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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXVI.

April 1903.

Micro Filmed on
Reel No.

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

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ART. I.—PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL LIFE IN INDIA.

I. THE STAFF.

THE first practical problem that confronts the head-master of a large English School in India is unquestionably the recruiting of a suitable staff of colleagues. He is immensely hampered by the distance from home, with the unavoidable disadvantages which this simple fact entails. He is unable personally to interview candidates for appointment or to invite them down to the school to see for themselves the scene of their future labours. He is dependent on the kind offices of some intermediary, who, with all the information that may be supplied to him, and however keen may be his personal interest in the school or its chief, can never act with the knowledge and decision of a principal. And it is undoubtedly a serious matter to engage any man to go out and work in a distant country under new and untried conditions in an union so intimate as that which should exist between colleagues on the staff of a school. Whence it often happens that the best men decline to risk such a step into the unknown, and the school loses the services of the very man most wanted through the impossibility of bringing him into actual connection with it.

Each head-master requires a commissary in the old country as much as any bishop. And he will do well in this connection to secure, if he can, the services of some past member of his staff. Even so he cannot, of course, be certain that he will ensure more than a fair description of the school and of its work to applicants. He must resign himself to the necessary limitation of his field of choice, and delegate, as a rule, the actual appointment which is so fateful of good or evil to him, to a third person. Then he has only to sit and wait for the arrival of the new master, with the disquieting knowledge based upon his past experience, that, if he has been lucky enough to secure a good man, the next problem which will trouble him will be how

to retain him in face of the many attempts which will be made to lure him away, while if the man proves worthless he stands committed to employ him throughout the period named in the agreement. The buying of a pig in a poke is a proverbially unsatisfying transaction, but by the nature of the case the English head-master in India can deal in no more certain market.

For on the spot there is practically no choice at all. So great is the demand for educated masters in this country that any man worth his salt is never out of employment, while the profession is, as a rule, so scandalously underpaid that a man, who has once given up school life seldom, if ever, wishes to return to it. There are lame ducks, of course, here as elsewhere, and it is a distressing fact that so low is the standard in most schools in this matter that the most incompetent people do not blush to offer occasionally in a spirit of lofty patronage to fill a vacancy on the staff of a leading school. But woe to the head-master who is driven by stress of circumstances to engage one of these errant gentlemen, even as a temporary measure. He is lucky if he escape without a first class scandal. In any case he runs the risk of lowered tone, of undermined discipline, of offended colleagues, and mutinous classes. It is better to run the school short-handed to the extent of half the staff than to embark upon an experiment of this disastrous character.

Frankly recognising then the difficulties that lie in the way of the actual engagement of a new assistant master for work in an English school in India, we have now to consider what, under the circumstances, should be the type of man that such a school should aim at securing, what his position and prospects are, and what compensation for exile can fairly be offered to him.

Assuming that the school is in the hills, without which proviso it is not too much to say that the ideal of English public school life is not to be realized, an offer of Rs. 250 per mensem, with furnished rooms, fuel, and lights, and the services of a cook and a sweeper provided free, will suffice to attract a man amply qualified to discharge the duties that will be required of him. And in this connection, it may prove useful to observe that it will repay any school to engage a competent man at a salary of Rs. 250 in preference to accepting the services of two insufficiently qualified teachers at, say, Rs. 100 each. If a passage out be included in the agreement, care should be taken to ensure at least a partial repayment of this in the case of a master who desires to terminate his connection with the school before the natural conclusion of his engagement. Otherwise in the peculiar circumstances of India, the governing body of any school may find itself continually

in the awkward position of paying the passages of men for the benefit of other persons or institutions. This contingency can be easily provided against by the exercise of a little forethought.

Broadly speaking the type of master best suited for an Indian school is the ordinary graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. He should be a fair all round athlete, the games chiefly played in hill schools being cricket on matting, hockey, and football. High honours and first class athletics are, in general, not required. The standard of work as a rule is not worthy of the efforts of a distinguished scholar, and a good coach is far more wanted for games than a compiler of centuries or a demon bowler. And it is rare indeed to find a man who has taken high honours who is competent or willing to spend hours behind a net insisting on the slope of a bat and the pitch of a ball, while among great athletes they are few indeed who have the power and patience to produce in the class-room results at all comparable to their mighty performances outside it. While the all important fact must never be lost sight of that even the premier schools in India are far too poor to support a cricket master or a compiler of delicate *Alcaics* for those advantages alone.

Owing to past neglect nearly every school in this country finds that it has a great deal of lee-way to make up in matters purely scholastic, and that its athletics, valuable as they are as a necessary portion of its corporate life, cannot consequently be allowed a position of such dominant importance as they are apt to claim in England, in schools which can more readily afford the extra half-holiday or the casual sojourn in the hospital as the result of a football accident. So that the possession of either the intellectual or physical specialist upon the staff is not precisely the asset that it is at home.

No, what is required to-day in India is the steady painstaking teacher, whose interest in the fortune of the school will be keen enough to lead him to devote his out of school time to the betterment of the games with the same patient assiduity that marks his working hours. The school itself should occupy his future schemes as well as his present energy; and it is essential that he should never think of the extent to which his talent is being buried or of how much better he might be doing all the while elsewhere. A plain man content with his lot and solicitous only to improve his position by improving the prospects of the school in which he holds it, is the ideal colleague from the head-master's point of view. Nothing can be more distracting than the assistant who tries to do his work with attention equally divided between a pile of Latin *proses* and a slip cut out of the daily paper relating to a

tutorship to the son of a zemindar or a lectureship in English at a Hindu college in the mofussil.

And few things can be more dispiriting to those who are still working against great odds to raise the tone and standard of Indian education, than to run across one of the complacently self-satisfied young gentlemen who have turned their backs upon the scholastic career, and who from the giddy height of a billet in Jute or Petroleum, talk calmly and disloyally to all and sundry of the great improvement in their prospects, and speak with patronising indifference of the work that now lies so far behind and beneath them. Yet it is, perhaps, not altogether fair to expect that assistant masters shall alone be greater than the average run of humanity. We must rather set our brains to work to devise some means whereby the very temptations to which they succumb may be reduced or removed. Taking the high seriousness of the matter into account, we have to discover a method of holding out to our younger colleagues some future which shall at least rival the attractions of a commercial one, if we wish our schools to be permanently and adequately manned.

It ought not to be quite impossible so to regulate the affairs of the profession, as to bring a settled future with an adequate competence within the reach of all who endure the burden and heat of the day. And in the first place it would seem to be eminently advisable to lessen the practical difficulty of the problem by closing remorselessly the doors of the profession itself. There should be registration and recognition of all teachers upon the simple basis of proved efficiency. The possession of an English university degree, training in some government teachers' college, or a certain length of service on the staff of an approved school, such would be simple tests whose fairness would seem beyond dispute as qualifications for registration. Once registered, the future of the assistant master should be fairly secure. The elimination by this process of the lame duck would put a definite stop to underselling in the scholastic market, and to the present hideous complication of competition which enables that most undesirable fowl to protract existence at the expense of the loftier interests of education. The payment of head-masters by government instead of the present system of grants in aid would ensure a regularity of promotion within the limits of the registered body of assistant masters which would largely remove the allurements at present existing towards a change of life. There are many governing bodies, no doubt, that would never surrender their right to appoint their own head-masters. But much freedom in this respect would still remain to them. The field of choice would be amply wide enough. Only if the salary of

the head were paid by government the stipulation would be made that a man must be selected who conformed by registration to the general requirements of government concerning the whole profession. Head masters would thus become practically members of a state service, and the harassing uncertainty which at present paralyses the efforts of the very best of them would disappear. While the prospect of eventually passing into this charmed circle would necessarily attract to the shores of India a better type of assistant master than can be hoped for under existing limitations.

As a recognised branch of the educational service the standing of a head-master could not fail to gain in importance and security. The work itself is entrancing enough to draw men to take it up even now. But it suffers as has been suggested from conditions from which the adoption of such a scheme of state assistance would deliver it. To lavish time money and energy upon a school whose very continued life is uncertain, and too often dependent absolutely upon the stay of the man himself, in course of time produces disheartening effects upon the most devoted. And as things are to-day the one permanent thing in India is the government. It is not too much to say that the head-master who has the most jealous feeling about the school of his own creation, and who would resent most bitterly any outside interference with his ideals, would most gladly welcome a change which would enable him to believe, that however slowly his school might progress under the proverbially cautious guidance of the state, at least it would never go back, and that his own work would not be thrown away.

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem that the difficulties in the way of securing the right type of assistant master to work among English boys in India are great, but not insuperable. "We must not aim too high. If we do, we shall defeat our own object. It must be frankly recognised that, at least at present, we do not want actually the level which is regarded as necessary in the great schools at home. It is not fair either to boys or masters to affect that we do. We require, in short, neither brilliance nor a Blue. But we must have English gentlemen, adequately learned, moderate athletes, and above all loyal, patient, high-principled, and with their hearts in the business.

On our side we should be able to hold out the following attractions. First and foremost, a work of unrivalled interest and importance, the creation and maintenance in this country of a school life in no way inferior to that which they have left to come out to us. The material has been proved over and over again to be excellent. English and Eurasian boys

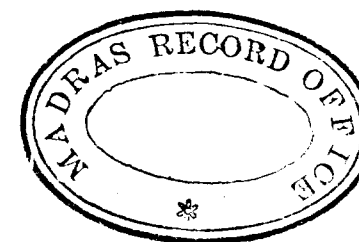
alike in India have responded nobly to the demands already made upon their industry and obedience. Their brain-power is unquestioned, their capacity for athletic development is superior to that of the average schoolboy in England. *Crede experto*. They have the highest opinion of and admiration for masters who come to them from the great English Universities, the glamour of which thoroughly captivates them. He must be a poor creature indeed who cannot get the best results out of such boys both in work and play. And over all lies the charm of pioneer achievement. We are laying to-day in the hill schools the foundation of much of the future greatness of this country. So far, owing to conditions which it has fallen to us to change, boys educated in India have started grievously handicapped. Even so, many of them have risen to great place, and adorned the records of Indian history with useful and honourable lives. But there has not been the steady flow into public service and private enterprise of well trained intellects and disciplined activities which we hope from this day forward to see. Is the invitation to share in the glory of this future, one which will fall unheeded on the ears of the men that we look for? Not so.

Again, we are able to offer a freedom from pettiness which sweeps like a fresh breeze across the dusty paths of scholastic life. India is on a huge scale in many respects, and in none more so than in the experience of her boys. Let any young master, bored to death within the narrow limits of the intelligences that it is his business to awaken, pick up Mr. Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* and read the exquisite little piece of word painting that sets forth the character and world-knowledge of the boys in an Indian hill school. Let him weigh in his mind what is there written of the things that, on their way to and from school alone, they see and do. And if that picture make no appeal to the hunger that should be within him let him return to his poky lodging and his evening paper, for he is not of those that we seek.

Lastly, and on a lower plane altogether, we should be able to offer a comfortable present, full of interest and vitality, and a certain future after the work is done. As we have seen, that is a prospect which under present conditions few schools, if any, can hold out. But among the many grateful memories which will hereafter encompass India's recollection of her present Viceroy, assuredly not the least will be the vigorous shaking which his forceful presence has created among the dry bones of her educational system. And no one with practical experience can be in doubt that paramount importance attaches to those nurseries of the future members of the subordinate official grades, of the great commercial class, of the

engineering, medical, and teaching professions, that we have in our hill schools. In the reconstruction and further application of our educational machinery they will doubtless not be overlooked. Every fresh encouragement that may be given to them, every rupee spent upon their needs, will help to the firmer assurance of the validity of the promises that they ought to be in a position to make. Then the difficulty that now faces us will be removed, there will be no set back to the full charm of our offers, and the position of a master on the staff of a leading Indian school will be as much coveted as it is now suspected, and as solid as it is now precarious.

E. A. NEWTON, M.A.
Rector of St. Paul's School, Darjeeling.



ART. II.—THE ROYAL TITLES AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE English, in spite of their many excellent qualities, are not a very logical people. It is their wont to complacently go on tolerating anomalies of even the most glaring character and to remove them only when to tolerate them any longer becomes a sheer impossibility. Here in India we have a striking instance of this weak logical sense of the nation in the fact that the territories which till lately bore the name of the North-Western Provinces ceased to be the *north-western* provinces of British India on the annexation of the Panjab over half a century ago. The recent creation of the North-West Province made a change in the name of the North-Western Provinces an imperative necessity. "Nothing dies but something mourns," as the poet says, and in every human community there are men whose conservative instincts are hurt when any great change comes upon human affairs. So the threatened disappearance of the old familiar name "North-West Provinces" had its mourner in the most powerful exponent of conservative English opinion. We have another striking illustration of the weak English logical sense in a matter of great importance, namely, the style and title of the Sovereign of the British Empire. The title of the late Sovereign, of blessed memory, was latterly Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and Empress of India, the colonies, some of them of vast extent and of immeasurable potential importance, being entirely ignored; and her title, as it was during the earlier years of her reign, retained the long standing fiction that the Sovereign of the British Isles was also Sovereign of France. It is a little extraordinary, however, that on the accession of the present Sovereign, when the question came up of revising the Sovereign's title, deliberation in the Home cabinet and Home Parliament and consultation with the great colonies of Canada and Australia should have left Edward VII's titles as King of Great Britain and of all the British dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, and Emperor of India. This aggregate of titles, which, for the sake of convenience, will be called title in this paper, is so obviously open to adverse comment on logical grounds that, but for the well-known disinclination of the English people to move out of old, accustomed grooves, and the present dominant, overshadowing position of the comparatively small kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland among the English-

speaking dominions of the British Sovereign, the adoption of the title would scarcely be intelligible. The United Kingdom is a kingdom; it is too small to be called an empire by itself; so its sovereign must be king or queen, and not emperor or empress. But where is the propriety of the Sovereign of a country like Canada or Australia, each approaching all Europe in area, being called king or queen? If Canada and Australia had been each a sovereign state and a monarchy, would they have been called Kingdoms? As a matter of fact, again, they are not called Kingdoms, and yet, by reason of their present subordinate position to the mother-country, have they their Sovereign's title as king. If with the word 'king' is associated the idea of sovereignty over territory of comparatively small dimensions, so as to make it incongruous that the Sovereign of territories nearly as large as all Europe should be called a king, with the now 'emperor' there seems to be associated in the English mind, vaguely though, the idea of possession of absolute power. There is no necessary connection, however, between 'emperor' and 'absolute power,' and the existence of constitutional empires, notably that of the late empire of Brazil under Don Pedro, has served in a measure to dissociate the possession of absolute power from the title of emperor. Looking back again to the earlier years of the nineteenth century, where was a king, besides that of the United Kingdom, who was not an absolute ruler? The term 'emperor' thus connotes the possession of absolute power no more than does the term 'king' and nothing could more effectually dissociate the idea of absolute power from the term 'emperor' than the assumption of the title of emperor by the constitutional Sovereign of the greatest monarchy in the world. The British Dominions as a whole is called by everybody an Empire. Where then is the impropriety of calling the Sovereign of this Empire an Emperor?

'All the British Dominions beyond the seas' must logically include India, and yet, in defiance of all logic does India figure in the Sovereign's title as something outside 'all the British Dominions beyond the Seas'. The retention of the title of 'Defender of the Faith' hurts again the susceptibilities of a numerous body among the subjects of the crown, namely, Catholics and Dissenters.

The revised title of the British Sovereign, it is further plain, is no way indicative of the *unity* of the British Empire. Imperialism has for sometime past been a dominant idea in Great Britain* and in the Colonies of Canada, Australia

* 'Great Britain' is, as usual, used in this paper in the sense of 'Great Britain and Ireland,' and 'Englishman' in the sense of a native of Great Britain or Ireland.

and New Zealand. At such a time it would not have been unreasonable to expect that the revised title of the British Sovereign would have been such as to announce to the world the *unity* of the British Empire under one common name. But things have, after all, not been ripe yet for such unification, and so there has been none. Dominions even of the rank of Canada and Australia are still called 'colonies,' a term which proclaims their inferiority of position in relation to the mother-country, and in the Sovereign's title they are lumped up together with petty colonies like Jamaica and Barbados under the phrase 'all the British Dominions beyond the Seas,' while Ireland, with a population not now larger than that of Canada, is specified by name.

The present title of the British Sovereign has not thus the elements of permanency about it. It stands in need of future revision in order that it may fitly represent the character of the Empire, and avoid hurting the susceptibilities of any of its component parts or any large sections of the population of any of these parts. The United Kingdom is a Kingdom, Canada a dominion, and Australia a commonwealth; and there is every likelihood of Newfoundland joining Canada and New Zealand joining Australia in no long time. South Africa, when confederated together, will doubtless pick up a special designation to mark its position as a free state under the British flag. India is a dependency bearing by herself the name of Empire, and there are other dependencies besides—colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence. Kingdom, dominion, commonwealth and dependencies of all grades may well come under the common designation of dominions in the aggregate; and so the Sovereign of the British dominions as an aggregate may appropriately, it seems, be styled King Emperor of the British dominions. *King* in conjunction with *Emperor* would indicate the historical evolution of the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland into the Sovereign of the British Empire, and as fitly complimentary at the same time to the United Kingdom as being the nucleus and head centre of the Empire. There is much in a name, and so a unified designation for the British Sovereign would go some way towards promoting unity of feeling among the populations of the several scattered parts of the Empire. India's claims to be called an empire, as eloquently set forth by the Viceroy in his Darbar speech, is indeed very great, but, though she is called an empire, she is only an empire within a wider monarchy which is also called an empire, namely, the British Empire, so that it is a question whether, instead of being broadly called an empire, she would not, after the example of Canada and Australia, better be called by a specific

designation other than empire, and whether such specific designation should not be the pure Hindustani word *Raj*. *Raj* answers to the English word *Monarchy*, and is applicable to any kind of monarchy,—an empire, a Kingdom or a petty principality.

The imperialist idea has got hold in a way of the national mind in Great Britain as well as in the colonies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But the dreams of those who cherished the faith of a close union between the mother-country and her colonies on the basis of a customs-league or even of a war-league have been rudely dispelled by the results of the Colonial Conference lately held in London. The historical evolution of the British Empire has been such that no conceivable kind of federation can turn it into a consolidated, integral State like America or Russia. Consisting, as it does, of territories scattered all over the world, with interests accordingly of a widely divergent character, the British Empire wants the elements of cohesion that America and Russia possess. Portions of the Empire are, again, organised wholes, which would by no means like to forego their individuality or any measure of the independence they now possess. The union between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies, it is now plain, must mainly be of the nature of a perpetual defensive league. The trend of things is obviously towards Canada *cum* Newfoundland, Australia *cum* New Zealand, and South Africa confederated together and given the right of self-government becoming each an integral State with a complete organisation of its own like that of the United Kingdom itself. Such complete organisation would necessarily include means of defence by land and sea, that is, such defence as each state would require for itself. Besides a defensive league, the bond of union between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies should include also a common diplomatic and consular service and a common citizenship entitling the people of the several States to admission on perfectly equal terms to all offices within the Empire. A union like this would leave each member of the union to seek its own welfare in its own way, while, in the matter of defence, at the back of the strength of each there would be the strength of all the others. This would obviously be a gain to each, for the aggregate means of defence would be far greater than could be provided by each State for itself by stretching its resources to the utmost limit, and the stretching of resources to the utmost limit would never be needed by any one of the States by reason of the other States being at their back. A common diplomatic and consular service there is already for the whole Empire, but it is disadvantageous to Great Britain in that she has to bear the whole cost of the service, and also the colonies

in that the field of recruitment for the service is Great Britain alone. The cost should be fairly distributed, and the field of recruitment extended so as to include all the self-governing units of the Empire. As for all offices within the Empire being thrown open on perfectly equal terms to Colonials, John Stuart Mill more than a generation back, put this forth as the only feasible bond of union between the United Kingdom and her Colonial dependencies, though he admitted that suggestions for the establishment of a representative body for foreign and imperial concerns, in which the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and South Africa should each be adequately represented, proceeded from feelings of equity and conceptions of public morality, which are worthy of all praise.* The question is now not exactly at the same stage as when Mill wrote; nor is the expedient proposed by him of throwing open the service of Government in all its departments and in every part of the empire, on perfectly equal terms, to the inhabitants of the colonies one calculated to satisfy permanently great and growing colonies like Canada and Australia, as it does satisfy the Channel Islands, which have at present a population of only some 100,000 inhabitants and can have in future none but a magnificent addition to this number.

Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial conference announced that the United Kingdom was ready to give the self-governing colonies a share of control over imperial and foreign concerns as soon as they would be ready to bear a share of the imperial burdens. But these burdens are very heavy, and this because the United Kingdom has powerful and heavily armed neighbours with whom her relations are not always of a very friendly character and because her entanglements are numerous in Asia and Africa. All this requires the maintenance of vast armaments by sea and land, upon objects in which the colonies are little interested. No wonder then that the colonies are not eager to have a share of control over imperial and foreign concerns at the cost of bearing any appreciable share of the imperial burdens. A dribble of £50,000 a year is the high-water mark of Colonial contribution at present towards the maintenance of the imperial navy and the premier colony, Canada, holds itself entirely aloof in this matter. The self-governing colonies are agreed that they should remain in the bonds of political union with the mother-country, and in order that this bond of union may be equitable all round it is necessary that colonies like Canada and Australia, which have now grown to maturity, should provide themselves with naval armaments adequate to their wants and to that extent relieve

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the mother-country of a portion of her naval expenditure, and that there should be a definite arrangement about the distribution of the cost of the diplomatic and consular service, Canada and Australia bearing each a small share on the cost proportioned to the small share of benefit each derives from the service.

The question of war is the one aspect of the relation between the mother-country and the great colonies that immediately presses for solution. As matters now stand if Great Britain is at war with any State, the colonies too are at war with that State. This can cause no practical inconvenience to the colonies if the State in question is so weak that it can do no harm to any of them. The case would be otherwise, however, in the event of a war between Great Britain and any great Power or combination of Great Powers. For the safety of the colonies in such a case, one of two courses is open. Either the colonies should have some control over Great Britain's wars so that no wars would be entered upon by her which the colonies did not approve or they should have the right of remaining neutral when Great Britain had any war with a Great power. The latter is a question of an international character and so one not to be settled by a private arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies. The former is therefore the only course that seems feasible. A share of control over questions of war then the colonies should have if they are to remain politically attached to Great Britain. Such share of control cannot fail to have the whole effect of making Great Britain more pacific than she has yet become. She has inherited certain unhappy war-like traditions in common with her great European neighbours, and she has been foremost in the matter of aggression and annexation. The field of aggression and annexation has been greatly narrowed since the recent partition of the African continent, and the British Empire has now attained such enormous expansion that any further expansion, except perhaps the occupation of some of the yet unoccupied islands of the Pacific which Australia is so very eager to have, is no way desirable. Great Britain then, with the convenience of her colonies, may well impose upon herself a self-denying ordinance disclaiming all forcible annexation of territory in future and invite other Powers to do the like. The desire of appropriating foreign territory is the chief incentive to war and so a renunciation of this desire by the most powerful empire in the world would be a great help to the cause of peace all over the world. Further conquests being renounced the Empire's sole concerns would be defence, and in this Great Britain with the co-operation of her self-governing colonies and her great dependency of India would be invincible so long as the course of war remains.

It is a question whether, along with participation in control over war, should not be associated also participation in control over dependencies. It is certainly desirable that the Government of dependencies, particularly of the great dependency of India should be beyond the range of British party politics, and this would be effectively secured only if direction and control about it rested, not with the British Parliament, but with a representative body in which, alone with Great Britain, the self-governing colonies should also be represented. But the time seems distant when this could come about. For the present and for some time yet to come, the management of all dependencies—India, which is governed on the crown colony method, other crown colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence—must rest with Great Britain alone. The garrisoning of dependencies, the carrying on of such wars as are now being carried on against the Mullah in Somaliland and against the Sultan of Kano, and other troubles of the like kind, the self-governing colonies can have little desire to share with the mother country. But when order comes to reign in the big African dependencies, as does now reign in India, and when the self-governing colonies double or treble their present populations, it will be time it seems for their coming in for a share of control over dependencies and a share also of the responsibilities that go along with such control. This is a matter, though, of no immediate concern.

The great dependency of India not only pays her way, but materially helps the Empire. Certain other dependencies—crown colonies and protectorates—are likewise self-supporting. Generally speaking, British dependencies are, as all dependencies should be, run on such lines as to make them self-supporting. Portions of territory like Gibraltar or Malta, which are held for military or naval purposes, form, of course, a class apart; and petty crown colonies can never have the means of fully providing for their defence, for which they must lean, primarily, upon Great Britain, and when necessary upon the rest of the Empire besides. Letting alone the lesser dependencies, it cannot be claimed even for the great dependency of India that it should be represented in an Imperial Federal Council sitting in London, in a similar way with Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. But some measure of representation, India in the first place, and after her the crown colonies and protectorates should have in the British Parliament, so long as they are exclusively under the control of Great Britain, and in a Federal Council when there comes to be one.

Irish discontent is now the greatest difficulty in British home politics. Even Gladstone's high statesmanship, which

knew so well to adapt itself to the changing order of things failed to successfully tackle this Irish difficulty. His scheme of Home Rule for Ireland was a clear failure, and any other scheme on the same lines would be doomed to equal failure. To the outside observer, it is not very clear why Home Rule all round for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, on the lines of such Home Rule as there is for the provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and for the provinces of the Commonwealth of Australia, together with a British Parliament answering to the Dominion on the Commonwealth Parliament, does not commend itself to British Statesmen of all shades of opinion, and to the British public generally, as the only effective practicable device for putting an end to Irish discontent. Upon this purely British question it is not indeed for an Indian, like the present writer, to put forward any specific scheme. It is for the British people themselves to solve it in a way that would be agreeable to the great majority of those who are vitally interested in the matter. But upon a question that is specially Indian, namely the position and prospects of India in any possible federation of the Empire, an Indian may well claim to have his say. Naturally enough an Indian can take up the Indian point of view better than the foreigner can.

