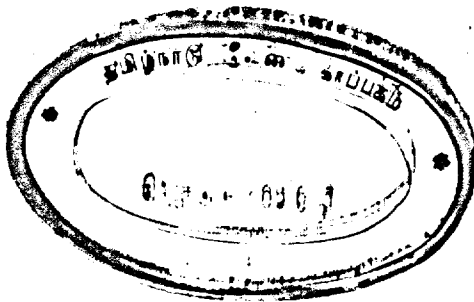


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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXVI.

January 1903.

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

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ART. I.—THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF BURMA.

THE Civil Servants and the Governors of India greatly complain that every English or Scotch Member of Parliament who visits India in the winter goes home with some new ideas as to how he would govern this great Empire, and having addressed his constituents and probably made a speech on the Indian Budget at the Dinner Hour, he is supposed to be a bit of an authority on India and its problems. I am glad to say that every week brings me an increasing Indian Mail, not only of Letters, but of Indian Literature, fortunately in the vulgar tongue, and in the long Railway journeys on circuit, or in the vacation, I am enabled steadily to master the pages of *East and West*, the special offer to subscribers of the *Indian Review* and the very interesting problems of Mahommedan thought and life, presented by the Journals from Lahore. I do not wish to add to the number of Bores in the House of Commons or to pose as a pundit or a crochet monger. Sir George Campbell is dead, Sir Richard Temple, a real authority, has passed away, Sir Wm. Wedderburn has retired in disgust; and there is Mr. Galloway Weir to take the places of all three, and Mr. Caine to play the part, so happily described by the Irrawaddy Captains who had been amused by his stories on board their boats, and alarmed and disgusted by his speeches when he had left. Mr. Broadhurst, the Trades Union member for Leicester, whose voice recalls the dulcet tones of the late Sir George Campbell, has thought fit to dub me the member for Burma, and I should be most proud to live up to the rôle the working-class member for Leicester has mapped out for me. No part of my Indian travels lives more vividly in my mind's eye than the journey from Bhamo to Mandalay and the evenings I spent in the Burman villages gave an enquiring legislator some food for reflection, some ideals for the future.

Of the numerous addresses which I had to give as a member of the London Chamber of Commerce on my return, none

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has been more in request, than that which I gave to the Chamber in Eastcheap, and to the assembled politicians in Piccadilly, on my experiences in Burma and my views thereon. I have perused with greater interest the Burmese criticisms than even the Burmese reports, and it has been my good fortune in meeting Sir Wm. Agnew and Dr. Marks, the late Principal of St. John's College, to ascertain how far my suggestions were justified by past events or coming realizations of prophecies. I made it my business, when in Burma, to ask as many questions of as many authorities as possible, and not to limit these to my European friends or to native officials. Not content with reading from end to end that charming work—The Souls of the People, the Sunday before I entered, and the Sunday I left Burma, I tried by interview and conversation to grasp some of the problems and to obtain official and non-official views thereon. I never entered Government House, for reasons, now that the Lieutenant-Governor has left, I need not dilate upon; but for questions of Trade, which much interested me, I sought the opinion of the English Merchant, the Irrawaddy Captains, and the Native Trader; and on the subject of Education, which interested me most of all, I endeavoured to ascertain how we might build upon existing institutions, rather than create new ones altogether. It is a part of my political education not that we should begin *de novo*, but make use of what we find around us. So, just as I am engaged in defending the Government Education Bill in the remotest and perhaps most romantic county in England, so I spent the most interesting of all my days in India, with Mr. de la Fosse, the Government Inspector at Allahabad, in a school at Benares without a European master. Just as the Church in England was the pioneer in the work of national education by her monastic schools, that at Sherborne dating from A. D. 700, and that of the monks at Christ Church, Canterbury, probably, the same decade; so, too, I would like to make use of and utilise the village schools of Burma taught by the Buddhist monks, and lead on to a system of Secondary Education in the larger cities of Burma. The Monastic Life and the Monastic Teachers of Burma have a great charm and a great hold upon the people, and the advice which Lord Curzon gave to them in his recent visit, about standing by their old institutions, is one which no intelligent Burman should permit Western Culture to rob him of. Better, far better the adherence to the National Faith and the sublime teachings of Buddha, than that negation of all belief, which we find too often in the Educated Hindu. As one personally interested in Christian Missions, I do not wish to be misunderstood, I consider Chris-

tianity the goal of all our efforts, but we must not make the mistakes of Clive or of the Islamic Rulers by forced Conversions to follow the example of the Rulers and the Ruling Class. I have watched the patient plodding perseverance of the Buddhist pupil inscribing the sacred precepts on the leaves in the Monastery at Rangoon, and my mind was carried back for centuries, as I recalled the day's labour on the Illuminated Text, and the little group of disciples around the Venerable Bede as they hastened to take down at the master's dying request the final words of the Gospel which bears the name of the beloved disciple. We call upon the educated world to loathe and detest the Mahomedan Ruler who sacrificed the MSS. of the learning of the world gathered together in Alexandria, but what of that bright, mighty Prince Henry who has left us in the greatest and richest city of English Life with but one Service Book and one piece of Communion plate bearing date earlier than 1547. The kingly desire for wealth and the iconoclastic zeal of his Protestant courtiers has deprived the student, of priceless literature, of civic and parochial worth; and the antiquarian, of the richest gems of mediæval work. The shrine of St. Eikenwald in St. Paul's and of St. Thomas at Canterbury, of the proto-martyr St. Alban (the fragments of which have been put together) prove that Islam is not altogether responsible for the destruction of ancient treasure and primitive research. For these reasons, let us be most careful not to interfere with, but to encourage and to help educationally the Buddhist monks, who at all events have given to the village youth of Burma the rudiments of a National Education. The anxiety of the Burman boy to understand English was made apparent to me by their friendly intercourse on all the steamers, and the delighted way in which they sought and accepted explanation of English Reading Books.

Their happy joyfulness and yet their receptiveness of information contrasted favorably with the Hindu methods of cram and exam. Both in Burma and in India a much larger number of schoolmasters from England are needed, not necessarily University men, but qualified, and, if possible, certificated teachers who would really give their class accurate pronunciation of the English lessons, and a real definite realisation of the subject, apart from the wretched Keys which crop up everywhere with Indians in their own country, and in our own, with any and every examination. It would be a great thing to accomplish, if we could have a number of village teachers who had been educated in England, and, if possible, were Burmans, for, if they were not Burmans, they should be Englishmen. In my desire to find suitable and

profitable employment for the Anglo-Indian population, it might be possible to map out a career of usefulness for them in teaching elementary English to the natives in the simple village schools.

The Viceroy has put his foot down upon any plan for establishing, as yet, a Burman University, and, therefore, after the recent report of the Indian Universities, the summary of which, so far I have only seen, it is in the unification rather than in the extension of the present system, that Reform and Efficiency can best be secured. But my sympathy is entirely with the Burman in his desire to have a system, and therefore in the end, an University of his own. Buddha's Teachings and Buddhist monks have been driven out of India, and it is in the religion of a race, and especially in a monastic system which treats National Education as one of its works, we must seek the unit or factor upon which to build. Secondary schools in the larger centres of population should follow, and after what I have seen of Burman Handicraft in the prison store at Rangoon, technical education must be followed up in every local centre. With the knowledge of reading and writing, there must also be given instruction in the art and science of Home manufactures, and every boy should thus learn a native industry.

It would be a sorry day for the Burman youth, if he became a prey to the passion of the Hindu, for a degree, and a government employment, when there is so much in the development of the trade of his own country to be accomplished if he is to be saved from painless annihilation by the Chinese Trader and the Hindu Agriculturist. I know it is argued that the Burman is the Irishman of the East, but there is, I venture to think, in the Burman youth, a realisation of the pleasures which Industry brings in the form of competence, and afterwards of wealth, which may be successfully trained and developed. There are no congested districts in Burma, but, like the great fields of Manitoba, there are millions of acres waiting for cultivation, and ample room for millions of settlers. One great object of Burman Education, both male and female (where possible), should be directed to the preservation of the race and the family, and the inculcation of the lessons to be derived from the result of Home Industry, and the preservation of Burman family life, rather than in the mixed marriage with the Chinaman and the Hindu. In this problem of Burman Education arises the question, of what would be the best form and the best services that English Missionaries could render. The means of Education is the *Open Sesame* to the Burman Home, and the proverbs of Solomon and the lessons of the Old Testament were explained to me on the roofs of

Mandalay by children who had been daily taught in the school of the American Baptists. Just as I would recognise and assist the simplest village school taught by the Buddhist monk as a matter of State expediency, so I would, as a Christian, encourage the Monastic system as the Missionary factor of Christian pioneer work in Burma. The happy English Home of the English pastor, or the more business-like life and methods of the American Missionary do not commend themselves to the religious mind, or answer the higher ideals of the followers of The Light of Asia. To them the example of their great master Buddha is always the more perfect way. They can understand the answer of our Greater Master to the rich young man in the Gospels. "If thou would be perfect sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow Me." I know how much more work is doing, and has to be done among the dense population of our own great land, but the cry of the heathen has great attractions to noble minds, and sooner or later, I trust some community of learned as well as saintly men, will be found to enter on the work of Burman Missions and the higher Christian education of the Burman youth.

So long as we in no way speak against the pure teachings of Gandhama Buddha, but rather point the more excellent way of Him who should be the realisation of Buddhist hopes, we shall in due time win over some of the higher intelligence of educated Burmans; but in the pioneer work which I have endeavoured to describe, we must assist the Buddhist teachers in the Buddhist schools. Fortunately, in Burma, there is no Free Church Council of sufficient political importance to protest against the teaching of false doctrine at public expense. Statesmen and ecclesiastics who deal with Burma, must be men of broad sympathies, and of a hopeful and encouraging temperament. It is a work of educational elevation which must be attempted, and which, if it is to be widespread, far-reaching and effectual, must be in harmony with native institutions and national instincts. To those whose official life has been cast in India, how happy, how hopeful must be their feelings when they leave the Hughli for the Irrawaddy, and reach the land of Rest Houses and Village Pagodas, and leave behind the caste-system and the mosques and temples. It is delightful to find, in little more than a decade, how our rule is accepted, and on the whole is popular. We owe much of this feeling to the teaching and direction of the Buddhist monk, and we must repay that confidence by accepting their conditions in the work of their national education.

H. C. RICHARDS, K.C., M.P.

ART. II.—UMĀ THE MOUNTAIN MAID.

KĀLIDĀSA is recognized as the prince of Indian poets. He occupies the same place in Sanscrit literature that Shakespeare does in English poetry. His *Sakuntalā*, rendered into English by Sir William Jones over a hundred years ago, attracted the attention of European scholars to the richness of Indian thought and the beauty of Indian poetry. His other plays and poems, since translated into European languages, are familiar to all lovers of oriental poetry. In India, Pandits and scholars give Kālidāsa the seat of honour among all Indian poets. He is described as the melodious Kokil among the singers of India.

And yet, in according this high place to Kālidāsa, we must make one reservation. The epics of India are higher and loftier than anything that Kālidāsa or any other later poet ever wrote. And they are different, too, in their character. In the two epics, and specially in the *Mahābhārata*, we find characters of Homeric simplicity and strength. We find men and women of flesh and blood, with all the passions and ambitions, all the pride and jealousy and strength of the beings of a heroic world. Every warrior has a distinct personality; every woman has a character of her own. The heroes and heroines of the *Mahābhārata* stand out like figures hewn from solid rock, rough, sharp-cut, bold,—each distinct from the rest. The characters of Kālidāsa and all later poets, compared with those of the epics, are like tapestry figures compared with solid marble. The tapestry figures have more of glitter and light woven into them, but they are not bold, distinct, life-like. We admire the skill of the needle-work, but we miss the strength of the hammer-stroke in later Sanscrit literature.

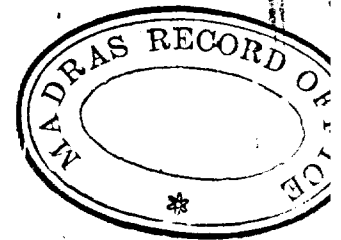
With this reservation, we unhesitatingly yield to Kālidāsa the palm among Indian poets. In richness of imagery and beauty of conception, in the music of his verse and the wealth of his descriptions, he stands unequalled among Indian poets. Rich imagery fills his mind, music inspires his soul, melody flows from his pen. His descriptions of woodland groves, of quiet hermitages, of simple love-lorn maidens, of the Kokil's lay or the love of the tame antelope, have all the glow and warmth of Eastern life. His similes are as spontaneous and as beautiful as the wild flowers which blossom in the woodlands. His Sanscrit verse sounds so sweet and melodious that he who does not understand still stops to listen!

And this is the great difficulty of the translator. No translation can do justice to Kālidāsa's melodious verse; no rendering conveys to the foreign reader the beauty of the original. This is true of all poets of all countries; it is specially true of Kālidāsa. Sir William Jones failed to do justice to *Sakuntalā*; Mr. Ralph Griffith has succeeded no better with *Kumāra-Sambhava*; and our own rendering, which we give in this paper, will fail still more wretchedly in conveying to the English reader, the matchless rhythm and melody of the original Sanscrit. In judging Kālidāsa, therefore, English readers must make allowance for the limitations of a translation and the shortcomings of the translator.

Two of Kālidāsa's characters stand pre-eminent for loveliness among all his lovely creations. They are his *Sakuntalā*, and his *Umā*. It is of this latter that we propose to say a few words in this paper.

Umā was a mountain maid, the daughter of the presiding spirit of the Himalaya Mountains; and her birth and her wedding with the god *Siva* are the subjects of the *Kumāra-Sambhava*. And there is nothing in Sanscrit poetry fresher or more beautiful than the description of the sweet mountain child blooming into womanhood.

As the waxing moon in splendour
Flings a bright and brighter ray,
So the sweet child sweetly added
Lines of beauty day by day !
Pārvatī—so gossips named her,
Heir unto her father's fame,
Umā,—so her mother called her,
Umā was her cherished name !
Still on her the fondling father
Eyes of soft affection bent,
As the bee is drawn at springtime
By the blossoming mango's scent ;—
For as flame is to the bright lamp,
Milky way to starry heaven,
Poetry to soul of genius,
She unto her sire was given !
And the sands of *Mandākinī*
Witnessed gentle *Umā*'s play,
Girt by maidens of the mountain
Merry as the morning's ray ;
And as swans to *Gangā*'s waters,
Light to living plants on earth,
Grace and culture came to *Umā*,—
Culture of a former birth !



Youth disclosed a woman's beauty,—
 Nature's grace devoid of art,
 Wine's sweet langour void of madness,
 Love's soft flame without the dart !
 And as painter's pencil traces
 Blushing bloom of brow and face,
 Soft as sunbeams ope the lotus
 Youth disclosed the maiden's grace !

The description of the beauty of Umā is worthy of Kālidāsa's pen, but it is too long for translation. One or two verses will serve as samples.

And from Umā's red lips issued
 Voice of song so sweet and clear,
 In the woods the startled Kokil
 Hushed his lay that voice to hear !
 And her glances ! Did the wild deer
 Learn the dark charm of her eye,
 Did she from the deer of jungle
 Learn that secret mystery ?

This maiden of the mountain was predestined to be the wife of Siva, a god who lived in contemplation. Siva had chosen a hermitage in the Himalaya Mountains for his devotions, and Umā with her maidens attended on him and supplied his needs. All might have passed off well, but the mischievous God of Love, bidden by the other gods, came to hasten matters. And the result was tragic, for Siva, who might have been won by the tender devotion of the girl, would not be forced into love !

On a seat of Deva-dāru,
 Covered by the tiger-skin,
 Silent-seated, tall and stately
 Siva's ample form was seen ;—
 Form erect in contemplation,
 Shoulders builded deep and broad,
 Lotus palms conjoined in worship,
 Moveless sat the mighty god !
 Like the deep cloud,—dark but silent,
 Like the ocean,—vast but still,
 Like the flame,—by winds unshaken,
 Dreaded god of dauntless will !
 And a radiance brightly beaming,
 Which his flaming forehead flung,
 Lighted up the lunar crescent
 On his golden locks that hung !

Bearing wreaths of Karni-kāra,
 Red Asoka's flowers of flame,
 Garlanded with Sindhu-vāra,
 Rich in blossoms, Umā came !
 Wearing scarf of molten sunlight
 On her swelling bosom laid,
 Like a blossom-weighted creeper
 Softly stepped the mountain maid !
 Holding oft the flowery girdle
 Slipping from her narrow zone,—
 Brighter bow-string for his arrows
 God of Love did never own !
 Waving back with fan of lotus
 From her lips the thirsty bee,—
 Well those lips might tempt the insect
 From the bush and flowering tree !
 Fresh and fragrant from the forest
 Love-compelling Umā came,
 And the God of Love with ardour
 Sought to stir the secret flame !

Umā then in pious reverence
 Bent to do obeisance meet,
 And the buds that starred her tresses
 Rained on Siva's holy feet.
 "Live to be a dear-loved consort,
 Live to be a loving wife,"—
 Thus the bright god blessed the maiden,
 For the gods can bless our life.
 Garland of the seed of lotus,
 Ripened by the Gangā's wave,
 Wreathed by Umā's running fingers,
 Umā unto Siva gave ;—
 Gently touching hands so tender
 Siva took the offered wreath,
 And the God of Love his arrow
 Sped as quick as shaft of death !
 Silent heaved the heart of Siva,
 Like the ocean's heaving swell,
 On her face and lips of coral
 His impassioned glances fell ;—
 She with woman's secret instinct
 Knew the import of the glance,—
 Brow and bosom flushed and crimsoned
 Umā quaked as in a trance !

Tide of feeling and of passion
 Siva quelled within his heart,
 Sought with cold and ruthless glances
 Whence had come the unseen dart ;
 And he marked the young Kandarpa,
 Leaning still on bended knee,
 Bow of blossoms still encircled,
 Right hand drawn unto his eye !
 Then arose a mighty anger
 As he marked Kandarpa well,
 As from cloud a flash of lightning
 From his eye the red fire fell !
 " Spare, O spare !"—the bright gods uttered ;—
 Ere these accents winged their way
 Through the sky and heaven's high confers,—
 Lifeless love in ashes lay !

The lament of the Goddess of Love on the death of her consort is a favourite canto with many readers, but we cannot say we appreciate it very much. It is full of images and conceits, but is wanting in true pathos ; it discloses the skill of the versifier, but not the music of true poetry. We pass it over, and come to the fifth canto which brings us to a new scene.

Umâ is no longer the bright young maiden, wreathed in flowers and in smiles, and waiting on the divine devotee whom she secretly loves in her heart. Grieved and humiliated, disappointed in her unspoken-love, she retires into the woods, and passes her time in penance and religious contemplation. The transition calls forth the highest efforts of the poet, and there is scarcely anything in Kâlidâsa's poetry more touching and more sublime than the description of the tender young maiden, clad in the guise of a hermit, and devoting her days and nights to penance.

Sterner rite and penance
 Now the maid begun,
 For by highest effort
 Highest meed is won !
 And her frame so tender
 Hermit's toil did bear,
 Like a golden lotus,
 Strong, though fresh and fair !
 Flaming fires in summer
 Round her radiant shone
 As she sat in prayer
 Gazing on the sun ;—

Till, like sun-browned lotus,
 Crimsoned was her face,
 And a darker shadow
 Dimmed her eye's soft grace !
 Springs that fed the creepers
 Drink to Umâ brought,
 Save the moon's soft moisture,
 Food she never sought ;
 Rains that after summer
 Cooled the parched soil,
 Drew a sigh of gladness
 From her in her toil ;
 And on eye and red lip,
 On her bosom's swell
 Rolled the first-born rain-drop
 Glistening as it fell !
 Shadows of the midnight
 With their lightning eye
 Watched her in the tempest
 'Neath the open sky ;—
 Blasts of hoary winter
 Saw the tireless maid
 In the ice-bound water
 Where the Chukwas strayed ;—
 Silent hills and mountains
 Marked her fragrant face
 Midst the water lotus
 Tinged with lotus-grace !

The year expired, but Umâ's penance did not end. She had resolved to live and die in those solitary woods, or to win her object by devotions.

Her religious life and arduous penances became known all round, and a young ascetic, radiant with the glory of a holy Brahmacharin, came to visit her. He made kind enquiries, approved of her devotions, but could not comprehend why she in her youth and loveliness had adopted the life of a hermit which befits men and women in their old age. Umâ's maid then told the story of Umâ's love to satisfy the Brahman's curiosity.

She, the gods despising,
 Fixed on Him her thought,
 Who hath conquered passion,—
 Beauty moves Him not !

Young Love's cruel arrow
 Useless on the god
 Fell on Umâ's bosom,
 Drank her dearest blood !
 In her father's mansion
 Then she found no rest,
 In the icy grottos
 Burnt her aching breast !
 In the midnight silence
 She of Siva sung,
 Nymphs of woods and mountains
 Wept to hear her song ;—
 Pale light of the morning
 Saw her in a dream
 Clasp empty shadow,
 Calling Siva's name ;—
 In the tints of gloaming
 She his face portrayed,
 To the painted image
 Burning thoughts conveyed !
 Till at last despairing
 Left her father's home,
 To engage in penance,
 In the woods to roam ;—
 On the trees she planted
 Ripening fruit hath grown,
 But no hope's sweet blossoms
 Hath her young love known !

The rest of the story is briefly told,—it is the old, old story of love ! The Brahman endeavoured to dissuade her from the love of the unlovely god Siva, and the maiden replied to him with the fervour of a devotee, and the whole-hearted love of a woman. At last she turned away to depart from the impious hermit who had slandered the Being she cherished at heart.

Turned away the damsel
 From the stranger guest,
 Through the dress of wild bark
 Burst her heaving breast !
 But the hermit clasped her,
 All disguise removed,
 Umâ gazed in wonder,—
 'Twas her lost and loved !
 Like a trembling lotus
 Quivered Umâ's frame,

O'er her brow and bosom
 Quick the red blood came ;—
 Still with foot uplifted
 Stayed not,—could not go,—
 Stood like rock-bound torrent
 Stopped its onward flow !
 " Maiden ! " So spake Siva,
 " Take this hand of mine,
 Won by love and penance,
 Henceforth I am thine ! "
 With a holier beauty
 Saintly Umâ shone,
 For by love and duty
 Destiny is won !

The rest of the long poem concerns itself with the wedding of Umâ and Siva, with the birth of Kumâra, and his leading the gods back to heaven which had been won and held by the Titans for a time. But the Indian reader is most familiar with the first five books of this beautiful poem, as the reader of Milton is most familiar with the first books of the *Paradise Lost*. It is in these first five books that Kâlidâsa excels in the beauty of conception and the melody of verse ; and it is in these books that he finishes the portrait of Umâ,—placing her side by side with his other immortal portrait,—Sakuntalâ.

Kâlidâsa's descriptions are always rich, his imagery is always splendid, his verse is always harmonious ; but of all that he has written and conceived, Sakuntalâ and Umâ stand foremost, as the highest creations of his imagination. And there is a similarity in these two characters which it is interesting to trace. It is the place of the mountains and forests, the beauty of the woodland and the hermitage, the love of young souls in all the freshness of their innocence, the fragrance of the forest flower and loveliness of sylvan scenes which call forth the highest flights of Kâlidâsa's poetry. Grand old heroic characters like Ajat or Bhima, like Hektor or Lakshman, are not in Kâlidâsa's line. The complications of a city life with all its contending passions and restless ambition do not interest him much. His imagination turns again and again to sylvan woods and to rural scenes ; and his poetic eye, in fine frenzy robing, calls up images in keeping with those green shades,—images so fresh, so innocent, so lovely, that they stamp themselves on a nation's mind, and thenceforth become the brightest treasures of the national literature.

Both Sakuntalâ and Umâ were heroines of ancient legends ; Kâlidâsa takes up these legends and impresses on the heroines a personality and a loveliness which are all his own. Sakun-

talā nursed in the forest hermitage of the sage Kanva reminds one of Umā brought up in the solitudes of the Himalaya Mountains. Sakuntalā, in all her innocence and freshness and loveliness, falling in love with the courtly visitor to the hermitage, reminds one of Umā falling in love with Siva who had come to her father's domains to perform his devotions. Sakuntalā, forgotten, disappointed, and disowned by her lord, calls to mind the mountain maid who suffered her disappointment in silence, left her father's home and devoted her life to arduous penance. And Sakuntalā, at last meeting her lord after a long separation, brings to mind the fair devotee who at last forgets in the arms of her lover all her earlier disappointment, and all the toils and privations of a hermit's life. The thread of narrative is much the same in the two great works of Kālidāsa; and the sylvan surroundings, the descriptions of shady woodlands and pastoral scenes are the same.

To-day we seem to be living as far away from Kālidāsa's world as Kālidāsa lived from the heroic world of Homer and the *Mahābhārata*. We live in a steam-worked, rail-girdled world, read the latest novels about the complications of modern society, and smile at our fathers whom the sentimentality of simpler works could please, whom the story of Sakuntalā or of *Griselda* could interest! But though society may change, the pictures of the different stages of human civilisation, wrought by the hands of true artists, are human heritages which live for ever. Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener do not fight in chariots like Arjuna and Diomed, but the pictures of ancient life and old-fashioned wars, preserved in the *Iliad* and the *Mahābhārata*, are dearer to us than any thing that modern literature has produced. And so also mediæval India with its contemplative life, its quiet repose, its religious Rishis, and its peaceful hermitages, has passed away, but the pictures of that life will endure for ever in the immortal creations of Kālidāsa.

ROMESH DUTT.

ART. III.—THE TRAVELS OF 'ITISAMU-D-DIN.

'ITISAMU-D-DIN was a native of the district of Nadiya, and he was apparently the first educated Bengali who visited Europe. As he says in his book, the English, before his arrival, had seen no Indians except lascars from Dacca and Chittagong. He sailed for France on 17th January 1767, and he returned to Bengal about three years afterwards. He thus visited Europe many years before Mirzā Abū Tālib, as the latter did not sail for England till 1799. In 1784 or thereabouts he wrote in Persian an account of his travels and called it the "Shigarfnāma Vilayat," that is, "the excellent relation of foreign countries." The book appears to have been popular in India for, in spite of Lieutenant Alexander's* statement that there were only two copies in existence, manuscripts of the Shigarfnāma are not very rare in India, and there are copies in the libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian. But the book has never been printed and is now but little known. In 1826 or so, Lieutenant Alexander, a King's officer in the Madras Presidency, made, with the help of an old Munshi of Sir John Malcolm an abridged translation into Deccani Hindustani and this together, with an English version, was published in London in 1827 by Parbury, Allen & Co. It was dedicated to Sir Thomas Munro, had a fancy portrait of 'Itisāmu-d-dīn prefixed, and was well-printed and well-bound, the Hindustani being especially neat. But Alexander's hope that the book would be used as a text-book does not seem to have been fulfilled, and it has long been out of print. The translation appears to be a correct rendering of the Hindustani, but the latter is a considerably abridged version of the Persian, and moreover the position of several passages has been changed. It would also appear that Alexander's manuscript differed from those which I have seen. I have principally used two MSS. which I found among the Delhi manuscripts in the India Office Library. One is a long octavo, dated the tenth year of the reign of Muhammad Akbar Shāh, 1231 A. H. and 1816 A. D., and the other was written by a Hindu in the month of Bhādūn 1869 Sanvat, corresponding to 1812 A. D. Neither MS. is a good copy. The first of these is the fullest of the two, but has many mistakes in proper names, the second seems more

* Afterwards knighted. He was the author of several volumes, and took part in the removal of Cleopatra's Needle to London. See Supplement to *Dictionary National Biography* which, however, does not mention his translation of 'Itisāmu-d-dīn. He died in 1885.

correct as far as it goes, but it has many and large omissions. As there are other MSS. in the India Office, two good ones in the British Museum—one of them brought by myself from India—and one in the Bodleian, it is to be hoped that some scholar will one day give the world a printed edition. We learn from the advertisement to the second edition of the translation of Abū Tālib's Travels that the Government of Bengal caused the Persian original of that work to be printed and sent forty copies to England, and it is not too much to say that 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's book is the more valuable of the two, though it is not so entertaining as that of the gossiping and butterfly-like Persian Prince. 'Itisāmu-d-dīn has also the merit of being first in the field, and his account of the circumstances under which he undertook the voyage to England throws a curious light on the intrigues of Company's officers. He was not, perhaps, a man of great intelligence, and he was not favourably situated for obtaining an insight into European customs, but he was a careful and laborious observer, and he was animated by a sincere desire to do justice to Europeans and to give his countrymen full and correct information about them. Indeed, it is a defect of his book that he is too anxious to give information and details, the results of his reading and reflection, when one would rather have had his personal adventures. However, there is plenty of such gossip in M. Abū Tālib's book,* and one cannot help admiring the oriental patience and philosophy which has enabled 'Itisāmu-d-dīn to pass over in silence what must have been his many hardships by sea and land. He tells us nothing about drunken sailors or grasping landlords, and the only suffering which he mentions is one that was brought upon him by his own bigotry, and which he, no doubt, details in order to exalt the purity of his religious sentiments. During most of his stay in London he was in a state of suspense and unhappiness, waiting for the arrival of Lord Clive, and it was partly on this account that he did not mix much in society and did not fully acquire the English language. Captain Swinton, under whose wing he went to England, had straitly charged him to keep the story about Shah Aalam's letter a profound secret, and he feared that he might have to disclose the object of his journey if he went much into company. He seems to have spent most of his time—which assuredly in a strange land and uncongenial climate must often have hung heavy on

* It is interesting to find that Abū Tālib travelled to England in the same ship with Mr. Grand. He describes him as an enormous man, and very choleric. He afterwards met him in Paris, and learnt that he had got an appointment at the Cape through the influence of his former wife, Madame Talleyrand.

his hands—in reading historical and other books. Like most men shut up in their own society he was subject to fits of vanity and egotism, and these sometimes break out in his book. For instance he insinuates that it was he who furnished the materials for Sir William Jones' Grammar, which, according to his account, brought much profit to the ostensible author, and it was he who explained to the professors at Oxford some Persian letters which they had not been able fully to interpret. It was he, too, who successfully defended the Muhammadan religion against Swinton, and who put to silence Mr. John Graham of Burdwan when such a Munshi as Sadru-d-dīn had failed. It is probable, too, that he is unjust to Captain Swinton who seems to have behaved to him with kindness and hospitality, but whom he accuses of having been actuated by a desire to magnify himself in the eyes of the denizens of Edinburgh, by having as his companion one whom they took to be a great man and a Nabob's brother. But in spite of these failings, it is impossible not to feel respect for the man, and it is very pleasant to find a total absence of bitterness in his remarks about the English. Indeed, his book is almost one long eulogy of western laws and manners, and almost the only reproach that he brings against the English is their habit of saying "God damn"—and here, too, he says Muhammadans are as bad with their "Lāmati Ullah"—and their custom of fighting duels. He also, on seeing the dirty practices of some French sailors, has the remark that Feringhis, and especially French Feringhis, are foul feeders. Here he follows suit to the author of the Rauzat-at-Tāhīrīn who made a similar remark in the sixteenth century about the Portuguese. 'Itisāmu-d-dīn begins his book with a preface, in which he tells us that he was the son of Shaikh Tājū-d-dīn and that he belonged to the village of Qasba, Pargana Pajmour (or Pachmour), district of Nadiya. He was long in the service of Nawab Mīr Jaffar and thus acquired facility in Persian composition. After the accession of Mīr Qāsim he entered the English service and accompanied Major Yorke* (the MSS. call him Park) in his campaign against Asad Zamān Khān, the Muhammadan Rajah of Birbhūm. This little war took place in 1761 and does not appear to be much known. The fullest account of it appears to be in the Saer Mutckhirin, pp. 393-95, Vol. II of the Calcutta reprint of 1902, and of which the substance is given in Kali Prosunno Bannerji's excellent Bengali History of Bengal, p. 358. Haji Mastapha states in a note that Asad Zamān's ancestors were Rajputs

* Apparently the Major Martin Yorke of Dodwell and Miles's list. He belonged to the Bengal Army, became Captain in 1757, and retired as Major on 23rd December 1761.

who turned Muhammadans, and that on this account their wives were called Rānis. After the defeat of the Muhammadan Rajah, 'Itisāmu-d-din went with Major Yorke to Patna, and was there introduced to Shah Aalam, titular King of Delhi. After that he accompanied the Major to Calcutta. At that time there were, he tells us, eight Munshis in the employment of the English, *viz.*, Asadullah Khān, Fakhru-d-din Muhammad Astūb, Abu-l-bāī, Munshi Māir (?) who served Major Carnac, Sadru-d-din, servant of Colonel Coote, and Selīm Ullah servant of Henry Vansittart, the Governor. The MSS. only give seven names, so there is either a name omitted or 'Itisāmu-d-din means that he himself was the eighth. The Sadru-d-din mentioned as Coote's servant was, no doubt, the native of Bohār in the Burdwan district who was afterwards in Mr. Graham's employment, and who gave evidence against Maharajah Nandkumar. His fifth lineal descendant still resides in Bohār and has published a life of Sadru-d-din. When Major Yorke went home he gave 'Itisāmu-d-din a letter to Major Adams and sent him to Patna along with a plan of the march to Birbhum and some greyhounds. Owing to the machinations of Munshi, afterwards Rajah, Nabakishen, 'Itisāmu-d-din did not at first succeed in getting employment. Afterwards he entered the service of a gentleman whom Mr. Alexander calls Mr. Strachey, and whom 'Itisāmu-d-din describes as Bakhshi or Pay-master of Chakla Jalesar which, he says, was under the command of Captain Knox.* The correctness of the name, Strachey,† is exceedingly doubtful, and I can find no Strachey in Dodwell and Miles's lists to correspond to 'Itisāmu-d-din employer. There was of course a Henry Strachey who was Clive's Private Secretary and who wrote an account of the European Mutiny. But he became the first Baronet of the family and lived into the nineteenth century. Neither am I sure of what is meant by Chakla Jalesar. Probably it is Jaleswar, or Jellasore, as it is often called in Orissa, and which lies in the north of the Balasore district. It was a Sarkar, or province under the Moguls, and was the seat of one of the East India Company's factories. But there is

* Randolph Knox, the hero of the battle at Hajipore, and who died on 1st February 1714 and is buried at Bankipore.

† The name is certainly not Strachey in any of the five MSS. which I have seen. It is more like Ashburton or Osborne. One would like to know the name of a man whom his subordinate admired so much, but though I have looked through old lists, etc., I have been unable to see any name which I could identify with the Persian transliteration. Whoever he was, he was a Civilian, and probably a member of the Bengal Civil Service; for the name Bakhshi or Buxey was, as we learn, from Hobson-Jobson, given in the early days of the Company to Civil Officers who acted as pay-masters to the troops. Thus we find in an old Civil List in the India Office the entry, "Thomas Leigh Buxey at Dacca."

also a Jalesar in Etah the northern district of the Agra division. 'Itisāmu-d-din remained at Jalesar for two years, and thereafter served in the campaign against Mir Qāsim and was present at the battles of Gheria and Udainullah. From Rajmahal he came to Midnapore in attendance on Mr. Strachey (?) and served for a year as tahsildār of Pargana Outpur in that district. This was during the incumbency of an officer whom he seems to call Mr. Burdett* (?) Here he passes a high encomium on Mr. Strachey, saying that he was *bissār nekzāt u ādlihimmat*, "of excellent birth and breeding and of a noble disposition," and that he never again met with so gracious a master. For a month after Mr. Strachey's death his eyes were continually filled with tears, for a year he lamented his loss and even now, that is, when writing some twenty years afterwards, the wound on his heart reopens whenever he recalls his name. In 1179 A. H., 1765-66, he entered the service of General Carnac and at Chunar renewed his acquaintance with Shāh Aalam. Apparently he now entered Shāh Aalam's service and came with him to Allahabad. At this time Lord Clive came out again from England and obtained the Diwānī of Bengal for the Company. After his return to India, 'Itisāmu-d-din went, in 1775 or 1189 A. H., with Colonel John Wroughton to Poonah and Sattara where a treaty was made with the Mahrattas, of which 'Itisāmu-d-din still possessed a copy. In fine, he says, "I spent my youth in the service of the English gentlemen, and now in my old age I am, as the result of my evil destiny, encompassed by all kinds of hardships."

The circumstances under which 'Itisāmu-d-din went to England as a member of an embassy to the King of England are stated by him as follows:—

When Lord Clive had settled the affair of the Diwānī he and Carnac went to take leave of Shāh Aalam, and the Emperor said to them with tears in his eyes, "You have arranged the affairs of your Company to your satisfaction, but have done nothing to support me on my throne in Delhi; you have made no arrangements about my being assisted by English troops, and you are leaving me in the midst of enemies and disloyal servants." Clive and Carnac were somewhat abashed and grieved on hearing those words, and said that they could do nothing in regard to the army without the assent of the King of England and the Company. They would, however, represent matters and act according to the instructions they

* There was a Mr. Burdett who was a member of Council and who was one of those who received presents at the accession of Najama-d-daula. He was afterwards dismissed for disrespect to the Governor. But the name may be also read as Bright.

received. Meanwhile His Majesty's best course was to remain in Allahabad, where General Smith, the new Commander-in-Chief, was stationed with a battalion. The rest of the English army was encamped at Jaunpur, which was not far off, and could come to the assistance of H. M. whenever it was necessary. H. M. should therefore set his mind at ease and rely upon them (Clive and Carnac), for they would do their best for him. Afterwards Shāh Aalam arranged with his minister, Muniru-d-daulah, and with Rajah Shitāb Rai that a letter should be drawn up and despatched to the King of England, mentioning the necessity for H. M. being supported by English troops, and referring to the grant of the Diwāni as having been made as a proof of H. M.'s desire for the friendship and alliance of the King of England. And this letter was to be accompanied by presents to the extent of one lakh of rupees. After this, the Nawab Muniru-d-daulah and Rajah Shitāb Rai came to Calcutta with Clive, and finally, Clive, Carnac, Swinton, George Vansittart, Muniru-d-daulah and Rajah Shitāb Rai met in the Damdam Garden and without the knowledge of the other members of Council, drew up a letter to the King of England, sealed it with Shāh Aalam's seal, and put it into a Kharīta and made it over to Captain Swinton. He was thus appointed envoy from the King of India to the King of England, and was to take with him presents to the value of a lakh of rupees. On the completion of his mission he was to return to India. As it was necessary that a Munshi on behalf of Shāh Aalam should accompany Captain Swinton, 'Itisāmu-d-dīn was selected and received through Muniru-d-daulah Rs. 4,000 from Shāh Aalam's treasury for his expenses. He was also promised great promotion on his return. As he was young and needy he accepted the offer and accompanied Swinton. They set sail from Hijli on 9th Shābān 1180 A. H. or 13th Magh = 10th January 1767, in a French ship belonging to (?) M. Surville (?) and in four days reached the sea. 'Itisāmu-d-dīn was accompanied by a servant named Muhammad Muqīm. A week after sailing Swinton told 'Itisāmu-d-dīn that Clive had taken the letter to the King from him, saying that the presents had not arrived from Benares, and that it was not advisable to convey the letter without them. Next year Clive would come to England with the letter and the presents, and would make both over to Swinton to be delivered by him to the King. 'Itisāmu-d-dīn was thunderstruck at hearing this and felt convinced that there was something behind, and that the mission would come to naught. However, there was no remedy; the affair had gone out of hand, the arrow had left the bow! He had to continue his voyage, and after

six months he reached England. There he waited a year and a half in expectation of the arrival of Lord Clive with the letter and the presents. But when Clive came home* he suppressed Shāh Aalam's letter and presented the gifts to the Queen in his own name, thereby winning great favour for himself. Swinton told this to 'Itisāmu-d-dīn and added that things had turned out as 'Itisāmu-d-dīn had suspected and that he (Swinton) had been deceived by Clive. Swinton was however, afraid to move in the matter as he had no acquaintance with the King's ministers, and was anxious not to displease the East India Company. After his return to Bengal 'Itisāmu-d-dīn learnt that the reason for suppressing Shāh Aalam's letter was that there had been a dispute for a long time between the King's ministers and the Company about the Diwāni. The ministers said that the Company were only traders and that Bengal had been acquired by the King's troops, while the Company dwelt upon their losses in the war with Sirāju-d-daulah and claimed that it was their servants who had conquered the country. Clive was on the side of the Company and did not produce the letter as it would have strengthened the case of the King's ministers. The above dispute went on for three years and then it was referred to the King of England to whose personal decision it was left by both parties. He decided that Shāh Aalam's having bestowed the Diwāni as an Altamgha, which was a kind of charitable grant, the King of England would, by accepting the Diwāni place himself in the position of a dependant upon Shah Aalam. This was inconsistent with the King of England's dignity. Had he been given the Empire of Hindustan it would have been a different matter. Accordingly the Diwāni was left in the possession of the Company.

With reference to 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's statement that Clive presented the gifts to the Queen in his own name, Lieutenant Alexander remarks in a note that 'Itisāmu-d-dīn must have been misinformed, for Clive was of too noble a nature to behave in such a manner. And I think that there must be some mistake about the affair of the presents, and that either

* Clive left India in the end of January 1767 and arrived at Portsmouth on 14th July 1767. If then 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's dates are correct Clive must have arrived in England almost as soon, if not sooner, as Swinton and 'Itisāmu-d-dīn, and the year and a half of expectancy that 'Itisāmu-d-dīn refers to must mean the period of his stay in England, and not the time he was waiting for Clive's arrival. Possibly 'Itisāmu-d-dīn is mistaken, and he really left in 1179 or January 1766. Some support to this view is given by the fact that according to Dodwell and Miles, Swinton resigned the service on 23rd January 1766, for it hardly likely that he resigned a year before he went home. Besides, why should Clive take away the letter and speak of bringing the presents next year if he was going to leave almost as soon as Swinton?

they never arrived or that Clive told the Queen* that they came from Shāh Aalam. But there can be no doubt that there was a letter and that Clive withheld it. If there had not been a letter, there was no reason for 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's going to England, and moreover there is a copy of the letter in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, among other papers which belonged to Sir John Malcolm. I am indebted for a knowledge of this fact to the notice of the Shigarīnāma Vilayat in Sachan and Ethī's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library col. 1069, article No. 1854. The letter is catalogued in Morley's description catalogue, p. 128, No. 134 (g), and I have examined it. It consists of six pages of note-paper and the gist of it is a request of Shāh Aalam to the King of England, "his brother dear as his life," *barādar bajān barābar*, to send out to Calcutta 5 or 6,000 good soldiers under distinguished officers and to make them act in concert with Clive and Carnac in order that they might replace Shāh Aalam on the throne of Delhi. The letter begins in the usual high-flown style with praises of God, Muhammad, and the Lord Jesus, and ends with the announcement that the writer has given the Dīwāni to the Company as a mark of esteem for the services rendered by them.

