	8
Bania (banker and trader)	...	1
Brahmin (priest)	...	6
Babria Rajput (cultivators)	...	42
Musalmans	...	35
Potters	...	5
Kanbi (cultivators)	...	134
Blacksmith	...	2
Kolees (cultivators and day labourers)	...	21
Barbers	...	2
Shepherds	...	11
Dheds (Pariah day labourers)	...	13
Total	...	281

Particulars regarding emigration may be noted as follows:—

12 Babria-Rajputs = 6 cultivators, to Junagad territory to raise irrigated crops; 3 labourers, to friends in Junagad territory; 3 labourers, to State Relief Works.

10 Musalmans = 8, to Bhavnagar jurisdiction for labour; 2 to Bombay for labour.

43 Kanbis = 40, to Junagad, Bhavnagar and Dedan territory for raising irrigation crops in partnership with friends and relation.

2 Blacksmiths, to Bhavnagar for professional work.

9 Kolees = 4, to Junagad for irrigational crops, 5 to Bombay for labour.

1 Shepherd = to Bombay for labour.

3 Dheds = to Dedan for raising irrigated crops.

The following cattle were noted:—

Bullocks 55; cows 38; she-buffaloes 23; male-buffaloes 13; calves 27 = 156 total; deduct 2 taken by owners to another village for cultivation purposes, leaving 154 in the village.

Kantala.—Mainly poor Kolee population made up of 38 men, 37 women, 26 boys, 29 girls = 130 persons; of these 5 have gone to State Relief Works, 25 to Bombay and other ports, etc. There are 5 incapable and weak persons in the village; total holders of land 12, all accommodated on 3 old + 1 new = 4 wells; money advances from the State amount to Rs. 127 for irrigational purposes; people bring roots of grass which they dig from the hill sides and sell at neighbouring village of Dedan for about 3 annas (3 pence) per head-load; after about a month most people will be compelled to migrate to relief works. Cattle = 33 bullocks, 67 cows, 34 she-buffaloes, 7 male-buffaloes, 24 calves = 165 total, deduct 20 died, leaving 145 surviving, of which all but about 50 are threatened with extinction.

February 17th, 1900—Mota Bhandaria, about 300 bigahs are under irrigation; expected outturn of wheat is about 2,000 maunds in addition to fodder; principal cultivators are Kanbees by caste; total population is 740, out of whom 326 or 45 per cent. are Kanbees; 102 persons have sought employment at relief works; particulars as follows:—

Month.	Total No. of persons who went to relief works.	Kolees.	Kunbees.	Barbers.	Sagurs.	Brahmins.	Lohanas.	Blacksmiths.	Carpenters.	Kathees.	Mendicants.	Dheds.
Oct. 1899	32	13	2	3	1	10	3	...	...	...	...	...
Nov. 1899	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 1899	16	3	9	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Jan. 1900	54	7	26	4†	...	...	3	3	...	3	2	6†
Feb. 1900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	102	23	37	7	1	10*	6	3	4	3	2	6
Men	23	5	6	...	1	2	3	2	2	1	1	1
Women	46	9	10	6	...	3	1	1	2	1	...	...
Children	33	9	11	1	...	5	2	...	...	1	1	3
	102	23	37	7	1	10	6	3	4	3	2	6

* Brahmins returned from relief works.

† 6 Dheds and 3 Barbers returned from relief.

The first rush to relief works took place in October. Among the first to feel the pinch of famine were the Kolees, who, before the relief works had been sanctioned and started, resorted to

theft of standing crops or of Babul trees standing in Government or private lands. Brahmins and Lohunas were attracted to the relief works by the hope of finding employment on the clerical or supervising staff. In November there was no movement towards the relief works. Those who could hold out till December, did so; but in the latter month, in addition to a few Kolees, a few Kanbees (agricultural labourers) were driven by stress of necessity to the works, and in January the number on relief works from among the Kolees and Kanbees and other classes increased largely. The fact was relief was sought as the resources of finding work in villages failed or as food-stocks of the previous season became depleted. There was nothing particularly tempting at the relief works, none of those comforts which a residence in one's own cottage in one's own village and among familiar surroundings affords even to the humblest villager. There was no work available in the villages except to a few of the hardier men-labourers who were offered a "living" wage as "drawers of water." Women and children swelled the number at the relief works. To take the case of one or two of the villages:—

(a) Village of Thordi.

1.—*Bhagwan Arjan*—potter by caste and profession—non-holder of land—total persons in the family 3, *viz.*, self and 2 daughters—all went to relief works.

2.—*Raja Arjan*—potter—a family of 5 persons—1 self remained in village, *being a village servant*, and 1 wife and 3 children went to relief works.

3.—*Bhurā Vālā*—potter—family of 5 persons—all went to relief works.

(N. B.—Ordinarily the potters find work in making earthenware or tiles or bricks; but this year there was no sale for such work owing to famine distress.)

4.—*Bhimā Karman*—shepherd—holds no land—family of four, *viz.*, 1 self, 1 wife, 2 daughters—all went to relief works—no sheep to tend.

5.—*Khimā Durgā*—Kunbee (agricultural tenant)—family of 5 persons—2 persons (father and mother) remained at home, and the others (*viz.*, 1 self, 1 sister, 1 brother) went to relief works.

6.—*Kalā Nāran*—Kunbee—agricultural tenant—annual land assessment to Government Rs. 100—cattle died, all but one bullock with which he worked in partnership with another tenant to raise wheat and lucerne by irrigation—1 self and 1 mother remained at home, the others (1 wife, 2 sons of 8 and 10 years, and 1 sister of 12 years) went to relief works.

7.—*Bhānā Padmā*—Kunbee—poor, paid Rs. 4 assessment to Government—had sown wheat and lucerne, irrigated in partner-

ship with another villager—4 persons in the family—3 persons (1 self, 1 daughter, 1 son) remained at home; 1 son (14 years old) went to relief works.

8.—*Ganeshgir*—care-taker and worshipper at the village temple—family of 5 persons—4 persons remained at home, 1 son (16 years old) went to relief works.

9.—*Dolalgir*—same caste as above, but no emoluments or land—family of 2 persons; both (1 self, 1 wife) went to relief works—ordinarily lived by labour and mendicancy.

(b.) Village of Sanosra.

1.—*Anand Ghoba*—Kunbee—held no land—family of 7 persons—all went to relief works—ordinarily agricultural day-labourers.

2. *Giga*—Kunbee—holds no land—family of 7 persons, all but one brother who earned wages as a plough-boy went to relief works.

3. *Wala*—same caste and status as above—family of two persons, *viz.*, himself and wife, both went to relief works.

4. *Manji*—same caste and status as above—family of 5 persons, *viz.*, 1 father, 1 wife, 1 self, 2 sons, all went to relief works.

5. *Raghoo*—same description, almost as above—family of 4 persons.

6. *Punja*—same as above—family of 5 persons.

7. *Jeeva*—Kunbee—land-holder—paid Rs. 33 land-assessment to Government—owned a pair of bullocks, but they died—family of 6 persons, all went to relief works.

8. *Jaga*—Kunbee—agricultural day-labourer—family of 4 persons—all went to relief works.

9. *Ranchod*—same status and caste as above—family of 4 persons—1 wife remained at home, the others all went to relief works.

10. *Gaga*—same caste and status as above, but owned 2 bullocks, and had sown wheat and lucerne in partnership with another—family of 10 persons—six persons (*viz.*, 1 self, 3 sons, 1 mother, 1 aunt) remained at home, and the others (*viz.*, 1 wife, 3 daughters—4 persons) went to relief works.

11. *Hira*—Kunbee—agricultural tenant—family of 4 persons, all went to relief works.

12. *Kala*—Kunbee—sub-tenant of land—owned 1 bullock—had sown wheat in partnership with another—family of 5 persons—1 self remained at home, the other members went to relief works.

13. *Devji*—Kunbee—tenant of Government land—owned a pair of bullocks—had sown wheat—family of 7 persons—5 remained at home, 2 were sent to relief works.

14. *Khon*—Kunbee—held no land—family of 7 persons; 6

persons (*viz.*, 1 self, 1 wife, 2 sons, 2 daughters) went to relief works; 1 person (mother, 80 years old) was kept at home and was maintained from savings of wages earned at relief works.

15. *Bhawan*—Kunbee—no land—family of 7 persons—4 persons (2 sons, 1 daughter-in-law, 1 grand-daughter) went to relief works; 3 persons (1 self, 1 wife, 1 son) employed themselves in growing, by manual irrigation, wheat, vegetables and lucerne for sale. They dug a small well by themselves and worked a light water-lift by hand.
16. *Vasram*—Kunbee—tenant of land—family of 6 persons,—3 went to relief works, 2 were in jail, 1 daughter went to her father-in-law's house.

Such and similar other details were collected on the spot and verified in presence and with the assistance of the villagers. They were tested from time to time. They enabled me to gauge the intensity of the famine distress in respect of all sections of the rural population.

III.

I have stated in the foregoing that the Amreli District is poor. I am almost certain that the wealthiest portion of the inhabitants does not possess more than half-a-dozen—scarcely even so many—persons with capital of about a lakh of rupees equivalent to about seven thousand pounds sterling; and these belong to the banking and trading professions.

There are no industries. There are less than a dozen cotton-ginning factories in the whole district. These remained closed for want of cotton during the year of famine.

Handicrafts and cottage industries, worthy of the name, do not exist. There are about three hundred families of weavers of cotton cloth of a very coarse description; and also some which occasionally turn out an insignificant quantity of what, for a better name, may be called woollen "Home-spuns" for the use of the village population. But the drought affected both these industries. The demand for cloth fell to almost vanishing point, cotton was not produced, and sheep died owing to want of grazing. Carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, workers in metals, and such others supply usually only local demand for wares. Their work came to a standstill. In a word, almost every trade and profession, being dependent upon the prospects of the agricultural industry, became paralysed; and if the State had not stepped in to organise and to administer famine relief, a total disruption of the rural communities would have followed.

But although relief was offered on a stupendous scale, be it noted that it was availed of only by about a third of the total

population, by sixty thousand out of one hundred and eighty thousand; that is to say, two-thirds of the people managed to tide over the hard times without the help of State. This is a phenomenon which is useful and instructive to study and ought to supply us with the key of the situation which appears so puzzling. If, by some means, the number of State relief seekers could be raised to the social status of those others who could successfully withstand famine distress without aid from the State, this would be the consummation of all our labours devoutly to be wished for. How is it to be achieved? Let us see; let us analyse and reflect with the help of the information which I have, perhaps, too briefly, I am afraid, and necessarily scantily, set forth in the foregoing section of this paper.

Broadly speaking, the rural population may be divided into the "higher" and the "lower" classes. The former are, on the whole, more literate, more intelligent, and more prudent in their social habits. The latter are wanting in most of these qualities. The priestly classes, the bankers, traders, writers, professional persons, some of the artizan-classes may be included, for our purpose, in the former division; and the day-labourers, such as the Kulees, the tanners and skimmers, and some of the unskilled agricultural labourers of the Kunbee and Rajput (degraded) and such other classes, may be appropriately included in the latter division. The former understand the value of, and endeavour to lay by, savings, and at all events possess some, however little, financial credit. The savings may be in landed property, houses, jewellery, or, rarely, cash, and the credit may vary. These classes are also not lacking in enterprise when hard-pressed. But the latter are completely helpless. During a year of good seasons, they find work in harvesting crops, or weeding, and so forth, and earn just enough customary wages to pull them through from season to season. They do not get work all the days of the year, and during slack seasons and on days when there is nothing to do in the fields they are practically idle. They know no handicrafts or other work requiring manual or technical skill which would keep them busy earning wages. *Nolens Volens* they live on the most scanty subsistence and are most susceptible to calamities due to changes of the seasons. Every village possesses its quota of such unskilled agricultural labourers whom in years of average seasons it is able to maintain, but in years of adverse seasons is compelled to throw on their own resources which are next to nothing. At such a crisis the State is required to intervene and save the situation.

How to convert the latter class of labourers to the status of the former class, as nearly as possible? That is the question of questions. Are these unskilled labourers of the "lower"

classes in excess of the actual requirements? My impression is that their number is not excessive. They all, or almost all, find work in the busy season and are needed. I have seen instances of cotton remaining for days unpicked and deteriorating owing to deficiency of labourers from some temporary cause. I have seen corn ungarnered or fields left without weeding owing to the same cause. I have, therefore, no doubt that the number of labourers attaching to a village or a group of villages is about what is necessary. But I do think that these poor people must be put in the way of earning enough to keep them from year's end to year's end in comfort and to enable them to save something against days of calamity. This can be brought about by (1) increased wages during the time they are taken on agricultural work or (2) by finding work for them during the time they are not so employed. The first result must depend largely on the continued prosperity of the agricultural industry and the voluntary action of economic causes; the second is one in respect of which the community as a whole and the State might consult together. By agricultural prosperity I do not mean mere rise of prices of agricultural produce, for a rise of prices itself, often must prove to be a fallacious test of prosperity; I mean by it an increased output of produce resulting in a corresponding increase of the wages of labour, and in this respect I am certain there is room for earnest endeavours. The farmers appear to me to suffer and to remain on a low level at present owing to, among other causes, lack of technical knowledge of the application of manures and of improved methods of husbandry generally and of ready capital. Not that there is not a fairly available capital in the country; but owing to the improvident character of a large proportion of the rural population, capital does not seek investment in agricultural improvements except at very high, almost usurious, rates of interest—a circumstance which very much handicaps the industry. I must, however, point out that the class of farmers is not hopelessly devoid of germs of the higher social virtues. He has come to the low level of social character which he exhibits at present, mainly owing to continued mis-government. We have seen that in the construction of new wells or repairs to old wells a good many of the owners shifted without the assistance of the State. We have seen that so long as members of families could find some kind of occupation for themselves or so long as they had food in their houses they did not go to the relief works. Such of them as had credit of some kind with their bankers used this resource in preference to throwing themselves on the hands of the State, and those who came to seek relief would

not have come if there was any other resource of work and wages available. I have seen how hard they worked, night and day, at their wells for irrigating their fields. My impression is that the case of the cultivator is not hopeless so long as he is able to put forth such manly effort as he did to the extent possible in his present condition. But he requires to be guided and to be helped. He is behind times in knowledge of husbandry. He is not wanting in the spirit to better his lot. His case is complicated but not beyond hope of recovery. He must be educated in the methods of improving the yield of his crops. He must be afforded facilities for irrigation. He must be brought within reach of capital. He must be afforded means of transporting his crops to the best markets.

Naturally, when the produce of agriculture and profits increase, the whole of the rural population will share in the prosperity. The general customary standard of wages will rise leading to the betterment of the wage-earning classes. These classes too are not beyond a hope of being helped to a better social status than they now occupy. Many of them used to eke out existence by going long distances and doing laborious work in digging roots of grass or picking-fuel or such other work for a paltry sum of money which might just purchase them, perhaps, one meal a day; and it was not until even this resource failed them that they came to the relief works. I concluded from this circumstance that if there were some handicrafts, manufactures, and industries independent of agriculture in the district these poor people would have very willingly worked for their wages in connection with them; but unfortunately there was not such a resource available and then, these people also would require to be taken sympathetically by the hand, taught some technical trades and raised, through elementary education, to higher standard of social virtues. They must be taught to save out of their earnings and must be afforded the necessary banking facilities for their savings.

Let us note further that:—

- (1) As soon as people had lost all hope of getting rain, they set to dig or to repair wells, and that a spirit of co-operation came into play whereby as many of the cultivators as could be were accommodated.
- (2) As long as persons could find labour and work in their villages of any kind, they did not migrate to the relief works.
- (3) As a rule, only such members of families as could not be maintained otherwise were sent to the relief works.
- (4) Some persons who had friends and acquaintances migrated to distant parts like Bombay and Karachi in search of employment.

- (5) Persons who had pecuniary means or credit to borrow did not ask for State relief.
- (6) Generally speaking, persons of the "higher" classes had some pecuniary means or credit which enabled them to stave off the difficulty.

The remedies, therefore, to prevent famine suggest themselves:—

- (1) Put the lower classes on the level of the "higher" classes. What has made the "higher" classes what they are? The possession of social virtues of enterprise, prudence and thrift. They are also more literary. I should have compulsory elementary education for this purpose. I would grudge no expenditure on this head. It may be justified as a permanent famine expenditure.
- (2) I should have manual and technical education for the rural classes, along with elementary education, and in every suitable group of villages a higher technical school. In "technical education" I would include a practical knowledge of agriculture.
- (3) A knowledge of improved agricultural methods, of the selection of seed, of manures, of agricultural insurance, of agricultural co-operation should be diffused by means of leaflets, by sending round expert persons to impart it in villages and by actual demonstration in "model plots."
- (4) Every endeavour should be made to create or to foster or to revive mechanical industries. The agricultural labourer is employed scarcely 200 out of 365 days of the year. This must be remedied. The cotton-spinning and weaving industry which has developed in Bombay has benefitted the rural population of the coast districts and of the Deccan and of Gujerat to no small extent. I am not oblivious of the fact that economic conditions are not altogether amenable to State control, but in regard to cottage and small rural industries an earnest endeavour may be made.

Some years ago when I held the charge of another district administration, I had caused to be collected information showing all sorts of existing industries conducted in villages, the conditions under which they were carried on, the number of persons engaged in each of such industries and how they could be promoted, but before I could mature plans based on this industrial survey for submission to Government, I was transferred from the district and my labours, I am sorry to say, could bear no fruit.

I had also another idea which did not prove still-born like the one indicated above, but died soon after it was born. I had proposed to conduct an "economic survey" as I called it. I wished to note the value of each village, and of every family in the village in all conceivable details, the liabilities and assets. My object was to collect materials for judgment as to the incidence of taxation and as to the ability of the rural population to bear it. I am sure the information, if it were collected, would have been invaluable, though it could only be at best approximately correct. But from some untoward circumstances I was unable to conduct the survey which Government had sanctioned on a tentative scale. I should think such information should be periodically collected if practicable and compared. It would be immensely helpful in the work of administration. Of course, just now the time is not suitable as the people would misunderstand the object of the measure and would evade or resist it.

IV.

Has the system of land taxation anything to do with the inability of the people to resist a famine? This is a vexed question. I may say, however, that the land revenue assessment of the District about which I am writing has, for about twenty years, been settled in cash instead of in kind. The cultivator used to share the produce of his field with the State which stands in the place of the landlord; but he now pays the cash value of the share on a certain number of years. There are good as well as bad points attaching to each of these methods of collecting the land-tax. It is needless to dilate upon them here. The present system assumed certain qualities of self-reliance on the part of the farming communities which unfortunately do not exist among their individual members at present, except in a varying degree. One serious drawback it has is that it drives the cultivator to seek accommodation with the village banker for the produce of his field in consideration for money which he requires to pay to the State Tax-Collector. But it must be said also per contra that this is but one of many occasions on which the cultivator and the village money-lender come into contact; and if the cultivator were all that one would have him to be in character and intelligence, it would not matter much, and it only shows that we must bestow some pains and elevate, by education, the cultivator in moral and social virtues, and till then, of course, take note of what he is and suit our administrative measures to his existing circumstances.

The general impression is that owing to the *high* incidence of the land-tax, and the rigidity in its collection and the neces-

sity of payment in cash which at present is imposed upon the cultivator, the latter is sinking deeper into debt. It is so difficult to exactly analyse all the causes of the cultivator's difficulties; but it must be admitted that the land-tax in the Umreli District has been advisedly fixed high to enable the State to grant remission of taxation in years of bad season. Under the old system of collecting only a share of the produce in kind there was room for an automatic adjustment of remissions which does not exist under the present system, and the State authorities have to deal with the questions of remissions as it arises each time. It is hoped that suitable remissions will be granted. All the same, it may be stated that even when the old system was in vogue, the cultivator was heavily indebted. He, poor man, had no luxuries, no possessions, he borrowed money at the rate of 2 per cent. *per mensem*; half the number of cultivators disposed of their share of the crops to the money-lender while the crops were still standing; a great number of these had no food in their houses at the end of the year, and for every bushel they then borrowed they had to pay back a bushel and a half; half the people did not sow their own seed and borrowed seed was doubled in the return; they were not allowed to transfer their fields to others as of right, and even the very huts and cottages in which they lived were considered to be the property of the State.

If even with all these stringent measures regarding transfer of property, the cultivators were steeped in debt and altogether incompetent to resist a famine much milder than the recent famine—it is doubtful to my mind that a return to those old notions—as is the evident tendency of recent land legislation in British India—will avail much. The truth is not easy to ascertain, but this appears to be certain that the causes of the Indian cultivators' miseries are difficult—though not impossible to remedy. This or that palliative advertised with all the prestige appertaining to a panacea—will not answer all the expectations one may raise about it. A policy of a variety of synchronous expedients must be adopted and faithfully adhered to over a long course of years. It must include compulsory primary education, training of the people in the social virtues of thrift and providence, the institution of cheap and easily accessible judicial tribunals for disposal of suits of agricultural debts such as was suggested in 1879 by certain well-known Indian gentlemen having official experience or on the model *mutatis mutandis* of those existing in France, training in handicrafts, encouragement and organisation of small rural industries on the plan of what is being done in Ireland by the congested Districts Board and preëminently by the Irish agricultural and Technical Instruction Board, and other remedie

which a careful and sympathetic study of the local circumstances of each District or Province is sure to suggest as the most suitable, but all of which, I must say, it is not possible for Government to undertake single-handed and without the active sympathies and co-operations of non-official gentlemen of whom, I regret to say, there are not many endowed with zeal and capacity available outside the ranks of the Government services. But I fancy the Christian Missionaries would make themselves more useful than they are at present if they took up some of these functions such as the organisation of rural co-operative institutions and of handicrafts.

With regard to the evil effects of the prevailing rigidity of the land-revenue system, it may be stated that the author of the Survey Settlement of the Amreli District, Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, C.I.E., a very sympathetic officer and one who approached the subject with an open mind, proposed to combine the good points of the old Batai or payment-in-kind-system and of the cash-payment-system in what he called the varying-bighoti-system. He proposed, in substance, to determine a scale whereby the cultivator might pay his tax in grain or in cash at his option according to the agricultural conditions of the year; if the year happened to be better than the average, a proportionately higher amount of taxation might be collected by the State; if it happened to be worse, the amount to be collected would be *pro tanto* smaller; and so on a turning account might be kept between the State and the tenant. The plan was not easy to work in practice; but no effect was given to it. I mention it here merely to call attention to the wish to introduce elasticity in the administration of the land-tax and to the possibility of formulating it for practical action.

Another method by which the rigid nature of the prevailing land-tax may be relaxed is to vary the rate of taxation to accord with the degree of agricultural skill or want of skill of certain castes or classes of cultivators. There used to be in certain parts of the Baroda State what were called *Komwar* rates of assessment of the land-tax, certain classes of cultivators were assumed to be superior in skill and intelligence to certain others. The latter were charged a lower tax for the lands they held than the former. Theoretically, there is an obvious element of injustice in such a scheme of taxation, but where it is a question of adoption of administrative palliatives and not of abstract justice, one cannot afford to be squeamish. There is no doubt that the cultivators of the "inferior" classes were induced to take kindly to agriculture by the inducement of light *Komwar* rates rather than take to outlawry and brigandage. But would it have saved them from falling victims to the famine? I am inclined to say that it would not have done so, knowing,

as I do, that they lack the necessary moral stamina to lay by savings.

Much indignation is expressed in India against the attitude of the village money-lender. Much of the misery of the cultivator is laid at *his* door; but although I know of cases of great unscrupulousness exhibited by the money-lenders, I shrink from saying that the fault lies all with them and not with the borrowers who, in their turn, are in a good many instances, reckless and dishonest. In the Baroda State, the cultivators' tools of husbandry, his cottage and his plough-cattle, and a certain quantity of his land are protected from attachment in satisfaction of the decree of a Civil Court; this exemption is found to be useful, but it does not, I think, wholly solve the real difficulty which arises from the necessitousness and ignorance of the cultivator and his want of credit in character or in property. But let me not seem to extenuate the present order of things. There exists the evil—an undoubted evil—that a large and increasing proportion of the cultivators is suffering from indebtedness and becoming enslaved to the money-lender. The cultivator is certainly not more ignorant now than he has been for generations past; but he is, I think, more at the mercy of the money-lender now than he was. The modern Civil Courts enable the latter to be independent of the public opinion of the village. He asks for his "pound of flesh," so to say; and the Civil Court decree awards it to him. The only remedy against hard-heartedness is to throw the money-lender back on the village public. In every village there is a proportion of the residents who are respectable in their character and antecedents, and who like to deal fairly between man and man. The influence of such persons will prevent injustice being done to the money-lender while it will protect the cultivator from harm. The true remedy appears to be to let agricultural debts be settled by methods of conciliation and compromise in village-areas.

V.

Famine relief work impressed me so much with the utter misery and helplessness of the people of my district, and the necessity of studying remedial measures of a permanent kind that I had formed a resolution before my departure from India, in August last, to visit Ireland which I knew had suffered about half a century ago with a terribly severe famine and where, since then, Government has been alive to the expediency of adopting measures to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry. I had formed some conclusions of my own based upon my recent experience and the knowledge of the circumstances of the people of my district, I wished to compare notes with

those who had experience of similar work and similar difficulties. Through the courtesy and kindness of some of the prominent officials at Dublin I was able to see and to learn a good deal of very great use and interest in the line of inquiry I had proposed to myself. My mind was, to some extent, brought into touch with almost all the important phases of the Irish Land Question and of the Government of Ireland. I met and had the pleasure of conversation with gentlemen of (1) the Irish Land Commission, (2) the Local Government Board, (3) the Congested Districts Board, (4) the Irish Constabulary, (5) the Irish Education and Technical Instruction Board, (6) the Irish Co-operative Organisation Society, (7) the Educational Department, (8) the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and (9) some non-official gentlemen and clergy. I am most thankful to all the gentlemen for the kindness and cordiality with which they discussed matters with me and furnished me information or put me in the way of obtaining it. Ireland is a most bewildering study of social and political problems at present; and it was most instructive to have heard what I heard from the lips of those well qualified to speak on their respective subjects and to have seen what I saw. It would fill much space to relate all the impressions I gathered, but I may state that I was struck with the zeal and earnestness of purpose, and almost religious fervour with which the moving and leading spirits of the Educational and Technical Instruction Department (if I may mention names, Messrs. Horace Plunkett, Gill, Coen, George Russell and Doran) were working to give effect to the excellent ideas with which they are inspired for bringing about an improvement in the agricultural, industrial, and educational, condition of the people. I was equally struck with the steady, persevering spirit with which the gentlemen of the Congested District Board were working, *viz.*, Messrs. F. Wrench and Mitchell. But I am all admiration for that mystic-looking man, Mr. George Russel, of the Irish Organisation Society. He throws his whole soul into his work and persuades the village people to see the verities, so to say, of the co-operative movement, spiritualises them almost.

I wished to see one of the poorest Irish counties. I was advised to go to West Galway. Major Rutledge Fair was kind enough to become my cicerone. He is in charge of the county and has worked as famine relief officer. His knowledge of the country and of the people is thorough. It was, therefore, a great advantage to me to have been thrown in his company. I went from village to village, some of the smallest villages, consisting of a few small cottages; I entered some of the cottages, talked to the inmates, saw their food-stock, all their

belongings kept in the only room of which the cottage often consisted, and wherein themselves and pigs and dogs dwelt all together. What filth, what poverty, what semi-nakedness, one sees in these cottages! I did not expect to see such misery in such close neighbourhood of over-flowing wealth in England. The people of these cottages live mainly on potatoes and oats which they share with pigs and chickens. The land is rocky or boggy. Digging peat for export as fuel is the main industry. A failure of the potato crop means famine and the consequent relief operations. Major Rutledge Fair showed me some of the excellent roads and quays which he constructed as relief works and explained to me the principles and methods followed in the administration of relief and in the organisation of relief works. These are almost the same as are followed in India. Primary education is not compulsory in this part of Ireland. In fact nowhere in Ireland is primary education compulsory in the same manner as in England or Scotland; but it is left optional to each urban and rural area to introduce compulsory education. In a few villages I saw National Schools, the buildings are good, and the attendance of boys and girls is very fair, but the Roman Catholic priest plays an efficient part in educational matters and wields great influence with the people for good or for evil. I was told that where the Roman Catholic priest favours the formation of an agricultural bank it springs up and succeeds; in the opposite case, the result is generally a failure. One cannot fail to observe that usually the most substantial house in the village is that of the "gombeen" man the very prototype of the Indian village Marwaree (money-lender). The people are his serfs. He buys eggs, poultry, pigs, produce, from them at his own prices; he lends them money, seed, cloth, woollens, all that they need at *his* prices; his rate of interest is high; he charges compound interest; he is a terror to them, and also, on his own terms, their friend and protector. I saw some accounts kept by some of these "gombeen" men. Their methods of work and the principles or want of principles in their dealings with the country-folk are about the same as those of the worst description of the Indian village Shylocks. Most of the villages contain old men and women and young boys and girls. Adult and able-bodied persons generally migrate to America or England, Scotland, and other countries.

The Congested Districts Board is doing some good work in these villages. It assists migration from over-crowded villages to less densely populated areas. It buys land from landlords and parcels them out among families in a manner to suit their convenience. It consolidates holdings by re-arranging plots

of land. It fixes fair rents with the object that after a certain period the land may vest in the tenant as proprietor. It constructs model cottages with sanitary and other suitable conveniences. It spreads a knowledge, by employing itinerant expert inspectors, of the use of manures, of improved methods of agriculture, of seeds, of rotation of crops, and such other things. It constructs fishing boats which it gives to selected men charging the price as only a loan at a nominal interest. It teaches young men to fit themselves for the work of fishermen. It has set up carpentry schools, some of which are not doing well, but that is a circumstance which is remediable. It advances small sums of money for agricultural improvements or to improve or buy live-stock. It constructs roads to open up estates. It is trying to afforest some tracts. In brief, it is doing with the limited means at its disposal, a hundred and one things to better the country-people. Some of the work done by it is done in India by the *takair* system of loans, and the rest is and ought to be done by the Agricultural Departments attached to the principal local Governments in British India. It also fosters technical education and the knowledge of the handicrafts, such as carpet-making, basket-making, wicker work and sundry other trades and professions. It is certainly doing eminently useful work. At the same time, I cannot disguise from myself the suspicion that the cottages it builds are, perhaps, too good for the tenants to be able to keep them in good repair; that the plots of land it parcels out among tenants at present may not meet the requirements of the future when families increase; that the youths it trains will not find employment at home owing to want of industries on the spot; and that the properties, when in the course of years they are handed over free from encumbrance to the tenants, will pass from their hands into those of the "gombeen" men to whom they will be mortgaged and sold by the necessitous tenants. I was reassured on the last point by the belief which is accepted by the officials that the Irish peasant is too much attached to land, that he will do anything but part with his holding. I can only say Live and learn.

The Congested Districts Board is a State Department. Another department of the State, besides that of national education, is the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. This is a comparatively infant organisation but gives promise of vigorous growth. It is the outcome of the "Recess Committee's Report" and represents a genuine endeavour to effect solid public good on non-political and non-sectarian lines. Some of its functions overlap those of the Congested Districts Board; but both—in fact, all—the departments work on co-ordinate lines and in a spirit of co-operation. In West Galway

I did not see many evidences of the activity of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department except in regard to the teaching of lace-making and crochet-work. This industry has undoubtedly taken root now through the exertions of the Department and is doing much good. The country side has come to realise the practical value of it, and the movement to learn lace-making is spreading rapidly. Already there is more demand for the lace made than can be complied with, and in a few years more every cottage will be in a position to supplement its scanty means by wages earned by this work. I consider that in this a great boon has been conferred on the Irish peasant. With the object of improving the artistic value of the lace work, teachers have been imported from France; and to facilitate sale of the work turned out a money grant is placed at the disposal of the school masters and mistresses wherewith to purchase it at a reasonable price and send it to Dublin where arrangements have been made with private lace-merchants who purchase the whole of the output. There is also an association patronised by Lady Cadogan to encourage the Irish lace industry, and Irish lace is thus favoured in England by some of the best aristocratic families. It was exhibited by the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department at the Glasgow Exhibition, and in London there is a shop in Oxford Street where this work is offered to the public and attracts patronage.

This is an idea which the several local administrations in India might borrow from the Irish Departments. On almost the same lines the Congested Districts Board Department acts in regard to the encouragement it gives to the nascent carpet industry and other handicrafts. It helps the manufacturer and the trader in a variety of ways which it is possible to imitate in India if only there were there a spirit of forbearance for mistakes and failures; if, that is to say, there was the will guided by practical wisdom.

On my way to this country from India, I stopped a few days at Marseilles to see the working of the popular Agricultural Co-operative Banks and some of the industries in the neighbourhood; I halted at Lyons with the same object; and during my stay at Paris, besides enjoying my visits to the Louvre Art Galleries, I tried to see something of the small industries which crowd themselves in its suburbs. I have seen something of petty industries in England; and who that reads Prince Kropotkin's book on "Fields, Farms, and Factories," and Mr. Robert Dennis' book on "Industrial Ireland," ever need despair about the possibility of fostering similar trades and industries in India, if only one knew and were permitted to go about the business in the proper spirit. I lent my active sympathies

to a small band of workers at Baroda to inaugurate the co-operative movement; but I did not find all the conditions for it helpful. However, although I was under peculiar circumstances transferred to a sphere of administrative activity elsewhere, the germ of the movement which was created is still living at Baroda; and if it met with fostering care at the hands of influential personages, I am certain it would develop itself into a beneficent institution. One hears of Mutual Credit Institutions springing up in the North-Western Provinces of India. The moving spirit was Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces. The co-operative spirit requires to be created; and in the present condition of society in India, it will grow only if Government wishes it to grow and countenances it.