India is a very important member of the Empire, and contributes so largely towards the maintenance of Great Britain's high position among nations that even eminent British Statesmen have loudly proclaimed it to be the brightest jewel in the British crown. So it is in a certain sense. But in that which is the true measure of a country's greatness, namely, the quality of the units of the country's population, India is a long way behind not only Great Britain herself, but also behind Canada and Australia. That the quality of the units of the Canadian and the Australian population is much higher than that of the Indian, and that in industry, trade, commerce, and wealth, as calculated per head of population, Canadians and Australians are far and away in advance of the Indians, are facts not unknown to British Statesmen and the British public. But though far behind Canada and Australia when the average per head of population is considered, India has a much larger aggregate revenue and offers a much ampler market, unrestricted by any possible protective tariffs, for British commerce, and above all, she is, as a subject country, under the absolute control of Great Britain in all matters and supplies very highly paid appointments to a numerous body of Britishers in the Civil, Medical and Military Services. So India is at present of far greater value to Great Britain than Canada and Australia are. But the rate of future progress in Canada

and Australia must be more rapid than in India, so that their relative importance must largely increase in future. Only if they are retained as integral parts of the British Empire, can this Empire maintain its position as a first class State, side by side, with the America and Russia of the future.

Generally speaking, physical inferiority is the most marked inferiority of the Indian to the European. Though in certain parts of India the standard of physique is on a par with the European, over the greater part of the country the physique of the people is low indeed—so low as to place them at a great disadvantage in the field of competition with more vigorous races of men. The 'animal qualities of a race,' says the great English philosopher, Herbert Spencer, form a necessary basis for all higher qualities.* The leaders of social reform in India would do well to always keep in view this fundamental truth.

Nobody pretends that, if Canada and Australia are fit for self-Government, India is fit also, or can be fit very soon. Her position for a long time yet to come must be one of dependence. But while in a position of dependence, is she not to be gradually trained so as to be fit ultimately to manage all her affairs herself, and thus become a more valuable member of the Empire than she now is? The benefit she has derived from the British connection has been simply immense. British maintenance of order and British installation of progress on Western lines have been to her a boon above all price. But while this is freely conceded it cannot be maintained that the British system of Government is all that can be desired and that there are not great difficulties in the way of its attaining the full measure of equity towards which it is but slowly tending. There can be no disguising the fact that there is a direct antagonism of interests between large and powerful sections of the British people and the people of India, and British statesmen, however high their individual sense of equity may be and however clear and far reaching their political vision, cannot suddenly make any radical changes that would violently disturb powerful vested interests. The classes of the British people which now furnish youths to fill the highly paid Indian Civil Service and to officer the Sepoy army in India would naturally look with disfavour upon any scheme that would aim at making much cheaper Indians, on perfectly equal terms the competitors of such British youths. In effecting reforms statesmen have indeed to overcome resistance, but wise statesmanship has often to choose the line of least resistance. The present supremely capable and clear-sighted Viceroy in creating the Imperial

Cadet corps, has taken a step that can provoke no resistance. But can this quiet beginning fail to eventually lead to the opening-up of Commissions in the Sepoy Army to all Indians who on perfect equal terms, prove their fitness in competition with Britons and Colonials? The British national conscience is a progressive conscience, and there can be no doubt that British public opinion will, as time rolls on be more and more in favour of removing all sorts of disabilities under which Indians now labour, and from which Indians themselves, as they progress, would naturally seek to be delivered.

The British conquest of India has not done the country the greatest good that a conquering race can do to a country conquered by it. This greatest good is the settlement of the conquerors among the conquered, and the formation, in consequence, of a united community having common aims and aspirations, this united community being all the richer for the accession of the qualities of the conquering race to the qualities of the conquered. Englishmen of the better sort—members of the Civil, Medical and Military Services, and planters and merchants, who have spent the best years of their lives in India—have seldom thought of making India their own or their children's home. They have been birds of passage, and though benefit has come to the country from the presence of such birds of passage, this benefit has been nothing like what it might have been if any considerable section among them had settled in the country for good, and had thus come to have a permanent stake in its destinies. The people of European descent now domiciled in the country belong, generally speaking, to the lower strata of Europeans, and they are, generally speaking, inferior in brain power to men belonging to the more intellectual classes of the native Indian population. What a valuable addition to the present weak domiciled community would it be if any considerable number of Anglo-Indians of the Civil, Medical and Military services could be induced to settle with their families in India! The gain would be not one to this particular community alone, but to the entire Indian community. We all know what a valuable element the Parsi population of India is—rather less than 100,000 individuals in the midst of near 300,000,000. Would not men of British bone and muscle and brain, with all the qualities of body and mind that these imply, be a still more valuable addition in proportion to their number? Parsis have not degenerated in the hot Indian climate, nor have the Armenians and Jews settled in the country for hundreds of years. The Armenians at any rate originally belonged to a country which, from its altitude, if not its latitude, has a climate not less cold than that of England. But

* *Study of Society*, p. 97.

they moved on progressively to warmer and warmer climates, and so at present they stand the Indian climate well. Settlers of British descent have not thriven well in the West Indies. But in their case there was the drawback of a sudden transition from a cold to a very hot climate. Nevertheless there has been acclimatisation to a certain extent, particularly in the island of Barbados, the oldest of British possessions in that part of the world. In the case of British settlers in India the transition need not be sudden. There are hills and plateaux in India where the temperature is cool enough in summer. Residence in such hills or plateaux would be a necessary preliminary to residence in the plains. The secret of successful acclimatisation is progressive movement, so that any sudden change from great heat to great cold and *vice versa* may be avoided. British settlers in India would be in the position of Armenians whom the pursuits of trade and commerce have made residents of a tropical climate. They would have no out-door manual work to do. It may then be fairly assumed that Englishmen settled in India, though they would necessarily undergo a change of type to even a greater extent than they have done in North America and Australia, where the climate is more suitable for them, would undergo no actual degeneration. The Woodburns and Cottons who have worked for generations in India, have shown no signs of degeneracy. Residence in Indian hills or plateaux could do for others what residence in Great Britain in the earlier years of life and during leave while in service did for them. Besides there is nothing to prevent any domiciled European from going to Europe for purposes of education and passing a few years there. Modern science, again, could furnish numerous appliances for acclimatisation such as were not possible in past times. A superior class of domiciled Europeans living as natives of this country in touch with other natives would be a powerful instrument of Indian progress, and they would at the same time be able to furnish to the Indian Services, at much less cost, men of as good a stamp as the men now drawn from Great Britain. The present high standard of the services would thus be kept up without extensive importations of costly foreign educated labour; and Hindus (Sikhs and Jains are rightly included under this term) and Muhammadans and Parsis and other communities in India could also furnish men of as good a stamp. Further a strong domiciled European community in India would be a strong permanent link between Great Britain and India. For a long time yet to come it would be necessary indeed, in the interests alike of India and of the Empire, to have a good number of high-type Englishmen to conduct the higher

affairs of the country. But it is one thing to have a comparatively small band of Englishmen at the head of affairs and quite another thing to have a numerous body of Englishmen to look after such affairs as can be equally well looked after by natives of the country at much less cost.

Anglo-Indians,* as a rule, live in isolation from the natives of the country, and Euro-Indians,* taking their cue from Anglo-Indians, try to keep themselves at a distance from the bulk of their countrymen and hanker after exceptional privileges. This attitude of theirs would naturally incline native public opinion to view with disfavour any proposal for strengthening their community. But the proposal put forth in this paper aims at making *Indians* of them. We all know the late Sir John Woodburn's feeling acknowledgment of three generations of his, having eaten the salt of India, and Sir Henry Cotton's declaration about his being a hereditary member of the Indian administration; and we know also the deep feeling of sympathy put forth for the children of the soil. That the descendants of high-type Englishmen, domiciled in India would have sympathy for the Indian races, may then be fairly assumed, and the presence in India of such men, would be the best of helps towards India's freedom from a state of perpetual pupillage.

The desirability, for India's good, of a strong domiciled European community being granted, the question that has to be faced is the devising of a practicable scheme for the creation of such a community. Only inducements of a very extraordinary character could tempt Anglo-Indians of the better sort to make India their home. Such inducements would cost money, and the question is, would British public opinion and the British Parliament be won over to allow any expenditure for an object like this? Supposing them to be won over, the means to be employed for attaining the object might be as follows:—Liberal pensions on a considerably lower scale to those who choose to return to the old country on retirement from service in India; ample help from the State towards the boarding and education of the children of such domiciled Anglo-Indians in suitable localities; and reservation of a good number of civil appointments in the country and of a very much larger number of military appointments for domiciled Anglo-Indian youths. As the number of permanent Anglo-Indian settlers in any one year would be but small, the

* 'Anglo-Indian' is here used in its generally accepted sense, and 'Euro-Indian' in the sense attached to 'Anglo-Indian' by the "Imperial Anglo-Indian Association." 'Euro-Indian' would thus be applicable to Europeans by birth or descent domiciled in India and to people of mixed European and Indian blood.

initial annual cost for the promotion of such settlement would be small, and the increase of the cost, year by year, would be small too. The great difficulty would be to get the principle accepted—that the object proposed would be worth the cost. As regards the reservation of appointments for domiciled Europeans, the proportion should of course vary from time to time, so that the amount of encouragement held out in the beginning might grow less and less as the object for which it was held out approached nearer and nearer to attainment. The test for admission to the services should of course be the same for all without distinction of colour or creed, and all British subjects, to whatever part of the world they might belong, should, on perfectly equal terms, be eligible for admission. Further, it is desirable that candidates selected for the same kind of service should go through a common course of instruction together for some time, so that a spirit of comradeship might grow up among them, and race prejudices might be curbed. One country holding another *permanently* in subjection is a thing altogether repugnant to the spirit of modern civilisation, and if Great Britain is to gradually train up India to arrive at the self-governing stage in the future, however remote that future may be, one very effective means towards that end would be the permanent settlement of Anglo-Indians of the better type on Indian soil.

If, for keeping up the present Anglo-Indian standard of efficiency in the Civil, Medical and Military Services without extensive importations from Great Britain,—the settlement of retired Civil, Medical and Military officers be desirable to keep up the present standard of such soldierly qualities as are now to be found in the rank-and-file of the British army in India,—it would be desirable to have small colonies of picked European soldiers planted in suitable localities. The descendants of such colonists could form a valuable, though minute, addition to the martial races of India, and from them could be obtained handfuls of soldiers of European descent, who, with the best Sikhs and Gurkhas, would furnish a model for the native Indian army. The settlement of Military Colonists is again a question of cost, and so it is beset with difficulties. But if the principle is accepted, the cost, year by year, need not be large.

The antagonism of interests between large and powerful sections of the British people and the people of India, before referred to, would be a great obstacle in the way of the principle of European settlement in India being accepted. It would be best, it seems, if Native Rulers in the country made a beginning in the direction of getting Europeans of the better sort to settle in their States, and to enlightened

Native Governments, like that of Mysore, the idea of holding out special encouragements to capable and sympathetic Europeans to settle permanently in India, may perhaps commend itself. When learning was at a low ebb among the Brahmans of Bengal, King Adisur of Bengal invited learned Brahmans from Kanauj, gave them rich gifts of land, and settled them with their families in Bengal. With the Brahmans came also Kayasths from Kanauj. The descendants of these Brahmans and Kayasths now constitute the foremost section of the people of Bengal. Bengal would be nowhere now without her Brahmans and her Kayasths. Indians of the present day do possess indeed many estimable qualities but it is a patent fact that there are qualities of body and mind in which they are much behind Englishmen. Were it not so the English would not be here to rule over them. Men of the good English stock settled in India would be standing models for teaching Indians qualities in which they are deficient and which Englishmen possess in abundant measure, and they would be the countrymen of Indians, ready to make common cause with them in all matters of national concern.

A federation of Great Britain and her colonies and dependencies would not bring together the whole of Great Britain, for outside the British Empire there is the Great American Republic which, from the magnitude and richness of its resources and the character of its people, seems obviously destined to become the strongest and wealthiest among the great English-speaking countries of the world, and the strongest and wealthiest country likewise in the world. Little England may well feel proud that she has expanded into a wide, wide *Englishland*, a name under which could fitly be included all lands where English is now the language of the people, and a time may come when all this Englishland will be politically united. At present, however, a close *rapprochement* between the English-speaking lands now under the British Crown together with the non-English-speaking British dependencies on the one hand and the English-speaking American Union on the other, is alone possible, and such *rapprochement* is greatly to be desired in the interests of peace and progress all over the world. It could give the great English-speaking race that preponderant weight in the councils of nations, which its present position in the world entitles it to, but which neither the British Empire alone nor the United States alone could command. All friends of humanity must, therefore, hail with delight the growing good feeling between old England and her most vigorous offspring across the seas.

SYARNACHARAN GANGULI.

ART. III.—IMPERIAL CALICUT.

IF the Zamorin of Calicut—a descendant of one of the oldest dynasties in this vast Empire—should accept the invitation of His Excellency Lord Curzon to attend the forthcoming magnificent Proclamation pageant in the ancient and historic city of Delhi*, he will certainly be one of the most picturesque figures in the gorgeous galaxy of Indian Princes and Chiefs who will be gathered together on that historical occasion, the grandeur of which, apart from anything that may be said in its justification, bids fair to transcend even the dreams of the most ostentatious of Oriental rulers, modern or ancient. The Zamorin of Calicut, were he to visit the Delhi Durbar, would go there enveloped, so to speak, in an atmosphere of ancient history, and his presence would be calculated to remind the student of history of some of the most stirring, important and picturesque events and chains of events connected with the slow and steady growth and consolidation of British power in Southern Asia. The present is, therefore, an opportune season for glancing briefly at the long and chequered history of Calicut—"Imperial Calicut, the lordly seat of the first Monarch of the Indian State," as Camœns, the soldier-poet of Portugal describes it in one place in his fascinating and immortal epic—the *Lusiadas*. The difficulty in dealing with the history of a town like Calicut is that of finding a suitable "jumping off" place from which to start. The earliest and obscurest traditions and legends connected with it are naturally mixed up in a manner that admits of no separation with those relating to the ancient province or kingdom of which it formed a portion. According to Hunter, Calicut was known to the European, chiefly on account of its pepper trade, as far back as in the times of Sinbad the Sailor, which takes us, it will be remembered, into the days of the Roman Empire. It is also historically certain that its "commodious port," to borrow another phrase from Camœns, was familiar to Eastern navigators, and that the Near East made its acquaintance and had commercial relations with it even in the time of Solomon the Wise, for the building of whose temple at Jerusalem ships were sent to the Malabar Coast for gold and spices and ivory and peacock's feathers. The Phœnicians, the greatest commercial nation of antiquity, are also known to have traded with it 3,000 years ago. In the same waters in which modern leviathans, flying the British flag, now anchor in considerable

* The Zamorin did not attend the Durbar, on the plea of ill-health.

numbers every year, the well-appointed and efficiently-manned Phœnician sea-going ships, by which the nation, according to no less an authority than Ezekiel," was replenished and glorified exceedingly in the heart of the sea," rode proudly a thousand years before Christ, at a time, in fact, when our great Anglo-Celtic race, now the greatest sea-power in the world had not yet begun to weld itself into a cohesive whole.

The Calicut of the Zamorins may be said to have entered into the page of history, as an independent item, somewhat over a thousand years ago when the last king or Emperor of Malabar—Cheruman Perumal—secretly set out on a voyage to Arabia under extraordinary circumstances, which will bear repetition. The Perumal dreamed one night that the full moon appeared at Mecca on the night of the new moon, and that, when at the meridian, she split into two, one of the halves descending to the foot of a hill, where the other half joined it, and both of them then set. It transpired that very shortly after this dream some Mahomedan pilgrims *en route* to Serendib had an audience of the Perumal, and casually informed him that the Prophet had converted a large number of unbelievers by means of the very miracle which the Emperor had dreamt about. This circumstance so worked upon the feelings of the latter that he made out a deed partitioning his dominions among the various petty Chieftains and then secretly embarked for Mecca, which, however, he does not seem to have reached. The partition was a very elaborate one, but it appears to have left the Zamorin out in the cold, which was certainly a regrettable matter, seeing that the Zamorin, according to local tradition, was the survivor of two Puntura youths of noble lineage, who by their valour and prowess had driven out from the Perumal's territory, after a battle which lasted three days, a Pandyan¹ King who had had the temerity to invade the country and had taken possession of a port of great strategical importance. However, just as the Perumal was on the point of setting sail, the Zamorin appeared and the emperor informed him that his kingdom had nearly all been apportioned, nevertheless, there remained one *desour* or village so small, that a cock crowing could be heard all over it, also a stretch of thorny jungle. These territories were received gratefully by the Puntura youth, and they were accompanied with the gift of the Emperor's own sword of battle, bearing the inscription "to die and kill and seize." This wonderful Excalibur is still preserved and jealously cared for in the ancient palace of the Zamorins, some miles away from modern Calicut. The blade is rusted and worn down, and a copper covering has had to be made to prevent the original from succumbing further to the ravages of rust and time. The little strip of territory granted to the

Zamorin under such romantic circumstances was none other than "Imperial Calicut," the ancient city, which was destined to be the first link in that long chain which has now at length bound the entire Indian Peninsula, may I not say with golden chains, about the feet of Britannia?

By the aid of the sword and the command that went with it, traditionary history says, imperial Calicut rose speedily to be a great centre of trade with foreign countries, as well as with other parts of India, and it soon became "the most famous port in the world for its extensive commerce, wealth, country, town and King." It is related that on one occasion an East Coast Chetty reached the port with a ship overloaded with gold. The ship was returning from Mecca and ran into Calicut only because it was about to sink in consequence of its excessive burthen. The Chetty landed and waited on the Zamorin, to whom he related his story. The ruler of the mountains and the waves (for this is the meaning of the title Zamorin) had a granite cellar built in his own palace and in this strong room he permitted the Chetty to store as much of the gold as the ship could not carry. The merchant then continued his homeward voyage; and returning shortly after, found his treasure intact. The grateful Chetty begged the King to take half the gold as a gift, but he would have none. The Chetty then asked permission to trade at Calicut,—and this permission was granted and the bazaar was founded. In all probability the site is the same as that of the present native business quarter, known as the Big Bazaar or *valia Angadi*, the western end of which opens out on the white fringe of sea-shore where a good deal of the native shipping of the port is still carried on, while the eastern end leads off through the quarters of the high caste Hindus to the Calicut palace or *Kovilakom* of the Zamorins. It is further related that a Mahomedan merchant of Muscat sent the elder of his two sons in a ship to trade in foreign countries, giving him a liberal supply of gold. The young man visited country after country and offered presents to the rulers. The gift consisted of pickle boxes filled with gold, but the youth always made it a point to tell the recipients that it was only pickle. King after king accepted the gift, but conveniently preserved silence on discovering what the box really contained. Eventually Calicut was visited and the experiment was tried on the Zamorin, with the immediate result that the king sent for the donor and pointed out that, evidently by some mistake, gold had been substituted for pickles. The stranger had now found a truly honourable and trustworthy king, and he decided to settle in Calicut, where he subsequently became the leading priest of the Moors or Moplahs. Meanwhile, the Excalibur of the

Perumal was not suffered to rust in its sheath, and when Sheikh Ibu Batuta of Tangiers, a most observant traveller, visited Malabar, during the first half of the fourteenth century, he found Calicut one of the great ports of the district of Malabar, one "in which merchants from all parts are found." "The greatest part of the Mahomedan merchants of the place are so wealthy," writes this interesting Eastern traveller, "that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here and fit out others like them." At this period of its history, the Moors appear to have shared the great and expanding trade of Calicut with the Chinese, for, among other proofs, we have Abdur Razzak, another Eastern traveller and a fairly careful chronicler, writing early in the fifteenth century, that the sea-faring population of Calicut were nick-named at the time of his visit, *China Bhachagan* or China boys. However, it is beyond all doubt that by the end of the fifteenth century, the commercial influence of the Chinese in the blue waters of imperial Calicut had dwindled down almost to a vanishing point, and when the dauntless and adventurous navigators of Portugal, led by the great sea captain who had set sail from the obscure little Portuguese village of Belem, arrived in the great emporium which Camæns has so graphically described Moorish influence was all powerful.

We now come to a deeply interesting, momentous and epoch-making event in the history of Calicut, and in treating of it, it will be necessary to allude briefly to two still-unsettled disputes that have troubled historians and enquirers, one of these disputes having reference to a place and the other to a date. In the year 1498, Vasco da Gama, the adventurous Portuguese sailor, having successfully rounded the Cape of Good Hope and conquered at great cost the storms and waves of unknown seas, eventually found himself standing on the red soil of Calicut, beneath the graceful and palm fronds. Morse, Stephens and other writers, who have had access to Portuguese and other documents, mention the 20th of May 1498 as the date on which Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut. But Logan in his exhaustive History of Malabar, mentions the 26th of August as the date on which Da Gama's two ships, having run across from Melinde with the South West monsoon, first sighted the coast of Malabar. This statement tallies with what is set down in a Malayalam manuscript, written on *olla* or palm leaves, and preserved in the archives of a branch of the Zamorin's family. The translation of this statement runs as follows:—"In the year of the Taliha 904, or the sixth of Karkadom 672, three of the Feringhee's ships came to Pandarani Kollam. It being in the monsoon, they anchored there and came on shore. They went to Karikate, where they learnt

all the news of Malabar. At this time they did not trade, but returned again to their own country—Portugal. It is supposed the motive of their coming was for pepper. Two years afterwards they returned from Portugal with six ships, and came to Karikote." It is noteworthy that though this document is trustworthy in other respects, it is open to doubt in respect of the statement as to the number of ships, for it has been certainly established that one of the three vessels with which Da Gama started was broken up on the coast of Natal and that he arrived in Malabar with only two vessels. It is just possible, however, that the native chronicler may have mistaken a ship's boat for a larger vessel. However, it must have been in August, and not in May, that Da Gama arrived off Malabar as he had weathered the South-West monsoon in the Indian Ocean, and this could not have been earlier than June. The next dispute is as regards the port at which Da Gama first landed. According to some accounts, it was Kappatt. Correa mentions this port, but other chroniclers say Pandarani Kollam. The former port is eight miles to the north of Calicut, while the latter is about double that distance northwards. There is a mud bank at Kollam and a little bay, which render landing possible in rough weather, so that it is not difficult to reconcile both accounts by assuming that anchor was first dropped at Kollam and that eventually, the ships rode down to Kappatt, where Da Gama landed, and in jumping ashore unconsciously took a step which was destined to change the whole course, as it were, of the subsequent history of Europe, for the landing in Calicut was the first nail that was driven in the coffin of Venice, the queen of the Adriatic into whose lap "the exhaustless East" had until then poured all her gems "in sparkling showers."

One of the first things that Da Gama did in Calicut was to obtain the permission of the Zamorin to erect a factory and to begin trade. The permission was granted, but the jealousy of the Moors was too much for the Portuguese, who soon abandoned the town. Two years later, when a second expedition arrived from Portugal, there was a keen struggle for commercial supremacy, but matters did not make much headway until 1533, when the great Albuquerque, whom his king and his country treated in the long run with such undeserved injustice, obtained valuable trade concessions, as well as leave to erect a fort at Calicut, in a locality of his own selection. The site chosen appears to have been on the northern bank of the Kalla river, at the southern extremity of Calicut, and just beyond the Big Bazar mentioned in a previous paragraph. Not one stone, however, of this fort now remains for in 1515, during the constant struggles be-

tween the Portuguese on the one hand and the Zamorin and the Moors on the other, the place was abandoned during the siege, the last man to leave it setting fire "to a train of gunpowder which killed many of the Nairs and Moors, who in hope of plunder had flocked into the fort directly it was abandoned."

We now enter upon another important stage in the history of Calicut. In 1615, Captain Keeling, with three English ships which were the same that had brought Sir Thomas Roe on his embassy to the Great Mogul, arrived off Calicut and concluded with the Zamorin a treaty, which included permission for the founding of a factory at Calicut. The Zamorin's object was merely to obtain the help of the English in driving the Portuguese from Cranganore and Cochin, which they had conquered, and when the English showed no signs at helping in this business, the ten persons who were left by Captain Keeling to found a factory received very ungracious treatment. However, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the English Company had contrived to supplant both the Portuguese and the Dutch to some extent in many parts of India, and in September 1664, an agreement was concluded with the Zamorin for the establishment of a Settlement at Calicut, the Company agreeing to pay duty to the Zamorin on the trade carried on at the port. The jealousy of the Zamorin, whose experience of the Portuguese had not been favourable, continued nevertheless, and it was not until after the English Company had been settled nearly a century at Calicut, that they were permitted, in 1759, even to tile their factory there, so as to protect it against fire. Meanwhile, we find that in 1698 the French also had managed to establish a factory in the place, though at this time they were apparently not doing much, for Hamilton tells us they neither had money nor credit and were "not in a condition to carry on trade." We may close this chapter of Calicut history by merely stating that the Dutch also had succeeded in establishing a factory in the place. The site of the Dutch quarter is still easy to find and it is occupied at present, mostly by East Indian families with patronymics that recall the heroic age of Portugal, and the brave struggle of the Portuguese to obtain supremacy in Asia. The French quarter or *logé*, as it is called, still exists as one of the foreign dependencies of the Republic, but it yields absolutely no material return to France, and the wonder is that France should cling to it so tenaciously when she might any day obtain a fairly good price for the land from the British Government.

To hark back a little we might mention that in the closing years of the seventeenth century, the notorious pirate, Captain

Kydd, with his crew of noblemen, appeared in Calicut waters and captured a small Dutch barque, which he carried off to Madagascar. For some time after, he cruised constantly in the neighbourhood of the port and committed many daring acts of piracy. He was succeeded by one Captain Green, who also appeared in Calicut, and under the guise of lawful trading, did not let slip any opportunity of plundering weaker vessels. Piracy, on the part of Europeans and Natives, was rife at Calicut for a long time, and the English Company had a great deal to do in attempting to suppress it. To give only one instance, it may be mentioned that in the early part of the eighteenth century, a notorious pirate chief, Angria of Gheria frequently appeared off Calicut and committed several depredations, as a result of which, he was frequently engaged in desperate sea fights with the Company's ships.