It is known † that Clive at one time thought that India should be placed directly under the Crown. When the letter was written Clive and Carnac and some other members of Council seem to have been of opinion that Shāh Aalam should be assisted in regaining his throne. Afterwards, perhaps, they changed their views. At all events the Court of Directors decided not to assist him and in consequence he threw himself into the hands of the Mahrattas and so lost both his tribute and his eyes. By the time that Clive came to England the situation had changed, and it was no longer expedient to present the letter, for by doing so Clive would be recommending the King to interfere in the affairs of India, and to assist in replacing Shāh Aalam on his throne. Therefore Clive took what was probably the right course of suppressing the letter.

When the letter had been suppressed, Captain Swinton came to despair of being able to return to India, and he and other gentlemen endeavoured to persuade 'Itisāmu-d-dīn to stay in England also for some years and to teach Persian. They offered him liberal terms and suggested that he might

* In Malcolm's life of Clive, III, 219, there is a letter of Clive, in which he speaks of having had an audience of the Queen, and of her having received the presents in the most gracious manner. But these presents were from Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot.

† See his remarkable letter to Pitt of 17th January 1759, Malcolm's Life, II, 119-25.

take one, or even two English wives. But his love for his native country was too strong, and he declared that he preferred the wheat-complexions of his country women to the fair-faces of English women. Eventually he succeeded, by the help of Mr. Majendie, who had been Secretary to the Calcutta Council, in securing a passage to India, and returned there in 1183 A. H., October 1769. His voyage to and fro occupied one year, he was one year and seven months in England and Scotland, and two months on board ship off Madras, so that altogether his travels lasted for two years and nine months.

I now come to a notice of 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's voyage and to the mention of some incidents of his stay in England.

He found his sea-voyage beneficial to his health. He was free from fever—a great point with a Bengalee—and though he at first suffered from gripes, this was remedied by taking the medicine called *turbud*, which is the root-bark of the *Convolvulus* or *Ipomæa** *Turpethum*. Before giving details of his voyage, the author digresses into an account of the various settlements of the Europeans in India. He is severe upon the Portuguese for their tyrannies and outrages, and has no difficulty in explaining the final cause of the earthquake of Lisbon—a matter which excited the wonderment of the child Goethe. According to 'Itisāmu d-dīn, the earthquake was a Divine chastisement of the Portuguese for their cruelties in India! In his account of the siege of Hughli he mentions the daring deed of one Shahr Ullah Khān in cutting the cables of one of the Portuguese ships. His accounts of the other settlements, *viz.*, the Dutch, the German and the English, do not call for remark except that in the notice of Job Charnock he endorses the etymology which makes the name of Chanak, *i.e.*, Barrackpur, to be derived from Charnock. Hitherto I had thought this was an exploded derivation, and the product of Anglo-Indian *gup* and on a par with the derivation of Kidderpore from Colonel Kyd. But 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's reference shows that the derivation is an old one and not unknown to the natives.

After two months the ship arrived on 7th Shāwal or 8th March 1767 at Mauritius where it stayed for over a fortnight. Here 'Itisāmu-d-dīn had the pleasure of meeting some of his countrymen who were in service with the French and had married female slaves of their masters. Here the author again digresses and gives an account of the wonders of the sea, and of its islands, such as the Manillas, the Andamans, etc. He also speaks of Pegu and says that Shaikh Tāhir Jamālu-d-dīn Husain Anhok (?) one of Akbar's officers, went on an embassy

* See Dr. Watts's Dictionary of the economic products of India, S. V. *Turbud* is known as Indian Jalap.

to Aadil Shāh of Bijāpur and wrote an account of Pegu, etc., in his book called the Ranzat-at-tāhirin.* This is the book described by Sir Henry Elliot, and which is rarely to be met with in a complete state. 'Itisāmu-d-dīn also describes the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of Ascension, at both of which places his ship touched.

At last they reached Port L'Orient (?) in France, and Swinton and another passenger named Peacock went off in a postchaise towards England. Itisāmu-d-dīn stayed for some days at L'Orient and then went on board a sloop and arrived after a week at the village of Quimper-Coventin (?) where was the home of the Captain of the sloop. From there he again set sail and after a week arrived at a small village in England whose name he does not give. Here he had trouble with the custom-house officers on account of his having some Bengali handkerchiefs in his chest, and of Mrs. Peacock's, whom he describes as a dark Feringhi, having some contraband goods. He had to write to London to Swinton, and the Captain and Mr. Peacock had to come down to clear up matters. At last, 'Itisāmu-d-dīn went off to London in a postchaise along with Swinton and Muhammad Muqīm. In London they took up their quarters in Coventry Street Hay-market in the house (or lodging) of Swinton's brother. Itisāmu-d-dīn gives an amusing account of the sensation caused by his appearance in the streets. Whenever he was passing, men and women cried out that a black man was coming and crowded to the windows. The women and children thought he was the devil and ran away frightened, but after a time they got accustomed to him and then the girls in the street would call to him, "Come, my dear, and give me a kiss." He visited the Tower and saw the great cannon, Mons Meg, there, it not having yet been returned to Scotland, and he tells how, when it was formerly in Edinburgh, a young woman had lived inside the cannon for a year and given birth to a child there. He was much struck with St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey and Westminster Bridge, and he also mentions Almack's, Vauxhall and Sadler's Wells. He went to the theatre and describes two plays he saw there. One was evidently King Lear and the other was perhaps All's well that ends well. From London he went with Swinton to Oxford where he met Dr. Hunt, the professor of Arabic, and Sir William Jones. Then he went with Swinton to Edinburgh and was introduced to his family. Swinton's father he speaks

* Probably 'Itisāmu-d-dīn read this work in a copy belonging to Swinton, for one is entered in the Catalogue of Swinton's MSS. sold at Christie's in 1810. In the same catalogue there is the entry of a copy of the Four Gospels, in an excellent hand, copied from one in the Glasgow Library by Yutizamood-deen ('Itisāmu-d-dīn), Mr. Swinton's Moonshiee.

of as an old man who had on account of feebleness, made over his property to his eldest son, but who occupied himself with painting and was not idle. This account of the father's having made over his estates is confirmed by A. C. Swinton's "Swintons of that Ilk," Edinburgh, 1883, where the deed of renunciation is given. Itsāmu-d-dīn notes that Swinton's sisters were unmarried, and explains for the benefit of his countrymen how it is that daughters in England often remain unmarried. From Edinburgh he was taken by Swinton to a place in the Highlands where Swinton's elder brother was Qāzī, *i.e.*, Sheriff. He describes the place as one stage from Edinburgh, and presumably it was Perth which is forty-four miles from Edinburgh, as John Swinton was Sheriff of Perthshire for many years. He was afterwards raised to the Bench and took the title of Lord Swinton. From Edinburgh Swinton took him, against his will, back to London to explain some Persian documents which were to be exhibited in a case of bribery against Mr. Johnstone and others, and in which Nandkumar's name appeared. No doubt this was the case brought by the Court of Directors against the members of Council, who were accused of breaking their covenants by taking presents on the occasion of the accession of Najmu-d-daulah in 1765. It was on this journey that he nearly died of starvation, because he refused to eat anything which had not been killed and cooked by a Muhammadan. He was evidently very angry with Captain Swinton and he gives a prejudiced and incredible account of his career. He says that he was originally a student of medicine and that he killed a man in order to dissect the body. This was found out, and he had to fly on board a ship. According to Alexander's version Swinton's offence was that of being a resurrectionist, and it is likely enough that such a charge was brought against him, for we find from the notice of Archibald Swinton, p. 105, et seq. of "The Swintons of that Ilk" that he left Scotland early, about 1752, and that he went out to the East as a surgeon's mate. He was the fourth son of John Swinton and Mary Semple. He seems to have first gone to the Straits of Malacca, and afterwards to have gone to India and to have become acquainted with Lord Clive in Madras. He became a doctor, but relinquished the medical service for the army. He was a gallant soldier, and was twice wounded in the campaign against Mīr Qāsim, losing his right arm at Patna. He brought Kimmerghame near Swinton and was known as Swinton of Kimmerghame. He died at Bath in 1803.

It is not to be supposed that I have touched upon all the matters contained in 'Itisāmu-d-dīn's book. He has long descriptions of the sights of London, such as Astley's, etc., and

he has elaborate accounts of the English system of government, of the English Courts, etc. He also has something to say about the Highlands and tells some stories such as that of the "penny-cut" to illustrate the simplicity of the Highlanders. He notices the stones called the Devil's Arrows near Boroughbridge in Yorkshire (there were four stones in his day); and in pursuance of his scheme of telling the wonders of Europe he describes Herculaneum which, however, he did not see. Most of his descriptions can only have been interesting to his countrymen, and undoubtedly the most piquant part of his book at the present day, is his narrative of the intrigue which led to his visit to Europe.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. IV.—THE SOVEREIGN INDIAN RULERS AND
THEIR SUBJECTS: THE DUTIES OF THE
BRITISH INDIAN GOVERNMENT
IN REGARD TO THEM.

THE ordinary observer looking at the map of India cannot fail to notice certain portions of the country painted red, and the remainder yellow.

The former represent the provinces under the *direct* rule of the British nation, and the latter those which are directly under the Indian Princes and Chiefs, and only *indirectly* under the British Government, inasmuch as it is the Paramount Power in all India.

One may assume that everybody in this country knows, or ought to know, how a small company of British merchants trading with the East Indies founded our Empire in India. For sheer self-defence they were compelled to draw the sword; the traders turned soldiers and rose to be territorial rulers and supreme masters of a country teeming with an intelligent and industrious population and, in extent, as large as the whole of Europe, except Russia. This is an event quite unique and marvellous in the history of the world, and well worthy of deep study.

But this position of power which the British nation enjoys in India is not without its corresponding obligations. This nation has undertaken to protect the people of India from injustice, whether from the Indian rulers subordinate to it, or from its own officials, and has taken upon itself the duty of promoting among them contentment, peace, and progress in civilization. The British nation is responsible for the welfare of the whole of the Indian Empire: for that of the population included in the territory marked red on the map, or yellow, called British India, and Native India respectively.

British India affords unmistakable evidence of general progress; but the same cannot be said of India under its Native Rulers; and as it is obviously essential that progress should be even, all along the line, it may be useful to inquire into the cause of the disparity.

Briefly, the striking contrast between the methods of administration of the two kinds of Indian territory is this: British India is ruled by British officials who are imbued by their training with the ideas of Constitutional Government; but Native India is ruled by Native Rulers and Potentates on the principle of absolute rule. Constitutionalism in contrast with Absolutism. That is the phenomenon which appears

to be the real explanation of the unequal march of progress in India.

Now, it will be asked, why should the British Government, which is Paramount in India, tolerate absolute rule in the Native States? That is just the point.

Let us go back in thought just about a century. Lord Wellesley arrived in India as Governor-General in 1798. He found the Native Rulers powerful, and carrying on, not only wars among themselves, but menacing the British territories. The French nation carried on intrigues with the Native Rulers and encouraged them in their bellicose attitude. Lord Wellesley formed a combination of two of them, with the British, to attack and conquer one of the strongest enemies of the British Power in India. His name was Tippoo Sultan, usurper of Mysore, who was in league with the French. The two allies were the Peishwa of Poona, who represented the Hindoo Mahratta nation, and the Nizam of Hyderabad, a Mohometan Ruler. Tippoo was defeated and killed in battle. His territory was conquered and administered by General Arthur Wellesley, who afterwards became known to fame as the Duke of Wellington, conqueror of Napoleon Bonaparte. So far so good, but Lord Wellesley wished to put the British Power in India on a permanent basis, and to render it unassailable. The British Power in India before this time, and at the time of his arrival there, was at best only one of several Powers who were contending for supremacy over that Continent. He wished to make it the leading, the controlling, the Supreme Power. He conceived a plan by which the Native Powers from being co-ordinate with, became subordinate to the British Power. He made treaties and entered into alliances with them, whereby, among other things, they agreed to (1) forbear from all political correspondence among themselves, or with Foreign Asiatic or European, or American Powers (Africa was out of the question) except through the medium of the British Government; and (2) to maintain British forces, by means of a subsidy in money or by cession of territory, for the purpose of defence against external and internal enemies of the Rajahs or Nawabs, as the case might be. This was a master-stroke of policy. It consolidated the British Power and made it at once the supreme controller of the destinies of India for good or for evil. Some of the Indian Rulers understood the full political scope of the policy, and that it placed a limit upon their ambition. How they fought against it, and eventually submitted to it, is a long story of bloody wars and implacable animosities, the British Power coming out triumphant in the end.

But what concerns us most here is to note that the British

Power by these "Subsidiary Alliances," as they were called, assumed the position of the Guardian of the Peace of the country. No scope was left thereafter for the Indian Rulers to indulge in military ambition, though every opportunity was open to them for promoting undisturbed the civil progress of their respective territories. For the latter description of work, however, most of them were, by education and training and traditions, unfitted. They became slothful, self-indulgent, sensual, demoralised and oppressive. That such would be one of the results of the *Pax Britannica* established by the Subsidiary Treaties was not unforeseen by the originator of the policy and the authors of the treaties.

It was not long before the unsatisfactory results of these treaties showed themselves. Gross maladministration and oppression of the worst kind, of the subject people, by some of the Indian Rulers led to riots and rebellion by the former against the authority of the latter, calling for interposition of the troops of the latter. Such an exercise of British power and prestige could not be tolerated. It was made plain to the Indian Rulers that British troops could not be called out except in defence of a *just* cause. The evolution of the principle regarding the responsibility of the British Government to safeguard the interests of the communities dwelling in the Native States was thus brought about. Many Rajahs and Nawabs brought disgrace upon themselves by breach of compliance with this important principle.

The Rajah of Mysore, who was set up by Lord Wellesley himself, proved one of the sinners in this respect, and had to be set aside from exercise of power and responsibility. The Rajah of Nagpore, the Nawab (or King, as he was styled) of Oude, and several others were conspicuous examples of the baneful effects of the Subsidiary Alliance policy upon the Native Rulers. The subject people found their power of righting the wrongs of their rulers crippled or extinguished. The British Rulers became the virtual and sole arbiters of their destinies.

Here was presented a veritable difficulty. The interests of the people *directly* under the British *Raj* were attended to with solicitude, but those of the subjects of the Native States were in jeopardy and continued to cause constant anxiety and, I believe, *will not cease* to do so until the real cause of the malady is diagnosed and removed. A frequent interposition of its authority by the British Government into the affairs of a Native State is certainly calculated to weaken the power of the very person, the Native Ruler, whom one expects to carry on the direct administration of it. At the same time the subjects, whose power has become transferred to the British

Government; must be secured against the oppression and irregularities of the Princes set over them—nay, the prospects of a progressive good Government must be assured. The situation is, if one might say so, most unnatural and has tried the ingenuity of some of the greatest British statesmen. It has defied a satisfactory solution so far. The fact appears to be, that there is no half-way house between a complete absorption of the Native States of India into the British territory, *direct* assumption of authority by the British, relieving the Native Rulers altogether of their right to do wrong; and a complete withdrawal of the British authority from all concern with the *internal* affairs of the Native States, leaving the subjects thereof complete freedom to deal with their obnoxious rulers as circumstances might impel them to do at each exigency as it arises. The latter contingency would lead to untoward results, and cannot commend itself for acceptance. But politics are a science of compromises, and surely a midway between these two extremes must be found out. James Mill and several of the politicians of his day were convinced that the gradual extinction and annihilation of the Native States was inevitable, unless the British Government were divested of the care of the welfare of their subjects. Lord Dalhousie's righteous indignation was aroused by the maladministration of the Native States, and he availed himself of every excuse to annex as many of them as he could. But the Indian Sepoy Mutiny reversed that policy, and the continuance of the Native States under certain conditions has since become the recognised and declared policy which has been, as instances have shown, faithfully adhered to. It may be stated that the policy has given extreme satisfaction to the inhabitants of the whole of India.

Undoubtedly, then, the Native States will continue to enjoy an individual existence in the British Indian Empire, but what happens to the question of providing for the progressive happiness of the people of those States? The evils of the rule of an absolute despot, notwithstanding the chances of his occasional spurts of beneficence, are too well known to be stated. Many of the advanced nations of Europe have long recognised a constitutional form of Government as the only form most calculated to effect progress in civilization.

Two of the prominent members of the then Government of Bombay recommended, in 1874, to the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, in reference to the question of reforming the then misgovernment of the State of Baroda, that "the annexation of a Native State, in consequence of the misgovernment of its Ruler, or even the temporary assumption of management by British officials for a limited term, would not be justifiable

on the part of the Paramount Power, while any other remedy was practicable, which, while preserving the integrity of the State, would give it a fair chance of reforming itself, and putting a termination to the evils and abuses which have necessitated external interference.—And the natural and just remedy for the existing state of things (at Baroda) appears to me* to be to force the Maharaja to give to his subjects a written constitution to which, after it has been once settled, he will be bound to conform, under pain of being set aside in favour of the next heir, in case of any violation on his part of the compact so made."

Anything short of a Constitution can scarcely answer the requirements of the situation. At one time the expedient was tried of appointing a Minister to the Chief whose character and general capacity for business would approve themselves to the British authorities. On occasions such appointments of Ministers fulfilled all the expectations formed of them. For instance, Purnaiya, the Dewan of Mysore, appointed by Lord Wellesley, Chandoolal of Hyderabad (though at a later period of his career he gave cause for dissatisfaction), Raja Sir T. Madavakao, the first Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Gowrishankar of Bhavnagar, and several others. But this expedient was found to be inconvenient as it afforded the ruling Prince opportunities to be an everlasting critic and grumbler, shirking all responsibility from his own shoulders, and losing no excuse to put obstacles in the way of the British approved Dewan. The policy now in vogue is that of the personal responsibility of the ruler himself.

Such are the ups and downs of the British policy with regard to the management of the Native States. It will be admitted that a true solution has yet to be found for the difficult problem. Be it noted that the question concerns the well-being and political progress of the subjects of the Native States who, by the policy of the Subsidiary Alliances inaugurated by Lord Wellesley a century ago, have been deprived of all chance of enjoying either the benefits of *direct* British administration like their relations, friends and kith and kin living in British India, or of squaring their matters in their own way as they did before such treaties stereotyped the existing Native Indian Ruling Dynasties. Every practical sympathy may be bestowed upon these unfortunate people. Their situation calls for improvement. They should be admitted to the benefits of the British rule in India. Their lot in life should be bettered. They are at present shut out from all avenues of power or ambition or distinction in the British Indian Empire. The Sirdars and aristocracy of the Native

* The Honourable Mr. Tucker, Councillor.

States find themselves vegetating. Their Prince cannot lead them to honour and glory. An inglorious existence, a life without hopes, is all that is theirs. Such a state of things within the heart of the British Indian Empire cannot be considered satisfactory. The only remedy appears to be to tackle the question boldly; to assure the Princes and aristocracy, and the people generally, of the Native States that as they are members of the great British Indian Empire they will be admitted to the privileges of it, and that within the States themselves they will be accorded an efficient voice in the administration. Partially such a state of things has been inaugurated in the Mysore State, and it would be a step in the right direction to extend similar "Constitutional" arrangements to other Native States.

What is here suggested is nothing new. In their Dispatch to Viscount Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India, No. 124 (Foreign Department), dated Simla, 22nd May, 1879, the Government of Lord Lytton, in paragraph 4, observed:—

"It is necessary to maintain the dignity and comparative independence of his Highness, by reserving to him personally some substantial share in the actual direction of the affairs of his State; remembering that in the great majority of the States of India the Chief's authority is by theory, though not actually, unlimited. But this consideration has to be subordinate to the still more essential necessity of providing beforehand some positive guarantees and checks against the consequences which would follow any serious misuse of the Chief's power through inexperience, through an unfortunate disposition, or under the advice of bad counsellors."

They proposed to impose a "Constitution" upon the Ruler of Mysore, which was eventually approved of and sanctioned by the Cabinet in England, and in paragraph 25 of the same Dispatch they suggested the application of the policy of introducing a Constitutional Administration in all the Native States, in the following terms:—

"That policy proceeds upon the broad principle that in order to guard against chronic misrule in a Native State, and to obviate the necessity for frequent and arbitrary interposition by the Supreme Government to remedy the consequences of such misrule, it is expedient to avail ourselves of every opportunity of placing some reasonable limitations upon the personal power of the Ruler or of the Minister, to whom the administration may be entrusted. The limitations thus imposed must be brought on public record, in order to place them beyond question or controversy; and in certain cases the general power of supervision to be exercised by the Supreme Government may need to be strengthened and extended.

If the application of these principles to Mysore be approved by Her Majesty's Government, they may form the groundwork of a settled policy which will guide the Government of India in the general discharge of its responsibilities toward feudatory States. A new and valuable precedent will have been established, and this, with the experience which will have been gained in Mysore, may enable us in future to deal systematically with similar questions of re-organization or reform. The contrast presented by the steady growth of orderly civilization in British India, and the increased publicity that is now given to the internal condition of our feudatory States, are likely to render more and more imperative the duty of interference in restraint of serious mismanagement. We may thus hope gradually to raise the general standard of administration in the Native States, and to make some progress toward the important political object of consolidating their institutions upon an improved and staple foundation."

It is true that the circumstances of the rendition of the Mysore State to its Native Ruler were somewhat peculiar; but taking a statesman-like view of the situation as hereinbefore described, it would be, perhaps, expedient to adopt and adapt the Mysore Constitution without much loss of time in respect of the remaining important Native States. Such a policy would be just to the people of the Native States, and would be fruitful of beneficial results. The Mysore administration has admittedly given satisfaction, and proved the wisdom of the policy of a "Constitution" for the Native States of India. The people of these States must be given a living interest in their own welfare and in the concerns of the wide, wide British Indian Empire. At present they are left to the tender mercies of their incompetent Indian Sovereigns. Why not lift them from the slough of political despondency in which they find themselves? And I address this appeal to the British nation on their behalf. It is obvious that the British nation is responsible for, and interested in, the well-being of these people quite as much as in that of the British Indians under its *direct* rule.

AN INDIAN STATESMAN.

ART. V.—THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

A HALF-BRICK reposes on my table as I write. It is of a blueish clay, encrusted with the dust of 2,100 years. It formed part of the Great Wall of China, said to have been built by Shih-Hwang-Ti, the so-called First Emperor of China. I picked up this brick of the Great Wall, some four or five miles from its terminus on the shores of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li in Northern China, and though in appearance it is as uninteresting a relic as one could imagine, it certainly possesses a fascination and interest of its own. I paid a visit the other day to the Mineralogical Museum in Jermyn Street and the Curator was good enough to point out to me two other bricks, bigger and of irregular shape, but of the same blueish clay as my more symmetrical fragment.*

More than one traveller has remarked that the Great Wall once seen can never be effaced from the memory, and it certainly appealed to me in this way. The more I gazed upon it and scrutinized its structure, the more I read about it (and the material is widely scattered and difficult to hunt up) the deeper has its interest taken root in one's mind. Williams in his "Middle Kingdom" remarks truly enough that the public works of China are probably unique for the amount of labour bestowed on them. But though he acknowledges that the aspect of the country has been materially changed by them, he goes on to remark, not so justly in my opinion, that their usefulness or the science exhibited in their construction is far inferior to their extent. Now the science exhibited in both the Great Wall and the Grand Canal was undoubtedly very great and they seem to me to have answered their purpose, the former for sixteen centuries and the latter for all time, if it were only dredged out in parts and the banks systematically kept in repair.

The most difficult thing when you are discussing the Great Wall is to generalize with safety. Its length is variously stated at from 1,255 to 3,000 miles, its height is variously given from forty feet to ten feet or even less, and its antiquity, in parts, certainly dates back further than 221 B.C., the reputed date of its origin, while additions to it and repairs have been made at various times, some as late as the period of the last Japanese war. The structure, though continuous in many

* These specimens at Jermyn Street are labelled "sun-dried" bricks, but I am inclined to think they are baked in the regular way, because Dr. Abel in 1816 made some experiments which proved that the brick clay of China, though red at first, turns blue under the action of fire.

parts, is patchwork. But the Northern Wall is usually regarded as the Great Wall *par excellence*. Starting from the sea at Shan-hai-kwan, it forms the northern boundary of Chih-li, traverses the provinces of Shansi and Shensi and running north-west, bounds the province of Kansu, till it dies away in the desert, east of Sha-chau.

Mr. H. A. Giles, probably the best authority, gives the length, presumably of this northern portion, at about 1,400 English statute miles. He says that Shih-Hwang-Ti, its reputed builder, called it the Red Fort, as an addition to the nine old frontier forts which guarded the Empire of China. At intervals of one hundred yards or so are towers some forty feet high, the whole being built of brick, except towards its western extremity, where it is barely more than a huge mud bank.

I have remarked above that the structure was patchwork and this holds good in a chronological sense, for when Shih-Hwang-Ti built it, there were three sections already in existence. From B. C. 1400 to B. C. 200 there are to be found in Chinese works laconic notices of conflicts with Tartar nomads from the north, dates being given in each case, so that they may be fairly accepted as history. Three of the independent princes who occupied States in the modern province of Chih-li, Shansi, and Shensi, each conceived the idea of repelling these attacks by ramparts along their frontiers. Chao-Wuiling, who adopted Tartar costume, built a wall from north-eastern Shensi to the westernmost extremity of the Ordos country, as the region within the huge northern loop of the Yellow River is now called. Another section was built further west by a Tsin prince. To the east the ruler of the frontier state of Yen, which, roughly speaking, corresponds with the plain of modern Peking, constructed a lengthy wall from about the longitude of Peking to the sea.

In B. C. 221 Shih-Hwang-Ti found himself master of the whole of China from the plains of Chih-li to the banks of the Yangtze and from the great Tung-ting lake in Hunan to the shores of the Eastern Sea. He thereupon mapped out the empire into thirty-six territorial divisions and proclaimed himself First Emperor of China with the understanding that his successors were to be called Second, Third, Fourth Emperors, and so on. Everything, including literature, as Mr. Giles tells us, was to commence from the First Emperor's reign, so on the advice of his Prime Minister, Li Ssu, who had been historiographer and ought to have known better, he issued that monstrous edict by which all books, excepting those relating to agriculture, medicine and divination were to be burned. The penalty against anybody who failed to surrender his books

for destruction was branding and four years' labour on the Great Wall. In fact 460 of the literati were actually buried alive at Hsien-yang, the capital of Shensi. Even the Confucian Canons would have perished, had it not been for the devotion of some scholars, who at great risk concealed the tablets and thus facilitated the restoration of the sacred text. The Emperor despatched his Commander-in-Chief, Meng T'ien, at the head of a vast host, to drive back the dreaded Hsiung-nu or Turki tribes of the north, to build the Great Wall and to permanently shut them out. In view, however, of the then existing portions of the Wall, Mr. Parker considers that Meng T'ien and his half million slaves did little more than to improve and consolidate the ancient work, so that much of this vast structure, the most noticeable artificial work on the face of the globe, would appear to be really more than 2,100 years old.

Considering its extraordinary length it is astonishing there is not more on record about the Wall as a whole. Where it comes to its end on the shore of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li it has been inspected by several travellers, and a few days' journey north of Peking, the Wall has been visited and described by scores of tourists. But for the rest we are dependent on a surprisingly small number of notices of those who have crossed it at detached points.

Of the Shan-hai-kwan end or beginning, whichever you choose to call it, one of the best accounts I have seen is quite a recent one, by Miss Eliza Scidmore, in her brightly-written book, "China the long-lived Empire." She remarks naively, that at first sight it looks exactly like its pictures in school-geographies!

"One had half expected that it would not, could not, be so irrationally, unpractically picturesque, so uselessly solid and stupendous, but the first Emperor builded better than he knew. It is one of the few great sights of the world that is not disappointing. It grows upon one, hour by hour, and from the incredible it becomes credible."

The Wall of the ten thousand li (a li is usually reckoned as one-third of a mile) or Wan-li-Chang-Ching, once dipped down to the very edge of the sea and ended in a great tower founded on a reef that juts out from the shore. Only crumbling fragments of the Wall now touch the water. About fifty years ago the Steamer "Reynard" paid a visit here, and a correspondent wrote an account which appeared in an illustrated paper, and which is so interesting that I am tempted to disinter it from the accumulated dust of half a century.

"Viewed from the water the terminus appeared to consist of a fortress, some three hundred yards in length, having a

large gateway in the southern face, close outside of which and between it and the sea is a permanent joss-house or temple, while the northern end is surmounted by a modern two-storied guard-house immediately beneath the wall projects seaward.

"At 10 A.M. we landed a large party to the right of the joss-house on a steep sandy beach and were civilly received by a white-buttoned mandarin and a small party of soldiers who informed us we were perfectly at liberty to inspect the Wall at our leisure. We therefore soon ascended to it by a broad inclined plane outside the fort and found ourselves on a rectangular platform about sixteen feet in length paved with dark blue-coloured bricks. This portion of the structure from its apparent age and condition seems to have been the original terminus of the main Wall, while owing, probably, to the receding of the water, the before-mentioned lower continuation projecting seaward—now a mass of ruins half-buried in the sand—appears a less durable construction of much later date.

"The first objects that arrested our attention on the platform were three monumental slabs of black marble—two standing close to the Wall, the third removed from its base; a curiously carved altar-shaped pedestal lay extended on the ground. On one of the standing slabs is deeply inscribed the sentence, 'Heaven created earth and sea,' and on the other 'Only a spoonful.'* The import of the latter sentence we were at a loss to conjecture; it may have had reference to the placid waters of the Gulf of Liautung; or perhaps is intended as an allusion to the nothingness of the vast structure when compared with the works of creation. The fallen monument, having a very long inscription, we left to be deciphered on our return from the survey of the Wall, which we could no longer delay.

Ascending again by a broad flight of steps from the platform to the top of the fort, we walked past the guard-house (a dilapidated building) down another shorter inclined plane and then along the wall, which we found for about eight hundred yards in a very ruinous condition, the first part of it being little better than an embankment of sand, broken at intervals by projecting masses of ruined brickwork.

"At half a mile distance from the fort, however, the Wall commences to show a better state of preservation, here we found it measure thirty-nine feet across; the platform was covered with mould and variagated with flowers of every hue. The Wall on the Tartar side at this point shows a fine, well-built foundation of hewn granite, surmounted by a slanting brick facing, measuring together thirty-five feet in height; above

* See Note *infra*.

this is a brick parapet, seven feet high and eighteen inches thick, divided by small embrasures at irregular intervals from eight to thirteen feet apart.

"At intervals varying in distance from two hundred to five hundred yards the wall is flanked on the Tartar side by towers of brick, forty-five feet square and fifty-two feet high. The one we examined was entered from the wall by an arched granite doorway, six and a half feet high by three and half feet broad. The construction of this arch is most remarkable, for the Chinese have long ceased to use keystones in their arches. A flight of steps to the right, within the doorway, leads up to the flat roof of the tower, which is surrounded by a parapet like that upon the Wall. The body of the tower is intersected at right angles by low arched vaults, each terminating in an embrasure of which there are three in each outer face. From the construction of these vaults, they seem to have been built for archers and spearmen and not for any kind of artillery; there was no vestige of a parapet on the Chinese side of the Wall, except in the low towers on the face which intervenes midway between those on the outer, but are not vaulted.

"From this tower, which is the second inland, the wall continues, apparently more or less in a ruined state, for about three miles in a N. N. W. direction over a fine undulating country. It then takes a sudden curve to the S.-W. passing near a large town called Shan-hai-wei. The only gate through the Wall in this district is about three miles inland and is called the Shan-hai-kwan."

NOTE.—The Editor of the *Chinese Repository*, which reprinted the above says the latter of the two sentences is a quotation from the Chung Ying and means that the sea is only a handful and taken in conjunction with the first that "Heaven created (or spread out) the sea and the mountains" may allude to the surrounding prospect of sea and land. The whole sentence (reproduced in facsimile in the *Illustrated London News*) is "the waters, though they are (and appear to be) only a handful, are yet unfathomable, and the turtle, the crocodile, the dragon and other monsters dwell in them." I may mention that the *Illustrated London News* also reproduces four sketches of the Great Wall, taken, no doubt, by their correspondent.

Lieutenant Shore, R. N., who touched near Shan-hai-kwan in his cruise in H. M. S. "Lapwing" in 1880, remarked that the Wall was in a very ruinous condition and near the beach was buried by sand, which in the course of centuries had drifted up to the top forming an easy ascent. Besides the watch-towers it had been strengthened at intervals by walled enclosures for the accommodation of troops. These usually commanded a gateway or some important line of communication, while to prevent an active foe from sneaking round unobserved, the Wall had been carried out some fifty yards into the sea and this portion was built of granite.

A short distance from the shore the Wall encircles the village of Ninghai, and beyond that it runs northwards to join the city of Shan-hai-wei. Here the Great Wall has been cut for a gap of about seventy-five yards to admit of the rails of the Northern Chinese line pursuing their level tenour towards Niu-chwang; on that side the Wall presents a bold face of gray brick and stone, with towers and projecting bastions, a formidable defence against the hordes of wild horsemen in the days of cross-bow warfare. On the inner or Chinese side, the Wall is a sloping embankment, stone and brick facings and cross-walls cropping out here and there. Miss Scidmore remarks truly enough, that it has evidently been a builder's quarry for all the Shan-hai-kwan plain and there are still bricks to spare by millions, from remnants of walls that run here and there in aimless way on the inner side.

"Wall-building must have been a habit or mania with these people in early days, and they built walls when they had nothing else to do, to pass the time and keep the people out of mischief. Weeds and brambles conceal the flagging of the terre-pleine, parapets are gone, and many watch-towers have fallen, but a few towers are occupied by poor tillers of the soil and their swarming families."

It is curious to learn that when the breach was made the railway engineers came across the pile foundations put in somewhere about twenty-two centuries ago. The wood was petrified but well-preserved, and many interesting souvenirs have been made from the portions taken up. A few months ago Mr. Aingier, the editor of the *London and China Telegraph*, passed here on his way to the north-east, and found that all the old guns which I saw in 1898 had been removed from the Wall. They were curious old weapons, still serviceable, but of no real military value now-a-days, their sole interest being their antiquity.

From the north-east angle of the town of Shan-hai-wei the Wall issues forth and crosses a flat campagna on its way to the mountains. Emerging from the city gate, which is crowned with a big ramshackle fort with a painted guns on it, my friends and I traversed this open space in springless mule carts, a mode of conveyance which is not so bad, if you sit on the shaft or side of the vehicle, letting your legs dangle as the Neapolitan drivers do. The track ran roughly parallel to the Wall, which is here a lofty and important affair, with room enough on the top for several horsemen, to ride abreast. There is a wide gap where a river, no doubt in chronic flood, has demolished the piers and supports. From thence the Wall sweeps up the mountains, which here rise from the plain to the height of two or three thousand feet. Its upward

course is a huge zigzag with two commanding watch-towers perched at the salient angles. We scaled the slope in Alpine fashion, and after an hour or so arrived at a Taoist temple where a crooked-backed little priest welcomed us and gave us tea and biscuits in the guest-room. The Great Wall, he informed us, ran quite close and we were quite at liberty to go up and inspect it. Following the path which led past some ornamental shrines, we reached the Wall itself which ran along the crest of one of the Spurs. Beneath us, on the left dropped sheer the face of the cliff for a thousand feet or so, while ahead the eye ranged over the spacious campaign of Shan-hai-wei. But a still better idea of the latter impressed itself on my gaze when I retraced my steps and passing through the terrace of the temple, climbed up to a *col* or saddle, which commanded both a panoramic view of the plain to the south and a glimpse of a valley leading into the heart of the mountains. A greater contrast could scarcely be imagined. Southward all was yellow in the warm, suffused glow of a June afternoon, the fields, the distant villages grouped at intervals over the plain, the fortified buildings of Shan-hai-wei in the middle distance, even the dimly outlined ocean on the horizon was descried through a perspective of all pervading yellow, while the Great Wall, like an interminably long, dust-coloured dragon, serpentine along the plain, up the mountain slope, and disappeared over the crest, on its way to the distant deserts of Tartary. On the northern side of the *col* the landscape was essentially Alpine. The mountain slopes clothed with vegetation, and moss-grown rocks led precipitously down some two thousand feet to a torrent which dashed distractedly amid boulders, and the prevailing hue was a fresh green in lieu of a sun-parched sandy yellow. It is a curious feature of the Great Wall that, in many places it plays the part of a boundary line between two climates or zones of utterly different character.

Proceeding roughly westward the next important point at which the Wall has been touched is at Malan-yu, where a vast enclosure round the Imperial Mausoleum lies immediately south thereof, the Wall itself forming the northern boundary. Scarce fifty miles N. N. W. is situated the Kupei-khou gate about 77 miles from Peking and leading to Jehol and Manchuria where Lord Macartney and his staff passed through and have left on record a capital account. Mr. John Barrow, F. R. S., who was private secretary to Lord Macartney, considered it had no parallel in the whole world, not even in the pyramids of Egypt. He further estimated that the materials of all the dwelling houses in England and Scotland then (1793) existing, supposing them to amount to 1,800,000 and

to average each 2,000 cubic feet of masonry or brickwork, would be barely equivalent to the bulk or solid contents of the Great Wall of China. Nor were "the projecting massy towers of stone and brick" included in this calculation, "These alone," Barrow goes on to say, "supposing them to continue throughout at bow-shot distance, were calculated to contain as much masonry and brickwork as all London. To give another idea of the mass of matter in the stupendous fabric, it may be observed that it is more than sufficient to surround the circumference of the earth at two of its great circles with two walls, each six feet high and two feet thick! It is to be understood that in the calculation is included the earthy part in the midst of the Wall."

Sir George Staunton, the Vice-Minister Plenipotentiary, in his larger work on the Mission, thus describes the appearance of the Wall, when the party first came in sight of it.

"Up the sides of distant mountains was described in the morning of the fourth day's journey (from Peking) a prominent line or narrow and unequal mark such as appear to be found sometimes, but more irregularly by the veins of quartz when viewed from afar in the sides of the mountains of Gneiss in Scotland. The continuance of this line to the Tartarian mountain tops was sufficient to arrest the attention of the beholder, and the form of a wall with battlements was in a little time distinctly discerned, where such buildings were not expected to be found nor thought practicable to be erected. What the eye could from a single spot embrace of these fortified walls carried along the ridges of hills, over the tops of the highest mountains, descending into the deepest valleys, crossing upon arches over rivers and doubled and trebled in many parts to take in important passes and interspersed with towers or massy bastions at almost every hundred yards, as far as the sight could reach, presented to the mind an undertaking of stupendous magnitude. One of the most elevated ridges over which the Great Wall is carried has been ascertained to measure 5,225 feet high."

Sir George explains that it was not so much the dimensions of the Wall as the extreme difficulty of conceiving how the materials could be conveyed and the structures raised in situations apparently inaccessible.

Captain Parish who was attached to the Embassy and who made a series of careful measurements and drawings of the Wall, remarks of the military posts:—

"They are usually square towers of various dimensions, at which a few men are constantly quartered. They are situated at the entrance of passes or on eminences difficult of access or on the narrow passages of rivers. They vary from about

40 feet square and as many in height to so low as 4 feet square and 6 feet high. The larger towers are entered by a flight of steps usually completed by loose stones, which lead to a small arch, at about half the height of the tower from the base. The platform alone appears to be intended for defence, as there are very rarely ports to be discovered in the sides.

After passing another Gate nearer to the old Tartar boundary and going through a perpendicular defile formed by high and massive walls, the travellers arrived at "Koo-pe-koo," which was the residence of the strong garrison placed for the defence of the outer wall in this part of it. It was closed by concentric works united with the main Wall. (p. 188.)

About 40 miles north of Peking the Wall bifurcates, the outer wall trending west with a wide loop to the north and the inner wall running south-west and then west to join the outer wall a little east of the Yellow River in about the same latitude as Peking, while a branch runs two hundred miles, starting from about longitude 114° east, at the point where the inner changes its direction from south-west to west. The regular route from Peking to Russian Siberia runs north-west and consequently passes through both the inner and outer walls. Colonel Peshevalsky, the distinguished Asiatic explorer, thus describes the pass through which the caravan and post roads lead from the steppes to the Great (Outer) Wall:—

"Steep hill sides, deep valleys, lofty precipices, sharp peaks often crowned with overhanging rocks and an appearance of savage grandeur, are the chief characteristics of the mountains along the axis of which is carried the Great Wall. It is built of large stones cemented together with mortar, the Wall itself being tapering, 21 feet high and about 28 feet wide at the foundation. At the Chinese entrance to the pass stands the frontier fort of Kalgan."

Some fifty miles further (*i.e.*, southward) lies the inner wall. Peshevalsky thus refers to it:—

"Along the crest of the mountains at the egress of which is Nankau, is built the second or inner wall, far greater and more massive than that of Kalgan. It is composed of great slabs of granite, with brick battlements on the summit. The loftiest points are crowned with watch towers. Beyond it are three other walls, about 2 miles apart. These walls block the pass of Gwankan, with double gates, but the last of all in the direction of Peking has triple gates."

Tradition has it that the Emperor Shih-hwang-ti resided in one of the fortresses in the Nankau Pass, while he was superintending the building of the Wall there. But the Wall now seen is, in my opinion, not the Wall of Shih-hwang-ti, but the more massive structure re-built by the Mings in the fifteenth

century. The pass itself is described by S. W. Williams as "a remarkable Thermopylæ" 15 miles long.

Dr. Bushell in his trip does not appear to have crossed the northern Wall at Kalgan as most people do; that being the caravan and post road to Kiachta, but to have turned to the left and crossed it some distance west of Kalgan. It is curious how perfunctory the constructive care and skill became, as the Wall was prolonged further westward. Near the boundary between Chih-li and Shensi Dr. Bushell remarked of it:—

"It consists of a mere heap of rubbish of rough unhewn fragments, collected from the *débris* of the adjacent black volcanic rocks, and there are traces of connecting mortar. Massive square towers of solid brick with an earthen core have been erected at intervals of 2 or 3 hundred feet, but they are now fast crumbling into ruins. This is known as the boundary Wall by the Chinese, and was made probably about the 12th century."