It is the same in Ireland. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, nominally a private body, is a pendant to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Institution. The prime mover of both is Mr. Horace Plunkett, but the way he himself and his collaborateurs and subordinates make a religion of their duty is truly marvellous. I was interested in noting the progress of the movement for co-operative Banking among the ignorant and illiterate Irish peasantry. Something is being done in West Galway with varied success. Where the Roman Catholic priest throws cold water on it, it finds it difficult to grow or to develop; but, be it said to the credit of these much-abused priests, many of them take a genuine interest in the welfare of their flock and evince sincere solicitude for their well-being. At Galway itself, for instance, an excellent technical school is growing under the auspices of the local Church dignitary. I met the latter and came away from him with the impression that his fostering care, and the way he had gone about the business and the foresight of his aims and objects, all tend to indicate that the infant institution will, in the course of years, grow into a technical college capable of benefitting not only the immediate neighbourhood but a wider area.

The gombeen man does not appear to favour the growth of the co-operative movement; but this phenomenon is not peculiar to Ireland, and the leaders of the movement will know how to get over it, as has been the case in other countries. The school master and the village doctor are allowed to assist the movement by taking a prominent part in its management. The Co-operative Dairies in the county of Cork are working successfully and instructors were imported to teach the people how to pack eggs, and how to grow fruit and make jam. An agricultural farm is maintained near Dublin and tobacco curing attempted.

It is possible to work on similar lines in India only if Government.

ment wishes it, and there are signs that the Government of India is awakening under the guidance of that most energetic of Viceroys, Lord Curzon. The Feudatory States of India can do much, but I think the Government of India can do much more by their intelligent leadership and vast financial resources and official influence. I felt myself amply rewarded for the trouble and expense of my visit to Ireland by what I saw and, in a general way, learnt of the excellent work which is being done in that country for the material and moral improvement of the people. If, however, I were called upon to advise or undertake the inauguration of a scheme in India to give effect to similar principles, I should avoid the inconvenience of three or four coordinate agencies working separately, though tactfully, I should have one central bureau attached to each of the local Provincial Governments with one central supervising and controlling or rather, consulting and guiding, staff attached to the office of the Viceroy of India. With this modification, I believe, the Irish pattern ought to answer very well in India.

I need not more than touch upon the landlord difficulty in Ireland. The Irish peasant attributes, or is taught by certain well-meaning patriots to attribute, most of their misery to the existence of landlord rights. I fancy many of the landlords must be very badly advised to evict tenants wholesale with the object of raising rents. They act really against their own interest in resorting to such objectionable methods. The grant of long leases, with ample inducements to the tenants to improve their holdings, and a wise outlay on general improvements, by drainage and others means, on their estates, would be the most sane policy for them to follow; evidently they have their own motives and their own difficulties. But it goes without saying that the agricultural industry cannot prosper and enterprise cannot spring up unless the tenants feel a certainty that the fruits of their labour will not be unfairly taken away from them. Fair rents, judicious rather than judicial rents, and long-term leases appear to be essential if the contentment and progress of the agricultural community are to be studied. There are landlords and landlords; it is the injudicious landlords who provoke resentment against the whole class. Who can say, for instance, that the Duchess of Castlerock at Killarney who maintains a carpentry school for the advancement of the people in the neighbourhood is not a beneficent lady?

But the idea of many sensible people is to buy out the landlord's interest and to parcel out the land among the tenants on the principle of petty-proprietorship. I only hope my fear that the gombeen man will eventually step into the shoes of the present landlord will not prove real. How much worse the "gombeen" landlord will prove himself to be can only be ima-

gined by people who made his acquaintance in some parts of India—a regular blood-sucker is he! But I daresay with the spread of education and by the acquisition by the peasantry of the virtues of thrift, prudence, and working in associated institutions for their corporate welfare, the gombeen man will disappear or will be made subservient to the common good of society. I am inclined to believe that, on the whole, the efforts of the leading men who are at the head of the several institutions referred to hereinabove will be so far blessed as that things will take a decidedly favourable turn in this respect.

About educational aims and objects there appeared to me to be a want of unanimity among the men of light and leading; but the question is at present engaging serious attention. The longer its solution is delayed, the greater will be the harm. My humble opinion is that the State must take in its own hands compulsory primary and secondary Secular Education on non-denominational lines, the rest must be left to voluntary effort. The same principle might be applied to the solution of the question of Higher and University education. For the mass of people, I think, the Slojd-system of combined elementary and technical education to be most suitable and well worthy of trial. At present the idea of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction appears to be to work in unison with the existing National Education Department and to encourage technical and industrial education by means of scholarships and stipends to deserving youths to join Technical Schools, which will be founded. But such a scheme cannot, I fear, reach the majority of the boys and girls who cease to attend national schools in the rural areas after they attain the age of thirteen or fourteen; and unless industries arose in the country suited to afford employment to the growing population, emigration to America and other countries will not slacken; and emigration of the population is, above all, the one feature in the Irish problem which is supposed to be unsatisfactory. My impression is that in wishing to keep the population in ever-increasing numbers on such a soil and in such conditions as exist in, say, West Galway, one is fighting against nature, and I ask *à quoi bon?*

VI.

To sum up. I think the following measures to be needful:—

- (1) *Education*—compulsory education on the Slojd-system;—special schools for technical education.
- (2) Development of the industrial resources of the country.
- (3) Development of agriculture and handicrafts.
- (4) Light and varying land-tax with fixity of tenure.

combined with organisation of mutual credit associations and special Courts of Conciliation for settlement of agricultural suits.

- (5) Development of the means of transport and other facilities for traffic by means of railways and navigable canals where practicable.
- (6) Increase of irrigational means by construction of wells and rain storage works.
- (7) Drainage of water-logged tracts.
[6 and 7 may be grouped with 2.]
- (8) Formation of Central Bureaux to carry out all or some of the above objects.

The adoption in India of all these measures, not piecemeal but together, will serve to bring about an amelioration of the condition of the peasantry. This is the hope which my experience of the land and the people leads me to form.*

V. M. SAMARTH.

London.

* The above paper, by a high administrative officer of a leading Native State, contains more striking and first-hand information regarding Indian Famines—and what a tale it reveals of “the brief and simple annals of the poor!”—than half of all the publications official and other we have been closed with *ad nauseam* on the important subject.—ED.

ART. XI.—THE REMARRIAGE OF HINDU WIDOWS.

THE introduction of English education into Bengal in the early years of the XIXth century brought to the people a new light that tended to dispel with amazing rapidity the gloom of ignorance and superstition. It fructified in a many-sided activity of the people in different departments of human concern. As a consequence of exclusiveness the people had so long been satisfied with the fancied excellence of their own institutions; but contact with the West revealed to them quite a different order of things. The quickened intelligence of the people at once recognised its superiority in many points; and the growing thirst after a better mode of living gave rise to an eager desire for reform. The most striking point of dissimilarity between the East and the West appeared to be the different degrees of liberty granted to individuals. Would it not be better for the Hindu to be less society-ridden? Was it not, for instance, seriously prejudicial to her happiness and healthy development that woman was in such hapless bondage in India? Should she not have a voice even in such an all-important matter as marriage? Why should she be compelled to lead a single life after the unhappy accident of her first husband's death and suffer all the privations consequent thereto?

Such a train of reasoning led the educated Bengalees of the middle of the century to strive for the abolition of the custom of enforced widowhood. The most prominent of these whose name will be gratefully remembered in connection with questions of social reform for a long time to come, was the late Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He proved to a demonstration that the Hindu Sastras gave the option of remarriage to widows in unequivocal terms. A great agitation followed in which he triumphantly held his own; and the legislature passed a bill conferring legitimacy on the children of married widows. That day removed all the legal obstacles on the way of the reform; yet the number is very small of the widows who have sought help of law in this period of about half a century. The fact is that on many points our practice runs counter to our professions of following our scriptures. Although, therefore, the proof of the sanction of the Sastras was good in its own way, silencing those whose interest or inclination it was to play upon the ignorance of the orthodox, it has gone a very short way in popularising remarriage of widows. When considering this phenomenon it is impossible to resist the question. “Why is it that while

the custom of widow-marriage obtains in every other society, in India and India alone of all the countries on the earth it is so much in disfavour?"

It is, therefore, our present duty to enquire not into the scriptural authority for remarriage of widows, for that will leave us exactly where we are both as regard theory and as regard practice,—but into the advisability or otherwise of the reform in the light of its effects on society.

I shall begin by stating why the Hindus are so very apathetic to reform in this direction.

1. In the first place this apathy of the Hindus strikes the eyes of the reformers in extremely magnified proportions; for instances of widow-marriage are not so rare in our society as they appear. More than half the Hindus of every province of India excepting Bengal give legal and moral sanction to widow-marriage as a recognised social institution. Almost all the lower classes of the Hindus in the other provinces allow their widows to marry; and their children inherit their father's property like children by the first marriage. Among the higher classes, however, the custom prevails in no part of India. It is only in Bengal that the example of the higher classes has influenced the lower grades of society too. But even in Bengal remarriage of widows is not quite unknown. We all know that in many cases widows belonging to the lower classes of Bengal, when they desire remarriage, enter the sect of *Chaitanya*, procure themselves husbands in the sect, and pass for *Vaisnavis*. The custom of keeping mistresses under the guise of maid servants also obviates the difficulty to some extent. Besides, overt widow-marriages sometimes, though rarely, take place among the lowest classes in the bottom of the society itself. It will thus be seen that practically the custom is non-existent among the gentry only. The need for reform, in this direction, therefore, is not so great as may at first sight appear.

2. Secondly, India is a hot country; and in hot countries youth develops and dies out early. Hence the need for remarriage, when the whole body of widows is considered collectively, is much less here than in colder countries. A few figures will clear the point (these figures are taken from late Babu Bhudeb Mukherji's works). In India the number of widows among the Hindus is 19·7 per cent. of the whole female population, among the Mahomedans 17·1 per cent., and among the Christians 15·5 per cent. now, Mahomedans and Christians make no scruples to marry their widows; and yet the percentage of widows among these two classes is not much below that among the Hindus. The catching example of the Hindus, the predominant section of the people, is not

enough to explain away this phenomenon. For while in the warm climate of Greece the percentage is as high as twelve, in the extremely cold climate of Scandinavia it falls as low as three. The real explanation seems to be that in hot countries the early disappearance of youth reduces the necessity of remarriage to the minimum, and hence the high percentage of widows in such countries.

3. Thirdly, the prevalence of early marriage among the Hindus appears to me as one of the reasons why the need for widow-marriage is less felt here than elsewhere. This may seem paradoxical; for the greater the number of child wives, the greater must be the number of young widows, and hence the greater the need for marrying them again. But there is another side of early marriage. When people marry early as the Hindus, conjugal love springs up in the plastic period of budding youth; besides there is no possibility of youths entertaining love for persons whom they are destined not to marry. These two circumstances make conjugal love a stronger bond among the Hindus than among other peoples. The Hindu girl almost universally loves her husband. And even when she is left a widow, her heart overflowing with love for her departed husband can scarcely make room for amorous feelings for a new comer. The Hindu widow can thus resist the temptation of looking for a fresh matrimonial match with much greater ease than widows who had been sought after and accepted as wives at a comparatively advanced age.

4. By something like a process of natural adjustment our widows become reconciled to their lot and feel the need of remarriage so much the less for it. When something is positively known to be wrong or impossible, the hankering after it is much less than otherwise. Now, so far, as the higher classes of the Hindus are concerned, our society has been unused to widow marriage for centuries, and in course of time the widows have come to regard their position as inevitable in the very nature of things. Besides, the belief of the Hindus in an unknown fate makes their lot more easily bearable to them. Thus fatalism, ignorance and time-honoured custom, have all tended to discourage in our widows the natural craving for marriage.

These are the chief causes that reduce to the smallest compass the need for remarriage on the part of Hindu widows. But all these notwithstanding, right-minded men cannot but wish in the heart of their hearts that some of our widows were given in marriage again. There are important reasons for it.

To all average human beings the need for love is imperative;

and it is no less so to a young woman only because she has had the misfortune to be bereaved of her husband. Besides, the privations that Hindu widows have to suffer are too many and too trying for the stoutest heart. It is heart-rending to see a girl of ten years or so to forego all her comforts in life, nay even necessities, on account of widowhood brought about by the indiscretion of parents long before the conjugal instincts are developed. A few years ago, an elderly lady, in course of conversation, fell to talk about her own widowhood with a friend of mine who was her sister's husband. She became a widow when only nine years old. As the conversation grew warm all the reminiscences of her privations began to revive. Her heart was full and the narration became more and more pathetic. Tears began to flow down her cheeks when overwhelmed with emotion, she told the tale of her sufferings from hunger in early youth. She could forget every thing and bear every other privation, she said; but the memory of the hungry nights she had to pass would accompany her to the grave. Is there a man on earth who can listen to this tale of woe unmoved?

There is another important consideration. Formerly it was the system of joint families that gave protection to Hindu widows. But the system is breaking down, and the struggle for existence is growing harder day by day. Under these circumstances ties of distant relationship will not be enough to secure for the widow the amount of care and attention that she had hitherto enjoyed. The only way in which her maintenance can be ensured, is either to allow her to marry again, or to enable her to earn for herself. The latter alternative, however, will defeat its own object. For if the widow succeed in making her independent of others, there will be none so powerful as to restrain her if she will choose to marry. But in India where even men can hardly eke out their subsistence, women must inevitably rest content with their lot of dependence. Hence, remarriage is perhaps the only course left to our widows for their daily bread as well as that protection of men that they cannot do without.

But the advocates of enforced widowhood may raise many objections which I shall now consider one by one.

1. Their first objection is that widow-marriage removes all checks to population. Over population must bring in starvation and all its concomitant evils. Now, the fertility of man is so very great that if there be no check to population it must increase much more rapidly than the supply of food. And hence the need for the prudential check as proposed by Malthus. Enforced widowhood acts as such a check so far as those widows are concerned who are not yet too old to

bear children. Remarriage of widows, therefore, is against the Malthusian doctrine and should be discouraged in the true interests of society, though that may cause present misery to some.

2. The second objection to widow-marriage is, perhaps, still more weighty. Darwin records that the mother form is permanently affected by the husband. If the female of an animal be paired on two occasions with two males belonging to different species, the young one brought forth after the second gestation may inherit some of the properties of the animal with which the mother had been paired on the first occasion. Such is the influence of the husband on the maturity of woman that if a European lady left a widow by a Chinese, for instance, marry a European gentleman, her children by the second husband may be born with a Chinese physiognomy. If this be true, neither the considerations of purity of breed, nor those of hereditary transmission of one's own qualities to posterity, will justify the remarriage of widows. Besides diseases of the first husband of a woman may be transmitted through her to the children of her second husband. Hence, after all, enforced widowhood may not be so bad as it seems to be.

3. Apropos of the question of children it must be said that they cannot but be neglected if their widowed mother marry again. After the father's death the mother's care must supply the want of the father too. But if the child accompany the mother to the stepfather's house, it is sure to be neglected more or less. This view is not the result of mere abstract reasoning, but is confirmed by our every day experiences of the lower classes of Bengal Mahomedans. There may be honorable exceptions, but that does not disprove the rule. Then, again, when the child is left to the care of its father's relatives, it suffers the double advantage of being bereaved of its father by death, and of its mother by marriage. Now, as the primary object of marriage is to rear a family, a system that is calculated to neglect children, defeats its own object and hence must be discountenanced. Nor are the children of a widow by her second husband quite free from injury. For when the mother sees the children of her former husband ill-treated, she cannot possibly give her whole heart to the man whom she inevitably holds responsible for all that, there is an unhappy coldness in the family, and children born and brought up under such circumstances must be inferior in quality.

4. In every society the number of women is nearly equal to that of men. Hence the existence of old maids is a necessary corollary to remarriage of widows. If the lot of

the latter is to be lamented, why not that of the former too? Besides, as the widow has a more intimate knowledge of men than the maid, if she be allowed to remarry, her tactics are more likely to succeed with men looking for wives than those of the simple maid. Is free competition in such a case compatible with justice? Would it not be more equitable to give one and only one chance of married life to every competitor?

5. Opponents of enforced widowhood argue that it is unjust to widows to refuse them liberty of action when they desire remarriage. But as has been pointed out justice to widows may mean injustice to maids. Moreover society is an organization of conflicting forces; and the stronger forces must more than neutralise the weaker ones. Every section of society seeks its own interest; and in the collision of different interests, survival of the fittest must be the ultimate law. If the collective interests of society calls for a sacrifice on the part of widows, there is ample justification for putting restraints on their liberty. The history of man is the history of the sacrifices of the interests of small sections of society for the good, real or supposed, of its preponderating majority. Hence, until and unless other reasons can be given to show the expediency of widow marriage mere considerations of abstract justice will carry no weight.

A modified form of the cry for liberty of action is the argument that since man and woman are born equal, the widow is as reasonably entitled to remarriage as the widower. But this alleged equality is more supposed than real. In the propagation of the species, the two parents have very different functions to perform. Nature compels the mother to undergo all the hardship of pregnancy, while the father enjoys perfect immunity from them. After the birth of the child the father's help may be entirely dispensed with, but the mother's care is indispensable for a long time. Some medical men go to the length of saying that child-bearing is to some extent necessary for the health of woman. Women lose the power of reproduction much faster than men. And if physical charms are among the elements that determine sexual selection, nature has placed woman at a disadvantage in comparison with man in that respect too. It is, therefore, quite evident that woman is not equal to man so far as the propagation of the species is concerned. And hence the invalidity of the argument of the advocates of widow-marriage on the ground of equality of man and woman.

6. There is yet another argument in favour of enforced widowhood. One of the distinctive traits of European life is obtrusive assertion of individuality; but the whole tenour of the Hindu society is against it. Enforced widowhood is only

one of the customs that serve to submerge individuality under the authority of society. Europe is active and combative, India meditative and peaceful. If we surrender our individuality, we gain in peace in proportion. Hence, Hindu widows cannot be allowed to remarry unless the Hindus are ready to change the spirit of their society very radically and sacrifice the social peace that they have been enjoying.

I believe I have enumerated above all the important arguments in favour of enforced widowhood. I shall now try to answer them one by one.

1. As regards the theory of over-population absence of widow-marriage does not really act as a check to it. For the number of marriageable widows is small in comparison with the whole body of grown up women capable of bearing children. Besides if every man must have a wife, as the case is among the Hindus, so far as population is concerned, the effect is the same whether he marries a maid or a widow. Thus the argument based on apprehensions of over population at once falls through. If there is to be any check on population, some men must go without wives; or the number of children begotten by a man must not exceed a certain limit. But enforced widowhood helps on neither of the two ends.

Moreover, I for one would not put any check on the growth of our population in the present circumstances of our country. To me it seems that one of the chief reasons why India is not colonised by the Europeans is that she is already very densely inhabited. If colonisation were to begin, who knows but that we would not be extinct like the Red Indians? Then again the Mahommedan population of the country is increasing rapidly. If the Hindus are to hold their own against them, they must take care that their number may not remain stationary. I admit that population cannot exceed the country's power to support. But in order to establish his theory the opponent must prove that the limit of that power has been already reached. Even at that limiting stage, I would like to have an ever-increasing population with the result that the unfit will succumb to the struggle for existence while the fittest will survive.

2. As regards the theory of the permanent influence of the husband on the mother form, the evil is not so great as may be supposed. In the case of child-widows at least the evil is quite non-existent. And as to those who are bereaved of their husbands later, the evil is not great enough to outweigh other considerations. If the Hindus were to marry widows of Chinamen or Negroes, they might sometimes beget children with the physiognomic peculiarities of those two races. But all that is wanted is that a Hindu will marry a widow of another Hindu

and that of his own caste. And in that case children are not likely to inherit any perceptible peculiarity of features due to the influence of their mother's first husband that may be repugnant to their father. Then as regards the transmission of diseases, there is some risk in every marriage; for the heredity as well as the individuality of the mother count for as much as those of the father. If then individual wisdom may be trusted in the case of ordinary marriages, there is little cause of interference in the remarriage of a widow. A man must suffer for his indiscretion if he marry the widow of a diseased man; and his example will act as a deterrent to others. It is unnecessary, nay even officious, for society to try to regulate such private concerns.

3. As regards the argument of the neglect of children by the first husband, that does not apply to the case of childless widows. So, the advisability of their remarriage is conceded on this point. Then as regards widows with children, it must be admitted that when society will allow widows to remarry, some widowed mothers will surely take advantage of the indulgence. But if their maternal instincts coupled with fear of public opinion fail to outweigh their desire for personal comforts, it will be better in the interests both of morality and of suffering humanity that they should marry again. For the need for marriage must be the greatest in their case. I have personal experience of two widows belonging to a low caste of Bengal. One of these had none to support her among the relatives of her deceased husband. The brother of the woman voluntarily offered his help; but she wanted to join the sect of *Chaitanya*, which as has been previously said, allows all women to procure themselves husbands under the guise of companions. The brother persisting in dissuading her, she openly replied that if she were not allowed to follow her bent, disgrace might be brought on the family. So, the relatives desisted and she became a *Vaisnavi*, or in other words, married again under that name. The other woman was a mother. Yet she left her girl behind to the care of her relatives and became a *Vaisnavi* herself. Now, as everybody knows, the majority of the present followers of *Chaitanya's* tenets are vagabonds maintaining themselves by begging and begging alone. If so, is not the custom of enforced widowhood, as it obtains in Bengal, equivalent to setting a premium on becoming vagabonds? It may be argued that cases like the above are rare and disgraceful. But the truth is that such cases are not very rare in comparison with the number of marriageable widows among the lower classes. And as regards their being disgraceful, it is all important to remember that laws are necessary not so much for the guidance of worthy members of society as for regulating the worst.

4. Next comes in the case of maids *versus* widows. It is true that if every man were to be satisfied with one wife there would be a number of old maids; nay, even after making allowance for the remarriage of widowers and bigamy on the part of some childless men, we may count upon it that a number of maids will go unmarried if widows were to remarry. But the institution of celibacy is often a necessity for the good of society. A country where every woman must accept a husband can scarcely boast of such angels as the "Little Sisters of the Poor." The opponent will certainly argue that widows may undertake such philanthropic work. But the answer is that free competition is the best even in philanthropy. One cannot be philanthropic on compulsion; nor does the mere fact of widowhood create philanthropic resolves in the mind. There are widows who would fain remarry. There may be maidens who by instinct and education are better fitted for a single life. If, therefore, some women must lead a single life, whether as maids or widows, the least hardship is entailed when the best fitted are allowed to do so. Then as regards the better chance of widows with their experience of men, public opinion may be depended on as a wholesome corrective on that score. For human nature must everywhere give preference to the marriage of a virgin, and more or less discountenance that of a widow. Besides the natural affection for children will always exercise some influence on the decision of the widowed mother.

In one case at least widows should be preferred to maids. When widowers marry again, it is better for both the parties that the match be made with a widow. A widower can scarcely make himself perfectly agreeable to a virgin. Disparity of age is often a fruitful source of unhappiness. Moreover a girl married to an elderly widower is almost sure to be left a widow. But all these difficulties may be obviated if the custom of widow marriage be introduced, the past experiences of a widow and a widower being similar, like birds of a feather they will naturally flock together. Neither of them will expect an excess of conjugal happiness. There will be no such overflow of any craving in the one as the other will fail to satisfy. Children too, by a former husband, are less likely to cause jealousy in this case. And lastly, widowers marrying widows, which must be the case at least to some extent if allowed, the problem of old maids also becomes less serious.

5. It is true that society will ever disregard the argument of justice in the abstract when that is not found expedient into the bargain. But if justice will not carry the day before it, strength certainly will. The male population of India is

being educated; and hence the education of our women is only a question of time. For educated men cannot be satisfied with uneducated wives; nor can they bear to see their daughters grovel in the mire of utter ignorance all their lives. With the spread of civilisation the due discharge of the most important duty of woman, the rearing of children, will make female education a *sine qua non*. Thus alike by interest and by inclination we shall be led to educate our womanhood. They will then come to know the condition of their sisters elsewhere, and learn to correctly measure the peculiar disadvantages of their own position by comparison. The fatalism that reconciles them to their hard lot now, will be altogether dispelled before the light of Western thought. When that moment will arrive at last, our women will certainly make society responsible for their sufferings and resent the restraints upon their liberty of action. The power of knowledge will then enable them to enforce their claims. If the opponent is not ready to make any concession on the ground of justice, willy-nilly he must yield to the indisputable right of might. If no other consideration in favour of widow-marriage carry any weight with him, it will be wisdom on his part to accept the inevitable rather than chafe at it.

6. One word more and I have done. Certainly the Hindu society is pre-eminently peaceful. But peace is not the only object in social organisation. Progress is a higher end than peace; for stagnation is death. Now, progress presupposes combativeness and assertion of individuality. If, then, the social peace of the Hindus is attained at the sacrifice of these, the sooner we bid farewell to it, the better it will be for us. Hence, the argument that the introduction of the custom of remarriage of widows will do violence to the peaceful tenour of the Hindu life, should not be allowed to act as a deterrent.

PORESH NATH BANERJI, B.A.

ART. XII.—A SONG OF PEACE.

For the 1st of June 1902.

Beam of the sun, O fairest divinest
Of all that have cheered us, O glorious ray
On the realms of the Briton at length thou shinest
Joy-giving eye of the golden day.*
Piercing through clouds of strife and sin
The Jocund June thou usherest in.

Peace thou bringest, the war is over,
Brothers and sons return again,
Back to the blythe maid comes her lover,
Back to the spouse her spouse full fain.
But ah for those who return no more.
But ah for those who their loss deplore.

Ye mourners, whose bravest and best have striven
And died for our land in the hour of need,
What for comfort to you may be given
Whose hearts, while others rejoice, must bleed?
Sublime is his death and fair his fall
Who gives his life at duty's call.

"He died as is seemly for youths to die,†
For ever lives he for glory's sake, ‡
We gave our best, so hold we high
The head, albeit the full heart break"
So shall ye commune with your heart
Till triumph half assuage the smart.

Our hands to the foe. They met us bravely,
Fought while a hope was left them yet.

* See the opening lines of the 1st chorus of *Antigone*.

† A line of *Sophocles' Electra*.

‡ For these since they fell for the common weal are held to live for ever for glory's sake. Justinian's Institutes, B. K. 1, Tit. 25.

Now as brethren meet we suavely,
Once to the treaty our hands we set,
A star in the crown of our race shall be
South Africa, united, free.

And thou, O Albion, whose fair sweet rose is
Emblem of triumph far and wide,
Remember Erin, remember those whose
Mother is she, who stood beside
Thy sons on many a stricken field
And died that stainless be thy shield.

Their hearts own rose not thine red or white is,
But the little black rose by rough winds marred,
Yet which ever sweeter ever more bright is
For them that frosts have her fair leaves scarred.
The rose of Erin—old yet new—
The little black rose—Roisin geal dhu.

Soon, oh soon, may she take her stand by
Thy side, as a queen with helmet on hair,
And glaive at side, bound but a band by
Of love to thee. No more to bear
The galling links of iron chain
With which thou hast fettered her in vain.

Vainly thou plunged'st her 'neath the deep seas,
Ever emerged she yet more fair.
Though over her of black sorrow sweep seas
Steadfast she is and staunch to bear,
Invincible, proud, firm of soul
Which force unjust may ne'er control.

M. R. WELD.

ART. XIII.—PHILOMEL.

Upon a perfect night at close of May,
An hour to midnight, with the moon at full
Shining through white cloud round and soft as wool,
I heard the nightingale sing on a tree
So clearly that I could not choose but stay
To hear. I lay down at the grassy edge
Of the white road beside the boundary hedge
Listening—And as to Siegfried so to me
The wood-bird's thrilling voice familiar grew
And ever plainer, till the sense I knew
Of every liquid long-drawn lovely note
Issuing from the songster's throbbing throat,
So that in vocal speech I heard her tell
The woeful fate of Tereus, Proene, Philomel.

*"Tereu, Tereu, Tereu !
My love and then my foe,
In the dark days so long ago,
You wrought on me, I wrought on you
Wrongs ne'er to be amended,
Hate entered in and love fled fro'
My heart—Your heart,
And in wrong's bitter smart
Our sweet love ended."*

*"My sire Pandion's palace rose
On that rock above the town
Of wise Athene, of the violet crown
Whence the eye views the sea that flows
Washing all the coast sheep-clad
Of Attica—Pandion's chief delight
Was in his daughters, she that Proene hiht
The elder—and I, Philomel
The younger—ah what tongue might tell
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All the delights we had
While we two sisters in his hold did dwell.

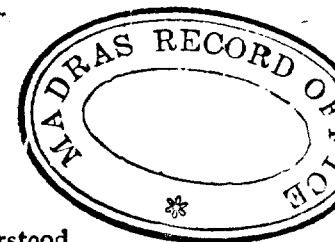
"From Daulis came you, prince of warlike Thrace
Tereus, of ancient race,
With ships a many and a gallant host,
To where Piraeus' haven indents our sheep-clad coast,
To help Pandion in his need.
Victorious o'er his foes you had for meed
The hand of Proene, and set sail
Northward with favouring gale.
Back you came in two years saying her life
Was ended, leaving a babe motherless
Ityn, and begged your lonely hearth to bless
That I would be your wife,
And the babe's mother. Not vainly did you plead,
My sire and my fond heart agreed,
So forth we fared and came to Thrace,
And all seemed well with us ; no trace
Of woes to come might be discerned.
With love my full heart toward you yearned,
Cradled upon my bosom deep
As he were mine, I hushed the babe to sleep,
Nor care nor trouble knew.

"Tereu, Tereu, Tereu !
My love and then my foe,
In the dark days so long ago,
You wrought on me, I wrought on you
Wrongs ne'er to be amended.
Hate entered in and love fled fro'
My heart—your heart,
And in wrong's bitter smart
Our sweet love ended.

"But oft I loved to roam unseen
'Neath deep woods' canopy of green,

To dance to sing in joyous mood
Through the cool silent solitude—
Ah—ah—the thought still turns my heart to stone—
I came upon a cottage small and lone
An aged crone slept by the strong locked door
Weighed down with weight of years fourscore.
I passed her, turned the key and entered the poor place
And—met my sister Proene face to face !—
Dumb, she had woven what showed to me
All your treacherous cruelty.
How could you let your heart inspire
Your hand to deed so dire ?
How could it school your tongue to tell
That lying tale so well ?
You had cut out Proene's tongue
And hidden her the woods among,
Thinking that dumb she could not tell
The tale of her woe and all would be well,
Her woe—my shame—I knew.

"Tereu, Tereu, Tereu !
My love and then my foe,
In the dark days so long ago
You wrought on me, I wrought on you
Wrongs ne'er to be amended,
Hate entered in and love fled fro'
My heart—your heart,
Till in wrong's bitter smart
Our sweet love ended.



"When the woven symbols I understood
I cried to Proene 'sister sweet'
You shall have vengeance, full, complete,
Come—and with me she came,
And I planned to avenge her woe and my shame
As we ran to your palace through the wood,

Entering, I set the lights a glow
 On the festive board, a goodly show,
 Ityn, the hapless babe, I slew
 Seethed as kid, and served to you,
 And when you had eaten I flung his head
 Before you upon the board and fled—
 Oh joyful feast—oh ending sad !—
 You sprang to your feet as you were mad
 Caught down your bare sword and pursued
 My sister and me along the wood—
 We fled before, you followed behind,
 You would soon have caught us, but the kind
 Gods interposed to save us two,
 They changed you to a bold hoopoo—
 See—the haughty crest you used to bear
 Erect on your helmet still you wear—
 Proene's a swallow swift of flight,
 And I the bird that sings by night—
 Ho crested bold hoopoo.

*"Tereu, Tereu, Tereu !
 My love and then my foe,
 In the dark days so long ago
 You wrought on me, I wrought on you
 Wrongs ne'er to be amended.
 Hate entered in and love fled fro'
 My heart—your heart,
 And in wrong's bitter smart
 Our sweet love ended."*

"Proene, the swallow, is swift of wing,
 You cut out her tongue, so she cannot sing,
 But I fill the woods with my complaint
 When shines the moon, when clouds drop rain,
 When every other voice is mute
 And sleep possesseth man and brute
 To the world around to the heavens above

Your name I cry, my foe that were my love.
 And I mourn the hapless babe I slew
 My sister's child she bore to you—
 Ah never more will be open those eyes
 Whose white still held the blue of the skies—
 From the ruth in my heart and remorse within
 His name I cry "Ityn-Ityn"—
 It was an evil deed, I know,
 To smite through the babe his sire, my foe,—
 But 'twas so long ago !

Must you for ever be my foe ?
 Must ghosts for ever more arise
 Out of the past to cloud our eyes ?
 Proene, contented with her lot,
 Hath love and sorrow alike forgot.
 But I yearn to renew my lost delight,
 And I pour my prayer on the listening night,
 Be mirky heaven or blue.

*"Tereu, Tereu, Tereu !
 My love—and then my foe,
 Dead are those days so long ago
 When you on me, when I on you
 Wrought wrongs—Be they amended.
 Let love return—Let hate flee, fro'
 Your heart—my heart,
 And be the bitter smart
 Of our wrongs ended."*

M. R. WELD.

THE QUARTER.

HOME AND FOREIGN.