From having been one of the chief points in the struggle of centuries between various European Nations for the trade in pepper and other valuable commodities, "imperial Calicut" next grew into importance in connection with the ambitious schemes of conquest of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. On the 11th of April 1766, Hyder's force occupied the town and confined the Zamorin in his house without food. The incarceration was so severe that the Zamorin, was unable to perform even his religious ceremonies, and fearing greater disgrace, he set fire to his prison house with his own hand and died in the flames. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the long war that the Mysorean rulers waged in their ineffectual attempts to conquer Malabar and Travancore. Suffice it to say that the town of Calicut saw a good deal of the struggle, until 1790, when Tippoo left Malabar and was destined never to enter it again. Fra Bartolomæo has left us some very lurid pictures of the barbarous methods that found favour with Tippu. In one place, the monk remarks of Tippu:—"His treatment of the people was brutal in the extreme. At Calicut, he hanged the mothers and then suspended the children from their necks."

By the Treaties of Seringapatam, dated 22nd February and 18th March 1792, Malabar finally passed into the hands of the British and the power of the Zamorins of Calicut, as independent Sovereigns vanished concurrently, "even as a tale that is told." The 18th of March 1793, was a red letter day in the history of Calicut, for on that day, Sir Robert Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, in accordance with a plan for the general Government of the ceded countries, read in presence of the gentlemen of the Civil Service present at Government House, Calicut, formerly the English Factory, a Proclamation appointing William Gamull Farmer,

Esquire, Supervisor and Chief Magistrate of the Province of Malabar. A battalion of Grenadiers was drawn up in two lines on the road leading from the General's encampment to Government House, and as he passed through these lines, the General was saluted with nineteen guns from six field-pieces. The Government of the Provinces having been thus formally and solemnly established, it was saluted by twenty-one guns. Mr. Augustus William Handley, Senior Assistant to the Supervisor, and, as such, Judge of the Court of Adalat at Calicut, also took the oaths necessary to his appointment. The years 1796 witnessed the final act in the fitful connection of the Danish nation with Calicut. In 1752, the Danes had established a Factory, adjoining the French Factory, but they had abandoned it when Tippu started his cruel crusade. When Malabar passed over to the British, the Danes claimed their Factory again, but the Governor-General rejected the claim. It was not until 1845, however, that the matter was decisively settled by the British Government paying down four lakhs of rupees for all the Danish claims in India. Where the Danish Factory formerly stood, we have now a Travellers' Bungalow. In 1806 an agreement was entered into with the Zamorin, in regard to the payment of the malikhana allowance (or one-fifth share of the revenues of their districts) which had been set apart at the time of the Cession for the maintenance of the Royal family. The allowance amounts to about Rs. 132,000 a year, and it is considered as "the security for the good and dutiful behaviour towards the Company's Government of each and every member of the *ragum* or family to which it may now and hereafter be payable." It is only fair to add that the Zamorins, having loyally accepted the great change in their destinies, have ever since cheerfully and faithfully discharged their obligations to the Power which supplanted them just a century ago.

"Imperial Calicut" of to-day is a vastly different place from that which Camoens has described for us in his entertaining pages, but places and institutions change so slowly, if at all they change, in the hoary and mysterious East that the antiquarian would not be disappointed were he to enquire to-day for the scenes once animated by the living presence of the early adventurers from Portugal, France, Holland, Denmark and England. There is a great future before, as there is a great past behind Calicut, and the day may come when it will be elevated to the position of an Imperial City, such as Camoens did not see even in his most roseate visions of national greatness.

R.

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

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

(Continued from October, 1902.)

CHAPTER IV

A History of the High Court would not be complete without an account of the eminent persons who have distinguished themselves on its bench and at its bar. Eminence is a relative quality and admits of degrees. The highest eminence that is attainable by man is aimed at in the noble inspiration of "the famous Cowley."—

"What shall I do to be for ever known
And make the coming age my own."

Such eminence is very rare, indeed, and is not attained even by one in an age. Our standard of eminence, however, is not so high, and we shall not exclude a man from our list of eminent persons who has shown merit somewhat above the average, thereby distinguishing him from the ordinary run of Judges or practitioners. But however eminent a Judge may be, he will in most cases find it difficult to administer even-handed Justice, unless he is aided by an able and intelligent advocate. Indeed, the relation between the bench and the bar is such that the excellence of the one is dependent upon the excellence of the other. There was never a highly efficient bench that did not, at the same time exhibit a highly accomplished bar. Sulpicius was a Judge in the same city where Cicero was an advocate; a Mansfield decided the causes which an Erskine pleaded; and the chancellor Harby in France was contemporary with D'Aguessau. Wherever the bar is more powerful than the bench, the course of justice is not likely to run smooth, being impeded by shallows and sandbanks which are conquered by able but misleading advocacy. In such a case the usual order of things is reversed, for instead of the Judge ruling the Court, as it should be, the Advocate rules it. In order to preserve harmony and secure fair play, there must be intellectual equilibrium between the two branches of the profession. But the harm is not so great when the Bench is more powerful than the Bar, as where the Bar is more powerful than the Bench.

Of the gownsmen on the bench the Judges of the Supreme Court are entitled to first notice, they having, as it were, laid

the foundations of the grand edifice which ultimately took the name of "High Court." As for the Judges of the Sadar Court, though they claimed to have existed before, still as Judges properly so called and having had salaries attached to their posts as Judges, they came in after the Supreme Court Judges. Thus in point of precedence even as to time, the Judges of the Supreme Court justly claim the palm in preference to the Sadar Judges. They were also mostly picked men and were taken straight from the English bar with all the time honored traditions of Westminster Hall fresh in their memory.

Sir *Elijah Impey* heads the list of Judges of the Supreme Court, he being its first Chief Justice.* Impey was born at Hammersmith in the county of Middlesex on June 13th 1732.† He was the youngest son of Elijah Impey, Esq., merchant. When a mere boy, Impey was sent to Westminster school, where he remained for over a decade. In 1752 he passed into Trinity College, Cambridge being at the same time entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. He graduated B.A., in 1756, proceeding to M.A., three years after. While at Westminster, Impey‡ made the acquaintance of Warren Hastings who was his Junior by six months only. This school boy friendship lasted the longest and was only dissolved by death.§ Even in India where the relations between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council were very strained, the two old friends did not altogether forget each other.|| Impey's College career, though not very brilliant, was sufficiently creditable.¶ He was called to the bar in the very year in which he took his B.A., degree, and in the year following

* Sir Edward West, author of a treatise on *Extents* was the first Chief Justice of the Bombay Supreme Court, and Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, whose *Elements of Hindu Law* is so well known, the first Chief Justice of the Madras Supreme Court. West's tenure of office in the Bombay Court, however, was very short he being succeeded by Sir Matthew Saulsby who presided in it from 1862 to 1866, so that the latter was practically the first Chief Justice.

† Impey's maternal grandfather, James Frazer, L.L.D. was the author of a *Life of Nadir Shah*.

‡ William Cowper, the Poet was also one of his school fellows. So were Churchill, Colman and Cumberland. Southey, in his *Life of Cowper*, speaks of his friendship with Impey at Westminster School, then under the able direction of Dr. Nicoll.

§ Even death did not actually dissolve it for, as Mac Farlane says. "The friendship with Hastings, with the most familiar correspondence, continued undisturbed till Impey's own decease, and was then continued by Hastings to his widow and children." *Our Indian Empire*, Vol. p. 327, (1844).

|| Sir J. W. Kaye, in his famous article on Sir Elijah Impey said that in November 1779, when Impey had fallen ill, Hastings invited him to stay at his country-house at Belvedere.

¶ Impey was Junior Wrangler and Chancellor's medalist of his year.

was elected to a fellowship at Trinity. He practised with success* on the Western Circuits, and had made his mark at the bar when, on the recommendation of the then Attorney-General Mr. Thurlow (afterwards Lord Thurlow) he was appointed first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta by Lord Chancellor Bathurst.

Impey † with his three colleagues landed in Bengal in October, 1774, but the Court did not commence its regular sittings until the expiry of that year. The same Act of Parliament which established the Supreme Court also established the Supreme Council with the Governor-General as its President. But the powers and duties of the two bodies were so ill-defined that it was not long before there was a serious split between them. A reign of terror began and the administration of the country was greatly hampered. This state of things continued till the year 1780 when Hastings hit upon an expedient which had the effect of pouring oil over troubled waters and "overblowing the ague fit of fear." In addition to the post which Impey already held as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Hastings appointed him to a Judgeship ‡ in the Sadar Diwani Adalat on a salary of not less than Rs. 5,000§ a month. The effect of this expedient was weird and wonderful, and the fierce dissension, which had been raging so long at once subsided into a calm. Impey held his additional appointment for two years, when on its being disapproved by the Lord Chancellor he had to give it up and as a punishment for accepting such a salaried office|| he was recalled. This

* This we know from the *Memoirs* written by his son, Elijah Barwell Impey and published in 1846. This gentleman was like the great novelist, Thackeray, an Asiatic by birth, having been born in India in 1780 while his father was Chief Justice. Sir Elijah, as Dr. Busted says, was counsel on the side of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, and Lady Grosvenor in that memorable *crim. con.* affair. He was also counsel for the East India Company before the House of Commons when in 1772 the Court of Directors were heard at the bar in support of objections to a Bill affecting their interests in Bengal. *Dict. of National Biography*. At the bar Impey contracted a close friendship with Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton), who was the only advocate that was considered superior to him. (See *Impey's Memoirs*, chap. i.)

† Impey was knighted in April, 1774 shortly before his departure for India.

‡ This office Impey accepted on the 25th of October, 1780. On the 27th January following, he wrote to Barwell,—"the Sudder Dewanee Adaulat is placed under my management. It will be no agreeable thing to me, but as it was the Governor's Act I am contented." (*Impey's Memoirs*, chap. VIII). Indeed Impey compromised himself by accepting that post which, tenable as it was at the pleasure of the Company, was held to be incompatible with the independence which he was intended to occupy as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. (Libert's *Government of India* p. 58). Ultimately, the Sadar Judgeship proved very disagreeable to Impey.

§ See Mr. Beveridge's *Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar*. Introduction, p. 3.

|| Impey in his famous Speech at the bar of the House of Commons on 4th February, 1788, said. "On the 27th of January, 1783, I received a letter from

order, however, was not intended to be peremptorily carried out, and, as a matter of fact, Impey held his seat in the Supreme Court till the 16th of November, 1783, when he formally made over charge to the Council.* He did not, however, leave India till the 3rd of December, 1783, and arrived in England in June following. But he was not permitted to pass his latter days in peace. In 1787, Sir Gilbert Eliot (afterwards Lord Minto) moved in the House of Commons to impeach him, whereupon a Committee was appointed to receive evidence on the subject. Many respectable witnesses were examined, among whom was Mr. Thomas Farrer† who had defended Nanda Coomar‡ in 1775. Impey made his defence at the bar of the House of Commons on the 4th of February 1788§ The speech which he delivered on the occasion was

the Earl of Sutherland, dated the 8th of July 1782, which conveyed his Majesty's command to me to return to the Kingdom, for the purpose of answering a charge specified in an address which had been laid before His Majesty in consequence of a note of the 3rd of May 1782. That note related only to the acceptance of an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Act 13^{ger.} III. Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis had accused Impey "of compromising the dispute between the Court and the Council by accepting an office with a salary" (*Nuncmar and Impey*, Vol. ii, pp. 233-234). Indeed, Francis was one of Impey's bitterest foes. He was heard publicly to say in the House of Commons, Sir Elijah is not fit to sit in Judgment on any matter where I am interested, nor am I fit to sit in judgment on him." (See John Nicholl's *Recollections and Reflection*). This open avowal of ill feeling was quite Junius-like.

* *Nuncmar and Impey*, vol. ii, p. 234.

† Farrer then held a seat in the House of Commons, and was examined as a witness standing in his place as a Member. His evidence in nearly every particular confirmed what Impey had himself said (*Our Indian Empire* vol. i, p. 292). Farrer had returned to England in March, 1778. (*Echoes*, p. 74).

‡ Of the many important criminal cases which were decided by Sir Elijah Impey and his Colleagues the trial of Nanda Coomar was the first and foremost. It lasted for some days and ended in the conviction of the great accused. The charge which the Chief Justice delivered to the jury on the occasion was well worthy of his reputation as an able and learned Judge. The Jury brought in an unanimous verdict of "guilty," and the sentence of the Court was death, which, as the English law then stood was the punishment prescribed for the offence of forgery. Nanda Coomar was hanged on the 5th of August, 1775.

The famous "Patna cause" was another typical case tried by Sir Elijah, but unlike the trial of Nanda Coomar, it was of a civil nature. In that case the question—a very important one, no doubt—arose as to the right of the Supreme Court to try actions against the Judicial officers of the E. I. Company for acts done in the exercise of what they believed, or said they believed, to be their legal right. The Court gave judgment with heavy damages to a native plaintiff in an action against the officers of the Patna Provincial Court, acting in its Judicial capacity. Impey's judgment in this case was made one of the grounds of impeachment against him but is forcibly defended by Sir James FitzJames Stephen against the criticism of Mill and others, as being not only technically sound, but substantially just. (Libert's *Government of India*, pp. 57-58). The case was taken up in appeal to His Majesty in Council, but it was ultimately dismissed for want of prosecution on the 3rd of April, 1789. (*Impey's Memoirs*, p. 346).

§ Impey resigned his office of Chief Justice of Bengal in 1787, which, however, with its salary he held for four years after leaving India. So that as a matter of fact and law, Chambers did not become Chief Justice until 1791. (*Echoes*, p. 74).

well worthy of him as a lawyer and orator and had a telling effect on the House which refused to impeach him.*

Macaulay savagely attacked† Impey, representing him as "a fiend in human shape, and a very contemptible one." This, no doubt, is the language of indignation when passion has got the better of reason. Sir James Stephen, on the other hand, has nobly vindicated his character. This well-known judge and jurist observes "There was nothing exceptionally great or good about him, but I see as little ground from his general character and behaviour to believe him guilty of the horrible crimes imputed to him as to suspect any of my own colleagues of such enormity."‡ Impey

* After the termination of these proceedings in May, 1788, Impey called upon Lord Mansfield who, shaking him cordially by the hand, exclaimed, "So Sir Elijah, you have passed safe over the coals." (Impey's *Memoirs*, p. 295, note.)

† This attack was based principally on the ground of his having very unfairly tried and convicted Nanda Coomar. But later writers have differed from the great essayist and have given it as their most deliberate opinion that Nanda Coomar had had quite a fair trial. Not only Sir James Stephen, but also Sir Henry Maine have acquitted Impey of the charge which had been laid at his door by Macaulay. Maine in his *Village Communities* thus observes. "It is true that, as regards the case which Lord Macaulay has sketched with such dramatic force, Nuncomar appears to me upon the records of the proceedings to have had quite as fair a trial as any Englishman of that day indicted for forgery would have had in England, and to have been treated with even more consideration." (Lect. ii, p. 38). Even a few months after the trial and execution of Nanda Coomar, the great lawyer, Dunning, in a letter dated the 5th January, 1776, thus wrote to Impey. "The publication of the trial has been of use, as it has obviated abundance of ridiculous and groundless stories. I see nothing in the proceedings to disapprove of except that you seem to have wasted more time in the discussion of the privileges of ambassadors than so ridiculous a claim deserved." It was maliciously circulated, among other things, that both Sir William Blackstone and Lord Mansfield had condemned the proceedings in the case as illegal, the latter having it was said, called the execution "a legal murder." Impey in his defence proved beyond all doubt that these statements were utterly false and had no foundation in truth.

‡ *Nuncomar and Impey*, vol. i, p. 35. Impey himself could not help shuddering at the enormity of the charge which had been trumped up against him. He in his memorable speech said: "If the premises are true, then I am guilty, not of misdemeanour, but of murder. I am guilty of a murder of the basest, foulest and most aggravated nature. From such premises that is the only true conclusion. I do not decline it. It would have been justice to have drawn it. My life would then have been forfeit, had I been found guilty; it would have been mercy to have sacrificed that life as an atonement for these enormous crimes, which, if I am convicted of (them), or am to be under the public imputation of having perpetrated (them), would become a burden too intolerable to be dragged to a distant grave." Unlike his friend Hastings, who was subjected to a very long and painful trial, which, though it ended favourably, left him a poor man, Sir Elijah's Prosecution or persecution was of but very short duration, and he continued to retain the friendship and regard of his earlier acquaintances, and of some of the most eminent and best men of the day. At the general election in 1790 he was chosen to represent the borough of New Romney. He sat in the House of Commons till about

was like many other judges. "He seems to have had an excellent education,* both legal and general, to have been a man of remarkable energy and courage, and a great deal of rather common place ability."† He was a good lawyer, as appears from the many learned and sensible decisions which he passed while presiding at the Supreme Court. Indeed, he possessed many of the qualities of a judge, but it seems that at times he proved a little too impulsive and did not pay sufficient heed to the "pauser reason." He was also an expert hand at drafting and law-making,—a fact which is abundantly proved by the excellent code of laws which he prepared, while he held the office of Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Although his code fell considerably short of Macaulay's master-piece of criminal legislation, still there could be no doubt that it did yeoman service to the cause of justice in Bengal. Indeed, his code was the Bengal judicial officers' *vade mecum* for many long years.

Faults Impey had,—and what human being has ever been without some—but there were many relieving features in his character which had the effect of throwing them in the background. He enjoyed a wide popularity with all classes of people with whom he came into contact. His son and biographer does not seem to over-colour the picture when he says:—"Among the natives of Calcutta and its vicinity where he spent so many of the prime years of his life, he was exceedingly popular; nor had the pleasant recollection of him faded away many years after his departure.‡ It was also stated that several addresses were presented to Sir Elijah when he retired from Indian service. These addresses were given by all the Armenians, all the Hindus, and all the free merchants. The address of the merchants had this peculiarity that the gentleman whose name stood first on it was Mr. Macraline, the brother-in-law of Philip Francis, the bitterest enemy of Impey and Hastings.§ All these circumstances plainly show

1797 when he retired into private life, in the meantime a considerable part of his fortune which he had invested in the French funds had been lost in the troubles which attended the Revolution in France, and he found that he was not quite in a position to live decently in London. He accordingly, parted with his town house and removed to a country-house, Newick Park, in Sussex which he rented of Lord Vernon. There was not a man living in that distinguished neighbourhood, where good men were not, and are not scarce, more generally esteemed for kindness of heart and for all the social virtues. (*Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, p. 327.)

* Impey was well versed in French and he wrote and read Persian. *Dict. of National Biography*.

† See *Nuncomar and Impey*, vol. i, p. 34.

‡ Impey's *Memoirs*, p. 273, 2nd Ed., 1857.

§ *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, p. 285 and note.

that Impey was held, in very great esteem and enjoyed a very enviable popularity

There are two portraits* of Sir Elijah in the High Court one by Lilly Kettle, and the other by Zoffany. Both of these are well-executed and do great credit to the artists who did them. When the Victoria Memorial Hall becomes an accomplished fact, out of these two excellent pieces of painting one is, as Lord Curzon hopes, likely to grace that great National Institution.

Impey† reached a good old age and died at Newick Park in Sussex, on the 1st of October, 1809, and was buried at his native village of Hammersmith,‡ where a plain tablet marks the spot where he lies.

Sir Robert Chambers.—Robert Chambers was one of the three puisnes who were appointed to the Supreme Court at Calcutta on its first establishment. He was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1737,§ where his father was an attorney-at-law, and was educated with the two distinguished brothers, John Scott and William Scott, who as Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell afterwards shone as bright luminaries of law. He graduated B. A. in 1785, and M. A. in 1761. Chambers studied law at Middle Temple and obtained the degree of B. C. L. in 1765. Before he came out to India, he had distinguished himself by his legal law. He was a member of University College, Oxford, and on the retirement of Sir William Blackstone|| in 1762 was appointed Vinerian Professor¶ of law. He had also pretty good practice at the

* The author of "*Echoes from Old Calcutta*" has noticed only the portrait by Lilly Kettle. This portrait was executed in 1776 shortly after the trial of Nanda Comar; the other after Sir Elijah had left this country.

† Impey's Park at Calcutta is recalled by Park Street and the main avenue thereof by Middleton Row. See Sir A. Colvin's *Life of his father, John Russell Colvin*, in the *Rulers of India* series, chap. ii.

‡ See "*Echoes from Old Calcutta*," p. 73.

§ The great historian, Edward Gibbon, was also born in the same year.

|| Blackstone was called to the bar in 1746, made a Judge in 1771, and died in 1780.

¶ Hickey, whose *Gazette* was the first English newspaper in Bengal, if not in all India, nicknamed him "Sir Viner Pliant" and "Limber" by way of a sling at the judicial weakness which he showed in the Trial of Nanda Comar. But Hickey, scurrilous as he was, did not stand unique in this respect, in fact, all Calcutta knew this weak-kneed Judge under some such nicknames. In England, too, this trait in his character was not unknown, and so we find that some very indifferent lines which Mrs. Thrale wrote on his portrait by Reynolds at Streatham have this suggestive beginning:—

"In this luminous portrait requiring no shade

See Chambers' soft character sweetly displayed."

("Echoes from Old Calcutta," p. 83 note).

bar, so that when in 1758 he was offered the post of Attorney General in Jamaica, he declined it as inadequate to his pretensions. In fact, he was the only one of the first four Judges of the Supreme Court who may be said to have had an English reputation prior to coming to this country. Chambers had also the distinction, a very proud distinction, no doubt,—of having been a friend and associate of Dr. Johnson. Indeed this literary dictator of the eighteenth century was very fond of Chambers, as may be seen in the frequent reference to him in Boswell's famous work. When Chambers sailed for India, the fact was communicated to "Bozzy" in a letter which alone should confer immortality on Chambers' name, as it then appeared to be linked with that of one* who as a poet and as a man, is familiarly loved wherever English is spoken. The Doctor's letter ran as follows:—"Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone much further. He died of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He raised money and squandered it by every artifice of acquisition, and folly of expense, but let not his failings be remembered; he was a very great man."† The good Doctor also favoured Chambers with a letter‡ of introduction to Warren Hastings who looked upon the wise old sage as his Mentor, and often wrote to him, though he was seldom written to in reply.

Unlike Hyde and Le Maistre, Chambers proved a very valuable colleague to Chief Justice Impey. Even Sir Gilbert Elliot, though, referring to his conduct at the trial of Nanda Comar, he somewhat scoffingly spoke of him as "a man of mild and flexible character"§ could not but admit that he was "of great knowledge and integrity."|| Indeed, his legal learning was of a very high order. But with all his learning

* Goldsmith, though he "talked like poor Poll, wrote like an Angel." This "the greatest and most generous of all men," as Thackeray calls him died in April 1774. Burke, on hearing the news, burst into tears. Reynolds threw away his pencil for the day. Johnson felt the blow deeply, and wrote of it to Boswell that Sir Joshua thought that he owed about £2,000, adding, "Was ever poet so trusted before!" (See Washington Irving's account of Goldsmith's death).

† See "*Echoes from Old Calcutta*," pp. 93, 94.

‡ This letter was dated the 30th of March, 1774, see *Echoes*, p. 93.

§ Fox also, alluding to the same matter, said that Chambers "had acted very meekly." The latter had suggested that the indictment should be laid under an Act of Queen Elizabeth, which did not make forgery a capital offence; but as the other three Judges all agreed that the said Act was obsolete, and that the Act of George II, and the Regulating Act left them no choice, binding them to administer English law in Calcutta as it was administered in England, he gave in, sat through the whole trial, and at last concurred in the sentence, and approved of whatever was done. (*Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, pp. 168, 279 note).

|| See *Parliamentary History*, xxvii, pp. 433.

Chambers was anything but a strong judge. We have already seen that at the trial of Nanda Comar he had not shown sufficient strength of character. The suggestion which he had made was quite reasonable under the peculiar circumstances of the case, but when he found that it was not in accord with the views of his colleagues he quietly gave in and agreed to hold the trial under the Act which made forgery a capital offence. Some such weakness was also shown in the notorious *crim. con.* action which M. Le Grand had brought against Mr. Philip Francis. Mrs. Le Grand, the wife of the prosecutor, was a remarkable lady. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and was highly admired for her personal graces, for the sweetness of her temper, and for her fascinating accomplishments. She attracted the attention of Mr. Philip Francis* who was of a loose character and did not lead quite a moral life. One night, this gentleman, by means of a rope-ladder, got into her apartment. After he had been there for about three quarters of an hour an alarm was given whereupon Mr. Francis came down from the lady's chamber by the same ladder and escaped, but his companion Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Shee was seized by M. Le Grand's Jemadar.† The injured husband brought an action against Mr. Francis‡ in the Supreme Court. The case came on for hearing before Sir Elijah Impey, Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice Hyde. The accused was defended by Mr. Tilghman, a young but very able counsel, Mr. Charles Newman conducting the prosecution. On the trial of this cause, Sir R. Chambers thought, that, as no criminality had been proved, no damages should be given. But Sir Elijah expressed a different opinion, which was concurred in by Mr. Justice Hyde. The Chief Justice held that although no criminal intercourse had been proved, yet that the wrong done by Mr. Francis to Mr. le Grand in entering his wife's apartment in the night, and thereby injuring her reputation, ought to be compensated with liberal damages. This unanimous opinion of his colleagues was too much for Sir Robert to contend against, so he changed his own views and proposed to give 30,000 rupees as damages, Mr. Justice Hyde who was as upright a Judge as ever sat on any bench, and who had an implacable hatred to those who indulged in the offence imputed to Mr. Francis, was for giving 1,00,000 rupees. Sir Elijah thought the amount proposed by Sir Robert too small, and that pro-

* Francis had his wife then living, but she was generally in England. Mrs. Francis died in April 1806, a month or two before her husband was knighted. *Echoes*, p. 178.