As mentioned above, the inner and outer walls unite just to the east of the Yellow River which, as long as it runs north and south, forms the boundary between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi. From near this point the Wall dips S. W. forming the northern boundary of Shensi. It subtends the great northward loop of the Yellow River, and encloses the desert wastes of the Ordos Mongol Country on the south and east, finally rejoining the river at the town of Ning-hia. Here it has been visited by Obruchef, the Russian geologist, Rockhill and Littledale. Rockhill followed its course up and alongside of the Yellow River for some considerable distance, nearly as far as Lanchow, but nowhere did he find any trace of brick or stone facing. It was entirely of earth, varying in height from 15 to 20 feet, with watch towers at frequent intervals. West and north-west of Lanchow there is one wall, if not two, probably erected to afford additional protection to that city, which occupies so important a position on the high-road from the west to Singanfu, the old Sera Metropolis of Pliny and former capital of China.

In its further course north-west, bounding the narrow neck of the Province of Kansu on the side of the Mongolian desert, the object of the Wall was obviously to guard the great line of route from Western Asia and Europe. Baron F. von Richthofen has explained this clearly with the aid of some excellent maps in the first volume of his work on China. His opinion is that the Wall ended a good deal further west than is usually supposed. The last important gate in the Great Wall is called Kia-yu-kwan, and lies 200 li or about 70 miles west of the town of Su-chow. Kia-yu-kwan means "the customs

barrier of the noble jade, the costly species of nephrite formerly brought from Khotan by the southern route along the margin of the Tarim desert, a route which was followed by Marco Polo more than 700 years ago, but by no traveller since. This gate and another gate, Yu-monn-kwan, still further west, had both fiscal and strategic importance. But it is important to notice that in former times these gates lay further west than at present. In fact the Wall altogether seems to have extended in early times a good deal further into the desert towards Lake Lob, for Mr. Littledale who, in 1893, travelled along part of the old route from the lake to Sha-chau, says that some miles west of that town he came upon, and followed, for 7 or 8 miles, an embankment which he was satisfied must have been part of the Great Wall, although he had never heard it came so far west. My idea is that the sands gradually overspread most of the oases along the fringe of the desert and caused the southern route to fall into entire disuse, and that this, combined with misgovernment and neglect, caused a general falling off of traffic and population in these outlying districts and led to the old gates being deserted and shifted further east.

Viewing the great work as a whole I cannot refrain from quoting a few remarks by Mr. S. Wells Williams, whose "Middle Kingdom" is so picturesque and accepted an authority on things Chinese:—

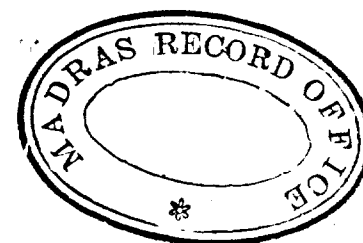
"The impression left upon the mind of a foreigner on seeing this monument of human toil and unrenumerative outlay is respect for a people that could in any manner build it. Standing on the peak at Ku-pei-kow (Old North Gate) one sees the cloud-capped towers extending away along the declivities in single files both east and west, until dwarfed by miles and miles of skyward perspective, as they dwindle into minute piles, yet stand with solemn stillness where they were stationed twenty centuries ago as though condemned to wait the march of time till their builders returned. The crumbling dike at their feet may be followed winding, leaping across gorges, defiles and steepes, now buried in some chasm, now scaling the cliffs and slopes in very exuberance of power and wantonness, as it vanishes in a thin, shadowy line at the horizon. Once seen the Great Wall of China can never be forgotten."

In these days of modern armaments, writers are too much inclined to make light of the Great Wall, and to argue that even if it ever was of any defensive use, the northern nomads and savage hordes must have been very easily frightened. I cannot concur in this. As a mere monument of constructive skill it is very remarkable. The design constantly varied in proportion to the nature of the ground: where the plain was

level, as at Shan-hai-kwan, the structure was lofty and broad at the top, capable of accommodating large bodies of defenders. Where it ascends the first gradual mountain slopes, and a hostile attack would be more hampered by the ground, the breadth of the Wall narrows somewhat, but even then, there are a parapet, embrasures and steps, where required, leading up to the watch towers. Where the crest, along which the Wall ran was precipitous and a sufficient defence in itself, the Wall was, proportionately reduced, but even then it is continuous, for the Great Emperor's commands were peremptory and the rampart must run without intermission for its whole extent.

As to the political effects of this scientific frontier, the greatest the world has ever seen, these were undoubtedly considerable as it thrust back the onsets of a long-dreaded enemy, it helped to unite and centralize, under one rule, the formerly independent frontier principalities, it provided a strategic base of communication for the Chinese with the countries of the west, and lastly it compelled the hordes of Tartars to divert their attention away from China to the nations of the west, and thus led to national migrations and conquests which have profoundly affected the history of the world.

CHARLES E. D. BLACK.



ART. VI.—BARODA CENSUS REPORT, 1901.*

THIS is a very large Report, extending, as it does, to close on 700 pages, folio. The area and population 8,099 square miles and 1,952,692 souls (462,704 less than in 1891) scarcely justify such a big Report. The interests involved and the information supplied do, or must be supposed to do. I have no doubt His Highness Maharajah Gaekwar, Sir Sayaji Rao III, does not grudge the expense incurred in the preparing and furnishing of such valuable information. In looking at the map one is struck at once by the extent of His Highness' territories east and west, north and south—from Krishna's sacred Dwarka on the Arabian Sea, 68° 58' to 74° East, and from Billimoria in Surat, 20° 45' to 24° North. Of course the whole country lying within these limits is not under His Highness. His territories are simply scattered widely in large and small portions over the whole of it, but occupying not the half of it. It is divided into four Districts called *Prants*, viz., Kadi, Baroda, Navsari and Amreli.

The people are spoken of as the exclusive Gujarati and Dakshinā Brahmans in State service, the soldierly Maharata of Baroda, the enterprising Parsi of Navsari, the turbulent Wagher of Dwarka, the sturdy Kathi of Amreli, the trading Vohoras of Sidhpur, the Agricultural Patidar of Petlad, the animistic Dhanka of Songhad, and the representatives of many other castes and creeds, tribes and races, in almost endless variety.

Education and the want of it are represented in like variety, from the college with its students' residential quarters, botanical garden, cricket ground, tennis court and gymnasium; and the female Training College specially constructed for grown-up women, just outside the city and its Sursagar tank with its underground aqueduct, down to the hundreds of thousands of Animists or Anaryans who know not one letter from another.

The object of most interest to Hindus outside His Highness' territories, as also of no small interest to students of mythology, is the town of Dwarka, Krishna's old capital to which he had taken the 16,000 maidens he had kidnapped from Gowhati in Assam, and where the Yadavas his descendants, including his 180,000 sons, having quarrelled among themselves after a drunken bout were annihilated. The plundering Waghers of the present day have still to be kept under restraint by strict supervision, a daily roll-call of the whole

Wagher population being taken in their villages, and their movements thus forcibly confined within limited areas. They are, Mr. Dalal says, "steeped in ignorance and poverty." "Thousands of devout pilgrims, notwithstanding the rigour and difficulty of the journey, resort to Dwarka every year and purify their bodies by a dip in the salt waters of the Gomati, and thus think themselves purged of their sins." In the extreme north of His Highness' territories at *Sidhpur*, "is the only place in the whole of India which can afford *Moksha* (absolute salvation) to the souls of the mothers, if *Pindas* are offered to them on the banks of a small tank in the vicinity, after a purificatory bath in the sacred river, *Saraswati*, which is reputed to be the daughter of Brahma."

Mr. Dalal gives as an explanation of the decrease in the Hindu population, as contrasted with the growth of the Muhammadans, the fact that "the marriages are so ill-matched among the Gujarati Hindus that there is a double check on the increase of births, the absence of procreative powers in the males, and the consequent barrenness of the females. If the mass of the people here err on any side, it is on that of breaking through all the checks to population over which they may exercise a control if they choose. To compensate for this they help materially in adding to the victims of epidemics, insanitation and scarcity, by weak and underfed constitutions, by insanitary habits, and by poverty arising from imprudent or indiscriminate marriages, also by shattering the constitutions of women, in forcing on them an early maternity and by procreating a very feeble progeny." These are very heavy charges against the Hindus of Baroda.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS SECTS.

The population of Baroda (nearly 2,000,000) include

1,546,992 Hindus,	176,250 Animists,
165,014 Muhammadans,	48,290 Jains,
8,409 Parsis,	7,691 Christians,
38 Sikhs,	50 Aryas,
8 Jews and	6 Brahmos.

As contrasted with the census of 1891, Buddhists and "other religions" have disappeared, and Arya-Samajists have appeared for the first time in a Baroda State Census.

Attention is directed to the fact that what the Census Commissioner asks is not what books on these religions supply, but something original and interesting outside the books, as to what is the actual working belief of the ordinary man, his standards of right and wrong, and what he supposes will happen to him if he disregards these standards. In the case of new sects, or sects which have not found their way into

* By J. A. Dalal, M.A., LL.D., Census Superintendent.

the standard works, a brief description of their history and of their characteristic tenets, is requested.

It must be admitted that in most Reports all this is more or less faithfully attended to, and it is so very fully, by Mr. Dalal.

Hinduism.

Mr. Dalal reminds us that the word *Hindu* is of comparatively late and foreign origin. The Persians corrupted the Sanskrit name of the river *Sindhu* into *Hindu* and called the people who lived on the east side of the river *Hindus*; and the Musulman and Christian called the religion 'Hinduism'; and now the ancient Aryas of Arya-bharta call themselves *Hindus* or *Indians*, and their ancient religion (*Arya Dharma* or *Sanatan Dharma*) they call *Hinduism*. It may be noted that the Arya-Samajists object to this terminology. Nay more, the religion itself has undergone such a complete change as scarcely to retain a patch of the original composition like the Irishman's coat, or, changing the figure, it is changed, lock, stock and barrel. So much so that while it is quite easy to define the *Arya Dharma* or *Sanatan Dharma* it is utterly impossible to define *Hinduism*. Scholars have to satisfy themselves with negations such as "natives of India who are not Musulmans, Christians, Jains, Sikhs or Bhuddhists are *Hindus*," or otherwise—"natives of India who do not belong to the *x*, *y*, *z*, or any other known religion of the world," are *Hindus*. It is all tolerant, all compliant, all comprehensive, all absorbing (barring the fact that it cannot absorb *x*, *y*, *z*, religions). "It has its pure and its impure aspects. It has a side for the sensuous and sensual; those who are addicted to sensual objects may have their tastes here gratified;" and (as in other religions) less questionable tastes.

"In the temples dedicated to Siva are to be found the idols not of Siva's person, but of his consort Parvati, of Gonesh, and Hanuman and of his emblem [the indecent Lingam] and the figure of a bull. In the temples dedicated to Vishnu, only the idols of Vishnu and his better half, are found, and similarly those dedicated to the goddesses, only their idols are to be seen. The Siva worship is attributed by many to Sankar-acharya, although he himself is represented by some to have had a preference for Vaishnavism (or Saktaism) and by some for Vedantism. In the Siva worship the devotees after taking a bath, pour cold water on the *Linga*, then offer some *chandan* (sandal wood) and flowers, and meditate on the deity by uttering his *mantra* (i.e. his magical word of power), and at the same time dropping down a bead from the rosary of *Rudraksha* beads which the worshipper has in his hand.

Like the worshippers of other deities, those of Siva

are expected to offer him food before they partake of any. The food so offered usually reverts to the worshippers of the other deities, but that offered to Siva can only be accepted by a person belonging to a special caste to whom alone are entrusted the public functions of keeping a Siva temple clean, and removing the stale *puja* materials from the emblematic deity, which by prescription can be completely washed by a person of this caste only."

The *puja* of the goddess is also performed in temples specially dedicated to her. The images therein are named according to the fancies of the donors of the temples, but generally the names are *Amba*, *Bahuchara*, *Kali* and *Durga*. [It is rather curious to find that both Calcutta and Bombay are called after names of this goddess.] The worship by the general mass of the people is performed from a distance by simply bowing down before her and offering her coconuts which the Pujaris break, returning half of each to the devotee who offers it. Still her *puja* is not as elaborate as that of Vishnu. Animal food and wine or spirit are offered to the goddess, but not to Vishnu or Siva. Her worship is specially done during the *Navratras*, i.e., nine nights. These *Navratras* are four in number in any one year. During these days males and females resort to her temples and worship the goddess as *sakti*. On the ninth day they place before the goddess a luxurious dinner, at which animal food and wine or spirit are partaken of by those who can: others in the place of these put before her pieces of brown pumpkin with red powder sprinkled over them, to make them look like meat. Women in His Highness' territories sing songs in the streets to the honour of the goddess. The songs may be of any kind. It matters not whether they do or do not relate to gods or goddesses. It is noticeable, as indicative of Hindu exclusiveness, that "all unclean castes are religiously excluded" from the temples of the great deities; and, of course, much more all the out-castes or Animistic tribes. And, indeed, almost all castes, other than the twice-born, are kept at a longer distance and are not allowed to touch the images in the temples.

So far of what is called *public worship*, a word as to *private and other worship*. Only the higher class *Hindus*, i. e., the majority of the twice-born keep the images of the five gods—Siva, Vishnu, Parvati, Ganesh, and Surya—in their houses for purposes of worship, the deity most revered being allowed to occupy the central seat, leaving the remaining four to occupy the surrounding four quarters. Those who perform the private worship, having done their morning ablutions, place their household deities in a pot or vessel; then bathe them and anoint them with sandal wood paste; and then

place flowers before them. They then light ghee-lamps, burn incense, and place some smeatmeats before them and recite prayers. They then wave lights before them. When the noon meal is ready, they place a dish of cooked food before them, and after a time remove it. Madhava Vaishnavas place before their deity the entire quantity of food prepared, and remove it for personal use only after the same has been offered wholesale to the object of their worship.

Almost all Hindus worship the sun in one form or another. The Brahmans worship him by performing the *Sandhya* adoration every morning by offering *Arghyas*. They at the same time recite the *Gayatri Mantra*. Other Hindus worship the sun every morning by bowing down to him after cleaning their teeth and washing their faces. Some make it a rule to take their meals only after worshipping him; and in so doing, sometimes in the rainy season, they have to fast for a day or two, if heavy collections of clouds obscure the sun. The elephant-headed Ganesha, the remover of obstacles, is invariably worshipped by the Hindus on every auspicious occasion.

The Hindus worship the planet which the astrologer may have proclaimed to be the cause of injury or mischief to them. Of course they worship cows, bullocks and serpents, but it is not so widely known that they worship the mongoose from a superstitious belief that it would prevent danger to children in the worshipper's house. Various trees are also worshipped, the *Bilwa* or *Bel* fruit tree, because it is believed to have been produced from *Parvati's* perspiration, and therefore an object of favour with Siva. The marriage of the *Tulsi* plant with Vishnu is celebrated in every pious Hindu's house; and, on a grander scale, in the temples it is dedicated to Vishnu, with the same rituals as at ordinary marriages.

Of stones the worship of the Ammonite fossil known as *Shalgram*, representing Vishnu, is among the most popular. The fossil is deemed worthy of worship only when procured from the Gundak river in Bengal. *Sankha* (conches) and the *chakra* (a coral formation) are worshipped as the war horn and war weapon of Krishna. Swords and tridents are worshipped by the followers of Devi on Navratra days.

To all these objects of worship must be added the *guru*, *acharya* or religious preceptor who is worshipped in the same way as he himself worships the idols. Yet in spite of all this, the unclean castes are completely excluded from participation in public worship, and the lower castes are kept at a distance, so that the majority of castes have no private worship whatever; and yet all of them are Hindus in caste. "The result of this differentiating treatment has been the utter ignorance of the lower classes in matters of ritual and

the forms and objects of worship. Many of them naturally do not know why they are called Hindus, or what it is which constitutes Hinduism." Alas! their betters are not much wiser, despite their high privileges. It is somewhat curious to note that "the rigour of the observance of fasts goes on lessening, the lower we go in the scale of castes, until it is non-existent among the unclean castes. 'The phrase unclean castes' does not mean that they are immoral or irreligious. They may be more moral and more religious than many in the so-called clean castes, as also cleaner physically. Mr. Dalal touches on the moral teaching of Hinduism—"Every Hindu believes that he will be able to wash off his sins by performing a penance or by giving *dan* to Brahmans who have proclaimed that pardon, and even merit, will be obtained through their agency. People, therefore, have always to engage them and to pay them for the services they render. The evil of the system is obvious; it leads to the monstrous belief that evil deeds of whatever enormity can be atoned for and expiated by money. And it supports an idle mischievous priesthood which thrives indirectly on the commission of sinful acts by offering premiums for their perpetration. It soothes the conscience of the evil doer; it feeds the lazy priesthood, while it sinks all of them lower in morality."

"The mass of the people in general are also firm believers in the existence of spirits, goblins and the like. When a person is suddenly taken ill, say through hysteria or convulsions, they ascribe it to the spirits, and at once send for *Bhuvras* to exorcise the spirit. The belief is very common that the dead turn to ghosts (*bhuta*), if the obsequies are not performed, or if the dead had some special thing left undone in life, or even if the dead had an enmity against particular individuals. Then the ghosts would not consent to be exorcised, until all these were remedied, including the taking of the life of the enemy. Of course it is only the Brahman who can get rid of such 'uncanny possessions.' Allied to this belief is the belief in the efficacy of *mantras* or spells. The Hindus have *mantras* good as well as bad. Among the former are those believed to be able to remove scorpion bite and snake-poison; and among the latter are those for bringing any individual desired under one's own control and for killing men. These *mantras* are believed to be efficacious only if their possessors observed certain prescribed rules of conduct and renewed them every year on the midnight of the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Aswin."

Mr. Dalal then proceeds to show how the Brahmans lose no opportunity or device to squeeze money out of the poor.

MAIN SECTS.

The three great sects of the Baroda State are Saivites, (276,489), the Vaishnavas (1,010,351), and the Saktas (260,096), also called *Devi-bhaktas*. The worshippers of Ganesh and Hanuman are mostly also worshippers of Siva; and there is no mention of any worshippers of Brahma. The sacred books of these different worshippers are not the Vedas. Each sect has its own book or books. The Saivites have the *Siva Puran* and the *Siva Gita*; the Vaishnavas have the *Bhagwat*, the *Gita* and the *Ramayana*; and the Saktas have the *Devi Puran* and the *Chandi*, or the *Saptisati* [and the secret *Tantras*]. From these sects, many sub-sects or creeds have already grown up and are still growing up. The Saivites have no sub-sects or creeds.

The Nimbaraks worship Radha and Krishna jointly and revere the *Bhagwat* as their chief sacred book.

The *Madhavacharis* are the followers of the Rishi Madhava, born about the 12th century as an avatar of the wind god. In his temples are found images of Siva, Durga and Ganesha, side by side with those of Vishnu and his consort, Luxmi. He is specially known for his opposition to Sankaracharya's pantheistic monism, in the interest of theistic dualism, known as *Dvaitism*. The principal doctrine of the sect is that the divine soul is quite distinct from the human soul, and hence it is utterly impossible for them to unite; or, in other words, God and man have a real and eternally distinct existence. The sect is strong in South India.

The *Vallabhacharis* (183,000 strong) are the followers of Vallabha, born 1479, as an incarnation of Krishna. He taught that privation formed no part of sanctity; and that the god should be worshipped by offering rich apparel, costly ornaments and excellent food; and further that sanctity did not exist in solitude and mortification of the body, but in the pleasures of society and in worldly enjoyment. The chief deities worshipped by the sect are Krishna and Radha. The heads of the different divisions of the sect are known as Maharajas, who "are so devotedly respected and worshipped by their followers that it has given occasion to many a scandal about them;—the *jus primæ noctis* being also allowed to them by some castes." They became notorious in connection with the libel prosecuted in the Bombay High Court by one of these Maharajas in 1862.

The *Ramanandis* (upwards of half a million strong) were founded as a sect in the beginning of the 14th century by Ramananda a disciple of Ramanuja. He is said to have preached the abolition of caste. Among his most illustrious disciples were a Rajput, a weaver, a *chamar*, and a barber.

The *Kabir Panthis* have neither idols nor frontal caste or sect marks; still adoration is allowed by the founder's tenets to Vishnu or Rama as names for the one God. The founder's name is respected equally by Hindus and Muslims.

The sect of *Swami Narayan*, who was born in Oudh about 1780 A. D. and died about 1830, is 90,000 strong. The founder, offended at some of the practices of the Vallabhacharis, preached chastity and purity of soul as the key-note of religion. His preachings are contained in a book called *Shiksha Patri*.

The *Radha Vallabhi* sect worship Krishna and Radha; but more Radha than Krishna. They are also called *Pranamis*, as they salute one another by the word *Pranam*.

The *Khijada Panth* or sect do not worship any idol or image; but they worship the holy book of Srimad Bhagwat in their temples and other places of worship, reminding one of the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Mahapurushas in Assam. The sect includes Brahmans, Vantias, Kanbis, Rajputs, Kan-saras, smiths, carpenters, and the like, but excluding the low and unclean castes.

The *Gopinath Panth* is a subdivision of the Ramanuja sect, who are generally men from the higher castes and whose religious book is the *Gupta Manjari*. In some places they worship Thakorji, Lalji, Ranchodji and Narsinghji instead of Rama.

The followers of the *Surya Upasak* creed and the *Ravi Sahab* sub-sect worship the sun and consider their creed to be as pure as the golden light of the sun.

The *Lalvadia Panth* do not worship any idol or image; but they worship an old Banyan tree, also other Banyans, Peepal, Mango and Limba trees and of course the Basil plant.

The *Nakalanki Panth* worship the deity called *Kalanki*, 10th incarnation of Vishnu. Their temples contain brass idols of this deity mounted on horses of brass. Three women, Bai Rudi, Bai Rani and Bai Jivi rose to great fame 100 years ago, and were revered like goddesses and recognised as the founders of the creed.

The *Apadan* sect worship the *Padukas* (feet impressions) of Apadan or Thakorji. All castes save the "unclean castes" are admitted. They revere the Peepul, the Tulsi, and the cow.

The *Saji Sawai Panth* keep no idols in their temples; but have generally simple pictures of *Boudhya Kalanki*, which look like those of a Rajput Raja; and two other pictures of *Paris* (heavenly damsels), having the faces of a female, but the bodies of a horse. In front of them are placed the sacred books

of Bhagwat and Bhagwat-Gita; "all these together form the object of daily worship with the followers of this creed." "The unclean castes are not admitted." "They are strictly forbidden to eat *asafetida*, onions, garlic and opium, or to smoke ganja and tobacco and to take English medicines. They do not worship any tree or animal."

Bhagal's Panth do not worship any idol or image, but adore a rosary of Basil beads and a turban supposed to belong to their *guru*; both of which are placed on a *gadi* (throne) in their temples. They resemble in various points the Vaishnavas and adore the Peepul, the Tulsi, and the cow.

The *Patwala Panth* worship the god *Patwala* and a sacred book called *Pothi*. They are Brahmans, Baniyas, and others of the higher castes. They bow to the cow generally every morning and adore the Peepul.

The *Uda Kabir-panth* practise *jap* or mental worship, and carry their dead with tom-tom and music. The occasion is considered one of joy, as the departed goes to a better region. All wailing and grief are prohibited.

The *Santram Panth* worship the *Padukas* (feet impressions) of their *guru*. Their sacred book is *Guru Wani* and they forbid all begging. Only *Sadhus* who have severed their connection with the world are allowed to worship their deity—the feet impressions in their temples. They bow to the Tulsi and the cow whenever they see them. Their *Sadhus* are not cremated but buried standing.

The *Ramdevji Panth* also worship the *Padukas* of their founder who was believed to be an incarnation of Krishna. They also worship the image of a horse, made either of rags or metal, representing the founder's pet horse. The principal temple, which is in Ranuja in Marwar, contains the feet impressions, as also four horses of metal for the four *Yugas* or Ages. The creed was proclaimed and promulgated in Gujarat by an Audich-Brahman widow. She is still living and known as a sincere and pious devotee of this creed. A novice on paying his initiation fee gets in return one of the many horses of rags offered by the devotees, and he buys a pair of *paglas* of Ramdevji sold in the shops. The horse and the *paglas* he takes home with him and worships them daily. Devotees of the low and unclean castes are allowed to eat flesh and drink wine or spirits. In a grand procession the deity is carried in a palanquin, accompanied by torches, tom-toms, a band and other musical instruments. They revere the horse as a pet of their adored deity.

Bija Panth (120,000 strong) worship Radha-Krishna. Potters, Barbers, Atits, Rajputs, Rabaris, Charans, Bhats and such other low castes join them; but none from the higher

or from the degraded and unclean. A meeting of the members for the *Patha* is generally held at the house of one of the followers at dead of night, with closed doors. A *kotwal* or guard stands at the door to prevent the entrance of a stranger. Women take as active a part in the meeting as the men. Incantations are muttered over ghee-ignited lamps, standing on heaps of grain. Bhajans and songs in praise of Krishna or Radha-Vallabha are sung by turns or in a chorus, and the whole night spent in singing and merriment.

The *Kachalia Panth* is believed to be very immoral and to prevail in Baroda State. Therefore none censured themselves as such. The women deposit their *kachalis* (bodices) in a heap, and each passes the evening with him who picks up her *kachali*.

The *Gonesh Panth* (17,647 strong) can interdine but not intermarry. They eat the flesh of dead animals, such as the cow, buffalo, and goat, and drink liquors. They have secret meetings like those of the *Bija Panth*.

The *Narsingha Panth* (6,500 strong) worship the half man, half lion incarnation of Vishnu.

The *Garuda Panth* worship *Garuda*, the "Lord of Eagles and Vultures," the chosen conveyance or bearer of Vishnu.

The *Shakta* sects (260,096 strong) are classed as Dakshina-Margi and Vama-Margi. The first worship the goddesses openly; the latter in secret. Their Scriptures (the Tantras) are also secret. The majority of Devi's followers have returned the names of the goddess they worship as their sub-sect, which were only different names of one and the same goddess. They "are generally members of the illiterate classes as Rabaris, Kolis and the like, and consequently are unable [or unwilling] to show us even the A, B, C of what they believe and profess. They are also called *Devi Bhaktas*." "The sacred books held in veneration by the devotees of each of these sects are the *Siva Paran* and the *Siva Gita* for the followers of Siva; the *Bhagwat* and the *Bhagabat Gita* and the *Ramayana* for the followers of Vishnu and the *Devi Puran* (*Kalika Puran*?) and the *Chandi Patha*, or the *Sapta Sati* for the followers of Sakti or Devi."

Mr. Dalal summarises the influence of Hinduism in the Baroda State in a few instructive sentences which I here quote:—"The prevailing religion in this part of India is the Hindu religion; and it is well known that Hinduism is as much a social as a religious institution. It has no doubt certain principles of morality, mostly philosophical, and mystical speculations, underlying its manifold ceremonials and observances; but they require philosophical expositions also, which are not such as are comprehended by the multitude. An

ordinary Hindu is a Hindu, not so much because he believes in certain dogmas (as in the case of other religions) as regards the creation, or as regards his own existence, his conduct of life and a hereafter, as because he observes and performs, or partakes in a series of ritualistic ceremonies on domestic occurrences connected with himself or members of his family or on certain sacred days. An orthodox Hindu deems himself superior to the other nations around him, because he belongs to a certain caste, and can give dinners on certain prescribed and acknowledged occasions to members of that caste, and is himself invited to them by his caste people, because he receives certain religious services at the hands of the family Brahman, because he is allowed to eat the food cooked by persons of his own or superior Hindu castes only, and so forth. The immediate and powerful effect of this religious sanctity, pervading all the concerns of life, is the influence the Hindu religion exercises in matters relating to birth, marriage and death, sanitation and vitality—matters with which a census is most intimately concerned. . . . Early marriages, for instance, or unequal marriages, and prohibitions of widow re-marriage, afford statistics to account for a large infant mortality, a heavy per-centage of deaths among child mothers, repeated marriages among males, a large per-centage of widows, and a very small one of 'singles,' as compared with other nations. All these could finally be traced to the customs and regulations which are strongly enjoined by the prevailing religion. . . . The Hindu religion possesses an astounding capacity of deglutition." The vitality of the Hindu religion consists in the principle of systematic subordination, which is born with his life and continues its sway till the Hindu dies. Reforms of all sorts are powerless against this impregnable bulwark; for, however loud might be the cry for freedom of conscience, the mind of the individual alone cannot act independently of the caste. It should not escape notice however that the Hindus have lost large numbers from their folds. Among these are enormous numbers of Muhammadans, including many censused as Hindus.

"The Vohoras, the Memans, and Khojas have parted company with Hinduism anyhow; but we have the Momnas and the Molesalams who have not taken the full stride yet, they have one foot in each religion, and though they may not be called Hindus, it is equally hard to call them Musalmans. They resemble the Hindus so much that were it not for their part in the Mohurram procession of Tajias (and that too in the form of an appendix) the world outside would have no reason to suspect that they were not Hindus."

Jains, Parsis, Moslims, Aryas, and Brahmos.—A word or two

on each of these. The *Jains*, 48,290 strong, formally reject the Vedas, yet call themselves Hindus. They observe caste distinctions and sometimes intermarry with Hindus. The sacred books of the Swetambari Jains are in the Magadhi Prakrit language, and those of the Digambari Jains in Sanskrit. The Dhundia Jains "carry the doctrine of the preservation of animal life to a shocking extent; and are therefore revoltingly filthy in many ways. They do not bathe for days together for fear of killing vermin, do not eat root vegetables, do not have lamps at night in their homes, and refrain from doing many things which had better be kept unsaid to avoid wounding the sense of decency of the readers."

The Jains are famous for the beauty and cleanliness of their temples "a great contrast to the Hindu temples of worship."

The *Parsi* population of Baroda State numbered only 8,409 souls. What the Brahman is to the Hindu, the *Mobed* is to the Parsi. His stronghold is in Navsari in Baroda for some centuries. Thither he migrated from Persia. No religious ceremony can be performed, no marriage tie can be knit, no prayers after the dead can be recited, and no funeral service can be held, except by the Mobeds. Their sacred thread is known as the *kasti*. Their mode of disposing of the dead is characteristic and connected with the veneration given to fire.

The *Muhammadian* sects dwelt on by Mr. Dalal are *Hajra* Panth, *Mahomedi* Panth, the *Pirana* sect or *Kaka* Panthi, and the *Agakhan* sect, the only *Shtak* sect found in Baroda. The Moslims decreased by 23,726 souls in the decade.

"The *Arya Samajists* find a place in the table for religions for the first time in 1901. The numbers of the *Brahma Samajists* for the two decades are identical, and therefore show no variation. The figures for the two Samajists have been shown among the Hindus.

The *Sikhs* show an increase of 27 souls over 1891, and are thus $3\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than their original number!

THE ANIMISTICS.

These worship spirits or souls, good and bad, the latter being the more important, and taken more notice of. The main object, in the first place, is to get power over the spirits by magic, and in a higher stage of belief to propitiate them by gifts and homage. The Kolis and the Kanbis who were originally the aborigines, having yielded to Brahmanic control, are classed as Hindus. The Animistic deities are spoken of as the greater deities and the lesser, and special deities. While the Animists retain their old aboriginal beliefs and

worship, they are also greatly influenced by the spirit of Hinduism. They number 876,250 in Baroda State.

CHRISTIANS.

Considering that there are less than 8,000 Christians in the whole State, and that Mr. Dalal's distribution is per 10,000, his figures appear larger than they really are. His words may be given (ignoring the decimals) for what they are worth. "Out of every 10,000 Christians distributed in the different divisions or districts of the State there are 78 Christians in Amreli, 31 in Kadi, 8,828 in Baroda, 1,006 in the City, and 55 in Navsari. A comparison of those figures with those for the years 1891 and 1881 shows that there is an increase of 7,946 and 7,829 respectively in Baroda, and a decrease in all the remaining divisions among Christians; from which fact it can be inferred that in the Baroda Division there is an abnormal increase, reducing thereby all other proportions. The reason of it has been already assigned." The reason, I take it, is that given in the words—"7,045 souls were taken to the fold of Christianity, by the Missionaries during the famine years," thus helping to reduce the Hindu population by 513,531 or nearly 25 per cent. Again—"The increased proportions of variations among the Animistics and the Christians need no further remarks; for their variations do not allow comparison owing to exceptional circumstances." Still Mr. Dalal enters into further comparisons when he tells us that the Christians are 1.26 per cent. in Baroda, 0.74 in the City, 0.04 per cent. in Kadi, and 0.015 per cent. in Navsari. It is still, it will be seen, the day of small things with the Christians in the Baroda State. While decrease is the key-note of religion as of the whole population, Mr. Dalal is able to add—"except in Kadi, there is an increase among the Christians everywhere." "It appears that the Christians have increased in all the Divisions of the State, except Kadi and the City, where they show a decrease of 24 in the former and 36 in the latter. In Amreli there is an increase of 47, in Navsari of 19, in Baroda of 6,733, and in the Cantonment of 306."

Taking the denominations into consideration, we find that only two (the Presbyterian and the 'Minor') show a decrease. The Irish Presbyterian Mission, the only Presbyterian one, some years ago, withdrew from Baroda city and opened up new work among the "Jungle Tribes." Their Mission, known as the Gujarat and Kattiawar Mission (including the J. T. Mission) has increased in the decade from 2,162 in 1891 to 6,282 in 1901. Most of these live in British territory outside the Baroda State.

Again, says Mr. Dalal, there is a very large decrease in the 'unreturned,' due to the observance by the Missionaries of the instructions issued to them in this behalf. The rest show an increase, the Anglicans of 6,897, the Methodists of 143, the Romans of 106, the Lutherans of 7, and of one Baptist. The Native Christians of the whole State increased from 386 to 7,543, thus showing a total increase of 7,157 in the decade.

On these figures Mr. Dalal remarks—"It has already been said that this large increase is due to the efforts of the Missionaries in collecting into their folds the distressed people and waifs of the famine. Many persons when they had no means of sustenance abandoned their children whom the Missionaries willingly took to the orphanages which they had founded in the Cantonment and other places. Many grown-up people also embraced Christianity on being supplied with food and work." "The preponderance of Christians in rural areas can be explained by considering that the Missionaries were naturally able to make more converts among the famishing villagers than among the town folks." The largest ratio of town-living Christians is found in the towns of the Baroda Division. The Gospel of Jesus has from the beginning commended itself to the poor and "heavy-laden."

AGE, SEX AND CIVIL CONDITION.

Having occupied so much space on the chapter on *religion and sects*, that on "age, sex and civil condition" must be disposed of very hurriedly. Here is a sex-note of some curious interest—"It is well known in our State and in British Gujarat that the two highest classes of Nagar Brahmans, the Vадnagaras and the Visnagaras, stand in diametrically opposite positions. The former are starved for women; and many a rich Vадnagara finds neither his money nor his position avail him in securing a consort for life; whereas among the Visnagaras, the father would be fortunate who is able to secure a husband for his daughter, yet both castes are Brahmans but they will not intermarry." Mr. Dalal further adds—"The defect in the number of females is not local or confined to this State or Census alone, but is found in British Gujarat and in all the other Divisions of the Bombay Presidency and in the whole of India. Madras, Central Provinces and Cochin form the only exceptions. This deficiency in the female numbers has prevailed since 1872, the year in which the first Indian Census was taken. But in Baroda State, it has gone on diminishing every Census. This is mainly due to a more accurate enumeration, and to the slow removal of prejudice against enumerating all the female members of a house."

Mr. Dalal does not show how this tells on the diminishing numbers of females.

Of the seasons deemed propitious for the commencement of married life, it is to be observed that the stars have to be consulted. "The superstitious Hindus would never take such a serious step without consulting the stars and omens, nor would the money-seeking astrologers allow their *Yajmans* to take this important step in their children's life without claiming their perquisites. . . . The lower castes do not wait for propitious months or days." The poorer castes have uniformly shown the highest ratio of females; and the richer and more luxurious castes lower ones. There are more male births in inland districts, with a sultry climate as in Baroda and Kadi, and more female births in coast regions.

"These two, a religious obligation to have a son (*putra*) and the marriage of girls at a tender age, form the foundation upon which the entire fabric of Hindu life in Gujarat is built. These lead to early and unequal marriages, to polygamy, to early maternity, to a large birth-rate, and a terrible mortality among children and child-mothers, to early decay in both sexes, and to a surfeit of widows. The Hindus are chain-bound by these tyrannical customs. Girls are carried through a formal ceremony of marriage at an infant age, and when as often is the case the husband is past 15 or 16, the parents of the husband 'count every day' to hasten matters as much as they can, to bring about the happy day of consummation. To those who have freely come in contact with Hindus belonging to many of the Gujarati castes, it is no revelation to know that numbers of these girls march from the nuptial bed to the funeral pile. [Hence the necessity of the age of Consent Act for all India.] Nervous debility, consumption, and uterine diseases create a havoc among them. It may be urged that generations of this usage and early training may have done something to mitigate the evil; but this mitigation, if at all, is of the slenderest; for not even a constitution of steel could stand against the ravages of this barbarous system. There is undoubtedly a large birth rate under these circumstances; but the children are so weak that they die off in numbers, mostly in the first year of existence, as has been abundantly testified by the age tables. So this much-marrying and much-begetting race does not ultimately profit by a permanent large population. The insane desire of having a son leads in some cases (though they are much less than what would be expected) to polygamy, whenever this object has remained unfulfilled, [and to useless pilgrimages to so-called sacred places as to Kamakhya in Assam, with frightful evils]. This desire of having a *putra* naturally gets

hold on a man's thoughts at the ebb of his life, and that his hast efforts may not meet with failure he is led to covet a young wife; in some cases [indeed in almost all cases] only young girls are available as wives. A veil only must be drawn on the picture of a man in the December of his days espousing a girl younger than his daughter's daughter, by a former marriage or two. The prohibition of widow re-marriage presents another ghastly picture, where haply a beautiful young girl in her prime of life is denuded by force of the charms with which nature had invested her [and with which love had adorned her], and is forced to curb and control the revolts of the flesh. To these primary evils are added secondarily ones. . . . Such, in brief, are the principles on which works the Hindu marriage system, such are its baleful effects, and such the social and economic aspects of a Hindu house in the Baroda State, as far as the Civil Condition figures allow us to draw our inferences.' And let it be observed that the writer is an Indian, a lover of his country (not a Christian or Musalman) a high officer of Government, and that Government, the Baroda State of His Highness the Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao III. Mr. Dalal writes what he believes to be the truth established by the figures of the Census tables before him, without fear or favour.

EDUCATION.

The Educational Department of the Baroda State is divided into two branches—(1) the Vernacular, under the control of an officer styled Vidyadhikari, and (2) the English branch under the direction of the Principal of Baroda College. In addition to the usual supply of boys and girls' schools, *zenana* classes are opened for grown-up ladies who are taught the three R's and needle-work at hours when they can be free from domestic cares. Only women teachers are employed in these classes. Schools have also been opened for the Animists and the "unclean castes." "In the chapter on Religion and Castes," says Mr. Dalal, "are described some of the dark superstitious and barbarous ceremonies of these forest tribes;" and the more the shame among sects and castes' from whom better things might be expected.

Of the close upon two million persons in the Baroda State, 1,781,421 are illiterate and only 171,271 are literate, and of these only 7,214 are females. Of the Christians, 734 are literate and 6,957 illiterate, nearly equally divided among the sexes. The number of the illiterates is kept so very low because of the large number of orphans received from the famine districts; but in a few years matters will undoubtedly improve.

LANGUAGE.

1,773,594 Barodians use the Gujarati language; 34,769 speak Hindustani, and 34,769 the Urdu. These two languages, though classed as two, are really one and the same language. Sixty-five dialects are spoken of as included in the Gipsy language alone, and eleven in the Bhil. The tables have given prominence to the fact that numbers actually speaking a language differ very materially from those who are *supposed* to speak them. Then the English language, as represented by words and expressions, is carried into all nooks and corners wherever the whistle of the steam-engine is heard.

INFIRMITIES.

2,832 suffer from the usual tabulated infirmities; of these 232 are insane, 674 are deaf-mutes, 1,649 are blind, and 277 are lepers. Not one insane is found among the Christians; they have one deaf-mute, one male and five females blind and three male leper. Objects of charity rescued in the famine, I suppose, none of these were found in the enumeration of the previous Census.

CASTE, TRIBE, AND RACE.

Under this heading Mr. Dalal returns to that knotty question—What is Hinduism?—and tells us that “the structure of Hindu society is caste.” But what of those sects which have dispensed with caste altogether? He adds—“One is a Hindu, not so much in consequence of following certain religious beliefs, as in being a member of a Hindu caste. A Hindu, particularly one of a higher caste, remains a Hindu so long as he performs certain duties by his caste and is recognised as a member of his caste; and so soon as any default places him outside the pale of the caste he is, to all intents and purposes, on a level, for the time being, with non-Hindus, in the eyes of his family and friends and his caste people. [This default may have nothing on earth to do with religion or morals.] Under such circumstances, his wife and children, too, have to suffer with him the pains and penalties of social [and religious] ostracism, which are as terrible as a social penal code could possibly devise.” It amounts, as regards penalty, to all that is included in the greater excommunication of the middle or dark ages of Europe.

There is a modified form of caste among those Mussalmans who are converts to their faith. “Though the Christians themselves have no castes, still converts to Christianity take a long time to forget caste exclusiveness among themselves.” This is specially seen among Roman Catholics. Hindu caste is centred in the Brahman, who alone can “intercede for the salvation of sinners living and dead.”

The origin of the various castes and sub-castes is involved in much mystery and embedded in countless myths—many of them unspeakable. Instance the origin of the *Valkhilyas*, 88,128 strong. “When Siva wished to marry Parvati (otherwise called Durga, Kali, &c.) Brahma had taken upon himself the task of officiating as priest at the marriage ceremony. Sand was sprinkled over the ground, and on it the altar for performing the fire sacrifice was erected. While performing the ceremony Brahma became curious to see the bride’s face. To gain his end clandestinely, he made the fuel to smoke. This smoke compelled the bride and the bridegroom to close their eyes; seizing this opportunity Brahma lifted the bride’s veil and saw her face, when her unparalleled beauty and charms so excited his passion that he was powerless to resist it; and the sand became wet. Each particle of this sand was then turned into a Brahman by Siva. These 88,128 Brahmans, so created, are known as *Valkhilya*, because of their creation from particles of *valuka* (sand).” Mr. Dalal is responsible to us for the story; and one is tempted to ask are these Brahmans Aryas?