SINCE our last appearance the Boers have accepted the terms of peace, and fully 20,000, (where we expected there were only some 8,000) troops have laid down their arms. The war might have been prolonged by them for even another year! To the King and Dr. Cuyper of Holland is due this ending of a most insane and wicked "war" which ought never to have been entered on. It has wrought England incalculable harm—not only in the mere losses in men, some 21,000 killed and 80,000 invalided and £200,000,000 in money, but—in the loss of position all over the world, especially in China, in the "alliance" with Japan (!), and even in the influence of the Colonies being brought into the councils of England. The terms of peace, too, forced as they were, are not such as to give confidence. Mr. Morley expressed the truth when he said in a speech at Edinburgh that "the war ends in uncompensating the mischief of irreparable wrong." And yet let us believe in the "larger hope" of the poet. God's plans of working are beyond our ken; and He brings good out of evil. Much will depend on three points which were also mentioned by Mr. Morley:—"The first was that all depended on the spirit in which it was carried out, and the second that all depended on the vigilance with which the Parliament here, the Cabinet, and public opinion watched the carrying out of the settlement. And further, he was persuaded that the rising in the Transvaal which ended in Majuba was due to the failure to carry out promptly the promises that both Governments—Liberal and Conservative—had made." That the "peace" has been a forced one may be seen from all the documents issued by the Boer leaders during and subsequent to the Conference. The Resolution adopted at Vereeniging ran as follows:—"That this meeting of representatives of the Transvaal and Orange Free State people learns with regret that the conditions of His Majesty's Government must be agreed to just as they are or not at all. It deploras the refusal of the British Government to negotiate on the basis of independence or to allow the Transvaal Government to enter into communication with the delegates in Europe." After reciting the results of the war, the devastations of the country, the formation of concentration camps, the hostile attitude of the natives, the threatened confiscation of the Burghers' property,

and impossibility of retaining prisoners captured from the British, while Boer prisoners were being deported, "the small fighting remnant were in a state of starvation and destitution, and there was no expectation of victory."

The "farewell" message from the Boer Chiefs to their followers is also as follows:—Open letter to all officers, officials and Burghers at the South African Republic, who have, up to the present, faithfully fulfilled their duty to the land and people.

FELLOW BRETHREN AND COUNTRYMEN.—We feel it our duty to address a word of thanks and farewell to you on ending our struggle. It is our duty to inform you that Peace has now been concluded in the manner and on the terms set forth in the Agreement to be signed by the two Governments, and on the grounds set forth in the Resolution this day adopted by the Burgher Assembly at Vereeniging. We heartily thank you for your heroism, for your sacrifice of so much that was dear to and beloved by you, for your obedience, and for your faithful discharge of duty, all of which serves to the honour and glory of the Afrikaner people. We counsel you all to acquiesce in the Peace, to conduct yourselves quietly and peacefully, to obey and respect the new Government. Further, we would inform you that a Head Commission has been appointed by the Representatives of the two States for the purpose of obtaining money and means to provide, as far possible, for the widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers have given their lives in the struggle for freedom and justice, and whose memory will ever remain in our history. We would also here express our heartfelt sympathy with those who mourn and pray that God may give them strength to bear their cross. We would also speak a word of praise and thanks to our women and children, who have so heroically borne the most bitter sacrifices and suffering.

Now there is Peace. and although not a Peace such as we longed for, yet let us abide where God has led us. We can with a clear conscience declare that for two and a half years our people carried on a struggle in a manner almost unknown to history. Let us now grasp each other's hands, for another great struggle lies before us, for the spiritual and social prosperity and welfare of our people. Casting aside all feelings of bitterness, let us learn to forget and forgive, so that the deep wounds caused in this war may be healed.

S. W. BURGER.

Vereeniging, May 31st, 1902.

LOUIS BOTHA.

And only a day or two ago at a Meeting at Paarl, which is the Dutch centre at the Cape, General Botha said that they were not vanquished. Africa was their fatherland, and they

must strive to make it a happy home. They must educate the rising generation so that they might be among the future rulers of the land.

That peace has come about is due really to both parties being heartily sick of the prolonged fight. The old President Kruger, who was so vilely misled by every one (*except by us*) continues in Holland, and is stated to be about to publish an *apologia* in the shape of documents, giving the origin and cause of the struggle. Dr. Leyds and Mr. Rhodes were at the bottom of it—the originators: one by his clever lies and sheer stupidity and inability to see ahead, and the other by his infamous greed as confessed by himself. After them come the lying “League,” and the *Times*—creatures we may say of Rhodes. France and Germany nefariously helped on the devil’s game. The others such as Chamberlain, Farelly—an Irish barrister employed at one time previous to the war in widening the breach between the Boers and the British, and afterwards during the war in showing how wrong the Boers were!—and even Milner, were mere deluded victims whose political foresight, perspicuity of judgment and ideas of honor were equal and coincident. Even to the last the *Times* has (just) reiterated for “the-man-in-the-street,” that is, the ignorant mob, that Mr. Chamberlain is remarkable “for his insight into and grasp of the essential features of large questions (!), his contempt of shams and irrelevance (!!), and his noble patriotism” (!!!). We are afraid that “large questions” and what is “irrelevance,” are alike unapprehended by both Mr. Chamberlain and his apologist, and that both are pretty much on a par in being very much of “shams.” To prove what we say would require a whole political treatise of several hundred pages, for which we have not, we regret, life enough to spare. It will require a long period of rest from the reigning fallacies and madnnesses of the hour for the old sobriety of thought and judgment, before Messrs. Rhodes, Brummagem & Co., came on the scene, to come round again, and the truths of things to be clearly seen. When even liberty of speech was impossible in the land supposed to be the freest under the sun, and a man was hounded as a traitor for speaking the truth for the honor and love of his country, the state of mental madness and delusion that reigned may be imagined. We do not here refer to the wild shrieks of unreason of one who has gloried in repeating that a Judge from the Bench had declared him to be a “disgrace to journalism,” and who really only served to fan the flames of passion during the ill-starred contest. As for all the talk about the “loyal” help given by Canada and Australia (—is it a confession that England with half a million troops and the com-

mand of the sea could not lick fifty thousand undisciplined farmers?—) it will be found that the former made a very serious mistake in entering into the fray; and as we have before maintained, the latter only sent over her “unemployed” at England’s expense. Australia is to overflowing of these, as may be seen from the “rush” without soldiers’ pay, etc., now being made from there to South Africa, on which the authorities have been actually obliged to impose restrictions. Thousands have been prevented from leaving as they had no means of subsistence after landing at the Cape! And these are the men who ran down the British Army and our British Officers, and whom Messrs. Brummagem & Co. are willing—nay, glad—to take into our State Councils.

We trust, now, that South Africa will quietly sink back into its former obscurity and political insignificance. General Lyttelton remains in military command with some 50,000 or 60,000 troops. He is a *persona grata*—as we showed some time back—with the Boers. And before we conclude here, let us observe that unhappy and poor Lord Milner’s troubles have only begun—and so, too, the troubles of the once lordly millionaire and dissatisfied mine-owners. For, the former—Milner—does not know, and never will know, the Boer character, and will bungle over the “settlement,” with or without the question of the suspension of the Constitution; and the latter will not be able to find labour for the mines, at the same time, that a law imposing a tax of 10 per cent. on the nett profits of the mines has been promulgated in the Transvaal, and there is no “Grandmother” (England) now to shriek to. The thousands of make-bate “Jews”—mostly Germans and other Continental—will also find their “occupation gone”—most of them obliged to clear out to some other “Land of Promise!” As for the “League,” it ought to be suppressed by Government. Let us now turn to mere appropriate and congenial objects for our consideration only finally observing that South Africa will furnish many another surprise as it is the Land of Surprises and Sudden Deaths!

The Coronation ceremony of King Edward did not come off owing to his sudden and grave indisposition, which being an internal abscess was only just discovered in time to save his life. “What a mercy!”—we might well exclaim both for himself and England. He overfed himself one evening with lampreys or lobsters—if we remember right a distinguished predecessor of his, King John, died of a surfeit of one or other of these—and this indigestible feed with cold caused acute inflammation and an abscess, which was near to bursting when it was opened by Sir Frederick Treves, Sergeant Surgeon, and nearly a pint evacuated! King Edward has thus a second time

been saved from the very brink of death, and on this occasion in a dramatic way that scattered suddenly to the winds all notions of human reckoning and foresight. The *Times* a week before, according to its wont, "improved" the occasion for "the-man-in-the-street":—"To-day a week, memorable in the annals of the new century, begins. Never in the long series of Coronations of British Sovereigns has there been a record of a ceremony of an equal significance from the Imperial point of view, as that of Thursday next. As the day approaches for the crowning of King Edward the Seventh in the presence of the representatives of all peoples that are bound together by the tie of allegiance to the Crown, the clouds which threatened to cast some shadows on the wonderful scene have been breaking. There is a prospect of undimmed brightness, both material and figurative." (!) But it all—tall writing as well as ceremony—went to the winds. From the extreme of thoughtless levity there was a sudden revulsion to humiliation and prayer. So we have seen when a vessel was momentarily expected to founder, everyone down on the knees with arms uplifted, "calling" most frantically on "their God" (see *Jonah*)—men who daily led the most prayerless and godless lives. However, King Edward has once more weathered a gale—the storm can only happen once—read *Matt. vii, 25-27*—and is expected to be crowned on the 9th August, though the ceremony will have lost most of its external pompous surroundings of foreign princes, etc., and much of its unholy accompanying saturnalia of the *Times'* favourite, the "man-in-the-street." Imperial grandeur forsooth;—imperial figment. Rejoicing truly and indeed;—drunkenness and bestiality. Prayer does not seem to come in at all, except for a few minutes in the Abbey or—when death suddenly stares in the face. Alas!

Let us proceed to more general matters. Lord Salisbury has resigned, and it was quite time. He fell away from the old high traditions of the old Tory party when he followed the lead of a clever *bizarre* Jew who brought in the tinsel glitter of "imperialism" to England's shame. Even after that Lord S.'s grasp of things was firm till he lost his will-power, and made England to eat humble pie to the insane threat of President Cleveland. Thereafter England under him went in for back seats, and humiliation followed humiliation, loss followed loss—with not only the United States, but with Germany, Turkey, and others, the last disasters being in China, in the "Alliance" with Japan, and in South Africa. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, too, one of the three best men of the party, leaves the Combination Troupe; and as Lord George Hamilton, another of the three, has often announced his wish to retire, there will probably be a considerable shifting of the figures

on the board. Mr. A. J. Balfour has become Premier, and, of course, the greedy hanger on Mr. Chamberlain stays on. The Combination of Whigs and Tories is complete—only Mr. Chamberlain is neither one nor the other—he is a non-descript product, and may be referred to the genus "Brummagem," or the "man-in-the-street." Lord Curzon's name has been mentioned as going home to join this *bizarre* Combination Troupe. We trust, for his own peace, comfort and reputation, he will do nothing of the kind. If he has the patience and wisdom to wait, he will find himself better off by and bye. Besides, he is wanted sorely in India for a long while to come, and we know of no one who could supply his place unless it be—LORD KITCHENER. If he could be Governor-General of the Soudan there is no reason why he should not be our next Viceroy. General Buller has published his famous heliogram, which fully bears out his contention. He neither advised nor suggested a surrender, but left the decision to White, after stating the difficulties. General Buller had the hardest part of the "War," and people who sit at home, or were having easy "triumphal progresses" on the field elsewhere, can have no idea of the difficulties of his situation. In the opinion of all honest men General Buller has amply justified himself. But he was an inconvenient rival, and had to be put away. And now even the *Broad Arrow* thinks that Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief is a mistake.

We had no space in our last for the figures of the Home Budget, which were as follows:—

Estimated expenditure:—			
Consolidated Fund Charges	...	...	£29,450,000
Army Estimates	...	...	69,665,000
Navy Estimates	...	...	31,255,000
Civil Service Estimates	...	...	26,448,000
Customs and Inland Revenue	...	...	3,039,000
Postal Service	...	...	14,752,000
Total			£174,609,000
Estimated receipts on basis of existing taxation:—			
Customs	...	...	£32,800,000
Excise	...	...	32,700,000
Death Duties	...	...	13,200,000
Stamps	...	...	8,200,000
Land Tax and House Duty	...	...	2,500,000
Income Tax	...	...	36,600,000
Post Office	...	...	14,800,000
Telegraphs	...	...	3,630,000
Crown Lands	...	...	475,000
Suez Canal, &c.	...	...	880,000
Miscellaneous	...	...	2,000,000
Total			147,785,000
Estimated deficit	...	...	£26,824,000

Further war expenditure and help to sugar-growing Colonies, &c.	...	...	...	18,500,000
Total deficit, about	...	...	...	£45,500,000
PROPOSALS FOR MEETING THE DEFICIT.				
Increased Income Tax (1d.)	...	...	...	£2,000,000
Increased stamp duties on cheques and dividend warrants (1d.)	...	...	...	500,000
Duty on imported corn (3d. per cwt.) and flour (5d. per cwt.)	...	...	...	2,650,000
Total receipts from new taxation	...	...	...	£5,150,000
Suspending the Sinking Fund, about	...	...	...	4,500,000
New Loan	...	...	...	32,000,000
Draft on Exchequer balances, about	...	...	...	3,500,000

Ireland is still giving trouble, and Lord Cadogan has resigned. There may be more serious trouble ahead. The Whig and Tory Combine may have its power knocked out of its hands. A Shipping Combine engineered by the American Morgan has made Great Britain uneasy. We have eighteen liners as subsidised Armed Cruisers, and owing to three of these having gone into the Combine, the most alarming apprehensions are prevalent. We presume that both politically and commercially Mr. Morgan's Combine will be fully met by British measures. Finally, a Conference of Colonial Premiers are striving to enter into some common plans for the defence of "the empire" and for trade—neither of which, we may say, will be accomplished. Our old friend (and neighbour in one of the most charming suburbs of Sydney—he was a pleasant delightful young man in those days—the Premier of Australia, Mr. Barton, has shown his usual common-sense in regard to these matters, on which many mistakes are prevalent among the general outside public and in England.

The following lines descriptive of the Maharajah of Jeypur's (among the Chiefs who were invited to the Coronation which did not come off) arrival in London reads almost as if from the pages of our lively contemporary *Punch*:—The Maharajah of Jeypur has arrived at Moray House, Campden-hill, for the Coronation, with 600 pieces of luggage weighing sixty tons, and 132 servants in his trains. The transference of the Maharajah's baggage at Dover from mail packet to train occupied nearly two hours. During the bustle a party of Indian cooks unconcernedly occupied themselves in preparing cakes over open charcoal fires. The greatest care was taken in transporting the large jars of Ganges water for the use of the Maharajah and his suite, and three bearers carefully and solemnly carried a heavy casket containing the god, without which his Highness never travels. In the train a compartment was specially reserved for the god. The suite numbered a priest and a master of jewellery, in whose care are placed

the Maharajah's jewels and precious stones to the value of £200,000. Upon alighting his retinue occupied an hour and a half in unloading and reloading the luggage. Each of the servants—some of them with swords on the hips—picked out of the thousand and one articles his own special charges, and a strange medley of pots and pans of beaten brass, padlocked boxes, cooking tripods, tins of tea half opened, rugs in rolls, musical instruments, lanterns with candles in them, and European umbrellas." It was thus that India made her appearance and entry. Her reception at the India Office is thus described:—"The Reception of Chiefs at the India Office surpassed in splendour anything seen this season.

The central Quadrangle was covered with a huge canvas painted by distinguished artists to represent a moonlit starry Indian sky, conforming to the Indian sky charts. The stars were made to twinkle by an ingenious arrangement of lime-lights. The Quadrangle was decorated on a scale of unparalleled magnificence as an Italian Palace, forming an effective setting for the imposing presence of the gorgeous uniforms and scintillating jewels of the Chiefs. The music was supplied by the Royal Artillery Band. The air was heavy with the perfume of flowers.

Three thousand guests were present, and the list included Earl Roberts, Lords Reay, Harris, Abercorn, Lansdowne, and Carrington, Sir William and Lady Harcourt, the Hon'ble Mr. Barton, Baron Alverstone, the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Northbrook, Mr. Wyndham, Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Aberdeen, and a crowd of other eminent personages.

The Prince of Wales entered the Royal box, where already were assembled the Princess Christiana, Princess Victoria of Holstein, Princess Louise, Princess Henry of Battenberg, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the Foreign Princes and Princesses, and crossed the Quadrangle to the dais under a splendid canopy amid strains of the National Anthem and the *Tannhauser* march.

The Chiefs passed in procession before His Royal Highness, each making profound obeisance. They were followed by native officers, each handing the Prince his sword in token of his fealty. The Prince touched the hilt and returned the sword."

From our own "Imperial" lines we may now turn to such petty and small sovereignties as Russia, Germany, the United States, etc. Russia is seething with internal troubles, which will result either in a domestic revolution or a foreign war. Russia has too large a population of Jews for her comfort. She should arrange with the Sultan of Turkey to draft them off—by the million—overland, in the fashion of the march from Egypt, some

thousands of years ago, to Syria and Palestine! The Sultan would doubtless be glad to get several millions of new subjects, whose racial "stiff-neckedness" and peculiarities he could always easily repress by a mere wink to his Koordish slaves, with other editions enacted of Armenian Massacres and Babylonish Laments. Of course, Mahomedans slaughtering Jews "like sheep" would not affect the highly-strung Christian conscience of England or Europe, especially of the German Emperor. (It is strange that Mark Twain did not take up the German Emperor's "Pilgrimage" for a new work on "The *Innocent* (?) Abroad.") Germany is arranging to receive Boers, who do not care to stay under England, into German South Africa. And in this connection it seems to us a miserably mean and low, as well as impolitic—as it is futile owing to Germany's action—policy to refuse Boer prisoners in India, who will not take the oath of allegiance to the new rule, permission to re-enter "South Africa." We do not own the whole of South Africa—Germany has an immense territory there—and so have the Portuguese. And surely even British South Africa is free to all other nationalities who do not own, and would not own, allegiance to England. The Boers, thus, as above, prevented from getting back to their old states, may naturalise as United States, or German, or Dutch citizens, and surely then enter. We are, by our mistaken and mean and revengeful policy only throwing the best and sturdiest element of the Boer population into Germany's hands, or creating future trouble for ourselves. But Germany has also been royally entertaining the very small Prince of Siam, and "thereby hangs another tale." There is an island called Lankawi, north of Penang, in the Bay of Bengal, and not very long ago German authorities were quietly seeking possession of it. It has fine harbours, and *belongs to Siam*. We don't see what can prevent, or how we can prevent, Siam from making it over to Germany, or for that matter, to Russia, or France, or Japan, unless, under an easy pretence, we annex the Siamese Malay States of the Peninsula, and along with them all such islands as lie off in the Bay of Bengal. It is possible, however, that then France would march up to the Burmese frontier and "incorporate" Siam. *Innocent* German William's policy in receiving the Crown Prince of Siam might have had an eye to eventualities, or to the Island of Lankawi with its fine harbours. Our note of warning, however, will not be heard by the Brummagem-Balfour Ministry just as in the similar cases of South Africa and China. Imagine a Russian naval base at the mouth of the Red Sea (which the French have made over), a French base near Muscat, and a German base in the Bay of Bengal. Koweit—with Turkey at present furious and

determined to have it—retires almost to the remote background with this formidable combination commanding India and the Indian Ocean. Lord Curzon may either open his eyes or "smell a rat"—whichever he likes, but the world must "move on"—there is no "*statu quo*."

France is still having trouble with her "religious orders and schools" Italy is supposed to be lost to British influence. The United States is still unsettled in the Philippines, and the *Bombay Gazette* suggests that Germany should buy the group up (just as we say to hand over Arabia to France!). This is what the *Bombay Gazette* says:—"Why should not Germany buy the Americans out, lock, stock and barrel? The Filipinos will not work. America will not permit them to import Chinese labour. The Filipino will deteriorate and die out if the Americans hold on. Germany has no qualms of conscience about the employment of Chinamen for the present. A German asks for very little higher rate of remuneration than a Chinaman. But doubtless, when the time comes that the German finds the Chinaman objectionable, he will discover effectual means of disposing of him. Under German Government, too, the Filipino will die out for the best wrought schemes for the moral and intellectual improvement of the Filipinos, whether of American or of German origin are bound to come to nothing. The States Government thinks it can educate the Filipino up to the standard of modern requirements among white races, though it has been impressed upon it that the brown man is not and can never become a white man, that he has certain qualities, certain virtues and certain claims on one's affection, but that he lacks the moral fibre the continuity of purpose, the self-control and the altruistic patriotism which are essential to a people who are ever to be trusted with autonomy." Some think the "white" man will "wipe out" the "brown" and the "black" man from the universe—and, well, the prospect is very dubious, even with the "help" of Australia and Canada! And there is also the "yellow" man (with Japan included) for the "sweet by and bye."

With reference to the Japanese "Alliance,"—on which, of course, the Japanese are mightily congratulating themselves as well they may,—it would seem that Japan wanted a *loan*, and went begging all over Europe for it, offering her "alliance" to draw the money, which being declined (even by France!), Messrs. Chamberlain, Salisbury, Lansdowne & Co. at once jumped into it! Alas! for England with such councillors. One result, little anticipated by the above Home Firm, is the awakening of the people of India to "cotton to"—(Japan has already promised to take all her

cotton from India)—Japan. The independent and dangerously warlike State of Nepal has already sent off a number of her young men to be educated in Japan; and other natives of India, too, are looking forward to *copying her*. Imagine Japanese born and bred ideas coming in to still further complicate Indian native-born ideas! We shall then really want Mr. Thorburn's Government newspapers. What a prospect for *Punch*, and for the reduction of the military armaments. Of other countries and matters, the Emperor of Morocco considers her "civilization" superior to that of Europe, and the "Mad" Mullah still continues to defy us! The United States still considers herself able to "lick creation," though she cannot "comb the hair" even of the Filipinos (and is shewing an example of immorality and corruption among them that puts into the shade the old Spanish times)—let her try to "lick" Turkey before trying her hand elsewhere—; and China is continuing to steady herself after her late troubles.

INDIA—POLITICAL.

In India the preparations for the Coronation Proclamation are proceeding apace, and everything promises to be commensurate with the grand historic event and its significance. The Viceroy, naturally, is taking the deepest interest in these preparations, and we trust no untoward event will happen to spoil it or set it aside. Since our last, Lord Curzon has issued another order regarding Memorials being promptly sent up by the Local Governments, and appointed a Commission to enquire into Police abuses and remedies. In regard to the former it will be remembered that last year we pointed out some injustice suffered by the Subordinate Preventive Officers in Calcutta. It seems now, from the following extract, that the matter, though memorialised about, was not remedied, nor sent up to the Viceroy. Hence probably Lord Curzon's action:—

"The Preventive Officers of the Customs Department submitted a Memorial on the 5th November of last year to the Collector, praying against the reduction by 25 per cent. of their overtime fees and such other of their grievances as block the flow of promotion, inadequacy of holidays, unfair distribution of holiday fees, counting of extra service for pension, and additional expenses imposed on them for the discharge of their ordinary duties such as boat hire, supply of uniform and even purchase of stationery. The memorialists asked the Collector to himself redress such of the grievances as were within his own competence, and as regards the others to forward their Memorial to the Government of India for their consideration. Although over seven months have elapsed no action has as yet been taken, nor even any reply vouchsafed."

The Collector evidently did not think the cries of an overworked service, whose small allowances had been further docked worth consideration. It is evident; however, that the Viceroy does; and moreover, that he has his eye on little matters as well as great. In the matter of the Police Commission, the following is the full text of the Resolution appointing it:—

The Governor-General in Council has determined, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to appoint a Commission to inquire into the administration of the Police in British India.

Subjects for Enquiry:—

The matters into which the Commission will enquire and report are—

(1) Whether the organisation, training, strength, and pay of the different ranks of the District Police, both superior and subordinate, foot and mounted, whether on ordinary duty or in reserve, are adequate to secure the preservation of the public peace and a proper investigation and detection of crime, and if not, what changes are required in them respectively in each Province with regard to its local conditions in order to attain these objects.

(2) Whether the existing arrangements secure that crime is fully reported or require to be supplemented in any way, and in particular, whether village officers and Rural Police in each Province are efficient aids to the District Police in the matter of reporting crime, and if not, how the relations between the former and the latter can (subject to the condition that the Rural Police in each Province must not be enrolled under the Police Act) be improved.

(3) Whether the system of investigating offences now in force in each Province, the object being to provide for a full investigation of all serious crime, while avoiding interference by the Police in trivial matters, is capable of improvement, and if so, in what manner, and whether the institution of fully organized Criminal Investigation Departments is recommended.

(4) Whether the form of statistical returns now adopted is satisfactory or capable of improvement, and whether the use to which such returns are now put as tests of Police working is appropriate or not.

(5) Whether the general supervision exercised by the Magistracy over the Police and the control of superior officers (including Inspectors) over the investigation of crime are adequate to prevent oppression on the part of the subordinate Police, and, if not, how they can be made so.

(6) Whether the existing organisation of the Railway Police, its operation as between Provinces and States, and its connection with the District Police are in a satisfactory condition, and, if not, what improvements can be effected.

(7) Whether the career at present offered to natives in the Police in each Province is sufficiently attractive to induce a proper stamp of men to enter it, and, if not, what steps can be taken to remedy this evil consistently with a recognised measure of the necessity for European control in District charges.

It is to be understood that while in some matters, as, for instance, those referred to under the heads (3), (4), and (6), it is important to secure uniformity throughout India, in others, and especially in those dealt with under the head (1), uniformity is neither desirable nor possible, and that what should be aimed at is not mechanical symmetry, but due proportion with regard to such considerations as, the

criminality of the people, the number and gravity of the offences, to be dealt with, the density of the population of an area to be policed, and so forth.

The Composition of the Commission :—

The Commission will consist of the Hon'ble Mr. Fraser, I.C.S., C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, President ; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, I.C.S., Puisne Judge, Bombay High Court ; the Hon'ble the Maharajah of Durbhanga ; the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, C.I.E., Ex-Dewan of Baroda and Inspector General of Registration, Madras ; the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery, Commissioner, and Superintendent, Punjab ; Mr. W. M. Colvin, Barrister-at-Law, Allahabad ; and Mr. Hankin, C.I.E., Inspector-General of Police, Hyderabad State. The Secretary of the Commission will be Mr. H. A. Stuart, I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, Madras Presidency.

Local members :—

During the visit of the Commission to each Province, where its inquiries will be conducted, a local Member will be appointed to the Commission by the Local Government or Administration to represent the views of the local authorities, and see that local circumstances and conditions are fully laid before the members of the Commission. The Local Commissioners will not be required to join in the preparation of the final Report.

Local Committees :—

To facilitate the enquiries of the Commission and to ensure that a definite and concise statement of the case as it presents itself to each Local Government and Administration be placed before the Commissioners, in anticipation of their inquiries, each Local Government and Administration should proceed without delay to appoint a Committee consisting of a District and Sessions Judge, a District Magistrate, and a District Superintendent of Police, in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces, and in the Punjab and elsewhere of a District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police to proceed to such Districts as are considered most important from a Police point of view, and inquire into matters set out in the heads of the order of reference. The Bengal Government has recently made local inquiry into the organisation of the Police in that Province, and the Government of India will, therefore, not require a local Committee to be appointed in Bengal. The Government of India is not aware that any other Local Government or Administration has recently collected, by means of a similar inquiry, material necessary to prepare its case for presentation to the Commission, but in any Province in which this has been done, a local Committee need not be appointed, unless a Local Government or Administration desires to follow this course.

The Work of the Local Committees :—

It is not intended that Committees conducting these preliminary enquiries should record any formal evidence or prepare a formal Report. They should discuss questions referred for the opinion of the Commission orally on the spot, taking particular care to ascertain the views of non official natives of India on them. On the completion of their inquiries, they should present a statement of the case into which the Commission is to inquire for the consideration of the Local Government or Administration. This statement would describe the existing arrangements in each Province under each of the heads of reference, note the defects which have been brought to the notice of the Committee, and the remedies which have been proposed, and suggest officials and non-officials that would be most able to assist the Com-

mission in the capacity of witnesses, and while avoiding discussions of either defects or remedies (beyond noticing the degree of the importance attached to each by public opinion generally) serve as a summary of the case for inquiry to be placed, together with views of the Local Government upon it, before the Commission for its information and assistance.

The Assembling of the Commission :—

It is intended that the Commission shall assemble on the 15th October, and it is necessary that the Committees to undertake these preliminary inquiries should be appointed and set about their business without delay, since provincial statements of the case should reach the Government of India in time to be placed in the hands of the members of the Commission before they enter upon their labours. The general inquiry will be public, and its conduct and regulation of the course of business are entrusted to the President in communication with the members. The inquiries of the local Committees will place before the Commission valuable information as to witnesses, who may be expected to assist it in its work, but this arrangement is not intended to limit the Commission in the selection of any witnesses whom it may desire to examine. The Governor-General in Council leaves it to the President to determine the procedure to be adopted in obtaining and recording evidence. The Commission, through the Secretary, acting under instructions from the President, will correspond directly with Local Governments. The Governor-General in Council desires that all communications or requisitions for information emanating from the Commission may be treated as urgent and complied with promptly, and that in each Province which the Commissioners visit they may be afforded every facility for prosecuting their enquiries.

The constitution of the Commission—its members—seems open to objection. Mr. Fraser may or may not make a good President—at all events his practical knowledge of the subject is *nil*, as is also that of several of the other members, such as the Durbhunga Maharajah who did not know what was going on among his own tenants till they broke out into riot, and Mr. Stuart of Madras, under whose very nose the high roads of Nellore have, as we noticed before, been unsafe for years even to European travellers ! Mr. Colvin of Allahabad, and the Ayengar, are strong men ; but much, if not everything, will depend on Mr. Fraser, and he, too, has given evidence of not knowing how things are carried on immediately under him. Instead of Durbhunga, we would have much preferred to have seen Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerji, C.S.I., the late President of the British Indian Association as the Rajah is not only known as a keen Bengali Brahmin, but as one who knows thoroughly the tenantry of his estates. His health, however, has not been good of late, and we do not know that he could have joined such a roving Commission had he been offered a place on it. If we are allowed also to say, no one better than Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea can be found for the local (Bengali) member. "Commissions," however, may come and go, but there is a method

of management in the Police, set forth in the following extract, which, were it only largely followed, as it ought to be, would render impossible most of the graver public forms of crime :—

"A reward of Rs. 500 had been offered for the arrest, alive or dead, of Cheep Avran, the notorious Moplah burglar, who escaped from Jail over a year ago and was popularly believed to be committing crime after crime in North Malabar, virtually with the connivance of certain Police subordinates. In addition to the offer of a reward, the Inspector-General of Police issued an order that if Avran was not brought in by the 1st proximo every Police Inspector in the District would be reduced by a grade.

Presumably, this order had a very good and rapid effect. Yesterday morning, the Police Inspector of Badagara, in pursuance of information privately received, proceeded to a village called Vellur, a few miles north of Badagara, accompanied by a Head Constable, some half a dozen Constables and a score or so of villagers. They surrounded a Moplah house wherein Avran was believed to be. Indeed, he was there, for the Head Constable who stepped in promptly stepped out again at sight of him and of the gleam of a naked sword which the hunted burglar flourished. There was a crowd in front of the door. Presently Avran dashed out, and laying about him with a sword and a big knife, he made a lane along which he escaped. He ran for over a mile, with the Police and the villagers in hot pursuit. They started stoning him and he took refuge in an empty Nair house. Some one then threw a heavy missile with great force, and Avran dropped his sword, but picked it up again in a trice and slightly wounded the Head Constable who had meanwhile rushed in. The Inspector then stepped forward and shot him with a revolver, the bullet entering the abdomen on the left side and coming out near the hip on the right. The wounded man was then carried to Badagara, where he died this morning from tetanus. The body was handed over to his co-religionists and was interred in a burial ground attached to a local mosque. His death removes the most prominent member of the notorious Munchanda gang of Moplah criminals, who have hurried the District for a long series of years."

The following is only one of a recurring series of open robbery practised on the Nellore high roads (on one occasion a European Superintendent of Police was attacked !) which are unsafe even for Europeans unless properly armed and accompanied ! (—this in India on an important Railway Station a Collector's Head-quarters and within a hundred miles of Madras—what will Lord Ampthill say ?) :—

"DACOITY ON THE NELLORE TRUNK ROAD.—On Monday, the 9th instant, a most daring dacoity was committed on Ericanjerry Road, at the Veyarsarpady Railway crossing. A native woman was trundling a cart of grass down the road about 9 o'clock that evening when she was attacked by several men who took her ear-rings from her, beat her, and after stripping her of her clothes chased her away. A short while after, two Mahomedan skin merchants were returning from Madaveram and were similarly attacked and beaten and robbed of their clothes. They raised an alarm, and the bullock which the assailants had loosened stampeded. A few minutes after, two other people happened to be travelling down the same road and were in turn attacked. The woman deeming discretion the better part of valour, divested herself of her jewels and handed them over to the men. Her husband was not so fortunate for he had his earrings torn from his ears."

Mr. Impey's report on the material reduction of Official Reports in the North-West Provinces shows the need there was of the Viceroy's order regarding these crops of rank growth which are choking India. Mr. Impey shows that

nearly a third may be safely left out or reduced. We should like Mr. Impey to go all over India.

• Lord Curzon is about to proceed to Mysore, to instal the young Chief of Mysore, and after that, during the autumn, he makes a great tour through Rajputana, one of the most ancient, historic and interesting portions of India.

Mr. Fraser's appointment on the Police Commission has sent Mr. Hewett, the Home Secretary, to act in the Central Provinces, and speculation is already rife as to who will get Burmah and Bengal. Also other places, and for these prominent names are few : in Bengal only one, Mr. Buckland, who may get the Home Secretaryship, and not another anywhere else. The Central Provinces, too, as we have maintained, should be reduced in size, and its eastern portion along with Orissa and the Chota Nagpore States, formed into a separate high charge. It is dreadful that the richest portion of India should be so neglected.