† See *Echoes*, p. 213.

‡ Le Grand had challenged Francis, but the latter declined making some excuses. She also was proceeded against. *Echoes*, pp. 213, 215.

posed by Mr. Hyde too large. He, therefore, suggested a middle course of 50,000 rupees. This proposal was acquiesced in by his two colleagues, and judgment was given, accordingly*. Mr. Samuel Tolfrey, who was under Sheriff of Calcutta at the time of the trial and execution of Nundcomar, and who was attorney to Francis in the *crim con* cause, however, is said to have declared before the Committee of the House of Commons, in the Impey matter that the verdict in that cause was given contrary to the opinion of Sir Robert Chambers. But in this he seems to have been mistaken. What Mr. Nicholls has stated appears to be the correct state of affairs†. Chambers was the second Chief Justice‡ of the Calcutta Supreme Court, he having succeeded Sir Elijah Impey. Mr. Longueville Clarke in the Preface to his very useful edition of the *Rules and Orders of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal*, says that Sir Robert Chambers was appointed Chief Justice in 1791§. He may have been so appointed|| in that year, but there is no doubt that he had discharged the duties of Chief Justice ever since Sir Elijah formally made over charge of his office. About the time when Impey was appointed to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, Chambers was given the appointment of Commissioner of the Dutch Settlement of Chinsura on its being captured by the English. Though the two appointments strongly resembled each other, still nothing was said against Chambers' conduct in accepting the additional post to which a salary was attached, while the Home authorities came down thundering upon Impey for doing a similar act under similar circumstances. This shows very clearly how differently the two officers fared

* *Recollection and Reflections* by John Nicholls, Esq., M.P., as given in Mr. Mac Farlane's *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, pp. 219, 220 note.

† See *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, pp. 293. Mr. Francis too was under the impression that Sir Robert did not join in the verdict of the Court. This may account for the preference and favour afterwards shown by him to Sir Robert.

‡ When Chambers was made Chief Justice, Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis wrote out to congratulate him on his advancement. His telling words were "so long and so clearly earned, and so well deserved" (See *Echoes*, p. 244). Sir Robert's brother, William Chambers, a great specialist in the dialects of Hindustani, became Interpreter to the Supreme Court at Calcutta. (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

§ Dr. Busted thus reconciles this apparent inconsistency:—"In November, 1787, Impey resigned his office which (with its salary) he held for ten years after leaving India. Chambers was not gazetted Chief Justice in his place till 22nd January, 1791, and sworn in on 3rd September, in the same year. The *Calcutta Chronicle* says that a salute was fired from the Ramparts of Fort William on the occasion." (See *Echoes*, p. 244 note). Thus it seems that though he did the duties of Chief Justice in addition to his own, he got only the pay of his substantive post as a Puisne Judge until January, 1791. Impey's son and biographer, however, says that Chambers' appointment did not officially take place until 1789 more than five years after Sir Elijah's arrival in England. (Impey's *Memoirs*, chap. xvi).

|| Chambers was knighted four years after his arrival in India. (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

with the powers that be. But after he had triumphantly met the charges which had been laid against him in the House of Commons, Impey was treated with considerable indulgence almost verging on partiality. Sir Robert proved a popular Chief Justice. In fact, considering his deep knowledge of law and his exemplary good manners, he could not have been otherwise. He presided at the Court till the 1st of August 1799, when he retired to enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. Chambers was also President of the Asiatic Society to which office he was elected in succession to Lord Teignmouth in 1797. Thus, he was the third President, the founder, Sir William Jones himself, having been the first.

The last days of Chambers's life were passed in or near the French metropolis where he died on 9th May 1803*. His widow brought over his body to England, and it was buried in the Temple Church, where a monument by Nollekens was placed to his memory. Lady Chambers survived him till the 15th of April, 1839, when she died at Brighton, aged about eighty-one years.†

Both Mr. Justice Hyde and Sir Robert Chambers had made notes of cases decided in the Supreme Court from the year 1775 to 1798, on the death of the former his note-book was taken charge of by the latter, Sir Robert had a mind to arrange both his and Hyde's notes and publish the whole, but he did not live to execute his design; on his death both the note-books came into the possession of his widow, Lady Chambers, who, when Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, nephew of Sir Robert, was appointed a Puisne Judge on the establishment of the Supreme Court at Bombay, gave them to him. But on Sir Charles' death, which took place on the 13th of October 1827, they again came into her hands, and she delivered them to Sir William Oldnall Russell, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. On Sir William Russell's death they came into the custody of his successor, Sir Edward Ryan. Both Mr. Smoult and Mr. Norton were permitted to use these manuscript notes‡ in the preparation of their respective collections of orders and cases§

* See *Echoes* p. 71 note.

† See *Echoes* p. 95.

‡ Lord Curzon in his speech on the *Contents of the Victoria Memorial Hall*, February 26th 1901, said that the Bar Library of the High Court contains 14 volumes of the manuscript notes of cases in the hand writing of Mr. Justice Hyde, as well as his transcript of the evidence of Warren Hastings and Barwell at the trial of Nunda Comar and his entry of the order for the execution of that ill-fated person. His Lordship also believes that in the High Court is the original bond alleged to have been given by Bolaki Dass to Nanda Comar, which was pronounced a forgery.

§ See Preface to Smoult and Ryan's *Rules and Orders*.

Chambers was also an author and wrote a "Treatise on Estates and Tenures" He was very fond of books, and possessed a large library, especially rich in oriental works. His collection of Sanscrit manuscripts was purchased for the Royal Library at Berlin.*

Sir John Anstruther — John Anstruther† was born on the 24th of March 1753. He was the second son of Sir John Anstruther, Baronet, and, as his father was a substantial nobleman,‡ received a good liberal education. It was at Glasgow University that young Anstruther was brought up under Professor Millan. He adopted law as his profession and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1779. He practised chiefly before the House of Lords in Scotch Appeals, and was considered a sound and well-read lawyer. But he did not confine himself to law, he also mixed in politics and entered Parliament as member for Cockermouth in 1790, which seat he held till the year 1796. He was an active supporter§ of the great statesman Fox and was one of the managers appointed to conduct the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Sir Robert Chambers having resigned his office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1799, Mr. Anstruther, was appointed to succeed him, on which occasion he was knighted. Sir John proved a good Judge and his decisions were marked by good sense and good law. He presided at the Court till the

* See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

† This gentleman should not be confounded with Sir Alexander Anstruther, son of Sir Robert Anstruther, Baronet, who was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn and published the Reports of Exchequer cases from the year 1792 to 1797 in three volumes, these Reports are of great value to the English lawyer and were reprinted for a second edition in 1817. Mr. Anstruther came out to India in 1793, and was appointed Advocate-General at Madras in 1803, on 10th March 1819 he succeeded Sir James Mackintosh as Recorder of Bombay, when he received the honour of knighthood. He continued to hold this high post till the time of his death which took place at Mauritius on 16th July, 1819. While on his way to this country he had written a small work on 'Light, Heat and Electricity.' See *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, August 1819.)

‡ Mr. Anstruther's family have ranked as Barons of Scotland for upwards of 700 years. The first Baronet was a Lord of Session in Scotland, with the title of Lord Anstruther. The subject of this short memoir was the fifth Baronet, who succeeded his brother in the year 1808. (See Debrett's *Peerage, Baronetage and Companionship*).

§ On the third reading of Pitt's Declaration Bill on the 14th of March, 1788, Mr. Anstruther along with Sir Gray Cooper, Wyndham, Francis and several others, spoke strongly against the whole Bill, endeavouring to show, by various arguments, that it was unparliamentary, illogical and illegal. Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon), Aldington (afterwards Lord Simon's), Lord Mulgrave, and others defended the Bill and the motives and plans of the framer; and the third reading was carried, though by a majority of only 51, which at this time was called a small majority. (See *Our Indian Empire*, vol. i, p. 6). Thus, it would seem that Anstruther had a voice in the Council of the nation and was justly considered a man of note.

22nd of February 1806,* when he resigned and sailed for his "old country."

Sir John's learning was not confined to law and politics, he was also a general scholar and possessed literary attainments of a high order. In fact, he was deemed quite fit to fill the presidential chair which had been occupied by such men as Sir William Jones and Lord Teignmouth in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This high honorary office he held for some years with credit and honour.

Immediately on his arrival in England, Sir John was sworn of the Privy Council, and re-entered Parliament as member for the Kilkenny district of burghs. In 1808, as we have already stated, he succeeded to his father's baronetcy, to which he was fully entitled; and died in London on the 26th of January, 1811.

Sir Henry Russell.—Henry Russell was born at Dover on the 8th of August, 1751. He was the third son of Michael Russell who was a man of some rank and position. Young Russell was first educated at Charter-house, whence he removed to Queen's College, Cambridge. He graduated B. A. in 1772, proceeding to M. A. in 1775, when, it would appear, he was appointed by Lord Bathurst to a Commissionership in Bankruptcy. By this time he had been admitted a member of Lincoln's Inn, at which he was called to the bar in 1783.

In 1797 he was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on which occasion, as it was then customary† he was knighted. The new judge reached his destination on the 28th of May, 1798, where he took a house in what is now called after him, Russell Street.‡ Here Miss Rose Aylmer§ on the death of her father, Lord Aylmer, and her mother having married Mr. Howell Price, came to her aunt, Lady Russell, but she came only to lay her bones in this strange land, for she died on the 2nd of March, 1800.

Sir Henry Russell was a good judge and was held in high

* The portrait of Sir John Anstruther which is in the High Court has on it the year 1806. Very likely it had been executed some time before the Chief Justice actually resigned his seat.

† In the 18th century the crown made it a rule to knight every new Puisne Judge, on his appointment, at the same time introducing the custom of addressing the Puisnes in Court by the title of "Your Lordship." (See *A Book about Lawyers* by John Cordy Jeaffreson vol. ii. 317). But neither Mr. John Hyde nor Mr. Le Naishi was knighted, either at the time of their appointment as Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta or afterwards, this shows that the rule above referred to was passed after the year 1774.

‡ See *Calcutta Review*, December 1852.

§ This beautiful girl of sweet sixteen is better known as the beloved of that great writer, Walter Savage Landor than as the daughter of Lord Aylmer. (See *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, pp. 337, 338). Her memory is perpetuated by her lover in a sweet little Poem which bears her name.

esteem, so that on the retirement of Sir John Anstruther he was promoted to the Chief Justiceship on the 12th of May 1806. He proved a very able chief, as he had already proved himself a very good Puisne, and did even-handed Justice without distinction of creed, colour or caste. His impartial character was best shown in a case which attracted much attention at the time. John Grant a cadet of the East India Company, having been charged with maliciously setting fire to a native's hut, was brought up for trial before the Chief Justice. Evidence was gone into and it was satisfactorily proved that the charge was true and well founded. Upon this Sir Henry convicted the accused and in sentencing him to death, said:—"the natives are entitled to have their characters, property, and lives protected, and as long as they enjoy that privilege from us, they give their affection and allegiance in return,"* Wise words those, and they deserve to be written in characters of gold. But, unfortunately, for this down trodden country they are sometimes forgotten by our judges.

Courage, according to Jethro, is another attribute of a good judge; and this quality, too, Sir Henry possessed in an eminent degree. Henry St. George Tucker, a high official in the service of the Honourable East India Company, was hauled up before the Chief Justice on a very ugly charge,—it was one of an attempted rape. The public were in great suspense as to the result of the trial, seeing that the accused was not a man of the ordinary stamp, but the Chief Justice was firm as a rock, and on being convinced, both legally and morally, that the charge was *bona-fide* and well bottomed, did not hesitate to do as strict justice as the gravity of the case required. He sentenced the accused† to six months imprisonment and to pay a fine of four thousand rupees. Sir Henry was created a Baronet in 1812, after which he remained at his post not so much as a full twelve months, resigning it on the 9th of November 1813.

On the 10th day of the month following, at a public meeting in the Town Hall, he was presented with addresses‡ from the European and native residents, the latter comparing his attributes "with those of the great King Nooshirvan the Just."§ Writing to him privately on 8th November 1813, the Governor-General, Lord Moira, spoke of his "able, upright and dignified administration of Justice," and like testimony to his merits was formally recorded in a general

* See *Asiatic Register* 18.8.

† There is a portrait of Sir Henry Russell, by George Chinnery, in the High Court, Calcutta. It has on it the year 1812.

‡ See *Calcutta Gazette* December 1812.

letter from the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors dated the 7th December, 1813. The retired Chief Justice left Calcutta two days later, and on his return to England, the Honourable East India Company whom he had so well served for nearly seventeen years, awarded him a pension of £2000 a year. On the 27th of June 1816, he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. The remaining years of his life were mainly spent at his country house, Swallowfield Park Reading, where he died on 18th January 1836*.

Sir Edward Hyde East.—Edward Hyde East, the eldest son of Edward East, first saw the light of heaven on the 9th of September, 1764, not, however, in the bright little Island of Great Britain, but in the distant island of Jamaica, where his grandfather, Captain John East, had obtained a fairly large estate. But though born so far away, he was brought up in "Merry old England." East studied law at the Inner Temple and was called to the bar on the 10th November 1786, after which he joined the King's Bench. As he was a painstaking young man, and had ample leisure at his command he took to reporting cases decided in that Court. In this labour of love he found an able and willing co-adjutor in Mr. Durnford, † who like him was also a beginner in the profession. The Term Reports, as those Reports were called, commenced from 1785 and extended up to the close of the eighteenth century. But here they did not stop for good, inasmuch as East alone continued them, commencing from the initial year of the next century, and his single handed labours covered the period during which Lord Kenyon was Lord Chief Justice. All these Reports are of very great value and find place in the lower shelves of almost every well-known lawyer's library. Speaking of them Marvin says, "No English Reports are oftener cited in American Courts than these." By these Reports which were quite in touch with the profession as well as by "Pleas of the crown, or a general Treatise on the Principles and Practice of Criminal Law," which he published in 1803, and also by 'a Report of the Cases of Sir Francis Burdett against the Right Honourable Charles Abbott,' which appeared in 1811; East made a name which did him yeoman's service in raising his position at the bar.

When East had thus established his reputation as a lawyer, ‡ the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court at Cal-

* See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

† One James Durnford was clerk to Mr. Justice Le Maistre. He afterwards returned to England and was examined as a witness by the Committee of the House of Commons which sat to take evidence in the matter of the charges brought against Sir Elijah Impey by Sir Gilbert Elliot. See *Our Indian Empire*, vol. 1, p. 293.

‡ East was not only a lawyer, he was also a politician. He sat in the Parliament of 1792, and steadily supported Pitt.

cutta fell vacant in consequence of the retirement of Sir Henry Russell. The post, high as it was, was offered to East, and he readily accepted the offer as well worthy of his pretensions. Indeed the post was one of great honour and it was also an enticing one in points of emolument. As was customary at the time, the newly appointed Chief Justice received the honour of Knighthood at the hands of the Prince Regent, after which he started for his destination in the Far East, which he reached in November 1813. As the new Chief Justice was a sound lawyer and was well versed both in text-law and case-law, it was not long before he proved himself an excellent administrator of Justice. In 1815* he recorded an able minute stating the views of the Supreme Court as to how far English law was applicable to India. This minute he put in evidence when on the 9th of March, 1830, he gave his deposition before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, which was then inquiring into East Indian affairs in preparation for the Charter Act of 1833.† Almost on the heels of this minute, Sir Hyde East proposed that a general law should be passed extending all past statutes from the 13 Geo. I, inclusive (in continuation of former provisions), and all future statutes of England to India, leaving it discretionary to the Supreme Court to exclude such as could not be applicable to the condition of the country. His proposal, however, was not adopted, but some of the evils complained of by him, in consequence of the English Statutes not extending to this country, were remedied by Mr. Wynne, who introduced into Parliament the Act 5 Geo. IV c. 74, for improving the administration of Criminal Justice in the East Indies, and also the Act 9, Geo. IV, c. 73, for the relief of Insolvent Debtors.‡

Sir Hyde East having had at heart the good of the country in which his lot was cast, it is not to be wondered at that he soon ingratiated himself into the favour and respect of the people. His was not a popularity that was sought after, it came, as it were, of its own accord, unlike some very over-scrupulous Judges, Sir Hyde never failed to take part in movements for the advancement and well-being of the native community. He was greatly interested in the subject of the education of the natives and was mainly instrumental in the

* In this memorable year, Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, the first Chief Justice of the Madras Supreme Court, retired towards its close, and was succeeded by Sir Edmond Stanley.

† See *Nuncomar and Impey*, vol. ii, p. 31.

‡ See Preface to Smoult and Ryan's *Rules and Orders*. The charter Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 85, has now enabled the legal legislature to extend to this country the benefit of all English Statutes, and in exercise of this power many such Statutes have been so extended.

establishment of the Hindu College. Indeed, he was a principal founder of that College, which was opened in 1817 for the promotion of liberal education in India. This eminent service did not go unrewarded. The native inhabitants of Calcutta caused a statue to be raised* in 1821 as a mark of their sense of gratitude for his disinterested act. In the Meeting at which that Resolution was come to, above Rs. 12,000 were immediately subscribed and it was proposed that the statue should be executed by the chisel of Bacon or some other eminent artist.† But, as a matter of fact, it was done in marble by Chantry and was placed in the Grand Jury room of the old Supreme Court, now, it graces the present High Court Building, where it stands on the first floor facing the staircase on the southern side. It contains the following inscription:—

‘To Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice
of the Supreme Court, Bengal,
A principal founder of the Hindu College
For promoting liberal education
in India,
The native inhabitants of Calcutta
have caused this statue to be
raised A. D. 1821.

Amidst his onerous duties Sir Hyde East found time to prepare a valuable series of notes of cases decided in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. These notes were originally placed at the disposal of Mr Morley by the learned Judge himself, and on his death, his son Sir James Buller East, M. P., kindly permitted him to print them *in extenso*. They contain many most important decisions on points of native law, and questions relating to the Jurisdiction at the Court.‡ Even time, which destroys every mundane thing, does not seem to have affected their popularity, for up to this time they are often quoted by Judges with approbation. Indeed, they are of very great use to every Indian lawyer. In the well-known case of *Beebe Mittra*,§ Sir Edward Ryan observed that Chief Justice East was very well versed, not only in the law of the Court, but also the general law.

* See *Bengal Obituary* (1848) p. 269, where, however, it is erroneously stated that the statue was put in the Town Hall.

† See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xiv, p. 89.

‡ See *Morley's Administration*, p. 335.

§ This case was decided by Chief Justice Sir William Oldnall Russell on the 22nd October 1832, who held that the Supreme Court had general ecclesiastical jurisdiction within Calcutta, and by virtue whereof granted Probates of Wills of Hindus who left property in it. Of the two Judges who sat with him Justice Franks concurred with him, but Justice Ryan dissented, though with considerable hesitation.

Indeed, Sir Hyde was a thorough master of law, practically as well as theoretically. The leading case of *Cassinath Bysack vs. Hurro Soondery Dassee* was decided by him in December, 1814. In that case the point was settled up to the Privy Council that a Will made by a Hindu during his minority was null and void in law. That case also determined, that in the matter of a Hindu Widow succeeding to the estate of her deceased husband, no distinction should be made between moveable and immovable property, and that the interest taken by her was only an interest for life, whether the property inherited by her was movable or immovable.

Sir Hyde East presided at the Supreme Court for nearly a decade, retiring on the 18th of July, 1822. After he had made over charge, a triglot address, for it was written in English, Bengali and Persian, was presented to him in a crowded meeting in which the, then, leaders of Hindu Society, namely, Hari Mohan Thakoor, Gopi Mohan Deb, and Radha Madhab Bannerjee, took prominent part. The address was read by Radha Kanta Deb,* and it was a splendid testimonial. It gave expression “to the strong sense of thankfulness, admiration and gratitude, with which your Lordship’s execution of the arduous duties of the first Judicial officer in India has deeply and lastingly impressed on us” and it went on to say that both suitors and spectators were fully convinced that the causes tried by the parting Chief Justice, however difficult, and complicated they might be, “had been thoroughly considered, rightly understood, and equitably decided.” The address, concluded by describing him as “the best of Judges and kindest of men,” than which no better tribute has ever been paid to any mortal. The address also referred to his humane and persevering efforts in the cause of education. But that matter was more fully dealt with in the address which the principal students of the Hindu College presented to him. Thus, the close of the venerable Judge’s Indian career was simply grand and almost unprecedented†. Both Sir Hyde East and Lady East were very sociable, and they gave parties at which almost all the important people of Calcutta were present.

On his return to England, Sir Hyde was created a Baronet on the 25th April, 1823. In the same year he re-entered‡ Parliament as member for Winchester, and worked in it till 1830. But it was not only in the world of politics that Sir

* Radhakanta afterwards rose very high in public esteem and was not only created a ‘Raja’ but also received the greater honour of Knighthood. But the grandest monument to his name is that stupendous work of Sanscrit learning very aptly styled *The Sabda Kalpa Drum*.

† See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. XIV pp. 183, 187.

‡ He had represented Great Bedwin in Parliament in 1792.

Hyde moved about, he also resumed his judicial duties. In 1831* he was sworn of the Privy Council, and was ere long appointed a member of the judicial committee of that august body, in order to assist in the disposal of Indian Appeals. This high office he held till the year 1845. East was also made a benchler of the Inner Temple, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Sir Hyde East died at his residence, Sherwood House, Battersea, on 8th January 1847.

Sir Robert Henry Blosset. Mr. Blosset was an Oxonian, and chose for his profession the noble study of the law in which he so highly distinguished himself. But although law was his specialty, he excelled in many other studies. He was a thorough linguist of Eastern languages, he had a competent knowledge of Persian and Hindustani, and made considerable progress in Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, and the venerable parent of so many other languages. With respect to European languages, his knowledge was simply prodigious, at which even Sir William Jones himself would have stood in wonder and admiration. Mr. Blosset was perfect master of French, Italian, German, Latin, Greek, and had some knowledge of Spanish. The sacred tongue, Hebrew, in which the Holy Bible was originally composed, he was familiarly acquainted with, and often spoke of it with considerable delight. Such a man was sure to attract public notice and an opportunity now presented itself in which Government might avail itself of his services. Sir Edward Hyde East having retired from Indian service with honour, the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court at Calcutta was offered to Mr. Blosset, and, as the latter's love of the orient was not less ardent than his love for the occident, he made no hesitation in accepting the offer. At this time the noble order of knighthood, as was then the rule and practice, was conferred upon Mr. Blosset. He joined his high office on the 23rd of December,† 1822, in the fond hope of occupying it at least for some years, but the term of his natural life had well nigh come to an end, and he breathed his last on the first day of February next, aged forty-seven years only. But though the tenure of his office was miserably short, barely a couple of months, still in that brief period he had impressed all the professional gentlemen in the Court with the most favourable opinion of his abilities as a lawyer and his mighty eminent character as a firm and impartial Judge. His life was upright, just and honourable, while by his death he left an example of manly fortitude and holy resignation, sublime,

* See *Men of the Times*

† This long vacancy for nearly half-a-year in the office of Chief Justice was occasioned by the precipitous departure of Sir Hyde East for Europe.

in its nature and consoling and beneficial to others.* Indeed, Sir Robert not only excelled in law and general scholarship, he also bore an exemplary character. He was a strictly moral and religious man. His piety and purity were quite saint like.† Thus he was lawyer, judge, scholar and saint combined in one.

Sir Christopher Puller.—Christopher Puller was born in 1774, the year in which the Supreme Court at Calcutta was established. His father was a well-known merchant of London, who was also a director of the Bank of England from 1786 to 1789. Young Puller was first educated at Eton, and then passed to Oxford, where he graduated. Having chosen law for his profession he entered the Inner Temple at which he was called to the bar in the year 1800. But though then called to the bar at the Inner Temple he migrated in 1812 to Lincoln's Inn, where he was elected a Benchler in 1822. Puller's career at the bar was fairly successful. He soon became a rising advocate and after he had made his mark at the bar was appointed King's Counsel. In early life Mr. Puller was associated as a law reporter with Mr. (afterwards Sir John Bernard) Bosanquet.‡ The year after he was elected Benchler, Puller was appointed to succeed Sir Robert Blosset as Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court, on which occasion, he, received the honour of knighthood.

Sir Robert Blosset's tenure of office was, as we have already seen, very short; that of his successor, Sir Christopher Puller, was shorter still, it was only a month and some odd days, the latter having died at Calcutta on the 31st of May,§ 1824, where he had arrived somewhere in the middle of the preceding month. Bishop Heber, who was then the Supreme head of the Protestant Church in India spoke very feelingly of him after his death.||

Sir Charles Edward Grey.—This future Chief Justice was born in 1785. He was educated at University College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1806, and in 1808, after obtaining the prize for the English essay was elected Fellow of Oriel

* See *The Calcutta Journal*, vol. i, p. 477.

† See *Bengal Obituary* (1848), pp. 6, 7.

‡ The Reports which he, in conjunction with Sergeant Bosanquet had prepared had reference to cases decided in the Court of Common Pleas, the Exchequer Chamber and the House of Lords from the year 1796 to 1807. They are in five volumes and are of very great use to lawyers.

§ See *Dictionary of National Biography*. The other account is that he died on 19th May.

|| See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xix, January, June 1825, p. 149. I am afraid our worthy writer has made a mistake here Bishop Heber was simply Bishop of Calcutta,—and as for the "Protestant Church"—that has no existence. Editor, *Calcutta Review*.

College, having adopted law for his profession he commenced his study in right good earnest and was called to the bar in 1811. He at once took to practising at Courts, but his progress at the bar was not rapid. While he was thus rising slowly, he was appointed a Commissioner in Bankruptcy in 1817. This appointment was followed in 1818* by his being nominated a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras. He held his seat in that Court till June, 1825, when he was appointed to succeed Sir Christopher Puller as Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court. In the farewell speech which he made from his seat on the Madras Bench Sir Charles Grey said that he had sat upon the Bench for full seven years, during which he had not done injustice to any man or had intentionally given offence† to any body. Sir Charles was also President of the Madras Literary Society, and an excellent President he proved himself, as one might well have expected from his scholarly attainments. On the eve of his departure for Calcutta, he was entertained at a dinner by that Society at which the *élite* of Madras were present.