Dhinoja Modh Brahmans are traced to an origin scarcely more respectable. I again quote Mr. Dalal,—“While living in Modhera, the Modhs [Brahmans] used to keep a number of cows, which they were in the habit of sending to the jungles for grazing under the care of illiterate Brahmans in the town. Brahman maidens and widows used to carry their noon-day meals there as the youths had to stay there the whole day. From this practice matches were formed and illegal connections were the result. When this became known to the Brahmans they were enraged; but as it concerned the whole community, they built a new village on the pasture land and compelled those erring youths and maidens to settle there as a distinct community.” This was the origin of the *Dhinoja Modh Brahmans*.

The *Vayada Brahmans*, issued not from the head of Brahma, but from the brain or mental powers of a *rishi* or sage called Vadava, in acknowledgment, by the gods, of his severe austerities.

The *Disawal Brahmans*: “Brahma created 18,000 Brahmans from kusha-grass and married them to 18,000 heavenly nymphs and settled the pairs” at Deesa, hence their name. The nymphs, however, jilted the Brahmans, and “the goddess” supplied them with girls kidnapped from other castes.

The *Bhatias*, a well-known caste in Western India, claim to be descended from Krishna. In the great war (see above) all his 180,000 sons with their families were destroyed save one, a great grandson; two brothers descended from him

propitiated the goddess so greatly by offering to burn their heads, that she said that they would be known to the world as Bhathias (from Bhathi) furnace, and would flourish and prosper when they would migrate to Cutch and Kathiawar.

The *Agarval Vanias* tell how their ancestor, Valabha, had a son by name Agra who married a serpent maid. He so much pleased the goddess Laksmi by his severe penances that he became wealthy and powerful. He then built a city named Agranagar, the modern Agra. He and his descendants were thenceforward known as Agarval Vanias. To show their relationship with the serpents, they still call them their *mama* (maternal uncle).

Modh Vanias. After the creation of the *Modh Brahmins*, Brahma sent for *kamadhenu*, the celestial cow, and ordered her to create 36,000 pious Vaishyas. The cow struck her front hoof against the earth and made a hole therein. From this hole 36,000 Vaishyas issued and were therefore styled *Gobhuj Vanias*.

Jharola Vanias. Brahma felt anxious about the livelihood of the Valkhilya Brahmins and so struck his feet against the earth. The dust that flew by so doing gave birth to 36,256 *Sat Sudras*. They were ordered by Brahma to support the Jharola Brahmins and were thenceforward known as *Jharola Vanias*.

Of the *Kadva Kunbis*, it is said, that when Siva performed austerities on Mount Kailasa, his spouse, to beguile the tedium of solitude, created fifty-two males and females from the perspiration on her waist. Siva was so pleased that he allowed these beings to descend to the plains and settle there under the name of Kadvas (from *ked* waist); and gave them *kana* (grain) and *bij* (seed). Hence they also called *Kunbis*.

A story is told of the *Ods* caste which deserves to be reproduced. Among them there was at one time a beautiful *Oden* (female *Od*) to whom the king made improper overtures. This enraged her so much that she pronounced a curse upon the king, and then committed suicide to escape dishonour.

The *Jigari-Patar* is that caste the members of which live upon the earnings of some of their female relatives who have been taken themselves to the profession of singing and dancing.

The occupation of the *Bhands* is also dancing, singing and dancing. Their name comes from Bhand to jest. Their jests and songs derive their piquancy from being extremely coarse, vulgar and indecent. The word is a bye-word for any one who is shameless in word or deed. There are Musalmans as well as Hindu *Bhands*.

The last caste is that of *Hijadas* or *Pavaiyas* (eunuchs) made so under the invocation of the goddess, who had ordered

the first to be unsexed. These people wear long hair, make their face smooth in imitation of the female face, dress themselves as females, and imitate all the blandishments and ways of speech of women, sing songs in honour of the goddess and live on alms, which, failing blandishments, they extort from the unwilling by abuse, exposing themselves and thus annoying people. The practise of castration was made criminal (as it is in the Indian Penal Code) by H. H. the present Maharajah in 1880, till which time it prevailed openly in the city of Baroda and at the temple of Sri-Bechraji.

All these castes, be it observed, belong to the *clean*. Then follows an account of the "unclean castes," with which I shall not meddle, nor with Mr. Dalal's "summary," and two lists, the first containing the names of 227 castes, the first eighty-seven of which are Brahmins; and the rest different Sudra castes. The other list is one of precedence among the different castes in the Baroda State. In this list there are sixty names of Brahmin castes and twenty-seven Vania castes; of the Brahmin castes as many as twenty-three castes sell their daughters as wives, and one other Brahmin caste receive "money presents for their daughters;" seven Brahmin castes re-marry their widows or allow their re-marriage. Of the Vania castes seven Brahmin castes re-marry their widows. Fourteen Vania castes marry their daughters after they arrive at the age prescribed in the *Shastras*. One Vania caste is monogamous and its members are married in the Brahma form; another caste use the Prajapaty form of marriage; two others cannot show what form of marriage prevails among them; and yet another "have no fixed age for marriage at all." "Divorce, as a general rule, is allowed among all castes that permit widow re-marriage." The other castes do not recognise divorce. "In the higher classes no divorce is allowed except for some very cogent reasons, such as misconduct on the part of the wife and cruelty on the part of the husband."

ANIMISTICS.

Mr. Dalal has very valuable paragraphs on the Animists, but they are too many and too long for my present paper. Still I may be allowed to cull a few facts and remarks. And first it is well to remember that these Animists were in India before the Aryan immigration. The Aryans were at first foreigners in India, and these Animists, the only natives, who very naturally did not receive the strangers very kindly; they were in return pelted with such abusive names as Dasyas, Rakshasas, Pishachas, monkeys—words indicating dread mixed with contempt. In the last of these words there are signs of a

policy of reconciliation. As a step to that end they borrowed the worship of some of the tribal deities of these foresters and assigned them a place in their pantheon. This policy of the ancestors of the modern Hindus has changed the aspect of their Vedic religion by importing into it the worship of goddesses, etc., to such a degree that, as said before, the lowest form of modern Hinduism differs now very little from Animism." Most Sanskrit scholars and ethnologists are now agreed that Durga, Kali, Siva, etc., are all aboriginal deities borrowed from Animists or Anāryās as they are called. They make use of the mantras or spells very freely to propitiate their local deities..

In the Baroda State, the Forest Tribes comprise sixteen races or tribes, nine per cent. of the total population, equal to three-fourths of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas taken together. The Gamits alone number 38,000, and the Bhils over 37,000 the Dublas 28,000 and Chodhras 23,000.

OCCUPATIONS.

My extracts from this chapter and remarks on it must be most meagre. It goes without saying that not only the pottery of Patan, but almost all Indian pottery is wanting in finish and durability, and is therefore not much in demand. The Hindu religion, which forbids the same earthen ware vessel to be twice used at a meal, is responsible for this. Most of the pottery used in India is coarse and unglazed. "The ware turned out by Patan potters is however glazed by a special process; but beyond forming articles for the drawing-room, they have no ordinary use for the people and therefore command no market."

Aerated waters and sherbat, which have taken such a general and strong hold on Bengalis, support but a very small number of Barodians, probably "because the people are too poor to afford that luxury and also became the orthodox object to such drinks."

"The entry under the head of opium factory is due to the State exercising the right of manufacturing opium in its own depôt."

Among religious occupations comes that of making and selling bangles; because it is a religious ordinance that married females should never remain without their *churis* (bracelets) on their arms.

Without counting the bangle-workers, Religion supports 37,916 persons, of whom the actual workers are 14,704 males and 3,536 females; the dependants are 19,676. Education supports 5,384 persons, of whom the actual workers are 2,373 males and 204 females; the dependants are 2,807. Literature supports 1,080 persons, of whom the actual workers are 499

males and 59 females, and the dependants 522. Law supports 1,487 persons, of whom the actual workers are 485 males and one female, and the dependants 1,001. Medicine supports 2,243, of whom the actual workers are 767 males and 132 females, the dependants 1,344. Pictorial art supports 985 persons, of whom 425 are males and 93 females. Music and dancing support 2,699 persons, of whom 1,029 males and 115 females are actual workers.

"Astrology and horoscope-making is carried on by 700 males and 98 females for the support of 1,485 persons. These men are known to the natives of the province as *joshis* or *bhogal bhatias*. The latter is a sort of nickname from the fact of some of them keeping in their turban a long roll of a paper almanac. They are not so learned as the *joshis*, and therefore flourish more in villages than in towns. All the Hindus and Jains without exception consult the astrologers on occasions of marriages. Horoscopes are always ordered to be cast by all classes of the people, to be consulted when ever there is any auspicious occasion or any illness or calamity in the family. On every occasion of consultation the *joshis* are paid either in corn or in money; on auspicious occasions they are paid more handsomely than on other occasions."

One hundred and twenty-seven females are prostitutes and support 156 persons; 58 males and three females work as procurers or pimps, and support 65 persons. Nine males are returned as receivers of stolen property. They support twenty persons.

CALCUTTA.

K. S. MACDONALD

ART. VII.—PHILIP DE BRITO,

A PORTUGUESE ADVENTURER IN BURMA.

WHEN Portugal held the proud distinction of being the first maritime power in the world; when the riches of the East flowed into and flooded the Lisbon markets, not a few of her adventurous sons set sail from her shores in pursuit of new discoveries. Gay blades were they all, ready to receive and return hard knocks. Some few, ruled as kings. Of the deeds of some, there are records, handing down their names to posterity; but, history is silent as to the majority. Nevertheless, they are not forgotten and their memories are kept alive—not by the subtlety of a Hume or the diffusive eloquence of a Gibbon but—by tradition, and their fame tinted by time.

I do not remember ever to have reaped such a plentiful harvest of reverie, as on my first visit to Syrium—to the ruins of the Roman Catholic Cathedral there. The sacred edifice is now roofless, and into the crevices of the walls, plants have forced their way and are gradually wrenching asunder the damaged masonry, helping time to complete its work of utter destruction.

But, I thought of the days when these, now crumbling walls echoed to the sounds of glorious music. How on this floor, knelt the Portuguese warriors, while at the Altar, brilliant with candle light, a priest of God offered the most sacred and awful of mysteries.

And now? All is desolation. Even the graves of the brave warriors are forgotten. The Syrium of to-day is a small village situated some four or five miles down the Rangoon river. At one time it held the proud position that Rangoon now boasts of. In those early days it was a most important centre of commerce, and three European Companies of traders had their factories and agents at Syrium. It was also the capital of a kingdom ruled over by a white man—a Portuguese adventurer named Philip De Brito.

Very little that is authentic is known of this De Brito. That he was in the employ of the king of Arracan; that he lived and ruled at Syrium as king, and built there a Church—these are facts. What further is known of him is tradition, much of it unreliable, but a good part, true. Handed down from father to son comes the story of the marvellous adventures of this Portuguese free lance; his fame, frequently retouched by the finger of time, has gained perhaps more than it has lost. The manner of his coming to Burma is not known, even inspir-

ed tradition on this point is silent; but, as to his meeting with the king of Arracan, she says:

"He came as a warrior, all clothed in armour and with but few followers. The king of Arracan, seeing him, was struck with his god-like appearance, and enquired who he was. But the man spake a strange tongue and none could understand him. 'He must be a holy man,' said the king, and he commanded that the strange man be taken to a *H'poongi-Kyaung* as the most fitting abode for such as he.

"In a little while, the king, being occupied in wars with his neighbours, forgot all about the stranger, but in the meantime the man, with the beautiful countenance, had learned to speak and understand the Burmese language and he demanded an audience of the king. Now, at this time, because of a great victory, the people were holiday making, and the king had gathered all the famous athletes throughout his provinces, to perform before his subjects. There was therefore a great gathering when the stranger accompanied by another, his inferior in rank, was presented to the king. How the people stared at him in wonder, the men silently admiring his strength; the women loud in their acclamations of his beauty; but the stranger was unmoved either by the profound silence of the men or the loud ejaculations of the women. With measured steps he marched direct to where sat the king, and as he walked, the clanging of his armour sounded like distant thunder. For a brief space, the king looked at him, as much enchanted with his person as his people. At length he asked the stranger who he was and his business, and the man replied:

"Sire, I am of a nation far beyond the seas. In my land every man is a warrior, the sword ever at his side. Therefore, O king! my nation for the time being at peace with other nations, and my sword growing rusty in its scabbard, I and a few followers, have come to thee, to offer our services."

"Now, the king thought the man was lying, and answered him: 'O braggart! We, too, are a nation of warriors, and did we but know the way to your country, would surely swallow it up that you be no more a nation.'

"At that the stranger grew exceedingly angry."

"By St. Thome!" he cried, "How! Call me braggart? Have a try, you or twenty of your men and singly will I do battle with you or them."

"The king smiled cunningly. He thought this a fine opportunity to prove the stranger a braggart."

"So be it," said he. "We always like to humour our guests. Twenty of my warriors will do battle with you."

"The warrior's horse was brought by one of his followers. It was a noble animal and pranced and tossed its head declar-

ing its eagerness for the coming battle; and the man, De Brito, although clothed in heavy armour, sprang lightly into the saddle and called to the king to bring forth his men. The Burmese soldiers came forth, laughing, for it appeared ridiculous to them that they, twenty in number, should do battle with one man. The spectators were moved further back not to impede the movements of the combatants. The women, pitying the stranger, cried: '*Amãlê! Amãlê!*' but he sat unmoved on his warhorse.

"At a signal from the king, the drums beat the charge. The Burmese soldiers leaped into the air, shouting and making a great noise to intimidate the warrior, but he rushed to meet them, anxious as they to join battle. 'By St. Thome! By St. Thome!' was his battle cry which sounded loud above the roar of his opponent's voices. He charged into the centre of the men, and then there was such fighting as was never witnessed before. He clave men in halves. He smote off their heads, and with such force that one rolled to the feet of the king. Seeing that his war horse was helping him much, the Burmese soldiers slew the noble animal, and down came the warrior, and with a shock that made the ground tremble. But, he was on his feet quickly and proved he was master of his sword even on foot. Round and round he swung, his sword making a great circle, within the radius of which no life was safe, and when the soldiers held back, he rushed at them, cutting them down like *paddy*, at harvest time.

"'It is enough,' said the king when the remnant of his warriors had run to hide themselves. 'Thou hast conquered and art no braggart. We recall the appellation. Where are our soldiers? The bravest died nobly; the cowards will be found hiding under the *loongies* of their wives. Take them forth, for they must die, and at the hands of the executioner.'"

No doubt, time, and oft repetition, has added to the martial splendour of the Portuguese adventurer. It must also be remembered, that compared with the standard of Burmese courage, an ordinary act of daring would be considered by them a fit theme for song and praise; for the Burmese, as a rule, fight from behind cover, refusing to meet an enemy face to face. A Burman to satisfy some paltry revenge, stabs his enemy from behind.

Tradition goes on to say that De Brito was made a General.

At this time, the kings of Ava, Pegu and Toungoo were warring among themselves, and taking advantage of these disagreements, the king of Arracan sent De Brito with an Army to capture Syrium; and with the aid of his friend Salvador Lebeira, De Brito successfully accomplished his task. The

Portuguese adventurer, however, was ambitious. He saw how easily the people could be subdued and determined to conquer a part, at least, of Burma, for himself. The opportunity soon presented itself. The king of Arracan appointed De Brito his agent at Syrium, and De Brito first built a Custom's-house, and then a fort to protect—so he said—the king's revenues, whereas the fort was built with the intent to protect himself against the attacks of the king, for De Brito had plotted with his friend Lebeira to make Syrium an independent kingdom. In order not, prematurely, to rouse a suspicion of his intentions, De Brito at first built only a small fort, and then gradually strengthened and enlarged it, while Lebeira drilled the soldiers, and when the fort was strong enough, and the soldiers had been taught how to fight after the manner of European troops, De Brito raised his standard and proclaimed himself king of Syrium.

On receipt of the news of the proclamation, the king of Arracan was justly incensed because of the traitorous conduct of the Portuguese adventurer, and sent a large army to chastise him; but De Brito's little band of trained soldiers was quite a match for the Arracanese hordes, and defeated them with great slaughter.

This initial success, fired De Brito's ambition to extend his conquests. He, however, recognised the impracticability of such an undertaking with the material at his disposal. His soldiers—compared with the soldiers of the king—were efficient, and their confidence in their leader strengthened by the recent victory. They were therefore quite a match for the Arracanese troops; but—the king had many armies. As one was vanquished, another was quickly ready to take its place, whereas, each fresh encounter would diminish De Brito's men, he having no reserve to fall back on. De Brito, therefore, determined to seek help from his countrymen in Portugal, and with this intention, set sail for Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, leaving his friend, Lebeira, to govern Syrium during his absence.

De Brito had no intention of surrendering Syrium to the Portuguese Government, for the miserable stipend of 200,000 *reis* a year,* the salary paid to most of the Governors, was not to his liking. His proposal was that ships and men should be given him, and in exchange he promised to remit either to Goa or Portugal a percentage of his revenues. The king of

* 200,000 *reis* looks a large amount on paper. Let us, however, see what is its equivalent in English money 1000 *reis*=about \$0-4-6, ∴ 200,000 *reis*=£45 a year or about Rs. 56 a month. Of course, in those days, the buying capacity of the *reis* was greater than now, but even then, no one would think the salary a princely one.

Portugal agreed to De Brito's conditions. The adventurer was not prepared for so ready an acceptance. He had his doubts. He was inclined to think that as soon as he had made his kingdom secure, the Home Government would demand Burma for the Crown, but he asked for no further explanations. He had six ships and men, and with these he set sail for his kingdom, without any further delay, for the absence of news for six long months had created anxiety in his mind as to how Lebeira was administering his estate. That Lebeira was loyal, De Brito had no doubts; and Lebeira was proving his loyalty, holding out as he was against the fierce attacks of the united armies of the kings of Arracan and Pegu. Months passed, and starvation was staring the small garrison in the face, when—six magnificent Portuguese ships sailed up the river. De Brito lost no time. He fell upon the invaders and defeated them with great slaughter.

De Brito, equipped as he now was, determined to follow up his beaten enemy. He invaded Pegu, and town after town fell to him, and the king of Pegu fled. After a short rest, De Brito advanced against his old master, the king of Arracan, and in a great battle completely defeated him and took his son prisoner. The date of this battle and the capture of the king's son is given as A.D. 1604. The king sued for peace. De Brito was proclaimed king of Pegu, and the king's son was returned to his people on the payment of a ransom of 50,000 crowns.

There was peace, now, and De Brito built him a church at Syrium, also a palace for himself and his wives (Burmese women). But his restless spirit ill brooked a life of ease, and it soon led him into mischief. On some pretence, he interfered with the kingdom of Toungoo, which was tributary to the kingdom of Ava, whose ruler Matha-Dama, was the most powerful in Burma.

In 1612, therefore, the kings of Ava and Toungoo invested Syrium both by land and sea. For months De Brito held out, on several occasions sallying forth and defeating the Burmese; but, one night, a treacherous hand opened the gates. The Burmese hosts rushed in and Syrium was taken. De Brito fell alive into the hands of his enemies, who in their revenge prepared for him a horrible death. In front of his palace he was impaled alive, and there he lingered for two days, suffering great agony.

Of the remaining Portuguese prisoners, some were executed (Lebeira among them) and others were transported to different parts of the Empire. Descendants of these Portuguese are still to be traced in Northern Burma. Their religion is a mixture of Christianity and Buddhism. The religion of their

fathers having readily coalesced with the doctrines of Buddha. For over a hundred years these captives had no spiritual adviser, and when in 1719 a Missionary of the Barnabite Mission was sent to them, he found very few even who knew anything of the Portuguese language. The captives had intermarried and their children no longer looked to Portugal for help. They were Burmese they said, and worshipped both Buddha and Christ.

Tradition speaks of De Brito as the first European to visit Burma. No date is given as to when he landed, but from the date of his great battle with the king of Arracan, one is able to state definitely that European connection with Burma had been nearly a hundred years previous. It was in 1519 that the Portuguese concluded a treaty with the king of Pegu. Towards the close of the century the Dutch obtained possession of the Island of Negrais, and then, shortly after the capture and death of De Brito, the English East India Company had agents and factories at Syrium.

About the middle of the 17th century all the Europeans in Burma were expelled. The Dutch and the Portuguese never returned; the French, only for a short while, but the English came again and stayed. After a time, Syrium was deserted for Rangoon, and now, beyond the ruins of a church, a few tombs and the foundations of some buildings, nothing now remains to tell of Syrium's ancient glory.

It was in 1755 that Syrium was destroyed. The Talaing kingdom of Pegu, overthrew Ava, and after a few years of supremacy, the Talaings were overcome by a prince named Alompra who succeeded in uniting his countrymen and ruled supreme throughout Burma. To celebrate his conquest of the Talaings, Alompra destroyed Syrium and built Rangoon.

J. H. WILLMER.

ART. VIII.—THE ARABS AND THE ALLEGED BURNING OF THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.*

BY DR. KREHL.

(Translated from the German by G. K. Nariman)†

THE Arabs are still under the heavy suspicion, that it was they who burnt, in 642 A.D. at the time of the conquest of Alexandria, the Museum, and the Library in connection with it, which was there. The account on which the suspicion is based, apparently with the most complete and justifiable warrant, is to be met with in very important Arab authors like Abd-al-Latif‡, Makrizi§, Haji Khalifa|| and others: all historical authorities of the first rank, whose writings offer us so much important and material amount of information on the history, and the state of culture in the lands of Islam, that we feel easily tempted to give them full credence, with reference to this episode which has been handed down to us. But when we take into consideration the attitude of hostility which Islam, especially in the first years of its appearance, assumed against all other religions and culture developments, all scepticism on the authenticity of the account in question appears untenable. Haji Khalifa himself reports, that the Arabs in the opening stage of Islam cultivated no other science but the study of their own tongue, and the Koran, and the legal ordinances therein embodied, as well as medicine, the last being a science in no way prejudicial to their faith.

* Transactions of the Fourth International Congress of Orientalists.

† The translator is responsible for the foot-notes.

‡ Abdul Latif did for Egypt, though not so thoroughly or critically what Al Biruni achieved for India in the tenth century. His best-known work is translated by S de Saey. *Relation de l'Egypte*.

§ Abul Abbas Ahmed bin Ali bin Abdal Kadir bin Muhammad al Husaini Takiaddin al-Makrizi, to give him his full name, was born at Cairo in 1364, and was brought up by his grandfather in the Hanafite doctrine, which, after a course of study, he gave up in favour of the Shafi school, became a violent opponent of his quondam fellow believers, and even betrayed Zabirite learnings. The following year he performed the pilgrimage, and after occupying other posts, was appointed *mukhtasib* or prefect of the market police, and was by turns preacher in the mosque of Amr-ibn-al-As and at the Madresa of Sultan Hasan. He was, sometime professor at the great Colleges of Ashrafiya and Ikbaliya. Latterly he retired into private life, devoting himself to literary pursuits. In 1430 he set out once more on the pilgrimage, this time with his family, returning to Cairo in 1435. After a prolonged illness he died on the 27th Ramadthan 845 A. H., or February 9th, 1442. For a long list of his works *vide* Brockelmann, *Gesch.-d.-Arab. Lit.* ii, 39.

|| Haji Khalifa, an officer in the bureau of the War Minister at Stambul (1658), wrote on political history and geography in Turkish, but his great bibliography of the whole Islamic literature is in Arabic.

They kept aloof from all the other sciences with rigid decisiveness, for thus only they believed they could keep their creed and dogma of Islam uncontaminated by alien or injurious influence. They apprehended that the more profoundly they occupied themselves with other branches of knowledge, they drew the nearer to the peril of this young faith being weakened. And Haji Khalifa expressly sets forth that they carried their zeal so far, that they consigned to flames all the books not written in the Arabic language, which they came across, in the countries they conquered*. This account of the beginning of Islam might emanate from a very posterior period, Haji Khalifa died in 1658, still we must say that it presents a perfectly true and correct delineation of the limited nature of the horizon of the then Arabs—a circumscribed horizon which did not extend beyond mere fanaticism.

Wherever the Arabs went beyond the bounds of their country, they met all alien civilisation with the same war of annihilation, their bigotry being chiefly directed against religious phenomena, and they strove to carry out the duty enjoined in the Koran to disseminate the religion of their prophet, to set aside all the obstacles in the way to its spread, and by its propagation, to fulfil the mission imposed upon them, namely, to make Islam the common property of all mankind, with all the means possible at their command. This religion is, according to the view of the Koran, preordained not to remain only within the confines of the Arab people “the best nation on the face of the earth,” but to become a world-religion, and every Muslim is stringently bound to fight against all who oppose the divine-will, as revealed in the Koran. Universal war and annihilation were appointed for all who would not yield adherence to their confession of faith, “There is no God save Allah and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah.”

But the practice of every-day life was not so severe or uncompromising as the theory. Perusing the historical works bearing on the period, furnished us by the account of the subjugation of Syria, Persia and Egypt, we learn that the payment of the poll-tax delivered the non-Moslem from death or perpetual slavery, and that Jews and Christians in particular being the possessors of “Written revelation” were everywhere treated with comparative leniency and were certainly better off than the followers of other creeds.

The first fiery passion gradually cooled down, and the intelligence inherent in the Semites, as also the nobler instincts of humanity, conduced, eventually, to a sort of compromise between the scrupulous fulfilment of the written law and the laxer practice. This process repeated itself in all the countries

* *Lexicon bibliogr.* i 78.

which the Arabs reduced to subjection, and whether the law was to be carried out in all its severity, or the inhabitants of the newly-acquired territory were to be treated with mildness, depended upon the instructions which the individual generals received from their Commanders. Again a variety of influences naturally affected the judgment of the successors of Muhammad.

The sentimental Abu Bakr was fundamentally of a different temperament, from that of his successor, the active energetic, and in every way reckless Omar. One can scarcely imagine a more iron-resolution, a greater severity against self, a more disinterested impartiality, than Omar's, whom we must reckon the real founder of the secular empire of Islam. Already during the life-time of the prophet Muhammad, he distinguished himself by his personal intrepidity, as well as the strict discipline imposed upon the companions in arms placed under him, in every battle in which he took part, at Bedr, at Ohod, at Khaibar, and when in the August of 634, at the death of Abu Bekr, who himself nominated him his successor, he came to the throne, the first thing that he undertook was to expel the Christians from Nejran and the Jews from Khaibar, for Mohammed had expressed the wish, on his death-bed, that in Arabia two religions should not flourish side by side. He desired, in other words, that the country whose people were the first objects of his prophetic mission should be kept pure and undefiled by external influences. It was accordingly one of the first obligations of his immediate successors, to carry out this last wish of their expiring apostle. Abu Bekr, however, could not bring himself to execute the behest, owing to political exigencies. Omar, on the contrary, employed the first period of his reign to resume what Abu Bekr's procrastination had delayed so long. Christians and Jews were, all of a sudden, driven out from their residences in Central Arabia, and so the wish of the prophet was at last fulfilled.

If Omar was at first filled with a most virulent hatred against the new doctrine introduced by Muhammad, a hatred which was so violent that he had already resolved to assassinate the prophet, this same passion, when he became a convert to Islam, as if by a miracle, was turned in the opposite direction and he became, from a terrible foe, a pillar of Islam*, duly appreciated by the discerning prophet. Till the end of his days, Omar kept up this ardent zeal for his creed. He subjugated himself to the severest self-denials, and imposed upon him-

* Omar's conversion was brought about by the language of the Koran which has ever since been considered the model of excellence (though on scanty grounds) see Grimme's *Mohammed* i, 35; and, for the æsthetic estimation of the Koran, *ibid* ii, 23 seq.

self hard obligations, eschewing all sensual pleasures:—with equal decision and strength of mind he conducted himself towards all those with whom he came in contact. His commands were to be implicitly and unconditionally obeyed, (though the moment he was convinced of his error on the authority of the Koran he was the first to acknowledge it). From a character imbued with such qualities we can, with justice, expect a deed such as the burning of the library of Alexandria. If the religion of the prophet to whom he had sworn allegiance in life and death was the sole verity, to acknowledge and disseminate which he considered it his duty, then the destruction of all influences detrimental to Islam must have been to him a sacred obligation, and a collection of writings which taught nothing of this religion must have appeared to his mind a dangerous accumulation of pernicious forces. We are compelled then to believe that he must have taken pains to demolish them.

Thus all the circumstances concur to lend countenance to the report transmitted to us by the Arab historiographers. And yet these reports are in the last degree unconvincing, and when we come to scrutinize them closely they stand shorn of all authenticity and probability.

Now let us consider the texts of these reports. The most exhaustive account of all, is the one by Abul Faraj in his *History of Dynasties* (p. 114). It runs thus:—"About this time (642 A.D.) flourished, among the Moslems, one Johannes, whom we call the grammarian, an inhabitant of Alexandria. He lived in the times when Amr-ibn-al-Asi captured Alexandria. He went to the latter, and Amr, who knew well what degree of knowledge he had attained, treated him with great respect, listening to his philosophical discourses to which the Arabs were so little accustomed, and which aroused astonishment and admiration. But Amr himself was a man of understanding, speedy resolve and clear notions, so that he attached himself to him and always kept him about him." One day Johannes told him:—"You have put under seal all the things that were to be found in the treasures of Alexandria. Now as to whatever thereof may be of use to you I have no objection against the same, but as regards what can be of no utility to you that you must allow us to possess." Amr demanded: "What is it that can be of use to you?" Johannes replied, "The philosophical books which are in the Imperial Treasury." "They are not under my control," rejoined Amr,—"until I get permission from the Commander of the Faithful, Omar-ibn-al-Khattab, I can issue no orders touching these," and thereupon he wrote to Omar advising him of what Johannes had said. Then Omar sent the following brief reply:

"As regards the books of which you speak, they contain either what is in conformity with the book of God (that is the Koran), and in that case the book of God is all-sufficient and we need not these; or they contain what is contrary to the book of God, and in the latter case too we do not want them. Order then that they be destroyed." Amr-ibn-al-Asi accordingly had the books distributed among the baths of Alexandria in order to heat the same therewith and so they were consumed by fire in half a year.

This is, as we said, the most exhaustive account which has been vouchsafed to us, about the supposed fact, and which, besides, refers, not to the books of the Alexandrian Library, but only to the volumes preserved in the royal archives. Nevertheless it has always been considered as a notice of the burning of the Alexandrian Library attached to its Museum.

The narrative emanates, let it be particularly noted, from a Christian Syrian author who wrote in the Syriac or Arabic: an author who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century, and by consequence some 600 years subsequent to the event which he relates. But we have very full accounts of the taking of Alexandria, after a protracted siege, by Amr-ibn-al-Asi, the General of Omar, from the pen of very old writers like Beladhuri* Ibn-abd-al-Hakam and others. These accounts partly go into minute details giving the number of the baths, the gardens, etc., in the city, recounting in particular the acts of Omar, after he acquired possession of Alexandria; describing the amount of the poll-tax he imposed upon the Copts and the Jews, etc., and yet observing a perfect silence over the alleged fact communicated to us by Abul-Faraj.

Now this is extremely surprising. That an episode of such moment, as it could not but have been to the whole educated world at the time, under any circumstances, should be passed over in perfect silence, is in itself barely credible. From the view point of the orthodox Moslems, the instructions of Omar, and the putting into effect of the same by his General Amr, must have been no doubt an act worthy of fame, of which it was impossible they could have omitted all mention. But the order reported to us by Abul-Faraj by no means coincides with

* Beladhuri lived as a companion at the Court of the Khalifs Mutawakkil and Mustain. He was entrusted with the education of Abdullah (son of Khalif al Muataz), the unfortunate royal author. He died in consequence of an excessive dose of beladhor *atropa belladonna*, which is to this day considered a means for strengthening the memory in the popular pharmacopia of Morocco (Moulieras, *Le Maroc inconnu* ii, 309). Like most of the best writers in Arabic, it may be, parenthetically, noted he came of Persian parentage and died in 892. None of his translations of Persian or probably Pahlavic works has come down to us, though the Fihrist mentions a metrical Ahd Ardeshir of the reign of King Ardeshir the Sassanide.

what we know from the oldest Arab historians about the measures Omar adopted in respect of the Egyptians.

The siege of the city lasted full fourteen months, and the garrison held out so long, because the city was open along the sea-coast, and the Greeks were constantly supplied, from that side, with succour in men, provisions, etc. It has been expressly related that the rich and the powerful turned to account this opportunity to convey their effects and property to places of security, that most of them emigrated, and that the remnant were no longer in a position to resist the increasingly energetic assaults of the Arabs. At last the city fell into the hands of the Moslems.

The victors were in extreme excitement. The soldiers vehemently demanded, and we are told, with unanimity, that the inhabitants be divided, that is, they be allotted as slaves to the conquerors and the immoveable property should become the asset of the Arabs. But Amr resisted the pressure brought to bear upon him, and appealed to the decision of the Khalif Omar, who was for milder measures towards the Christians, and decreed that a tribute be imposed in proportion to the property owned. The indwellers were assured, otherwise, of their life and property. In his order Omar kept himself well within the limits laid down in the Koran, inasmuch as it promises and guarantees the Jews and the Christians personal liberty and freedom to practice their own religion, provided only they pay the tribute and surrender themselves (compare Sura 9, 29). He could accordingly feel himself perfectly justified, from his rigid orthodox standpoint in this his element procedure, and it is not improbable that the extraordinary jubilation ensuing on the final capitulation of Alexandria, after enormous exertions and prolonged hard fighting, tempered and mollified his mind.

Now since this has been cited from the older sources, partly from accounts of immediate eye-witnesses, we are in a manner obliged to ascribe to it greater value and authenticity than the subsequent accounts, so divergent from these, and all the more so, because we find that elder authorities preserve the original and true traditions, with greater fidelity and less admixture of mendacity, than was the case with the latter-day scribes. To draw upon the old sources is the distinguishing characteristics of Arabic history, as written by the earlier authors.

The objection, that the silence of the primitive sources, cannot be adduced as evidence against the correctness of the report furnished by posterior times, since the anterior authors may have omitted the episode of set purpose, is from various grounds altogether untenable, for it is contrary to the specific

character of Arabic and, particularly, Semitic systems of recording history.

Let us, to digress for a moment, consider the system of their historical writings.

The lowest step is a sort of chronological description of memorable contemporary events, which, at first had no other object beyond fixing the same in the memory of the people. The primary stage also took another shape, namely, genealogical tables to which, as is well known, all the Semitic peoples of the East have been attaching so much weight, from remote antiquity downwards. Such registers of ancestry, and indubitable synchronous lists or catalogues, we find recorded, for instance, in the Pentateuch, and these simple written memorabilia are a proper basis upon which is constructed the historical descriptions. (compare the catalogue of places where the Israelites halted in the desert, Numbers 33,1-49). These, the most archaic records constitute the actual rough material which is incorporated, unaltered, in the histories. It is not interwoven with other extraneous matter, so that in most cases it is easily recognisable as appertaining to the past, and can be easily made out from the subsequent addenda. Add to this the oral reports of contemporaries, which at first were transmitted from generation to generation, and were committed to writing, in the majority of cases, only at a later period. In all cases, where the names of the verbal traditionists could be ascertained, the old Arab authors have preserved them with scrupulous exactitude, and this description of transmitted tradition is looked upon as incontestible, provided no link, as the Arabs put it, in the whole chain of authorities is missed, no matter however untrustworthy the contemporary or eye witness to the event may be, from whom the tradition first originated. The criterion of these primal sources as a satisfactory answer to the question whether the reporting contemporary was reliable or not, did not much concern the Arab annalists of old. In cases where they came across, in the list of their authorities several mutually contradictory dicta, they complacently placed them all alongside of each other, without troubling themselves to determine, which of them was worth the greatest credit, or whose report had the greatest intrinsic probability. It sometimes happened, though rarely, that their critical conscience was disturbed by the glaring inconsistencies of a succession of authorities whom they quietly quoted one after another. And then they expressed a pious *Vallahu-alam* (God knows it the best) pacifying themselves and their readers.

If, accordingly, the primitive historiographers of Arabia sink in our estimation, with respect to their value as historians, as thinkers and critics, we prize all the more the traditions

handed down by them to us, to alter or amend whose original shape, the older compilers did not dare. The text of the written material lying before them they reproduce with the most conscientious fidelity and care, keeping to the original, even to grammatical inaccuracies and errors. Their works are replete with historical rough ore, testifying to their inordinate industry, but these are, at the same time, in most cases, little more than uncritical compilations. They embody the whole material, which a discriminating hand must first glean and set in order, before he can work it up into a history, a real work of art. As we said, these productions are little better than preliminary rough work, because history as an art, is not what Arabs concern themselves with. It was even unknown to the later chroniclers like Al-Makkari*, who flourished in the seventeenth century. This celebrated writer was by no means a mere insipid chronicler, and endeavoured, so far as in him lay, to represent, not only the political, but also the civil and social phases of the Arabs of Spain. No doubt he has been one of the most diligent and circumspect of compilers, and his voluminous and many-sided work is a genuine mine, affording most interesting notices on a variety of subjects; but still he remains no more than a compiler. He is a stranger to anything approaching to a critical examination, extending over his whole production, and to independent research.

Hence it is, that compilation is the appropriate characteristic of Arab historical literature down to the latest times, and the remark is especially applicable to its beginnings. At a relatively early period, and shortly before the advent of Islam, they had a certain ground-floor, so to say, of synchronous history, naturally of the most rudimentary character, the collections of maxims and brief narratives of distinguished contemporaries,—to preserve which was the most anxious care of the Arabs. For the lifetime of the prophet we have such collections of traditions as the *Al-Muvatta* of Malik† and the two

* The most celebrated historian of Spain was Ahmed-al-Makkari, born about 1591. He studied in Fez and Morocco. After making his pilgrimage, he settled down, as a married man in Jerusalem, but he again visited from thence, five times in seven years, Mecca and Medina. The following years were spent in Jerusalem, Damascus and Cairo, our author holding public discourses on Muslim tradition. As he was about to settle in Damascus he suddenly died in 1630. His principal work, a History of Spain, he composed in a year at the instance of the learned in Damascus. This great work falls into two divisions almost equal, the first with its numerous literary appendices, treating of the Political History of Spain, the second being devoted to the chequered life of the Vazir Lisanuddin.

His great history of the Muhammedan dynasties in Spain, called the *Nafhutti* was rendered into English by Gayangos.

† In opposition to the school of Irak, headed by Abu Hanifa, the most rigid adherence to tradition was taught by Malik ibn Anas (born 705, died 795) in his chief work the *Muvatta*. He was at first a decided follower of the Abides, but reconciled himself to the reigning house of the Abbasides. His *Muriatta* contains about 1,700 traditions, carefully culled and arranged in order of their contents.

Sahihs of Bukhari and Muslim,* and for the opening period of the Islamic hegemony the huge history of Tabari† who died in 922 in Baghdad. The production of Tabari belongs to that class of compilations which present a medley of traditions, often at variance with each other, and occasionally cite the authorities. Subsequent writers on history, Ibn-al-Athir‡ (1230 A.D.) for instance, drew upon this compilation, selecting traditions of intrinsic probability, though retaining in most cases the text of the sources employed. With greater freedom and with deeper critical insight, worked Ibn-Khaldun§ (405 A.D.) who subjected the materials he used to a further reduction advancing his own views and interweaving more or less facts at first hand into the texture of his history, which is a work of art. Indeed he decidedly stands out as a real philosophical historian, who investigates the motives which inspired the prominent personalities depicted in his narrative. This superior genuinely philosophical element of his research, is more in evidence in the prolegomena to his history than in the body of the work itself.

Now let us return to the proper subject of our inquiry. The accounts of the alleged burning of the Alexandria Library by Amr, at the instance of Omar, are conspicuous by their absence in the older sources, and this in itself evokes great suspicion. So far as I know, it appears first in Abdul-al-Latif, a writer of the twelfth century, posterior by 500 years to the event which he relates. From this time onwards it is frequently reiterated by Arab authors and is most elaborately reproduced with amplifications, as we noted above, by Abul-Faraj with minute and circumstantial details. The

* For the history of Moslem religious tradition, reference can be made to no better authority than Goldziher, *Über die Entwicklung des Hadith*. Bukhari was of Iranian extraction.

† Professor P. Horn in his *Geschichte der Persischen Literatur* (p. 46) is astonished to find the number of the most prominent Arab literati who were of Iranian origin;—to name only a few, the grammarians Sibawaihi and Kisai, the exegetes Zamakhshari, and Faidhawi, the historians Tabari, Ibn Kotaiba, Dinawari, Hamza, Beladhari, Al Biruni, the philosophers and physicians Razi, Ibn Sina better known as Avicenna and Ghazzali and the astronomers Omar Khayyam (the world-renowned poet) and Nasiruddin of Tus.

‡ The best-known work of this most prolific polyhistor is his chronicle. Nöeldeke has rendered accessible to European scholars the section of his history bearing on the Persians and Arabs under the Sassanides. He was born at Amul in Tabaristan in 838.

§ Much of Justice Amir Ali's *History of the Saracens* is based on this original source. Besides his history, which supplements, and in a manner methodizes, Tabari, Ibn Athir wrote a history of the Atabeks and a large biographical collection dealing with 7,500 contemporaries of the prophet.

§ Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomenes*, translated into French by de Slane deserves a still wider recognition. The historico-philosophical writer Ibn Khaldun is an altogether solitary phenomenon (in the historical literature of the Arabs), without a predecessor and successor. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* II, 4.

notice by Abdul-al-Latif is very brief (see de Sacy's translation p. 183)—he speaks of the ruins which he beheld in Alexandria and which he describes in a few words. The words which refer to the supposititious burning of the library run as follows: "I believe that this building of the Portico is where Aristotle, and after him his disciples, received instructions, and that this was the academy which Alexander erected, when he founded the city, and in which was located the library which Amr-ibn-al-Asi burnt down at the command of Omar."

The account is casual and devoid of authority. It has rather the flavour of an universally spread canard, than of an authentic occurrence. It partakes of the nature of a rumour which is repeated a thousand times by tourists, and it has about the same value, and the same validity, as attach to the stories circulated by credulous and unthinking mediæval travellers about the situation of Jerusalem.

Abdul-al-Latif is no genuine historian, rather is he a writer on travels, and we need not lay too much stress upon definite occurrences which he inserts in his work on Egypt. Moreover, it abounds in palpable inaccuracies, for needless to say Aristotle was never in Alexandria and the Museum was founded not by Alexander but by Ptolemy I.