There is little to report from any of the minor Governments except that both Sir John Woodburn and Sir James La Touche are touring about their respective charges in Bengal and North India, and Lord Ampthill very praiseworthily still visits various parts of his enormous stretch of dominion.

It is barely three months since we drew attention to Native Titles of Honour granted for a few thousands thrown away for them, and how they might and should be distinguished from hereditary territorial titles of ruling princes, and yet we have to note such leading journals as the *Indian Daily News* and the *Madras Mail* stumbling in confounding the two classes. The former journal, it is true, does not editorially perpetrate the blunder ; but his "correspondents" who make a "Nawab of Dacca" might have been corrected. There is, as we have before shown, no "Nawab of Dacca" any more than Nawab Syed Amir Hosein is the "Nawab of Calcutta," or Mehdi Hussein, the "Nawab of Bombay." It is perfectly absurd and misleading. It even misleads, as also we showed before, these very "zemindars." For instance, while Sir John Woodburn, in his visit to Dacca—and no one better than Sir John Woodburn knows how in the North-West there are numerous Nawabs in every town and city—takes good care to speak of "Nawab Salimullah" (we are not sure that this *honorary* and *personal* title is hereditary) his—Salimullah's—"family," who own separately most of the property, in addressing His Honour refer to themselves as "the members of the Dacca Nawab's family"! As we have said, there is no "Dacca Nawab" or "Nawab of Dacca." The real old Viceregal title "Nawab of Dacca"—similar to the title of Nawab of Murshedabad—died out about sixty

years ago, its last holder, as we know, in abject poverty. That the *Madras Mail* should go wrong in this matter with reference to Bengal will not be strange, but it might learn, when it lately took up the *Pioneer* sharply for asserting that there was a certain "Rajah of Calicut." We may also note that the *Indian Daily News*, or rather its "Correspondents," confound together and make a mess over the very distinct titles of "Hon'ble" and "His Honour." Any "hon'ble" so-and-so is not addressed as or styled "His Honour." In India the Chief Commissioners of Provinces get the "Hon'ble," but it is only a Lieutenant-Governor who may be styled "His Honour," which is a far higher and more dignified title. The *Indian Daily News*, however, would make "His Honour" of Mr. Fuller in Assam! As we are on Chief Commissioners, the *Indian Daily News*, and "Dacca Nawabs," we may quote here what the said paper writes of the late Commissioner, Mr. Cotton, of Assam:—

"We readily accept the litany of achievements he recited at Gauhati and willingly give him the credit he demands. But these successes are dwarfed by the magnitude of his two great failures—the failure to understand the European planter and the failure to assist the legitimate aspirations of the native Assamese of the Brahmaputra Valley. The one was sacrificed to a fantastic fetich: the other to a foreign favourite. And the result of it all has been the applause of the Bengalee."

And the reference made by Sir John Woodburn to certain internal rifts in the "family" lute represented by Nawab Salimullah:—

"What filled him with the highest gratification was that the Nawab's death was followed, not as he had dreaded with irreconcilable quarrels and litigation, but by peace and goodwill all round. To the credit of this the present Nawab was in half entitled, the other half of the praise belonged to themselves. He hoped that peace would be always with them." The public are not aware of the way the founder of the family, Ali Meeah, the father of Gunny Meeah, originally a cloth-seller from Kashmir, made his money, nor how in appointing Gunny Meeah, his heir, the real man according to report, was set aside. We may proceed to give the very interesting story—connected—early and choice events—some day. It was only owing to the Lieutenant-Governor of Gunny's period—some twenty years ago—going out of his legitimate high position to exercise pressure on the others, and that it would seem on the rightful claimants, that matters were patched up. It is to these that Sir John Woodburn refers, and it would seem that the matter is not yet dead—else why "the dread of irreconcilable quarrels and litigation"?—

indeed, where so many lakhs are concerned, and titles, such as they are, the matter cannot die. A Benares Banker may again appear on the scene.

Let us now conclude this section by recurring to the plan and subject of the Redemption of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. There are two quite distinct matters which have no reference to it, confounded with it. One is that it is an attack on the landed interests of Bengal—a robbery on a national scale. There can be no such thing when a full market value is given, only the management and direction will revert to Government. A mistake similar to it is that Bengalees will become landless. How can that be when the land will still be there, and Bengalees holding them, but only under Government? Another question imported into the matter, are the questions of assessments under Government and the superior beauty and advantages of the Permanent Settlement. These, however, are extraneous to our subject of the Redemption of the Permanent Settlement by Government whereby, to the raising of the national character of the Bengalees, to the enrichment of the Zemindars, and to the great profit both immediate and after to the Government, justice would be done to India and Government itself. Romesh Dutt, the Durbhunga Rajah, and Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerji, have all confounded together these very things. Romesh Dutt in replying to the Government's reply on the assessments, showed a long list of antiquated authorities who approved of the Permanent Settlement. That may have had a bearing on the question discussed, but has none on this one of ours; again, at the Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association, the Maharajah of Durbhunga elected President, with Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Vice-President, the Maharajah of Durbhunga said that the Government of India, in its recent Land Revenue Resolution, had confounded the Permanent Settlement with the rules subsequently passed to give landlords facilities; and Rajah Peary Mohun entered a protest by saying:—

"Considering how vast and voluminous is the literature on the subject, it is not a matter for surprise, that His Excellency the Viceroy should have taken an opposite view and confounded that settlement with the regulations subsequently passed for the purposes of affording land-holders certain facilities for bearing the burden imposed upon them by that settlement, and led His Excellency to suppose that the Act of 1859 and subsequent measures were passed to remedy the evils caused by it. Those who are conversant with the history of rent legislation in Bengal know fully well that it was not to remedy any evils caused by the Permanent Settlement, but to rescind the harsh and summary provisions of Regulation V of 1812, to consolidate the law relating to the recovery of rent, and to

transfer the trial of rent-suits from the Civil to the Revenue Courts that Act X of 1859 was passed. But in going to protect the ryots from the abuse of summary powers by land-holders, the legislature placed such difficulties in the way of recovery and settlement of rent that all subsequent legislation on the subject, not even excepting the Bengal Tenancy Act, was undertaken avowedly with the object of affording relief to the land-holders."

As regards the doing away with the Bengal Permanent Settlement—the question is how to do it equitably—the leading members of the European Press in the country are at one. Here is what the *Englishman* says:—

"It is singular that in his laborious apologies for the Permanent Settlement, Mr. Romesh Chundra Dutt should so carefully avoid all approach to Sir Auckland Colvin's well-known and masterly Memorandum published in the seventies, which is one of the recognised treatises on the subject and of which Mr. Dutt can hardly be ignorant. After quoting the Resolutions showing the strong set of the highest official opinion in the direction in which Mr. Dutt is still lingering, the writer gives in detail the enquiries which completed the emancipation of the Government from the delusions which had previously prevailed. In many localities what might at first have been technically described as an unearned increment promised before long to realise proportions equal to, if not in excess of the original value of the land, a promise which has since been realised. It does not reveal a desire to deal exhaustively with the subject to ignore the whole body of evidence on which the Memorandum convinced the majority of responsible men of the folly of locking up productive lands in permanent assessments, and convicted the minority of reckless indifference to the true welfare of the country. Apart from objection to Permanent Settlement above dealt with, there is the equally fatal one that, so far as Bengal proper is concerned, the increasing value of land has not only not benefited the landlord, but it has also not benefited the tenants. Under the special arrangements for registering under tenures subinfeudation has spread like a disease through the Province, creating one class after another of drones on permanent under-tenures, pure annuitants on the land, as Sir George Campbell styled them, who make the country no return whatever for the sustenance which it affords them." The *Indian Daily News* on the 12th November last gives a severe side-blow to the same mistake of Lord Cornwallis. Even the *Madras Mail* in Southern India writes thus:—

"The United Kingdom has its Permanent Settlement in the shape of Pitt's Land Act, which was perhaps the source of

Lord Cornwallis's well-meant Regulation. In England a determination to limit the demand on the land was a comparatively easy matter. There the land tax yields about £750,000 out of a total taxation of over £121,000,000, of which property and income tax alone yields over thirty-three millions. If Great Britain were mainly an agricultural country, a permanently settled land tax would be an impossibility. As it is, the existence, the permanency of the land tax pass almost unnoticed. In India, however, the land tax occupies a very different place. Out of a total estimated income of Rs. 1,08,28,78,000 land revenue supplies no less than Rs. 27,25,59,000, and assessed taxes yield only Rs. 1,95,59,000. Hence observers and critics of British rule in India are apt to concentrate their attention—quite rightly, for that matter—on our land tax." And goes on to write (sarcastically) of the "right of Government to tax richer Provinces for the relief of those that are famine-stricken. Bengal alone, thanks to Lord Cornwallis, cannot be called upon to take its due share in this poor-law business. She is fortunate, and may well bless Lord Cornwallis. But if all India were permanently settled, other taxes than that on land would have to be invented in order to raise funds to relieve the starving millions." And, we may add, for other Imperial and necessary purposes.

Let us add that Mr. Skrine who knows Bengal well writes thus of the old system and the new that succeeded it:—

"Under native rule, the lands of Bengal were farmed out to hangers-on at the Viceregal court, who were styled zemindars, or landholders. The annual demand, under Akbar's vigorous sway, was ascertained by actual measurement, but when the central authority weakened, the quantum of State was roughly arrived at by biddings among the postulants for farms. These, in their turn, imitated their masters by making their leases hereditary in their families. But ownership, in the British sense of the word was incomprehensible to the native mind. The struggle was not for land but raiyats, literally "subjects," whose labour gave worth to that which was *per se* as valueless as air or water. When a zemindar fell into arrears he was brought to reason by a military force. The smaller fry, under Ali Vardi Khan, were coerced by imprisonment in a dungeon knee-deep in filth, which the last of the Mughal Viceroys humorously styled *Bihisht* (Paradise). Others were convinced of the error of their ways by being forced to don capacious trousers full of wild cats. The land revenue that gathered in, filtered through a succession of corrupt native officials, and that which reached the Exchequer was a mere fraction of the amount extorted from the unhappy raiyats. Nay, it varied directly with the seasons, and the East India Company's budget was constantly deranged by vast deficits in the collections. This uncertainty was not to be endured, and Lord Cornwallis went out to India with a mandate from the Court of Directors to fix the Government demand from lands in perpetuity. His own instinct as a territorial magnate led him to follow the policy thus inculcated with ardour. The first year of the French Revolution, 1789, saw the beginnings of one as momentous in the internal economy of Bengal. An assessment was made of the yield of each estate, not based as it should have been on a cadastral survey, but on the actual demand in previous years. Now apart from defects inseparable from the rough-and-ready methods which were alone available, Lord Cornwallis and his right-hand man, Sir John Shore, had to deal with ignorance in the over-tasked collectors, and

wholesale corruption in the zemindars and native subordinates. And, while the central districts were fairly well cultivated and, therefore, fully taxed, those to the north and east were still covered with jungle, and escaped with a pepper corn assessment. For good or for evil the estimates arrived at in 1789 were declared in 1793 to represent the permanent demand by way of land revenue. The farmers became copyholders and the punctual payment of the quatum of the State was assured by a cast-iron sale-law, which provided that defaulters' estates should be put up to public auction in case the instalments of Government rent were not paid on due date. The result was that most of the new-fangled proprietors were expropriated within ten years. With few exceptions the present race of zemindars are, or represent, "innocent holders for value," as our lawyers say; and they cannot be ousted without receiving compensation, which would cripple the Indian Exchequer. But the greatest injustice of the Permanent Settlement was the absence of any effectual mechanism for assuring to the tillers of the soil the same fixity of tenure which was conceded to the zemindars. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, gave platonic utterance to a hope that his *protégés* would devote themselves to improving their property. But the rights of the raiyats, which were far more ancient and more firmly established than those enjoyed by the farmers, were ignored; and more than ninety years were destined to elapse ere effectual attempts were made to enforce them. The Marquis's optimism was soon belied by events. A device was introduced in the great estates of the Maharaja of Burdwan by which the zemindars alienated parcels of their property for ever, receiving a rental in excess of the Government demand. These miniature permanent settlements received the sanction of law, the zemindar sank to the status of annuitant on the land, and a hierarchy of middlemen was gradually inserted between the State and the unhappy cultivator. If a century has converted a wilderness into a garden, the agency at work has been the British peace, the advent of foreign capital, roads and railways, and the introduction of new staples. The zemindar's increment has been wholly unearned by him."—*Indian Daily News*, 12th February 1902.

We may add numerous other arguments besides that of the injustice to the rest of India in raising money from them for Imperial purposes and Bengal escaping, such as that zemindars now pay their rent in a rupee depreciated by half (if they paid 1,000 *sicea* rupees then and pay only 1,000 Government rupees now, they pay only half their true due); Bengal lands escaping the old "Military Cess"; not paying now the same *proportionate amount* as in Lord Cornwallis's time—the *proportion* being the essence and spirit of the settlement; the settlement not excluding all other just and due demands, such as for Police, abkari, etc., etc., besides the above Military Cess; all India then not being contemplated as forming one Empire; and, finally, the just and lawful increasing demands of the age and the State.

The old cry of "Resumption" would have been unjust and spelt ruin to innocent holders, but our plan of "Redemption" is unassailable. Mr. Skrine, in the quotation given above, says it cannot be done without "crippling" the Indian Exchequer. But it can be done, and positively benefit the Indian Exchequer by the most amazing overhauls. It can be done as a Government measure extending or spread over, say, fifteen years for the purchase-money, and the profit lies in the low rate of interest at which Government can borrow money. To take the example of the largest estate in Bengal, that of the

Burdwan Raj, which, say, in round numbers, pays half a million sterling annually to the revenue, and, say, makes about £150,000 over, (some estates make more and others less) that is, say, a third. It is evident the actual value of the estate is not reckoned on the half a million of revenue paid,—for that goes to Government,—but on the £150,000 over and above. Fifteen years' purchase on this amount makes the price payable £2,250,000. The payment of this, however, is spread over fifteen years, involving a payment of only £150,000 per annum. This amount can be borrowed by Government to pay off at, say, 4 per cent., so that Government would have actually to pay only £6,000 per annum *netting* £144,000 per annum which it would take over in the £150,000. Thus, the Government can pay the interest, and have over and above £144,000, out of the actual income from the estate, and this sum of £144,000 might be partially devoted to a Sinking Fund to wipe out the loan of £150,000, the remainder going to increase the revenues. Thus, in fifteen years, or, say, even in eighteen years, the State will have paid off its dues, the revenues having increased a third—which, here, means several millions sterling. There is nothing easier to be done, and a Bengali landlord who makes, say, six lakhs a year on his estate, will be glad to escape all future trouble and expense by becoming a millionaire with 100 lakhs!

We add again here a sub-section representing native opinion, though it is not our purpose to make this a permanent feature in our review of the Quarter:—

The Berar question (*Rost Gofstar*):—

"The Government of India has not done any wrong in for ever taking up the Government of the Berars: the Province has made great progress in education and civilization and material prosperity under the British management; the people of the province have become very happy since they were weaned away from their natural parent; it will be cruel to hand over these happy and contented people to the Nizam's Government which has hitherto been characterized by anarchy and misrule."

The rule of the sword (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*):—

"Animals such as dogs, cats, wolves and others fight. So long men continue to fight they will give evidence of their brutal nature. If a man gives a push to another he is punished,—that is the law. Violence is prohibited by law. What a great wrong, therefore, is for a number of men to fire upon fellow-beings who have done them no harm. A volley is fired and one dozen men fall dead and another dozen get wounded. The wounded cry for water, but they are trampled under foot. The dead leave orphans and widows behind. Does any man pretend to say that those who fire volleys will not be held responsible for their acts? If there is a God and if what the Prophets say be true a subject race who do not fight are worthier by far than the race who rule by the sword."

The expense on pomp and pageantry (*Native States*):—

"Now that the said postponement of the coronation has put the Empire to dreadful loss, it behoves Lord Curzon to curtail, as far as possible, the good-for-nothing pomp and pageantry of the Delhi Durbar. The sober Englishman must be the last to outdo the oriental in splendour, but what a strange

passion has seized Lord Curzon? To take the Delhi Durbar, for instance, the scale on which the Viceroy has planned it is not simply ultra-magnificent, but in the present state of the country most ill-becoming in the extreme. He needs must excel the fabled magnificence of the Arabian nights and the Eastern epics; and that, too, when famine and plague have been decimating the population. Whatever may be the strength of Great Britain and her prosperous colonies to stand the delirium of Imperialism, poor India can only succumb under it. We shall take a few Native States and show how it is a sin to put them to any extra expenditure just now. The Maharajah of Jaipur has been the spoiled child of Munificence and the dreadful loss of some thirty-five lakhs wasted during the course of a fortnight, is a lesson that cannot be wasted either on the Maharajah or on the Government of India. The Maharajah Scindia seems to have given himself in adoption to "glory and England," and we wonder whether he realises where exactly his state is financially. Berars must bear evidence enough as to the capacity of Hyderabad to contribute to the Delhi splendour. Baroda which has suffered enough from famine is fortunately under a Ruler who will not overstep the bounds of necessity. Mysore has too many irons in the fire, while Cochin must make a strenuous effort to turn away from every pie of additional expenditure. This attempt to make India inebriated with the strong drink of Imperialism is as becoming as forcing a good old cripple to climb up a precipitous hill."

And again :—

"Lord Curzon evidently wants to outdo everything that has been heard of in oriental splendour and has requisitioned forty elephants for the Delhi procession.* It is time that we put an outspoken question—what is this fatality that has seized Englishmen at home and in India? When an Eastern Prince gives himself up to splendour, he equally gives himself up to oriental generosity. If he rides on a gorgeous white elephant seated on the golden *howdah* he also scatters *mohurs* and coins as he rides; and if he holds a Durbar of surpassing magnificence, he gives splendid jaghirs and *Inams* and remits taxation. In short, he is a thorough going oriental, combining oriental magnificence with oriental magnanimity; but if the red-tape-bound bureaucratic Government of India should be seized with a passion for oriental magnificence can it end in anything else except aggravated misery for this famine-ridden country?

Draining India (*Lucknow Advocate*) :—

"By way of make-up of a column we read in an unimportant page of the *Pioneer* that the order for the firework display for the Delhi Durbar has been placed with Messrs. C. T. Brock & Co., of Crystal Palace, London. If a careful inquiry be made, it may be found that orders for almost all materials needed for the Durbar have been placed with English firms either of England or of India. From the Victoria Memorial to the Coronation Durbar, foreign labour, foreign design and foreign materials are to be used and not Indian articles, much less Indian genius. Serve British or Eurasian† interests. This seems to be the motto of Lord Curzon's administration."

A Court for Native Princes (*Native States*) :—

"If it is necessary that Indian Princes should be tried, it follows, that the constitution of the tribunal must be such as would ensure justice from every point of view, and that is all the need we suppose. The writer further goes to remark that this principle reiterated by the Indian Press was recognised in the Baroda trial; yes, quite so; and the fear of the Indian Press is that since in the Baroda trial the Government of India had to act against the unanimous view of the three Indian Princes, the Government of India in all the subsequent trials have taken care not to lay themselves open to so awkward a charge, and have cut the gordian knot by not appointing a Native

* We would have one hundred and forty elephants.—ED., C. R.

† Where does the "Eurasian" come in here?—ED., C. R.

Prince on the Commission.* Bharatpur, Panna, Jhallawar, Manipur and Cashmere all bear witness to this change of policy. How else is this to be accounted for?"

The Art of Lying (*New India*) :—

- "The art of plain, honest, blunt truth-speaking which characterised the earlier and sturdier stages of human society, seems to have become an altogether lost art in modern civilisation. Few people, outside Bedlam, seem to cultivate, or care for, this lost art to-day. In religion, we pay homage to false gods, whom our reason believes not, our heart loves not, and our conscience cares not to obey. In society we bend our knees low to men and institutions that in our heart of hearts we hate and abhor. In civic life, whether from dread or from design, we are always proclaiming things that we know are not and cannot be true. Even our lies are not honest lies. We do not simply tell a lie, and then turn from it away in shame, as from a bastard product of a temporary temptation, but we clothe it with fine plausibilities, adorn it with high-flown sentiments, proclaim it to the world with all the might of our tongues, and hypnotise ourselves into the belief that our lies are the very soul of truth itself; and having thus reduced lying to a fine art, we call it high-class politics, we call it lofty patriotism, we call it loyalty to Order and Authority, we pronounce it to be the highest wisdom, and count it among the crafts of a most superior civilisation!"

Indian Princes (*New India*) :—

"We wonder if Lord Reay remembered the very common-place fact that the Indian princes are composed of human flesh and blood and have the ordinary sentience of human beings, when he declared, before the distinguished company that gathered around the festive board of the Royal Asiatic Society, last month,—that "the position of an Indian ruler is in many respects most enviable." His Lordship means always well, we believe, by both the princes and the people of India, but what he exactly meant by this particular declaration, we find it very difficult to divine. All that he said, by way of explanation, is that (1) by good Government the Indian Prince can always secure a surplus and freedom from debt; (2) trade is free; (3) he can give liberal encouragement to arts and manufactures; (4) his principal care is the same as that of the British Government :—it is wise legislation for the tiller of the soil; (5) he is fortunately removed from the great competition in armaments;—and we regret to have to say that we do not find in this catalogue of special advantages any, except No. 5, which is not open to royalties all the world over, and which make the position of the Indian ruler, a special object of envy. These are, besides, all in the subjunctive mood, and the large "If" is the British Political. When descending on the position of the Indian ruler, did Lord Reay forget that (1) he can take absolutely no initiative, without running the fatal risk of a difference with the Suzerain Power, unless it is sanctioned by the Political; (2) he cannot regulate the trade of his dominions and make it less "free" than what the economic interests of his subjects may need; (3) he can not claim, as of right, to be judged by his peers when accused of any serious crime; (4) he is constantly kept under a most annoying surveillance, such as is maintained in other civilised countries only over the criminal classes; (5) he is not entitled to that ordinary freedom of movement which even the meanest of his own subject enjoys; (6) in many cases, his life is filled with an endless succession of petty pin-pricks from the British Political; and (7) if he does not frequently seek refuge from these in

* This may not be a true view.—ED., C. R.

violent and self inflicted death, as did the Maharajah of Patna, some years ago, it is simply because through long history and heredity he has been trained by the high spiritual ideals of his race, to take all earthly ills with stoic calmness, and to submit to whatever pain or trouble may befall him, as the dispensations of God and the fruits of his own KARMA. And in this long and true catalogue of the life, history of more than eighty per cent. of the Indian rulers, what is there, we wonder, to excite the envy of a British Peer, unless it be the oriental ease and listlessness of their lives or the worked-up splendours of their princely pageants. But we ought not, perhaps, to scrutinise so critically, the post-prandial utterances of a festive board."

The Village Communes (*Pioneer*):—

"The people ask for cheap and ready justice. They ask for less interference in their internal affairs and the maintenance of old customs. The people of India are in their villages as from time immemorial. The shouting in the bazaars, eloquent speeches in Congress pandals, the Resolutions of retired officials—none of these reach the men who follow the plough tail. Let justice be brought to their doors, avoid unnecessary interference, watch the crops, and prove the Sirkar is their guardian, as well as dispenser of justice and tax-collector. The first step is to deal with them in the village and as the village, and to rebuild the shattered village communities. If the foundations be sound, any superstructure of District Boards and Legislative Councils is possible."

India Disaffected (*Mr. J. M. Maclean*):—

"Observers who look below the surface are well aware that India was never more profoundly disaffected to British rule than she is at the present moment, that she was never governed with less regard for the wishes and interests of the subject-races, and that it is only the hopelessness of resistance which prevents the outbreak of formidable popular insurrections. The old good feeling between conqueror and conquered, which thirty years ago seemed to be of constant and rapid growth, has now quite died out, and the gulf between European and Native is more firmly fixed than ever."†

Finally, we have the following humble petition of the members of the Bombay Presidency Association and other citizens of Bombay, to the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled:—

Respectfully sheweth that your petitioners humbly crave leave to bring to the notice of your Honourable House the heavy financial burden which has been entailed on India in consequence of the changes introduced into the British Army system from time to time.

2. That the said financial burden is caused by the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 which was unfortunately carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced statesmen, as may be readily learned from the evidence recorded by the Select Committee of your Honourable House which sat, from 1871 to 1874, to investigate into the whole domain of Indian finance.

3. That the scheme is in the nature of a partnership, but of so one-sided a character that India has to submit to all the pecuniary obligation, which changes in the British Army system frequently involve without being allowed to have a voice in the determination thereof.

* The *Pioneer* echoes here what we set forth long ago, and what has been repeated in the Native Press.—ED., C. R.

† All our previous extracts go to prove the truth of Mr. Maclean's words, which is the reason why we include them here. Few people know India better.—ED., C. R.

4. That India is thus bound hand and foot, while the charges it is from time to time called upon to bear in consequence of the said alterations are beyond its ability as pointed out in more than one public despatch by the Government of India. The alterations are generally made without any regard to the important fact that what may be perfectly suited to a country so wealthy as England may be altogether unsuited to a country so admittedly poor as India. Moreover, as the Government of India have repeatedly pointed out, India has had on several occasions to pay for many changes in the said Army Scheme introduced out of Imperial consideration in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced.

5. That since 1860 large sums have been paid to the British Exchequer for a variety of military purposes the financial justice of which has been more than once questioned by the Government of India. That more than one Committee of your Honourable House has sat during the same interval, as the records of your Honourable House bear ample evidence, to inquire into the equity of certain surcharges about which the Indian Government complained, and only very recently the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure, after having exhaustively inquired into the grievances urged by the Government of India, recommended a reduction of £230,000 in the payment annually made by the Government to the British Exchequer on account of the British troops on the Indian establishment.

6. That your petitioners have noticed with great regret and alarm the recent proposal to increase the pay of the British soldier. This increase will entail on the revenues of India a further charge of about £786,000 per annum which it can ill afford to bear. Though the relief in the annual payment to the British Exchequer recommended by Lord Welby's Commission was considerably less than what was due to India the Indian people have thankfully accepted the small reduction made in accordance with that recommendation. But it is clear from the action now taken by your Honourable House that that exceedingly small relief will be more than neutralised by the fresh permanent burden of £786,000 per annum which will now be imposed. Your petitioners respectfully beg to invite the attention of your Honourable House to the important fact that changes which do not cause any very serious addition to the English estimates, and which are carried out without the least reference to India, entail, as declared by the Government of India, a very heavy burden on the Indian revenues by reason of exchange and other causes.

7. That the injustice of this burden becomes more marked when it is remembered that the Indian tax-payer pays England the annual charges for the training of men sent to India, while, on the other hand, England does not pay one pie for training the men who pass from India to the reserve just as they are becoming thoroughly efficient soldiers. Nor does England pay for the training of officers and men she lends either temporarily or permanently. Your petitioners further beg to point out that the British Government, as has been admitted by the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure, has derived, and does derive, great benefit from the existence of a large effective force in India. India provides a reserve force in the East which, with a loyal and peaceful people like the Indians, can promptly and effectively aid British policy in other parts of the world. Your petitioners have only to point to the prompt, effective and opportune aid rendered by India in a time of sore trial in connection with the late war in South Africa.

8. That your petitioners lastly beg to point out to your Honourable House in this connexion the appalling growth of Indian military expenditure which has risen from sixteen crores in 1885 to twenty-seven crores this year. A material portion of this increase is due to the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 which has proved so extremely costly and injurious to the revenues of India. As a matter of fact the present Indian military expenditure absorbs the total land revenue of India collected from millions of peasants noted for their hopeless indebtedness and chronic indigence.

9. That your petitioners humbly pray, therefore, that the additional burden of £786,000 which will fall on India in consequence of the increase in the pay of the British soldier be not thrown on this country and that

the distribution of military expenditure between England and India may be based on just and equitable principles. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray. Dated at Bombay this Fifth Day of July 1902.*

NATIVE STATES, PRINCES, &C.

We don't know that we should include Nepal in our view here, though it cannot well be left out. As usual, the real and true sovereign of the country will not be visible at the Delhi Coronation Durbar, but he will send his Prime Minister there. We may add, that the Nepal Government has sent eight young men of respectable families to the Imperial University College and Technical School at Tokio in Japan to study the several branches of practical art, such as match-making, metal-engraving, mining and silk-rearing. The State will undertake the whole of the expenses necessary for training these young Nepalese. "We have heard much of the demerits of native rule in India, says the *Bengali*, but if India had been under native rule, even a comparatively poor State, like that of Nepal, would not have allowed itself to be left behind in this march of economic progress which is led by Japan and followed by many a backward eastern country." This is very sarcastic, but is not India herself to blame? With millions buried, she leaves the development of the country to foreigners;—with the grossest and most crying social abuses she rests content;—with real power she makes no true and united effort;—and with the pure and beneficent Light of the Gospel of Christ she—under a false conception of "patriotism"—dreams a thousand dark metaphysical dreams of *Hinduism*.

Coming down south in due order, we have the Nawab of Bahawulpore, an account of whose State we furnished in our last, worthy of being incorporated into Aitchison's *Treaties*. As we stated in our last, he had such evil preliminary experience of the sea, that he declined to go to England, and returned to his State. The *Bombay Gazette*, while quoting us and making merry over the incident, pays a well-deserved compliment to the representative of Government with the Nawab, by saying that the Nawab "has the benefit of the advice and assistance of perhaps the most accomplished Mentor in the service, to wit, Colonel Grey, C.S.I." The Punjab ought to be very sorry ever to lose this "accomplished Mentor." The Nawab, since his return, has made the discovery that his State is four-fifths Mahomedan, while only

* We don't know that this "Petition" will have any effect. These Parsi, Bengali, and other numerous associations and public bodies are too scattered and separated one from another. Were all of them drawn into line, and marshalled together, on momentous questions of public interest—which might be done by a common understanding, there is no doubt that their voice would be heard. These isolated efforts have little force or effect.—ED., C. R.

a fifth of them are employed by the State. If the Nawab will employ us as Director of Public Engines and Forces embracing in them all and sundry moral, social, etc., etc., on Rs 5,000 per mensem, payable always *in advance*, we shall see that no Mahomedan is over-ridden by a Hindu in his just and legitimate aspiration for State employment. We should even establish a College of *Moulvies* for discussions on religion, in which we, by virtue of our office, would sit as "Neutral" President, and keep "the peace" between contending and contentious parties, whether Sunni or Sheeah or Kadiani, or Hindu or Jain, or Buddhist, or Sikh, or Christian, and prevent them from falling on each other's beards or eyes. We would also have a Mahomedan edition of *Punch* circulated *gratis*. With reference to our observations on the misuse of titles in India, the *Indian Daily News* quotes the following *para.*:—

"In a Public Works Department Notification in the current *Punjab Gazette*, we (*Civil and Military Gazette*) read of the services of an officer being placed at the disposal of the *Maharajah* (sic!) of Kapurthala. It is true that the followers and friends of this Prince are notoriously eager to use this title on every possible occasion of public reference to him, but for all that we are not aware that His Highness is entitled to any higher style than "Rajah." We have already pointed out how the *Indian Daily News* itself allows its Correspondents to err in an even less excusable way in regard to the scores of "Nawabs" in Bengal. (As for "Rajahs" and "Maharajahs" in Bengal, it is our opinion that not one in ten thus titled have any right—a Bengali in the *Mofussil* calls any "Baboo" a "Rajah Saheb.") In the above *para.*, however, it is seen how, as we once stated, Government itself errs and leads the way. Lord Curzon should come down like a sledge hammer here and put down every *parve un* unauthorised person, and other, in his proper place.

During the absence of the Gwalior Chief in England, his Maharani went up to Simla and stayed a few days there as Lady Curzon's guest.

The lately deposed Punna Chief has been ordered to Madras and is to receive an allowance of Rs. 1,200 per mensem. The area of Punna is about 2,500 square miles, and the population about a quarter of a million; the revenue being about 4½ lakhs. The territory is noted for diamonds which are to be found imbedded in the rocks from fifteen to twenty feet deep. Although stones to a high value are still to be found, the return does not equal the outlay in every place and this uncertainty has stood in the way of any extensive mining operation being undertaken. Still, we found, when we were there, that the principal cause operating against was the greed of the Chief, or

it may be of all the Bundelcund Chiefs—for they are all—some thirty of them—in partnership in the Diamond Mines—upon the finders of stones of even a moderate value! And then the *Bengali* runs into sarcasm! Besides the above cause, we found that among the thirty odd “royal” shareholders were some very ancient dames who were extreme Hindoos, and would not hear of “concessions” to an outside European Syndicate! We know, for instance, where there is in Punna an enormous large Diamond that probably beats the *Koh-i-Nur* as it was originally—more than double its present size—but we dare do nothing! The Punna White Diamond bears the highest value in the world’s market, the Borneo White Diamond coming next to it. We examined the Punna country thoroughly and know all its ground, etc. Punna seems also to be connected with the origin of the Lady Dufferin Fund. The story is that the Maharani of Punna having been cured of a painful complaint by a missionary-lady doctor, Her Highness requested the Queen-Empress to graciously provide some system whereby the efficient medical aid of the West may be available to the women of India. And the result was the beneficent institution in the chief centres of India under the name of “The Victoria Gosha Women Hospital.” The State Capital is full of very large grand Hindu Temples and magnificent lakes and palaces, all built and constructed from the proceeds of the territory’s diamonds. It was even reported to us that there is a Diamond as large as a Swan’s Egg (!, in a certain spot that was shown to us and the reason told us why it is there, all which bore the semblance of truth.