The new Chief Justice of the Calcutta Court landed in the forenoon of the 29th June, 1825, at Chandpal Ghât, and in the afternoon took his seat on the Bench under the usual salute.‡ As Sir Charles was well-versed in law, and had also acquired considerable experience both at the bar and on the bench, it was expected that he would prove a very good Chief Justice, and, be it said to his credit, this expectation sanguine as it was, was fully realized. His decisions showed sound knowledge of law and were also marked by sound good sense. He settled once for all some points which had long remained open to doubt, whether the East India Company which possessed some sovereign powers were the sovereigns of the land had long been a vexed question. In *the Bank of Bengal v. The East India Company*, § which involved some such question, Sir Charles Grey held that the Company having been invested with power usually called sovereign, did not constitute them sovereigns. This was a very important decision, as it placed beyond doubt the paramount title of the King of England and thus paved the way for the crown assuming the direct rule of the country after the dark days of the Sepoy Mutiny. Sir Charles also made some important alterations in the Ministerial department of

* In *Who's who*, however, it is stated that Grey was appointed a Puisne of Madras in 1828 but this statement is evidently not correct as appears from his farewell speech at Madras.

† See *John Bull*, July 3rd.

‡ See *The Asiatic Journal*, vol. xx, July and October, 1825.

§ See *Bignall*, Rep., p. 120.

the Supreme Court, but as we have already dealt with this matter in our account of that Court, we need not again debate upon it here. His Lordship's most important act, however, by which he has secured the good will of the Hindus, was his improvement in the matter of the administration of oath to Hindu witnesses. The necessity for touching the water of the holy Ganges was no longer enforced, the witness on his objecting to take such oath being only required to be sworn some other way binding upon his conscience. In this way the Chief Justice earned enviable popularity, and as a matter of necessary consequence was held in high esteem both by the profession and the public.

Sir Charles Grey retired from the Calcutta Court in July 1831. At the dinner which was given in his honour on the 30th July by the Asiatic Society, of which he was the President, the Chairman, Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, spoke of him as "a man, whose deep learning and extensive research, whose great abilities and zeal for the interests of science, would ever rank him in their memory among the most honoured of those distinguished persons, who had presided over them." And as regards his qualities as a judge he said that "a more conscientious, a more unbiassed Judge, one more anxious to do his duty, regardless of every other consideration, he had never known." "It was not only however," he added, "by his learning and his exalted character as a public man, that Sir Charles was entitled to the highest praise; as a private individual in his own family—in the intercourse of society—in his many charitable actions, he had earned by his bright example, their warmest affection and esteem.*

After his return to England, Sir Charles was allowed to enjoy his well earned rest only for a few years. The Home Government nominated him to Colonial administration with which his connection began in 1835. After serving in several capacities he was at last appointed Governor of Jamaica in 1847. His usual success also attended him in this new sphere of action, and he enjoyed a wide popularity. He retired in 1853 and returned to England where he died at Tunbridge Wells on the first day of June 1865.†

Sir William Oldnall Russell.—Russell was like his predecessor on the bench, Sir Charles Grey, born in 1785. He was the eldest son of Samuel Oldnall, rector of St Nicholas and Mary, daughter of William Russell, Esq.; of Powick. In 1816, in accordance with the will of his maternal grandfather, Sir William took the surname of Russell. He matriculated from

* See *The Asiatic Journal*, new series, vol. x, January-April, 1833.

† See *Who's who*.

Christ Church, Oxford, on the 21st of December, 1801, and was a student till 1812, graduating B.A. in 1806 and M.A. in 1807. He was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1809, and became Sergeant-at-Law on 25th June, 1827. By this time he had made his mark at the bar and had also earned a name in the domain of law literature. "He enjoyed for many years an extensive practice at the English bar, and both in the Common Pleas and on the Oxford circuit was frequently engaged in cases of the greatest importance and nicety."* But not only did he rise high in practice, he also distinguished himself as an author on legal subjects. In 1814 he published 'Practice in the Court of great Session on the Caermarthen circuit with Rules and Forms.' This was followed in the year 1819 by a far more important and learned work for which he is best known to the profession, namely, 'Treatise on Crimes and Misdemeanours'† in two volumes. On its appearance it was pronounced by Tom Warren, 'the great founder of the special pleading race,' as Lord Campbell calls him, 'the best general treatise in criminal law,' and in this high opinion of the book Warren does not stand alone. Indeed, the work is an acknowledged authority on the subject, and has received its meed of praise all round. As a "treatise," says a modern writer and Judge, "'Russell on Crimes and misdemeanours' is the chief work on criminal law. There is a wealth of discussion and illustration which no other writer has ever so far attempted. But physical reasons prevent its competing to any substantial degree with Archibald and Roscoe."‡ The second edition which was by the author appeared in May 1825. Since then the work has passed through four more editions, the sixth and last which appeared in 1896, being by Horace Smith and A. P. Percival Keep. The learned editors say, in the Preface "the merits of the work as a whole are so well-known and appreciated that any radical attempt to alter its design and scope would only produce disappointment." But although the design has been left intact, still many additions and improvements have been made, so that the work, as it now stands, consists of three big volumes instead of two.

Russell was not only known as an author on law, he had also made a name as law reporter. In conjunction with

* See *John Bull*, February, as quoted in the *Asiatic Journal*, (No. 5), vol. xi, May-August, 1833.

† The well-known work on *Arbitration* was by Francis Russell, Barrister-at-law, who died in May, 1891. The seventh edition of that work which appeared in July of that year, nearly forty-five years after the appearance of the first, was the joint production of himself, and his son, Herbert Russell, Barrister-at-law.

‡ See E. A. Telford *Where to find your Law* p. 10, 2nd Ed.

Edward Ryan, who like him was knighted and acquired fame as judge, he brought out reports of crown cases from 1799 to 1824. These reports are of very great use to lawyers and find place in almost every law library.

Russell married in 1825, Louisa Maria, daughter of John Lloyd William, who bore him several children.

When Russell had thus acquired fame both as a lawyer and writer on legal subjects and had become the father of a happy family, the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court, at Calcutta was offered to him on the retirement of Sir Charles Grey, and as the offer was not unworthy of his reputation, he did not hesitate to accept it. Russell on being, as usual, knighted on the occasion, sailed for India and arrived at Calcutta early in July 1831, where he took his seat on the Bench on the 9th day of that month under the usual salute. He had hoped to hold his appointment for a pretty long period, but unfortunately for this country his hope was not realized, for as a matter of fact a few short months were all that remained for his earthly career to run.

But short as the period was during which he presided in the Supreme Court, "his decisions appeared to give general satisfaction, while the firmness of his conduct, united to great urbanity of manners, established a regularity, order, and despatch in the business of the Court that, promised to lead to the best result."* Indeed, some of the decisions pronounced by Sir William, were really excellent and would do credit to any judges ancient or modern.

In the case of *Beebe Multra* which was decided on the 22nd October 1832, he passed a brilliant judgment, holding that the Supreme Court had general ecclesiastical jurisdiction within Calcutta, and by virtue whereof granted probates of Wills of Hindus who left property in it. Of the two judges who sat with him, Justice Franks concurred with him, but Justice Ryan dissented. The decision, however, was followed in several subsequent cases and it would appear that what he had held became settled law.

Sir William Russell† died on the 22nd of January 1832, on board the *Enterprise* steamer, in which vessel he had embarked for Penang only a few days before.

Sir Edward Ryan.—Edward Ryan, second son of William Ryan, was born on 28th August, 1793.‡ He matriculated from

* *John Bull* February 6 as quoted in *Asiatic Journal*, (N. S.) vol. XI, May—August, 1833.

† The Haileyburian of the same name, who was a Bombay civilian was in India for nearly two years, having died at Bombay on 25th March 1836. (*Memorial of old Haileybury College* p. 561).

‡ Sir William Macnaghten was also born in the same year a year memorable in the law literature of Bengal.

Trinity College, Cambridge in 1810, and graduated in 1814. While at College he made the acquaintance of John, F. W. Herschel, Charles Babbage, and George Peacock, all of whom like himself afterwards became Fellows of the Royal Society. Ryan studied law at Lincoln's Inn, and on being called to the bar in 1817, went the Oxford Circuit. While practising, as an advocate, he in conjunction with Sir William Oldnall Russell brought out reports* of crown cases from the year 1799. This valuable work was dedicated to the Right Honourable Robert Peel, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, and was published in 1825. In conjunction with William Moody, Ryan also published reports of Visi Prius cases from 1823 to 1826. These learned labours in the field of law seemed to have paved his way to the high appointment in India which he got in the year 1827. He was appointed Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in the place of Sir Anthony Buller who retired early in that year, and was, as was then customary, decorated with the order of Knighthood. In addition to his knowledge of law, Ryan was a good scholar, having taken the degree of Master of Arts with Honours at Dublin University; and it is, therefore, no wonder that he gladly took active part in the material and mental improvement of the people of his land of adoption. Among other honorary avocations he was president of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society (1832) Sir Edward Ryan was of great help to his chief, Sir Charles Grey, so long as that Judge presided at the court, and he also worked well with the next Chief Justice, Sir William Oldnall Russell, with whom he had worked in England in Beaumont-Fletcher-like fashion as law reporter. But this circumstance did not prevent him from, now and then, differing from his chief when he thought that he could not in fairness agree with him,—a fact which shows that he had the courage of his convictions, without which a Judge would ill deserve his ermine. Sir Edward had already acquired a good Judicial reputation when Sir W. O. Russell came to an untimely end, so that he got his promotion in 1834,† without much ado. In fact, his promotion was a matter of course, as there was none who had a better right to it. Sir Edward Ryan had, it is true, to bear, "superior weight of toils" by being raised to the highest rank in the profession both in honour and emolument, but he found no difficulty in bearing it with credit. He had the reputation of being an able Judge and, as a matter of fact, his decisions were marked

* The full title of these Reports is *Reports of Crown Cases reserved for consideration and decided by twelve Judges of the land from the year 1799.*

† The editor of "*The Men of the Reign of Queen Victoria*," however, says that Ryan became Chief Justice in 1838; but this appears to be a mistake.

by sound good sense as well as by sound good law. The mere fact of his having enjoyed the friendship of that great man Macaulay, is a strong proof of his having been, not only a good Judge but also a general scholar. Macaulay's company in India was very select, but in that small circle Ryan held the most prominent place.

Ryan held the office of Chief Justice till January 1842, when he resigned and returned to his native country. Previous to his departure for Europe he was presented with an address on the 30th December, 1841, by the European and native inhabitants of Calcutta. The address was well conceived, and among other things it very properly stated;—"many circumstances combine to render the duties of an English Judge in India in some respects, more arduous than those of his brethren in England, and it is no exaggeration to say that the exact performance of them demands peculiar vigilance, caution, temper, and discretion; and those qualities have, in no ordinary degree, marked your career during the fourteen years you have sat upon the Bench." Ryan was also a promoter* of native education, for which laudable end he spared neither time nor labour. Accordingly, the students of the Hindu College also presented him an address, which was read by Govind Chunder Dutt, † a student of the first class and son of Rupomoy Dutt.‡ He also exercised much hospitality during his residence in Calcutta and was very popular, as one would naturally expect, in the ordinary course of affairs. § After his retirement Ryan was, on the 10th June, 1843, sworn a Privy Councillor, and he remained so till November 1865, having been made a member of that honourable body in 1850. His services were highly appreciated by the Judicial committee, on Indian questions his opinion was anxiously sought and almost invariably acted upon, indeed, the occasions were not few on which he was spoken of in very high terms for his very valuable assistance. In 1859-61, while he was a member of the committee, both Sir Lawrence Peel and Sir James Colville were its assessors, which he himself was before being made a member.

On the formation of the Civil Service Commission, Ryan was, by an order in Council, dated the 21st May, 1855, named one of the first unpaid Commissioners. In April 1862, he became first Commissioner and a salaried officer. In this Civil Service

* Ryan was Chief Justice when Lord Bentinck's famous Resolution of the 7th March, 1835, for "the promotion of European literature and science among the natives," was passed.

† Mr. Dutt afterwards distinguished himself by his rare knowledge of English. He two Misses Orul Dutt and Toru Dutt, who are so well known to fame, more specially the latter, were his daughters. Mr. Dutt's father, Russomoy Dutt, was distinguished Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court.

‡ See the *Asiatic Journal*, vol XXXVII, January April 1842.

§ See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Commission matter, as well as in that of the Indian Law Commission * Ryan did knight's service, indeed he was the guiding spirit, performing his duties with a rare tact and sagacity. Ryan also took much interest in the prosperity of the University of London, of which he was a member of the Senate, and from 1871 to 1874 Vice Chancellor in succession to George Grote who died in 1871. He was elected F.G.S. in 1846 and F. R. S. on 2nd February 1860, and he was secretary to the Society of Dilettanti from 1859 to 1865. He died at Dover on 22nd August, 1875, full of honours and years.

Sir Lawrence Peel. Lawrence Peel was born on the 10th, August 1799. He was the third son of Joseph Peel of Bowes Farm, Middlesex. His father was the younger brother of the first Sir Robert Peel, and he was thus first cousin of the great statesman, the second Sir Robert Peel. Young Peel was sent to Rugby in 1812, whence passing to St. John's College, Cambridge, he graduated B. A. in 1821, and M. A. in 1824. After his call to the bar in the middle Temple on 7th May, 1824, he went the Northern Circuit and attended the Lancaster, Preston, and Manchester Sessions. In 1840 he came out to India as Advocate General of Bengal which office he held till 1842, when on the retirement of Sir Edward Ryan he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on which occasion he was knighted. Although the very reverse of Lord Kenyon who was a judicial sloven, so to say, Sir Lawrence Peel was very assiduous and particular in the discharge of the duties of his high judicial office, the highest in the land. He was held in very high esteem both by the profession and the public. Indeed a careful reading of his decisions plainly shows that his reputation as a good Judge † was well deserved. Peel held the office of Chief Justice till 1855 when he retired and returned to England. During 1854 and 1855 he was also Vice President of the Legislative Council. He left Calcutta in November, 1855.

On the eve of his departure for Europe the Hindus presented an address to Sir Lawrence, and the Mohomedans promised one. At last a public meeting was held on the 5th November, 1855, to express, if possible the sense of the entire community. At this meeting a statue ‡ was proposed, but as this proposal

* Ryan was a member both of the second and of the third, Indian Law Commission which were appointed on 9th November, 1853, and 2nd December 1861 respectively. See Ilbert's *Legislative Methods and Forms* at pages 130, 131.

† Peel made some excellent observations on the Indian Penal Code, which were published in 1848.

‡ A writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, however, states that a statue was erected to Peel in Calcutta; but this statement is anything but true. The same writer also says that Peel gave away in public charity the whole of his official income of £8000 a year, and was consequently, very popular in India. This statement too must be received with considerable modification.

was hotly contested by Baboo Ram Gopal Ghose, the great orator, it fell through and the meeting broke up without coming to any definite resolution. On this matter the *Friend of India* remarked, "A statue is beyond the desert of Sir Lawrence Peel. It is an honour which should be reserved for those who have accomplished some national good, who have influenced the acts of masses, or have achieved undertakings of historical importance. Freely as we admit the excellencies of Sir Lawrence Peel, we can recognize in him no claim of this degree. It was for his virtues rather than his deeds that Calcutta assembled at the Town Hall."*

After his return Peel was sworn on the Privy Council and was made a paid Member of the Judicial Committee on 4th April 1856. In May following he was elected a Bencher of the Middle Temple. Both as Assessor to and Member of the Judicial Committee he was of great help to that body, especially in Indian matters. From 1857 Peel was a Director of the East India Company, and in the following year was created a Honorary D. C. L., of the University of Oxford.

Sir Lawrence was not only an excellent Judge, he was also an author of some note. He wrote in 1860, a Sketch of the Life and Character of his first cousin, the great Minister, Sir Robert Peel, † of whom it was said that, though out of office he was not out of power, he lost a party, but won a nation," and had given "bread unleavened with injustice" to the great towns and the masses of the people. Peel also courted the Muse of poetry and produced in 1841 "*Horæ Pensæ*," poems translated and original. He was for some years a correspondent of the *Times* on legal and general topics.

Peel died, unmarried, at Garden Reach, Ventnor, Isle of Wight, on the 22nd July 1884.

Sir James William Colville.—James William Colville was born in 1810. He was the eldest son of Andrew Wedderburn Colville by his wife, the Honourable Louise Mary Eden, daughter of William, first Lord Auckland. He was first educated at Eton, and then at Trinity College, Cambridge where he obtained the third place in the second class in mathematical honours, and graduated B. A., in 1831 and M. A., in 1834. While at Cambridge he contracted an intimate friendship with Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton. In 1834 he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, and practised in Lincoln's Inn as an equity draftsman. In 1845 he came

* *The Friend of India*, 8th November, 1855.

† In *The Men of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, however, it is stated that Sir Lawrence wrote a biography of his cousin, the Right Honourable General Jonathan Peel, M. P. (1799-1879), but this does not appear to be correct. The statement we have made on the authority of a writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is the correct one.

out to India as Advocate General of Bengal to the Honourable East India Company. In 1848 there were two vacancies in the Calcutta Supreme Court in consequence of Sir John Peter Grant and Sir Henry Wilmot Seton having retired from it. One of these vacancies was filled up by Arthur W. Butler and the other by James W. Colville, on which occasion both the new Judges were, decorated with the noble order of knighthood. Sir James Colville had received good legal training, and, as had been expected, soon won his spurs as Judge. Indeed, his reputation as administrator of justice stood very high. Even his Chief, Sir Lawrence Peel, entertained golden opinions of his judicial ability and legal knowledge, and found great pleasure in sitting with him on the Bench. Sir Arthur W. Butler was not so great a favourite of the Chief Justice as Sir James Colville. In fact, the latter was the worthier of the two, so that when in 1855, Sir Lawrence Peel retired, Colville was promoted to his place. During the time Sir James Colville presided as its Chief, the Supreme Court was justly deemed the palladium of Justice. Sir James had his heart in his work and he also knew how to do it well. Some of his decisions are masterpieces of their kind. Whether we consider them as specimens of sound reasoning and law, or as pieces of good composition, in both respects they are entitled to more than ordinary praise. He was also quite independent and had no regard for rank when it clashed with the due discharge of his duties. In a suit in which the Nawab Nazim was a party he refused a Commission to examine him. The result was that the Nawab had to drop the suit as he could not appear in the Supreme Court.* In this way Sir James held the first place in Indian Judiciary till 1859 when he retired and left this country for good. By this time he had married Francis Elinor, daughter of Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, by whom he had one son who died in 1876. Sir James had acquired in India a great knowledge of Indian systems of law, as well as of scientific and economic questions affecting India, and was President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On his return home where his reputation, it would seem, had preceded him, he was at once, on account of these special attainments sworn on the Privy Council and acted with Sir Lawrence Peel as Indian assessor to the Judicial Committee. In November 1865, he was appointed a member of that Committee, and took a large share in its deliberations. The wise old veterans who moved in that charmed circle held very high opinions of him. Indeed, judging from the many excellent decisions which he pronounced while occupying a seat therein, one would be apt to

* See *The Friend of India*, 5th April, 1855.

think that the genius which had commenced to shine in this country reached its meridian glory in that blessed land of liberty. When his reputation was, at its height he was, in November, 1871, appointed under the Judicial Committee Act one of the four paid members. He continued* to act in that capacity until on 6th December 1880, he died suddenly at his town house, 8 Rutland Gate, and was buried five days after at his Scotch seat, Craigflower, near Dunfermline in Fifeshire, of which county, he was a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant. He was a Bencher of the Inner Temple and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sir Barnes Peacock succeeded Sir James Colville on the Supreme Court bench, but as that Court was ere long abolished and the High Court established in its place, Sir Barnes' judicial career properly belongs to the High Court which was newly constituted, rather than to the one which was broken up. We shall, therefore, speak of him when we come to record our notices of the eminent Judges of the High Court.

Sir William Jones.—Among the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta Sir William Jones holds the first and foremost place. Jones was born in 1746. He was a Welshman by birth, but in other respects he was a thorough Englishman. He was happy in his parents. His father was a celebrated mathematician who was both the disciple and friend of the great philosopher Newton. His mother was a remarkable lady, and it was to her that Jones owed his passionate love of reading. Young Jones had a brilliant academical career. Having completed his College study he went on short travels. In 1782 he resided for a few months in Paris, where he was introduced at Court. The French Emperor was much pleased with his conversation, and, after he withdrew, remarked to one of his courtiers, "he is a most extraordinary man! he understands the language of my people better than I do myself." "Yes please your Majesty," replied the courtier, "he is, indeed, a more extraordinary man than you are aware of, for he understands almost every language in the world but his own." "Mon Dieu!" exclaimed the King "then of what country is he?" "He is, please your Majesty, a Welshman."

Jones † came out to India as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme

* In *The Men of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, however, it is stated that a few days after being appointed a paid member of the Judicial Committee in 1871 Sir James retired. But this is not so, as we learn from the *Times* of 8th December 1880 and *Law Times* of 11th December; from which we have principally taken our account of the great Judge.

† The biographer of Sir Elijah Impey says that Jones succeeded Le Maistre who died at Calcutta. (See Impey's *Memoirs* Chap. IX). Now, as Le Maistre, according to the author of *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, died in November, 1777,

Court in 1783, on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood. Before he was so appointed he had won laurels in the field of law literature. His famous Essay on the Law of Bailments which he brought out in 1781 had secured him a high place on the roll of writers on English law. His was, indeed, a cosmopolitan genius. Speaking of him the learned historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* says that, "he is perhaps the only lawyer equally conversant with the Year-Books of Westminster, the commentaries of Alpin, the Attic pleadings of Isaeus, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian Cadhis," and he might have added the writings of the Hindu sages of old. Surely, this is no small praise, coming as it does from one who was so very competent to pass an opinion on the matter.

Shortly after his arrival, Jones founded the Asiatic Society* of which he became the President. Simultaneously with the establishment of this famous Institution he commenced studying Sanskrit and mastered this difficult language in a few years. In 1788 he undertook to prepare a Digest of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, but he did not live to complete it. The credit of bringing out the work, so far as the Hindu law goes is due to that accomplished Sanskrit scholar, Colebrook, who in 1800 ushered it to the public under the title of *Digest of Hindu Law*. This is known as Colebrooke's *Digest*,† which is justly regarded as a *sine qua non* with every Indian Judge and practitioner. The last work on law which Jones produced was a translation of the *Institutes of Menu*, this appeared in 1794, only a few months before his death‡ which took place on 27th April of that year, while he was making preparations to return home. He was succeeded by Sir William Dunkin.§

Sir William Jones was a scholar, lawyer and man of genius. Indeed, he was a myriad minded man like his favourite poet, Shakespeare. A sound and learned lawyer as he was, it is no wonder that he proved a very good judge. But his fame as a Judicial officer has been eclipsed by his fame as a scholar

it was long before his place was permanently filled. Le Maistre was the very reverse of his illustrious successor. A convivial man as he was, he was a protégé of the licentious Lord Sandwich. He was also "violent beyond measure, and with Hyde opposed Impey in every thing." See *Echoes*.

* The Society possess no less than one bust and three pictures of their founder.

† In the preface to his *Digest*, Colebrooke, speaking of Sir William Jones, says that he "joins to a competent knowledge of oriental language, that legislative spirit and intimate acquaintance with the principles of Jurisprudence, which he possessed in so eminent a degree."

‡ In August of the same year died Richard Burke, the only son of the great Statesman and Orator and with him were buried all his earthly hopes.

§ Dunkin was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court on the 22nd October, 1782.

and linguist. Only a few know the Judge, but the whole civilized world knows the founder of the Asiatic Society, the writer on Asiatic Researches, the translator of *Sakuntala*, *Hilopodesha*, *Gita Govinda*, and the *Vedas*, the wooer of the Eastern Muse, and a master of more than a dozen languages. Jones' was a life of learned and useful labour. What Johnson said Pope might with equal truth be applied to him, "that he was one of those few whose labour is their pleasure." Indeed, he laboured hard incessantly for humanity, and the sweet content which he found in it had its own exceeding great reward. In his capacity of Judge he practised those laws which it was the pride of his life to cherish and honour, and administered to his fellow-creatures the pure maxims of justice and truth. The fittest and most eloquent tribute to his memory has been paid by his bosom friend and successor in the Presidential chair of the Asiatic Society, Sir John Shore afterwards Lord Teignmouth. "At home" says this distinguished writer, of his Memoirs, Jones "was always good, and abroad he was always great. As a great man, whether we consider the perspicuity of his genius, the variety of his powers, or the extent of his erudition, we are enamoured and astonished.....As a lawyer he distinguished himself at an early age; and he not only attained a superior knowledge in the laws of his own country, but in those also of every other of the civilized globe." And he was a man "who feared God, but not death, and maintained independence, but sought not riches; who thought none below him but the base and unjust, none above him but the wise and virtuous." Indeed, Jones was a very remarkable character and deserves to occupy a high and prominent place in the proud Temple of Fame.

Sir John Royds. John Royds was born in the year 1752. He chose law for his profession and was called to the bar in due course. Not long after his call to the bar, he came to this country and got himself enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court on the 10th November 1789. His forensic career was fairly successful, and it might well be said that he had made his mark at the bar. About this time, John Hyde,* the colleague of Sir Elijah Impey on the Bench, died. His place was taken by Sir James Watson, but the latter's tenure of office was short, so that before the year 1797 † was out,

* John Hyde died at Calcutta in July 1795, two years after the death of Sir William Jones. Both Hyde and Le Maistre had opposed Impey in everything; but the former was more difficult to deal with. He was an honest man, but a great coxcomb and loved pomp and parade. Like Impey, Hyde had his wife with him; and he was a great favourite in social life, where his hospitality was genuine. He was buried in the same cemetery where some twenty years before his brother Justice Le Maistre had found his final resting place, (See *Echoes*, pp 92, 93).