Of much greater importance and of still wider significance is the report of Abul-Faraj. Judging from the view point of the East he is without doubt a historical writer of the first rank. He is decidedly one of the most prominent Syrian men of learning, distinguished by his extensive erudition and his ingenuity and conscientiousness, in the choice and use of his materials. He wrote on philosophy, exegesis, liturgy, jurisprudence and grammar, not as a dilettante scribbler but as a competent and profound scholar.

Let us recall for a moment the circumstances under which lived Georgius Bar-Hebraeus or Abul-Faraj and the times in which he wrote.

Georgius Bar-Ebraya, our Bar-Hebraeus was the son of Aaron, a physician, formerly a Jew, and was born at Melitene in the year 1226. He had the advantage, in his youth of a liberal education in the Greek, Syriac and Arabic languages, as well as in the history of Christian dogma. He also studied medicine. His father before him had been baptised, so that from his earliest infancy he was brought up in Christianity. He supplemented his studies by distant travels. Already as a young man he seems to have been greatly respected by the people of his country, being in his twenty-first year nominated Bishop of Juba in Melitene, and consecrated by the Patriarch. Shortly after this he came to Haleb as Bishop,

and thence to the Monastery of St. Matthacus in the vicinity of Mosul, where he filled the office of a Matran of the Orient. This rank of a Matran was next to the office of the Patriarch, and consequently the second place of honor in the Jacobite Church. The diocese committed to his charge comprised a great portion of Mesopotamia. The office was one of the most influential temporal dignity in the whole East, though at the same time, owing to various conflicts and disputes, in which the Christians were embroiled with the Mongols, then swarming over further Asia under Halagu, one of the most difficult for Bar-Hebraeus, he having frequently to represent the Christians before Halagu. He fought without respite or intermission for the independence of his co-religionists, and it was due to his great practical experience and astuteness that his exertions were mostly crowned with success. It is reported that his competence in the art of medicine contributed not a little to his becoming a favorite with Halagu, who placed great reliance in him and granted him willingly a charter for the exercise of the Christian religion. It was, however, more than anything his awe-inspiring and dignified personal attitude, and the deep and earnest moral rectitude of his whole being, which commanded the Mongol's respect, and practically conduced to raise the status of the Christian residents of the Mongol Empire to one of actual respect. That, however, Bar-Hebraeus despite the eminent motives which distinguished him from his contemporaries, was but a child of the age, and was sunk in the superstition of his times, is shewn by the circumstances under which we are told he died. It is related that he was a keen astrologer. His birth, his consecration as Bishop and as the Matran had all occurred at the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. And therefrom he was firmly convinced that his death would take place when the same planets came round together, attributing to them a decisive influence on his fate. Shortly before the re-appearance of the abovesaid planetary position, he was overtaken by a violent fever and refused all medical help, because, forsooth, the stars had announced his dissolution, and thus he died, as he had predicted, in the year 1288.

As the principal historical work of Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus whose Arabic name was Abul-Faraj, one must regard the chronicle written in Syriac. It is based on an industrious and, partly, critical employment of a considerable number of Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Greek sources, of which many quoted from by him, seem to have perished. From this larger work, embracing secular and church history, Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus drew up, we are told, in the last days of his life a brief compendium in Arabic. This compendium is the *Historia dynasti-*

arum of Abul-Faragius edited by Edward Pocock in 1663. But the book, so far as its text before us goes, is no mere extract, containing as it does many excellent notices of a historical and literary character, which are not found in the Syriac original. On account of the insufficiency of manuscripts, it is difficult to determine whether these are interpolations by later transcribers, or whether they are really by the author of the compendium. But there is nothing in the larger Syriac chronicle corresponding to the notice of the burning of the Alexandrian Library, as supplied, by the Arabic synopsis.

Touching the omission of this allusion, in the Syriac chronicle it has been advanced that Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus wrote the Arabic conspectus, having specially in view the library requirements of the Arabs, and so had added this story in the latter book, it being of particular interest to the Arabs. All the same the omission is extremely surprising. But more striking still is the circumstance that the alleged occurrence is equally absent in the annals of Eutychius* and of Al-Makin.† Eutychius was patriarch of Alexandria. He died in office in the year 940—in the tenth century—and gave us a minute narrative of the fall of Alexandria. He uses the best sources available to him, which were, we presume, abundant and copious, he having taken down the events on the spot where they occurred. Besides he was a man of education and culture: to whom the wreck of a library, which if one had really existed at the time of the conquest of Alexandria, and which would have unquestionably contained many Christian writings of value, must have been a sad and deplorable episode. He need not have dreaded narrating the demolition by the Arabs of precious store-houses of books. Three hundred years later, Al-Makin, likewise a Christian, wrote also in this matter. He too furnishes us a succinct account of the capitulation of Alexandria, minutely detailed, but does not mention a word about the destruction of the library by Amr. These are part anterior, part posterior authors who stood nearer the theatre of events than Abul-Faraj who, wrote in Mesopotamia, and in all probability drew upon Byzantine sources which for the history of Islam are so extraordinarily turbid and tainted. The Byzantine writers set their faces against Islam, imputing to it all possible perniciousness. They believed it was to their interest to represent the professors of Islam, who were their opponents as barbarous as they could; so that it requires no wild conjecturing to assume, that the whole story has proceeded from Byzantium, unless it be a mistaken transference, of a

* Eutychius was Patriarch of Alexandria about 929, according to Brockelmann.

† His history was translated into English by S. Purchas in 1626.

report of an entirely different episode, to the annexation of Alexandria. For it is asserted, though by later authorities, that an enormous quantity of Persian books was found when Saad-ibn-Wakkas, the Commander of the Khalif Omar, overthrew the Persian Empire; that Saad was at a loss what to do with them, and that, having consulted Omar he was asked to consign them to the flames or waves.

But if we look more closely into Abul-Faraj's story we are at once struck with its hyperbolic tenour. Four thousand bath-tubs were heated with this fuel of books, for full six months. This is quite a worthy parallel to the extravagant relation of Kutb-ud-din, anent the destruction of the Baghdad Library by Halaku. The tyrant having issued orders directing the books to be cast into the Tigris, the innumerable volumes composed a bridge over which horsemen and foot passengers could pass; and the ink washed off them turned the water dark! (*Notices et Extraits* IV, 569.)

If now the fable of Abul-Faraj is highly improbable in its extravagance, its minor details contradict the information we have preserved to us, in part, in the letter which Amr wrote to the Khalif Omar at the conquest of Alexandria. He says in it "I have captured the city. I cannot describe its treasures, and must rest content with informing you that I have found in it four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, fourteen thousand Jews subject to taxation, four hundred royal stages and twelve thousand gardens producing vegetables." It goes on to inform the Khalif that the Arabs are desirous of plundering the riches and Amr therefore requests to learn his pleasure on the subject. In his reply Omar decidedly disapproved of the intended spoliation. And this can scarcely be reconciled with the alleged order to set fire to the library. In his report, Amr enumerates various rich, rare and costly things which he discovered in Alexandria; and he, whom Abul-Faraj depicts as a particular patron and cherisher of literature and arts, we are asked to believe, passed over in silence the colossal collection of books. This is hardly conceivable.

Some may assume that Amr possibly wrote a separate letter to his liegeland discussing the fate of the library. But we need not forget, that Amr's sojourn in Alexandria was but a brief one, too short in fact for him to receive, on the spot, an answer to a second communication.

The question is, was the library still in existence at the time the Arabs possessed themselves of Alexandria?

The problem has been raised by Gibbon,* who expresses himself unequivocally against the probability of the legend

* *Decline and Fall* iv, 567.

transmitted to us by Abul-Faraj. Let us rapidly survey the history of the library from its foundation onwards.

It was, as is known, founded by Ptolemaeus I, who gathered round himself, in his new residence at Alexandria, a circle of the learned, and made Alexandria one of the most flourishing republics of learning, yet only the beginning of the library coincided with his reign. It was not before the reign of his son Ptolemaeus II, or the commencement of the third century B. C. that it was enlarged and increased, along with the whole Museum. At this time, the latter attained its world-wide renown. It became the abode of the most celebrated scholars, whose fame drew disciples from all quarters of the, then, civilized globe. The institution, in course of time, grew into one of the grandest academies of antiquity, in which all branches of knowledge were taught by authorities of the highest repute. Later ages could, indeed, boast of other and similarly vast academies, like the great schools of Nisibis and Edessa which, for a considerable period, were the centres of Græco-Syriac culture, but none could approach that of Alexandria in respect of the grandeur of its institutions, the amount of its donations, the renown of its professors, and the power of its influence.

Besides the library attached to the Museum there were a number of book-collections, for instance in the temple of Serapis, the *serapium*, which, according to the undoubted testimony of Tertullian still existed in the third century after Christ, then a library in the Sebastium and other smaller ones. It is not impossible that the number seven hundred thousand refers to the volumes preserved in the various libraries of Alexandria.

But the most flourishing times of the library of the Alexandrian Museum, could not have endured longer than a hundred years, since, already, in the latter half of the second pre-Christian century, under the reign of the cruel Euergetes II (14-117 B. C.) artists and men of learning were banished from Alexandria, this contributed greatly to the ruin of the Museum.

Euergetes II appears, however, to have atoned for the misdeeds inaugurated in the opening year of his rule, inasmuch as he afterwards devoted himself to science, and essayed to be an author, composing a work on zoology, emendating the text of the Homeric poems, and endeavouring to secure new *litterati* for the Museum. But those invited grew suspicious and did not respond to the call. Aristarch the great critic and the teacher of Euergetes was, and remained the last celebrated scholar to work in Alexandria. The information about the academy and library continue from this time on to be more and more exiguous till it is finally extinct. In the space of time,

intervening between Euergetes II and Julius Cæsar, or a full hundred years, we learn nothing whatever concerning the condition of the Museum. All the more important therefore is what we hear of it in Cæsar's time, and which is to the effect that in 47 B. C. the Museum was burnt down by fire, and by far the greatest part of the treasure, in books accumulated there was destroyed in flames. Some twenty years later 24 B. C. Strabo visited Alexandria. He describes the beauty of the city at length and yet he has not a word to say about the library. It is possible that at the time the enormous gaps were not refilled. This seems to have taken place subsequently, for Sueton relates, in so many words, in the biography of Diocletian that the latter had the *lacunæ* in the Italian libraries supplied by transcripts from the Alexandrian library. During the time of the Roman Cæsars the dates of the prosperity and the demolition vary from each other, with surprising discord. Under Alexander Severus the academy once more prospered, after the city of Alexandria had recovered itself from the scenes of carnage under Caracalla, and from a short notice in Suidas we perceive that the Museum was in actual existence about the year 390. And this is, properly speaking, the last positive notice we possess of the existence of the Museum. But the fate of the Serapium and the library belonging to it, is from this date onward, shrouded in impenetrable obscurity. We know that the temple of Serapis with which it was connected was converted into a Christian Church in 389 A. D. under Theodosius the Great. Whether, after this time the library still continued in Alexandria, or was destroyed or removed to Constantinople, this is altogether uncertain.

The last supposition, however, has the greatest weight of probability. The enormous collection of books which Theodosius II, in the beginning of the fifth century deposited in Constantinople must have been composed, for the most part, of volumes from the libraries of Egypt and Asia Minor.

Surveying the whole material, at our command, with which to construct a history of the Alexandrian library, we are compelled to hold it to be most likely, that in the age the Arabs subjugated Egypt, there was nothing, or at most an extremely meagre remnant of this most celebrated collection of books in Egypt, so renowned in antiquity, and which so powerfully affected the continuance of culture. The centripetal force, which under certain circumstances operates so disastrously, which in larger cities so easily asserts its overpowering influence, and which is calculated to accelerate the mental decay of a people, was only too dominant in the Byzantine empire. And it is no wild fancy to conjecture, that the distant Egypt was likewise laid under contribution for the

glorifying and adorning the capital city. For the greatest part it was the lack of profound and earnest up-bringing or culture in the remote provinces of the empire, which rendered possible to the Arabs and Islam the astoundingly intrepid and stormlike career of triumphs, which indeed evokes the wonder of all who closely consider the history of the beginnings of Islam and its conquests. Indubitably the adherents of the prophet, in their blind zealotry, remorselessly annihilated many of the priceless relics of antiquity, but I believe they must be positively acquitted of the reproach that the Alexandrian library also fell a victim to their fanaticism.

Rangoon.

G. K. NARIMAN.

ART. IX.—LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

IN the elaborate and highly-interesting Report of Mr. W. Francis, I.C.S., on the Census of the Madras Presidency is, embodied a very readable and suggestive chapter on the languages of that portion of the Peninsula. The present article merely proposes to pass in review the facts and figures collected by Mr. Francis and to offer a few observations on the more salient points as they occur. It is a well-known fact that the Madras Presidency is, as regards languages, almost exclusively homogeneous and Dravidian; and the most noticeable point in the report before us is the high proportion which the population speaking the Dravidian tongues bears to the total population of the Presidency. The languages of the East Indies, according to their presumed ethnological affinity, have been divided by ethnologists into eight families, the three principal of which are the Aryan, Dravidian and Kolarian. Some of the early Sanskrit writers called the languages of Southern India by the generic term of the *Andhra-dravida-basha* or the language of the Andhras and Dravidas—Telugus and Tamils. Manu still more generally styled them all Dravidas. In any case, morphologically considered there are well recognised differences between the Dravidian languages of the South and the Aryan or quasi-Aryan languages of Northern India. The latter, for instance, recognise three grammatical genders—masculine, feminine and neuter. On the other hand, the Dravidian languages, which are classed with Chinese, Japanese, Finnish and Turkish, do not recognise grammatical gender. At the same time, available evidence points to the fact that the Dravidian languages are very much older in point of time than the Aryan family.

The Aryan languages are, however, by no means inconsiderably represented in Southern India. Of those that occur the most important are Oriya (with its dialect Paroja), Hindustani, Marathi (with its dialect Konkani) Gujarati (with its dialect Patnoli), and the Gipsy language, Lambadi. Except Oriya and Konkani, all of these are the vernaculars of foreigners who have entered the Presidency either as invaders or traders, and it is illustrative of the tenacity and vitality of the indigenous languages that these imported tongues have, especially in respect of Tamil, succeeded but indifferently in replacing the former or in spreading themselves beyond the limits of tribes and castes which brought them over. While the Dravidian languages are spoken by 91·26 per cent. of the population of

the Presidency, the total figures for Aryan, Munda and "others," all told, is only 8·74.

The Universities' Commission recommends the abolition of the vernaculars in the University curriculum, and very naturally this recommendation has raised a howl of protest on the part of the educated patriots of the South, who may be pardoned for the apprehension that the recommendation, if carried out, would be the death-knell of all the Dravidian languages, the cultured study of which, even under the circumstances that obtain, cannot be said to be very enthusiastically carried out. It is difficult to see what is to be gained by abolishing Tamil, for instance, as a vernacular in the South and encouraging instead the study of Sanskrit. As Mr. Francis points out, Sanskrit has, after a struggle of 1000 years and in spite of the sacerdotal backing which it received, ceased to exist at all as a vernacular and is only spoken here and there by scattered pundits. On the other hand, Tamil is a most cultivated and polished language, with a grammar and prosody peculiar to itself, with a wealthy vocabulary and a vast original literature of its own. It is possessed of a vitality that is only increased by age. Spoken in every District in the Presidency, but most in the districts South of Madras, it is the home speech of 40 per cent. of the population, representing nearly 16 millions of souls. It is used in the north of Ceylon, and emigrants have carried it to Rangoon and the Straits Settlements. Of the literate population of the Presidency 55 per cent., or nearly 5 millions, are literate in this language, while among Tamilians themselves, as many as 2½ millions are literate in their own tongue. It is not correct to say, as indiscriminate admirers of Sanskrit are in the habit of saying, that Tamil owes very much to Sanskrit. The well-known poem of *Kuraal*, with its 1,330 couplets, has no more than 100 Sanskrit derivations. The antiquity of Tamil as a classic language with a literature worthy of respect may well be gauged from the fact that, according to no less an authority than Dr. Caldwell, the date of the composition of the *Kuraal* is to be sought in a period previous to the ninth century. This classic has called forth the unstinted admiration of natives and foreigners alike. The Tamil people themselves call it the third Veda while great and learned Europeans, such as Pope and Ellis, Beschi, the Jesuit, M. Arel, the Frenchman, and Dr. Graul, the German, have rendered valuable service by publishing partial or complete translations of it in European languages. It is a great poem on ethical subjects, and, as the Rev. Lazarus says, "There are depths of thought and heights of moral excellence which can only be perceived by those endowed with a sense for the true and the beautiful in life." Nor is the *Kuraal* the only classic in the

language in which it was produced, for the Tamil world has brought forth many great poets and philosophers, the works of some of whom are well fitted to rank with the best things to be found in the copious and undeniably valuable literature of Sanskrit. Moreover, Tamil is still very much alive at the present day and much standard and periodical literature of considerably more than ephemeral value is being produced in it, to the lasting benefit of the millions whose native language it is. Among the earliest of Tamil works of which we find mention may be named the *Talkapiyam*, the oldest extant Tamil grammar assigned by Dr. Burnell to the eighth century, and the *Varasoliyam*, another grammar of the eleventh century. Both these works have been superseded by the *Nannul*, of the fifteenth century, a work which has had numerous commentators and still continues to be the leading native authority. Among other works may be mentioned the *Naladiyar*, an ethical poem, on the three objects of existence, believed to be much older than the *Kuraal*. There is also the *Chintamani*, an epic of upwards of 3,000 stanzas, celebrating the exploits of a King named Jivakan. Like the *Kuraal*, this poem belongs to the early Jain period, which has been appropriately termed the Augustan age of Tamil literature. Tamil literature, like our own literature, has not been without its barren and torpid periods, but it may safely be said that with the introduction of printing and the influence of Western thought and Western ideals, there is a long and glorious future before this great Dravidian language. This is not the place to enter into any minute disquisition regarding the origin of the Tamil language, but it may be mentioned on good authority that the character in which Tamil is now written was derived originally from the Southern Asoca alphabet, and not in any way from the Sanskrit Devanagri. It may also be of interest to mention that the old Dravidian letter represents a special sound in the Dravidian dialects, now retained only in Tamil and Malayalam. It is a mixture of *j*, *l*, and *r*, and most confusing have been the various attempts made at different times by European translators to represent it in a Roman dress.

Next in importance to the Tamil language comes Telugu which is also spoken in every district, and which has been carried into the Tamil country by agricultural castes like the Kmmas and Kapus, now of the Madura and Tinnevely districts, who, from all evidences, followed the Vijianagar army South and settled in these districts when the Nayak Governors were established there. Soldiers like the Tattiens, traders like the Komatis and Balijas (the latter being evidently offshoots of the Kmmas or the Kapus, though they themselves

claim Kshatriya descent), artisans like the Oddes (tank diggers and earth workers, who are now to be found scattered all over the Presidency as well as in other parts of India), Sales (descendants, according to their own tradition, of 101 sons of the daughter of the Sun) and Janappans (originally manufacturers of gunny bags of hemp fibre in Telugu land)—all these who went South to ply their trades carried the Telugu language with them and helped to spread it over a large portion of the face of the Tamil country. The real home of Telugu, however, is in the districts North of Madras, excepting the west of Bellary and Anantpur (where Canarese is spoken), the three Agencies and the Northern half of Ganjam. It is spoken by some 37 per cent. of the population in the Presidency, or in other words by about 15½ million souls, but it compares unfavourably with Tamil in the respect that only 24 per cent. of the literate, or about 1,171,000, can read and write it. Telugu is indeed a very elegant language, and with little exaggeration what Byron said of Italian may be said of this sweet-sounding Dravidian tongue, that "it sounds as if it should be writ on Latin, with syllables that breathe of the sweet South." Modern Telugu is by no means the pure unadulterated language that once it was. It is the language of the South which has succumbed most perhaps to Aryan influences. In his Telugu Dictionary, entitled the *Andhra Deepica*, the Telugu Brahmin lexicographer, Maumadi Venkayya (a merchant who flourished at Musalipatam in the early years of the last century), describes pure Telugu words in the following eloquent terms:—"All those words which are in use among the several races aboriginal of the country of Andhra, which are perfectly clear and free from all absurdity, these shine forth to the world as the pure Native speech of Andhra." The same author gives instances of corruptions which have crept into his language, as well as of words derived direct from the Sanskrit. That these importations are admitted to have enriched the Telugu language are to be seen from Venkayya's following reference to them:—"Tatsama words consist of Sanskrit terms pure as spoken in Heaven, the Telugu terminations alone being substituted for those of the original language." Then there are Tadbhava words derived either from the Sanskrit, or from Hindustani or other foreign languages that have exercised an influence upon Telugu. As a matter of fact, the use of Sanskrit is the chief feature of the Telugu vocabulary, and so great an influence has the Aryan language exercised upon the Dravidian speech that it is a well-known fact that the pronunciation of Sanskrit among the Telugus corresponds with the purest pronunciation used at Benares—a lesser case, if I may so

put it, of "the Tuscan tongue in a Roman mouth" (*La lingua Toscanen bica Romana*). Philologically, Telugu is a very poor language in everything except outward appearances. It is the weakest of the various Dravidian tongues. Of all the main Dravidian languages, Malayalam is the most local in its distribution. It is the Native tongue of 2,850,000 persons, and of these only about 210,000 live outside Malabar. Why the language has so far remained so local in its distribution is easily explained by the fact that until lately the barrier of the Western Ghâts shut off the District from free communication with the East Coast with the result that its people have developed religious and social customs markedly distinct from those of the rest of the Presidency. With the advent of the railway not only to Malabar, but to the neighbouring Native States of Travancore and Cochin, it may be expected that this singular Dravidian language will find its way outside its native home. Even at present, there are little Colonies of Malayalis in Madras, Bombay, Burma and Ceylon, and they have carried their language and their peculiar customs with them to these places of exile. Malayalam is the native speech of a great many castes and tribes following customs that are strikingly divergent. The Nambudri Brahmins, whose original language was Sanskrit, and who still use Sanskrit as their sacerdotal and Court language, are now practically a Malayalam-speaking race. The East Coast Brahmins, who have long settled down in Malayalam, speak Malayalam in a fashion peculiar to themselves. The Moplahs have their own dialect, which they have enriched by the importation of Arabic words. The Nairs speak the purest form of the language, the Tiyyas may be said to come next, while quaint argots are in use among such servile and low caste tribes as the Pariahs, the Vettuvans, the Izhuvans, the Panniyans and others. It is generally agreed now-a-days that Malayalam is peculiarly related to Tamil, of which it is an ancient off-shoot, but much altered. The ancient Cochin and Travancore inscriptions appear to prove the substantial identity of old Malayalam with old Tamil. The oldest Malayalam work is a poem entitled the *Ramacharitam*, which was composed before the introduction of the Sanskrit alphabet. A school of young men has now arisen who seek to prove that Malayalam is not derived from Tamil, and that the people who brought the language with them into "Kerala" did not come from the East and had nothing to do with Tamil or Telugu. These are interesting points, which it may be left to erudite philologists to thresh out. Suffice it to say here that Malayalam, whatever its origin, is to-day a language with a rich vocabulary, largely indebted to Sanskrit, and yet noticeably deficient

in scientific terminology. It boasts a copious literature. Some of the finest poetry that Southern India has produced has been the work of bards who have sung in the Malayalam tongue. Good work is now being done to embellish and improve the language by Native newspapers and Magazines and by literary societies. Fiction also, as we understand it in English, is engaging the attention of scholars, and what great promise there is in this particular field is evidenced by the first real Malayalam novel—*Indulekha*—written and published eleven years ago by the late Mr. O. Chandu Menon and exhaustively reviewed in a recent number of the *Calcutta Review*.

Next in order among the vernaculars of Southern India may be mentioned Canarese, which, according to Mr. Francis, is mainly found in the Western Taluk of Bellary, adjoining Mysore, in the corresponding portion of the Anantapur district, in the Kollegal Taluk of Coimbatore, in the adjacent areas in Salem and the Nilgiris, in the northern taluks of South Canara and to a greater or less extent, in every district in the Presidency, except the Vizagapatam Agency. The number of people who speak it is 1,530,688 or 396 for every 10,000 of the population. As a literary language, it runs Malayalam close, for during the last decade 349 books were published in it against 372 in Malayalam, though these figures are nowhere near those for the greater Dravidian languages of Tamil and Telugu (2,366 and 2,393 respectively). The manner in which Canarese is diffused over the Presidency presents certain peculiar features. Thus, it is the official language of South Canara, although the language most commonly spoken there is Tulu. In one Taluk of Salem, 33 per cent. of the people speak it, but elsewhere in that district Tamil prevails. Again, while Tamil is mainly used all over Coimbatore, Canarese is spoken by 78 per cent. of the people in the one Taluk of Kollegal. In South Canara, it is in the Coondapoor Taluk that Canarese is most largely used. The Canarese character is in all essentials identical with that of the Telugu, but there is an archaic character for Sanskrit inscriptions found over a large area. The missionaries are doing valuable work in the way of enriching the literature of this tongue. An off-shoot or a dialect of Canarese is the Badaga speech. This is a very ancient language and was carried into their present home—the Nilgiris—by the Badagas who migrated from the plains. Many Badaga songs have been very successfully rendered into English, and the tribe itself has been the object of close and sympathetic study on the part of European ethnologists. The Badaga dialect is spoken by 34,229 persons, representing nine in every 10,000 of the population. Tulu is another

language practically spoken only in South Canara, the number returning it as their speech being 495,717 or 128 in every 10,000 of the total population. It is an interesting language, one that may be described as cultivated, and at the same time destitute of any literature. It possesses no special character, but employs the Canarese. Tulu Brahmins use the Malayalam character when writing Sanskrit. Tulu differs more widely from Malayalam than Malayalam does from Tamil. The language has never made any headway whatever beyond its ancient boundaries, which are the Chundrageri and the Kaliyanpur rivers south and north of the modern district of South Canara.

Other South Indian vernaculars may be very briefly disposed of, as they are, comparatively speaking, of little importance except to the philologist, the palæologist and the antiquarian. We have the Toda, peculiar to that buffalo-sacrificing tribe on the Nilgiris. It is returned as the home speech of no more than 805, and there is hardly a doubt that it will soon rank among extinct tongues, for the Todas are taking in increasing numbers to Tamil. Toda, like Badaga, is a dialect of old Canarese. It has no written character, and it has dwindled down to a mere skeleton; from having once been highly inflectional, it has lost most of its inflections. The cause of this is without doubt that the people, as the result of isolation, have not cared or found it necessary to replace the inflections by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South Indian tribes. Kurumba is another dialect of Canarese spoken on the slopes of the Nilgiris and of the adjoining Malabar hills by the Kurumbans, whose *confreres* in the plains usually speak Canarese itself. Only 5,044 persons are returned as speaking this dialect, which, like Todah, is destined, sooner or later to banish before the approach of a sturdier speech. Already, in fact, have the Kurumbans lost all traces of their ancient civilisation and all recollection of their origin and history. A rude dialect of Tamil spoken by some few of the members of the Irula caste—and called by the name of the caste—who live on the slopes of the Nilgiris and the neighbouring Coimbatore hills, is yet another peculiarly interesting southern vernacular. Only 932 persons have returned this language as their parent tongue, although the Irulas total 85,000 members. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Irulas who live in the plains are Tamil-speaking. Even more quaint, interesting and historical is Mahl, the language of the Island of Minicoy, off the Malabar Coast. It is very noteworthy that only 72 persons return this speech, and it is still more noteworthy that of the 72, no more

than eight were women. Either the enumeration was not accurate, or the Mahl language is now at its last gasp. It is a corruption of Malayalam, and the old written character, wherever it is found, is the *Vattezhoot*, in which old Malayalam was written. But it is now being gradually replaced by Arabic.

Above we have dealt with most of the more important of the 29 languages which have their home, in some few cases only their adopted home, in the Madras Presidency. Of those that we have treated of, only Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese have a character and a literature of their own and possess vitality sufficient to enable them to withstand successfully the various influences now at work in the country. None of the languages without written characters, save Tulu, are taught in the schools, and with the spread of education and the opening of institutions intended specially for the aborigines and hill tribes, it may be expected that the death-knell of many a rude and primitive dialect, in which the jungle woman croons her babe to sleep and the jungleman orders the tiger off the road will soon be heard ringing mournfully. It is indeed sorrowful to contemplate that such things are among the inevitable results of the onward march of civilisation. Some of the unwritten dialects and languages of the South may, however, survive for yet some length of time, but this is only because they are written in the characters that belong to their more polished and robust sisters. Tulu and Konkani, for instance, are written in Canarese letters, the former in Roman letters also, and it has an excellent dictionary compiled by the late Rev. Fr. Maffei, S.J., whose interest in Konkani was as deep and intelligent as that of Beschi in Tamil or Arnauld in Malayalam.

"CASUAL."

ART. X.—INDIAN ART.

WE have nothing but unmixed praise for Lord Curzon for the zeal with which he has, since coming to India, advocated the cause of the preservation of the ancient and indigenous arts of India. And we congratulate him on the idea of the Delhi Art Exhibition which, thanks to the energy of Dr. Watt, has been a signal success. In India national degeneration has gone so far as to make it impossible for any but those who speak with the authority of high office to command a respectful hearing from the aristocracy and plutocracy whose vitiated taste has hastened the decay of Indian art. Let us hope the words of the highest official in the land will open the eyes of the Indian aristocracy to a fact—to which numerous attempts have already been made to draw their attention; and that by men who—if they hold some less exalted office—are better fitted by education and acquirements to speak authoritatively on the subject.

"I am one of those," said the Viceroy, "who believe that no national art is capable of continued existence unless it satisfies and expresses the wants of the nation that has produced it. No art can be kept alive by globe-trotters or curio-hunters alone. If it has got to that point, it becomes a mere mechanical reproduction of certain fashionable patterns, and, when fashion changes and they cease to be popular, it dies. If Indian art, therefore, is to continue to flourish, or is to be revived, it can only be if the Indian chiefs and aristocracy and people of culture and high degree undertake to patronise it. So long as they prefer to fill their palaces with flaming Brussels carpets, with Tottenham Court Road furniture, with cheap Italian mosaics, with French oleographs with Austrian lustres, and with German tissues and cheap brocades; I fear there is not much hope. I speak in no terms of reproach, because I think that in England we are just as bad in our pursuit of anything that takes our fancy in foreign lands, but I do say that if Indian arts and handicrafts are to be kept alive, it can never be by outside patronage alone. It can only be because they find a market within the country and express the ideas and culture of its people. I should like to see a movement spring up among the Indian chiefs and nobility for the expurgation or, at any rate, the purification of modern tastes, and for a reversion to the old-fashioned, but exquisite styles and patterns of their country. Some day, I have not a doubt that it will come, but it may then be too late."

This declaration is more than praiseworthy in the represent-

ative of a people whose merchants are princes, and with whom the interest of the merchant often outweigh all other considerations—the considerations of humanity and decency not excepted.

It is a well-tryed maxim that the energy of a people comes from below, but art must begin in the upper classes. Hence, if Indian art is to be revived or at least preserved from the decay which threatens it—it must find patrons in the cultured classes who can appreciate and pay for art. The "common herd" can seldom develop a refined taste where the taste of their superiors is vitiated. They are by education and inclination more capable to follow than to lead in matters of taste, and they can never be relied upon to think and discern what should be a people's taste in art. They are habitually as unconscious of the change in art sentiment as a man is of his own growth in stature. Unless the cultured classes of the people of India develop a correct taste and an appreciative liking for the art of their own country there is little, if any, hope for Indian art.

A strong individuality is laudable rather than deplorable in an individual. It is so in a nation. And in the case of art a definite and characteristic style is essential to preserve it from the corrosive wear and tear of change in fashion. The Damascus temper of steel was something original; and a blade of Damascus temper would cut right through an English sword. In the Middle Ages the manufactures of the Mussulman peoples of Persia, Egypt and Syria had a definite and characteristic style of their own. And the result was that they were in great demand in the West. Such later on was the case with the porcelain, metal and other products of China. They were of a unique character. Even in our own days the art products of Japan are in great favour. They adorn the drawing rooms, they beautify, or are believed to beautify, the house. And the reason is that in each case there has been "a well-marked difference of style between the production of these countries and the rest of the world; and in each case the style has been a slowly elaborated product of national art."

That Indian art products had distinctive features is admitted by all lovers of art and art students. Then how is it that Indian art has lost its definite and characteristic style; and losing its distinctive character is fast degenerating into mere imitation?

To explain the present situation we quote below the words of an Englishman competent to speak on the subject.—

"No one who knows India well can fail to see how the taste of the native aristocracy and plutocracy has been utterly vitiated; how indigenous Architecture has become almost extinct; how the art handicrafts of the country are only exploited for

the sake of gain by the Philistine dealer, whose standard of taste is regulated by the demands of tourists and curiosity-hunters. Indian art has fallen into such disrepute among the natives themselves that everything which does not come straight from Europe is looked upon as something inferior. The native nobility affect a taste for the Brummagen Art we have introduced into the country, and a sentimental passion for spurious Old Masters supplied to them at fancy prices by unscrupulous agents and picture dealers. What remains to-day of the real, living Art of India must be looked for in out-of-the-way places, and is regarded by the natives as old-fashioned and behind the times. Even the curiosity dealer finds his business not what it used to be. The not too discriminating taste of the globe-trotter is getting rather nauseated with the common place bric-a-brac which is palmed off upon him as Indian Art, and even the glamour of the gorgeous East hardly spreads a halo of romance over the crude and tasteless ornament manufactured for the European and American market. The painful fact must be admitted, that, whatever the cause may be, since our rule has been established, the old Art of India has been almost killed; the taste of the people, formerly led into safe paths by the splendid traditions of the Indian handicrafts man, has been changed and corrupted, while we have given nothing from our own national Art to compensate India for what has been lost."

Before making the English solely responsible for this state of things, we must admit that Indian Art, or at least a portion of it, was in a state of decay at the time of the dissolution of the Moghul Empire. The fostering care with which a succession of Emperors from Akbar to Shajehan had watched and helped the development of Indian Art was wanting in Aurangzeb. And his iconoclastic zeal and bigotry often led him to destroy or disfigure some of the creations of former artists—the product of laborious days and sleepless nights. Then came a time of anarchy and strife; a time when caprices of cruelty and varieties of voluptuousness were the distinguishing features of a corrupt and servile court. Noble incentives to action were wanting. It was at this time that the English gained supremacy and founded an empire in India. It was a time when Indian Art neglected by weak, and in some cases iconoclastic rulers† and ruthlessly disturbed by Philistine Mahrattas was in a state of decay and in imminent danger. It was only natural to hope that with the advent of the English—the establishment of a

* *Art Education in India* by E. B. Havell of the Calcutta Art School

† There is a Mahomedan canon forbidding the representation of life. And it repressed the plastic instinct. "You may hear when going over palaces in Rajputana, of elaborate carvings in stone which on a threatening hint from the iconoclastic court at Delhi, were hastily covered up with plaster."—J. Lockwood Kipling.

peace such as India had never known before, of law and order of a superior order—a new era of developing progress will dawn for Indian art. But it was here that were doomed to disappointment.

It is generally the case that in every period one art leads the rest and gives them their tone. "In the thirteenth century it was Architecture, all the other arts were her handmaidens. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Painting led. Even sculpture was then picturesque. * * * Sculpture in the first period is a mere architectural decoration. In the second period architecture becomes a frame for sculpture or painting."* Authorities differ—if architecture is the characteristic art of our own age. But all are agreed on one point, in all countries—at least in all civilised countries the history of Architecture is the history of art.

We have it on very high authority that Indian architecture is far from a dead art.† "That architecture in India is still a living art, with unlimited capabilities of healthy expansion, is an axiom that few competent and unprejudiced critics would hesitate to accept. It is true that the fact of this vitality is often confidently denied, as by a recent writer in the *Graphic*, who, 'after thirty years' experience of Indian life and character, declares that 'all the indigenous art we have now to admire in Hindustan is ancient art,—the art of people who lived hundreds and thousands of years ago.' Such superficial or unsympathetic observers would support their hasty conclusion by the undeniable hideousness of the vast majority of our modern buildings. But the error of their view can be easily exposed by pausing to consider 'who are really responsible for these architectural enormities.'‡

And it is here that the English must bear their share of blame. It began with the sturdy hard-headed merchants—the early settlers of the Old John Company. And it has been going on ever since in an unbroken tradition. With their characteristic insularity and the national prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon race that what is good for the Anglo-Saxon is good enough for the rest of the world, they disregarded their surroundings and in architecture imitated the models in their island home. It satisfied their love of prestige, and reminded them of their home beyond the seas. And this was most unfortunate; for "nothing more hopelessly irreconcilable with oriental ideas of Art could ever have been adopted than the cold, formal classicism then fashionable in England." At the time we are speaking of the national taste of England was almost hopelessly corrupt. But the little excuse the early

* Sir W. Martin Conway—*Domain of Art*.

† Fergusson—*Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

‡ F. B. Growse in the *Calcutta Review*, 1884.

settlers had is absent in the case of their followers. The centres of their ascendancy—Bombay, Madras and Calcutta—were not centres of Indian Art; nor were they conscious of the fact that they were founding an Empire in the East. This cannot be said of those who came after them. They came—members of a ruling race come to govern a conquered continent; and before them lay the monuments of Indian Art in which he that runs may read the capabilities of healthy development. But they followed in unbroken tradition the example set by their predecessors, and even made it worse. In the name of architecture they have perpetrated those horrors—which, to quote an English artist, “offend the eye and haunt the imagination in every station of India from Simla, Calcutta and Bombay to the smallest Mofussil town.” In this matter the Provincial Governments are the worst sinners. For if, in the case of the Supreme Government the excuse can be put forward that “neither in the swamps of Calcutta, nor on the heights of Simla has any indigenous form of architecture been available for adoption,” what excuse is there for the Provincial Governments situated as they are in the centres of Indian Art?

If individual perpetrators of these horrors may not be held responsible for them, no condemnation is too severe for the system which has moulded them. “Our engineers’ buildings,” says Mr. Growse, “have the one merit of simplicity. They make no pretence of pleasing the eye, but neither do they often wilfully offend it by an obtrusive display of misplaced architectural embellishments. Considered as temporary makeshifts for the deposit of departmental returns, or the casual shelter of distressed officials, they might pass uncriticized.” “But, unfortunately,” continues Mr. Growse, “the people of the country will not regard them from this purely utilitarian point of view. The Government is omnipotent, and if it chooses to lodge its servants at equal cost in sheds and godowns instead of in courts and palaces, it must be not from want of thought or skill, but because it deliberately prefers the shed and godown style of construction. The latter style is therefore, the style which loyal subjects are bound to adopt if they would be in harmony with their rulers.”*

This has been the case. In the words of the resolution which prefaces the Indian Art Journal,—“there can be no reasonable doubt that the upper classes of the native community would gladly follow the example of the Government, and cherish all that is best in Indian Art.” Unfortunately for the people in architecture—the mother of all arts—the example has never been set. And the consequence has been disastrous on a degenerated

* *The Calcutta Review*—1884.

people. When a native prince or a rich Indian builds himself a big house he invariably seeks out the English engineer trained in the traditions of the Indian Public Works Department. Hereditary art workmen are ignored,—their skill sharpened to perfection by constant practice never brought into requisition. A mass of brick or stone is piled up, and the result is a hideous structure which is extremely ugly as it is wholly out of place in India. Many will recall the remarks of Mark Twain. Speaking of Baroda he says—with his characteristic humour sharpened by clear insight—“We were taken to see the new palace. * * * The new palace is mixed modern American-European and has not a merit except costliness. It is wholly foreign to India, and impudent and out of place. The architect has escaped. This comes of overdoing the suppression of the Thugs; they had their merits. The old palace is Oriental, and charming, and in consonance with the country. The old palace should still be great if there were nothing of it, but the spacious and lofty hall where the durbars are held.”*

To suit the building foreign articles of furniture, etc., are brought. The result must inevitably be the demand for Brussels carpets, Tottenham Court Road furnitures, cheap Italian mosaics, French oleographs, Austrian lustres, German tissues and cheap brocades. The moisture that ought to have gone to nourish indigenous industries is taken up by foreigners. The money goes out of the land; and Indian arts decay.

To undo the evil influence of a long standing bad example the Government should take up the policy of adopting, as far as possible, Indian styles of architecture in its buildings. That will produce a soothing effect on the eye, and a moral influence on the mind. Instead of that the Government at present helps to vitiate the taste of the people. Here is an example—“Not many years ago, a number of important buildings were being erected in Calcutta, and for their external decoration terra cotta to the value of a lakh of rupees was obtained from England. This terra cotta was not of exceptional artistic merit, to set an example to the Bengalee artisan, but the ordinary commercial ornament which is sold by the square yard by European manufacturers. Now Bengal is a great brick-making country, and there once existed a beautiful Art in moulded brick-work, still to be seen in old buildings in many parts of the Province. If a lakh of rupees had been spent in reviving this decayed art, public buildings in Calcutta would have had far better ornament and an old industry might have been revived.”†

* *More Tramps Abroad.*

† E. B. Havell—*Art Education in India.*

We hold with Mr. Growse that "throughout India there are hands ready to work, and money waiting to be spent on improvements that every one desires, but which are never undertaken, for want of a little sympathy and co-operation on the part of the local authorities, who—for all their good will—are cowed into inaction by the incubus of an arbitrary and overbearing department."*

Students of art rush to every part of Europe and even to Egypt to study art remains. But Indian art has received but scanty attention. And but for the labour of a few men like Fergusson, Cunningham, Burgess, and Rajendra Lala Indian architecture and sculpture would have remained unknown to many. Let us hope and trust that Lord Curzon who has publicly deplored the many acts of vandalism perpetrated by his predecessors, and publicly declared that he regards the conservation of ancient monuments "as one of the primary obligations of Government†"—and who has lately evinced such unstinted sympathy for Indian art will inaugurate a new era by directing the adoption of indigenous styles of architecture in Government buildings.

Sincerity, said Lord Leighton, is the true element of life in art. And indeed no art can ever flourish if the national sentiment is not in it. The passing hobbies of globe-trotters and curio-hunters can keep no art alive. "No great painter ever painted a picture for the purpose of living in delighted contemplation of his own finished work, no sculptor would care to spend his life in a gallery of his own statues. Painters and sculptors must work for others. Dimly—in the background of their mind, throughout their work they must have some ideal recipient in view—an ideal recipient,—the counterpart of themselves, capable of fully perceiving the beauty it is their aim to render, capable of thrilling responsive to the thrill of conception that they themselves experienced." This is true of all artists. The art that has no hold on the mind of the nation, that has not developed a slowly-elaborated style of its own, that is not appreciated and sought after—can never flourish. That Indian art had a characteristic style of its own is evident. And it is this characteristic style falling into disfavour that is the cause of its decay. Once India in her plethora of wealth could give with a bounteous hand what she now seeks in vain. There is reason to believe that Indian pictorial art influenced to a considerable extent the pictorial art of Japan. When Buddhism was chased out of its native soil Buddhist missionaries fled to Tibet, to China, and to Japan. They carried with them a superior civilisation and

* *The Calcutta Review*, 1884.