In regard to the deposition of the Punna Chief the *Native States*, a paper lately started (about which see more further on) “improves” the incident thus:—

“That lamentable incident, the deposition of the Maharajah of Punna, brings once again to prominence the difficult and delicate question of the trial of an Indian Prince when accused of crimes and misdemeanours. Although a matter of peculiar difficulty and of grave importance, all that the Government of India has been able to achieve in the solution of the problem has been a reputation to rely on rough and ready methods of procedure and emerges out of the situation with abundant adverse criticism and little approbation. Indeed, in some matters the Government of India seems to have a *naïve* capacity to blunder into what is awkward and impolitic. But it seems to us in all candour that it has blundered enough and more than enough and that it is time for it to cease blundering from policy or the want of it. Once before, the India Government chose to act on the one-sided representations of a biased political with no form of trial or inquiry. On another occasion a Royal Commission, which included three Indian Princes, sat, but the Government chose to act against the *unanimous* view of the three Indian Princes and in conformity to the recommendation of the European members of the commission. Now on this occasion, the commission is uncontaminated by the presence of a native. We wonder whether it is necessary for us to point out the impression which such a consistent course of conduct is apt to leave on the princes and

peoples of the country. The question in all these cases is not whether the Government of India is substantially correct in its decision, but whether it has done the right thing in the right manner?—a question that has but one answer and that a profoundly unsatisfactory one. And in the present instance the answer is all the more unsatisfactory. Only two members composed the commission, and they were both Europeans. Not only was there no native member on the commission, but the fundamental principle of all fair trials that a man must be tried by his peers was quietly ignored. And the trial was conducted *in camera*, deprived of the inestimable safeguards of judicial publicity. And on the strength of a trial thus conducted has the Maharajah been by a Viceregal resolution deposed. And again what wonder that the whole procedure has come in for scathing condemnation? Perhaps it may be thought that we are making a sentimental grievance of the absence of Native Princes on the commission. If so, the Government of Lord Curzon must be the very last to make light of sentiments. But far from being merely sentimental, the objection involves a most substantial point of justice. Who, like a Maharajah, can know the ins and outs of palace politics, palace intrigues, and of palace possibilities? Who, like him, can see through a cloud of circumstantial evidence and a phalanx of ordered facts and allegations? And through that world of chance and contrivance and manipulations of which a prince more than an ordinary mortal is so often a victim and to which even alert British Officers may fall a prey? It is not, therefore, as a matter of idle privilege, that we insist that a commission trying a prince must include a prince; but we insist upon it on the ground of bare justices. To ignore this all important consideration in constituting a commission is to evolve a tribunal fundamentally defective in its make; and hence its verdict must fail to command that confidence and esteem which it is absolutely essential for the fair name of British Rule, it must command.”

We come next to Bhopal, where its late Administrator, Moulvie Abdul Jubber of Calcutta, having been dismissed, the Begum has taken the reins of Government into her own fair hands. A large amount of buried treasure, too, has lately been found at Rajgurn in the Bhopal Agency. The Chief died a few months back, and Mr. Lang, the Political Agent, went to settle the deceased’s affairs. He was told by one of the palace nobles that the Chief had left a message for him to the effect that a large amount of treasure was stored in a vault in the palace, and that it had been there since the days of the mutiny. Mr. Lang examined the vault, and found the treasure chiefly in bar gold, and in the current Bhopal Rupees, of a total value estimated at seventeen and-a-half lakhs.

[While on buried treasures there is an authentic report of buried (State) treasure of the amount of several *crores*—in gold bars, the *locale* of which we have carefully examined on several occasions, and for which, some years ago, we had obtained the consent of the Government of the N.-W.-P. to investigate, but which came to nothing owing to the greed of the Hindu owner of a portion of the land.]

The Baroda Chief’s health has necessitated his being sent to the Nilgiris for this hot season. On his way, he paid a visit to Bangalore, when he inspected several of the institutions of the place. His Maharani has joined him, and they have both made themselves very popular by their parties,

etc. His Highness has consented to preside over, and open the Industrial Exhibition, in connection with the Indian National Congress, to be held in December next at Ahmedabad.

The Installation of the Mysore Chief takes place on the 8th August, and His Excellency the Viceroy has very graciously consented to be the Installing Officer. The new administration scheme for the country provides for the Maharajah at the head of affairs, assisted by the Dewan and two Councillors. The business will practically be divided into "scheduled" and "non-scheduled." The first will comprise all important business which will be dealt with and disposed of by the Maharajah personally after considering any observations that have been made by the Dewan and Councillors thereon. The non-scheduled business will be disposed of by the Dewan as the Executive head of the Government, after having passed through the particular Councillor to whose Department it belongs. The Councillors will take under the new scheme a fairly direct part in the administration, each being allotted a portfolio and being entrusted with a certain amount of supervision over the affairs of the Departments which they control. In the event of an *impasse* arising, as in the case of friction between the Dewan and Councillors, a reference will be made to the Maharajah, whose opinion will be final.

The old Maharani of Vizianagram has breathed her last. The Manager of the Court of Wards of an estate in the South—whether belonging to ruling prince or not we cannot say—is advertising for a loan of 88 *lakhs* on a portion. We do not know the ins and outs of this case, but observe that there must have been some awful mismanagement in the past; and the amount seems to be one that even a large ruling prince's territory could hardly bear. In regard to the expenses of Native States, the paper we have quoted before says:—

By the end of 1903, we fear, most of the Native States will have to be face to face before a financial blank, if not a financial break up. The calls that have been made in quick succession on their meagre resources from 1901 have been calls that drain the treasury without benefiting the State, and three such consecutive years must certainly prove too much even for the most prosperous of them. The plague and the famine had their own share of the States' resources, while Lord Curzon's permanent Famine Fund led to another draft on several of the State treasuries. The South African War and the China Expedition must certainly have happened in vain if they could not afford occasion for a costly demonstration of loyalty, to several of them. The Viceregal visits did not come and go "on the light fantastic toe" but left decent indentations. And as an offspring of the military ardour of the times the transport corps came into existence to sit tightly on the overburdened finances. The Calcutta Memorial was another windfall into these overflowing treasuries, and now, to crown all, comes the forthcoming

Coronation and the Super-added Delhi Assemblage. We wonder wherein lurks the last straw that will break the camel's back.

The following is an account furnished by some one to the press in regard to Europeans and their treatment in Native States. We ourselves have had a most considerable experience of Native States, and while the picture is not overdrawn, it is not always so bad. On the contrary, we know of some Chiefs who have been—kindness personified—sending us food (by Brahmins) cooked in their own kitchens and delicacies reserved for Lieutenant-Governors and Viceroys; while in other cases, a *European Manager* (of a Native State) has deprived us of just dues by taking a mean and disgraceful advantage of the "Limitation Act" (all the while they were spending thousands!). At the same time we must say, that everywhere previous to entering into a State, the Government representative or resident has warned us *not to go in* (which reminds us of the Policemen stationed at the head of the several lanes into *White Chapel* as it was *thirty years ago* warning us not to go inside the area when, as a "casual" we were exploring the lowest stratum of life in London). Here is the damaging account, on which we would like to have any further) sarcastic comments, of the *Bengali*:—

"The Raja has, we will say for our illustration, scented money in . . . As none of his own native subjects has either the knowledge or the rectitude to manage such a business, he promptly advertises for an expert European offering a seemingly liberal salary, with various additional inducements in the shape of promotion, pension, permanency, etc. This secures him a first class man, who has perhaps in his ignorance thrown up some safer appointment owing to the tempting bait now offered him. The Raja after this informs the Local Government of the choice he has made, and is obliged to obtain official permission before he can employ the man in his service; while the Government on its part is supposed to institute enquiries as to the man's character and antecedents, and then convey its approval to the Raja. Such an apparently searching and careful procedure has led the European into believing that he is now under the protecting ægis of his own Government, and that as long as he does his duty, his future career is safe in the Native State. But in the interests of the European community it is necessary to at once disabuse its members of this cruelly false impression. Government action in this matter is a purely selfish one, simply for the purpose of excluding foreign political adventurers, and there is no intention whatsoever of protecting the Englishman, however patriotic and honourable from internal intrigues or the bad faith of the Raja. The official tendency in this matter is in fact the other way, as the Raja can practically do what he likes with his enslaved Europeans without any fear of Government intervention; and what is more, Government reserves to itself the extraordinary power of ordering a Raja to turn out a European from the State, without giving any official reason for the act. I have actually been shown such arbitrary orders sending adrift many an able and innocent man.

But to return to our muttons. From the day the European is engaged his disillusionment and difficulties commence. If he determines to live a pure and straightforward life, do his plain duty, improve the administration, and put down waste and corruption, then he is bound to make a host of enemies among those who have previously fattened on mismanagement and unscrupulous loot. Intrigues are promptly started, and plots hatched against him. He will be subjected to endless worry and underhand pressure

with the object of forcing him to resign; and slow poison that will injure his health, with threats of assassination, are not uncommon on such occasions. As Rajas are proverbially not conspicuous for their strength of character, in nine cases out of ten the European will sooner or later go to the wall. If he does not fulfil the expectations of his enemies by incontinently throwing up his work and leaving the next step towards his destruction will be to concoct half-a-dozen false criminal and civil charges; and then an order is passed by the enlightened ruler for his immediate dismissal, with the threat that if he does not quietly depart at once he will be prosecuted under several sections of the Indian Penal Code. There is no redress, and he will be a lucky man if he leaves the State with only the loss of his appointment, his money and his health; as a rule he will awake to the fact that very unpleasant rumours have deliberately been set afloat about his incompetence, corruption, and generally evil life! Should he stand on his dignity and rights, and have the courage to report matters to the Local or Supreme Government, and ask for a full and unprejudiced inquiry, he will find to his astonishment a dead blank wall of official opposition all round him. The Raja will immediately fabricate a garbled version of the whole affair for official edification, even quoting Government regulations and resolutions to support his woeful tale; while Government on its part will repudiate all responsibility and proceed to hush up the scandal with all possible haste. In plain words, there is no kind of redress or satisfaction to be hoped for either from the Raja or our own Government. While the Raja can prosecute and persecute with impunity a British subject with or without British laws, the European cannot touch the Raja with any law at all. The European who is thus broke by a native princeling must submit to loss and humiliation, and try begin life all over again in some other distant part of the country,—as the very Lieutenant-Governor who originally approved of his appointment will now not only decline to aid him in any way, but will also prohibit his entering the service of any other Native State in his province. This is not all, the neighbouring provincial Governors will likewise follow suit in hounding the unlucky individual; while the supreme Government will altogether decline to intervene on the pretext that it is purely a matter for the Local Government to deal with! So the ball of circumlocution is kept rolling, and all responsibility is shifted from shoulder to shoulder till it vanishes into thin air. Nothing can be got out of the Raja in his own State, as he is a law unto himself; and equally futile is it to try and prosecute the Raja in our law courts, as before this can be done it is first necessary to secure the permission of the Local Government. Unless it is a very glaring case which has found its way into the public press, no such permission will be granted, but instead an order will probably be despatched to the Political Agent of the State to hush up the matter at all costs. Such an official boycott, it can well be imagined, is tantamount to complete ruin; and if the unfortunate man does not succeed in getting private employment, he is eventually forced to leave the country altogether."

We omit an account of some injustice, as alleged, suffered by a Maharani Dowager. We know of others such (mark, *Bengali!*) and some perpetrated by high European "Residents." We have no time ourselves to examine these matters at present.

AGRICULTURE, TRADE, &C.

Our remarks in our last, that there is no real loss on the qualities of tea grown and thrown on the market, and blended and perfumed; (and that the public who had taken "rubbish" were the sufferers, may be seen to be confirmed by the Tea Companies themselves. One of the largest of these the Lebong Co., at the last (the Fortieth) Annual Meeting spoke thus through its Chairman:—"I fear so much blending

is not to our advantage. If Darjeeling teas could, by any means, be placed more before the consumer in a pure unmixed state, it would be an unspeakable gain to both sides. But the real evil from which we are suffering is overproduction. There is too much tea." The Official Report on Tea Culture in Assam for 1901 is very interesting, and we may reproduce it in our next number. America, as we all know goes in more for coffee and cocoa, and this is what an American medical paper writes:—

"Few people realise that the difference between drinking of alcohol and tea is simply a question of degree. It is true that the harmful consequences of excessive tea-drinking are not as serious as those from over-indulgence in ardent spirits; but the pernicious effect of the constant drinking of strong infusions of tea justify us in calling the practice a serious menace to health. Tea leaves contain from 2 to 4 per cent. of caffeine, or theine, which is an alkaloid, and is always found in combination with tannin. They also contain a volatile oil, which is the source of the aroma, and in addition, possess sedative qualities. Tannin is a most powerful astringent, and hence is strongly provocative of constipation. Its action upon the inner surface of the stomach is disastrous to that organ as it arrests the excretion of the gastric juice by its contractile effects upon the glands. Its constant use will almost invariably result in digestive disturbances, and will intensely aggravate such troubles, if previously existing. It is true that a cup of hot tea is a refreshing beverage; but not more so than a cup of hot milk or cocoa; in fact, it is the heat that imparts the sense of comfort. Children should never be allowed to drink either tea or coffee, as the seeds of a baneful habit may be sown; for in tea, as in dram drinking, it is a habit easily acquired. The votaries of the tea-cup by far outnumber those of Bacchus, so that, granting that tea-drinking is a little less severe in its constitutional effects, yet the greater prevalence of the habit renders it equal to alcohol in its destructive effects.

Another authority, writing from England, remarks:—

"On the subject of prices, so far as they concern the housewife, I would just like to say a few words which may be useful. There is no economy in cheap tea. On the contrary, it is the most wasteful commodity known. It lacks every good quality of tea and is full of bad ones. I know apparently intelligent people who buy tea at 1s. 8d., 1s. and 1s. 10d. a pound—sometimes as broken-leaved tea—who would turn up their noses in disgust at cheap food or spirits or wines, under the impression that they are getting good stuff. Never was a greater mistake made. They get rubbish, which yields a liquor quite unlike the infusion a really good leaf gives. It is dark-coloured, strong and full, and is an absolute poison. It has little fragrance or flavour, it lacks theine—the only valuable property in tea,—and it contains the elements (tannin especially) which do so much injury to the human stomach and system generally. It is a remarkable fact that in Ireland the poor people even drink only the best teas, and so the injurious effects of tea drinking so patent in this country are never seen there. If you want a tea that will yield a grateful, comforting, and almost harmless beverage, you must pay 3s. a pound for it—speaking generally. You may, if you are lucky, get it at 2s. 8d., but that will be seldom. Men in the trade who know what tea is never use the cheaper qualities. The tea I myself buy for my family is retailed at 3s. 4d. a pound, and it is worth fully three times our special blend at 2s. and in this connection, I may just point out that the cheaper teas yield the most profit to the seller. That ought to tell its own story. Though I am in the trade, I look with amazement and almost horror at the enormous increase of tea-drinking, especially amongst women. It is one of the most insidious vices known, and the victim of tea-drunkness—for there is such a thing, believe me—is not aware of her bondage, until she tries to do without the accustomed stimulant. When this is withheld she suffers more than you would imagine. Any physician, consulting or

otherwise, will tell you of cases where the subjects have become physical and mental and moral wrecks. You notice, I say moral, for it is a singular fact that tea-drinkers to excess often lose their moral control to a pitiable extent. How many times should tea be drunk in a day? Well, twice is quite enough, but three times is the extreme limit of safety, and then only if the tea be good and not infused for more than three minutes at the outside. And only one cupful should be drunk at one sitting, so to speak. Don't think I am an alarmist on this subject, I am not. I merely tell you facts which have been proved up to the hilt."

As regards the sister Indian produce of Indigo the rapid decline in the cultivation in the United Provinces brought about by the fall in prices continues. According to the first forecast of the present crop the total area sown is only 71,609 acres, as compared with 119,313 acres last year, while the amount receiving canal irrigation is less than half that of the previous year. This decrease of 40 and 51 per cent, respectively, following on similar decreases of 37 and 50 per cent. last year, is eloquent of the evil times that have overtaken a once-flourishing industry.

Where oh! where—are the grand old days of the famous Agra and Alighurh Planters? Or of the Jessore and Faridpur days of 1815? Or even of the Dacca days of the Forties and Fifties? They do not live in the memory and experience of any one now living in India save ourselves! We would not give one of those days when the fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers of our present race of "Nawabs," "Rajahs" and "Maharajahs" used to stand handfolded behind our chairs.

"Ah! would those days but come again
With their bright smiles and flowers,
I'd give the hopes of many years
For those same happy hours!"

[There were no Telegraphs and Railways then; nor Indian Congress-wallahs; nor "politics" such as we have it at present.] Hospitality and kindness abounded; there were no "cads" or "snobs;" true culture was common; life was an extended God-given thorough and true enjoyment; and even the natives were kindly treated and regarded. (We need not draw the picture presented by the present.)

It is well known that rice has been cultivated many years now in the Southern of the United States. The produce now is sufficiently large to compete with India and Siam in the European markets.

The India Development Company, which lately came in with Sir Alexander Mackenzie as Chairman, has held an Extraordinary General Meeting, to show what they have been doing. They have gone in first for sugar cultivation, and their Report is certainly a very hopeful one so far as that product is concerned. We would advise everyone interested in the development of the natural commercial products of India—and even of her minerals—to read the Report, which is too lengthy

for us to insert here. "Old Indians" at home cannot do better than thus unite for the true bettering of the country, than sit in lazy Mutual Administration Conclaves and produce prosy and lengthy papers which nobody in India even glances at, and which only make the hard-worked Editor objugate profanely.

The sixteenth issue of the Official Agricultural Statistics of British India is very severely, and justly, criticised by the *Madras Mail* for its confusion and unreliable figures. It is possible that the new Bureau of Commerce, Agriculture and Mining will produce some improvement. We, however, doubt it. In India that which hath been, is, and ever shall be, even with a Lord Curzon frantically pulling up the teams every now and then. In America and the Colonies it is different. Let our young Civil Servants have a turn in America or Australia, for three years, before they are sent out to govern and administer India, and there may be some hopes of a completer order of things in these (and many other) matters.

In the internal traffic of India food-grains figure the largest quantity. Next to them comes coal. After coal come jute, oilseeds, salt, in due succession. Then sugar and raw cotton. This enormous inter-Indian trade needs a "Department" by itself. Intimately related to this interior trade is our disjointed and struggling Railway System. Compared with the working of American Railways we seem to be nowhere. For instance, the subjoined list, arranged in the same order as the next list of train loads, shows the cost of transportation per ton mile:—

Great Indian Peninsula Railway	...	...	3'28 pies
Eastern Bengal State Railway	...	...	2'66 pies
North-Western Railway	...	...	3'30 pies
Bengal-Nagpur Railway	...	...	2'20 pies
East Indian Railway	...	...	1'71 pies
Michigan Central Railroad	...	...	2'70 pies
Philadelphia and Reading Railway	...	...	2'67 pies
New York, Chicago, and St. Louis Railroad	...	...	2'33 pies
Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis Railway	...	...	2'32 pies
New York Central and Hudson River Railroad	...	...	2'10 pies
Erie Railroad	...	...	" "
Norfolk and Western Railway	...	...	1'55 pies
Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway	...	...	1'92 pies
Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad	...	...	1'60 pies
Pennsylvania Railroad	...	...	2'18 pies
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway	...	...	1'33 pies

Making due allowance for other differences, there is in general a very remarkable agreement between the train load and economy of transportation. All the railways whose average train load exceeds 350 tons per train are able to work more cheaply than the Indian railways with the single exception of the East Indian Railway, and of the five railways whose average train load exceeds 400 tons, three exhibit a less cost per ton mile than

even the East Indian Railway. A glance at the figures of the average weight of goods carried in trains is instructive :—

Great Indian Peninsula Railway	...	...	134 tons
Eastern Bengal State Railway	...	...	149 tons
North-Western Railway	...	...	150 tons
Bengal-Nagpur Railway	...	...	156 tons
East Indian Railway	...	...	196 tons
Michigan Central Railroad	...	...	229 tons
Philadelphia and Reading Railway	...	...	231 tons
New York, Chicago, and St. Louis Railroad	...	...	279 tons
Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis Railway	...	...	335 tons
New York Central and Hudson River Railroad	...	...	361 tons
Erie Railroad	...	...	369 tons
Norfolk and Western Railway	...	...	435 tons
Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway	...	...	455 tons
Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad	...	...	479 tons
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway	...	...	488 tons

It will be observed that the train load on the East Indian Railway is greater than on the other four Indian railways, but less than the train load on any of the eleven American railways. There is generally a very definite correspondence between train load and cost of transport. To show how we manage (or mismanage, or neglect) things in India that have an intimate bearing on trade, there is not another large port in the whole world served so horribly as Calcutta by bullocks and carts of the time of Noah. The whole trade is heavily taxed and delayed by a wretched service, which, but too often, again, becomes disorganised through "strikes." Let us not blame the poor, ignorant, wretched cartmen, or the Police, or the Government, but our own commercial and mercantile selves. There is room for more than one Tram Company, with handsome profits, to take the place of the ten or twenty thousand carts which congest the thoroughfares of the port, destroy the roads, and make Government, police, and the public to swear profane oaths.

We would also again draw attention to the iniquities of our British-Indian Telegraph system. The following list of rates, taken at random, will show little regard is had to justice, patriotism, mileage, common-sense, or other standard in amercing the public. Rates from London to :—

Place.	Miles.	Per word.
Vancouver	6,000	1 6
Accra	6,400	6 3
Aden	4,750	3 9
Fao (Persian Gulf)	3,300	0 6½
Alexandria	3,050	1 7
Perth	11,120	4 7
Bombay	6,390	2 6
Borneo	9,500	5 0
Lagos	5,250	7 1
Tunis	1,350	0 3½
Constantinople	2,030	0 6½

The Companies charge prohibitive rates to British possessions, while comparatively moderate rates are charged to foreign countries by the land lines, with which the Companies have nothing to do. Sir Edward Sassoon is still nobly carrying on the war at home.

The Overland Railway route is still attracting attention. *Engineering* writes :—

Securely established as British interests now are in Egypt, there can be no question, says *Engineering*, that the overland route to India should, and will, start from Alexandria, follow the Egyptian railways through Cairo and Ismailia, and the remodelled narrow-gauge line, up to the neighbourhood of El Kantarah (where the caravan route to Syria crosses the Suez Canal). There it will cross the Suez Canal, and strike across the desert of El Till to El Arish, the Ottoman frontier at the Brook of Egypt. Thence it would follow generally the 31 parallel of north latitude till Naserie, on the Euphrates, 700 miles from El Arish, is reached. From Naserie to Bassorah, the old Euphrates Valley route could be followed, and a valuable branch built to Koweit, as originally proposed. The crossing of the Shat-el-Arab at Bassorah and of the various big rivers in the 76 miles between that and the Persian frontier at Mohammerah, and the 50 miles beyond to Dorak, would involve heavy and expensive bridging. The line through Southern Persia and Beluchistan to Karachi, whether a coast route or one further inland is followed, would generally be heavy and expensive from the engineering point of view. The distances would probably be 1,501 miles from the Turko-Persian frontier to Karachi. The cost of this line should, however, be covered by some £10,000 a mile, or a total of £15,000,000; the remaining 1,000 miles, or so, would add five millions. The overland journey of some 2,600 miles from Alexandria to Karachi, even if the speed of travel did not exceed 30 miles an hour, could be covered in a little over 3½ days, and the sea journey from England 6½ days. Ten days should land troops in India from London by practically an all-British route. Karachi is about 450 miles from Quetta, 800 miles from Bombay, and 1,500 miles from Calcutta by railway. By the present all sea route, *via* Gibraltar and Suez Canal, Karachi could not be reached under 16 days at the quickest. It is clear that a saving of some 38 per cent. in the time of transit from London to the Afghan frontier might, under certain contingencies, become of vital importance. The raising of the 20 millions required could, and would, be considerably facilitated by an Egyptian and Ottoman, Persian and Baluchistan guarantee secured on the tithes of the provinces crossed by the line. This could be limited, as in the case of the Anatolian Railways, to a sum not exceeding, say, £300 a mile a year, to cover the interest at 3½ per cent. on a capital. The circumstance of the British and Indian Governments being co-interested in the line would ensure the requisite capital being raised at a rate not exceeding 3½ per cent.

Of the imports into Bushire, which showed an increase, the principal were cotton, piece-goods, glass and glassware, cutlery, kerosine oil, provisions and tea. There was a decline in indigo. India heads the list of importers, her share being worth £1,297,000, while the United Kingdom, which stands next upon the list, sent stuff worth £1,061,000. A very long way after these two comes France, with goods valued at £174,000, Austro-Hungary £25,000, Germany £21,000, and Russia £12,000. The rest of the trade was done by coasters from Turkish, Arabian and other Persian ports. Leaving this trade on one side, it is seen that India and Britain did 92 per cent. of the Gulf trade. The Annual Report is interesting and instructive.

The following lines on the trade of Abyssinia are from the *Times of India* :—

A Greek merchant has had for some time past the monopoly of purchasing skins in Abyssinia at any rate he pleased, in consideration of the payment of 85,000 dollars per annum to King Menelik. Formerly the people used to sell skins at about dollars 15 per score, and now the Greek merchant buys skins at dollars 5 or 6 per score. Now it is reported in letters received from Harrar that one Mahomed Ali, a Bohra and leading merchant of Abyssinia, has obtained from the King of Abyssinia the monopoly or the sole right of purchasing coffee in Abyssinia and Harrar. No one else in future is to be allowed to purchase coffee there or to export it except the Bohra monopolist. Coffee sells at Harrar at \$6 per maund of 36lbs. and the monopolist may buy it at half this rate. On hearing of this monopoly, the merchants of Harrar, natives, Arabs, Indians, Jews, and Europeans went to Ras Makonen and represented to him the great hardship that this monopoly would be on all people, and the injurious effect that it will have on trade. He asked them why they had raised no objection to the monopolies of skins and salt, and they replied that those monopolies were comparatively of small significance; but this one affects most injuriously all people, rich and poor. Ras Makonen said that he did not like these monopolies and had nothing to do with the coffee monopoly which emanated from the King and that he would represent their grievance to His Majesty and do what he could for them. It is not certain whether the contract for this monopoly has been already concluded and signed or not. It is said that the Bohra merchant has a French partner with him. It is also reported that other merchants are seeking to obtain the monopolies of buying ivory or selling piece-goods or shirtings.

The trade of Jibuti with Abyssinia is on the increase. Almost all the coffee and ivory pass into it now, and large quantities are shipped direct to Europe by the Messageries steamers. Some Indian merchants, who formerly carried on business at Zella, have removed to Jibuti, and even the native merchants who are domiciled in Zeila get their goods from Harra consigned *via* Jibuti to their agents at Aden. From the Arabian coast small quantities of coffee and grain are now and then sent to Jibuti. Large houses have been built for some French merchants who are expected to arrive shortly and open business there. If cheap communication is opened between it and Hodeida, Mocha, and other Arabian ports, and the Arabs find a ready market for their produce there at good rates, they will be attracted to it. The new Governor of Jibuti, who arrived a month ago, is very popular. He holds regular levées of merchants—Arabs, Somalis and Indians—and talks to them on all important subjects affecting them, and he endeavours to study their sentiments, telling them to represent to him always any matter which concerns them or affects the port or its trade.

The German Press is very angry because it has been said in England that the German Government is a partner in the German steamship lines. The North-German Lloyd had, until the other day, a capital of four millions sterling. It has been in receipt of a direct subsidy from the State of £280,000 a year. A simple arithmetical calculation will show that this is exactly 7 per cent. upon its capital. That is to say, the North-German Lloyd can run its ships without any commercial profit and yet pay 7 per cent. to its shareholders. It can lose

£80,000 a year and still pay 5 per cent. As a matter of fact, it has been paying 8½ per cent.; that is to say, its working profit is 1½ per cent. French bounties represent 12½ per cent. upon the whole capital engaged in shipping; and Austria pays about 35s. per ton all round, working out to probably 15 per cent. on its capital. It is expected that there will be a greatly increased trade with China which is now ordering all foreign troops (including German !) to leave Shanghai.

We should not conclude this section without noticing the Viceroy's attempt to create a Bureau of Commerce, Agriculture and Mines. It is, of course, a move in the modern and right direction. We say "attempt," as it will be usual thing in India. We have not sufficient first-class men in the service to fill up even the higher gubernatorial appointments, and here we shall want, at least, some half a dozen men, from the Director-General or Secretary, down to the Commercial Editor, the Agricultural Editor, and the Mining Editor—all men, too, who have been imbued with some knowledge of these things in other truly progressive countries, and not brought up in Hindoo "district" work or writing absurd and incompetent "judgments"—square pegs in round holes. The Madras Chamber of Commerce very pungently and truly remarks :—

The Chamber hardly feels it necessary to point that the person selected for the post of Director-General of Commercial Intelligence must be a person of experience and proved business capacity, who will be discreet and tactful in his dealings with the commercial public, and who will have the energy to tour frequently throughout India for the purpose of collecting and imparting information. The Chamber will not go so far as to say that it would be impossible to find a person with these qualifications in the ranks of the Civil service or the Finance Department; but it is so very essential to the success of the Bureau that its head should possess these qualifications in the fullest possible degree, that the Chamber trusts that the selection will be made from a wider field if no such person can be found amongst officials. In case, the Chamber thinks that it would be advisable to recruit one of the two new officers—either the Director-General or the Director of the Commercial Branch—from amongst men who have been actually trained in mercantile business. [Why not also the others?]

In conclusion, the Chamber ventures to take this opportunity of remarking that if Government is desirous of encouraging Indian trade and industry it has in its powers to do so to a very great extent a ready (even without any Bureau such as is contemplated) by showing a practical interest in the removal of difficulties which traders have brought to notice as the result of existing Government Regulations. Hitherto such representations have frequently met with such apparent indifference and delay that commercial men are inclined to consider it waste of time to make them, and the Chamber is not hopeful of results from the proposed Bureau so long as this is the spirit on which it will be ultimately dependent. As an example of the official apathy which the Chamber so mistrusts, it would refer to the Chamber's correspondence about salt export and manufacture. This correspondence has been going on with the Board of Revenue, the Madras Government

and the Government of India for nearly 5 years, without so far eliciting any more satisfactory reply than that "the matter is under the consideration of Government." While this is the treatment accorded to a Chamber of Commerce, it is obvious that private firms and individuals have even less grounds for hope from official assistance and can scarcely be expected to co-operate with Government in the way necessary to make the proposed Bureau a real and practical success.

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

In matters journalistic we note a number of "libel" cases ranging from Ceylon to Burmah and Madras, and if there has not been one in Calcutta it is owing to the excellent behaviour under severe provocation of the paper attacked. In Ceylon a newspaper owned by a person with a long Dutch name, attacked some one owning a long French name, who, for reasons, had become a circumcized Mahomedan, and who had got into his hands some lands owing, as alleged, to his office under Government. The Court took a metaphysical and disconnected view of the case, and, we regret for the person with the long Dutch name, made him pay altogether some Rs. 30,000. In Madras the two native papers, the *Standard* and the *Hindu*, went at each other like cats and dogs, and after a terrible deal of snarling and threatening unimaginable things, made up, disappointing sorely the *quidnunc* who writes the nasty things on the *Pioneer*. We omit further reference to the matter that might have cropped up in Calcutta, and that, too, between two journals. With all this we note also, that, of late, journalistic "amenities" have not been few. The *Englishman* furnished the following *para.* :—

"An awful suspicion will presently cross the minds of certain up-country newspaper readers, if indeed, it has not flashed upon them already, that Lord Curzon is a Viceroy who can do nothing right. Scarcely a day passes without its paragraph. Sometimes it is amusingly didactic; at other times it is painfully humorous. Sometimes it satirises His Excellency's fondness for appointing Commissions; sometimes it moralises over his obliquity in acting without any such intermediary. But it is always there. That is why we are afraid that some day the readers of the paper will awaken to the fact that the *Pioneer* is seriously offended with the Viceroy. What will happen then it is most difficult to tell. What *did* happen, by the way, in the case of the 'Skibbereen Eagle' and the Czar?"

The *Englishman* got afterwards from the *Pioneer* thus :— "We are in a position to state that there is not the slightest foundation for the announcement in a Calcutta paper—[*Englishman*—] that tentative arrangements are being made for the reception of the Prince of Wales, in India in December. No arrangements, tentative or otherwise, are being made or are

going to be made, for the simple reason that there is not even a remote probability that the Prince of Wales will come out to India this year. On the other hand it is now practically certain, as we intimated sometime back, that all going well, the Prince of Wales will visit India in the autumn of 1903." Imagine the *Pioneer's* being "in a position to state" (!) anything whatever to the *Englishman*, and referring to it as 'a Calcutta paper' !!! The *Englishman* also, further, gave "one in his eye" to the *Indian Daily News*,—taking our poor and innocent selves as furnishing the occasion (where we stated that it was a mistake to think we did not like our dear Viceroy)—going so far as to impute "malice" to the *Indian Daily News*. According to Shakespeare the latter ought to have either "punched" the *Englishman's* head in return, or "taken the law out of him;" for the word "malice" is clearly actionable. The *Indian Daily News*, however, forgetting the exact offender, or where he stood, dealt two back-handed slaps at the *Pioneer* in the matter of the latter's pitiful (?) attacks on poor and defenceless Missionaries and giving forth as news what was a fortnight old. Whether such "amenities" are contagious, or the fierce summer heat of Madras unfixed the usually very mild and sedate habits and temper of the *Madras Mail*, we find it also entering the ring and, thus, "giving it" to the unhappy Allahabad print :—"The case against a Calicut Prince" is the heading given by the *Pioneer* to a report of the case against Kuttuni Rajah, of the Zamorin family. This is the first time we have heard of 'Princes, in Calicut. It is certainly time that some definite and authoritative rules* were promulgated concerning the use of this and similar titles in India." After all this we, in Australian fashion, should suggest "drinks all round" Liveliness is the sign of life and we do not look askance at a little "give and take"—indeed, the repartees of wit and humour might be very much more forcible with considerable effect.