† In this year the number of Judges of the Supreme Court was reduced from four to three.

he was succeeded by Mr. John Royds who on this occasion, received the honour of knighthood. Sir John proved a good and popular Judge and he conscientiously discharged his important duties with honour to himself and advantage to the public, while he benefited and adorned the society in which he lived by the benevolence of his disposition and the accomplishments of a scholar and a gentleman. Surely such a man "richly deserves to have his name writ in the bonny book of fame." Sir John reached a ripe old age and died in harness on the 24th of September, 1817, full of years and honours.*

Sir William Burroughs.—William Burroughs was called to the bar in England, after which he came out to this country. Here at Calcutta he was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court on the 10th of November, 1789. As he was a sound and well-read lawyer and possessed, to a certain extent, the gift of eloquence he soon got into practice and steadily rose in the profession until he got to the top of the tree, by being made Advocate General in succession to Thomas Henry Davies. After he had deservedly led the bar for some years Mr. Burroughs was appointed a Puisne Judge in the place of Sir Henry Russell when the latter, in the year 1806 was made Chief Justice. By this time Mr. Burroughs had been created a Baronet. His elevation to the Bench of the Highest Tribunal in the land was hailed with delight by all sections of the community. His career on the Bench was not less successful than his career at the Bar. He was certainly an acquisition to the Bench which he occupied with honour till the 20th of December 1815, when he retired and returned to his own country. A beautiful portrait of his hangs in the Library of the High Court, a fact which is alone sufficient to show that he enjoyed a wide popularity, and was held in high esteem.

Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten. Francis W. Macnaghten was born in Antrim, Ireland, in the year 1760, and represented one of the oldest families in that county. He graduated at Dublin University. He however, followed law as his profession and was called to the Irish bar at an early period of his life. He came out to India and joined the bar of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. He had not much business, but his ability and legal learning were undoubted, so that it is no wonder that he was appointed Advocate General a few years after. In May 1809, he was made a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras, on which occasion he, it would appear, was knighted. He served at Madras till July, 1815, when he was transferred to the Calcutta Supreme Court, to fill the place which had been vacated by Sir William Burroughs. Sir

Francis was successful as a Judge though he was not so as an advocate. Indeed, his practice at the bar was not at all noteworthy. But he proved a very good Judge. He was well up not only in English law but in the laws of the land in which his lot was cast. His *Considerations of Hindu Law*,* which is the first original treatise on Hindu Law by a European, is a very creditable performance and proves beyond doubt his more than ordinary knowledge of native law. But it seems that he was a little too much of an egotist. Unlike Sir Thomas Strange, who was all mildness, Sir Francis too frequently indulged in caustic and arrogant style. Speaking of the *Considerations of Hindu Law*, Mr. Morley says, "It is to be regretted that the whole work is pervaded by a spirit of exaggerated self-estimation and unjust depreciation of every thing not-consistent with the author's professional prejudices." But there is no doubt that "it is," as the same writer observes, "a valuable work, consisting of an enunciation of principles illustrated copiously by arguments and decided cases, which are in most instances, given *in extenso*."

Sir Francis occupied the Calcutta bench for more than nine years, during which period he twice officiated as Chief Justice. As we have already stated, he proved a success as a judge and was held in a high esteem. At his retirement which took place in March 1825, addresses poured in upon him from all quarters. All classes of Calcutta people vied with each other in showing him their deep and heartfelt regard; and what is more, the scene which the "City of Palaces" presented at the time of his departure stands almost, without a parallel. Sir Francis was accompanied to Chandpal Ghat, by Sir Anthony Buller, the Advocate General,† the barristers, attorneys, and officers of the court, as well as a large concourse of the community, and "certainly," observed one of the Calcutta Journals "a more honourable tribute than that could not possibly have been paid to any one." Indeed, the good judge was an ornament to the bench, and was, besides, a patron of science, possessed a refined taste and exhibited high literary talents. He held many important trials and did justice without distinction of creed or colour. Mr. John Hayes, Judge and Magistrate of Tipperah, was tried by him, the charge against the accused being that he had murdered one Pertab Narain Dass by dealing violent blows and striking his hand with a rattan. In that case Mr. Henry Thoby Prinsep, Chief Secretary to Government, and Mr. Samuel Thomas Goad, a Sadar Judge, gave evidence,

* This work was published at Serampore in the year 1824. It was, as the author himself states, commenced and completed in that year.

† Sir Anthony was appointed Judge on the 11th of September, 1816, and he worked on till 1st January, 1827.

* See Bengal Obituary, p 181.

the case was found to be a got up one, and accordingly, the great accused was acquitted. After his return from India Sir Francis took part in home politics. During the discussion of the Irish Poor Laws, he published a very able pamphlet in opposition to the views of Mr. Nicholls, and, as the sequel showed, his predictions respecting the working of the proposed measure were, unfortunately, too closely verified.

Sir Francis was the father of seventeen sons and daughters. The violent death at Cabul of his second son, the illustrious Sir William Hay Macnaghten,* greatly effected him, then verging on his 80th year. The shock was a terrible one and it hurried him to the grave in the year following. His death took place at his seat, Bushmill House, in the county of Antrim, Ulster.†

Sir John Franks.—John Franks, second son of Thomas Franks, was born in 1770. He received his education at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated B.A. in 1788, and M.A. in 1790. He adopted law as his profession and on being called to the Irish bar in 1792, went the Munster circuit and had a good practice as Chamber Counsel. He “took silk,” as it is called, in 1823. In 1825, the Board of Control, on the recommendation of his friend, Plunket, then Attorney-General, appointed him a Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in succession to Sir Francis Macnaghten, and he sailed for India after having received the honour of knighthood. He held his seat on the Bench till ill-health compelled him to resign in 1834.

Sir John Franks was popular, both as advocate and Judge. He was a good lawyer and was of great help to his colleagues on the Bench. He was an intimate friend of the great orator, Curran; and one of his executors W. H. Curran, Curran’s son commemorates ‘his peculiar aboriginal wit, quiet, keen, and natural to the occasion, and best of all, never malignant.’‡ Franks died in the year 1852.

Sir John Peter Grant.—John Peter Grant, the only son of William Grant, M.D., was born on 21st September 1774. The very year in which the Supreme Court was established at Calcutta. He studied law first at Edinburgh, where he was admitted an Advocate on 28th June, 1796, and afterwards at Lincoln’s Inn, whose Society called him to the bar on 29th January 1802. Although law was his profession still he

* Sir William arrived in India on 30th September 1814. He rose very high in the service of the East India Company, and was at last appointed Governor of Bombay, but he did not live to enjoy it. In an evil hour he was sent as envoy at the Court of Shah Shuja in Cabul, where he was killed in an insurrection.

† See *The Asiatic Journal* 3rd, series, vol. ii, 1844.

‡ See *Gentleman’s Magazine*, April 1852, p. 408.

mixed in politics, and accordingly entered the House of Commons, the great centre of the political world. In 1827* he came out to India as a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Bombay, on which occasion he was knighted. He held this post till the year 1833 when on the promotion of Sir Edward Ryan to the Chief Justiceship of Bengal, he was transferred to Calcutta to take the place so vacated by Ryan. Grant was a sound and learned lawyer and administered justice with vigour.

In a case involving the law relating to pirates in which he differed from his colleagues, he wrote a masterly decision which shows very plainly and clearly that his knowledge of law was much above the average. He occupied the Bench for a pretty long period during which he, it would appear officiated as Chief Justice for some time. His decisions were marked by sound good sense, deep knowledge of law, and thorough independence. Like his chief he enjoyed the friendship of Macaulay, who while Law member, now and then invited them and a few others to a quiet dinner. This circumstance is alone sufficient to show that Sir John Peter Grant was a man of great parts and learning.

Sir John retired from service in 1848 but he did not live to enjoy well-earned rest in his native land, for he died at sea on his way home on the 17th of May in that year. Grant was not only a lawyer and statesman, he was also an author and wrote some works on law and political economy, of which ‘Some observations on the constitution and form of pleading in the Court of Session in Scotland,’ and ‘Essays towards illustrating some Elementary Principles relating to wealth and currency’ are the most important.

Sir Benjamin Heath Malkin.—Benjamin Heath Malkin was born on the 29th of September 1797. He was the eldest son of B. H. Malkin, D.C.L., (1769-1842), and was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, of which he afterwards became a Fellow. Having adopted law for his profession he studied hard to qualify himself for the bar to which he was called in due course. After commencing practice he, in conjunction with William Moody, who like him was a beginner in the profession, brought out *Nisi Prius Reports* which covered a period of four years beginning from 1827. These Reports are of very

* In this year his second son, John Peter Grant, left Haileybury College for this country. Young Grant afterwards highly distinguished himself and became more famous than his father. He rapidly rose in Indian service and was at last appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in succession to Sir Frederick Halliday. After his retirement from Indian service he was made Governor in Chief and Captain-General in Jamaica. Sir John died in January 1893. (See Memorial of old Haileybury College, p. 388). In giving a short notice of the father in chapter ii, we erred in jumbling the father and the son into one.

great use to lawyers and are held in considerable esteem. Not long after, Mr. Malkin was appointed Recorder of Penang, which office he held for some time, after which he was made a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. This took place in the year 1835, on which occasion, he received the honour of knighthood.

Sir Benjamin Malkin was a man eminently distinguished by his literary and scientific attainments, by his professional learning and ability, by the clearness and accuracy of his intellect, by diligence, by patience, by firmness, by love of truth, by public spirit, ardent and disinterested, yet always under the guidance of discretion; by rigid uprightness, by unostentatious piety, by the serenity of his temper and by the benevolence of his heart.* No wonder that such a remarkable man became the bosom friend of Macaulay, who has spoken so very highly of him in some of his letters. It is very likely that it was by the influence of that great man that Malkin got his high appointment in the Supreme Court. Sir Benjamin, however, did not occupy his seat on the Calcutta Bench long, for on the 31st of October, 1837 he ended his days on earth in the full prime of life.

Sir Henry Wilmot Seton.—Henry W. Seton was a very eminent member of the profession and was held in high repute for his deep and extensive knowledge of law. In 1836 he submitted to a Committee of the House of Commons some learned and interesting notes on the Statute Law and a list of statutes showing how far they were in force or not. This list is of importance as the basis on which the subsequent expurgatory lists and the earlier Statute Law Revision Acts were framed.† Two years after he was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on which occasion he was decorated with the noble order of knighthood. This office Sir Henry held with honour for a period of ten years, retiring in 1848. But his public duties were not confined to the judiciary, he was also a member of the Indian Prison discipline Committee as well as of the Public Instruction Committee; and in this respect he only followed the example of his chief, Sir Edward Ryan, who was President of both those Committees. But Sir Henry Seton's name as a Judge and a public man has been thrown in the back ground by his name as an author. His *Forms of Judgments and Orders in Equity* is a very important and useful work. The book is in great demand and has passed through six editions. The last edition which appeared in 1901 is by Mr. Cecil, C. V. Dale, assisted by two others, and has been dedicated to the Right

* See *Bengal Obituary* (1848), pp. 7, 22.

† See *Ilbert's Legislative Methods and Forms*, p. 52.

Honourable Hardinge Stanley, Earl of Halsbury, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. It is really a *Magnum opus*, consisting of three large volumes. Speaking of this splendid edition, the learned editor of the *Law Journal* says, "The new edition of Seton is from every point of view, indeed a most valuable and indispensable work, and well worthy of the book's high reputation."

Sir Charles Robert Mitchell Jackson.—Mr. Jackson was a well-known lawyer and in recognition of his deep knowledge of law was appointed Advocate-General of Bengal in 1858, to succeed Sir James Colville, when the latter was elevated to the Bench. But the new Advocate-General did not arrive in Calcutta until the first Term of 1849. Mr. Jackson performed the duties of his office with honour and ability and was held in high esteem both by the profession and the public. He had hardly worked four years as Advocate-General when he was exalted to the seat of Puisne Judge on the Bombay bench, vacant by reason of the retirement of Sir E. Perry, and the promotion of Sir W. Yardley to the Chief Justiceship of that Presidency.* As was customary at the time, the new Judge received the honour of knighthood. Sir Charles remained at Bombay till 1855, when he was removed to the Calcutta bench in the same capacity. Here he exercised his judicial functions even after the Supreme Court was abolished and was, with the Sadar Courts, merged in the newly-established composite Courts called the High Court, which exists up to this day. But though Sir Charles was transferred to the High Court, the period of his tenure in it was very short, for he retired the very year the High Court was established.

Sir Mordaunt Lawson Wells.—When Sir Arthur W. Butler retired from the Supreme Court bench in 1859, Mr. Mordaunt Lawson Wells was appointed to take his place, on which occasion he was knighted. Sir Mordaunt joined his high office on the 14th of February; he was, it is true, a well-read lawyer, but he was perfectly innocent of the peculiar manners and customs of the country where he was appointed to administer justice; and, as ill-luck would have it, he soon turned an inveterate native hater. While presiding at the Criminal Sessions which he generally did, he often forgot himself into playing the role of a political reformer. He never dealt with a case of perjury or forgery without inveigling against the natives as "a nation of liars and forgers." This repeated insult from such a quarter, whence it was least expected, was too much for the injured natives to bear. They,

* See *Bell and Taylor's Reports of Supreme Court Cases 1849-1850*.

accordingly, called a crowded meeting at the house of Raja Radha Kanta Deb, the recognised head of the Hindu community, in which it was unanimously resolved to present a petition to Government against the abusive Judge. This petition had its desired effect and Sir Mordaunt altogether ceased to give vent to his ill humour. All this took place in the latter half of 1861 and Mr. Justice Wells retired in the year following, shortly after he was transferred to the High Court on its establishment in July 1862. Barring, however, his intense hatred of the natives, which was more a defect of temper than of intellect, Sir Mordaunt Wells was otherwise a good Judge and was held in esteem for his judicial ability and legal lore.

Here we close our account of the eminent Judges of the Supreme Court, and by way of Appendix annex hereto a complete list of the Judges of that Court distinguishing the Puisnes from the chief Judges, with dates of their appointments.

CHIEF JUSTICES.

Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, 1774.
 Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, 1791.
 Sir John Anstruther, Baronet, 1798.
 Sir Henry Russell, Baronet, 1806.
 Sir Sir Edward Hyde East, Baronet, 1813.
 Sir Robert Henry, Blosset, Knight, 1823.
 Sir Christopher Fuller, Knight, 1824.
 Sir Charles Edward Grey, Knight, 1825.
 Sir William Oldnall Russell, Knight, 1832.
 Sir Edward Ryan, Knight, 1833.
 Sir Lawrence Peel, Knight, 1842.
 Sir James William Colville, Knight, 1855.
 Sir Barnes Peacock, Knight, 1859.

PUISNE JUDGES.

- * Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, 1774,
 Stephen Cæsar Le Maistre, Esq., 1774.
 John Hyde, Esq., 1776.
- Sir William Jones, Knight, 1783.
- Sir William Dunkin, Knight, 1791.
- Sir James Watson, Knight, 1796.
- Sir John Royds, Knight, 1797.
- * Sir Henry Russell, Knight, 1798.
- Sir William Burroughs, Baronet, 1806.
- Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten, Knight, 1815.
- Sir Anthony Buller, Knight, 1816.

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became Chief Justice.

- Sir John Franks, Knight, 1825.
- * Sir Edward Ryan, Knight, 1827.
- Sir John Peter Grant, Knight, 1833.
- Sir Benjamin Keath Malkin, Knight, 1835.
- Sir Henry Wilmot Seton, Knight, 1838.
- Sir Arthur William Butler, Knight, 1848.
- Sir James William Colville, Knight, 1848.
- Sir Charles Robert Mitchell Jackson, Knight, 1855.
- Sir Mordaunt Lawson Wells, Knight, 1859.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became Chief Justice.

ART. V.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

(Continued from July 1902 No. 229.)

V.—ARGOS AND MYCENÆ

δι δικάνομεν,

Φασκειν Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους ὄραν,

πολύφθορόν τε δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε.

THE journey by train out of Arcadia in to Argolis is in the highest degree picturesque, if in a somewhat sombre and gloomy fashion. A mere glance at the map shows how tortuously the railway winds through the passes on this side. We have first to make a long circuit southward round the whole mass of Mount Parthenium, which looms gigantically ahead and seems to block the way. The mountain walls, as the train creeps laboriously upward on leaving Tripolitza, are of the grimmest and sternest character, the gradients when we begin to descend almost alarmingly sharp. Parthenium rounded—it was somewhere hereabouts, by the way, that the god Pan met the Athenian runner, Phidippides, on his way back from Sparta a few days before the battle Marathon—the railway makes a second remarkable twist in the reverse direction skirting both sides of a deep and narrow ravine, three or four miles long. The whole course from Tripolitza to Argos is a big double S with long flourishes at either end and flattened loops.

On completing the second loop we descend rapidly into comparatively level country and exchange the severity of alpine scenery for sunny and fertile plain. The rich blue of the sea bursts on us as we clear the hills and skirt the bay of Nauplia. On breaking through the mountains we have, indeed, come into a new country, a new climate, a new atmosphere. In Tripolitza it was decidedly bracing, even chilly when we started in the early morning. Here all at once we are in the midst of summer and the summer of a southern country, all is mild, balmy, luxurious; and when we begin to walk or climb, we find it both hot and dusty.

We touch the coast at the little town of Myli, and are near Lerna, erstwhile the haunt of the Hydra. Across the limpid blue water is Nauplia, lapped in soft haze and sunshine, its battlemented fortress conspicuous on a broad hill above the town. Four or five miles ahead straight over the plain an array of square-built white houses shows among the trees. We are looking on Argos, and that fine up-standing hill on the left is Lârisa, the acropolis of the Hellenic city, now crowned with a mediæval castle. The plain spreads out on

either hand, narrowing far to the northward, where the mountains hem in the pass of Dervenaki. Fair is the plain of Argos, rich the contrast of the vivid green of the young crops and the deep red of the bare soil, with sober patches of olive, and here and there groves of dark cypresses rising up against the deep blue of the sky. And bounding the view, in which ever direction the eye turns, the glorious limestone hills.

But we do not stop at Argos. Two stations on is Phictia Mycenæ within distance of the undoubted site of the citadel and palace of Agamemnon. Our plan is to give the rest of the day to Mycenæ returning to Argos for the night.

A twenty minutes run conveys us to Phictia Mycenæ. We start off at once across the mile or so of level plain which separates us from the hill which was once the Acropolis of the Attidæ. Today we are far back in the past, back in an antiquity to which no certain date can be assigned, but which is separated by a gulf from the Greece we are most familiar with; back in the civilization which Homer described and among the heroes whose deeds he sung. We shall pass up through the gate by which Agamemnon went forth to join the ships that sailed to the Trojan War—we shall look over the battlements from which Clytemnestra's sentinel watched for the flaming beacon on Mount Arachnaeon which was to be the signal of the fall of Troy, we shall even peer into the rock-made tomb wherein, if Schleimann's inspired fancies may be believed, the bodies of king Agamemnon and his followers were huddled after the consummation of the treachery by which they were done to death on the night of their return. Somewhere on the fringe of the stony hills full in view is Mycenæ, the city of Atreus and Agamemnon and Orestes, the capital of the legendary overlords of Hellas, before that Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, which accounts traditionally for the political conditions subsisting when Greek history really begins. The historical environment has changed as rapidly as the scenery in our six days of travel. Olympia belonged to the whole period of Greek national life from the mythical age to the Roman Empire; Phigaleian Bassæ recalled the period of the Peloponnesian War; Megolopolis suggested the latter days of national decay and the approach of disintegration. Mycenæ takes us back to the half light of prehistoric times, a fascinating age of legend and romance, which, visionary as it is, has here, nevertheless, substantial witness to its reality in massive stone.

To one who has any interest in Greek archæology, the history of Mycenæ, the position of the site, and the extent and character of the remains discovered there, is likely to be familiar before he sets foot on Greek soil. And yet, as generally happens in such cases, the actual concrete experience, as one

scans the plain of Argos and its rampart of hills, comes with a shock of novelty. To begin with the acropolis hill as seen from the railway, does by no means stand out distinct and clear-cut, a rock fortress rising out of the plain, like the Larisa of Argos, or the acropolis of Athens. Though the citadel is actually precipitous on three sides, the rocky platform on which it stands is but faintly marked against its back-ground of hills and its height is reduced to the eye by a swell in the plain sloping up to it, on which the village of Charvati has been planted. After one's visit it will be possible with little effort to discern exactly where the Cyclopean wall fences the summit and even to gauge the position of the Lion Gate: two great (and alas unsightly) mounds of yellow earth, poured down the hill-side in excavating, aid us in the identification. But to the traveller newly alighted on the platform of Phictia Mycenæ all this is yet to discover.

The red road we are following runs at right angles to the railway line for a couple of stages to Charvati, round which the carriage way circles on up the slope. As we stand in front of the village and throw stones at a barking dog, a hale old man dressed in the fustanella steps down and introduces himself as the "Pheelax" (φύλαξ), or official "guard". We resign ourselves, therefore to his guidance. Forward from this the points of interest all lie close together. A little further on we leave the road, take a footpath through a stone-strewn crop and are in front of the famous "Treasury of Atreus." This extraordinary building rightly described as beehive in form, is constructed within the hollow interior of a rounded hillock in the upward slope. The topmost stone of the dome can only be a few feet from the top of the hill, and yet the chamber has manifestly been scooped out of the hill, for all without is living rock. The entrance is reached through a passage cut in the natural slope of the hill to the height of the great door-way. This passage, or Dromos, as it is technically called, a hundred feet long and twenty wide, is flanked by masonry carefully smoothed and fitted, and is now shut off by a tall iron gate of which the "Pheelax" keeps the key. The appearance of this entrance must have been very different when Leake saw it early in the nineteenth century. He speaks of the flanking walls "now ruined and for the most part buried beneath the earth which they served to support" and notices that for this reason "the length of the passage can no longer be exactly determined."* This is a little inexplicable, as the walls, the finish of which excites the admiration of all who see them, have not, in the least, the appearance of having been restored, and one prefers

to think of them as unaltered since the day when they were fitted in their places by the builder of the subterranean chamber. Leake himself gives them the epithet well-constructed: probably therefore the passage only required clearing. But it is well to remind ourselves from time to time that great part of what we actually see now in viewing the ruins of Greece is the effect of art, and due to the great archaeological revival of our own time. This is still more true of the summit of the rock above us, and, of course, pre-eminently, of the Olympic plain, the acropolis of Athens and the site of Delphi. The Dromos with the lofty, quaintly shaped door-way in which it ends, and the murky spaciousness of the cavernous vault beyond, is strikingly impressive and even surpasses expectation. One may read a dozen times particulars of the height of the door-way, the number of courses of masonry, and the dimensions of the blocks of stone, but these things do not reach to the effect of the first pause before the actual spectacle in terms of stone and darkness. Especially remarkable is that immense stone, so often described and measured, which spans and overlaps the doorway; and the marvel is not only the size and weight of the monolith, but in part also its shape, for it is rounded to the curves of the dome it supports. As Leake says: "In consequence of the form of the building this stone presents within the building a surface curved both horizontally and vertically.†" There are, in fact, two stones forming the lintel of the door, of the same length and thickness, but the inner very much the broader. It is this inner stone which has excited so much wonder. Its dimensions roughly are twenty-eight feet by eighteen, by three feet nine, and the weight is estimated at above a hundred tons.

The triangular aperture over the door sometimes called a 'window,' must almost certainly have held originally a sculptured slab like that above the Lion Gate—possibly the heraldic emblem of the princes of the house of Atreus. The Treasury itself is of considerable size, about fifty feet in diameter and fifty feet high, but the effect it gives is not quite proportionate to the impressiveness of the approach. Within to the right there is a second smaller doorway of a similar shape and structure, leading to a small inner chamber which is square in shape and merely cut in the rock without any artificial casing. In the great chamber there may be counted—with a little perseverance, for the effort strains both neck and eye—some thirty-three courses of masonry from floor to top, all of prepared stone, though the upper courses are less

* Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, II, p. 373-4.

† Leake, *ib.* p. 375.
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carefully finished. Both chambers are now quite empty except for some curious relics of more recent occupation, a large Huntley & Palmer's biscuit tin, a sardine box and some broken glass. Once it is conjectured the whole of the interior, doors and walls and dome, glittered with bronze plates, fastened to the stone by bronze nails. The plates and nails have long ago disappeared but the marks of nails are found on the doorposts and all over the sides and roof, and in some of these, traces of the bronze may still be detected.

A short walk takes us on to the second Treasury, called of Clytæmnestra, similar in construction to the first, but smaller. We find here, however, some stone-work which in beauty of finish surpasses any in the treasury of Atreus. This is along the first half of the Dromos, which is faced with small blocks of sandstone very finely smoothed; the rest of the approach and the walls of the chamber are of the characteristic pudding-stone. The doorway seems relatively loftier and there is a slight descent to the floor of the chamber. The interior is heaped high with débris, for the whole of the dome has in this case fallen in, letting in light on the mode of construction in a quite literal sense. Both treasuries were doubtless originally tombs.

In the treasury of Clytæmnestra a shower overtakes us, beating in through the open roof; for the day, though fine when we reached Argos, has since been clouding up. But here in Argolis the rain is only refreshing, and beneficently lays the dust. We make on and up the ascent to the Lion Gate, doubtless in the track of many a Homeric champion. In a few minutes we are within the circle of the Agora—truly a magic circle for the wonders that have issued from within it. But the rain continues and we cast about for a shelter. On the left hand side just within the Lion Gate is an opening in the great blocks flanking the entry about four feet square, leading to a low-pitched chamber some six or seven feet either way and perhaps five feet high. It is supposed to be the ancient 'guard-room' of the main gate. Into this we crawl: not a very commodious guard-room we judge it, at least, not for a warrior with a crested helmet and a fifteen-foot spear—*δολεχόσκιον ἔγχος*.—but it serves well enough as a dining-room on a wet day, and we lunch very comfortably on the simple bread and fruit we have carried with us from Tripolitza.