† Lord Curzon on Ancient Indian Buildings—February 1900.

a superior art. And some of the treasured-paintings in some of the oldest temples of Japan closely resemble the Grecco-Buddhist art of India.*

In India a high general level of decorative excellence had obtained, and even the tools and objects of domestic utility had been made beautiful. Modern excavations have revealed a similar state of things in Pompeii. The basis, and perhaps the justification of all technical art, lies in utility, which bestows on art a dignity which nothing else can give it. And the work of the true artist lies in combining utility with beauty. We have lost that general level of decorative excellence, which manifested itself in every detail, and even on most insignificant and unimportant objects. And we do not deplore it. For that can be the case only when a long and slowly elaborated tradition has stereotyped the forms of ordinary objects of utility. In a country "where individual handwork has recently been supplanted by wholesale manufacture, and where new kinds of domestic implements of superior practical utility or cheapness or made of a new sort of material, supplant the old at frequently recurring intervals" we cannot have those fixed and slowly evolved beautiful types which a long-settled and slowly-elaborated civilisation ultimately produces. Beautiful types of objects of utility are not possible in an age of mechanical transition.

What we deplore is that for what we have lost we have gained nothing. Transitional periods such as the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe have given an incentive to art and as a result great schools of painting, sculpture, architecture and the like have flourished. But in our case the record has been a blank. And with art we are losing even our innate artistic taste which alone can in the fulness of time bring about a renaissance. When the last spark dies out and only cold ashes are left all hope of the bursting out of a blazing fire dies with it. Neglected these ancient and exquisite arts are destined to die. The leprous touch of destruction has already been laid. And if the Indian aristocracy and plutocracy do not refine their vitiated taste and revert to the indigenous styles of their own country soon—it will be too late.

The religious sentiment is akin to the art sentiment. The art sentiment from which arises that warmth of fancy which alone can inspire the creative mind often leads to religious sentiment which kindles and preserves that glow and fervour of art. It is evident in European Church buildings. In the East Buddhism was similarly potent. "It seized upon the

* *The Studio*—October 1902.

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technical processes, and even the forms of the Greeks and applied them to new purposes, thereby producing a new artistic ideal, which spread away to China, thence to Japan, and has endured to our own day."* This was strongly evident in ancient India. For it was on temples and topes that the genius of the Indian artist developed and displayed itself. Even to-day it lingers among females in India. But their skill is displayed on objects and on occasions which must remain unknown to foreigners. And in India art is still more a part of national life than it is elsewhere. The caste system still preserves it in an unbroken tradition. "A people without art are restless and unhappy." And with the decay of the art instinct and the religious sentiment a day may come which it is the duty of every Government to guard against. The Government is not blind to this danger or to its significance. And we have every hope that the Government which—by word and action—has declared its policy to be to

"Fill full the mouth of Famine,
And bid the sickness cease"

—the nation whose policy at home has been to tax the rich, to feed the poor—will not be found unwilling, to do this duty by the people of India—in whose Prosperity—said the late Queen-Empress—"will be Our Strength."

But the duty of the Government dwindles into insignificance before the duty of the people themselves. No amount of legislation, no amount of sympathy and encouragement from aliens can revive or preserve from decay and destruction an art when the national sentiment is not in it. The Government has sounded the tocsin of alarm. Its warnings have all along been clear and constant. It has opened economic museums to educate the public. Now all that we can ask the Government is to set an example to the people whose artistic taste has been vitiated. It is for the aristocracy and the plutocracy of India, for her cultured people, whose experience has been expanded by intercourse with other peoples, and whose intellect has been sharpened by education, to understand the situation, to grasp the problem and solve it. It is a shame and a disgrace that it has been necessary for Englishmen to draw the attention of the Indians to the exquisite art of their own country, for aliens to deplore its decay.

It is for the Indians themselves to refine their taste—to patronise the art of their own country, and thereby fill the mouth of their famished countrymen—an army of hereditary art workmen with whom art has never been a relaxation but ever an occupation. Will the past, asked Tennyson

* Sir W. Martin Conway—*Domain of Art*.

— "always win
A glory from its being far ;
And orb into the perfect star
We saw not, when we moved therein ?"

It is rather

"The lowness of the present state,
That sets the past in this relief."

Reverence for the past and pardonable pride in its achievements are great virtues in a nation. A people who can easily dis sever themselves with a great and historic past must be wanting in self-respect. It is for the Indians to decide whether they should strive to preserve their individuality as a nation or become a set of replicas of an alien type ; whether they would keep up their ancient and glorious traditions in art or wipe it out altogether. Will they allow the glory of their predecessors to become a mere shivering of the air ? Let us hope not.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE, B. A.

ART. XI.—THE CORONATIONS OF KING WILLIAM IV AND QUEEN VICTORIA.

BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT.

A member of one of our well-known County Families who was present at the Coronations of King William IV and Queen Victoria sends us the following interesting notes :—

GEORGE IV.

In 1820 there was scarcely a living person who had been present at George III's Coronation in 1760. George IV wore a black peruke, and it was suggested that the crown should be brought from the Tower to the King's private room, so that he should see whether it would fit him. When the peruke was taken off, it appeared that the King had on his bald head a great swelling, and when the crown was placed on his head it caused him agony, and it was clear that the risk must be run of an operation of a dangerous character, though not necessarily fatal. However, each of the Royal surgeons declined to run the risk of having the King die under his knife. But George IV was a brave man, and ordered that two most experienced surgeons be sent for from a public hospital to operate on an old gentleman, with no name given; he received them in a room in a private house with his face bound up, and the operation was performed with success, and the King wore his crown for the Coronation ceremony. When Queen Caroline heard of it, she remarked that "George thinks that he has had his horns cut off, but he has not."

In my youth I knew intimately the Hon. Colonel Horace Townsend, commonly called "Bull Townsend," and heard him more than once tell the following story about George IV's Coronation :—Queen Caroline was determined to get into the Abbey in some way or other and disturb the ceremony, and the Earl-Marshal took every precaution to thwart her. It was understood that she would get entry at one of the doors with an ordinary Peer's ticket, and, when once in, would give trouble. So picked officers of the Guards were set apart for this particular duty at each door of the Abbey to prevent her entering, and use force if necessary. Bull Townsend, being a man of enormous stature and unlimited pluck, was told off to guard the little private door that leads direct from the Hall of the Deanery into the Abbey and is a private entrance. Sure enough this was the door at which the Queen attempted her entrance; but Bull Townsend recognised her, planted his body in the doorway, and neither threats nor blan-

dishments could prevail to allow anyone to pass through the door. The Queen gave up the attempt, left London for Dover, and disappeared. As a fact she died within a few weeks, as the following shows: when the Emperor Napoleon died on May 5th, 1821, one of the Lords-in-Waiting announced to King George IV "*the death of his Majesty's greatest enemy*, the only remark made by the King was "*Is she, by Jove?*" However, the King was crowned July 16th, 1821, and Queen Caroline died a few weeks after, August 7th, 1821.

WILLIAM IV.

I was present at the Coronation of William IV and have a lively recollection of it, for it was the first occasion that my eye fell on Princess Victoria of Kent, a little girl about my age. I accompanied my father, mother, and eldest brother; we boys came up from our school at Mitcham Green, and we had seats in a long gallery erected over the Dean's side of the Choir, and we looked down on those who were seated in stalls. We had gone early, and got first-rate seats in the front row, and saw all—Peers, Peeresses, and foreigners—come in to take their places, and the procession passed under our eyes, and we had a good view of the King and Queen on their thrones. I remember seeing Earl Brownlow and the Earl of Kilmorey pass under us, and the former waved his coronet. The Countess Brownlow was one of the ladies who accompanied Queen Adelaide, and one of her daughters was one of her Majesty's train-bearers. It was a very impressive sight, and I enjoyed it, though only ten years of age. I record four anecdotes.

(1) Lords Philippe, who had become King of the French, had sent his son the Duke of Nemours to take part in the ceremony, and of course he was treated with every honour. The President of the United States of America had sent his son also, but he was only admitted as an ordinary spectator, and the Americans were very angry. I suppose that there will be in this century more equality between the Republics of France and the United States.

(2) The next anecdote is rather personal. I mentioned that the Countess Brownlow was Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Adelaide. Her special duty was to produce from her pocket a little piece of cotton wool, and when the Queen's hand had been anointed with oil, to wipe it dry with the cotton wool. She put the cotton wool back in her pocket, and we all saw it and smelt the oil. It is to be hoped we have out-lived such folly.

(3) The third story illustrates the imperfect way in which public news spread in that remote period of 1831, when there were no telegraphs, railways, etc. When we boys got

back to school at Mitcham Green, of course the whole talk was about the Coronation. Late that night two of our school-fellows arrived, who were sons of Dr. Jenkinson, the Bishop of St. David's, in South Wales. They had been several days on the road, and one of them innocently remarked that he had heard on the road that the King had been crowned on the previous day—was it true? It was the first he had heard of a Coronation. Of course we English boys burst into shouts of derision at our Welsh schoolfellows in the depth of their ignorance.

(4) The fourth anecdote relates to the Duchess of St. Albans, who was a lady not received in society, but she claimed her seat in the front row of the Peeresses, and at the proper time placed her coronet on her head, but it was quite obvious that the Duchesses to the right and left of her would not notice her, and took care that their dresses should not touch her, so she had a dull time of it. The reign of our good Queen Victoria has swept away all the objectionable features of the Court of George IV.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S CORONATION.

When this auspicious event took place, my brother and I were high up in the school at Eton College. The railroad to London had been opened and we went up the previous day, and our father took us over the ground that afternoon, so that we might make no mistakes, and the next morning at four we sallied out on foot found our way to the right door of the Abbey, ascended the staircase of the Triforium on the Sub-Dean's side, and secured good seats just at the corner, so that we had under our eyes the Chancel and Communion Table, the Throne, and looking down on our right the Peeresses, and on the opposite side to the Peers, and in a narrow pew in the chancel were all the members of the Royal Family down to the Princess Mary of Cambridge. It was a grand sight—perhaps the grandest of all the many that in all my long life I have seen in Europe or Asia. Everyone of the great personages of Great Britain whom we saw beneath us has passed away: all the members of the Royal Family, all the Peers, Bishops, Dean, Canons, Statesmen, Judges, Soldiers, Sailors, etc. I was only seventeen years of age, and am now eighty-one; so if any of those who took part in this Coronation are alive, except the present Duke of Cambridge, and his sister the grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, they must be well up in the eighties. I find with the tickets of admission among my records, a pensketch by myself of the Abbey, and in the Triforium a + with the words "I was here in the Triforium." The scene comes back to me after a lapse of sixty-four years, and certain anecdotes rise up in my mind which I now put on

paper. In a bank of seats rising up and sloping backwards from the screen at the back of the Communion Table were the seats of the House of Commons, with Daniel O'Connell in the centre of the lowest bench. It so happened that one of the Bishops on his way to kneel down and kiss the hand of the crowned Sovereign, missed his footing and fell down: this incident was greeted with a roar of laughter from the House of Commons, in which the deep voice of Daniel O'Connell was conspicuous. The appearance of the Abbey with all its platforms draped in red cloth was most distasteful. No circus could have been more vulgar and commonplace. A robing-room was prepared for her Majesty just behind the Communion table. It was most incongruous. We boys from our high point of observation were fortunate enough to be able to recognize most of the distinguished men present, such as the Duke of Wellington, as we were familiar with them on their visits to Windsor and Eton College. The Eton boys of the decade 1830-1840 had a feeling of profound love, and respectful devotion, to their young Queen: they had known her by sight for several years as Princess Victoria of Kent, as she was constantly a visitor to her uncle the King at Windsor Castle, and her figure on the Terrace, or riding in the Park, or passing through Eton, was familiar to them; especially to those of the boys who had the honour of being, as we had invited to the Children's Ball given by Queen Adelaide in honour of the Princess. It may be imagined with what intense interest we from our high point of observation saw the Archbishop place the crown on the head of the little girlish figure seated in the ancient Scone chair. And again with what feelings we looked down on the Communion table and saw her signing her name. There are events which can only happen once in a life, and cannot be forgotten, nor can the feelings be realised by those to whom it has not fallen to see such sights.

I have another most interesting anecdote to record: When the ceremony was concluded, we boys slipped down the staircase from the Triforium, and found our way through the crowd, in the way only Eton boys can manage, to Montague House in Parliament-street, the residence of the Duke of Buccleuch. A long scaffolding had been erected commanding a view of the street, down which the procession must pass on its way from the Abbey. We had tickets, and being early and active got good seats in a back row, and after some time waiting beheld the Queen in her State carriage with the Crown on her head and the Sceptre in her hand, pass like a vision before us; as the carriage arrived opposite to our scaffolding the late Duchess of Buccleuch, who was in the centre seat of honour with her coronet on her head, rose up and bowed to her Majesty, who graciously inclined

her crowned head in acknowledgment. This again was not a sight to be forgotten.

I was under the impression that my Eton school-fellow, the Earl of Nelson, had been present, as he was 14 years of age and had been present, at the funeral of King William IV in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. However, to make sure, I wrote to him to enquire, and he replied that he had been refused a seat at the Coronation among his brother Peers because he was a minor, and he had not been honoured with a seat as a private individual out of respect to the great name which he bore. He thus lost his chance of seeing the Coronation of Queen Victoria owing to his being too young, and now at the age of 78 he feels himself unequal to the fatigues of the Coronation of Edward VII, owing to his being too old. It appears to be a great mistake to exclude Peers who are minors, if they are old enough to take care of themselves.

R. N. CUST.

 We need scarcely add here that Mr. Cust received an invitation to be present at the Coronation of King Edward VII.—Ed. C. R. June 1901.

ART. XII.—PICTURESQUE AMERICA.

EVERYONE knows there are many beautiful places to be seen in America and our idea in visiting that vast Continent was to see Niagara. The magnificent scenery in the Rocky Mountains,—the Grand Canon of Colorado,—the Garden of the Gods,—the Yellow Stone Park,—the Yosemite Valley,—the big trees of California,—the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, and many other wonderful natural productions. After spending a summer in Canada and the United States we returned to England,—going back another time to winter in beautiful Florida, with its orange groves, cocoanut palms, and acres and acres of pineapples, calling at Cuba, we returned north again through Mexico.

During the passage across the Atlantic the days were taken up in reading, playing games and watching the porpoises leaping in and out of the water. The weather was fine the early part of the voyage, but the last two days before reaching New York, a heavy fog enveloped us, this is usually experienced, and great care has to be taken by the steamers not to run down the numerous small boats, fishing off the coast of Newfoundland. The evening before we landed a concert was given in the Saloon for the benefit of the Seamen's Home.

The day after our arrival we went on to Newport, only staying one night in New York, intending to make a longer stay on our return. July and August are usually not pleasant months for seeing that important, but hot and noisy city.

Newport is a pretty place, and the "four hundred" go there every summer, not to "rusticate" but rather to add to Society's round of dinner parties, balls and luncheons, the sports and pastimes of the seaside, and country. The palatial residences of the millionaires, or "cottages" as they prefer to call them, are situated on the cliff overlooking the sea, and extend for about two miles. The grounds are handsome and like other American gardens are not enclosed by hedges.

The most beautiful of the cottages is the "Marble House" given by Mr. William K. Vanderbilt to his wife, now Mrs. Oliver, H. P. Belmont (mother of the Duchess of Marlborough). It is built of white marble and at the front are columns and Roman Corinthian capitals, and is in fact a residence fit for a Prince. Scarcely less sumptuous is the "Breakers," belonging to Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt. In nearly all the houses are Ballrooms and banqueting Halls. Then there is "Belcourt," Mr. O. H. P. Belmont's house, and "Ochre Court," Mr. Ogden

Goelet's residence, the entrance gates are of decorative iron-work, very fine indeed; and there are many other mansions each having a style of its own.

The private bathing bay was the fashionable resort in the mornings, men and women bathing together, and dozens of smart carriages were waiting to take their owners home to luncheon. And Belview Avenue was gay in the afternoons with elegantly dressed ladies driving up and down in magnificent equipages.

We were invited to a Ball at the Casino to meet Admiral Sicard, and the officers of the North Atlantic Squadron. Mrs. William Astor received the guests. The Ball and Reception rooms were decorated with flags, and oriental hangings and banks of roses and hydrangeas. The grounds were illuminated with Japanese lanterns and hundreds of coloured lights. So many millionaires were present at this Naval Ball, it was said that hardly ever before had so much wealth been represented under one roof.

The next morning my father and I were shown over the "Massachusetts," the largest of the United States battleships by one of the Naval Officers, and in the afternoon went on to Boston. Next day our friends there went round with us to see the Public Buildings and pointed out Bunkers Hill Monument. We were also shown over Harvard University at Cambridge.

The journey from Boston to Saratoga, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon was a hot and dusty one. Saratoga has a wonderful variety of Mineral Springs, which are very efficacious, and it has a fine climate, the walks and drives around are charming, but it is spoiled by the swarms of terribly over-dressed rich, vulgar Jews and Jewesses, who congregate there summer after summer.

During our journey from Saratoga to Montreal we passed through Lake George and Lake Champlain; the latter is much the larger of the two, but the former is more beautiful. In Lake George the mountains rise straight from the sides, where plenty of game is to be found, besides other animals, deer and bears. Now and again an eagle flies overhead. The Lake abounds with fish, and pretty little islands are to be seen on all sides. In former times the Indians were very fond of hunting in this district, and in Fennimore Cooper's romance, the "Last of the Mohicans" the scene was laid around here.

Montreal is a large and flourishing city, it contains several churches, of which the principal are Notre Dame, and the Cathedral of St. Peter; nearly as much French is spoken as English. Montreal takes its name from Mount Royal, which is just outside the town; it rises 700 feet above the

river; we ascended to the top one afternoon, (which is reached by an elevator), and spent about an hour there, it is prettily wooded and must be delightful for picnic parties.

Shooting the "Lachine rapids" is a very novel and exciting experience, it is really dangerous as the steamer must keep in its right course or be dashed to pieces on the rocks, the boats are still piloted by Indians and they are very skilful and courageous, but it struck me that our pilot would rather be shooting the rapids in a canoe, as his forefathers had done before him.

One can go by rail, or river from Montreal to Toronto, we chose the latter route, in order to enable us to see the picturesque Islands of the St. Laurence river, there are over a thousand of them, and they are of every imaginable size, shape and appearance, some several miles in length, others only a few yards long; some are but bare masses of rock, while others are thickly wooded. From the deck of the steamer one sees an ever changing Panorama. The river is a great summer resort and many beautiful homes are built upon these Islands. Most of the smaller ones are the freehold property of the people residing upon them. Sailing and fishing are the chief pastimes. The river contains black bass, pickerel and the muscullonge, a particularly large kind of pickerel, one fish sometimes weighing as much as twenty-five or thirty pounds.

We stopped at Alexandra Bay and Thousand Island Park and at Kingston, where there is a notable prison. During the night we passed through Lake Ontario arriving at Toronto at seven o'clock the next morning.

We stayed at Toronto about a week and had a very gay time. Although not so important as Montreal it is a much prettier and more compact city. My father was made a Member of the Yacht Club and we were invited to several dances and garden parties and enjoyed many charming drives. Canadians are always most polite to visitors from the "old country," welcoming them with open arms.

Ever since leaving home we had been looking forward to the day on which we were to see the great falls of Niagara. Crossing Lake Ontario to Lewiston, and taking the electric car we could plainly see the whirlpools and rapids below us, the water rushing at incalculable speed and tossing tumultuously about and hurling itself with irresistible force against the rocks. It was terrible and awe-inspiring, this boiling seething mass of water. At last we reached the falls. They are more wonderful than anything one can imagine, and it is impossible to take them in, all at once, one can but gaze and gaze, fascinated beyond description. And then to think Niagara never stops, it never has stopped from the beginning, and will, I suppose, go on for ever.

The Horseshoe fall on the Canadian side is the larger, having a contour of 3,010 feet or is nearly half a mile in width, with a perpendicular plunge of 158 feet, and the water is 20 feet thick, and bends over in a graceful curve. The width of the American falls is 1,100 feet or nearly a quarter of a mile wide and the precipice over which it plunges is 167 feet. There is a little steamer called the "Maid of the Mist" in which one can go right to the foot of the falls, also one can go behind them to the "Cave of the Winds" attired in waterproof suits. When the sun shines there is a perpetual rainbow on the water and the spray reaches a tremendous distance.

After lunch we took the car again to Chipperwa at the very top of the river, and upon returning crossed by the Suspension Bridge to the American side but the Falls are not seen so well from here. We drove round Goat Island and went back along the Great Gorge route close to the water. The scenery around Niagara is very fine; it is a wonderful fruit growing country, great quantities are tinned and exported every year.

Leaving Toronto early in the morning we arrived a few hours later at Windsor. A little lower down the river is the spot where Eliza (in Uncle Tom's Cabin) was supposed to have crossed on the floating ice with her child in her arms, when fleeing from her pursuers. We took the ferry across to Detroit, a large and important town in the States, returning to Windsor to sleep.

The next day we started for our trip through the Lakes of Huron and Superior. There are plenty of islands in Lake Huron. Lake Superior is almost like a little Ocean and as the weather suddenly changed I felt anything but well, and did not much enjoy the two days and night spent on board the steamer. In some parts we could not see land, but were not surprised at this as Lake Superior is 360 miles long and 140 miles wide (in its widest part), in fact it is the largest body of fresh water in the world. We went on shore at Fort William and stepping on to the train arrived at Winnipeg, capital of the Province of Manitoba, the following afternoon.

Travellers usually stay a day and night in Winnipeg to rest before resuming the long journey to Vancouver and also to see this flourishing town. It has grown immensely within the last few years and has a population of about fifty thousand inhabitants. It has a splendid trading situation, standing just where the forest ends and the vast Prairies begin and with rivers and railways radiating in every direction. To this junction the people of the West send the product of their fields and from the far North numerous furs of great variety are brought. In the streets we met several families of Indians

who had come to buy clothes and other things in the shops, and offering buffalo horns for sale, they were dressed half in native costume, making a curious mixture.

We left Winnipeg at five o'clock on a lovely evening, just warm enough to be pleasant, and the sunset was magnificent. We had still a thousand miles to go before reaching the Rocky Mountains. First we passed through the great corn growing district of Manitoba. Although a bad year elsewhere it was as good here as usual. We saw several of the huge reaping machines at work, they make in such numbers in Winnipeg. We slept in the train and the next day travelled through miles of Prairie land, it was a little monotonous, but occasionally we saw coveys of Prairie chickens, or a coyote* stealing along and the little Prairie dogs amused us greatly, they sat up and watched the train for a moment or so, then suddenly darted into their holes out of sight. Formerly herds of Buffaloes roamed the Prairies but now are very scarce and indeed seem likely to become extinct. We remained for another night in the train journeying through the great ranching country and were not sorry to reach Banff (alt. 4,500 ft.) at six o'clock in the morning.

A bright log fire was burning in the picturesque hall of the Hotel and was most acceptable, the difference in temperature being quite noticeable now that we were among the snow capped Rocky Mountains, but the air was fresh and exhilarating and after breakfast we started off for a long walk to the hot Sulphur Springs. A basin has been encircled for bathing, but open to the air and as the warm water bubbles up constantly from the bottom it is fresh all the time, little dressing rooms have been built along one side. It all looked so inviting we decided upon having a bathe immediately and much enjoyed it. Banff is in the Canadian National Park and embraces every variety of scenery and for sportsmen (shooting in the Rockies) and athletic people excellent climbs may be made from Banff and Field in the Summit range, and Glacier in the Solkirks. Great care must be exercised however to avoid the dangerous peat swamps called "Muskegs," which abound among the mountains.

Continuing our journey the next morning at six o'clock the train passed slowly on through the Rockies and Selkirk, the latter being greener and prettier in appearance but perhaps not so majestic as the former. Before descending very powerful brakes had to be applied. We passed many waterfalls and

* Coyotes are very cunning and clever animals, they are very fond of chickens as foxes are in England and will go miles to get them, they are hated by the farmers; who set traps for them and do everything to try to exterminate them.

rivers where the fish were so plentiful there hardly seemed room for them to move in the water. We stopped at Glacier House for lunch, near here is the supposed largest glacier in the world, we could just see it from the station. Another night in the train and after seeing more lovely scenery and two or three camps of Indian and Chinese, we reached Vancouver, the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway about 1:30 in the afternoon.

The coaches on the C. P. R. and American lines are much larger than in England, they are gorgeously upholstered and you can walk from one end of the train to the other, this relieves the monotony of a long journey. Newsboys are constantly passing with books, papers, fruit, sweets, cigars and chewing-gum. But this becomes somewhat tiresome if you are disposed to have a quiet nap, as the conversation and incessant movement around you renders it almost impossible, and I think on the whole I prefer our more private English or Indian carriages. Ladies and gentlemen occupy the same sleeping cars, the dressing rooms being situated at opposite ends and you must either undress there and chance meeting one of the opposite sex on the way to your berth, or you must undress when you get into it, which is rather a difficult matter, especially when the train is going at full speed; you pile your clothes round you or hang them on hooks over your head. If an upper berth has been allotted to you, the Nigger porter brings you a ladder and helps you to scramble up into it, and you are at his mercy if you want to come down again, and Nigger porters are despotic creatures!

The check system is excellent. A check is given to you for your luggage at the station, or before you leave your hotel and you cannot get your belongings again until you produce it, in this way any possibility of losing your things is avoided, it seems a pity such a good system is not employed in England.

Lastly the Americans are the cleverest "Baggage Smashers" in the world; of course I had ironclad trunks as it is madness to have any other kind. During the first twelve hours' run the lock was knocked off my largest trunk and at various times I had to call a man in to make sundry repairs.

There is a lovely wood or natural park at Vancouver, the timber is splendid, nothing has been done to this forest except a clearing made for a walk to go through it. Everything grows luxuriously in British Columbia, there is a good deal of rain and the climate generally is very much the same as in England. There are a number of Chinese at Vancouver, many of them being employed as domestic servants. We walked through the Chinese quarter before leaving; it is not so large or important as China town at San Francisco.

There are also many Chinese at Victoria. The large Navy Yard at Esquimaux is the Head-Quarters of the English Pacific Squadron. Victoria, although so young a city already contains some fine public buildings.

Our next stopping place was Seattle, the "Klondyke Boom" was just then at its height and constituted the chief topic of conversation. Most of the shops were fitted out with things for the Klondyke, clothes, cooking utensils, etc. A vessel was just about to start and great excitement was manifested. Some of the streets in Seattle are so steep you can hardly keep your place in the tramcars, you are nearly precipitated into the lap of the person beside you. Snow-capped Mount Rainier can be seen very well from Seattle.

We took the steamer to Tocona as the waters of Puget Sound are considered very attractive. When we arrived the townspeople were rushing off to the "County Fair," which takes place annually in September, so we thought we could not do better than go too. It was a novel and busy scene. There were American Trotting, cycle and other races. A collection of things to be sent to the Klondyke, and exhibits of flowers and poultry; the country people had come from all the little villages round about.

Two days and nights had to be passed in the train again on our way to San Francisco, in some parts it was so steep, the engine seemed to crawl along; in one place there was a ferry to cross and the train was taken on to the steamer just as it was, and conveyed to the other side.

On our arrival at San Francisco we drove to the Palace Hotel, and were soon snugly ensconced in our rooms. It is a handsome building with a spacious courtyard and a band plays every evening at dinner. The waiters are Negroes or "Coloured Gentlemen" as they prefer to be called and the "Chambermaids" are Chinese. A great number of Chinese are employed in the city, they make very good house servants; others keep laundries; they wash remarkably well. Some of the American food I liked very much, sweet corn and one or two other vegetables we do not have in England, but little neck clams and sweet potatoes I did not care for at all, although they are liked by nearly everyone. Of course we had the most beautiful fruit in profusion, California being celebrated for it, exporting a great quantity of canned fruit every year. The Canteloupe melon is everywhere present in the States, and one rarely sees a breakfast table without it. At most of the Hotels everything is brought to you at once, you are simply surrounded by dishes, soup, salmon, white fish, red fish, blue fish or pan fish, squabs, quail on toast, roast pig and duckling, pheasant, fried egg plant, oysters and oyster

plant, salads, ices of all kinds, pumpkin pie, punch (a kind of water ice), custard pie, apple pie, meringues, and biscuit, blue berries and huckleberries and all other berries, tea, and above all ice water, wine being rarely taken at meals, and you can eat all these things and many more if you want to.

The whirr of tramcars is heard on all sides in Frisco, for some of the streets are so steep you can hardly walk up and down them. We were soon on our way to Chinatown and found it so interesting that we returned again and again. I believe there are forty or fifty thousand men and less than nine hundred women, the latter are of very depraved character which is hardly to be wondered at as they are bought and sold like slaves. The Chinese have taken to themselves one of the best parts of the city and no doubt the Americans would be only too glad to turn them out if they could, there are so many of them, and in fact have forbidden any more to land in San Francisco, they are law-abiding as regards the whites; but in Chinatown they do the most dreadful things hardly checked. If a man is found dead in the streets it is almost impossible to find the murderer. It is quite safe to walk about in the day-time, as American policemen are stationed at every corner, but at night it is better not to go unprotected. We visited some of the Joss houses, they are beautifully decorated with good carving overlaid with gold; incense is kept constantly burning to their god "Joss," he is a dark hideous figure sitting on a kind of shrine.

Here and there are to be seen beautiful curio stores, the provision shops contain all kinds of Chinese food (birds, beasts and fish are preserved and sent over from China) for those who can afford to buy it. The chemists sell very peculiar drugs, some of their prescriptions containing snails, grubs, bats, worms, lizards, etc.

Some of the Chinamen who passed us in the streets we noticed were enormously stout and others so thin they looked almost like skeletons, these were usually the habitual opium smokers. The women had a very peculiar appearance, their black hair was so plastered down with grease, it resembled wood, they seemed to dislike having their photographs taken very much, for everytime I presented my kodak towards them they turned their backs upon me, but the fathers pushed their children towards me so that I might take pictures of them, and seemed highly flattered if I picked out any particular child from a group.

One evening we were taken to the Chinese theatre, it was most comical, the actors were very grotesque and shrieked at the top of their voices, the clashing of cymbals and beating of drums and gongs was deafening. Women are not allowed

to act, so men personate them; we sat on the stage part of the time, and went behind into the dressing-rooms and upstairs into the actors' living rooms, people were walking about on the stage all the time during the play, and the actors did not seem to mind at all.

We visited Golden Gate Park, beloved of San Franciscans, it was thronged with people and a band was playing. The conservatory contains a specimen of the Victoria Regia Lily believed to be the only one in America.

Before leaving Frisco we made an excursion to the Cliff House on the Pacific Coast where are the largest swimming baths in the world, men and women bathing together, as is usual in America. All kinds of acrobatic devices were hanging over and a band was playing.

Many people spend hours in the water. From the Piazza we could see the famous Seal Rock, upon which more than a hundred great Sea Lions were lying, or wriggling over one another, while others were diving in and out of the water they were barking exactly like dogs and making a terrible noise; no one is allowed to molest them. Returning home we passed the "Golden Gates" as the rocks are called at the entrance to the Bay, and Laurel Hill Cemetery. Close by rises Lone Mountain, on its summit is a large wooden cross which can be seen from any part of the city.

After nearly a week spent in San Francisco we started for a trip across the Nevada Mountains to the celebrated Yosemite Valley, passing the night on the river we arrived at Stockton—at seven o'clock, taking the train to Merced and at 9-30 clambered up into the rambling old stage coach which was to convey us to Couteville, it was a most trying day, the heat was excessive, and the jolting terrible, we could hardly keep our seats; then the dust! it covered us in clouds, being inches deep on the ground; we had lunch at the cabin of an old negro. A fine pair of horses and a light four-wheeled carriage was waiting for us at the door of the hotel at Couteville at 6-30 the next morning, and after we had packed ourselves in and our handbags had been disposed around us we started off for a fifty-mile drive across the Sierra Nevada, the drivers sitting on a little seat in front of us, sometimes in descending, the horses galloped at break neck pace dashing round the corners. Luckily our steeds were sure footed, but had they fallen we should all have gone right over the precipice hundreds of feet below; some of the views were very fine and when I was not too frightened I enjoyed it immensely, and as we were becoming accustomed to the dust did not mind it so much, it was certainly an "experience," night was falling as we entered the Valley about seven o'clock in the evening.

The Yosemite Valley is considered one of the most beautiful places in the world, it is a nearly level area, 400 feet above the sea, and about nine miles in length. It is enclosed by great masses of rock, some of them reaching 6,000 feet; many of these rocks have had names given to them as "El Capitan," the "Cathedral Rock" and "the spires." One can either drive through the Valley, or the more adventurous may take horses and ascending, follow the Indian trails. We started in our buggy after breakfast and visited Mirror Lake, a charming spot surrounded by trees, and the Bridal Veil Falls. It was delicious driving under the pine trees and watching the beautiful grey squirrels, and after lunch we watched the trout in the stream that flowed just beneath the verandah of the Hotel. The water was so clear the fish could be distinctly seen.

Leaving the Valley at 6-30 next morning we again passed "El Captain" and ascending for some miles reached Wowana in time for lunch.

Directly afterwards we drove six miles to see the "Big Trees" of California. The Mariposa Grove contained five or six hundred of these Redwood trees, the larger ones have special names, as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the "Faithful Couple," etc., two of the trees have had roadways cut through them. Our little buggy passed easily through; enough room has been allowed for a waggon and horses and it has in no wise injured the trees; there is plenty of wood on each side and they are still flourishing. But the largest of all is the "Grizzly Giant" supposed to be four thousand years old, unfortunately the top is broken off but even now it is very high, the first branch is nearly 220 feet from the ground, and 6 feet in diameter.

The remains of a prostrate tree nearly consumed by fire, is hollow and will admit of the passage of three horsemen riding abreast. Unfortunately many of them have been burnt in some part, as frequent fires occur in the forest. On returning down the mountains to the Hotel we saw in the Valley below, miles of forest pines on fire, it was a wonderful sight the lurid glow in the dusk of evening gave a weird appearance to the scene. It was terrible to think of all that magnificent timber being lost. Sometimes a conflagration in the forest will rage for a week or two until it burns itself out.

We were up early the next morning for our return journey of 50 miles to Couteville and the following day re-joined the stage coach again for Merced *en route* for San Francisco.

On our way to Salt Lake City we had the misfortune to run into a large flock of sheep, killing many and wounding others. There were no hedges to protect the track and

the sheep happened to be crossing the line, the train was rounding a curve and was brought to a standstill as soon as possible, but even when they saw the train they still went on, following one another and literally jamming themselves into the wheels, it was a sickening sight, there appeared to be no one in charge of them. It took more than an hour to clear the wheels for the train to proceed, had she been going at great speed she would certainly have been derailed.

Salt Lake City, at the present time very much resembles any other well kept American town. We were allowed to visit the Tabernacle, a building with an immense dome-like roof that will seat 13,000 persons, while Sunday service was proceeding. Close to the Tabernacle stands the Temple, a lovely granite building in which the Mormon rites are performed, only true Mormons are allowed within its sacred doors. Not far away is a statue of Brigham Young, he succeeded Joseph Smith as Chief of the sect and in 1847 landed with a small band of followers in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake to found a home where they might worship God without molestation. Brigham Young, as President soon made homes for the people and founded schools and established churches, cultivating gardens and lands, so a thriving town soon sprang up. As in most new religions many more women become followers than men it was thought advisable for the men to take to themselves two wives or more according to their ability to keep them in comfort. The Mormon religion is in many ways a good one, but when Salt Lake City became part of the United States, Polygamy was forbidden to the "Latter Day Saints" by the Government, and it is rumoured that since its abolition one of the chief attractions of the religion has been lost, at any rate as far as the men are concerned. It is doubtful, however, in the present day if the women are of the same opinion. Any way it seems as if it will not be long before it dies out altogether.

Brigham Young had twenty-six wives and over sixty children; he certainly looked after them well and many of his children have honourable positions in Utah. Most of his wives had separate establishments of their own, and for his favourite wife Amelia he built an especially beautiful house.

We inspected the Hall of Relics which contains many Indian articles and various products of Mormon industry, also articles sacred to the memory of their beloved President. Brigham's watch, his wooden bedstead and even his old clothes were there, his hat, boots, and trousers were hung up in a glass case! All these interesting and valuable relics were being carefully preserved!

Of course we visited the Great Salt Lake, it is some little

distance from the city, and is one of the greatest natural curiosities of the west, it is 75 miles long, and is 4,200 feet above the sea. A fine dancing pavilion, and numerous bath houses have been built; bathing in the Lake is a most curious experience, it is only with the greatest difficulty one can keep one's feet down and one's head up!—on returning from the Lake we noticed great quantities of the salt being extracted for exportation. Not far from the city is a place called Fort Douglas where a regiment of negroes is kept.

The Red Indians interested me greatly. We constantly met groups of these people who had come into the town to sell various articles of their own manufacture to the store keepers; elaborately worked mocassins, (boots) in different coloured beads, beautifully made baskets, embroidery on buckskin with porcupine quills, war clubs, ornamented parts of their dress, etc. We bought a variety of these things, including a fine specimen of a Chief's head-dress made of eagles' tail feathers, and further ornamented; the length being nearly six feet, this hangs down from the head to the heels, forming a crest down the back. The Chief to whom it belonged had gambled it away, he lost all his money and next morning he returned to the city and made all kinds of promises to get it back again, but the man who had won it from him, would not part with it.

Some of the men wear a mantle of buffalo skin adorned with porcupine quills, and beaded mocassins and jingling things, and beads around their necks; but more often with their antelope skin leggings they wear a European coat, and a blanket thrown over their shoulders surmounted by a bowler hat, which certainly looks very peculiar on their lank black hair, although many still wear a band of red cloth across the forehead, or a single upright feather. Sometimes they dye their skin garments with different colours and draw animals and reptiles upon them. They are very fond of their children. The mother carries her baby (papoose) in a flat box on her back suspended by a piece of leather or cloth passed around her forehead. The Squaws do all the work of the camp and dress furs, and raise Indian corn, while the men go out hunting, —formerly the Bison was the animal most readily obtained, as it roamed the Prairies in countless thousands and was useful for food and clothing, but unfortunately so many have been killed, there are very few left now.

Sometimes from the trains we saw the wagons of some travelling Indians, generally placed by a stream or some projecting rocks overlooking a beautiful river.

The Redskins are not allowed to roam about in numbers as

they please, but are restricted to definite Reservations where they are looked after by the Government of the United States, the same thing being done in Canada. But many have been encouraged to become citizens and respectable members of Society, wearing the European dress and sending their children to schools.

There are many different tribes, the best known perhaps being the Delawares, Apaches, Crees, Blackfeet, Hurons, Eries, Mohawks, Chippewas, Crows, Comanches, Omahas, and Pueblos; and it must be a great deprivation to them not to be able to make war upon one another, as hunting and fighting formed their chief pastime in days gone by.

When a Chief dies, his bow and arrows, clothes, pipe, etc., also his horse, are buried with him to be ready for him when he reaches the next world. They usually name themselves from some animal as "Kicking Bear," "Sitting Bull" or "Black Eagle," and worship Manitou, the Great Spirit; putting absolute faith in the Medicine Man or Witch Doctor.

Although most of the Redskins live in Wigwams made of buffalo skins, the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico have for centuries built compact little dwellings of mud, and made towns, and for years have fortified themselves in this way against the attacks of their more savage neighbours.

The place above all others I wished to see in America was the Great Yellowstone National Park, and I can certainly say it is the most wonderful spot besides Niagara I have ever visited. To begin with, it is sixty-five miles long, and fifty-five in width, and at one period was the scene of remarkable volcanic activity, it contains Hot Springs, large groups of Geysers, which throw up columns of boiling water to a great height, some of them hundreds of feet into the air. The Grand Canon, Sulphur Mountains, the Yellowstone River, and numerous Lakes, the Mammoth Paint Pots (Mud Geysers of various colours) and the Park in some parts is very mountainous. The Geysers play at intervals, some once a day, others once a week, and still another throws up the water only once in seven years. They have most of them names, as the "Beehive," and "Giantess" and "Old Faithful," who is much appreciated, plays regularly every hour; but I must say many of them were very obliging the day we explored them, as first one, and then another, began to play just as we were driving past.

The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone is the most beautiful Cañon in the world, as besides its great length and height, variegated tints appear on its sides, red, yellow, brown, and white intermixed and shading into each other. The Falls dash into the river below, and the lower walls of the Cañon are covered with a luxuriant growth of ferns and moss.

But at Mammoth Hot Springs we saw the most beautiful sight of all, there are numbers of graceful terraces rising one above another, and the lime deposit is of the most exquisite colouring, red, pink and white; these formations cover some acres of ground, and where the water has settled into pools, every imaginable tint is to be seen.

The Mud Volcano which throws up masses of boiling mud and "Black Growler" are more awe-inspiring than beautiful, the hissing of the latter and the fumes can be heard and felt for nearly a mile away. But no amount of description can really convey to anyone not having seen them, the peculiarities of this extraordinary region.

Game is very plentiful, mountain sheep, bear, antelope, elk, deer, etc., can be found. Within the boundary game is preserved. A little animal one constantly sees is the Chipmunk, it resembles a squirrel, but is much smaller and has not such a bushy tail, it darts up and down the trees looking at one with its bright black eyes.

We stayed four or five days in the Park, some excellent Hotels have been built at various points, we drove from one to the other, seeing new sights every day, constantly meeting our friends who had been hunting outside this region, and were exploring its wonders before returning home, and most picturesque they looked in their hunting costumes, with Mexican saddles and trappings for their horses. The older members of the party General Coppenger and Sir Rose Price driving in a light wagon with a team of four fine mules. In their train were numbers of Indian scouts, negro servants, pack horses, mules and camp necessities.

The day before we left the park, October 2nd, the first snow appeared,—we left the Fountain Hotel at 6-30 to drive to the Lake Hotel. A little snow had fallen during the night, but higher up the mountains (8,340 feet high) the snow was twelve inches deep in the roadway and the horses could scarcely get along. Through proceeding so slowly we lost the steam boat, and had to drive the whole of the way round the Lake, arriving at our destination at 9-30 in the evening, almost frozen after the drive of fifty miles in the open carriage.