We have to notice the death of two old and (for India) very respectable Reporting hands in Calcutta. Also the departure for Home of Mr. Pate of the *Sind Gazette*; and of Mr. M. Park of the *Pioneer*, a lineal descendant of old Mungo Park, for Capetown for the *Cape Times*, a position to which that crack and veteran journalist, St. Leger of Madras, would probably have been called (to succeed his brother, the late Proprietor), only that India could spare him least and Mr. M. Park most. Mr. M. Park, however, is to be congratulated, as a day of S. A. is

* It will be seen here that the *Madras Mail* agrees with us—as the *Pioneer* did before—in calling for "definite and authoritative rules" regarding native titles.

worth a cycle of India (Allahabad included !) even under Lord Curzon's fifty years pressed into five rule. The *Pioneer* has now lost its ablest hand. It has lost much ground of late years, and were it not that Sir William Rattigan is getting careless of such trifles, he might see what could be done to bring back its old palmy days (*after* we had relinquished the grand *Lahore Chronicle*). The mention of Chief Justice Blair presiding to give a send-off to "Mungo" Park reminds us that the last person to wish us "Good-bye" from South Africa was "His Honour" Sir Henry Bale, Kt., K. C., etc., Chief Justice of Natal (and also sometime Acting Governor). Finally, Mr. T. Jewell Bennett of the *Times of India*, now in England, has been presented with the silver medal of the Society of Arts and Literature for his very able paper on the "Persian Gulf." We have also to note the advent of another paper in Madras called *Native States*, evidently derived from our own introduced feature in these "Quarter's Notes." Such a paper might prove very useful, if it could refrain from rousing animosities. This Madras paper is ably written; but it contains much questionable matter. We have made a few extracts from it.

In regard to ourselves, we have received the following lines to correct a slip in the article on "The Bishops of Calcutta" in our January number:—

"Bishop Heber was succeeded by Bishop James. Bishop Turner died in India."

Also, in regard to a quotation in another article in the same number:—

"Will you kindly permit me to point out what looks like an error in the article on European and Hindu systems of Music, which appears in the January number. The concluding quotation I find in Shelley's "To Jane:—The keen stars were twinkling," thus:—

IV.

Of some world far from ours

Where music and moonlight and feeling are one:

— Shelley: Poetical Works, p. 597 (Macmillan (1890), Cr., 8vo., Ed. Dowden). I do not know where it occurs in Swinburne, to whom the lines are attributed by Mr. C. T. Naidu. If the gentleman can kindly furnish the reference in Swinburne, it will certainly give us an interesting coincidence (or plagiarism?)."

The *Hindoo Patriot* has given us lately a rather too kindly notice in a leader. Our connection with the *Calcutta* dates from 1860 when the Mathematician Dr. T. Smith, D. D., was the Editor—so that we have now written for it forty-three years! Not only for its sake, but for that of India, we wish we were younger or had a prospect of staying in the country. We are not only the dozen of the Indian Press but we remember India when there was neither the *Pioneer* nor this *Hindoo Patriot*—before even the conquest of the Punjab—and our long and varied

day is closing fast.* A mighty change has come over the whole country. Great movements are taking place in every direction, and much wisdom, insight and experience are wanted to both see them and guide things aright with a firm hand that would be trusted by all. Fate, or Providence, however, always laughs at our puny and partial imaginings, and has its own way of bringing things about and decides which things to bring about, and we who are in its hands may rest quite content and cheerful. And we are told that everyone shall stand in his "lot" at the end, some to rise to honour and some to "shame and everlasting contempt." The practical question with everyone of us is, where shall we be found? Among the mean, dishonorable, worthless, contemptible and rejected—or among the exalted and ennobled. With all this however, the doctrine of *Karma* does not come in, but of *Mercy* (in the One Sacrifice) and Free Gifts therein lies any one's hope. Finally, in regard to ourselves, we have been written to by some one, who has no personal acquaintance with Mr. Buckland, asking us why, according to us in our last, he should not write Sir John Woodburn's administration in his *Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal*; and states that not only might he be trusted to deal perfectly fairly with his subject, but he might be removed to some higher post under the Government of India, where the bar now attached to his writing about his Chief would not operate.

The work of revising the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" is in the hands of Mr. Risley. The most interesting feature will be the expansion of one volume dealing with "India" into four volumes, descriptive, economic, administrative and historical. The descriptive volume, for example, will contain chapters on Physical Aspects, by Sir Thomas Holdich; Botany, by Sir Joseph Hooker; Zoology, by Mr. W. T. Blanford; Languages, by Mr. Grierson; Geology, by Mr. T. H. Holland; Religion, by Mr. W. Crooke; Public Health, by Major Roberts, I.M.S.; Ethnology, by Mr. H. Risley himself. In the Economic Volume Agriculture will be treated by Mr. W. Mollison, Trade by Mr. J. O'Connor, Arts and Industries by Dr. Watt. The Administrative Volume will give a complete account of the working of the Government of India, each chapter being written under the supervision of the Department concerned, usually by an officer specially appointed, who will work in consultation with the Editor. An entirely new departure will be a description of the Army in India, which gets less than two pages in Sir William Hunter's Volume. Mr. G. de Rhe Philippe has just been placed on special duty to write this under the Military Department, to which he belongs. Mr. Risley's responsibility is a wide one,

* Our *Reminiscences of India from the time of Lord Hardinge downwards* would be interesting.—Ed., C. R.

for he has drawn up the whole scheme and has selected most of the writers, even those for the historical volume, which will be done at Home and edited by Mr. James Cotton, sometime Editor of the *Academy*.

It is announced that the life of Lord Dufferin will be written by Sir Alfred Lyall, to whom all private papers and correspondence necessary for the purpose have been entrusted by the family. We add, in a subsequent page, another authentic (and first-hand) anecdote characteristic of the late Marquis of Dufferin and Ava."

At a recent meeting of the Philological Society of London—the Rev. Professor Skeat, in the chair—the Chairman read a paper, by his son Mr. W. W. Skeat, "On the Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula." In this country Mr. Skeat was for over seven years in our colonial service and saw a great deal of the natives and the Peninsula. It is divided between Great Britain and Siam, and is sparsely inhabited save for the big towns like Singapore and Penang. Away from the coast line and towns stands the primeval forest, in gaps of which are the Malay ricefields and gardens of sweet potatoes, sugarcane and maize, whilst through the forest itself roam shy wild pigmy tribes, about 4ft. 8in. high, the Semang, Sakai and Jakun. (1) The Semang are black, and have round and woolly heads, belong to the Negrito race, may be compared with the pigmies of Central Africa, and grouped with the Negritos of the Philippines and the Andamanese Islanders of the Bay of Bengal. They are not directly related to the Negroes or the Papuans, though they may, as Sir W. Flower once suggested, represent the undeveloped form of a race, of which the Negroes on the one hand and the Papuans on the other are highly specialised derivatives. (2) The Sakai may be, as Virchow suggested, a branch of an aboriginal Dravido-Australian race, now represented by the Tamil of Southern India, the Veddahs of Ceylon, and the Australian "Black Fellows." The pure-bred Sakai are often as fair as any race equally exposed to the sun and air can be, and they often look emaciated; their hair is wavy; their foreheads high and flat; their faces broad at the cheekbones, but narrow at the forehead, and ending at the bottom in a sharp-pointed chin. (3) The Jakuns are the tallest of the three aboriginal races, and are savage (*i.e.*, non-Mahomedan) Malays. They are a distant offshoot of the Mongolian stock. The *pur sang* Jakuns have high cheekbones like the Chinaman's; but their eyes are horizontal; their skin is a swarthy olive brown, with a coppery tinge; their heads are round and bullet-shaped; their faces rather flat; their features strong and squarely cut; their hair long, straight, and black with the bluish tint characteristic of the Mongol. The languages of these wild tribes are usually

uninflected, and resemble the Malay in structure; (1) Semang has borrowed most of its words from aboriginal Malayan and Mon Annamese, and has probably only five per cent. of its own original element. Subject, object, verb, is the normal order of the sentence; the genitive and adjective follow the noun. (2) Sakai has about fifteen per cent. of its own words, most of the rest being Mon Annamese. (3) With the Jakuns we come to the aboriginal Malayan language, traces of which are found in Formosa on the north, Easter Island in the east, New Zealand on the south, and Madagascar on the west. Of all these languages Mr. Skeat gave specimens, with comparative tables of numerals and other words proving the connection between them.

Interesting as all this is to us who went over almost simultaneously with Professor Wallace the whole area represented by the Malayan Peninsula (and further north), Borneo, the East Indian Archipelago, Australasia, and the South Sea Islands, and made a special study of the tribes and their tongues, etc., we do not see any addition to Mr. Logan's researches of those days, or to what was known half a century ago. Verily we live in the present in a peculiar age.

Professor M. Ranga Charya, M.A., Curator of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, has submitted his report for the year 1901-1902. The total number of visitors to the institution during the year was 1,930, of whom 1,125 were copyists and 599 readers. This is an advance of 300 over the figures for the previous year. "Poetry" heads the list of manuscripts consulted, "Religion" holding the next place. Among the works which were transcribed for the Library during the year is a treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry, which is described to be older than *Lilavati* itself, an ancient work of great repute on these subjects. *Aryabhatiyam* is the title of the oldest Indian treatise extant on systematic astronomy, having been written in the fifth century—which is a valuable addition to the excellent stock already collected. Another work obtained during the year was a copy of Apastamba's *Sulba Sutra*, with commentary, a work which is particularly interesting and valuable as giving us some insight into the knowledge of Geometry as possessed by Indian Aryas of the Vedic period and as applied by them to the needs of their sacrificial rituals, such as the construction of sacrificial altars, etc. The work of preparing the descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts was completed during the year, and the cataloguing of the vernacular manuscripts which has recently been sanctioned by Government will be taken in hand as early as practicable.

There appear to be several Native Indian Libraries from the following account:—

In 1880 the late Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, C.I.E., the renowned Sanskritist and Oriental scholar, published under the orders of Government of India a catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanere, under the auspices of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra concluded his preface to the above volume of 750 pages thus: "I regret much that as regards the many rare Hindu works which exist in the archives of the Maharajah, and which have not been met with elsewhere, I have not been able to do more than give their names, and that in this respect the following pages should remain imperfect. The names, however, may attract the notice of some fellow-labourer in the field of Sanskrit bibliography, and hereafter elicit useful contributions to the noble undertaking of Government, the survey of the Sanskrit literature still extant in the country." It is now twenty-two years since the above words were written, and it is worth enquiring whether the ambition of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra has been realised by any of our countrymen devoted to Sanskrit literature? Is it impossible for some of them to go to Bikanere, obtain permission of His Highness, and publish some of the useful ancient works? Lord Curzon takes a deal of interest in preserving ancient Hindu monuments, and we commend to His Excellency the treasury of Sanskrit literature stored up in the Maharajah's library. The Maharajah of Jodhpur has an extensive library which contains more than 2,000 Sanskrit manuscripts, a large collection of printed Sanskrit works, and several hundred manuscripts in Hindi and Marwari. Kashmir again offers a large unexplored field of ancient literature. Mr. G. Buhler of Bombay, several years ago, remarked as follows:—"Kashmir has been for many centuries one of the chief seats of Hindu learning and literature. The Rajatarangini mentions numerous Kashmiri poets whose works have not yet been recovered. We owe the preservation of the Mahabhasya, the great commentary on Panini of the second century B. C. entirely to the Kashmiri Pundits. Kashmir has been, and probably still is, one of the chief seats of these Brahmins who study the Atharva Veda which now numbers very few adherents in India proper. Results of the greatest interest may be expected from an examination of the Kashmir libraries for the political history of India." Of the Tanjore Palace Library Mr. A. C. Burnell wrote as follows: "It is now a recognised fact that nearly all Sanskrit works of importance exist in different recensions. The Tanjore Library is unrivalled in this respect. It contains several good manuscripts of all the most important ones known as yet, including a few that are new. The Tanjore Library contains additional manuscripts of most of the works which I had discovered elsewhere, and this is a matter of great

importance. I believe that this library must sooner or later escheat to Government; the preparation of this catalogue will therefore protect property of enormous value. As far as I can judge it would not be possible to form a collection like that at Tanjore at a less cost than £50,000; but many manuscripts are unquestionably unique."

Besides these there are others of value at Bahawalpur, Rampur, Patna, and other places.

Lord Reay presided at the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the afternoon of the 13th ultimo, and on the motion of the Right Hon'ble Sir M. E. Grant Duff was re-elected President for a further triennial period. Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, Sir Charles J. Lyall and Sir Raymond West, who retired by rotation, were re-elected Vice-Presidents. Professor A. A. Macdonnell, Mr. J. T. Fleet, C.I.E., Professor R. K. Douglas, Professor E. C. Browne and Mr. Langworth Dumes were nominated to the Council, the three gentlemen last-named being new members. To fill the vacancies caused by the deaths of Professor Tiele of Leyden University, and Professor Weber, the great Sanskritist of Berlin, Professor Houtsma of Utrecht, the distinguished Semitic scholar, and professor Lanman of Harvard University were elected honorary members. The Report which was adopted on the motion of Sir W. H. Rattigan, M. P., announced a small net increase of membership and a gradual increase in the funds available for the work of the Society.

Arrangements have been made for the publication of a series of Asiatic monographs, thus bringing the Society into line with kindred institutions in France, Germany, Holland and Russia. The new undertaking will not in the least interfere with the already existing series of Oriental translations, and will be independent of the original contributions to the Society's *Journal*. The heavy liabilities incurred in respect to rates, taxes and rent are commented upon in the Report, and it is pointed out that other learned societies of similar standing are relieved by Government from any expenditure for these purposes. With reference to the proposal to establish an Oriental School in London, the Report states that the Council will lose no opportunity of pressing upon the University authorities, whenever they have to decide upon the apportionment of funds under the re-organised scheme, the importance and the needs of Oriental research. The Society's work was never so extensive as at present, but the Council feels that it is really at the beginning of its labours, since on historical, political and commercial grounds, the importance and interest of Asiatic research, already largely recognised abroad, is likely to be more adequately recognised in this country than heretofore.

The Oriental Religious Congress proposed to be held at Tokyo in April next is expected to be joined in by China, Japan, Corea, Siam, Burma and India. It is evident that one of the great objects of the gathering will be a mutual effort by Hindu and Buddhist delegates to demonstrate that Hinduism and Buddhism are identical, though their identity is disguised. It has been already advanced by a Bengali Hindu supporter of the Congress that there is no fundamental difference between the two religions, and that the distinction between them is as superficial as that existing between the Sankhya and the Vedant systems of Hindu Philosophy. And this is how India is playing with her destinies!

A Congress of Bengali literati is proposed to be held next April at Murshidabad. The Congress will last for several days, during which a rich programme will be gone through. There will be discussions on the best means for improving and developing Bengali literature, but the chief object of the gathering will be to effect a union of the literati of the country and to provide for them an annual festival at which they can meet to interchange thoughts and ideas in the midst of literary entertainments of various kinds. In the way of entertainments there will be dramatic performances, recitations from the Bengali poets, in some cases by the poets themselves, and an exhibition of the MSS. of eminent authors and their other literary relics. The Congress will conclude with the conferring of literary titles on distinguished authors and literary workers.

The Imperial Russian Geographical Society has received through the Russian Ambassador at Peking, Mr. Lessar, the following telegram, sent by Lieutenant P. K. Kozloff, of the Russian Army, who is in charge of the expedition which was organised by the Geographical Society in 1899 for explorations in Central Asia:—"On 13th of June, the expedition safely returned to Tzaidam, where it found in excellent condition the stores it had left at that place last year in charge of three Russian soldiers. From the wintering place (in the vicinity of the Tchamd, in Eastern Tibet) the expedition succeeded in reaching the "Russian" Lake (at the head of the Yellow River). On 1st August we expect to start out in the direction of Kiachta, hoping to arrive there early in December." Thus the rumours that have for some time circulated, that the above expedition perished, were groundless.

Major Medley has made a splendid adventurous journey of 2,000 miles from India across Central Asia and Siberia. Major Medley was, for several years, stationed at Gilgit. On taking leave he made his way up the Hunza Valley and across the difficult Kilik Pass to the Pamirs, thence travelling *via* Kash-

garh, across Siberia, to the Siberian Railway at Ob. The first portion of the journey was extraordinarily difficult, the route being a mere mountain track, a precipice on one side and a wall of rock on the other, in places so narrow that Major Medley describes himself as wishing his pony were a cat, so impossible did it sometimes seem to prevent the animals falling into the ice-cold river thousands of feet below. Once the open Pamirs were reached, his difficulties grew less. And afterwards, when he travelled by *tarantass* and sleigh, along the stage road which eventually brought him to Ob on the Siberian Railway, there was even a certain amount of comfort to be obtained, the posting arrangements being excellent and the officials everywhere civil. The cold in places was intense, as much as 54° of frost being experienced on the sleigh journey, but well provided as he was with furs Major Medley does not appear to have suffered from it. He was accompanied for a considerable portion of the journey by an escort of Cossacks of whose endurance he speaks highly. He describes them as Asiaticised Europeans for whom the difficulties of supply and transport are non-existent. Each man carried on his troop-horse eight days' grain for his animal, and a week's bread for himself, besides his own and his horses blankets and a change of linen. Each supplied his own rifle and saddle, and if anything went wrong with either, was able to replace them with ease for they are what are in daily use in every village. While Major Medley was in Kashgarh official intimation came from Tashkent that the Czar had given Dr. Sven Hedin permission to have two Cossack orderlies sent to him. No one knew exactly where the Swedish traveller was, but he had been heard of some six months previously from the neighbourhood of Lob-nor, and within twenty-four hours of the receipt of the message two Cossacks had started off on a march of 1,000 miles to find him, a feat they successfully accomplished.

Another fact which struck Major Medley was the growing prosperity of the inhabitants of Siberia whom he found to be thriving farmers who are rapidly developing the rich country in which they have made their homes. Even the political exiles are doing well, and he describes them as founding Universities and Museums, while the farmers are exporting a million pounds worth of butter in a year, *via* the Siberian Railway, to Great Britain. Of the Siberian Railway Major Medley also speaks appreciatively. Most of it, he found, is now completed, and he thinks there is every possibility that, next spring, visitors returning to Europe after the Delhi Proclamation Assemblage will be able to complete a round tour by railway from Port Arthur to Paris. Six trains have been

built for the through service, and Major Medley describes them as fitted up with as many comforts and luxuries as a first class steamer. They run twice a week between Moscow and Stretensk, doing the 4,188 miles in 10 days, the first class fare, exclusive of food, being £10. He found extraordinary extremes of climate, the temperature ranging from 125° (Fahrenheit) of frost in winter, to 100° (Fahrenheit) of heat in summer. He actually experienced the former temperature at Stretensk, which is equal to the severest cold experienced by the Duc d'Abuzzi in his polar expedition, but he says that owing to the absence of winds it was easily endurable, the bright sunny days and clear dry atmosphere making the climate an ideal one for consumptives.

Major Medley, we are glad to observe, is not excited over the dangers and hardships he experienced as was Hedin.

The following report by Dr. Prain, M.B., LL.D., F.R.S.E., I.M.S., Superintendent, Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, appears in the *Calcutta Gazette* :—

The chief outdoor improvement to be recorded for the year 1901-1902 is the completion of the new road, alluded to in last report, from the point of junction of the Kurz and Thomson avenues to the Great Banyan. This road throws open to inspection a portion of the garden that has hitherto been somewhat inaccessible. The flooring of the girder bridge in the Kyd avenue, which consisted of wooden beams, having become so decayed as to be a source of public danger, has been replaced by a concrete floor of a permanent character. The interior of the Orchid House has been partially, and the small conservatory has been completely replanted and rearranged during the year. A severe storm visited the garden on 26th November 1901, and did much damage by uprooting a number of valuable trees and greatly disfiguring many that were not completely destroyed. With this exception the weather during the year was of a normal character and not unfavourable to vegetation.

Economic Plants.—The investigation of the dye-yielding *Indigoferas* noticed in last annual report has advanced considerably during the past year. The opportunity afforded by a visit to Europe was utilised in a careful comparison of examples of the *Indigoferas* cultivated in South Eastern Asia with the authentic material preserved in the Herbaria of London and Geneva. The results have been in some cases unexpected. The belief that at the time of the early intercourse of Europe with India, there were two centres of indigo export, if not of cultivation, has been confirmed. One of these centres was Surat, where the indigo grown was a form of the Egyptian indigo *Indigofera articulata*, which still persists in various parts of

India, notably in Scind and Rajputana, where even now this plant alone receives the name "Nil" applied in Tirhut and Bengal to quite different species. The other centre was Ceylon and the Coromandel Coast where the indigo was obtained from Indian indigo, *Indigofera tinctoria*, the produce of which was even in these early times held in less esteem than Surat indigo. There is evidence that the cultivation of the Surat or Egyptian indigo extended gradually eastward, reaching the Upper Gangetic plain about the time of Akbar, and apparently also finding its way later to Patna, Orissa, and the Circars. But there is no evidence that Egyptian indigo ever reached Bengal Proper. While the Dutch held possession of Malabar, a third indigo, *Indigofera Sumatrana*, apparently derived from Eastern Malaya, came into use there. This particular plant seems to have been introduced to Bengal, either from Malabar or directly from Malaya, about a century and-a-half ago, and proving a more satisfactory plant than either the Egyptian or the Indian kinds, has spread westward through Upper India as far as the Punjab and more recently southward to Madras—in the first case completely, and in the second almost completely driving out of cultivation the Egyptian and the Indian indigos, respectively. From Bengal it was taken to the West Indies, where it was, however, in turn displaced by first one and again a second native American kind, which latter has in virtue of its superior qualities, spread from America to Africa on the one hand and to Polynesia, S. China, Malaya, and Indo-China on the other; in Upper Burma, for example, this West Indian indigo is the only species to be met with. Either from the West Indies or directly from Bengal the plant now grown so largely in the Gangetic plain was also taken to Senegal and Angola, where it is still largely grown side by side with West Indian indigo, under the name "Indigo of Bengal." The importance of the knowledge thus obtained lies in the fact that another *Indigofera*, East African indigo, *Indigofera arrecta*, has become so favourably known under the name of "Natal Indigo" in the Dutch Indies that it seems to be displacing the various Asiatic and American kinds formerly cultivated there. It has been used as an argument against the proposal to introduce this East African *Indigofera* extensively into India, that it cannot possibly succeed so well as the kind now grown in India, and that it will be difficult to overcome the prejudices of the cultivators in favour of the kind they now grow. The answer to this is that the *Indigofera* now grown in India is not, as is usually supposed, *Indigofera tinctoria*, or Indian indigo, at all, but is really as much an exotic in Upper India as the East African kind. Further from the fact that *Indigofera tinctoria*, or true Indian

indigo, is still found occasionally in a wild state in Rajputana, the hills to the south of Agra and Chota Nagpur, it may be inferred that Egyptian indigo had in Upper India long ago displaced Indian indigo. At any rate it is certain that within historical and very recent historical times, Malayan indigo, which is now so generally grown in the Gangetic plain, displaced Egyptian indigo. This being the case there is no reason why East African indigo should not in turn displace the Malayan kind. It was recorded in the last annual report that during the excessive floods of September 1900, this East African indigo came by no harm when all the Indian and American kinds were practically destroyed. It has now to be recorded that in 1901 the experimental plots were attacked by an insect blight which destroyed all save a few plants of every Asiatic and American *Indigofera* under cultivation without affecting in the least this East African species. Among other economic operations for the year it may be noted that the efforts to extend the cultivation of *Paspalum dilatatum* have been continued, and that the difficulties regarding its cultivation in Bengal have been successfully overcome. These difficulties have not yet been surmounted in other provinces, and the reports that have been received from correspondents are somewhat conflicting in Southern India; it is found that the drought-resisting qualities claimed for this grass in Australia have not been over-estimated, but in Western and Northern India it is stated that, though an excellent fodder grass, where irrigation is available it is as a drought-resisting species distinctly inferior to some well-known native grasses. On behalf of the Department of Agriculture, Western Australia, arrangements have been made to introduce to that Colony the different varieties of Indian oranges.* The kinds known as Sylhet, from the Khasia Hills, Nagpur, from Central India, and Suntolah, from Nepal, have been successfully transmitted; the despatch of other kinds will be effected in due course.

The Report of the Burmah Ruby Mines for the year ended the 28th February shows a profit for the twelve months of £40,367, from which the percentage payable to the Government of India, amounting to £12,652, has to be deducted. This leaves a net profit of £27,715, which, added to £10,124 brought forward, makes a total balance of £37,839. The Directors recommend a dividend of 17½ per cent. free of tax, on the ordinary shares for the year, leaving a balance of £11,676 to be carried forward. During the year 1,158,494 trucks of ruby earth were washed at an average cost of 9·53d., as compared with 947,444 trucks at 10·29d. in the previous year. These Ruby mines will soon be worked out.

* First advocated by us. — ED.

During the year closed, mica, in common with many other articles, has suffered from the prevailing general depression in trade. Although at the close the outlook is more promising, any material improvement in values cannot be looked for until there is more active purchasing from the Stove, Chimney, and Electrical Trades. In Germany the commercial crisis has accentuated the depression in the Electrical Trades. As that country is one of the largest customers for Indian mica, this has slackened demand generally, especially as regards the larger-sized slabs. Whilst the European demand all round has been quiet, stocks of good useful sizes and qualities have been in short supply, and should enquiries continue to run on medium grades, and the larger remain neglected, it is not unlikely that values for the smaller sizes will go to a premium. Nature has, unfortunately, not arranged the mica crystals in convenient lots of graded sizes. Thus, taking Bengal mica at the present time, there is no incentive to either the European or the Native mine-owners to work their deposits to their full capacity. The grades at present mostly sought after are, perhaps, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, latter either in the form of slabs or splittings. To provide these grades means also the mining of the larger crystals and the accumulation of stocks of the very sizes for the sale of which the mines mainly depend for their profits. These remarks apply specially to Bengal, but also to Madras in a lesser degree.

A new use, however, has been found for mica besides those other numerous uses which already render it so valuable. Mr. Powell, draper and general importer, of Calcutta, has filed an application in respect of the following invention:—The application and use of mica in the construction and manufacture of hats, helmets, topees, bonnets, and other head-gear, tents, awnings, umbrellas, carriage hoods, the roofs of railway carriages and trucks, and other conveyances or vehicles, pads for the protection of the spine, shoulders or back of human beings or animals, jhools or blankets.

At the instance of the Royal Society, the Government of India are about to undertake a magnetic survey of India. The execution of the work is to be carried out jointly by the Survey of India and the Meteorological Departments. The earth is now recognised to be, amongst other things, a large magnet, having two poles and a neutral zone, and the magnetic surveys carried out by civilised governments supply data for the determination of the magnetic state of the earth. For some years back Sir Norman Lockyer has been carrying out an exhaustive inquiry into the connection between sunspots and Indian famines, and he has stated quite recently that he is fairly hopeful of results of practical importance and

utility. However this may be, there is little doubt that sunspots are closely connected with the perturbations of the magnetic needle: whether the sunspots cause the movements of the needle, or whether both are due to some common cause is not yet known.

For a magnetic survey observations are taken all over the country at intervals of 30 miles: at every 500 miles there are "repeat" stations, at which the observations are repeated annually, and at every 1,200 miles (approximately) base stations are established, where daily magnetic observations are automatically recorded throughout the course of the survey. A magnetic observatory has existed at Bombay for many years, and a second has recently been built at Calcutta. These observatories were adopted as base stations for the survey, but as two were insufficient, magnetic observatories are now being constructed at Dehra Dun, at Kodaikanal, and at Rangoon.

In a magnetic survey there are three elements to be determined at each place, *viz.*, the declination, the dip, the intensity. A magnetic needle, as is well known, does not point truly north and south, and the angle which it makes with the meridian is called the "declination" by landmen and the "variation" by sailors. As if two names were not sufficiently confusing, some writers have used the term "magnetic deviation." It is not generally known that a magnetic needle does not naturally lie horizontal: in ordinary compasses the needles are weighted at one end to counterbalance their tendency to dip, and to render them horizontal: but if an ordinary needle is left to itself and suspended on a horizontal axis, it will at once point downwards and incline itself to the horizontal at an angle of 45° in India and 65° in England: this inclination is called the "dip." The "intensity" is the strength with which the needle takes up its position of rest, the force with which it refuses to budge from that position; this force is less in some places than in others. The declination, the dip, and the intensity are all slowly varying, and it is for the investigation of these variations that "repeat" stations and base stations are included in a survey. In London at the present time the needle points 16° west of north. In 1815 it was pointing $24\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ west of north: in 1657 the declination was nothing, and the needle pointed true north: in 1580 it was pointing 11° east: towards the end of the present century it will again be pointing true north. In India the declination at present is 3° and is varying slowly. In the same way as the declination is varying, so also are the dip and the intensity. In 1723 the dip in London was 75° : it is now 65° . The intensity in England is slowly decreasing

The magnetic survey of such a vast tract as India is naturally a large undertaking, but thanks to the many railways which now intersect the country in all directions and render it possible for the field detachments to move rapidly from one observing station to another, it is hoped that the field work of the preliminary magnetic survey will be completed in five years. It is satisfactory to find the Government of India taking their due share in carrying out the scientific work of the world.

Not the least interesting feature in connection with the magnetic survey which is to be undertaken in India, is the inter-dependence found to exist between magnetic tension and sunspots. A chart from Sir Norman Lockyer has reached the Meteorological Department in Simla, in which the record of the Bombay magnetic station is compared with the curve of sunspot frequency. The almost exact coincidence of the two is startling. More curious still, the magnetic record is found, in some cases, to anticipate the sunspot maxima, thereby raising the expectation of eventually foretelling the one from the other. A paper by Sir Norman Lockyer and Mr. W. J. S. Lockyer, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, direct attention to a connection between solar changes of temperature, dependent upon sunspots, and variations in the rainfall of the Indian region. The present discovery is an indication of the possibilities connected with the study of the subject which is also of practical importance as concerning the local variation of the mariner's compass.

M. Taquin, in the *Revue Scientifique*, sets aside as inadequate the existing theories of volcanic action:—(1) That molten lava rises in the vent under an unusual pressure below like mercury in the tube of a barometer, and (2) that water finding its way to the underground molten lava generates steam, etc. He ascribes the heat molten rocks and eruptions of volcanoes to a local intensity of the "earth currents" of electricity which are known to exist. A volcano is a sort of electrical furnace or crucible, where heat is generated by the current, rocks fused or volatilised, and water decomposed into its constituent gases, oxygen and hydrogen, which are explosive. He goes so far as to call volcanoes "electric terminals at which some day man will draw the energy he requires to work his machines."

The causes of earthquakes are, however, various. Probably one of the most common of them is the dislocation of weak strata under the tidal strain produced on the earth's crust by lunar attraction, or a combination of lunar, planetary and solar attraction, then it follows that the value of one of the factors on which their occurrence depends can be estimated in advance with a near approach to accuracy. But, though the

comparative force of the strain in question at a given place and time can be approximately determined beforehand, the other factor, *viz.*, the condition of the various parts of the earth's crust as regards stability at any moment, is one as to which we are almost wholly in the dark.

Volcanic action, electrical action, magnetism, sunspots, etc., etc., are all mingled up, and we see and feel the results outside in eruptions and earthquakes. The late Martinique eruption, which suddenly destroyed a whole town with 40,000 inhabitants, will not only characterise this century as one of the most awful visitations of the kind, but—along with shocks more or less severe and other appearances in the neighbourhood of the West Indies, through Europe and Persia,—probably the ramifications are not yet fully over,—shows to us that nature still pursues her course in regard to our globe, however retarded the processes may be, and however little permanent attention is drawn to them by its teeming millions of inhabitants. Holy writ says that one day "the elements shall melt with fervent heat," and even "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise." The late Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta used to say that the only thing that would come out unburnt from this last fire would be the Bible—"the Word of God."

A visitor to the Kasauli Institute, writing of his experiences in the *Madras Mail*, says:—The authorities there, while regretting the cauterisation of the wounds with nitric acid, gave me a tip which is very valuable and easy of adoption. Turpentine rubbed in well to the wounds immediately after a bite or within the next half hour, will instantly kill the rabies virus. Nitric acid and other caustics simply expend themselves on the tissues, causing nasty sloughing ulcers which take a long time to heal, and therefore they are condemned. So it behoves every one, especially in the summer months, to keep some turpentine always handy. It is very desirable for a patient proceeding to the Institute to take with him a portion of the brain of the dog suspected of being mad, preserved in glycerine in a glass stoppered bottle, well sealed and kept cool by ice, which is to be had all along the line. The brain substance is for Laboratory information. Taking it up in any other medium than glycerine will destroy the virus. Patients, on arrival at Kasauli, should lose no time in going to the Institute (which is open between 10 A.M. and 4 P.M.), for delays are dangerous. There are three well-marked stages of rabies in dogs:—The first stage is characterised by sullenness, fidgetiness and depression; second stage, excitement and fury; the third, general muscular weakness, actual paralysis and death.

The Pasteur Institute is supported by voluntary contributions which are thankfully received. They should be made payable to the Medical Officer in charge, Kasauli.

The wonders of chromopathy are probably yet to be discovered. We read that an atmosphere of blue light destroys the germs of lung disease, and every one has felt the different sensations when placed or standing in different coloured lights, as orange, red, brown, etc.