We spend a very happy afternoon in ancient Mycenæ, partly within and about the Agora, partly scrambling over the rock above and below. The rain stops before long and the freshened landscape unfolds to the softened gleams of the declining sun. The view back across the plain of Argos and the

gulf is extraordinarily fine; for if the rock-ledge of Mycenæ is dwarfed from below by the loftier heights behind, it is high enough to give a commanding outlook from the citadel, and there is really a deep ravine on two sides. Only at one point is it attached to the great ridge behind by a narrow neck of rock at the North-East angle and it is worth noting that at this angle the artificial defences are specially strong. The entire area of the summit, roughly triangular in shape, is of considerable extent, about three hundred yards by a hundred-and-fifty, approximately equal to that of the Acropolis at Athens. The whole of this is enclosed within massive walls still in places over thirty feet high and sixteen feet thick. When the wall stood in its first integrity the effect must have been formidable indeed. Much of the masonry has suffered impairment, but there are many fine stretches of wall still left, which may be seen to the best advantage by climbing along the rock outside especially on the North and North-East. Quite enough remains to testify to the original strength of the fortress which under the conditions of early warfare was practically impregnable. When in the fifth century B. C. the jealousy of Argos decreed the destruction of Mycenæ, it was by famine that the citadel was reduced and then without surrender, for the garrison escaped. It is difficult not to be disgusted with the baseness of spirit which prompted the attack: it was because, while Argos held aloof from the Greek cause at the time of Xerxes' invasion, Mycenæ sent eighty men who fought along with Leonidas at Thermopylæ. Yet archæology probably owes much to the sordid spite of Argos, which has had the wholly undesigned result of keeping Mycenæ almost unchanged for over two thousand years. As Freeman puts it "In the life of cities nothing preserves like early overthrow, nothing destroys like continuous life,"*

The interest of the relics of Mycenæ is by no means to be exhausted in one short afternoon. A rapid general survey and a few vivid impressions, this is all that is possible. It is not advisable to attempt a set description. The Lion Gate, the Agora, the tombs, the palace on the summit and the stairway that leads to it—these things have been so often described that some freedom of selection may well be allowed—just so much as to convey if possible, some reflex of the actual experience. If a description is wanted, the layman may find all Mycenæ very pleasantly described and discussed in the first chapter of Diehl's compendious "Excursions in Greece;" while for the true mystic the romance of the discovery is unfolded in the pages of Schleimann. Yet to see these things for oneself with one's own eyes is in the highest degree memo-

* Studies of Greece, p. 120.

able and exhilarating. The least sentimental of scholars must feel some thrill as he stands before the great gateway, built after the primitive fashion of the nursery, as by some gigantic child, with three simple blocks, two uprights and a cross-piece; as he looks upon those headless and mishapen beasts that surmount it, stretching up their long bodies to-day, as they stretched them three thousand years and more ago. Holes and grooves which mark the position of bolts and hinges call up the vision of the great plated door that once barred the way to foemen. The flanking tower to the right reminds us that the men against whom these defences were reared bore a shield on their left arm, and that the root principle of the art of fortification in their time was so to construct the approach to the citadel that assailants were compelled to expose their right or unshielded side to the missiles of the defenders. So it is here, so it is at Tiryns, so we shall find it later at Phyle.

The 'Palace of Agamemnon' is a little disappointing. Nothing is left but the meagre outlines of the foundations and these in spite of the ampler space at Mycenæ indicate a royal residence of even meaner proportions than those of the palace at Tiryns. The stair-case is interesting, and still more so is another on the South-East edge of the rock, supposed to have led to a subterranean reservoir.

The Agora, which in its present state is a double circle of upright stone slabs enclosing the excavated tombs, is an archaeological puzzle. The circle is a little less than thirty yards in diameter, the slabs are comparatively thin slabs, and there is a space of three feet between the two rows: the whole has somewhat the appearance of a miniature Stonehenge. The explanation suggested is both ingenious and plausible. It is that the two circles of upright stones were originally joined by transverse slabs, which so formed the top of a kind of double-tiered stone platform round the Agora on which the counsellors of Mycenæ could either stand or sit. There are faint traces of a line about the middle of the inner row of stones where the lower step or seat may be supposed to have projected. In the Iliad the "Agora" is just the circle of warriors called together to be harangued by the chiefs, and the circular form of the permanent Agora may have arisen in this way. In the sixth book of the Odyssey the Agora of the Phæacians is described as 'set with huge stone-blocks deep-bedded,'* and Euripides in his Orestes, the scene of which is, of course, Mycenæ actually speaks of the Agora there as a 'circle.'† All this fits in with the supposition that the Agora

* βυτοῖσιν ἄλκιςσι καταρρυχέσσ' ἀραρυῖα
† ἐλεγείῃς ἔστυ κάτορος χράντων κύκλον

of ancient Mycenæ, was circular, and that the remains of the Agora of Mycenæ are here in these stone circles.

The tombs are deep below the floor of the Agora and lay under the very feet of the elders of Mycenæ when assembled in Council. The large tomb supposed to have contained the body of Agamemnon is the deepest. There are six tombs in all within the area enclosed by the circuit of slabs—Schleimann's five tombs, and a sixth excavated a little later by the Greek Archæological Society. We only realise the significance of these strange trenches cut so deep down in the rock, when we examine the contents of the wonderful cases in the Mycenæ Room of the National Museum at Athens. No more splendid prize has ever rewarded the faith and patience of the excavator.*

Mycenæ should not be visited without some homage paid in thought to the explorer to whose perseverance, liberality and devotion is due the restoration to the light of so much of interest that we see. The story of Henry Schleimann who as a boy dreamt of finding Ilium and after various vicissitudes of fortune became a rich merchant and lived to carry out his dream is itself full of interest. Ilium was Schleimann's first and supreme love, but his work at Mycenæ, if secondary in the story of his life, has been even more fruitful for the service of archæology. Whether the tombs under the Agora are the tombs of Agamemnon and his henchmen is a minor matter,—Schleimann unearthed from within that circuit of slabs on the traditional site of Mycenæ is nothing less than a forgotten civilization, complete in every detail. Of this there can be no doubt, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the civilization, first brought to light at Mycenæ and since supplemented by discoveries in other places is the civilization of Homeric Greece. Schleimann began his work at Mycenæ in 1874; his most remarkable success, the discovery of the tombs, was achieved in November 1876. What the site of Mycenæ owes to Sibleimann is quickly recognized by recalling what visitors found there previous to his work on the site.

* A good idea may be given of the extent and value of this find by merely enumerating the chief things taken from a single tomb (the fourth and largest), filling fifteen cases in the Mycenæ Room: three golden masks; ten cups and a two-handled vase, all of gold; a silver bull's head with golden horns; two signet rings superbly carved, one representing a scene, the other a battle; golden spangles for dresses, bracelets, pins and numerous other gold ornaments; swords and spear-heads beautifully chased; numerous other weapons too time eaten to judge of the work upon them; tripods and brazen vessels both large and small in great numbers. It is the fifth tomb which has been conjectured to be Agamemnon's. This contains a very statey-looking bearded mask, which, if, we may credit Schleimann's hypothesis must represent the very features of Agamemnon himself.

The Lion Gate, the Cyclopean walls and the so-called 'Treasures' were familiar to travellers since the time of Pausanias. Not only the tombs, but the whole Agora, and the palace on the summit were hidden, till Sebleimann's labours revealed them.

If we ask how the tombs are connected with Agamemnon and his tragic end the answer is simple. Pausanias in describing what he found at Mycenae, after mention of the Lion Gate, the walls and the Treasures, enumerates a number of tombs—the tomb of Atreus and the tombs of Agamemnon, and those who perished with him,—four (or, perhaps, five) in all. On the strength of this Schleimann assumed that his five tombs were the very tombs seen by Pausanias, or rather vaults under stelae or tombstones, originally set up above ground in the Agora, which stelae also Schleimann believed himself to have discovered. The weak point of the theory is that there is nothing to indicate whether the tombs shown to Pausanias were on the Acropolis, or like the Treasures which he mentions next before them in the lower city: he does not say one word about the Agora. Schleimann's hypothesis, therefore, though excellent guess-work and fascinating to believe, cannot be regarded as wholly proved.

We turned our backs regretfully on the Lion Gate and the Treasures, and the Cyclopean walls of Mycenae. We even had to hurry over the red soil of the road, now made sticky with the rain, lest the 'express' from Corinth should reach Phistia before us. By 6 o'clock we were back in Argos.

H. R. J.

ART. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PURANAS.

(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

THE name Purana, which implies "old," indicates the object of the compilation to be the preservation of ancient traditions. The description given by Mr. Colebrooke of the contents of a Purana is taken from Sanskrit writers. The Lexicon of Amara Sinha gives as a synonym of Purana, Pancha-lakshanam, that which has five characteristic topics, and there is no difference of opinion among scholars as to what these are. 1.—Primary creation or cosmogony; 2.—Secondary creation or the destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; 3.—Genealogy of gods and patriarchs; 4.—Reigns of the Manus, or periods called Manwantaras; and 5.—History, or such particulars as have been preserved of the princes of the solar and lunar races and of their descendants to modern times.

The different works known by the name of Purana are evidently derived from the same religions as the Ramayana and Mahabharata, or from the mytho-heroic stage of Hindu belief. They present, however, peculiarities which designate their belonging to a later period, and to an important modification in the progress of opinion. They repeat the theoretical cosmogony of the two great poems; they expand and systematise the chronological computations; and they give a more definite and connected representation of the mythological fictions and the historical traditions. But besides these and other particulars, which may be derived from an old, if not from a primitive, era they offer characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description, in the paramount importance which they assign to individual divinities in the variety and purport of the rites and observances addressed to them, and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of those deities, and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them. Siva and Vishnu under one or other of them are almost the sole objects that claim the homage of the Hindus in the Puranas, departing from the domestic and elementary ritual of the Vedas, and exhibiting a sectarian fervour and exclusiveness not traceable in the Ramayana, and only to a qualified extent in the Mahabharata.

No doubt many of the Puranas, as they now are, correspond with the view which Col. Vans Kennedy takes of their purport. "I cannot discover in them," he remarks, "any other object than that of religious instruction." The description of the earth and the planetary system, and the lists of royal races

which occur in them he asserts to be evidently extraneous, and not essential circumstances, as they are entirely omitted in some Puranas, and very concisely illustrated in others; while, on the contrary, in all the Puranas, some or other of the leading principles, rites and observances of the Hindu religion are fully dwelt upon, and illustrated either by suitable legends or by prescribing the ceremonies to be practised, and the prayers and invocations to be employed, in the worship of different deities. Now, however accurate this description may be of the Puranas as they are, it is clear that it does not apply to what they were when they were synonymously described as Pancha-lakshanas, or treatises on five topics, not one of which five is ever specified by text or comment to be religious instruction. In the knowledge of Amar Sinha the lists of princes were not extraneous and unessential, and they are being now so considered by a writer so well acquainted with the contents of the Puranas as Col. Vans Kennedy is a decisive proof that since the days of the lexicographer they have undergone some material alteration, and that we have not at present the same works in all respects that were current under the denomination of Puranas in the century prior to Christianity. Besides, there is internal evidence leading to the same conclusion, for although the Puranas have no dates attached to them, yet circumstances are sometimes mentioned or alluded to, or references to authorities are made, or legends are narrated, or places are particularised, of which the comparative recent date is indisputable. At the same time they may be acquitted of subservience to any but sectarian imposture. They were pious frauds for temporary purposes: they never emanated from any impossible combination of the Brahmans to fabricate for the antiquity of the entire Hindu system, any claims which it cannot fully support.

A very great portion of the contents of many, some portion of the contents of all, is genuine and old. The sectarian interpolation or embellishment is always sufficiently palpable to be set aside, without injury to the more authentic and primitive material and the Puranas, although they belong especially to that stage of the Hindu religion in which faith in some one divinity was the prevailing principle, are also a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief which came next in order to that of the Vedas; which grafted hero-worship upon the simple ritual of the latter; and which had been adopted, and was extensively, perhaps universally established in India at the time of the Greek invasion.

The Pantheism of the Puranas is one of their invariable characteristics, although the particular divinity who is all things, from whom all things proceed, and to whom all

things return, is diversified according to their sectarian bias. They seem to have derived the notion from the Vedas; but in them the one universal being is of a higher order than a personification of attributes or elements, and however imperfectly conceived, or unworthily described, is God. In the Puranas the one only Supreme Being is supposed to be manifest in the person of Siva or Vishnu, either in the way of illusion or sport, and one or other of those divinities is therefore also the cause of all that is, is himself that exists.

The identity of God and nature is not a new notion; it was very general in the speculations of antiquity, but it assumed a new vigour in the early ages of Christianity and was carried to an equal pitch of extravagance by the Platonic Christians as by the Siva and Vaishnava Hindus.

The Puranas are evidently works of different ages, and have been compiled under different circumstances, the precise nature of which we can but imperfectly conjecture from internal evidence, and from what we know of religious opinion in India. It is highly probable that of the present popular forms of the Hindu religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Sankara Acharya, the great Saiva reformer, who flourished in all likelihood in the eighth or ninth century. Of the Vaishnava teachers, Ramanuja dates from the twelfth century. Madhwacharya from the thirteenth and Vallabha from the sixteenth, and the Puranas seem to have accompanied or followed their innovations, being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught.

The invariable form of the Puranas is that of a dialogue in which some person relates its contents in reply to the enquiries of another. This dialogue is interwoven with others, which are repeated as having been held on other occasions between different individuals, in consequence of similar questions being asked. The immediate narrator is commonly, though not constantly, Lomaharshana, the disciple of Vyasa, who is supposed to communicate what is imparted to him by his preceptor as he had heard it from some other sage. Vyasa is a generic title meaning "an arranger or compiler." It is in this age applied to Krishna Dwaipayana, the son of Parasara, who is said to have taught the Vedas and Puranas to various disciples, but who appears to have been the head of a college or school, under whom various learned men gave to the sacred literature of the Hindus the form in which it now presents itself.

The Puranas are eighteen in number, viz.:—1. Brahma; 2. Padma; 3. Vaishnava; 4. Saiva; 5. Bhagavata; 6. Narada; 7. Markanda; 8. Agnaya; 9. Bhavishya; 10. Brahma-Vaivarta; 11. Linga; 12. Varaha; 13. Skanda; 14. Vamana; 15. Kaurma; 16. Matsya; 17. Garuda; 18. Brahmanda. They

are classed under three heads : Satwika or pure, Tamasa or dark and Rajasa or passionate. The Vishnu, Naradiya, Bhagavata, Garuda, Padma, and Varaha Puranas are Satwika from the predominance in them of the Satwa quality or that of goodness and purity. They are Vaishnava Puranas. The Matsya Kaurma, Linga, Siva, Skanda and Agni Puranas are Tamasa from the prevalence of the quality of Tamas, ignorance. They are Saiva Puranas. The third series comprising the Brahmonda, Brahma, Vaivarta, Markandeya, Bhavishya, Vamana and Brahma Puranas are designated as Rajasa from Rajas, the property of passion which they are supposed to represent.

1.—BRAHMA PURANA.

The early chapters of this work give a description of the creation, an account of the Manwantaras, and the history of the solar and lunar dynasties of the time of Krishna, in a summary manner, and in words which are common to it and several other Puranas, a brief description of the universe succeeds; and then come a number of chapters relating to the holiness of Orissa, with its temples and sacred groves dedicated to the Sun, to Siva, and Jagannath, the latter especially. Their main object is to promote the worship of Krishna as Jagannath. To those particulars succeeds a life of Krishna which is word for word the same as that of the Vishnu Purana; and the compilation terminates with a particular detail of the mode in which yoga or contemplative devotion, the object of which is still Vishnu, is to be performed. There is little in this which corresponds with the definition of a Pancha-lakshana Purana; and the mention of the temples of Orissa, the date of the original construction of which is recorded, shows that it could not have been compiled earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. This Purana contains 10,000 stanzas.

2.—PADMA PURANA.

"That which contains an account of the period when the world was a golden lotus (padma), and of all the occurrences at the time, is therefore called the Padma by the wise; it contains 55,000 stanzas." It is divided into five books or Khandas : 1. Srishti Khanda or section on creation; 2. Bhumi Khanda, description of the earth; 3. Swarga Khanda, chapter on heaven; 4. Patala Khanda, chapter on the regions below the earth; and the Uttar Khanda, last or supplementary chapter. There is also current a sixth division, the Kriya Yoga Sar, a treatise on the practice of devotion.

3.—VISHNU PURANA.

"That in which Parasara, beginning with the events of the Varaha Kalpa, expounds all duties, is called the Vaishnava; and the learned know its contents to be 23,000 stanzas." It

most closely conforms to the definition of a Pancha-lakshana Purana or one which treats of five specified topics. The first book of the six into which the work is divided is occupied chiefly with the details of creation primary (Swarga) and secondary (Pratiswarga) : the first explaining how the universe proceeds from Prakriti or eternal crude matter, the second in what manner the forms of things are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how they reappear after their temporary destruction. Swayambhuva, the son of the self-born or uncreated, and his wife Satarupa the hundred-formed or multiform, are themselves allegories; and their female descendants who become the wives of the Rishis are Faith, Devotion, Content, Intelligence, Tradition and the like; whilst among their posterity we have the different phases of the moon and the sacrificial fires. In another creation the chief source of creatures is the patriarch Daksha (ability) whose daughters, virtues or passions or astronomical phenomena, are the mothers of all existing things. The legends of Druva and Prahlada are in all probability ancient, but they are amplified in a strain conformable to Vaishnava purport of this Purana, by doctrines and prayers asserting the identity of Vishnu with the Supreme.

The second book opens with a continuation of the Kings of the first Manwantara; amongst whom Bharat is said to have given a name to India called after him Bharatvarsha. The arrangement of the Vedas and other sacred writings is contained in the beginning of the third book. This arrangement must have been made at some time prior to the accounts of India by Greek writers in which we see enough of the system to justify our inferring that it was then entire. The antiquity or authenticity of the greater portion of the Puranas is evident from the abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era. The remainder of the third book describes the leading institutions of the Hindus, the duties of castes, the obligations of different stages of life, and the celebration of obsequial rites, in a short but primitive strain, and in harmony with the laws of Manu. It is a distinguishing feature of the Vishnu Purana, and it is characteristic of its being the work of an earlier period than most of the Puranas that it enjoins no sectarian or other acts of supererogation: no vratas, occasional self-imposed observances, no holidays, no birthdays of Krishna, no nights declared to Lakshmi, no sacrifices nor modes of worship other than those conformable to the ritual of the Vedas.

The fourth book contains all that the Hindus have of their ancient history, from which we learn that the Hindu dynasties

and their ramifications were spread through an interval of, about twelve centuries anterior to the war of the Mahabharata; conjecturing that event to have happened about fourteen centuries before Christianity, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about 2,600 years before the date.

The circumstances that are told of the first princes have evident relation to the colonisation of India, and the gradual extension of the authority of new races over an uninhabited or uncivilised nation. The fifth book is exclusively occupied with the life of Krishna which differs from the account given in the Mahabharata of his juvenile frolics, of his sports in Vrindaban, his pastimes with the cow-boys, or even his destruction of the Asuras sent to kill him. These stories have all a modern complexion; they do not harmonise with the tone of the ancient legends, which is generally grave, and sometimes majestic, they are the creations of a puerile taste and groveling imagination. The last book contains an account of the dissolution of the world, both in its major and minor cataclysms.

4.—VAYAVIYA PURANA.

"The Purana in which Vayu has declared the laws of duty, in connexion with the Sweta Kalpa, and which comprises the Mahatmya of Rudra, is the Vayaviya Purana. It contains 24,000 verses."

5.—SRI BHAGAVATA.

"That in which ample details of duty are described, and which opens with an extract from the Gayatri, that in which the death of the Asura Vritra is told, and in which the mortals and immortals of the Saraswata Kalpa; with the events that then happened to them in the world, are related; that is celebrated as the Bhagavata and consists of 18,000 verses." The Bhagavata is a work of great celebrity in India, and exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people than perhaps any of the Puranas.

The course of the narration opens with a cosmogony, which although in most respects similar to that of other Puranas is more largely intermixed with allegory and mysticism and derives its tone from the Vedanta than the Sankhya philosophy. The doctrine of the active creation by the Supreme, as one with Vasudeva, is more distinctly asserted, with a more decided enunciation of the effects being resolvable into Maya or illusion. There are also doctrinal peculiarities highly characteristic of this Purana, amongst which is the assertion that it was originally communicated by Brahma to Narada, that all men whatsoever, Hindus of every caste, and

even Mlechchas, outcasts or barbarians, might learn to have faith in Vasudeva.

6.—NARADA PURANA.

"Where Narada has described the duties which were observed in Vrihat Kalpa, that is called Naradiya, having 25,000 verses." It is principally intended to support the doctrine of Bhakti, or faith in Vishnu.

7.—MARKANDA PURANA.

"That Purana in which commencing with the story of the birds that were acquainted with right and wrong, everything is narrated fully by Markandeya, containing 9,000 verses." Among other important matters it contains the long episodic narrative of the actions of the goddess Durga. It is the Chandipatha or Durga Mahatmya in which the victories of the goddess over different evil beings or Asuras, are detailed with considerable power and spirit. It is read daily in the temples of Durga, and furnishes the pomp and circumstance of the great festival of Bengal, the Durga Puja, or public worship of that goddess.

8.—AGNI PURANA.

"That Purana which describes the occurrences of the Isana Kalpa, and was related by Agni to Vasishta for the purpose of instructing in the two-fold knowledge of Brahma, is called the Agniya, consisting of 16,000 stanzas." It contains a description of the Avatars, and in those of Rama and Krishna avowedly follows the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The work winds up with treatises on rhetoric, prosody, and grammar according to the Sutras of Pingala and Panini.

9.—BHAVISHYA PURANA.

"The Purana in which Brahma, having described the greatness of the sun, explained to Manu the existence of the world and the characters of all created things, in the course of the Aghora Kalpa, is called the Bhavishya, the stories being for the most part the events of a future period. It contains 14,500 stanzas."

It explains the ten Sanskaras or initiatory rites; the performance of the Sandhya; the reverence to be shown to a Guru; the duties of the different Asramas and castes; and enjoins a number of Vratas or observances of fasting and the like, appropriate to different lunar days.

10.—BRAHMA-VAIVARTTA PURANA.

"That Purana which is related by Savarni to Narada and contains the account of the greatness of Krishna with the occurrences of the Rathantara Kalpa, where also the story of Brahma Varaha is repeatedly told, is called the Brahma-Vaivartta and contains 18,000 stanzas." It is divided into four khandas or books; the Brahma, Prakriti, Ganesha, and Krishna

Janma Khandas dedicated severally to describe the acts of Brahma, Devi, Ganesa, and Krishna.

11.—LINGA PURANA.

"Where Maheswara, present in the Agni Linga, explained the objects of life, virtue, wealth, pleasure, and final liberation at the end of the Agni Kalpa, that Purana, consisting of 11,000 stanzas, was called the Linga by Brahma himself." It narrates legends, enjoins rites, recites prayers intending to do honor to Siva under various forms. The Linga is two-fold external and internal. The ignorant who need a visible sign, worship Siva through a mark or type which is the proper meaning of the word 'Linga'—of wood or stone; but the wise look upon this outward emblem as nothing and contemplate in their minds the invisible inscrutable type which is Siva himself.

12.—VARAHA PURANA.

"That in which the glory of the great Varaha is predominant, as it was revealed to earth by Vishnu, in connexion with Munis, with the Manava Kalpa, and which contains 24,000 verses, is called the Varaha Purana. Like the Linga Purana, it is a religious manual almost wholly occupied with forms of prayer and rules for devotional observances, addressed to Vishnu, interspersed with legendary illustrations.

13.—SCANDA PURANA.

"The Scanda Purana is that in which the six-faced deity Scanda has related the events of the Satpurusha Kalpa, enlarged with many tales and subservient to the duties taught by Maheswara. It is said to contain 81,100 stanzas."

14.—VAMANA PURANA.

"That in which the four-faced Brahma taught the three objects of existence, as subservient to the account of the greatness of Trivikrama, which treats also of the Siva Kalpa and which consists of 10,000 stanzas, is called the Vamana Purana." It contains principally an account of the dwarf incarnation of Vishnu.

15.—KURMA PURANA.

"That in which Janarddana in the form of a tortoise, in the regions under the earth, explained the objects of life—duty, wealth, pleasure, and liberation—communication with Indra—Dyumna and the Rishis in the proximity of Sukra, which refers to the Laksmi Kalpa and contains 17,000 stanzas, is the Kurma Purana." The name being that of an Avatar of Vishnu might lead us to expect a Vaishnava work, but it is always and correctly classed with the Siva Puranas, the greater portion of it inculcating the worship of Siva and Durga.

16.—MATSYA PURANA.

"That in which, for the sake of promulgating the Vedas, Vishnu in the beginning of a Kalpa related to Manu the story of Narasinha and the events of seven Kalpas is called the Matsya Purana, containing 20,000 stanzas." It is a miscellaneous compilation, but including in its contents the elements of a genuine Purana.

17.—GARUDA PURANA.

"That which Vishnu recited in the Garuda Kalpa, relating chiefly to the birth of Garuda from Vinata, is here called the Garuda Purana, and in it there are 19,000 stanzas." It contains among other things treatises on astrology, palmistry, and precious stones and medicine.

18.—BRAHMANDA PURANA.

"That which had declared in 12,200 verses the magnificence of the egg of Brahma and in which an account of the future Kalpas is contained, is called the Brahmanda Purana and was revealed by Brahma."

The UpaPuranas differ little in extent or subject from some of those to which the title of Purana is ascribed. The Matsya enumerates but four; but the Devi Bhagavata has a more complete list, and specifies eighteen. These authorities are of unquestionable weight, and having in view, no doubt, the pretensions of the Devi Bhagavat to be considered as the authentic Bhagavata.