In order to get some idea of the surrounding country we drove most of the way to and from the Park in a light carriage, instead of taking the train, stopping to rest at night at some small Ranch with a log cabin, in one of these huts nothing was to be seen of the walls but rough logs, with moss between; nevertheless it was very snug and comfortable, with a warm stove, and was furnished entirely with skins of animals, on the floors, chairs, sofas, etc. Antelope and elk meat was often set before us, the latter has a very fine flavour and somewhat resembles a tender beef-steak.

Returning to Salt Lake City, we made many purchases, fur rugs, articles made of rattlesnake skin, Indian dolls and idols, and a fine elk head. Unfortunately the elk will soon become as scarce as the buffalo, as there is no law for preserving game.

On our way to Chicago we stopped at Glen Wood Springs, and from there went to Aspen, a mining town about forty miles distant, we went down the "Molly Gibson" Silver Mine, the largest in America. The foreman gave us old hats and coats to put on, and took us for about a mile along a little railway track on a trolley under the mountains, each carrying a candle, then we were let down in a cage (which merely consisted of twobars, one to sit on, and the other to hold on by) many feet into the earth; although it was very interesting I was not sorry to be in the sunshine again. Afterwards we went over the Mills, where they were washing the waste from the silver.

Another stop was made at Colorado Springs, we visited Manitou Springs and the Garden of the Gods, where there are some wonderful formations of red sand stone, two rocks called the entrance gates being 400 feet high; the weather was delightfully warm. We also ascended to the Seven Falls, I riding a donkey, the boy told me I could keep the animal if I wished for the same price as hiring it, as they had so many they did not know what to do with them; he also said he could make me a present of two hundred donkeys, the only condition being that I was to take them all, needless to say I declined "with thanks."

Another day we went up "Pikes Peak" (14,147 feet high—nearly three miles straight up in the air) by the cog-wheel railway, the air is so fresh it makes one feel at first a little giddy. There was a great deal of snow on the top, it was bitterly cold. About half way up vegetation ceases entirely.

Personally I do not like Chicago, it is much too busy and bustling for my taste, the racket in the streets is terrible and conversation rendered impossible, but naturally the Chicago people think there is no place like it. We visited Amour's stockyards, they are very extensive, but I could not be induced to enter the slaughter houses, although I have heard that many ladies do so. The "Auditorium" is a fine Hotel, the dining-room being on the top floor. Nearly all the waiters in the States are negroes, and excellent attendants they make.

From Chicago we went some miles south, to Nashville to see the Exhibition of products of the South, calling on the way at St. Louis, a large and important city where in 1904 the "Great World's Fair" is to be held, which they say is to beat Chicago's "Fair" into nothing. Passing through one of the beautiful Parks we observed another Victoria Regia Lily.

Great difficulty was experienced in securing accommodation in Nashville, the place being crowded. An interesting Exhibition of cotton, Indian corn and other things particularly grown in the South, was being held. It was a warm balmy day; there were almost as many negroes as white people there, the farther down South you get the more "blacks" you see.

We had a letter of introduction to the owner of a large cotton plantation about ten miles farther South. This gentleman kindly drove us all round the plantation which had almost the appearance of snow, the cotton just bursting from the pod. A great number of negroes were employed in picking the cotton, in fact there were not more than a dozen white people in the village, they were very clean and tidy-looking, the women dressed in plain cotton clothes, and wearing sunbonnets. These people, whose fathers were slaves receive good wages, but racial feeling is still very strong between blacks and whites. In the South "niggers" are not allowed to travel in the same railway carriages, or sit in the same waiting rooms as white men, one being labelled "coloured," the other "white," and they have Churches to themselves; but they are happy and merry, preferring "a hand-to-mouth" existence, and are as improvident as can be, rarely saving anything, but being absolutely contented with their position of inferiority, the race problem adjusts itself.

In the Northern States the negroes are quite different, they are more "sassy" and stand upon their rights, elbowing themselves into the tramcars and taking the best seats everywhere if they can get them, dressing most ridiculously, aping the fashions and smothering themselves with jewellery, both men and women. They love a conglomeration of bright colours. A girl I noticed in New York was wearing a purple skirt, green bodice and tremendous magenta hat, and I was highly amused one day, when some one came to ask me if I had any "orders" for the coloured "wash lady."

Returning north, through Kentucky we did not fail to visit the celebrated Mammoth Cave, one of the greatest natural curiosities in the world. We sallied forth after breakfast, a party of eight or ten, the ladies attired in bloomers, the men in overalls. We followed the guide down a wild rocky path to the mouth of the cave and each one was provided with a candle. The cave is perfectly wonderful, the stalactites and stalagmites are of every imaginable shape and appearance, some are of gigantic size, being several feet in circumference. A river runs through the cave in which live fishes, without eyes, and there is an eyeless crawfish. The cave also contains chambers, domes, grottoes and lakes. And the atmosphere is so pure and fresh we did not feel in the least tired after our eight-mile walk.

Breaking the journey at Louisville and again at Cincinnati, we arrived at Washington City late in the evening spending the next morning with President M'Kinley at White House, and little we thought then that this generous and noble hearted man would come to such an untimely end. The Capital of the Republic contains the finest Public buildings in the State. The "Capital" of white marble is considered by many people in America to be the grandest building in the world. By an elevator, we ascended the Washington Monument, an obelisk 555 feet high, whence a splendid view of the city is obtained. The new library was only just opened, the exterior is very fine, and the decoration of the interior cost a large sum of money.

One evening we went up to the drawing-room of the Hotel and found a dark handsome woman sitting there with two or three attendants. She entered into conversation and proved to be well up in all the topics of the day; we afterwards discovered that she was the Queen of Honolulu and was staying there with her secretaries and maids-of-honour.

We stayed one day at Philadelphia, a nice clean town with wide streets and large shops, and in the suburbs are fine dwellings. Philadelphia is the principal city of Pennsylvania which was founded by the illustrious William Penn,* "who was a man worthy to be held in reverence. He was the only son of Sir William Penn, a distinguished Admiral, was born 1644, received an excellent education, but disappointed the ambitious hopes of his father by his determined adherence to the doctrines of the Society of Friends, after a variety of persecutions which he bore with exemplary courage and patience, he obtained from Charles II. a grant of country on the west side of the Delaware, in consideration of a public debt due to his father. His treating with the Indians, and his Code for the Government of his province are familiar to all."

It was pleasant to be able to settle down for a week or two in New York after the fatigue of the constant railway travelling of the past months. My father was invited to become a member of the University Club, in Madison Avenue. Much time was taken up in visiting the theatres, lunching at the Waldorf, receiving callers and bouquets of flowers, and having a good time generally. We stayed at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Madison Square, and out of it runs Fifth Avenue the aristocratic streets of New York, where reside the millionaires. Elegant carriages are constantly driving up and down and "Church Parade" on Sunday mornings is a brilliant sight, many fine churches being near at hand. People ought to be

* I am proud to say an ancestor of mine.

good in New York, rumour says there are five hundred churches in the city including St. Patrick's Cathedral.

But I think the nicest place in New York is Central Park, you can always enjoy an hour there. The grey squirrels are so tame they will come and eat nuts out of your hand. And there are such charming drives, it is impossible to drive in the streets of New York with comfort, the roads are so badly paved, but people do not attempt it, the electric, and cable car system is so splendid, and will take anyone anywhere for five cents and the overhead railways are so convenient, but the noise below is rather overpowering until you get used to it.

It is sometimes amusing to spend an afternoon at one of the large stores, perhaps Wannamaker's, or Siegel and Cooper's, you can turn over and examine nearly everything in the shop if you want to (I have seen women do it) and no one worries you to buy anything.

One day we went to Coney Island across Brooklyn Bridge, — reached by train or electric car. When the weather is warm a great deal of bathing is indulged in, mixed bathing being "the thing" here as at all other American resorts. Shows without number are to be seen on all sides, and every amusement imaginable, switchbacks, "loops," spiral railways, and chutes, and there are dozens of cafés and restaurants. Someone once said that Coney Island is open "twenty-four hours of each day and seven days in each week" in the season, and I think he was about right, thousands of New Yorkers go and return day and night, there being no difference whatever made on Sundays. Manhattan Beach is the fashionable part of the Island, there is not the "fun," to be found here, as at Coney Island but it is certainly more "select."

New York is certainly a very fine city, but I wish there were not so many advertisements, they make the place really too unsightly; it is the same, however, in all the towns, in quite rural parts, wherever there is an eligible spot where an advertisement could be fixed, one is sure to appear; no place is held sacred to the Yankee, to whom business comes before everything.

Sailing home in the "Teutonic" the last we saw of America was the famous colossal statue of "Liberty enlightening the world." It is made of copper and iron, is 151 feet high, and stands on a pedestal of marble 155 ft. high. The figure is crowned with a diadem, and holds a torch in its right hand, the fore-finger of which is seven feet long. At night it is lighted by electricity. This figure was the work of Bartholdi and was given by France to the United States.

December, twelve months later found us again in New York *en route* for Florida, it was bitterly cold, there had been a

heavy fall of snow, and the road-men in white uniforms were carting away great frozen blocks of it. During the mornings the sun shone brightly, but as the days grew to a close we could hardly endure the biting wind, so made all possible haste to get down to St. Augustine. Here everything was changed, summer reigning instead of winter, warm breezes, butterflies, roses, stephanotis and other flowers in profusion, taking the place of snow and ice.

Sometime ago St. Augustine belonged to the Spaniards, and the old Spanish Fort is still here, and some parts of the town have still a Spanish appearance. The old slave market has a certain amount of interest. The American Hotels are palatial, crowds of New Yorkers and rich Canadians go down there every season, and still farther south to Palm Beach and Miami. One Sunday morning we thought we would see how they conducted the service at the little "coloured" church, we were the only white people present. The church was full of negroes of all ages, men, women, children, and babies in arms. Some of them looked rather anxiously at us when we entered, wondering why we had come. The preacher was a very educated man and preached a remarkably good sermon, and at the close of the service he came and thanked us for going, and hoped we would repeat our visit; while delivering his discourse he stood on a raised platform and a fat man stood beside him and led the singing (which was accompanied by a harmonium), it sounded wonderfully well. Negroes as a rule have good voices and are usually musical. They seemed very earnest and devout.

We took some trips on the St. John's Ocklawaha and Indian rivers, where we saw many curious animals and birds, turtles, alligators, buzzards, grey squirrels and multitudes of robins, these latter are much larger than our birds of the same name. Alligator hunting is the chief pastime about there, parties go out in a small boat and catch them and drag them to shore. I do not know what would occur if the boats happened to capsize!

Staying for a few days at Rockledge, among the Orange Groves, we enjoyed ourselves plucking and eating as much of the sweet juicy fruit as we liked. The rind of the Florida orange is different in appearance from others, being rough and red-brown in colour, you cannot tell the real taste of an orange, or to what perfection it can attain, until you have gathered it fresh from the tree, all warm from the rays of the sun.

The only disagreeable feature about Florida is the insects. There is a tiny red ant, which is everywhere present, especially where there is food; one day I saw a trail of millions walking up a little table in my room, fortunately I noticed they were making for some biscuits which had been put there, so

threw them out of the window, and the ants immediately disappeared. Then there are some great fat yellow and black beetles, two inches long, which frequently come into the houses, also flying beetles, four inches in length and the same measurement across their wings. In the summer, mosquitoes and sand flies are unendurable, but we were not much troubled with these awful pests.

On our way to Palm Beach we stopped for a day at a large Pineapple district, many of the fields were over twenty-six acres in extent. Growing on the ground they reminded one of cabbages, although somewhat more graceful in appearance.

Palm Beach is certainly the loveliest place in Florida, every imaginable tropical flower growing in the open air. The sun shone brilliantly at 6-30 in the morning, but it became dark soon after five o'clock. On one side of our Hotel was beautiful Lake Worth, along the shores of which numbers of coconut trees were growing, and on the other the Ocean. There were no carriages at Palm Beach, people riding about in rickshaws.

We went for a long walk to a forest, to see a gigantic rubber tree, and on the way saw many queer animals, we visited the Museum, which contains specimens of all the animals, birds, fishes, insects and reptiles found in Florida, there were also some live wild cats, and several rattle-snakes, who made a tremendous noise with their rattles as we approached them, being nearly mad with rage.

After staying two or three days at Miami, we went by steamer to Key West, proceeding thence to Havanah.

As the war between the United States and Spain had just drawn to a close, everything was in a terrible state of confusion in Cuba. In every public square and open space to be found American soldiers were encamped. Out in Havanah harbour lay the remains of the "Maine," never was seen such a complete wreck, only her mast and some pieces of rusty iron appearing above the water. The night of the terrible explosion many of the sailors were instantly killed and others dreadfully wounded. Captain Sigsbee was thrown from his berth but uninjured. He behaved with great bravery and coolness, getting the wounded men off the ship as soon as possible, and himself being the last to leave. I suppose exactly how it happened will never be known, but anyway the Spanish ships in the Harbour did all they could to help the sufferers conveying them to land where they were taken care of in the hospitals, and a cemetery was given to them in which to bury their dead, but it is unnecessary to say any more about this, or regarding the war that followed, it was on everyone's tongue at the time.

The Cubans are all shades of colour, from white to quite black, but the greater number are light brown, a mixture of Indian, Spanish, and Negro blood; walking in the streets, it distressed me to see many faces terribly scarred from the ravages of small-pox, dozens passed me in a few minutes. The principal streets were fine and had fine boulevards but the older parts of the town were dirty, and smelt nearly as badly as Constantinople or Naples. The heat was intense, most of the people were very thinly clad, and as for many of the children, their account at the tailor's or dressmaker's was nil. We went over the Fort, where food was being found by the American Government for hundreds of starving people every day. And were taken over the largest cigar factory in Havana, it was interesting to see the hundreds of men and girls at work.

Cuba is such a rich Island they say it will grow anything, but as the Cubans are so lazy, they have never done much to bring it to any great state of cultivation.

About three days were taken up in crossing the Gulf of Mexico for Vera Cruz. The Gulf swarms with sharks, and as the water was so clear sometimes we saw hundreds of them following the ship, some with their babies besides them.

After spending only a few hours in Vera Cruz where the thermometer stood at 110 we started off in the train for Mexico city, 7,350 feet above the sea. The train had to climb round the mountains, at times it was quite exciting, and at some points the views were superb. We found it considerably cooler in Mexico city, the evenings being quite chilly, it is astonishing what a difference altitude makes, the sunsets were often gorgeous.

Mexico was peopled in remote ages by the Toltecs, Zapotecs and Aztecs. Many curious ruins are still to be found, some of them resembling Egyptian architecture and carving, to a remarkable extent. Very little is known about them. There is much for the antiquarian to study. The Cathedral in Mexico city stands, on the site of the great Aztec Temple, and the sacrificial stone, upon which were sacrificed sixty thousand people, is now in the Museum. The manner of sacrifice was this:—The victim was laid flat on his back upon the stone, and four priests held him, while a fifth, despite his piercing cries, cut out his heart, which, still panting with life was offered to the goddess.

Mexico was conquered by the Spaniards at the beginning of the 16th century, who held possession until 1821 when the Mexicans gained their independence. The rich Mexicans clothe themselves sumptuously in velvet and gold and the trappings and saddles of their horses are often very costly. Some of the ladies are refined and beautiful. The capital is

a well governed city, bull fights take place here as in Spain. It is a pity, as the Mexicans are naturally a brutal people and much cruelty is shown to animals. A great bull fight took place while we were there, and the rush of people was tremendous. We happened to be driving past as the building was being emptied, many of the men were nearly mad with excitement and hustled and pushed each other about as if they hardly knew what they were doing. The tramcars are drawn by mules, they beat them and keep them at a constant gallop, the poor animals only get one meal a day, and have a half-starved appearance. The townspeople carry their dead to the Cemetery on trolley cars drawn by mules, the mourners following in a tramcar behind.

The fruit market is quite a sight, hundreds of the country people, mostly Indians, flock there in the early morning. It is interesting to notice the diversity of costume and variety of character. They sell a great quantity of cooked food which they prepare in the streets on a simple cooking apparatus. They are very fond of frogs, which they skin alive with the greatest unconcern. "Pulque" is the favourite beverage of the lower classes, it is procured from a plant which is grown extensively in the open country. It has rather the appearance of milk, I tasted it and found it most disagreeable, it is very intoxicating if taken in large quantities.

After visiting the National Gallery and the President's Palace, we drove out to Chapultepec Castle, once the residence of Maximilian, on the site of Montezuma's palace, and now the President's summer home. It is a beautiful place on a hill and commands a superb view. It is surrounded by some very fine old trees said to have been planted by the Aztecs.

There are many interesting old places not far from Mexico city. Guadalupe, where rumour says the Virgin appeared to an Indian boy and imprinted her image on his coat, at the same time a spring of water sprang up from the ground supposed to cure all diseases. The coat is taken care of in the Cathedral; thousands of pilgrims flock there every year.

While we were at Cuernavaca a terrible earthquake shock was felt, everything swaying backwards and forwards, and a great rumbling noise was heard under the ground, it was truly appalling. The Indians in the streets went down on their knees and remained so for many minutes. The plaster from the ceilings was strewn all over the floors. In Mexico city, and other places many houses fell and numbers of people were killed and injured. Popocatepetl the presumed extinct volcano can be seen within a few miles of the capital, it is a noble looking mountain.

Leaving Mexico city early in the morning we arrived at

San Moguel, an Indian town, late in the evening. The costume of the women is very simple, they dress very much alike in just a white skirt, chemisette, low at the neck and without sleeves, and a blue cotton shawl is thrown over their heads and shoulders, they usually become mothers at the age of fourteen or fifteen years. The men wear white cotton clothes and straw hats, always carrying a bright red blanket thrown over one shoulder to wrap round them when evening approaches, in the same manner as the Mexicans.

Resuming our journey we stayed for a few days at New Orleans, it was very warm and roses were climbing over the fronts of some of the houses. It had been raining for two or three days before and the streets were almost under water; it is very difficult to drain New Orleans as it lies below the river, which is prevented from overflowing by a vast embankment of earth called the Levee. This Levee is fourteen feet high and fifteen feet wide and forms a delightful promenade, it extends for some miles along the river bank. In the cemeteries the coffins are placed in niches in the walls, the ground being so full of water, they are then bricked up, and a tablet with the name of the deceased upon it is let in.

At Chittanooga, some miles north the cold was intense, being many degrees below zero. We ascended the mountain, but could hardly enjoy it in such bitter weather.

A tremendous amount of snow fell during the next few days, and within twenty-five miles of Washington the train came to standstill, although there were three engines and a snow plough in front,—the coal had all been used up through putting on extra steam and there we had to content ourselves to remain for two or three days until the relief train came from Washington. Luckily the porters managed to keep the cars warm and some food was sent to the train from a farm house which, happily for us, happened to be near. But there was not much of it and sometimes only snow water to drink. It became very wearisome, especially as we did not in the least know how long we might have to stay there;—before the relief train reached us it had in some parts six feet of snow to go through. Such a snow storm had not been experienced for many years. Hundreds of sheep and cattle were frozen to death in the fields, and from numbers of different sources came harrowing tales of suffering and privation.

C. MILLICENT KNIGHT.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab during 1901.—(Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore.)*

THE litigiousness, noted below, in the Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab is manifested, also as regards Criminal Justice in the number of complaints made and dismissed, and the fall in the percentage of persons convicted to those tried. In the Karnal District there was an abnormal increase in 1901 in the number of cases summarily dismissed. Mr. Malan, Registrar of the Chief Court, Punjab, rightly remarks that a free use of the power of summary dismissal is the most effective preventive of abuses noticed by the District Magistrate of Hoshiarpur, such as the bringing of complaints as a means of affording congenial amusement to the public or as a method of spending surplus funds. It is very doubtful whether such a remedy for an excess of petty cases should be allowed as the imposition of a heavier stamp duty on complaints. The difficulties of the poor in obtaining justice are already great enough. A remark which would rejoice a doctor's heart occurs to the effect that "the inhabitants of the hilly district of Kangra are above the petty litigiousness found among their neighbours of the plains." To Anglo-Indians it is, indeed, "*the hills from whence cometh my help*." That it is becoming increasingly realized that crime depends very largely on physical conditions, several remarks in the Report under notice demonstrate. The Judges attribute the decrease of dacoities in the year under report to improved agricultural conditions; and the Lieutenant-Governor's Report attributes the larger number of whippings in 1900 to the unusual amount of petty crime committed during the famine—a pathetic glimpse into the origin of crime which might a little modify the hard tone so often noticeable in those whose bread has been sure, towards anyone who has ever been convicted. It is to be hoped that judgment may be tempered with mercy *pace* the Sessions Judge of Umballa, in any such reconsideration of the Whipping Act, as is hinted at in paragraph 13 of the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks. With reference to this, one hopes some especial enquiry may be made into the frequency of floggings in jails. In a well-

managed prison, with a just and merciful staff of officials, whippings not ordered as part of the sentence should be rare. Men whose health is good should rarely; when sane commit offences for which they are liable to be flogged. Prison discipline is not meant to impair the health; hard work, plain but sufficient food, and the removal of outside temptation, such as drink or the poverty that drives to crimes against property, should furnish some of the conditions found so beneficial in Lunatic Asylums and Retreats for Inebriates and Charitable Penitentiaries. Where floggings inflicted for jail offences are frequent, one of three conditions must be present: (1) a corrupt inferior staff and an inefficient superior; (2) bad physical conditions predisposing men to crimes of impulse; (3) a preponderance among the prisoners, of men who ought rather to be in Lunatic Asylums. It is to be feared that the first and third of these conditions are by no means infrequent in India, although it is the boast of our Indian jail that the second is rare.

That our prisons are still, in some ways, in the Dark Ages is shown by a remark of the Lieutenant-Governor, to the effect that the practice of imposing fines, in order that prisoners should pay for their keep, exists in Mianwali and "ought to be discontinued." One is reminded of Bunyan and his experiences in "a certain place where was a den."

The desirability of retaining flogging as a punishment for Europeans in India is a question worthy of being raised. We have in this country, practically, none of Lambroso's criminal class among Europeans, and, in consequence, the disgrace of even simple imprisonment, is in itself a heavy punishment, to men all more or less educated. Climatic reasons also render, even simple imprisonment, and, still more, rigorous imprisonment a much greater punishment than it is at home or is to natives here. In addition, however, the frequency in India, of beating as a means of punishment, at the hands of the family renders it a less disgraceful punishment at the hands of the law. This view is borne out by the District Magistrate of Ferozepore, who mentions the case of a man who begged to be whipped instead of being fined. Satan's remark would not seem to apply to the Indian native—"skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life."

It is much to be wished, also, that the administration of flogging to Europeans in jail should be specially investigated. No European can be found to undertake such work, and its fit executors are found in natives undergoing a long sentence, frequently for some brutal murder. The length of time required in Hospital after this punishment, shows how severe it is, and even a convict has a right to be considered in a

* A Criticism, with a special note on the flogging of Europeans in Jail.

climate. where nervous shock is as detrimental to the system as India. Moreover, the evidence on which Europeans can be flogged in jail, is almost sure to be entirely native, and such a cruel and disgraceful punishment should not be inflicted on Europeans, on the mere evidence of native prisoners, and least of all in jails where one prisoner is for reasons of economy put in a position to control other prisoners and so to arouse their evil passions. The whole question of conviction of Europeans on purely native evidence, is one that should be frequently considered, when even a Government Report will state "Many sentences err on the side of leniency because the Tasildar is not convinced of the guilt of the accused." "In this country most complaints consist of a modicum of truth diluted with a quantity of fiction." "The high number of acquittals is due to the custom the police have of sending up a number of innocent persons with the real culprits." As a nation we are, proverbially, slow and behindhand; and if we are so in England, how much more so in India. The view of punishment as mainly vindictive is largely absolute, and as regards fallible human justice it ought to be so: the best and wisest psychologists and humanitarians regard it, in the ideal, as remedial to the individual and protective to society. The flogging of a European, especially in an Indian jail, can hardly be regarded as even a dignified vindication of abstract virtue, and still less as beneficial to society or to the individual.

Together with the satisfactory abatement noted in serious crime, there is an increase in offences against the Arms Act and in relation to marriage.

The increase in the former is probably due to a stricter enforcement of sections 19 and 20 on account of the prevalence of dacoity in 1899 and 1900. The increase in the latter is attributable to the tendency of men who, in a famine year, have got rid of their wives and children, to attempt to recover them when the stress is over.

Even Government Reports have their humours. The District Magistrate of Hoshiarpur would seem to be somewhat of a wag and his witticisms are evidently acceptable at headquarters. Such remarks as the following relieve the monotony of criminal statistics: "The criminal propensities of the population do not lie in the direction of violence, but rather in that of *peaceful* fraud." Again, "the waste of time, labour and material involved in needless and abortive trials is nothing else than lamentable. But the systematic manner in which Codes, elaborated by the highest legal talent, are utilised as playthings by a not very civilised peasantry certainly has its grotesque side."

Census of India, Volume 16. North-West Provinces and Oudh.
By R. Burn, I.C.S., Superintendent, Census Operations.

THE volumes of the Census of India for 1901 just published may be called the romance of statistics; and the pages which deal with the distribution and movement of population, the religion and the education of the people, as gathered from the details given in the Census tables, form most interesting reading.

The Report opens with a description of the method adopted in taking the Census. Operations commenced all but a year beforehand. Each district was divided into charges; 1,283 charges were formed with an average population of 37,172, the average area of a rural charge being 118 square miles. The charges were divided into blocks, each containing as a maximum 60 houses with a population of 300, that being the largest number that can be conveniently dealt with by a single enumerator. During August 1900 the training of charge superintendents began, in September, house numbering was commenced. On January 15th, 1901, the preliminary enumeration began and was checked before March. On the night of March 1st the enumerator went round his block and struck out all entries relating to absentees and filled in a schedule for new-comers. The first totals to reach the Census Commissioner from these Provinces were those of the Rampur State which were ready at 9-20 A.M. on March 2nd: Mr. Gracey at Muzaffarnagar came in second, at 5 P.M., and Mr. T. Way at Sultanpur at 6 P.M.

In order to ascertain the hot weather population, a special Census was taken of the hill stations on September 7th, 1902. The arrangements received a test at Ajudhia which reflects great credit on Census officials great and small. "The Gobind Duadashi Festival then took place on March 2nd; for some days beforehand enumerators in all the adjacent districts were directed to enquire what persons were going to the fair, to mark their names in the schedules, and to give them tickets showing that they had been enumerated. Such persons on arrival at Ajudhia were not enumerated and were reckoned as present in the block in which they had been enumerated. "The morning after the fair," says Mr. Burn, "I found hardly a person in the crowds at the railway station who could not produce his enumeration ticket carefully tied up in his clothes or pagri."

This carefulness may have been due to the fear they would not be allowed to bathe without a ticket; and bathing in the Ghagra at Ajudhia is believed to be as efficacious as bathing in all the sacred places of India together. That the people, as a whole, are beginning to be less suspicious of our intentions

in the matter of the Census is shown by the fact that in 37 out of 48 districts no cases had to be instituted under the Census Act of 1900. Only 27 persons were prosecuted in all, of whom 21 were fined. The total number of staff employed was 238,466, of whom 111,741 were non-officials. A few complaints appeared on the subject of the employment of non-officials and most of them unpaid, and of the fact that Government servants received no extra pay for Census work. In answer, Mr. Burn points out that "the liability to assist in the Census is an implied condition of Government service, and is as binding as the liability to perform extra work in terms of special stress, such as famine or plague; while in the case of non-officials there is the same liability as to service as assessors or juries. If non-official agency were paid, the cost would be increased to a prohibitive amount and the work would not be so well done. As a rule the non-officials were persons in a superior station of life who would refuse money payments."

It is worthy of notice that the schedules issued to "Europeans" were on the whole the worst done. We may note that it is we who have placed the word in inverted commas. The standard of education of the Eurasian is in many cases lower than that of the native; and his discipline sometimes no better. An amusing difficulty took place at Dehra Dun where it was necessary to enumerate an assemblage of fakirs under a vow of silence. Mr. Burn is unfortunately silent as to the interesting nature of the arrangements made. It is reported from Almora that "the Rajis, a jungle tribe whose speech is described as like the twittering of birds, vanished into the forests and escaped enumeration."

The system adopted for abstraction and tabulation was the "ship" system first introduced by Von Mayr in the Bavarian Census of 1871. "Three colours were used, yellow for Hindus, red for Muhammadans, and blue for other religions: the slips were long for males and short for females; a complete rectangular slip was used for married persons, one corner being cut off for the unmarried and two corners for the widowed,"—a graphic delineation of the perfection of the married state!

Electricity was called in to aid in the tabulation of the Austrian Census of 1891, but the great variety of detail in India and the low standard of education in the rank and file of the Census official as well as the cost, prohibited its use in India. The net cost of the Census per 1,000 of population in the North-West Provinces was Rs. 5-3-5; the total cost in the British districts was Rs. 2,33,900 against Rs. 4,83,131 in 1891. Of this difference two lakhs are fairly attributable to the change to the slip system.

CULTIVATION.—The first chapter of the Report deals with the distribution of population, and includes a topographical description of the various natural districts of the Province. The total area is 66 million acres, of which 47 million are culturable, including both fallow and pasture land, both of which are absolutely necessary. The normal area actually cultivated varies between 53 per cent. in the Central India plateau and 80 per cent. in the Eastern Gangetic plain. The area double cropped is largest in the sub-Himalaya East where it is 32 per cent. This area is, however, fluctuating, depending a good deal on the character of the rains.

IRRIGATION.—About 7 per cent. of the total culturable area has been irrigated. In the Central India plateau, the tract, which has suffered most severely from famine, is at present under examination with a view to providing irrigation. The largest extensions made in the decade are on the Lower Ganges Canal where the distributaries have been increased by 325 miles. "An important part of the work has been the extension of drainage cuts to relieve waterlogged tracts which has had an appreciable effect on the health of the population especially in the Western Plain. The whole of Oudh and the Gorakhpur and Benares Divisions are entirely without Canal Irrigation, but irrigation from wells, rivers, wamps and lakes plays an important part." Out of 33 million acres, 10 million have been irrigated, of which 6 million are from wells, and nearly 2 million from canals.

RAILWAYS.—The total increase has been about 800 miles, from 2,699 to 3,496, and has occurred mainly on the Oudh and Rohilkhand and the Bengal North-Western Railways.

DENSITY OF POPULATION.—The total population of the provinces excluding Rampur and Tehli is 47,691,782. The average number of persons in British districts is 445 per square mile. Excluding the nineteen largest towns, it is 427, against 420 in 1891, 397 in 1881, and 373 in 1872. The number is lowest in the Himalaya West, only 95, while in the Ballia district in the extreme east there are 791 persons to a square mile. The floods of 1894 and the famine of 1896 and 1897 have reduced the density in the Central India plateau, the East Satpuras, and the Indo-Gangetic Plain East. The largest increase has occurred in Gorakhpur, from 428 in 1872 to 629.7. "This district, has made progress which can be illustrated by the report of its Collector not a hundred years ago. He had to have fires lighted at night round the town to keep out tigers, and pits dug on the outskirts as a protection against wild elephants."

"A Court-house stands where the regiment stood
And the river's clean where the raw blood flowed
When the Widow gave the party."

As regards the density in cities, Cawnpore "with its narrow winding thoroughfares in which two carts can only pass in places" comes first with 37,538 persons per square mile, and Meerut next with 27,152, Benares third with 21,742. Allahabad is really as crowded as Cawnpore, the population being 100 and 101 per acre respectively. In these towns special measures may be required to meet the overcrowding: in Cawnpore the Municipal Board is about to drive new roads through the more crowded portions of the town. For census purposes a town was defined as any area in which the Municipal Act, or the Cantonment Act, was in force or any continuous group of houses containing not less than 5,000 persons. The number of cities over 100,000 is 7 as in 1891, the seven being Lucknow, Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, and Meerut. Twelve more have been considered "cities" for census purposes, Mirzapur, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Fyzabad, Koil, Farukhabad, Saharanpur, Gorakhpur, Muttra, Jhansi, Jaunpur and Hathras. "These nineteen cities" to quote the Report, "illustrate completely the varieties of causes which tend to the growth and decay of large towns in India. Lucknow, Fyzabad, and Jaunpur owed their importance, originally, to their having been the seat of Muhammadan rulers, and they are now all three stationary or decaying, though all three are head-quarters of districts and Lucknow is still an industrial centre. Farukhabad was founded in the early part of the 18th century by a Pathan free-lance who raised himself to some position, and fifty years later it was of importance as a frontier station of the British with a large trade in the distribution of goods. The opening of through railways which passed it by has affected it injuriously. Benares, Allahabad, Bindhachal, (in Mirzapur), Ajudhia (in Fyzabad), and Muttra are all of importance owing to their religious sanctity, while Allahabad is also the capital of the provinces. The cities which have thriven, on account of their trade, may be divided into two classes, those in which the trade consists principally in the collection and distribution of produce and manufactured articles, such as Bareilly, Meerut, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Koil, Saharanpur, Gorakhpur and Jhansi, while the second class includes those in which manufactures have begun to take an important part, such as Cawnpore, Agra, Mirzapur and Hathras. Agra owes its origin, as a place of importance, to the fact that it was chosen by Akbar as a royal residence, but it would have shared the fate of many similar towns if it had not risen as a trading centre. Cawnpore and Hathras owe their positions entirely to the circumstances of British rule, while Mirzapur, which was at its prime during the cotton famine in the American

war, has suffered from the substitution of railways for carriage by water. The mere fact of being the centres of converging lines of railways has materially assisted in the development of Cawnpore, Agra, and Gorakhpur, and the new line from Fyzabad to Allahabad should improve the trade of the latter place. . . . Urban growth will depend, in the future, in all probability, more on the current of trade than on religious sentiment or the accident of a place being selected as the seat of Government. The effect of famine on the Province has been very carefully worked out in the second Chapter of Report. To quote Mr. Burn's Summary:—

"In the Central India Plateau, the portion of Allahabad south of the Jamna, and the Mirzapur districts, a portion of Agra and Etawah and the Hardoi districts, the failure of the crops, owing to drought in 1895 and 1896 has been the great cause of distress, and would have been sufficient to seriously affect the population if the preceding seasons had been favourable; but its effects were intensified by the fact that they were not, though excessive rainfall had not been sufficient in these places to materially increase the mortality or decrease the birth rate. The same remarks apply, though the results have been much milder, to the other districts of the central plain. On the other hand in the Eastern plain the predominant factor has been mortality due to disease caused by excessive rain, and a corresponding decline in the birth rate, while the damage to the crops due to the same cause has probably been greater than the losses through drought. The western plain did not suffer appreciably from either flood or famine, and a large part of it has materially prospered from the adversity of other regions."

The keynote of hope is sounded in the concluding sentences of this summary as to the results of the famine:—

"It has been reported from one district in which the famine was felt severely that the principal trace of it remaining is the readiness with which temporary wells are now made to irrigate spring crops on land on which, before 1897, nothing but autumn crops were grown, except perhaps in Bundelkhand the recovery has been rapid every where. The Romans once gave a triumph to the general who, though beaten in every battle, "had not despaired of the State," and while not belittling the unrelenting toil and forethought of the officers of Government during the period of stress, those whose fortune it was to be near the ryot during the dark times of 1894-97 will not grudge him a palm."

The difficulty of obtaining vital statistics in India, with any accuracy, is great, and the census affords a good check on the methods in force. In rural areas, in the North-Western

Provinces, there is no compulsory registrations of vital statistics except in the case of persons subject to the provisions of the law for the prevention of infanticide. The total number of persons proclaimed under this law was 44,173 on April 1st 1901, and these were mostly in the Agra Division. Was it in irony that this date was chosen as the nominal birthday of a clan given to infanticide? The rapidly decreasing birth-rate in England would seem to point the lesson that conduct that interferes with the birthrate is the worst of folly. In urban areas there have been municipal rules for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths in all municipalities since 1892. Both the head of the family, the sweeper of the house and the police chaukidar, in whose circle a birth or death occurs, are bound to report it, the two former to the Municipality, the last to the Police Station. A few places have appointed retired medical officers as registrars and there are special health officers in one or two of the large towns. Reckoning by the census check, the deficiency in registration is only between 288,000 and 530,000; the conclusion Mr. Burn draws is that "in spite of the unfavourable conditions of the decade, the reporting of total statistics has been fairly satisfactory, and the deficiency unaccounted for must be spread over the four black years 1894—1897.

The chapter on Religion notes that 85 per cent. of the population are Hindus, 14 per cent. Masalmans, and the rest (6 per cent.) are either Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Aryas or Brahmos. The Masalman population is increasing at a greater rate than the Hindu, the Masalmans being more fertile than the Hindus, and living longer. These two facts are put down to the reason that the Masalmans are better off, live on a more liberal diet, abound in the prosperous Meerut division, and are not so addicted to the use of drugs. Moreover the marriage age is greater in the case of Masalmans. With Hindus too, the unfit girls are more frequently married than in the case of Masalmans, and the girls are more often neglected and even got rid of. A large increase occurred in the number of Native Christians and of Aryas, largely due to conversions from Hinduism, the number of converts from Islam being infinitesimal. Brahmos have increased very slightly and are nearly all Bengalis as is natural, women converts are more commonly Christian, than Arya Somaj. The most careful enquiry has failed to discover any extensive proselytism in recent times from Hinduism to Islam, though isolated instances certainly occur, both by genuine conversion and in the case of men and women who have lost caste; and it is not uncommon for illegitimate children of Hindus, especially by Muhammadan women, to be brought up as Masalmans.

There are only 788 Buddhists in 1901 as compared with 1,387 in 1891, more than half of these are Burmese prisoners and 235 are Tibetans in the Kumaun Division, who are gradually becoming Hinduised.

Many pages are devoted to a summary of the main characteristics of the various creeds; some of Mr. Buen's ideas and experiences are very interesting; as the thesis he sets out to prove is that we must judge a religion far more by its actual working than by its theoretical standards. With regard to the practice of the Musalmans in the North-Western Province, Mr. Buen writes: "In regard to prayer the ignorance of the ordinary man is a stumbling block, but there are few who do not repeat the creed on rising, and hardly a Musalman will be absent from prayers on the Id-ul-fitr and the Id-uz-zoha. The obligatory five prayers a day and the prayer on Friday morning are not performed by the masses, but ignorance of the words is accountable for this. Even at the Id festivals, the majority of those present are unable to do more than imitate the movements of their better-informed neighbours. The observance of the fast during Ramzan is probably stricter amongst the masses than amongst the higher classes, excepting those individuals who are exceptionally pious and orthodox. In the giving of alms the Musalman is in no way behind the Hindu, and, in fact, a fixed proportion of savings, over a certain amount is prescribed, and in many cases is actually distributed to the poor. A practice which was formerly much commoner than at present still exists by which a woman with a newly-born child will take a poor man's motherless infant and suckle it for charity." "Sins are divided into sins against God only and those against man also. In regard to the latter, a belief is strongly held by the mass of the people that if the sinner is forgiven by the person sinned against that particular sin will not tell very strongly in the day of judgment." Mr. Buen has a thoughtful paragraph on the affinities between Islam and Hinduism. This chapter may not lie altogether expected in a Census Report, but it certainly makes very interesting reading. With regard to Native Christians, Mr. Buen notes.

"The customs hardest to change among the low-caste converts are their old ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death, the belief in spirits, and the loathing at contact with sweepers who still practise their old occupation. From one district it was reported that images and shrines of the *Lalguru* are still resorted to in secret. It would therefore seem that these numerous conversions somewhat resemble those of Hindus in Eastern Bengal to Islam, with the exception that greater care is taken to instruct and look after the spiritual welfare of the

for the future. As long as the number of converts in a mission does not exceed what can be looked after by the more highly educated and responsible pastors, no changes in doctrine are to be expected; but if conversions increase, and especially if the higher castes and more educated Hindus are attracted, there seems a likelihood that the dogmas of Western Christianity will undergo some modifications; and that India will present varieties of belief parallel to the so-called heresies of the first few centuries of our era." Indeed the illustration of the development of Christianity in Europe, by the phenomena observable in modern mission work, is a theme that might be worked up to the advantage of Church history, and of missionary methods alike.

With regard to the distribution of Christians by race and denomination, the Anglican Communion numbers far the most of Europeans and Eurasians. 18,060 Europeans out of 28,410 and 2,969 Eurasians out of 5,218; whereas of Native Christians, the Anglican Communion numbers 7,039, the Roman Catholic 3,232, while the Methodists come first with 50,313, the total being 68,841.

An interesting, suggestive, and in some ways amusing table appears on page 104, which was furnished by a Muhammadan, comparing the censure attached to various wrong acts according to the orthodoxy of various classes, with the censure attached to them by the official creed and by educated English people. We are inclined to quarrel with one or two of the conclusions, more especially those under the heading "English educated." Does "neglecting fasts" rank as 20 where "neglecting prayers" only ranks as 10? And does "eating pork" rank as 99 in a 100 among us? Naturally the compiler of this table is a better judge of Musalman than of English morals, but it is well sometimes to "see ourselves as others see us."

Statistics show that the proportion of women is rising, though only in the extreme East and the North East and the North-West does it exceed that of the men. "There is no indication, from the statistics available, that infanticide can affect to any large extent the proportion of the sexes in the population as a whole. The higher the caste the lower the proportion of women." As the higher castes are usually of the better races, this tallies with the observation that the lower the form of life, the higher is the rate of reproduction.

The remarriage of widows is stated by Mr. Buen to occur among the lower castes, though the full marriage ceremony cannot be performed more than once for the same woman. The Kurmis are an example of a caste which is trying to rise in the social scale and so is stopping the re-marriage of widows.

Divorce among the Hindus, as a rule, allows the husband to marry again. Among Muhammadans in the N.-W. P. it is most exceptional. "In practice it is made almost impossible, by the enormous dowry promised at marriage which have to be paid if a woman is divorced: in consequence of a lawsuit in which this appeared a hardship, opinions were recently collected as to the advisability of allowing courts the power to reduce a promised dowry when excessive. The unanimity with which the proposal was condemned by all classes of Muhammadans showed that the restriction on divorce was recognised as beneficial. It is significant that "this sentiment contrasts strongly with the view held in some western countries." Mr. Buen quotes Professor Letonenean's "Evolution of Marriage" to the effect that it is probable, that a future more or less distant, will inaugurate the régime of monogamic unions, freely contracted, and at need, freely dissolved by simple mutual consent." Mr. Buen concludes that "in India, at any rate that future is certainly far distant." If so, India can give points to several "Christian" nations.