We have not done with leprosy yet. An adjourned meeting of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London was held, on the 10th instant, at the Society's rooms, Hanover Square, London, for the discussion of Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson's paper on "Leprosy." Dr. Clifford Allbutt presided. Dr. Hansen (Bergen), in opening the discussion, expressed the opinion that leprosy was entirely contagious. It was produced by the leprosy bacillus; and, in order to sustain the theory of Mr. Hutchinson that leprosy in Africa was produced by the eating of cured fish, they had to prove that the bacillus was to be found in the cured fish. That Mr. Hutchinson had been unable to demonstrate. The people in Norway were now eating more fish than ever, and yet leprosy was disappearing. In that country they segregated the lepers; and to that fact he ascribed the decrease in the number of cases of leprosy, which had fallen from 2,870 in 1856, to hardly 400 at the present time. Several Norwegian lepers had emigrated to America, and on examination it was found that their descendants were not leprous. That went some way to prove that leprosy was not hereditary, but simply contagious. Dr. Thin supported the contagion theory, and mentioned cases in its support. There were no recorded facts to show that leprosy had developed anywhere without the possibility of its having come from contagion. Evidence pointed to the fact that it originated in Africa, and it was possible that owing to the wide movement of the tribes it was carried south to Cape Colony. That would, therefore, account for what were known as the Stellenbosch cases. Dr. Manson regarded leprosy much as tuberculosis, only it was rather more difficult to communicate leprosy than tuberculosis. They could not cultivate the bacillus of either nor did they know the method of its entry. The spread of leprosy depended upon a multitude of opportunities. Sir Lauder Brunton and others joined in the discussion. In closing it Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson said he had great faith that in a short time the leprous bacillus would be found in fish. During the discussion all the speakers had slurred over the difficulties of the contagion theory. They could not inoculate leprosy, and it was often the case that man and wife,

one a leper and the other not, lived together to the end of their days. In South Africa the facts against contagion were very strong indeed. Nineteen out of twenty of the lepers in South Africa would say that they have never seen a leper in their lives. Our own opinion is whether originating in bacilli or not, food, dirt, climatic and soil conditions, and mental habits, as well as contagion, are exciting causes. India, as is well known, is severely afflicted with this disease, and in this connection we notice that one Iswar Singh, a native of Jullundur, has lately, in Bangalore, applied to Colonel Benson, I.M.S., for permission to treat lepers. He asserts that he possesses infallible cures for leprosy, which were known only to the old Rishis, and begs for the assistance of Government, should his cures prove effective. Colonel Benson has asked the man to visit the Leper Hospital. In 1859 we had for a friend and every-day companion Rajah Kurruck Singh, a State prisoner for life banished out of India, for having warred against us in defence of his country, the Punjab; and he told us of *Gunduk ka tel* or sulphur oil, being an infallible old cure in the Punjab. How the oil was extracted or made from sulphur he could not say. It is possible this Iswar Singh has the same specific. People also who remember India thirty years or forty years ago will recall the Native (? Parsi) Doctor an M.D., in the Western Presidency (? Poona) who kept his method secret, but who, it was asserted, had cured several cases. Let us hope that the light of science with sanitary and restrictive measures will yet come to eradicate this fearful and loathsome disease.

Until recently there was a special agency employed in Baroda for daily burning, for about an hour, fresh neem leaves for ten days in those houses in which deaths occurred, no matter from what cause, and also in the neighbouring houses. Plague preventive pills, each containing quinine grs. 2, ipecacuanha gr. $\frac{1}{4}$ camphor $\frac{1}{4}$ and carbolic acid M. $\frac{1}{11}$ were also freely distributed. Both these measures are adopted in the infected places of the Baroda State, and the result is that a comparatively small number of people are attacked by the epidemic. In the Pharmacopœia of India it is mentioned that the bitter oil of the seeds of neem is reported by Dr. A. Hunter to be an insecticide. It is well-known that the dense smoke of fresh neem leaves destroys mosquitoes, and this is often resorted to in stables and cattle sheds. From what has been stated above, it may be inferred that the leaves probably contain some substance which destroys insects and germs. In Bombay, infected houses are fumigated with sulphur. During the first epidemic of plague it was burnt in streets also, with what result is well-known. Neem fumigation in villages costs

almost nothing. In towns its cost is insignificant. Further, people take to it kindly.

We trust to have space in our next issue to furnish some passages from an excellent lecture lately delivered in Calcutta to the V. M. C. A. by Mr. Harold Mann on "Germs and Bacteria," as well as from Dr. Metchnikoff's "Wilde Lecture" on "Microbes and the Human Body" delivered at Manchester. Also some notes on the late Malaria Commission.

In the February number of the *Monthly Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine* Professor Demms, of Stuttgart, Germany, gives the following record of the results of his observations of ten families of drinkers (not exactly drunkards) and ten families who are abstainers, for a period of twelve years. The ten drinking families produced in these twelve years fifty-seven children. Of these twenty-five died in the first week of life, of weakness, convulsive attacks, or of œdema of the brain and its membranes. Six of the children were idiots; five were stunted in size and were of dwarfish growth; one, a boy, had grave chorea, ending in idiocy; five had inherited diseases and deformities, such as chorea, hydrocephalus, hare-lip and club-foot. Two of the epileptics mentioned became, by inheritance, drinkers. Only ten of these fifty-five or 17.5 per cent., showed during youth vigour of body and mind. The ten temperate families produced in twelve years sixty-one children. Of these five died in early infancy of weakness; in later years of childhood, four had curable nervous affections; two only showed inherited nervous defects. The remaining fifty, or fully 81 per cent., were normal in every way, developing well in body and mind.

A medical correspondent calls the attention of readers of the *New York Herald* to a new medicine, which is destined to play an important part in medical treatment, and which is as yet known only to a few of the initiated. But its future is certain, it is destined to create a revolution in surgery, as well as in medicine. This medicine is adrenaline; like cocaine, it marks a new epoch in the art of healing. In the present day, it is mere child's play to suspend sensation in certain parts of the body. Ever since 1883 cocaine, which has revolutionized surgery and created rhinology, has effected this. It is well-known that by daubing it upon an absorbent surface such as the mucous membrane, the nose, for example, the membrane becomes pink and weakens without any unpleasant sensation, and that at the same time sensitiveness to pain decreases until it disappears entirely. Ten or twelve minutes after the cocaine has begun to act, a galvanocautery can be introduced into the nose, which usually cannot bear the slightest tickling, and all kinds of operations may be practised without

the patient feeling the slightest pain. Now, if such a mucous surface is daubed with a very weak solution of adrenaline, no impression, good or bad, is felt, but the mucous membrane whitens almost immediately, and retracts to such an extent that it seems almost to disappear. Within five minutes the septum can be cut into and the turbinate bone scraped without any blood flowing from the nose; whereas, before, a sudden introduction of the finger into it would have sufficed to cause bleeding. And, inasmuch as adrenaline takes the place of cocaine, a surgeon may operate for half an hour or more without being in the slightest degree impeded by hæmorrhage. Every part becomes white, as though the operation was being performed on a dead body. As it is, quite a series of small operations may be performed with the aid of cocaine. Lupus of the pituitary membrane may be scraped away, without requiring any other linen than the patient's handkerchief; for the lower turbinate bone may be removed—an excellent operation, but which has hitherto been rarely performed because of the abundant hæmorrhage which it would be sure to cause. Is not this property which adrenaline possesses of temporarily suspending the circulation in the parts which it touches, a really remarkable one; and does it justify the persistency with which the attention of surgeons is directed to this new product?

Whereas cocaine is allied with the vegetable kingdom, being an alkaline product extracted from coca leaves, adrenaline is a product of the animal Kingdom, it is the active principle of super-renal capsules. Just as before the discovery of cocaine the anæsthetic properties of tincture of coca were vaunted for some years past, the hæmostatic power of the extract of super-renal capsules has been proclaimed, but without carrying complete conviction. The fact is that the active principles of both these products were too diluted. One can imagine the infinitesimal quantity of adrenaline contained in a super-renal capsule when one learns on the one hand that a few drops of it in solution as two or three thousandths suffice for an operation on a small space, and on the other hand that the price of one kilogramme of the active principle is about 200,000fr. at the present moment—a proof that it takes a drove of oxen to produce enough of it to fill a small phial.

Takamine of New York was the first to separate adrenaline in a basic crystalline form in 1901. Here as regards its essential parts is his mode of preparation. The super-renal capsules are first completely disintegrated, and then plunged for five hours in water at a temperature varying from 50deg. to 80deg. Cent. The heat of the mixture is next increased to 90deg. and 95deg. for an hour in order to cause a coagulation of the albuminoid bodies, a layer of oil having first been poured on the surface

of the liquid in order to avoid a too rapid evaporation and above all oxydization by the air. The liquid part containing the active principle is separated by pressure, and the residuum is again put into hot water, slightly tintured with hydrochloric or acetic acid so as to dissolve what adrenaline is left. To the solutions collected are added two or three times their weight of strong alcohol, in order to precipitate the inorganic matter and the inert organic matter. After being filtered the alcoholic solution is evaporated until all the alcohol used has been recovered, and on adding to the residual liquid ammonia until the solution is purely alkaline, a yellow precipitate of pure adrenaline in a basic form is seen. The precipitate is then filtered, washed and dried. Adrenaline when cleansed of the coloring matter with which it is mixed, forms a mass of sharp pointed white crystals with a slightly bitter taste. By dissolving it in a physiological solution of chloride of sodium added to 0.5 per cent. of chloretone, a fixed liquor is obtained; which will keep a long time, even in partially empty phials. Be it remarked, by the way, chloretone in doses of 0.40 gr. to 1 gramme is given with success to cure insomnia in the case of old men and sufferers from heart disease.

Of all the medicines that produce contraction of the blood-vessels adrenaline is the most vigorous known. An intravenous injection of this product produces a powerful action on the nervous system, especially on the muscular walls of the vessels. The result is an increase of blood pressure which may prove enormous. Three injections of 1c. c. of a solution of chloride of adrenaline administered to a dog weighing eight kilogrammes, increased the blood pressure to an extent equivalent to 30mm. of mercury. Adrenaline is not only a powerful agent in stopping the flow of blood, acting within two or three minutes of its application to the mucuous membrane, the action of which according to Reynolds (of Louisville), may continue for twenty minutes to four hours; it relieves ciliary pain in all forms of keratitis (inflammation of the cornea), iritis and even glaucoma, in which it reduces the tension of the eye, thus preventing hæmorrhage in iridectomy. The opacity of the cornea after a blow is promptly cleared away by adrenaline, which appears to favourably affect the opacity due to keratitis when punctured in the case of syphilitic iritis. It causes no trouble to the cornean epithelium, in no way affects the opening of the pupil or its receptive power. In cases of congestion of the conjunctive of the eye, it has been found to have a calming effect on the subjective symptoms—feeling of burning and of foreign bodies. At the same time there is a diminution of the lachrymal secretion.

The quieting action is explained by the presence of the chloretone in the solution used and by the decongestive action of the adrenaline. As an analgesic in conjunctive and superficial inflammation of the cornea, it is preferable to cocaine, because it does not interfere with the vitality of the tissues. In any case, when used in conjunction with cocaine, adrenaline produces more complete anæsthesia for operations. Adrenaline may reduce the swelling of the lachrymal ducts, and enable a current of fluid to be passed through them without using a sound. Singing in the ears is quickly and completely relieved by the introduction of one drop of the solution of adrenaline into the Eustachian tube. In bleeding of the nose it is not of very great use, as it is rapidly carried away by the flow of blood. But in acute cold in the head it is unrivalled when immediate, though temporary, relief is required. Its effect is the same in the treatment of hay fever. Adrenaline may also be used with great success in laryngitis, pharyngitis, and amygdalitis. From the foregoing facts it may be seen that adrenaline is destined to join forces with cocaine. Their simultaneous use cannot fail to become general from day to day, inasmuch as, thanks to their respective properties, surgeons will no longer have to reckon either with pain or hæmorrhage. Let me add that adrenaline is a medicine which must be used with the greatest prudence, for its enormous constrictive power upon the blood-vessels is such that its use may be followed by secondary congestion capable in itself of causing hæmorrhage.

THE BISHOPS, RELIGION, &c.

The fearless Bishop of Bombay, who at present is unhappily suffering from a feverish attack,—an overseeing “shepherd” who can round up his own clergy as we showed last year from his “charge” and is not afraid to tell the truth to even occupants of high places in India—at a meeting in connection with Missionary work gave an address, in the course of which he said that it was unfortunately the case that a great majority of European Christians took no active or efficient interest in the work of the Missions at all. Not more than one in thirty or forty would be able to say what Missionary institutions existed in connection with the Church, though they were members of the Church. The remainder were altogether ignorant and unconcerned. This was a great blot on the Church; also on the life and work of the British race in India, for which no educational or social beneficence could ever atone, for they could not conceal the fact that there was a sentiment adverse to the work of the Missions running through the European communities in this country. It was quite impossible that any Indian could believe that Christianity had a strong hold on the

Europeans in India, considering their practical neglect of it, their forsaking of worship, and their shameful desecration in many cases of the Lord's Day. His Lordship thought the first work of their union might be to make strenuous efforts to improve the habits of the Christians. There was little use in attempting an aggressive work as long as the practice of Christian Society continued to be what it was.

A native paper commenting on the above, writes:—

“The Bishop of Bombay had a message to deliver at Poona yesterday (the 28th instant) and, in that admirable and fearless spirit with which he approaches most questions he said what he had to say quietly and firmly and unmistakably. His speech will be found in another column, and if most Christians desire to retain their peace of mind they had better not read it. The ostensible object of the meeting at Poona was to devise means of pressing Missionary work amongst the people of this land, but His Lordship improved the occasion by demonstrating the necessity of showing some concern for the case of the Christian himself, who is distinctly backsliding. We believe His Lordship scarcely desired to travel outside the bounds of that section of the Christian community of which he is the local spiritual head. He takes their case, examines it, and without circumlocution, pronounces it bad. And, looked on from His Lordship's point of view, there can be no denying it. There is an absence of effort in proselytising, which the Bishop of Bombay considers bad enough, for the great ethical and philanthropic claims of the religion, apart from its spiritual worth, make it a magnificent field for workers. But worse remains behind. Allied to this flaccid spiritual condition there is a growing disregard for outward observance. His Lordship is undoubtedly somewhere near the truth when he declares it is quite impossible for any Indian to believe that Christianity has a stronghold on Europeans in India considering their practical neglect of it, their forsaking of worship, their shameful desecration in many cases of the Lord's Day.”

Could, we ask, a professedly Christian paper have said better? The Bishop, thus, is confirmed by even the heathen, who are more observant than we often give them credit for being. The Bishop, however, knows—what the heathen may not know—that the visible body of Christians—even if included in the “Church”—are not all Christians. Baptised and born to a royal and even divine heritage, they grovel in the mire of worldliness, animal propensities and doubt—one in fact, as unconverted as the heathen. But the Church ought to be a light in the darkness, a city set on a hill that cannot be hid, a refuge for weary, hungry and perishing souls to flee to. Is it so—at least in India? Does a chaplain and his services (!) attract any attention in a native city—let us say, even in a European town in India? The blame is not altogether to be thrown on the poor “sheep in the wilderness” or wandering far and wide on the trackless mountains. We require the clergy of Christ to rouse up to their privileges and high calling, take the lead, and in unworldliness and devotion, unite the scattered members of their flock into a living whole—a Church of Faith and Love. In India, however, we remember how men in high position, in the past, used to invite prominent young students, and other natives of good

family, to their houses, and into their social circle, and by kindly intercourse set them a practical example of Christianity. Many of these, thus influenced, afterwards embraced Christianity. Such kindly and generous work is probably never seen now-a-days. But it was not the work of the "Church" as understood now. Even in the Church Collectivism may be good, but there must be the other side of Individualism, else the growth is partial, defective, abnormal, and tending to abuse. The "education" fallacy is now ruling Christian Missions in India, and unless this is given up, and every Christian Missionary (and clergyman) becomes a living centre of the love and devotion of Christ, setting forth "His unsearchable riches," and calling in the hungry, the falling, and the perishing, there will be visible what we see—a cold regard, hardly veiled from contempt, for a faith that is not preached, and for "professors" of that faith.

The opening of a Christian Hall on the model of Y. M. C. A. in the heart of native Calcutta has led to conversions among the higher middle classes, and the native leaders have been thereby stimulated to energetic efforts to organise similar institutions for native youths. The Hindus have established a society for young men which holds regular weekly classes for religious and moral training and general training. A rule has been introduced for awarding prizes and certificates to students who are most regular in their attendance. It is evident that educated Hindus do not mean to sleep over Christian endeavours for proselytisation among their community.

We wish we could reproduce an excellent opening address by Mr. F. H. Hamnett at the Annual Missionary Conference of the South Indian Missionary Association, but our space prevents. He shows how modern thought is coming back to the conclusion, that the instinct in man—"the heart"—or as Keble terms it in his *Christian Year* "Love"—is even greater than reason or "science." His concluding words were: The school of scientific philosophy is now beginning to see the possibility of a revelation of God through the heart, which is not inconsistent with but greater than any revelation possible through the head. Many who were formerly in doubt now seem ready to join hands with those who have never doubted revealed religion to join not in the faith of a new religion but in that of the old one expressed in the language of modern thought. Both sets of minds may agree in holding the late Poet Laureate's words:—

"Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen Thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove."

Both too can follow the same poet in the grand passage on the life and teaching of Christ which begins:—

"Tho' truths in manhood darkly join,
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the Name
Of Him that made them current coin."

A Conference for Bible study and discussion in practical methods of work will be held at Mussoorie from September 17th to 25th. The following programme of practical and devotional subjects will be dealt with:—(1) Village Missions and Village Churches; (2) Theosophy; (3) Quadiani; (4) the Sabbath; (5) The Constitution and Development of the Christian Church as found in the Acts and Epistles; (6) the Importance, Place and Method of Religious Controversy; (7) How to secure Voluntary Workers for Evangelising India; (8) The Pastorate in the Early Church as a solution of the question of self-support in the Indian Church; (9) Vernacular Christian Literature—the Need and Supply; (10) "Crucified with Christ;" (11) "Risen with Christ;" (12) "the Second Coming of Christ;" (13) The Holy Spirit; (14) Bible study for Personal Growth; (15) Prayer; (16) The Value of Habit in Personal Christian Life. There will be centres for Bible study in Mussoorie and Landour. Particulars as to time and place will be given later. The following speakers amongst others will, it is hoped, take part in the Conference:—Revs. Dr. Wherry, Hooper, R. McCheyne Paterson, Dr. Griswold, Dr. Lucas, Dr. Weitbrecht, Dr. R. Stewart, Dr. J. E. Robinson, Dr. Scot, Messrs. P. M. Buck, I. W. Charlton, A. H. Ewing, E. H. M. Waller, R. Clancy, D. Jones, W. G. Proctor, J. Campbell White, Miss Hewlett, &c. As regards railway concessions, ministers and missionaries in parties of not less than four can obtain concessions of 1st class for 2nd class fare, and 2nd class for intermediate fare on E. I. R. and N. W. R. on making application to the respective District Traffic Superintendents. The O. R. R. will make the same concession if all individuals and parties, provided that a certificate is obtained from the Rev. W. G. Proctor, Honorary Secretary of Conference, to present with application to the District Traffic Superintendent.

The present system of education from which religion is excluded, as well as the official State system, are both being protested against by institutions like the Benares Central Hindu College, and partially by the Aligurh College. But the example is becoming contagious. We read that a higher class English school has been started at Khulna in Lower Bengal on the model of the Central Hindu College at Benares. The promoters are rich Hindu land-owners, resolved to main-

tain the institution even at pecuniary sacrifice. Thus, Hindus are coming forward to teach a Christian government a lesson, and also to confirm Sir Rowland Wilson's views as shown in our last and as further shown below (in the next section).

Sir William Mackworth Young, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, appears also to be labouring under the fallacy that Missionary Educational Colleges are preaching Christ's salvation to dying men. At the annual meeting of the C. M. S. at Exeter Hall, he said "that India had been placed under England's dominion that she might receive from us the light of Christianity. He was proud of the service to which he belonged, believing that no country or Government had been better served than India in every department of the administration but he would take off his hat to the humblest Missionary in the Bazar. He most gratefully appreciated the services of the Missionaries in the cause of higher education. The system of treasury grants-in-aid to mission schools, was the best plan for India. The policy of the State was to withdraw from higher education so far as was compatible with maintaining a certain standard, and Missionary institutions made this possible." What a defence—a defence that is itself a condemnation! Even *New India*, a very ably-conducted, but irreligious, Bengali paper lately started, writes on a late suggestion thrown out by the Hon'ble D. M. Smeaton:—

"Mr. Smeaton thinks, the Bible be similarly placed within easy reach of the people,—be in short, introduced in the public schools and colleges as an absolutely optional subject. There can be no objection to this being done, if only the expenses of the arrangements are not paid out of the taxes paid by a non-Christian population. But after all, in the interests of Christianity itself, Mr. Smeaton's proposal should not be adopted. In India the general want of regard for the Christian faith, among the students of our Missionary colleges, is almost wholly due to the teaching of the Bible in the classroom." So much for our Missionary colleges being Christian agencies, when the heathens themselves laugh at the idea.

The following is a short summary of the results reached by the Conference on absolution and confession as given in the Chairman's report to the Bishop of London:—

"With respect to the first subject, the members were agreed that our LORD'S words in St. John's Gospel, 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained,' are not to be regarded as addressed only to the Apostles or the clergy, but as a commission to the whole Church.

"But the members of the Conference are agreed that the discipline of private confession and absolution cannot be

shown to have existed for some centuries after the foundation of the Church.

"In view of the meaning which the Conference agreed was to be assigned to the words of our LORD in St. John, the formula of ordination in our Ordinal could not be regarded as in itself inculcating the duty of private confession and absolution.

"It was agreed that our other formularies permitted such confession and absolution in certain circumstances, but the Conference were not agreed as to the extent to which they encouraged it.

"On the practical question there was a deep divergence of opinion in the Conference, some members holding that the practice of confession and absolution ought to be encouraged, as of great value for the spiritual and moral life of men and women, while others were deeply convinced that its general encouragement was most undesirable, that it should be treated as entirely exceptional, and that the highest form of Christian life and faith would dispense with it and discourage it."

Upon the motion of the Lord Chancellor, the London Diocesan Conference passed a resolution declaring that the question of Sunday Observance deserves immediate and serious attention of Churchmen. The House of Laymen unanimously passed a resolution viewing with regret and alarm the increasing disposition to pervert Sunday from being a day of Christian worship and wholesome rest to one of mere pleasure seeking and trade.

A journal has a paper showing the causes for divorce in various countries:—

In Germany, insuperable aversion, hopeless insanity, or malignant inconsistency, or quarrelsomeness, or a disorderly mode of life, or drunkenness, or extravagance. In Sweden, hatred, ill-will, prodigality, drunkenness, or a violent temper. Among the Protestants of Austria violent dislike. In Switzerland, marriage relations greatly strained. In the United States of America adultery is a cause in forty-six States; desertion in forty-four States; disappearance in forty-two; cruelty or fear of violence in forty; imprisonment in thirty-eight; drunkenness, intemperance, or habitual intoxication in thirty-seven; impotency in thirty-six; failure to provide in twenty-one; sin before marriage in thirteen; indignities in seven; insanity in five; joining the sect of Mother Lee in three; when divorce has been obtained in another State in three; living apart in two; gross neglect of duty in two; guilty of being a vagrant in two; refusal of wife to move into a State in one; turning a wife out of doors in one; habitual violent temper in one; public defamation in one; any other cause deemed sufficient by the courts in one.

Eighty per cent. of the divorce suits in America are brought by women, who may be constitutionally inclined to excesses of individualism and the craving for novelty. In Australia, too, the causes for divorce are many and various, and none of them but just. They were placed on the statute book after many years of hard contest by Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of New South Wales and Lieutenant-Governor, with the clerical party who were oblivious to facts of horrible and wholesale immorality, of the fearful amount of unrelieved misery, and that the circumstances and national characters of countries varied. Also that ideals are not practice, though practice may be made to approximate and conform to ideals. While the Christian idea has everything to be said in its favour as the true ideal, the Persian custom of a six-months' (renewable) contract has most to be said for it from an ordinary common-sense and practical view of the matter. We are afraid that neither the centenarian Pope, nor the Bishop of Madras, could decide between these, or make a universal rule.

In a case which a Jesuit priest brought against the *Record* Church paper, and for which he got £300 damages, Mr. Justice Wills, in summing up, said that, unfortunately, when the subject of discussion was connected with anything like religious controversy, generally speaking, the spirit which should be the spirit of religion disappeared. The tone of the article complained of was a signal illustration of that. While the country had been rejoicing over the declaration of peace, he had been engaged in trying an action from which all evidence of peace and charity had been banished.

The Indian Princes who went home for the Coronation, must have been struck with the numerous and striking evidences of England's deeply religious spirit (as contrasted with what is seen out in the East), and we wonder what their reflections must have been as to "Israel's GOD" when attending several of the official services, or when they heard the Archbishop of Canterbury, when handing the "orb" to the King, saying, "When you see this orb set under the cross, remember that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of Christ our Redeemer." We wonder also if anything will result from young Tagore's visit to the Pope, as the Tagores have for generations been inclined to fly away from the orthodox Hindu faith. What a rich "catch" this Tagore, the heir of his "orthodox" father, would be to the Roman Catholic body in Bengal! We trust the "Oxford Mission" party will make an effort to seize his soul, before it is carried off by the Jesuits with their "indulgences," their plausibilities and—purgatory and purgatorial Masses.

It is possible that Canon Gore's consecration as a "Bishop" has awakened him to new realities in the Divine life which he did not quite realise before. In a sermon preached lately in Birmingham he spoke of the saving grace of Christ, and the marks and evidences of the Spirit. It meant life, desire, aspiration, movement. There was, he insisted, a gradual deterioration of character, which was increasing. People talked vaguely and emptily about development and evolution, but he said, "look to fact and history and you will see that side by side with the reality of progress there is the reality of deterioration in race, nation, class, and in individuals. His lordship emphasized that there was no spiritual life which was for oneself alone. The working of the Spirit in us meant that we became more like Christ, which almost invariably meant a growing and deepening sense of fellowship with others. All false standards which separated men from men were cast down in His presence. God revealed himself in fellowship; the life of Christ, the life of the Spirit, was perpetuated not in a private religion, but in the unity—a brotherhood, a church, a society. This was the essence—that the middle wall of partition which separated men from men was bridged over and the gulf spanned. The essence of the Church was indeed to show the capacity of all men for human fellowship.

That we were right in supposing that Canon Gore owed his selection to a kindred shallow—as regards Christian faith and doctrine—spirit, Mr. A. J. Balfour, we have now supplied us the completest evidence in what the latter said to a deputation of Free Churchmen who waited upon Mr. Balfour yesterday to protest against the Education Bill. Mr. Balfour, in course of his reply, thought the old controversies about existing formulas really represented, to a large extent, controversies which were dead battlefields, which had become only of historic interest, and that there were arising new religious problems due to the growth of science, criticism, and knowledge, which would require all the skill, learning, and charity of all the churches adequately to combat. To this we can only say, "indeed"!—"Prodigious"!

A telegram announces the resignation, on the ground of ill-health, of the Bishop of Auckland (Primate of New Zealand) Dr. Cowie, who was ordained Deacon in 1854 and priest in 1855, was consecrated to the See of Auckland in 1869 and was elected Primate in 1895. He had been a Chaplain in India. Among our Chaplains and Missionaries who have become Bishops we may enumerate the following:—Corrie and Dealtry, both Archdeacons under Bishop Daniel Wilson, appointed to Madras in succession; Dr. French of the C. M. S., Agra, to Lahore; also Archdeacon Mathew and Dr. Lefroy of the Cam-

bridge-Delhi Mission to the same diocese; Whitby of the old S. P. G. Delhi Mission to Chota Nagpore; Caldwell and Hodges of the C. M. S. to Tinnevely and Travancore—[we really think the Tinnevely Bishop ought to be a native]; Clifford of the C. M. S. to Lucknow; Whitehead of the S. P. G. Mission, Calcutta, to Madras; Popham-Blyth, a Chaplain, to Jerusalem; and Stuart, the old C. M. S. Secretary in Calcutta, to Waiapu in New Zealand. In Borneo and Australia, too, there have been Macdougall, "the fighting Bishop," Chalmers, Plumer and Barlow selected from Missionaries or the local clergy. With the exception of Corrie, Dealtry, Caldwell, Macdougall, French and Chalmers, they are all alive at the present. Bishops Stuart (labouring now, we believe, in Persia) and Whitby—our friends of "the olden time"—we, however, knew most of the above—being among the "ancients" in the field. Dr. French died at Muscat, where he was working for the Arabs.

In one of those pretentious leaders, "Men and Missions," on religion and religious matters—perpetrated in India we may say, only by the *Pioneer*—(which we have now become accustomed to see, to our surprise, in a secular daily newspaper), we find not only several ordinary errors, and the usual attempt to again misunderstand the Christian position of the late Bishop of Calcutta, and to correct him (!), but a statement as to the Christianity of our old intimate personal friend's writings of the Christian Bengali poet Michael Madhu Sudan Dutta, which is quite inaccurate, and as doing injustice to his memory and misunderstanding his works, we notice it in especial. The *Pioneer* says:—"Take a greater name in Bengali literature, the epic poet and dramatist Madhu Sudan Dutta. Here we have a Christian married by Christian rites to an European lady, a man who spent five years in Europe, and was called to the English Bar. Competent critics have exhausted the language of eulogy in praising the rich imagery, the copious and varied vocabulary, the unfailling invention of the greatest of modern Bengali poets. Not one, we believe, of his many and various works shows the faintest tinge of Christian influence. Drama and epics alike are all pure Hindu, the finest of them, the famous *Megnadh-Bodh Kavya*, being a spirited episode from the *Ramayana*." We may speak with authority in this matter, as we put the direct question to him one day why he did not do more direct Christian work? He replied:—"I am a Missionary for Christ. I am imbuing Bengali literature with the Christian spirit of Dante, Milton and Spenser. I set forth in my poems the highest sentiments and ideals of character, and these will lead and form the nation to Christianity. You alone stuck to me as a friend when I was persecuted by so-called Christians—even by my

brother converts—and you will not misunderstand me and my position either way—Christian or national Bengali, and from your being a kindred spirit and knowing my inner life and thoughts so well, and your other qualifications in regard to poetry and languages, I ask you to undertake the rendering of *Megnadh-Bodh* into English. I know you will do justice to its spirit, as well as language, and be able to present it as even an original in English."

We hope some day to furnish a few notes on his life among our "Eminent Natives of India" series. Last year an eminent French Dominican and Orientalist, residing at Jerusalem Father Lagrange, maintained in the *Dominican Review* that the story of paradise and of Eve and the apple should be regarded not as a reality, but simply as a symbol or legend. The Jesuits tried hard to secure the Pope's condemnation of this opinion, but failed to do so. In fact it was intimated to Father Lagrange that he was free to hold the opinion he had expressed, and that he would have the protection of the Vatican. This account of the Garden of Eden has stood in the way of some, and been conveniently relegated to the position of a myth. We don't believe Moses dealt in "myths." His whole history and career shows him to have been particularly practical and matter of fact. Nor would he have begun "the Law" based on JEHOVAH, with an unfounded "myth." We living in the present UNCRITICAL—we repeat it, shallow and uncritical age which has lost the canons of true criticism—age can no more judge of that first step in man's spiritual evolution to be completed as the full "Sons of GOD," than of even our grand-parents' time;—so entirely different and beyond our experience. The simple apple "as a moral test of obedience," was just what the circumstances and position required. By passing it, a step higher, upward and firmer, would have been gained by the newly-created Adam. The simple but true test of obedience was not passed. Hence there followed other severer steps as toil, &c., accompanied by greater helps. We find this exemplified even to the present day among ourselves in both our physical—and even secular—and our spiritual life. To make the Garden of Eden and its Trial a fiction shows an utter inability to either perceive the circumstances of the period, or to realise the moral and spiritual aspect of man made in "the Image of GOD," and to inherit GOD'S kingdom. We may proceed to add here, what is also set forth in the Pentateuch, that for moral disobedience and sin and the consequences, the Expiator was set forth—the "Tree of Life"—and His work and history fixed, delineated forever, by "angels" in the "flaming lights" of the constellations of the Zodiac so as to "keep" the know-

ledge and make all look forward to the great event. Thence came the old "Desire of Nations" and the "Wise Men of the East." We may add that all this has no reference to the *Cabbala*, or aught save just and true criticism; a correct rendering of certain Hebrew words very dubiously rendered in the English version; and historical facts.

EDUCATION.

The Report of the Universities' Commission has been published, and it agrees in all the main features, as we shall see below, exactly with what we showed were the defects of the present system. Of course, our other contention that all education should be left to the country itself is not taken up. That our present official education, such as it is, is partial and incomplete, not affecting either the mass or the national life, and without religion unable to do so; and hence ineffective; nay, that it is positively mischievous as displacing the true view of education and raising up place-hunters and disaffected classes; are incontestable. But as we referred in our last to Sir Rowland Wilson, Bart., as showing even other grounds for giving over our puny and puerile and evil efforts to mop up the Atlantic, we add here some few lines he has subsequently written to the *Madras Mail* on the same subject:—

"I am particularly pleased with the epithet 'doctrinaire,' because I have observed that it is most commonly applied to writers whose logic is felt to be unanswerable, but whose conclusions happen to conflict with some powerful interest. And you will perhaps admit on reflection that in one sentence at all events your own logic is just a trifle defective. 'In India (you say) a country where individualism is unknown, where men have always looked to the State, where voluntary association for public objects is rare and feeble, *where men have little money to contribute for such purposes*, is the State to be debarred from supplementing private effort?' What resources has the State except what it takes forcibly from the very men who have so little to spare? Are we to understand that the poverty of the tax-payer is an additional reason for 'taking from him that which he hath'?"

"The first part of the same sentence raises a question of fact rather than of logic. The statement that in India men have always looked to the State for the promotion of education is flatly contradicted by the late Sir William Hunter, who tells us that 'at no period of its history has India been without some system of popular education, independent of State organisation and control.' How otherwise indeed could Hinduism have maintained its hold over the people during the many centuries of Mahomedan rule? Nor were the Maho-

medans themselves ever without an abundant supply of *maktabs* and *madrassas*, no more dependent on the ruler for the time being than they might be on any other munificent patron. In 1838, when the Government was beginning to take stock of the State indigenous education, it was estimated that in Bengal and Behar about 7·8 per cent. of the children of school age were being taught at school, and over 5·2 per cent. at Home, giving a total percentage of 13, as against about 9 per cent. attending public or private institutions at the present day. I am not now concerned with the quality of the instruction, but only with the willingness of the people to pay voluntarily for such schooling as, for the time being, they happen to believe in; and combining with this evidence your statement as to the 'failure of all [modern] attempts to stir Hindus and Mahomedans into educational activity, the natural inference is that the decline of voluntary zeal is due to the increased activity of the State; it is precisely what our English experience would lead us to expect.

"My ignorance of modern India is supposed to be proved by the fact (?) that the Brahmo Somaj is now losing ground. As it happens, I neither said nor implied anything to the contrary, nor would it have at all helped my argument to do so. I merely said that 'personally I should expect and welcome a great increase of activity on the part of the Brahmo Somaj and kindred bodies' [in the event of State aid to education being withdrawn], which implied, if anything, that their activity had rather waned as that of the State increased; and the example I gave of remarkable educational success achieved even under present conditions without any State aid whatever was that of the Anglo-Vedic College connected with the Arya Somaj, a 'kindred body' of more conservative type. Having, however, watched with special interest the recent doings of the Brahmo Somaj, with which the English religious body to which I belong keeps closely in touch, I take leave to doubt whether your own information is quite up to date. If you are relying on the Census statistics, you are on very unsafe ground indeed; the Government enumerators having followed a method of classification which is correct for legal, but senseless for religious purposes. Cordially agreeing with you that 'in the spread of education lies very largely the hope of India's progress,' I have only the misfortune to differ as to the best means of diffusing it. My views are doubtless old fashioned—so old that, according to the usual cycle in fashions, it should be about time for them to come up again as new. I prefer, however, to imagine that I am addressing readers with whom the question is, not whether an idea is fashionable, but whether it is true.

Old things need not be therefore true,
O brother man; nor yet the new."

As regards the Universities' Commission Report, we need hardly say it is a thorough and masterly production, and enters into almost every detail, as well as keeps to the main points we had before indicated, *viz.*, stiffening the examinations (though not to the degree we should rightly have); raising the fees; recognising vernacular and Oriental scholarship; and the means of higher education; but it strangely omits female as well as European education! We are pleased to quote here what is now said by a very intelligent organ of public opinion in North India, and it only now remains for the Viceroy to hasten and render efficient all the reforms indicated, as well as supplement a measure for female and European education:—

"When Government looked into the results of their system, they found that the education of the people was neglected for the education of a class who might fairly be expected to educate themselves, since a livelihood was the result of their studies. In Bengal rupees twenty-five lakhs were spent on general education in 1901 as against rupees two lakhs on primary education. In only five districts of Bengal were over forty per cent. of the boys being educated, while over a great part of the Province the figures stood at under fifteen per cent. So, in all India, College education was built on the most rotten of foundations, and the State, instead of teaching the masses to read and write, were teaching the classes to earn their own livelihood at the expense of the people. With all the attention that was paid to higher education, the results were contemptible. According to the Principal of Allahabad University, what would be called higher education at Home does not exist in the United Provinces. To sum up, the object, conscious or unconscious, of the predominating educational forces in this country was the passing of certain examinations at as low a standard as possible so as to fit the students for occupations that did not call into use any of the higher subjects of study in which they had passed."

There is a diminution in the figures for 1900 under the head of education. In 1900 there were 3,988,663 males and 429,645 females receiving instruction, as compared with 4,037,821 males and 425,914 females in 1899. The decline in male students was chiefly in Bengal, where there was a falling away of over 45,000 boys and 4,000 girls. This decrease is stated to be due to temporary causes, plague, floods, and agricultural depression. Most of the scholars are taught in public institutions, of which 100,425 are managed by Government, 956,535 by Local Board Funds and Municipalities and 157,784 by Native States; 2,097,971 are aided by Government or by Local Fund Boards and Municipalities, and only 497,634 are quite unaided.

As regards University education 16,421 students were attending English Art Colleges, and 548 Oriental Art Colleges, there were 2,562 Law students, 1,301 studying Medicine, 833 Engineering, 98 Teaching, and 57 Agriculture. Besides 250,389 are attending high schools, 179,465 middle English schools, and 159,573 middle vernacular schools. The number of University graduates, during the year, was 1,380 in Arts, 406 in Law, 9 in Medicines, 16 in Engineering, and 4 in Oriental Languages and Literature. In Bengal the ratio of the school-going population to the total population was 2.1 per cent., in Madras the ratio was 2.2 per cent., in Bombay 2.5 per cent., in the North-West Provinces and Oudh 9 per cent., in Burma 2.9 per cent., in the Punjab 1.2 per cent., in the Central Provinces 1.1 per cent., in Assam 1.8 per cent., and in Berar 1.7 per cent. Attending schools there were 31,328 Europeans and Eurasians, 127,036 Native Christians, 2,950,171 Hindus, 946,986 Mohamedans, and 362,787 miscellaneous. As regards expenditure, the figures continue to increase. The direct expenditure on colleges and schools was Rs. 2,96,72,314.

The number of registered presses has increased in the last ten years from 1,565 to 2,198, and the number of newspapers from 576 to 655.

The Government oculist of Mysore has also submitted a full and valuable report on the deterioration of eyesight among the school-going population; and this subject is of equal importance with that of any other in India, and should be dealt with by Government. In Australia the matter was settled many years ago.

MISCELLANEOUS, &C.

Hardly a twelve-month has elapsed since we drew attention to a small indigo planter of the name of Fox, near Doomraon, being placed in charge of the vast Shahabad estates of the Maharani, and we learn that he has resigned, and with him a number of other "Foxes" and also other country-born Eurasians or Europeans who were also entertained by him on the estate. If they have resigned how can the (native) *Bihar News* write about "the incessant spoliation and ceaseless waste of the Raj treasures which went on during the administration of the late Manager *Saheb*?"—a statement enough to ruin a man, and that should be proved in a Court if Mr. Fox has any regard for his character. We were ourselves told by a high Government official of Calcutta who knew the Raj, and we are ourselves also aware, that even true claims of some people unable to enforce them were ignored. Whence, then, the "incessant spoliation?" We have even seen it mentioned somewhere that if Mr. Fox does not clear

his character in a Court, Government will institute an enquiry, and we trust this will be done for the fair fame of the British name, whatever Mr. Fox will or will not do. The same *Bihar News* goes on to add :—

“We cannot but view the step taken by the Maharani Saheba with complacency. The Maharani has displayed firmness of mind and prudent sagacity in thus grappling with the awful situation. The selection of Babu Sivasaran Lal, a pleader of Arrah, for the Manager of the Raj, is excellent, and we hope other vacancies will be filled with the same consideration for ability, respectability and *locus standi* as in the above case.” We will repeat what we said on the previous occasion, that such appointments, even as in Cooch Bihar, should be helped to be filled by Government. We think also it is time the Maharani selected an heir.

Some thirty-five years ago we pressed on Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy, the need there was of a “Poor Law” for India, and we now find Lord George Hamilton saying in Parliament “The relief given in India to mitigate the distress caused by famine during the last two years partakes very much of the character of poor law relief such as prevails in this country, and the numbers in India in receipt of such relief in proportion to the population are much less than those at the present moment in Great Britain receiving similar help.” That is not, however, really so, if we remember the truth of the two *p. c.* “law” in regard to this matter, and the vast armies of beggars and mendicants who infest India everywhere, and compel people to pay a tax on their laziness, sores and ailments.

We see it stated that Lord Selborne has promised Dr. Wallace the grant of a Training Ship for the Hooghly. Dr. Wallace deserves well for his efforts, and so does Mr. James Luke. Of course, it had the support of the Local Government. So far good; but Dr. Wallace is moving in another matter, which may result in important issues for native Indians besides Anglo-Indians. At the Manchester meeting of the British Medical Association, Dr. Wallace submits a motion to the following effect :—“That in view of the fact that all the higher medical appointments in India are exclusively open through the portals of the Indian Medical Service the competitive examinations for which are held in London, and in view of the fact that it is impossible for many of the best graduates of Indian Universities to avail themselves of the opportunity of such competitive examinations, this meeting of the British Medical Association while emphasizing its approval of the principle of allowing the people of India as fair a chance as British Medical men of entering the higher

services of that country, desires to recommend the adoption of a system of simultaneous competitive examinations in London and in Calcutta for the Indian Medical Service as the best means of affording to the people of India just scope for their natural and legitimate aspirations.” Whether this motion, so true and just and helpful to India’s medical needs, be carried or not, it shows that both “Anglo-Indians” and “Natives” are working for the same ends, and that the “Natives” would find their interests better served by following the “Anglo-Indians” lead them by keeping aloof from them, or abusing them. Of course, the union—to break down unpolitic and unjust restrictions—may be objected to by the “Anglo-Indians” (who are, we believe, legally classed as “Natives,” and which classification has to be accepted—many such “Natives” being actually officers in our army !); but that is another matter. This is how a native paper, called *New India*, writes on the subject :—“We sincerely regret the spirit of some of the speeches delivered last Monday night, at the Anglo-Indian Dinner, held under the auspices of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, at the Hotel Continental. We have the fullest sympathy with the wants and aspirations of this unfortunate community, but we feel that the unwisdom of their leaders in setting up a necessary antithesis between their small community and the larger community of the pure natives of the country, will always be a stumbling block in their way. . . . Let them once for all choose between the ‘land they live in,’ and that other country—‘Our mother country beyond the seas.’ The domiciled Anglo-Indian community owing to their pretensions of birth and breed, lacks as yet this supreme sense of identification with this country and its people. It is therefore they speak of their value to the State, which will only come out on the outbreak of another Indian rebellion. They are more anxious to prove their identity with the pure whites,—a natural desire, but not conducive to the development of that self-respect without which no community may rise.” There is much sense, much (unnecessary) abuse, and some misconception in this; but there may be moderation and good sense ruling to the good of both, and of India.

Here is another of those queer, eccentric ideas of the London *Spectator* in regard to Indian subjects :—“It is rather a pity, that we cannot found a capital for India, where great buildings, libraries, and treasures might accumulate through ages, but the design, though repeatedly entertained, has always broken down before execution. Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, would be the fitting place, but it is opposed by the irresistible desire to live in the hills, and by the secret feeling of the dominant race that they are

only camped in India. The original cost, too, would be considerable, and the Indian Treasury even when rich has ten claimants for every rupee." That "we are only camped in India" is a phrase we once heard from an old Indian Bishop who knew all India better than any Viceroy including the present.

A Madras firm advertises cheap passages to London for Rs. 220, and to Melbourne or Sydney for Rs. 125. This beats even the Orient Line's previous cheap rates.

At a recent competition held in England for the best original epitaph, the following carried off the prize. The *Civil and Military Gazette* received from a correspondent, "P. D. C.," a modern Persian translation, which, it is said, "sums up the whole character of a Persian gentleman."

EPITAPH.

He revelled under the moon,
He slept beneath the sun,
He lived a life of going-to-do
And died with nothing done.

Kas-i-bi-shab hama dar akl-u-shurb mi-pardakht
Bisati-i-khwab bi-hangam-i-ruz mi-andakht
Hamisha wa'da-yi farda bi karha mi-dad
Na-karda kari-u-asp-i-ajal bi-ruyash takht.

The Persian, however, can fight, also as a "gentleman!"

Convicts in Indian prisons at the beginning of the year numbered 97,196. 207,537 persons were imprisoned during the year. Of these 517 were executed and 3,334 died. Buddhists form the highest proportion of criminals, Mahomedans coming next. Only 9·4 per cent. were able to read or write. The convicts in the settlement at Port Blair number 11,947. Of these 7,795 are murderers and 2,262 dacoits. To suppress crime and bring offenders to punishment there are 143,937 civil and 20,615 military policemen, and yet crime is rampant. Here is another instance published of what goes on everywhere every day. It is not that the police cannot manage, but they *won't*—it is the general system of do-nothingness that prevails everywhere in everything in India—even in the Mineral Department, with its appointments of "experts" from Home who know nothing of the country—Government itself being the witness. Here is the public highway robbery:—A band of dacoits armed with guns boldly attacked a village chowki just outside Agra, and carried off a lot of valuables after wounding some villagers. And here is the Government record of last year's mineral work of a huge, over-manned, and over-paid Département:—

"The Resolution of the Government of India on the work of the Geological Survey last year states that the attempt to sink a 1,000-foot boring in the Palana Coal Field, Bikanere,

has proved unsuccessful, and that an examination by Dr. Nöetling of the Sambhur Lake tends to allay the apprehension felt as to the probable exhaustion of the salt supply from that locality, and that the prospecting of auriferous fields in Chota-Nagpur has not so far resulted in the discovery of reefs containing paying gold. The Resolution speaks appreciatively of the services of Dr. Griesbach who is about to retire, and refers to useful work done during the year by Mr. Stonier, Dr. Nöetling and the late Dr. Von Kraft. It states that intimation has been received from the Secretary of State of the appointment of Mr. Maclaren as a Mining Specialist, also of two officers as Assistant Superintendents in the Department."

In Calcutta on the 23rd September 1837 two natives who had been found guilty of perjury were thus punished:—

"They had one side of their heads, whiskers, moustachios and beards shaved, they were then clothed in sackcloth, their heads decorated with fantastically-painted paper foolscaps, and strings of shoes were suspended from their necks, their faces were daubed on one side with blacking and on the other with chunam. They were then taken out of the Alipore Jail and mounted on jackasses with their faces towards the tails, while two sweepers every now and then flourished immense brooms over these worthies, and a common crier preceded them with a tom-tom beating on it the Rogue's March and detailing to the spectators the exploits of these two characters." A newspaper naively remarks on this:—"Perhaps this old custom might have been retained with advantage." Some "old customs" were very well suited to India—especially that one of doing thoroughly what had to be done, and not mere talking and "buttering" one another—a mark of degeneracy and loss of stamina (?—with the advent of "Imperialism"). With regard to the causes which culminated in the Mutiny, a thoughtful paper writes:—

"It can never be mathematically demonstrated that its origin was due to this cause or to that. But it is matter of common agreement that it was due to a variety of causes, which have been repeatedly set forth. The great disproportion between the numbers of British and native troops, the dislike of the latter to cross the salt water, the curtailment of the powers of commanding officers and consequent decay of discipline in the native army, our loss of prestige due to disasters in Afghanistan, the denial to native princes of the right of adoption, the annexation of Oudh, Sattara and Jhansi, sufficiently explain the readiness to rise against British rule, and gave a handle to disaffected intriguers at Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore and elsewhere. To the inflammable state

of feeling thus induced the greased cartridge agitation served as a lighted match, and the explosion followed. All this is matter of common knowledge, and it is improbable that any more exact explanation will ever be forthcoming."

The subscriptions towards the John Nicholson Fund have already amounted to Rs. 30,000. At the last Indian Civil Service Dinner at the Hotel Cecil in London we find the names of the following who attended, among whom there are several of the "olden time" whom we knew personally:—

Sir C. A. Elliot, K.C.S.I. (Chairman); Dr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., LL.D.; Sir L. H. Griffin, K.C.S.I.; Mr. I. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E.; Sir C. C. Stevens, K.C.S.I.; Sir W. E. Ward, K.C.S.I.; Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I.; Sir Steuart Bayley, K.C.S.I.; Sir H. M. Durand; Sir A. C. Lyall, G.C.I.E.; Mr. W. Seton-Karr; Mr. C. S. Belli; Mr. H. L. Dampier; Mr. H. A. Cockerell, C.S.I.; Mr. H. A. Harrison; Mr. T. W. Holderness, C.S.I.; Sir C. I. Lyall, K.C.S.I.; Mr. I. W. Neill, C.S.I.; Mr. H. R. R. Hopkins; Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S.I.; Sir P. P. Hutchins, K.C.S.I.; Sir D. C. Macnabb, K.C.S.I.; Mr. W. H. R. Merk, C.S.I.; Sir J. B. Lyall, G.C.I.E.; Mr. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I.; Mr. F. E. Jackson; Sir W. H. D'Oyley, Bart.; Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.; Mr. E. R. Henry, C.S.I.; Mr. H. L. Salkeld; and many more.

In that wonderfully romantic and lovely valley Kulu, north of Bajaora, we note the appearance remarked of a "mysterious beast" which did much damage to cattle, but that it disappeared directly the sepoy that were sent against it from Mundi arrived, and, not been heard of since. The sepoy waited over three weeks, could find nothing, got tired, and went back. The Sinore "rupti" lumberdar says it killed 27 head of cattle, six goats, and two bears, but did no harm to human beings or dogs. The general opinion of the villagers seems in favour of its having been a *bhut* in the shape of an unknown beast! This reminds us not only of the Australian *bunyip*, of which so many stories are told, but of an "experience" we underwent in some very wild Indian jungles—where we offered to take our dear Viceroy, and where the great natural wonder is situated—when alone in our tent at night, from some "beast" that was two-legged—our ear had been trained to distinguish the sounds of different animals' feet—and that was certainly not a tiger or a bear. Tigers and bears are ordinary animals easily dealt with. The "experience" was one of only two or three minutes, and was one of the few occasions in our life-long adventures in the wild parts of the world in various countries—once before in Borneo with a wild armed Malay in thick jungle

and also at night, and again in Thibet against a "chief" when "trapped" in his "castle,"—when we grasped our revolver, resolved to sell life dearly, not being quite sure it was not a *gorilla*. (This in India.)

LATEST.

The Viceroy has been to Mysore and has installed the Maharajah. After saying that moral maxims were useless, His Excellency proceeded to give a few—(very good ones). There, was also the usual "spill" over a figure of speech, but Oxford men were never good at figures of speech. This is a fact which Lord Curzon would do well to ponder. We doubt if "puffs of smoke" pass easily from the memory. We know that some lovely curls from our pipe ages ago can never pass from our memory. Imagine, too, a "puff of smoke" being introduced into a salutary moral lesson! As we once before remarked Lord Curzon has a fund of humour of which he is supremely unconscious. "Work as though you were going to live not for fifty years but for five";—why, in that case every Editor in India would be "dead corpses" (*authorised version*) in one day!

The Maharajah of Burdwan is to be installed on the *gadi* some time in November. The cost of the Installation is estimated at rupees two lakhs. It is anticipated that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will preside at the ceremony. The Maharajah is the premier and greatest nobleman of Bengal, and as such, may well be asked into the selected company of "Chiefs" in India at the Coronation Durbar. We believe the tenantry on his estates outnumber the whole population of Mysore. When we refer to him as the premier nobleman of Bengal, we except H. H. The Nawab of Moorsshedabad, whom we succeeded in the Government of Bengal, and who has the rank of a "Prince" and ought of right to have a place among the "Princes" at the Durbar. So, too, ought H. H. The Nawab Prince of Arcot or the Carnatic, from whom we got Madras, to have an honored place. Meanwhile, there are signs of an impending famine over a considerable portion of the Peninsula. In regard to the *personnel* of the Police Commission the *Bengali* finds the same defect that we have pointed out, and the *Indian Mirror* thereon makes an attack on all "Commissions":—

"As to the *personnel* of the Indian members of the Commission, we have to express our sense of disappointment. As the *Indian Mirror* puts it, those who ought to be on the Commission are not there, and those who have been appointed members have not shown any special aptitude for dealing with the problems which will be placed before them."—(*Bengali*.)

"We are grieved to say, that Lord Curzon's acts have been mostly in the nature of abortive or mischievous Commissions and Committees

in one direction, and interminable tours, and 'pageantry, processions and firing of salutes,' which he himself deprecated at the threshold of his administration in another. He said then, that 'the salvation of India is his duty.' The conception was correct enough, but the execution has been almost always wrong and misdirected. Were Lord Curzon a less clever man, he would be less self-opinionated. He should then not send Commissions and Committees flying about the country—not to collect and digest independent non-official opinion—but to merely carry out a certain programme which he had already thought out in his own mind to achieve a certain end in a particular manner. Lord Curzon will brook no contradiction and no denial. He must have servants obedient to his will, and the Great Mogul himself could not have been more slavishly served.—(*Indian Mirror.*)

And, as if the utter inefficiency of the Police, such as we are pleased to have it, were not daily proved, here is another instance just to hand of the security of life and limb of respectable subjects in India:—

Krishnaswamy Moodelly, one of the masters in Pachaiyappa's High School, Madras, after his work at the school was over, took the train at the Beach Station and alighted at Veyasarpady Station at about 6-30 P.M. He in company with his peon walked along, inspecting some of his lands between Veyasarpady and Perambore. A short time after passing the village of Veyasarpady he was attacked by several men, who beat him unmercifully with sticks and their fists and relieved him of his clothes, watch and chain and money—his salary which he had just drawn that evening. The peon who attempted to defend his master was also brutally treated and bound hand and foot and carried away to a secluded spot. While Mr. Krishnaswamy Moodelly was left in a fearful plight in the fields, his servant was taken to the bed of the Veyasarpady tank and there the budmashes broke the lantern the man carried, and with the pieces of broken glass jabbed him all over the face and body, and are said to have used their knives, wounding the man seriously. Later on some passer-by found Krishnaswamy Moodelly lying in the fields and his peon in the bed of the tank and conveyed them to their house in Perambore. This morning they were taken to the General Hospital and admitted. The talk about misgoverned Turkey or China or Persia is an outrageous farce after this. There is only one Police officer who kept crime away from his districts, and he was obliged to retire from the service!

We may now close with the latest items from Europe. The Commander of the First Army Corps of the German Army writes that "if the Boers had kept a positive aim before their eyes, namely, the determination to drive the British out of South Africa, and had assumed the offensive at the right moment with this determination in view, the war would have had another termination."

As we have before remarked, the real troubles of South Africa are now beginning. We will say nothing more than furnish a few facts, in as much as Mr. A. J. Balfour, now Premier, has called Chamberlain, who fell into the trap of a war made for him, and broke down in it and through it, "a great statesman!" (Doubtless they both want "certificates" from one another, *but they will not get one from posterity.*)

Many Transvaal and Orange Burghers, who fought to the end, are wearing green badges, also the Republican colours. The ex-National Burgher Scouts are being subjected to persecution and boycotting. There is a distinct reaction towards nationality, especially in the towns. It is suggested that the best means of overcoming the bitter feeling would be the appointment of Dutchmen to positions on the Executive Council or the repatriation of the Nationalist Committee. Judge Hertzog, a former Commandant, addressing the Boers released on parole, asked them to remember that they were Transvaalers or Free Staters first, citizens of the Empire afterwards. The Boers surrendered, not because they were defeated, but because they desired to save their women and children from further misery. The Boer Generals, meanwhile, have arrived in England and have been received by the King. Mr. Steyn, who was truly mad before the war, and to whom it was in a great measure due, is hopelessly paralysed, and is now in Holland. Old Kruger remains impenitent. Dr. Leyds is still probably mischief-making. And that unfortunate "Chief Secretary" of the Transvaal Reitz, who could pray at "conversion" meetings, but who was curiously defective in his knowledge of the Kingdom of the Prince of Peace, has settled in Sumatra. Let us trust he will remain there.

General Louis Botha has the calmest and clearest head of any Boer, and he says, "The influence of himself and his friends would be brought to bear in the proper direction so long as they saw that a broad-minded policy formed the keynote of South African administration for the future. Neither he nor his friends could understand, however, why a portion of the Transvaal had been given over to Natal. He failed to see that Natal deserved to get any territory from the Transvaal any more than did Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, each of which had, perhaps, done more for the Empire." The Pretoria Correspondent who furnishes the above "interview" with Botha, writes:—

"That a man in his position, and who speaks, without a doubt, the minds of the other Boer leaders, should at the conclusion of peace feel it necessary to make his voice heard so trenchantly and clearly upon certain aspects of the situation is not devoid of significance. His references to the Natal Government had a bitter ring about them. There is abundant evidence that the late leaders are not disposed to permit the Boers at large to merge their "nationality" into ours

unless and until the future proves to them that Crown Colony control is not to repeat historical mistakes, and that the Government of the people by the people is to be reached within a reasonable period of probation. The spirit of General Botha's remarks illustrates the magnitude of the task which lies before Viscount Milner. It was obvious to me that the General has considerable fear for the future, and really—looking to the illogical and vacillating, not to say unstatesmanlike, policy which, for many years prior to the war, distinguished the attitude of the different Imperial Governments with regard to South Africa—it is not surprising that the Boers, amenable as they may be to the new situation, should view the coming years with some misgiving. It is useless to remind them that enlightenment has succeeded to a superficial knowledge of South African needs, and that the interests of the Boers are identical, and will be made identical, with ours. By our deeds, however, shall they begin to know and understand us better."

We with our intimate and first-hand knowledge of South Africa and the Boers and British there, simply say that there is no hope for South Africa under the Balfour *cum* Chamberlain mutual-certificating, Ministry, and the sooner it gives way for even the peace of England (on the education question), and of Ireland (which is perilously near an outbreak), to a Liberal Ministry of men like Morley, Carrington, Bryce and Campbell-Bannerman the better. This is positively our "last word" in reference to South Africa; and as before, we shall be found to be right, even though there is such an unusually moderate man as Lord Milner as high Commissioner—but his wisdom and strength are both small. His putting £2 on each Kaffir is a piece of insensate and inexpensable folly.

The New Ministry has been formed and is composed as follows:—

Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal.
 Lord Halsbury, Lord Chancellor.
 The Duke of Devonshire, President of the Council.
 Mr. Akers Douglas, Home Secretary.
 Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary.
 Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary.
 Mr. Brodrick, War Office.
 Lord Hamilton, India Office.
 Lord Selbourne, First Lord of the Admiralty.
 Mr. Ritchie, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
 Lord Ashbourne, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
 Mr. Wyndham, Chief Secretary for Ireland.
 Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Chief Secretary for Scotland.
 Mr. Gerald Balfour, Board of Trade.
 Mr. Long, Local Government Board.
 Mr. Hanbury, Board of Agriculture.
 Lord Londonderry, Minister of Education.
 Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Postmaster-General.
 Lord Dudley, Viceroy of Ireland, is outside and Mr. Wyndham is inside the Cabinet.

Sir William Walrond, Chief Government Whip, succeeds Lord James of Hereford as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, but without a seat in the Cabinet, while Lord Windsor becomes First Commissioner of Works in succession to Mr. Akers Douglas. Another change announced is the transfer of Lord Hardwicke from the India Office to the War Office, his place at the former being taken by Earl Percy, Member for South Kensington, since 1895.

It will be seen that Lord George Hamilton stays in, and probably, for his work, there is no better man in the party. And it is our opinion this Ministry will not last long—the last Leeds by-election being a sure indication of which way the breeze is now blowing—and well for England, Ireland and South Africa that it is thus blowing. The Colonial Conference has ended, as we anticipated, in no definite conclusions except a small increased contribution to the Navy. Our home people are as ignorant of the Colonies as they are of South Africa and India (native India). Ireland, as we have said, is perilously near an outbreak, and as on a former similar occasion in India the (then) Prince of Wales was sent here to prevent an outbreak and create an atmosphere of "loyalty," so now it is stated that the King will shortly visit Ireland. It seems all the Colonial representatives are in favour of "Home Rule" for Ireland; at the same time that Mr. Wyndham rules Ireland without reference to its public opinion! Without our urging Home Rule, Mr. Wyndham, of whom there had been much hope, seems to have failed altogether.

At the Annual Meeting of the Deputies of Protestant Dissenters of three denominations, Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist, a resolution was passed hoping for a continuance of efforts in and out of Parliament to secure the abandonment of the Education Bill, and stating that in the event of failure of these efforts the Deputies would not be prepared to accept the measure as final or its provisions as binding on them. Mr. Caine, M. P., said it was the Free Church Councils rather than the Liberal Associations who were doing the work of the Liberal leaders. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Asquith, Lord Rosebery and others were doing a certain amount of work, but they only made occasional stereotyped protests. Mr. Balfour had never understood Non-Conformity. If the Bill passed the fight must be carried on to the bitter end. (Cheers.) They must refuse to comply with its provisions and use those methods by which their fathers rid the country of church rates, and in their own time the Welsh farmers dealt with the tithe difficulty. (Cheers.)

The Chairman of Messrs. Harland and Wolff, giving evidence before the Steamship Subsidies Commission, said that Mr. Pierpont Morgan offered the British Government the

services of every liner built in Great Britain for the Navigation Syndicate on the same terms as apply to the White Star. Mr. Morgan is exceedingly kind, and the great British Empire (Navy included) must be duly thankful to Mr. Morgan.

Finally, the *Saturday Review* has turned against Lord Roberts! Here is what it says:—

"The office of Commander-in-Chief, when the Duke of Cambridge had retired, was shorn of much of its true importance; but, as we have pointed out, some of its powers have since been restored, and it would still possess plenty of reality in the hands of a capable and energetic administration; and with that administrator, strong and popular enough to be also—with some obvious limitations—independent, he might at the present time perform incalculable services for his country. Lord Roberts's warmest admirers will hardly contend that he is fulfilling any of these conditions; and the disagreeable truth is really this, that the whole idea of his proving an able and industrious administrator, a bold reformer, and a vigorous hater of all shams has turned out to be a simple and absolute myth."

Lord Roberts may have his little faults—and what good man has not?—but he is above the criticism of such papers as the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator* and the *Times* (as at present conducted). He may not be a General of the Marlborough or Wellington type, but we have not any better than he at present; and he is both progressive in his ideas, and a true friend of the soldier. Now that the wholesale mistakes in connection with the South African War are past, we may as well be glad that Lord Roberts is Commander-in-Chief. His cheery old soldierly face is an inspiration to those who do not believe in journalistic *bunkum*. Lord Roberts has just been to Netley Hospital where he gave an excellent address, in which he recounted the names of most of the old leaders of the Medical profession in India. We find he omitted two great names who were "all" in Bengal before even John Campbell Brown's days—we refer to Dr. James Taylor and Dr. Thomas Allan Wise. We wonder if there is any one now in India who remembers them. John Campbell Brown, one of the "cheery" lot, fitted us out medically from the Punjab when we started on our Central Asian Expedition, one of our aspects being "Yunani Huqueem to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Roum!" (Greek Physician to the Grand Turk!)* Brown even wished he was whole and sound and younger to accompany us.

*This will be found changed in *Kim* to a Baboo doctor of Dacca. Many other stories of the choicest flavour, as of Nana Sahib and his capturing his captor (evidently Lurgan), the great *Momiat*, the wonderful Magician, and a host of others were evidently unknown to Kipling. For the purpose of his story he splits up one individual's performances into many parts. The picture of the Lama is completely overdrawn (our Red Lama's dress was deposited in the Asiatic Society's Museum), and any *Kim* is a fragment of the imagination in India.

(So, too, we received offers on the one hand from an old "millionaire" to join us, and on the other from that dear "Saint" Nehemiah Nilkant Shastri Goreh, then a Pundit in Benares and afterwards a "Cowley Father" in Poona, whose praises have been sung by Max Müller, and who was one of our dearest Indian friends.) We are wandering. Let us add that Lord Roberts did not forget to add Dr. Macleod's name in the noble list—Dr. Macleod so well known, loved and highly revered in Bengal and now head of the Hospital—Dr. Macleod who, if anyone, should have received his knighthood, though of course there is yet time for this official recognition of his headship of the surgical profession in India, especially if Lord Roberts, who seems to know him and his eminence well, takes him in hand at the India Office.

And now we come to our "obituary" list, which shall be short. Sir John Ware Edgar, [K.C.I.E., formerly Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government, and who retired in 1892. We saw him enter the service in the sixties—a pleasant and happy man without too much "head." George Irving, merchant of Calcutta, long the leader in all acts of private charity. We trust his mantle will fall on the worthy shoulders of Colin Gulliland, though there are one or two other very excellent names. The happiness of doing good and relieving genuine want is known only to those who practice it. Henry Dunning Macleod, in London, the leading (and soundest) writer on Political Economy, Banking, &c., for more than a generation past, and whose masterly opinion decided the lines of the rehabilitation of the Indian Currency when it was considered by the Commission of which he was a member. His work on Banking is still the text-book of bankers, and we see him mentioned in an excellent paper in the last (Calcutta) *National Magazine* by Reginald Murray, Chief of the Commercial Bank. Mr. Macleod was the brother of the Laird of Invergordon, N.B., and was originally entered for the bar—a dear friend of his being Lord Chief Justice Coleridge. He has, we believe, several sons high up in the Indian Services. We are afraid we must also add here the name of our most able writer of our late paper on the "Nobel Competition"—who died in Norway soon after. We have lately lost many of our ablest, oldest and best contributors. The anecdote with reference to Lord Dufferin is this:—Sir Alex. Mackenzie wished to gain some point as Home Secretary, and said he was the Home Secretary. Lord Dufferin quietly replied, "and I am the Viceroy!"

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Punjab Forest Report. 1900-01.

Punjab Jail Report. 1901.

Report of the Bareilly Reformatory School. 1901.

Kamala's Letters to her Husband.

The Conqueror. By Gertrude Atherton.

Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall. By Charles Major.

[These last two are of Macmillan's Colonial Library.]

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