As regards education, 1,422,924 males and 55,941 females were returned as literate compared with 1,257,149 males and 38,468 females in 1891. Out of 10,000 males 578 can read and write, while out of 10,000 females only 24 are literate. Of religions, 41 per cent. of Christians are literate, 24 per cent. of Aryas, of Jains 22 per cent., while among Hindus and Musalmans the proportion is less than three per cent. Taking all religions together 24 persons out of 10,000 can read and write English. As far as females are concerned, English education is practically non-existent for all but Christians. Literate Kayasthas number 11 per cent. of the total number of persons who can read and write, and this caste includes over one-fifth of the total number of literate females. "One of the things which strikes a European most about the literate native is the fact that he seems to read so little. The two classes of literature most favoured in these provinces, apart from schoolbooks and keys, are religious works (often in poetry) and erotic novels. The great majority of natives learn to read and write simply to be able to compose and read letters and keep accounts. A large proportion leave school as soon as they are able to compose a more or less ungrammatical telegram." One cause adduced is that 25 per cent. of the total are castes that are untouchable, and boys of these castes would not be admitted into most schools. Female education is chiefly in the hands of Missionaries.

The Chapter on Infirmities shows that between 1891 and 1901 there was a decrease in the number of persons afflicted

with blindness, leprosy, and congenital deaf-mutism. This is attributed to the fact that such persons are usually beggars, and that the period of stress through which the provinces has passed must have told especially on these. Insane persons number 1'44 per 10,000. This proportion is far below that in Europe, which may largely be due to the greater readiness to have lunatics certified in Europe. The number of non-violent cases concealed must be great, especially among the upper class women.

Chapters on Caste and Occupation end the first volume, while the second volume is taken up with Imperial Tables, the whole forming the most up-to-date material for estimating the present condition of what are more properly known now as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Triennial Reports of the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. (1902.) By Col. HUTCHESON, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. United Provinces and of the Punjab, by Col. A. SCOTT REID, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospital, Punjab.

THERE has been a great apparent increase in the number of Hospitals and Dispensaries in Agra and Oudh, owing to the inclusion for the first time of the Railway, Police, Forest and private dispensaries. The actual increase of Government medical institutions has been 13 only. The total number of patients both indoor and outdoor treated in the dispensaries was 3,717,285. In Bengal the number for the same year (1901) was 3,991,443. Agra showed a still larger number in 1899, but plague scares and plague preventive measures affected the attendance in 1900-1901. Confidence is however becoming re-established. There has been a notable increase in Allahabad. The percentage of deaths in Hospital was 5'33 in 1901. The death-rate in Bengal is considerably higher, being 15'7 in Calcutta Medical Institutions (excluding eye-cases) in 1901, and 10'67 in Bengal in general in the same year. The corresponding Bengal Report alludes to the large number of patients admitted moribund in that Province, and especially in centres of pilgrimage and in Calcutta. The Inspector-General for the United Provinces very justly remarks that "skill and proficiency in operative surgery are not in any special way indicated by any merely numerical sign." There is a certain amount of danger in the present method of tabulating medical officers according to the number of selected operations performed, especially as the results are not taken into account in this table. We suspect that the fallacy of statistics is more dangerous in medical than in most other matters. The

verdict as to the success of the operation is given in each case by the operator; and often it is the wiser Surgeon who will say "relieved" where the inferior or junior will write "cured." Statistics cannot deal with the last of the three ideals of the medical profession, as given tersely in the sentence, "guérir quelquefois : soulager fréquemment : consoler toujours." It is probably as much to the two last as to the first that the growing popularity of Hospitals is due, particularly amongst Indian women. The number of successful cataract extractions was 4,995 against 2,132 in Bengal and 604 in Calcutta. The Punjab comes first in this matter with 5,204 successful operations on cataract. There is much the most cordial appreciation of women's medical work, more particularly in Missionary Institutions, in the Punjab report, "The Amritsar Lying-in Mission Hospital does excellent work among the women of that city." There are 24 Missionary Institutions doing good work, especially in the treatment of women, and Sir Charles Rivaz gladly welcomes them as a valuable adjunct to the institutions supported from public funds. Col. Hutcheson remarks, in the Agra Report, that "it has been considered desirable to extend the system of private visits by Lady Doctors as far as practicable without interfering with ordinary Hospital duty." It should be remembered, to the credit of the Lady Doctors, that such work, usually in airless dirty bhusties, is much more trying than in a well-ordered Hospital.

Season and Crop Report of Bengal, 1901-1902.

THE early cessation of the rains and the drought throughout the cold weather caused wide-spread injury to crops, which was most marked in the North Ganges districts of the Patna Division. The area sown with autumn crops was below the normal owing to the scanty rainfall in the sowing season, thus reducing the average outturn to 90 per cent. of a normal crop. The jute crop was a full one, but indigo in Bihar gave only 80 per cent. outturn. The early cessation of the rains seriously damaged the winter rice crop everywhere except in Eastern Bengal. The yield in the whole Province was estimated at 75 per cent. of a normal crop. The summer crops also were only 75 per cent. as compared with 80 per cent. in the preceding year. The failure was most marked in the unirrigated districts of the Patna Division where the yield varied from 39 per cent. in Champaran to 65 per cent. in the Patna district. The total area cultivated in all the *rabi* crops was 555,000 acres less than in preceding year. The *boro* or summer rice crop and sugarcane were the only crops which prospered.

Triennial Report on Vaccination in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1899-1902.

THIS Report possesses two advantages over the corresponding Report for Bengal; one is a map of the Provinces, and the other is the use of red as well as black ink in the diagram showing the death-rate from small-pox in comparison with the proportion of the population protected by vaccination. In the Agra table one can see at a glance that the death-rate was abnormally high in Jalaun and Par-tabgahr, and at another glance that these two places are not near enough for there to be any probability of infection from proximity. The Bengal table is much more confusing, and the Agra method might well be adopted in the next Report.

The average cost of each successful vaccination was one anna three pies in Agra, and the same in Bengal—a sum which Major White, the Sanitary Commissioner, well remarks, would cause surprise to many English municipalities. The average number of operations performed by each vaccinator is over 1,600 in Agra, which is considerably over the Bengal average. The vaccinator is not a highly-educated man, is paid in Agra from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, and beyond vaccination duties has to attend fairs, and do cholera and plague duty. The prevalence of plague in Bengal probably accounts for its inferiority to Agra in vaccination numbers on this occasion. Only 981 deaths took place from small-pox in the North-West Provinces in 1901, whereas in Bengal in 1901, 25,302 occurred, and in 1902—48,207. The Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal regards the inadequacy of the present supply of lymph as seriously interfering with the work of his department, and also refers to the poor pay of the vaccinators as hindering success. They are not Government servants and so are not recognized by the people and are looked upon with disfavour. They depend for their living on the fees which they get from the people, which, unfortunately, they are frequently unable to realise. There is no law to enforce these fees, so they have to depend on the good graces of the village panchayets or the police, but the people have come to know that the only course left to the vaccinator is to institute a civil suit which he will not care to do because of the worry and expense of it. The result is that many trained good vaccinators throw up their appointment in disgust, and it is difficult to replace them. Many places are therefore left unprotected, and on the outbreak of small-pox it plays havoc as it did last year. The subordinate inspecting staff are recruited from the vaccination staff, and cannot be expected to exercise any great influence on the people, on which alone, under

the present optional system, the success of vaccination depends. Major Dyson recommends that Bengal should follow the example of Agra by introducing Government paid vaccinators and reducing the number of the subordinate inspecting staff. We are glad to read that Capt. Clemesha, I. M. S., Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, Northern Bengal Circle, had asked for permission to visit the United Provinces to observe the working of their evidently superior plan.

Triennial Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal, 1902.

WHERE an unkind Government has put a stern maximum limit of ten pages, it is well that the Inspector-General of Registration, Bengal, has made use of the graphic method and illustrated the incidence of registration in Bengal by a map. A satisfactory increase is noted, that for 1901-1902 being 9·3 per cent. of the figure for 1900-1901, while that for 1900-1901 was 10·7 per cent. of the figure for the preceding year. The increase in Mymensingh is ascribed in part to the treatment of Zar-i-peshgi deeds as leases instead of mortgages. A large number was registered in 1901-1902 owing to the partial failure of crops. In Backergunge, the increase is ascribed to the larger familiarity of the people with the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and the commencement of the General Survey and Settlement of the district. The increase in Jessore is ascribed by the Registrar partly to the fact that on account of drought, low lands under water dried up, and *raiya*s took settlement of them for cultivation, and partly to the circumstance that on account of the high prices of grains, people borrowed money to meet their pecuniary difficulties by leasing their lands, temporarily, to money-lenders with the verbal contract that the latter would release the land when the loan was repaid. It is reported that the money-lenders devised the scheme to avoid litigation for the recovery of the loans.

It is reported from Nadia that indigo planters have been abandoning indigo cultivation and granting term leases to their *raiya*s for other cultivation. These transactions indicate a decline in the trade in natural indigo owing to the competition of synthetic indigo. Mr. T. K. Ghose quotes the remarks of the Director-General of Statistics, Mr. J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E., to the effect that "the cultivation of indigo in Lower Bengal has contracted almost to the vanishing point, whereas in Bihar the planters are applying scientific methods to the reduction of cost and the increase of yield, and insuring themselves against ultimate failure with indigo by the cultivation of other remunerative crops."

Registrations in Calcutta have shown a steady improvement. The Registrar, Mr. Behari Lal Chunder, assigns several causes, the steady and higher rate of exchange, the depressed condition of tea and indigo, and the high price of food-grains, the high price of English coal, leading to increase of documents relating to coal lands, the erection of new buildings, and the growing tendency of manufacturers to register trademarks, or rather declarations as to trade marks.

During the last two years there has been a material reduction in the number of prosecutions under the Act. Sir W. Herschell's system of finger-prints for the identification of registrants has had a deterrent effect on false personation. Convictions have been based on the identity of thumb-impressions.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1901.

THE bearing of public health on litigation is not at first sight clear to either the doctor or the lawyer. It is therefore interesting in the Report under review to note that the very considerable increase in institutions in 1901 is attributed not only to the good spring harvest but to the return of good public health after a particularly unhealthy and malarious autumn. On the other hand the prevalence of plague in the Sialkot district influenced the institution of suits adversely.

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab animadverted on the low value of the subject matter for which many suits are instituted. The money-lenders of Muzaffargarh resort to the Courts even for petty debts of between one and ten rupees. Thirty-six per cent. of the cases in this District did not exceed Rs. 10 in value.

The work of the Courts in executing decrees is still unsatisfactory. It is justly remarked that "where the realisations do not on an average much more than cover the cost of suing there is a practical failure of justice. The Judges report that the majority of judicial officers do not devote to execution work the amount of time and attention which it demands. The matter is to be more fully reported on next year, and the cases of officers inattentive to this work are to be specially brought to notice.

As regards the work of Assistant Commissioners, the Divisional Judge of Rawalpindi remarks that the orders recently passed for the submission of monthly statements showing the civil case work done, has acted beneficially on these officers. On the other hand the danger of exacting the disposal of large numbers of cases is pointed out, for where a Karnal Munsif and another in Mianwali disposed of over 3,000 cases each, it

is open to question if justice can really have been done. In Jullunder the District Judge came across a case for the restoration of a wife, in which a Munsif had issued a commission for local inquiry to an ordinary Mukhtar with the naive remark that "the case was not satisfactorily proved by either party." The Registrar of the Chief Court, Punjab, remarks that "this Munsif would seem to have very vague ideas as to the meaning of the burden of proof, and correspondingly clear ideas as to the advisability of shifting the burden of decision on to shoulders other than his own." The question of increasing the establishments of extra Assistant Commissioners, Munsifs, and Tahsildars, and of raising their pay is now under consideration.

Attention is called to the long and increasing duration of cases, the average for contested cases being 47 as against 42 in 1899, and for uncontested cases 28 against 24. The average duration of appeals fell from 99 to 93 in courts subordinate to the Chief Court, the percentage of appeals also fell, and in 56.5 per cent. of appeals the order of the lower Court was upheld. In the Chief Court also the appeals fell, and also the average duration, but the decision of the lower Court was upheld in only 39 per cent. of the cases.

With a view to hastening the disposal of civil cases in the Punjab Courts considerable changes have been made during 1901 and 1902. The Civil Courts have been partially relieved from criminal work by the withdrawal from the District Judge of Lahore of his criminal appellate powers. The District Judges of Delhi, Ambala, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Lahore, Amritsar and Rawalpindi are employed exclusively on civil work. The Registrar ends the Report of 1901 by expressing a hope of a substantial improvement in the duration of civil suits.

The difficulties of justice in this country are illustrated by the remarks on thumb impressions. The bad quality of the ink used has vitiated many of the results. At the same time the process has been found most useful, a case of false personation of a witness having been discovered in Rawalpindi by means of the thumb mark on the back of a summons. The employment in Ambala and Sialkot of intelligent process-servers with apparatus for taking thumb impressions on summonses has proved satisfactory. The use of aniline or blue black writing ink is recommended to obviate forgery and mistakes.

An interesting note occurs on the diminution in matrimonial suits. The Divisional Judge of Hoshiarpur attributes almost all these suits to the conflict between one law and the local custom. He puts down their diminution to the increasingly unsympathetic attitude of our courts towards them. The

registration of marriages is to a certain extent a remedy; but it is well remarked by the Additional District Judge of Muzaffargarh that "the real remedy for preventing the evil lies in the improvement of the social customs and habits of the people." An older authority has it that these and kindred troubles proceed "out of the heart."

The Cotton Industry of India and the Cotton Duties. (Bombay Commercial Press.)

THE first impression given by this paper is that of the extreme difficulty of finding out who wrote it. Even the Editor of the *Times of India*, who furnishes an introduction, has not brought to bear on it his technical knowledge of editing. Some research, however, makes the discovery that the author is Mr. B. J. Padshah; but in view of the fact that the paper "is to be widely circulated among English politicians, it seems a mistake not to have stated more definitely the claims of Mr. Padshah to be considered an authority. The paper is founded on an enquiry into the condition of the Cotton Mill Industry of India set on foot by Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata with the co-operation of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association. In the introduction the Editor of the *Times of India* states that the object of the paper is to produce a renewed discussion of "a signal injustice, the continued existence of which the British Parliament seems only too anxious to forget." The injustice referred to is, of course, the imposition of an excise duty by India on her own cotton manufactures in deference to the representations of Lancashire mill-owners. The Editor of the *Times of India* is evidently more sanguine of a favourable result to renewed discussion of this point than is the Bombay Mill-owners' Association. In 1901 this Association appealed to the Bombay Government to abolish these excise duties, and received so explicit and final a statement of the intention of the Government to retain the Import and Excise duties conjointly as "a permanent part of the fiscal arrangements of India" that the Association did not see its way to support the Upper India Chamber of Commerce when it suggested a joint memorial to the Government of India on the subject later in the same year.

Mr. Tata and Mr. Padshah are, however, quite right in insisting that a statistical study of the effect of the cotton duties on the Mill Industry is a necessary preliminary to any reintroduction of the matter into Parliament. The points especially dwelt on in the enquiry were (a) the profits of spinning, (b) the profits of weaving, and (c) the abatement of profits, if any, consequent on the Cotton Duties Legislation of 1896. 58 mills were examined, over a period of ten years, the decade being

divided evenly by the date of the Cotton Duties. Mr. Padshah's figures seem to "prove the profits of the Mill Industry are fluctuating, and on an average of ten years not larger than enough to tempt capital: the profits of spinning are more fluctuating and smaller than those of weaving but not so much smaller, but that the addition of a pie per lb. in the price of yarn may equalise the profits; that both spinning and weaving profits have fallen since 1896, that the fall in spinning profits is due to increased cost of production, from the duty as well as other items, the fall in weaving profits being in addition traceable to the arrest of demand for cloth owing to the famine." Both Mr. Padshah and his expert critic, Mr. J. H. Fisher (Manchester), agree that the burden of the cotton duties is only in part if at all, and then only very slowly, transferable from the producer to the consumer. Mr. Fisher very justly points out that other causes than the imposition of the duties may be responsible for the vanishing profits, such for instance as over-production and famine. "The profitable nature of weaving prior to 1895 encouraged a great increase in the number of looms, and the production of cloth has probably been greater than the Home demand." Three practical points are raised in the paper, (a) the proper allowance for depreciation, both Mr. J. H. Fisher and the Editor of the *Times of India* holding that it should be nearer ten per cent. than four; (b) the just commission of a mill-agent; Mr. Padshah in an appendix gives it as six per cent. on the net profit (including interest) plus Rs. 6,000 per annum per mill as a fixed item. This is about sixty per cent. of the average commission actually paid; (c) the form of balance sheet advisable in order to give a clear view of the conditions, remembering that "a diminution of one pie a day in the cost of production per spindle makes an addition of 3 to 4 per cent. to the profits; that profits depend on the 'stoppage of leakages' that mill-agents can only efficiently check these leakages by comparisons of balance sheets intelligently drawn up not only of the same mill in successive years but of different mills in the same year."

Whatever view the reader may take of the Excise Duty on Cotton, nothing but good can come of such a painstaking enquiry, and such a scientific method as that adopted by Mr. Padshah in the memorandum under discussion. The days are past when natural laws might be evolved from one's inner consciousness as the German is said to have done when required to give a description of the camel: the Frenchman who studies at a Zoological Garden, or the Englishman who goes out prepared to shoot anything and everything is an example of the modern method, nothing if not practical.

Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for 1901. And Seventh Report of the Sanitary Engineer.

THIS Report deals in its fifth section with the results of the Census, so far as they were then obtainable. During the decade, emigration increased by 250,000 and immigration decreased by 122,000. This change as well as the increased death-rate through famine and malaria are the causes of the decrease in population in the famine districts of 786,648. That the Provinces are recovering is shown by the fact that the birth-rate in 1901 was 41·35 compared with 40·34 in 1900, and 38·45 taking the mean of the previous five years. The death-rate is decreasing, being 30·3 in 1901 against 31·13 in 1900 and 33·09 in the previous five years. Of towns, Benares shows the highest death-rate, no doubt partially for religious reasons—though the Sanitary Commissioner attributes it to the prevalence of plague. Cawnpore, like all manufacturing towns, suffers from high infant mortality (450 per 1,000 children born) owing to the employment of female labour. The general death-rate, as usual, was highest in October and lowest in February; this corresponds with the mortality from fever. The superior education of the Christian population accounts for the fact that the mortality among them was 8·82 against 28·81 among Muhammadans and 30·65 among Hindus.

The section which deals with diseases gives a favourable report on the efficiency of using Permanganate of Potassium in wells. The appointment of a couple of men of either caste to draw water for all from an uninfected well, in cases of an epidemic of cholera, has proved of undoubted benefit. The well selected is the one showing fewest cases in its proximity, and is treated with Potassium Permanganate previous to use. The death-rate from cholera was 1·13 per 1,000 as against 1·81 in the preceding year. The greatest number of deaths was in Lucknow, the rate being 4·5. Naini Tal showed the highest death-rate from fever, though, whether in consequence, partially, of its being a Sanitarium is not stated. The Sanitary Commissioner, Major Chaytor White, who holds the Diploma of Public Health of the University of Cambridge, rightly urges that money will be better spent in improving surface drainage and filling in tanks and depressions, than in organizing "mosquito brigades." It is improved drainage rather than the use of quinine or the extirpation of the mosquito that has so largely rid Europe of malaria. The total of five grain packets of quinine, was nearly five times that of the preceding year, and more than three-quarters of the total were sold by post-offices. The price of the packet has been reduced from 3 to 2 pies. Suicides number 662 men and 1,991 women, a slight decrease,

Indian marriage conditions easily explain the disproportionate number of female suicides. The mortality from wounds and accidents was 15,972, that from snakes and wild beasts 6,244. As regards plague, the system of transmitting the names of travellers from infected areas on to the district officials, has proved valuable in detecting imported cases.

Civil Sanitary Works are making progress. Benares leads the way as regards number of gallons of water per head, 12·21 daily being the average during the year. Dibdin contact filters (bacterial) were in use except during the rains when they were closed up. The Report states that the effluent is exceedingly good from a primary filter alone. It is hoped to introduce more installations with septic tank and contact beds. These are hoped for also in Lucknow, where much of the sewage at present finds its way into the river. At Agra, the enteric germ was found in some samples of Jumna water. When the water is low, it is apt to be contaminated by a village a mile further up than the intake. The Commissioner of Agra was asked to consult the Irrigation Department as to the feasibility of building a protecting spur to deviate the water from under the village. At Mussorie the bacterial examination of the water has been satisfactory. No drains were flushed but water was supplied to the shoot constructed in 1898 for the disposal of night-soil, which has worked since then without a hitch. At Naini Tal also the bacterial examination for cholera and enteric germs was negative. A hope is expressed of being able to train Sanitary Inspectors at Agra, as is now done in Madras and Bombay—it may be asked why not also in Calcutta?

Report of the Administration of the Salt Department. 1901-1902.
Bengal Secretariat Press.

THE Collector of Customs, Calcutta, reports that the importations for the year and the quantity of salt bonded were the highest on record. Steamers have almost entirely superseded sailing ships, particularly, in the salt trade; and as it is always necessary for a steamer to obtain a quick despatch, a very large proportion of the salt imported was delivered into bond. In consequence the accommodation at both the Sulkea and Kidderpore *Golas* was rapidly filled up. Proposals to provide increased storage at Sulkea has been submitted to the Board.

The major portion of the salt imported by sea still comes from the United Kingdom, though the imports from Aden and the Red Sea are increasing rapidly—since these salts escape the Canal dues, they compete favourably with European salt. It is doubted if Port Said, for the same reason, will be able to compete with the Red Sea and Aden salt.

Important pending questions are the wastage allowance to be permitted on salt delivered from inland warehouses, and the revision of the relations between the District Officers and the Salt Staff working in these districts, with the object of exercising a closer control.

The quantity of salt conveyed by rail has increased by 16.62 per cent. The opening of a pass-station at Shalimar last year, making it possible to convey salt to Orissa by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, will increase the tendency to prefer carriage by rail.

There was no manufacture of salt during the year on the Chilka Lake in Orissa. The largely-increased sales were due to the reduction of the wholesale price to half an anna a maund, which was done with the object of effecting an early clearance of the large stock in hand.

The consumption of salt per head in the Saliferous tracts in which illicit manufacture is easy has been greater than elsewhere, instead of less as might easily have been the case. The number of cases in which salt was attached, released, and confiscated during the year under review were 929, 12, and 908 respectively as against 1,074, 2, and 968 in the previous year. The number of seizures and unsuccessful house-searches were 1,491 and 92 respectively, as against 794 and 17 in the previous year. In the districts of Balasore and Cuttack the owners of the houses are said to have heard that the search was intended, and to have destroyed all illicit plant. Owing to the failure of the police to attend house searches, about 50 cases in the 24-Parganas and 42 cases in Midnapore broke down. In consequence of this, Government has sanctioned the appointment of nine special police head constables in Midnapore. Salt officers detected 39 opium cases, as against 37 last year.

There was an increase in financial results of Rs. 5,83,954 in the receipts, and of Rs. 42,099 in the charges, giving a net revenue of Rs. 2,55,21,299 an excess of 2.2 per cent. on the previous year.

Fifth Triennial Report of Vaccination in Bengal during 1899-1902: by Major H. J. Dyson, I.M.S., F.R.C.S., Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal. Bengal Secretariat Press.

MAJOR Dyson notices that his Department has had to work under very great disadvantages, as several appointments were vacant during the period under review, and many officers were employed on plague or other special work which hindered the vaccination inspection work.

There has been an increase of 139,517 and 75,289 operations respectively, in rural areas and mofussil municipalities

and dispensaries as compared with 1896-99. These figures show steady and gradual progress of vaccination in the Province, which would have been much greater but for the epidemic of plague. Each vaccinator did between 600 and 1,000 cases. The Government Resolution of 1900-1901 has stirred up Civil Surgeons and Magistrates to greater activity in the matter, with striking results especially in Midnapore and Mymensing. During 1901-1902, 234 out of every 1,000 infants, were vaccinated. In Darjeeling, Malda, Bhagalpur and Ranchi, where there is no great opposition, more than half the available infant population has been vaccinated. Shahabad, Hooghly, Singhbhum, Orissa, Cuttack and Mazaffarpur have bad results. Major Crawford attributes this to the fact that the vaccinators find it difficult to get hold of infants under a year (for whom the statistics are given), whereas they easily see children over that age and persuade the parents to allow the operation. The Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, Major Crawford, I.M.S., does not advocate compulsory vaccination, partly because of the insufficiency of the staff available, except in areas where small-pox was prevalent, and during its prevalence, Major Dyson believes that much can be done by local influence and this is probably true.

The total number of re-vaccinations was 83,400, a considerable increase, chiefly due to the greater prevalence of small-pox. The percentage of successful cases was 61.14 "a high rate due to the fact that the operations were performed on adults who had been vaccinated in infancy, and in whom the effect of primary vaccination had been destroyed."

The total average cost of vaccination in Bengal for the three years was Rs. 1,86,782 against Rs. 1,87,187 of the preceding three years. This cost of each successful vaccination was 1 anna 3 pie.

The Fauna of British India.—Rhynchota Vol. I (Heteroptera): by W. L. Distant. Thacker, Spink and Co. (Taylor and Francis, London.)

THE Editor of the series in question (Mr. W. T. Blanford) prefaces Mr. Distant's book with the significant remark that "the slow progress hitherto made with the Indian Invertebrata" compared with the volumes on the Vertebrata which were issued in the years 1888-1898 "has been caused by the difficulty of obtaining the assistance of authors who, besides, possessing the necessary knowledge are able to give the time, and have also access to the principal collections and libraries." Great indeed are the difficulties of all scientific work in India, where frequently the only man with any scientific training is the Civil Surgeon or the Engineer. We congratulate the

Editor therefore on his announcement of the approaching volumes on Ants by Col. C. Bingham, on Longicorn Coleoptera by Mr. C. J. Gahan, and on Land-Mollusca; and also most heartily on the present volume, by one of the principal living authorities on the subject of the Rhynchota or Bugs. The author has kept in view the object of facilitating the identification of specimens by Government officers, planters, and in fact "non-entomological" readers. These latter will find a careful account of the anatomy of the insect in the introduction, followed by a careful classification easy to follow when the anatomy has been mastered. Some of the Rhynchota are rapacious in their habits, others are plant-feeders; when injurious, "the injuries they cause are sometimes so small as to be overlooked, and are of a cumulative rather than of an immediate nature. But the Rhynchota are also at times beneficent agents—pollination in the "Mora" tree is entirely dependent on the visits of *Cantao Ocellatus*, while *Aspongopus nigriventris* fulfils a similarly important function to the Sago palm. A vast opportunity for bionomic observation appertains to the study of these insects, and is especially worthy the attention of a Government entomologist."

CRITICAL NOTICES.

International Catalogue of Scientific Literature. First Annual Issue. D. Chemistry, Part I. M. Botany, Part I. Published for the International Council by the Royal Society of London.

WE have much pleasure in drawing the attention of literary and scientific institutions in India to the first annual issue of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.

The catalogue is intended to provide scientific workers with a complete index of current scientific literature, and it is international, in that each catalogue contains schedules and indexes in four languages—English, French, German, and Italian—as well as an Authors' Catalogue and a Subject Catalogue.

This annual catalogue will be invaluable to students who desire to ascertain the last word that has been said upon the particular subject of investigation in which they are interested.

Part I of the Chemistry Catalogue contains, for example, not only the titles and publishers' names of all works dealing with Chemistry published during 1901, whether systematic treatises, or works relating to special aspects of the subject, such as the history or philosophy of chemistry, but also the names and mode of publication of special papers dealing with specific subjects of research in the whole field of pure and applied chemistry. For instance, under "Argon," one finds the titles of four papers published in 1901, two of which are English, one French, and one German. Under "Tea" is given the titles of two German papers published in 1901 on tea culture, one of which discusses the practicability of its introduction into German colonies.

The fact that each of the two catalogues before us—Chemistry, Part I, and Botany, Part I—contains about 400 pages, shows that they are intended to be exhaustive. All libraries and institutions interested in the advancement of learning should contribute to the success of this international venture by becoming annual subscribers to the whole series of catalogues.

Manual of Hygiene for use in India. By Charles Banks, M.D., C.M., D.P.H. Macmillan and Co. 1902.

THIS cheap and thoroughly practical little manual is most warmly to be commended to all new-comers to India, as well as to all Indians who can read English. It would be

an excellent thing if it were made a text-book in schools. It is written with a view to both Anglo-Indian and native conditions of life. English manuals on the subject, dwelling for instance on scarlet fever, are of little use where plague, dysentery, malaria and cholera claim far more victims than scarlet fever does at home, and where scarlet fever is probably unknown. Short paragraphs appear on the evils of early marriage, and on the care of children. It might be wished that for the sake of the Englishwomen who ought to be among the students of the book, the feeding of infants had been entered into more fully. The evil effects of drug-taking are rightly insisted on. The way in which Dr. Banks has carried out the idea suggested to him by the late Surgeon-General Harvey does the greatest credit to both.

The Highway of Fate. By Rosa Nouchette Carey. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MISS Carey belongs to the class of women writers headed by Jane Austen, and followed by Miss Mitford, Mrs. Gaskell, and Miss Yonge. They delight in delineating the every day home life of English women and girls, their own sweet and gracious minds finding expression in their heroines, Miss Carey's "ladies" are invariably gentlewomen, and when drawing women of the working class or of the many classes which intervene between the two, Miss Carey writes from the lady's point of view. Her servants are drawn from the observation of the lady of the house, unlike those of George Moore who writes as if he had mingled with them on an equal footing if he has not, then his power of sympathy and imagination must considerably exceed that of Miss Carey's school. Many recent novels have given us sketches of child-life,—such sketches are very apt to be autobiographical, and one can often trace "by natural piety" the evolution of the child depicted by the author into the sort of man or woman that the author is. One would not expect Sarah Grand to have been a normal, and hardly an agreeable child; and her "Heavenly Twins" could not have been sketched by Mrs. Ewing—any more than the little hero of the "Story of a Short Life" could have been drawn by Sarah Grand. Olive Schreiner's little Calvinist who confides to a tree that he "hates God but he loves Jesus Christ" and Edna Lyall's "Donovan" who does not want to go to Heaven because he does not like sitting still, have both much in common with the brains that created them. This is markedly the case in women's novels, and it is mostly women who sketch children's characters. Dickens draws his "Little Nell" from the outside. Shorthouse in his "John Inglesant" treats his hero's boyhood in the feminine autobiographical manner

and so does Dickens in "David Copperfield," "Oliver Twist" and the "Danbeys." But as a rule it is women who draw children with the greatest fidelity and charm. Miss Carey's children are delightfully natural every day children of the ordinary religious English home, who turn their Bible stories into games, baptize and marry and bury their dolls, and act the Pilgrim's Progress in the garden on fine days, and up and down the stairs and passages when the wind and the rain confine them to the house. It is (alas!) comparatively easy to write a "Book of Snobs," but very few could draw such a humorous and yet kindly picture of a "nouveau-riche" maiden lady as Miss Carey has done of "Miss Jem," who engages a companion but can find no work for that bright young functionary except to "break her off that habit of saying "Lor'" which Lil says is vulgar" by bringing her the box for the Waifs and Strays for a fine of a penny each time she says the obnoxious word. The tone of the book is given at once by the quotations which introduce each chapter—Mackerlinck is evidently a favourite with the author and his words prefixed to the fifth chapter give the keynote of the lives of such women as Miss Carey and her heroines—"There is not a thought or feeling, not an act of beauty or nobility, whereof man is capable, but can find complete expression in the simplest most ordinary life."

History of Civilization in England. By Henry Thomas Buckle. 3 Vols. New Impression. Laymans, Greens & Co. London and Bombay. 1902.

THE twenty-ninth of May last marked the anniversary of the day on which the 'little Christian cemetery at Damascus received the mortal remains of Thomas Henry Buckle. There is, then, something opportune in the recent appearance of the *History of Civilization* in a cheap and popular form. The *History* made its first appearance in the course of the year 1857, and, although it has not altogether fallen out of the professed students range of studies, it has not maintained the great reputation which it enjoyed during its author's life-time. It is a sad but inevitable reflection that the existing commercial laws under which the more important contributions to our national literature have to be made seem to necessitate a withholding from the public of great books until author and publisher have been remunerated in cash and until, as in the present case, the great book has in reality had its day. Buckle was very great as a man of letters, and although from a scientific point of view his book must be described as "antiquated," yet there cannot be any doubt that in this cheap and popular form, he will secure many—perhaps thousands—of fresh readers. In these times,

when our professional historians seem to find the production of school text-books a sufficiently engaging occupation, the resuscitation of Buckle's *History of Civilization* may perhaps serve to chasten our memories of a gone-by generation which devised, if it did not actually accomplish, greater things than the modern author cares even to contemplate.

Those who have followed Buckle from his first page to the last must have noticed with mingled feelings the author's own sense of his inability to execute the vast design so proudly set forth at his commencement. He had originally intended to write, not merely the history of English civilisation but the history of universal civilisation. In his introductory chapter on "The Resources for Investigating History," Buckle dwell on the narrow range of knowledge hitherto possessed by historians, and his lengthy catalogue of authorities shows how laboriously he had set himself to correct this deficiency. "I hope," he tells us, "to accomplish for the history of man something equivalent, or at all events analogous, to what has been effected by other inquirers for the different branches of natural science. He quotes with approval the sneer of Auguste Comte:—"l'incohérente compilation défaites déjà improprement qualifiée d'*histoire*," and he adds "something should be done on a scale far larger than has hitherto been attempted, and that a strenuous effort should be made to bring up this great department of enquiry to a level with other departments." Those who are at all familiar with the work will recall the sad confessions of the third volume:—

"These are the qualities, and these the high resolves, indispensable to him, who, on the most important of all subjects, believing that the old road is worn out and useless, seeks to strike out a new one for himself, and in the effort, not only exhausts his strength, but is sure to incur the enmity of those who are bent on maintaining the ancient scheme unimpaired. . . . And let him toil as he may, the sun and noontide of his life shall pass by, the evening of his days shall overtake him, and he himself have to quit the scene, leaving that unfinished which he had vainly hoped to complete. . . . Once, I own, I thought otherwise. Once, when I first caught sight of the whole field of knowledge, and seemed, however dimly to discern its various parts and the relation they bore to each other, I was so entranced with its surpassing beauty, that the judgment was beguiled, and I deemed myself able, not only to cover the surface, but also to master the details. Little did I know how the horizon enlarges as well as recedes, and how vainly we grasp at the fleeting forms, which melt away and elude us in the distance. Of all that I had hoped

to do, I now find but too surely how small a part I shall accomplish. In these early aspirations, there was much that was fanciful; perhaps much that was foolish. Perhaps, too, they contained a moral defect, and savoured of an arrogance which belongs to a strength that refuses to recognize its own weakness, still, even now that they are defeated and brought to nought, I cannot repent having indulged in them, but on the contrary, I would willingly recall them, if I could. For such hopes belong to that joyous and sanguine period of life, when alone we are really happy: when the emotions are more active than the judgment; when experience has not yet hardened our nature, when the affections are not yet blighted and nipped to the core; and when the bitterness of disappointment not having yet been felt, difficulties are unheeded, obstacles are unseen, ambition is a pleasure instead of a pang, and the blood coursing swiftly through the veins, the pulse beats high." He then sadly adds that his work can now "only be a fragment of the original design." And so the book from its origin aims at dealing with civilization as a whole, in the third volume narrows down into a few chapters of Scotch history.

For a comprehensive criticism of Buckle's work the reader will do well to turn to Sir Leslie Stephen's second volume on the *English Utilitarians*, and side by side with Sir Leslie's book read Mr. J. M. Robertson's *Buckle and his Critics*. Buckle's book is, in reality, a chapter in the history of the Utilitarian school, and its importance lies not so much in its historical worth as in the place which Buckle's method holds in the history of recent thought. It will be a misfortune if this cheap edition leads to Buckle's historical theories being popularised, for many of these theories will not stand the test of criticism. There are, indeed, few books with so wide a reputation which have gone so speedily out of a date as this attempted *History of Civilization*.

Lavinia. By Rhoda Broughton. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THERE are, we believe, maiden's hysteric, whom report states to have

"followed the guns

And distributed buns

To the men that were down with enteric,"

but they do not make pleasant reading when described with quite so unsparing a pen as in Miss Broughton's up-to-date novel. Neither does one altogether appreciate marriage bells which have necessitated the killing off of a whole family to make two lovers happy. The book is often amusing in its

cynicism, but one does not feel friendly towards the author. "Optimi corruptio pessima" may be true, but the dissection of the worst side of human virtues belongs to the pathological novelist, and we prefer women who take a kinder and healthier view of their own sex. We cannot say that we altogether congratulate Captain Binning on winning Lavinia, except that she saved him from the clutches of Féodorovna.

Seven Roman Statesman. By C. Oman, M. A., Fellow of all Souls, Oxford. With Portraits and Illustrations. E. Arnold. London. 1892.

WE are afraid that at Oxford this latest work of an eminent representative of the School of Modern History will give some cause for exaltation to the enemy—the "lithum" men. Mr. Oman has written some useful text-books for the use of schools, and has made several contributions to popular historical literature, but his reputation is chiefly based on his writings as a specialist in the fields of Military History and it seems to us a very great pity that while Mr. Oman, might be at work on a book of lasting value, he should waste his time in the production of "pot-boiling" literature. The present work is very smart, and there are doubtless many who will appreciate its liveliness, but we doubt whether the scholar who has made the acquaintance of either Cicero or Cæsar in the pages of these great men will recognise the justice of Mr. Oman's portraits. Oxford Tutors may perhaps welcome Mr. Oman's essays as a sort of indirect aid to the schools. "Show that Mr. Oman's account of Cæsar is unfair," would be a refreshing alternative to a demand for a criticism of Mommsen's high-flown eulogy. But we must not be unjust. Mr. Oman's *Seven Roman Statesmen* would not be so disappointing if its author were not Mr. Oman.

The Ghost Camp. By Rolf Boldrewood. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

AS a graphic description of Australian life by one who evidently knows it thoroughly, this addition to our railway literature is welcome. The story itself is only very slightly connected with its title as the author himself implicitly confesses in the last chapter. Indeed it must be difficult, in a land which has been and still is such a field for adventure to keep to the thread of one story without diverging into many "another story" as Kipling has it; but the author has not Kipling's skill at merely hinting at these other stories so as to excite the desire to hear them another day, while not distracting immediate attention from the tale in hand. Whatever else Rolf Boldrewood may be, he is an optimist; the meals he describes rank with Sir

Walter's and make one echo "There's nothing like the food of fiction." With his hero we feel the glow of virtue after a morning dip in a half-frozen creek; and our own steps grow elastic as we read "His boots were thick, his heart was light, the sun illumined the frost-white trunks and diamond-sprayed branches of the pines and eucalypts," and we are glad that the Hon. Valentine Blount, in spite of the past he is trying to forget, says to himself, "What a glorious thing it is to be alive on a day like this?" The course of the story leads us from sheep-farms and squatters' country houses through "cattle-duffing" to a Tasmanian silver-mine, and on to a seaside honey-moon at Hobart, ending with another wedding in an English Abbey-Church of a fascinating damsel (the real heroine of the book), who enters the story as the "maid of the inn," becomes an heiress, and marries a Flag-Lieutenant. The descriptions of scenery and of Australian life, past and present, and the happy optimism are the strong points of the book, the strict division of the guests at an up-country inn into those fit for the "gentlemen's room," and those relegated to the second table with the coachman and the drovers, is a touch which could only have been put in one by personally acquainted with the persistent British delight in class distinctions underlying the superficial democracy of Australian Society. So is the pathos afforded by the tragedy of the early penal settlements, and by the *personnel* of the crowd that rushes to the new silver-mine, including the derelicts of London Society struggling through a rude life to a cheerless future. The weakest part is the conversation, especially when that takes a serious or a sentimental turn, the serious characters are prigs of the worst variety, and the sentimental lovers are even more wearisome than usual. It will be enjoyed in spite of these faults by all interested in Australia and by that larger circle who in the approaching rains are glad to read anything that is not India, and anything in which the folks marry and live happily ever after though the number of gallant sons and fair daughters is not explicitly stated.

Cecilia, a Story of Modern Rome. By F. Marion Crawford. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

A VISIT to Rome, "Punch" recently said, has been found by many novelists to benefit the circulation: Marion Crawford has no need to pay a visit to Rome with this object in view. It does appear, however, as if Rome were visited more as Loudres is in search of healing, but in this case, healing of the mind, by the modern novelist, though it does not equally appear that the miracle has been wrought. Zola's hero sought religious perfection there. Hall Caine's a political panacea,

and both in vain. Bagot speaks with the scorn of a love to hatred turned, while Marie Corelli—but why take her seriously? Even Marion Crawford tends rather to descriptions of border-land insanity when he gets to Rome. “This last story of his turns on the habit that a young girl has of dreaming herself back into the ancient days of Rome, and finally identifying herself with a vestal virgin. In her dreams she falls in love, and in real life suddenly meets her dream hero. There is a touch of Marie Corelli about this. By a strange coincidence the hero also dreams about her; and as she soon becomes betrothed to his dearest friend, the position becomes intolerable. Granted that such a psychical condition is possible, the struggle of a conscientious girl and of an upright man to stop their dream-meetings, are drawn with great fidelity to the natural laws of the mind, reminding the reader of the psychological observations, and the rules of life based on them, of such great masters of the spiritual life as Ignatius Loyola and Francis of Sales. The book abounds with feminine touches, that scene for instance in which Cecilia alters the furniture in her room to enable her to avoid the temptation to sit down in her dreaming-chair and become the vestal virgin whom the dream-lover kisses; and that other scene in which the dream-lover, now the lover in real life, comes to plead the cause of his friend and rival and refuses to sit on the sofa with her, preferring to draw up a chair and face her. “He felt that he got an advantage by the position, and that to a small extent it placed him outside of her personal atmosphere.” This is the intuition of the woman, so necessary also to the doctor, the priest and the lawyer, so rarely found, but when found sometimes exceeding even the woman’s. In spite of the elements of tragedy in the story, it ends happily, and in Cecilia’s charm we quite forget that she is a young lady who in the opening chapters is devoted to the Categorical Imperative.

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