From the foregoing synopsis of the contents of the eighteen Puranas it appears that they form the backbone of the existing system of Hindu religion. Hindu religion underwent a gradual change until the Vedic system was thoroughly replaced by Pauranik Hinduism. Elaborate religious rites took the place of the Vedic sacrifices and image worship was introduced. As remarked by Mr. R. C. Dutt, "the essential and cardinal doctrines of both forms of Hinduism are identical. They both recognise one Great God—the all pervading breath, the universal soul—Brahma, they both maintain that the universe is an emanation from Him and will resolve into Him, they both recognise rewards and punishments in after-life or lives according to our deeds in this world, and they both insist on the final absorption of our souls in the Great Deity. But while identical in essential principles the two forms of Hinduism differ in minor doctrines and observances. The main difference in doctrine is, that the Vedic religion insists on the worship of the manifestations of nature, called Indra or Surjya, Agni or Varuna, and led up to the worship of the Great Deity. The Pauranik religion, on the other hand, worshipped the Great Deity in his three-fold power of creation, preservation and destruction under the names of Brahma, Vishnu

and Maheswara, and legends of other gods and goddesses were added to fill the popular imagination."

The Puranas are divided into three classes, *viz.*, those sacred to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva respectively. They are very voluminous, containing about 400,000 slokas or couplets of verses. They were principally composed in the Vikramadityan age, *i.e.*, in the two centuries and a half from 500 to 750 A. D., although they may have been largely added to in subsequent times, even after the Mahomedan conquest. While the Puranas narrate the legends of gods and goddesses and inculcate image-worship, another class of works called the Dharma Shastras lay down rules of action for men. The principal compilers of these Shastras were Parasara and Vyasa.

At a later period were composed the Tantras which were calculated to counteract the evil influences of the Sankhya philosophy and the Charvak or Atheistical school. There were now two rival classes of Pundits, namely, those belonging to the Vedic and those belonging to the Tantric schools. Each of them considers his rivals as the exponents of a false or mistaken religion. This antagonism is highly objectionable and based on a misunderstanding of the true spirit of the Hindu scriptures, from the Vedas to the Tantras. There is a substantial agreement in these religious works as to the fundamental principles of Hinduism, although there may be minor differences as to the modes of worship or rites and ceremonies. Neither nature-worship or image-worship is idolatrous, both are intended to offer worship to one Supreme God through the medium either of nature or of image.

As nature-worship is worship of God in Nature, so image-worship is worship of God through an image. The Hindu does not worship the clay or stone image before him, but conceives the attributes of the Deity through the medium of an image which serves only to fix his mind. True religion is *Samipya*, feeling the presence of God, *Sayuyya*, being one with Him, and *Salokya*, living in Him. These are the principal elements of Divine Service and religious conduct universally adopted throughout the civilised world. If the Hindu method of worship is idolatrous, then all systems of religion which prescribe the worship of God in a particular form are also idolatrous, for they all have their ideals, and what are idols if not the external representations of their ideals? "Idol," says Carlyle, "is *eidolon*, a thing seen, a symbol of God. The most rigorous Puritan has his confession of faith and intellectual representation of Divine things and worships thereby. All creeds, liturgies, religious forms, conceptions, that fitly invest religious things, are in this sense *eidola* things seen."

All worship whatsoever must proceed by symbols, by idols; we may say all idolatry is comparative and the worst idolatry is only more idolatrous."

The Hindu welcomes all modes of worship the progressive stages being from image-worship to mental worship, and from mental contemplation of the Deity to union with Him. So long as there are diversities in intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement in a society, there must be divers methods of worship and various conceptions of Divinity. To adopt one uniform system for persons of different culture is practically to do away with worship altogether.

Prayer is the spontaneous outburst of deep emotions towards the Deity. Sincere and fervent devotion constitutes the essence of prayer. So long as one has a firm faith in and profound veneration for God, it is immaterial how he worships or prays to Him.

The Bhagavat Geeta lays down liberal principles of prayer.

যে যথা মাং পূদন্তে তাংস্তেব ভজাম্যহং

"I am equally propitiated by whatever methods men may choose to worship me."

The firm faith in Vishnu has been beautifully illustrated in the portraiture of two characters Druva and Prahlada, fully developed in the Vishnu Purana which I single out as the best type for exhibiting the rational and primary object of the Puranas. It is needless to enter into minute details of the contents of the whole work, and so I have simply given a brief sketch of the salient points with such philosophical exposition as reasonably suggests itself. I now proceed to show from the characters Druva and Prahlada that the former exemplifies unfaltering and invincible faith in God with desires (*Sakambhakti*), the latter that without desires (*Nishkambhakti*). Druva and Uttama were the two sons of Uttanpada, the former by his wife Suniti, the latter by his favorite wife Suruchi. Stung by the reproaches of his step-mother for desiring to sit on his father's lap with his brother, Druva quitted his father's palace consoling his mother with the assurance that he would exert himself to obtain such elevated rank that it should be revered by the whole world. He went to some Rishis and asked of them advice how to attain to such elevated position. The instructions of the Rishis amount to the performance of the *yoga*. External impressions are first to be obviated by particular positions, modes of breathing, etc., the mind must then be fixed on the object of meditation; this is *Dharana*; next comes the meditation or *Dhyana*; and then the *Japa* or inaudible repetition of a Mantra or short prayer.

Alarmed by the child's fixed devotion to *yoga*, the gods conspired to throw various obstacles in his way but failed. Propitiated by his devotion, Vishnu rewarded Druva with the exalted station he prayed for, giving him precedence before the gods.

The life of Druva teaches this golden lesson: God helps those who help themselves. A dogged determination to accomplish what one has set his heart upon, undaunted by difficulties and obstacles, is sure to be crowned with success. Indiscreet favouritism spoils children rather than promotes their true welfare. A sense of security that one has nothing to want for, and a consequent love of ease and luxury, are sure to undermine the vital energies essential to success in life. The Raja blinded by his uxoriousness could not discern nor had the moral courage to acknowledge true manliness in Druva. In fact Druva was the offspring of good conduct (Suniti) and Uttama of nice desires (Sutuchi).

The legend of Prahlada is equally interesting and edifying.

Hiranyakashipu, the king of the Daityas, was an atheist or disbeliever in Vishnu. Enraged with his son Prahlada, who would on no account change his firm faith in Vishnu, the king devised various expedients to kill the child, but signally failed; whom through God's mercy fire would not burn, nor weapons pierce, nor serpents bite; whom the pestilential gale could not blast, nor poison, nor magic spirits, nor incantations destroy; who fell from the loftiest heights unhurt; who foiled the elephants of the spheres to destroy, or the waves of the sea to swallow him up.

These events in the life of Prahlada may be considered impossible or miraculous, but they are quite consistent and reconcilable with the teachings of Christ. "Verily I say unto you if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you."—St. Matthew xvii, 20.

But whether considered possible or impossible, the story is calculated to remove atheism and show the sovereign efficacy of faith. The life of Prahlada is a practical illustration of the characteristic features of a pious and faithful soul as described in the Bhagavat Geeta.

"He is dear to me, who has no hatred for anything, who is friendly and compassionate, who is free from egoism, who has no vanity, who is alike in pleasure and pain, who is forgiving, contented, always devoted, whose self is subdued, purpose is firm, mind and understanding are fixed in me.—xii, 13, 14."

All these virtues are found in Prahlada. Although his father is implacable in enmity towards him, he prays to God

to forgive him; he does not arrogate any credit to himself for his wonderful and miraculous escapes, but attributes them to divine energy; he is constantly devout and firm in purpose as nothing can shake his faith in God. Meditating upon Vishnu as identified with his own spirit Prahlada became as one with him, and finally regarded himself as the divinity; he forgot entirely his own individuality and was conscious of nothing else than his being the inexhaustible eternal, supreme soul; and in consequence of the efficacy of this connection of identity, the imperishable Vishnu whose essence is wisdom, became present in his heart, which was wholly free from sin.

The fourth book of Vishnu Purana is entirely devoted to recounting Krishna's birth and various exploits.

In the Bhagavat Geeta (iv, 8) we find Krishna's motive of his incarnation. "I take birth age after age for the protection of the good and destruction of the wicked and for the establishment of piety (true religion)." In place of this simple declaration we have an elaborate allegorical account in the Vishnu Purana to the same effect. Earth oppressed by Kansa and other demons repaired to Mount Meru to an assembly of gods to find redress. Taking up her cause the gods headed by Brahma approached Vishnu and solicited his aid. We find such epithets used in Brahma's *stotra* or hymn addressed to Vishnu as make him identified with God. "Thou art one supreme; thou art the supreme and eternal state which the wise behold with the eye of knowledge. There is nothing else but thou, O Lord, nothing else has been or will be." When Brahma had ended, Vishnu plucked off two hairs, one white and one black, and said to the gods, "these my hairs shall descend upon earth, and shall relieve her of the burden of her distress. This my black hair shall be impersonated in the eighth conception of the wife of Vasudeva, Devaki who is like a goddess and shall slay Kansa, who is the demon Kalanemi."

After Krishna's birth he was conveyed by Vasudeva to Mathura and exchanged with the new-born daughter of Yasoda. Kansa attempts to destroy the latter who becomes Yoganidra. Nanda returns with the infants Krishna and Balarama to Gokula. Some time after they were settled there, the female fiend Putana, the child killer, came thither by night and finding the little Krishna asleep took him up and gave him her breast to suck. Now whatever child is suckled in the night by Putana dies. But Krishna laying hold of the breast with both hands sucked it with such violence, that he drained it of life and so the fiend died. After this the child Krishna is found to overturn a waggon and cast down two trees. Then he combats the serpent Kaliya and compels him to depart with family from the Yamuna river to the ocean.

Krishna dissuades the Gopas from the worship of Indra, who offended by the loss of his offerings, causes heavy rain to deluge Gokula. Krishna holds up the mountain Goverdhana to shelter the cowherds and their cattle. The further exploits of Krishna are his killing the demon Arishta in the form of a bull and Kesin in the form of a horse, making Kubja straight and slaying Kansa, Naraka and Paundraka. Krishna himself is shot by a hunter and again becomes one with the universal spirit.

These adventures of Krishna look like miracles similar to those recorded to have been wrought by Christ. If tradition and history can be relied upon in establishing the truth of the Biblical miracles, there are similar good grounds for believing in the authenticity of the Pauranik miracles. If Christ is an Incarnation of the Deity, Krishna is also such an Incarnation. What is extraordinary or miraculous to a human being with limited powers is ordinary and possible to an Omnipotent Being. Divine attribute or force by super-adding to itself human faculties does not become divested of its superhuman potency. And if incarnation means the highest development of human perfection, that is to say, when such perfection makes a near approach to the Divine essence, there is no reason to believe that the super-human power is affected or deteriorates itself in the transformation. God does not cease to be as such by becoming a Man-God, nor does man remain only as such by being a God-Man. In the one case there is retention, in the other, there is acquisition of superhuman power.

But the task of affording a rationable explanation of Krishna's intimate connection with Radha and the Gopis is yet more difficult. Spiritual truths are not easy of comprehension to men of ordinary intellect. The policy of our Shastric writers in the Pauranik times was to give those truths an anthropomorphic character so as to attract ordinary minds and to leave to really cultured people, by process of rational dissection, to get at the isoteric reality. The whole of the Puranas bristles with stories and fable containing valuable truths in allegorical forms. It should be our prime business not to treat such fables as cock-and-bull stories and grandmother's tales, but to try to understand their true import or spiritual significance.

Now let us see what is the isoteric meaning of Krishna, Radha and Gopi. Krishna denotes the great power which tills up our psychic soil. It comes from the same Sanskrit root from which *karsana* (cultivation) comes. Radha is the abbreviation of *aradha* (prayerfulness). She wants communion and companionship with the Lord of her heart. She is the initial

Prakriti, the spiritual force of Krishna and the mistress of cosmos. In its gross sense Radha is *Prakriti* (desire) personified. When allied to Krishna or *nibritti* (saps attributes) she becomes *nibritti* herself.

The conception of Radha is something akin to the Holy Ghost. According to Gopal Tapani Gopi signifies a natural force which sustains and preserves the cosmos. It comes from the Sanskrit root *gup* which means to sustain or preserve. Krishna is described as Gopi-Jana-ballabha, or the beloved of the Gopis or sustaining forces. We read in the Puranas that Krishna was the lord of 16,000 Gopis or master of innumerable natural forces. His favourite Gopis were Gopali, Lalita, Dhanya, &c., which names are all significant. The word *gop* is equal to *go* and *pa*. *Go* means Vedic mantras and *pa* is to support. The word *Ali* means a companion. Thus *Gopali*, which is equal to Gop and Ali therefore implies companionship in the preservation of Vedism. Lalita implies the power or force of preservation. Dhanya is one who feels herself blessed in the contemplation of divine love. Krishna is appropriately equipped with a *sankha* (conch-shell) a *chakra* (disc), *gada* (club) and *padma* (lotus). By the medium of the first he proclaims the true dharma (duty) to man. The disc represents the mystery of divine government, while the *gada* (club), the judge's rod of punishment for the wicked, and the lotus, the reward for the good. The esoteric significance of the Rasalila is nothing more than the bringing about of a spiritual unification or *Moksha* with the Supreme Lover through the medium of *Prema* or love.

The real Harinama is done not with the aid of wooden beads, but with the beads of respiration, i.e., by Pranayama or regulation of the vital breath. Here the Vaishnava formula follows the lines of Patanjala. The effect of the practice is the development of our occult powers, the total annihilation of our selfishness and evolution of God-seeing powers in our innerself. It was the development of this power which enabled the Vedantist to publish to the Aryan world the doctrine of *समं* or I and He are the same, and Jesus to declare that He and His Father were one.

And now I conclude this paper with the following exhortation. When the sacred Vedas will revivify our spiritual life, when the sublime doctrines of the Upanishads will dispel the mists of superstition and ignorance, when the liberal teachings of the Geeta will purify the soul and enlighten the intellect, when the practical lessons of the Puranas and the Tantras will teach us the best methods of preserving our social status as Hindus and improving our morals by duly performing

the hourly, daily, and periodical duties of Divine worship, benevolence and paternal reverence,—then only shall we succeed in preserving the purity and strengthening the bonds of our society.

K. C. KANJILAL, B.L.

ART. VII.—THE ASSAM TEA GARDEN LABOUR QUESTION.

LABOUR questions are to-day all over the world among the very first questions of the hour. In many countries in one form or another they are in an acute stage, in some they are perpetually cropping up, and in nearly all there are some industries, for the furtherance of which the obtaining of labour from foreign sources seems a necessity if the industry is to exist and thrive, or there is some jealousy which would exclude the foreign labour which would pour into them if it might.

In India the Labour Question of the day is that concerning the Assam tea garden supply. Assam, though within the Indian Empire, is really a foreign country in respect of those districts from which it obtains the large majority of its labourers. With the one exceptional circumstance of being ultimately under the rule of the Government of India, Assam is as completely a foreign country to Chota Nagpur, the Central Provinces, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and other parts of India, as Russia is foreign to Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England and other European countries. Assam is indeed as regards climate, race, language, and geographical position, more foreign to the Province, or Division, of Chota Nagpur, from which the great majority and very flower of its labourers come, than many European countries are one from another.

It is necessary to bear the climatic, racial, linguistic, and geographical differences of the labour districts of Assam, and of the recruiting districts in mind, if we would realize the difficulty which confronts the tea planter before he can obtain his full supply of labour under the present circumstances of the industry.

The difficulty of getting the necessary supply of labour is however, not merely due to the above facts, it is also due to the fact that the industry has not grown in a natural way, but has been forced on by the expenditure of large sums of money, because tea gardens have paid capitalists so well in the past. It is in many respects a mushroom, or hot-house growth, and as such, it has called loudly for the intervention of Government to give it the necessary supply of labour, and Government has listened to, and obeyed its call.

From various circumstances there is very little local labour recruited for the gardens. In 1901 there were only 10,281 adult labourers from Assam out of a total adult labour force

of 404,150 men and women. One reason for this is undoubtedly the smallness of the pay offered to the labourer. If he wishes to work he can apparently command better pay outside, and only where this is not to be obtained will he apparently become a labourer on a tea garden. Doubtless also local people have the best chance of knowing whether the tea garden labourers have the ideal existence which it is said they have, and which has been described in such glowing terms in the *Times* by its Special Correspondent. If his description be a correct one there would be no Assam Tea Labour Question at all. It would be solved in every respect, both regarding the supply of local and of foreign labour, and the Labour Act would be so much waste paper. Let me give the description of the labourer as it appeared to the *Times*' Special Correspondent, and as it is vouched for in the *Times*, and with its great authority given forth to the world. Here is his testimony:—"The labourer has been withdrawn from the fierce battle of the millions, amid the storm and stress of varying seasons, into the constant shadow of prosperity and peace. Henceforth he has nothing to fear. He is protected from famine, from fraud, from violence, from usury, from all manner of external ills. For him and for his like alone, among the poor of India, the problem of life is solved."

Were the above description a correct one the labourers of a large province like Assam would, one may well think, even though indisposed to hard work, find on the tea gardens the very ideal sphere suited to them. This does not seem, however, to be the case, nor are the districts near to Assam apparently any more inclined to send recruits there than the Province itself is to supply them. Are we to infer from this that there are absolutely no poor, and no labourers in Assam or thereabouts; or that the above description is not, speaking generally, true to facts? The *Times* sent out its special correspondent last year, and he, in a series of articles published in the *Times*, ably represented some aspects of the Assam Labour Question; and so well did he handle the subject from the Agents, Planters, and Capitalists' point of view, that it was decided last October by the Indian Tea Association that his articles, and the correspondence between him and Sir Henry Cotton on the subject were so useful that they ought to be printed and issued in book form for the benefit of the members of the Association. We are informed that at the general meeting of the Indian Tea Association "It was generally agreed that the *Times*' correspondent had handled the question in a thorough manner, and that a reprint of the articles and letters in reply thereto from the late Chief Commissioner of Assam would be extremely useful for ready reference. It was accordingly decided to re-

print the correspondence for the use of members of the Association." Had the *Times*' Special Correspondent's comprehensive treatment of the question not been backed up as "through" by the Tea Association, and this moreover at its general meeting, his articles might have merely called forth the reply that the longer people live in India, and the more they have studied its various questions, so much the more assured do they become that comprehensive views are quite out of court. When, however, the *Times*' Special Correspondent has been backed up, as to his presentment of this question being a thorough one by such a large and influential body as the Tea Association, it shews plainly enough that however and wherever he got his information he expresses in an extremely useful way the views of the Planters, Agents, and Capitalists, many of whom have been in India all their working lives. Moreover, when such an Association determines to reprint his articles and the correspondence in the *Times* which followed upon them between himself and Sir Henry Cotton and "issue them in book form" because they would be "extremely useful for ready reference" for the "members of the Association," we have a further seal set to his presentment, not by neophytes, but by shrewd business men, who have given their lives to this industry, and who know exactly what expresses their mind in the matter. But in thus backing up the *Times*' presentment these shrewd business men will find that they have taken a good deal upon their own shoulders both regarding the character of the recruit, the recruiter, the contractor, the planter, the Government, and the bliss on the gardens. However, notwithstanding the great authority of their *imprimatur* it is really only of value so far as it goes. It only represents the Capitalist and business side of the question of Assam Labour and how to get it. I do not think it will—certainly it should not—influence a single person in a responsible position, who is anxious to obtain an unprejudiced view of the matter, except in the direction of helping to convince him that this very action of the Tea Association goes to prove that such a presentment needs balancing by something further—something which would express equally 'thoroughly' and 'usefully' the voice of the labourers, if they could voice themselves, or if they could get their view voiced by some one else. Naturally the *Times*' Special Correspondent was not, nor could be expected to be, in a position to do this.

The difficulty of dealing with aborigines in questions which have, or are supposed to have, two sides is due to the fact that they cannot voice themselves. This is the difficulty not merely in the Assam Labour Question, but in everything else, whether it has reference to their land and its assessment and laws; their education and its language, their jungles and boundaries, or

any other matter. In fact, apart from individual testimony on any matter, nothing can be gained from consulting them. I speak with some experience when I say that in any matter affecting them it is necessary to know them and their ways, to gain information from individuals, to form one's own conclusions, and then present those conclusions to them. A few of the more intelligent among them will then be able to express an opinion, but it is only in the actual experience of life that the many will really be able properly to express their approval, or disapproval of either a land law, or a labour law. That this is characteristic of them is seen over and over again in our Church panchayats, diocesan conferences, and other dealings with them. The more intelligent confess that it is only when a sore appears and pains that there is any cry about it, or search occasionally for a remedy, and here both the sore and the cry is an individual, and not a collective one. Under the circumstances of Assam Labour the cry in a foreign land is expressed by desertion. Under unjust land assessments the cry will be expressed by emigration, or migration. A labourer is recruited and told by his recruiter one or two truths and many lies. He goes to Assam and finds that he has been deceived, and if he suffer, and it be possible he will then desert from the garden. The reason may be insufficient pay, extra hard labour, harsh treatment, sickness, death of relatives, or excessive death-rate, epidemics, injustice, or one or more of these and of other causes. Being honest themselves in the main they are keenly alive to unjust or dishonest treatment. There are, however, so many reasons which make desertion either risky or impossible, that the recorded number of desertions is only a partial guide as to the amount of discontent on the gardens. Even so its numbers are terribly high. Certainly high enough to at once, and entirely disprove the view of the *Times*, its Special Correspondent, the members of the Indian Tea Association; and to prove that those expressions of approval which the *Times*' Special Correspondent says he has received from "distinguished official and non-official authorities on both branches of the subject discussed" can hardly have been given by men who have taken thought of the desertions, death-rate, drunkenness, and immorality on the gardens. Let us take some facts to disprove the description of the perfect bliss on the gardens:—

- (1) From 1894 to 1901, 141,063 men and women deserted, risking fines, or imprisonment, or both, with an added length of garden labour tacked on to the prison labour, wherever desertion was punished by imprisonment. The labourer is handed over to the planter at the jail door on

- completing his time, and it is hardly likely that his lot will be a more happy one henceforth on the garden, even if he, or she, escape the beating which is often administered.
- (2) From 1894-1899 out of the above total 40,366 women deserted, risking the same unhappy lot.
- (3) Only after repeated fines, and of imprisonments amounting to six months in jail, can a labourer, man or woman, get a labour contract cancelled.
- (4) Redemption of contract, when of any value, is not possible for one in ten thousand labourers, owing to the enormous sum demanded by law.
- (5) In the above eight years 4,192 warrants were issued, 4,644 men and women were arrested, and 4,123 convicted.
- (6) In 1900 out of 323 convicted 294 were imprisoned. In 1901 out of 270 convicted 247 were imprisoned. Without referring to all those cases where runaways are brought back and not reported or to these cases—how numerous who can say?—where but for risk of beatings, harder work, fines, imprisonments, or from love of family, labourers do not desert.

The above facts are quite sufficient to prove that there must be an immense amount of discontent or misery on the tea gardens. Whoever may back up the *Times*' description, let him be official, or non-official, distinguished or otherwise, planter or agent, contractor or local agent, Tea Association or any other, he is backing up a statement which cannot be pronounced even remotely true to the facts.

In the face of the facts I have given, the *Times* tells the world, "The labourer has been withdrawn from the fierce battle of the millions, amid the storm and stress of varying seasons, into the constant shadow of prosperity and peace. Henceforth he has nothing to fear. He is protected from famine, from fraud, from violence, from usury, from all manner of external ills. For him and for his like alone, among the poor of India, the problem of life is solved."

God made the world for man to live and find a high perfection in, but the Capitalist and the would-be Capitalist say—No! the world and all things, on it and in it, and all persons on the face of it exist to make money by, and hence the storm and stress cease not. When Capital and Labour become brethren, then, and not till then, will the storm and stress cease.

A. LOGSDAIL,
S. P. S. Missionary,
Chaibasa, Chota Nagpur.

ART. VIII.—THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

Report of the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlement of Port Blair for 1901-1902. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.

INDIA, whatever outsiders may think, is essentially the place of hard work—at least such has been my experience concerning *Clerical* work. I believe it to be a fact, and I say it whether it is considered egotistical, or not, that most of the Clergy in India do the work of two, perhaps three clergy at home. Four services single-handed, on a Sunday with three Sermons, and the Thermometer at 95° in the shade, is not a bad day's work—

Clerical work in India. not to speak of the various office and Secretariat work which falls to the lot of most of the Clergy in this city of palaces.

This, however, is but a preamble to lead up to the fact of three months' privilege leave which fell to my lot after nearly two years' continuous work in India—and that without a single Sunday off duty. Three months' privilege leave—and the hottest part of the year coming on—where should we spend it?

Choice of an Indian Holiday. Here in India there is not much choice to be had; many things have to be considered which find no place in the rest-seeker's thoughts at home. The scorching heat and troublesome mosquitoes make us look out for colder climes, while the long distances make the whole question a financial one difficult to solve. Then again in this special case there were special difficulties; alone, distance and finance would not have created such obstacles as they did now; others had to be thought of and needed a change—perhaps even more than the 'Padre sahib'; and so it was a matter of grave consideration to what length we should go, both in miles and in rupees. Darjeeling with its eternal snows, and wooded walks—its bracing climate and cheerful companionship,—had left pleasant memories in all our minds; but Darjeeling is not a place where one can live, as orchids do, on air. Where should we go for our holidays? If a hard problem to solve in dear old England—a much harder one in this Eastern Land.

At last a happy solution was found in a standing invitation of an officer in the Andamans to visit his island home. In a very short time our minds were made up, and we resolved to seek our rest on those Islands in the Bay of Bengal, which, not a hundred years ago, were almost an unknown land, and to many still are *terra incognita*. Besides, such a trip had the

name of being fashionable—who does not like to be in the fashion?—for is not to go 'the round' (*i.e.*, the trip to the Andaman, on to Rangoon, and then back again,) the same, in Calcutta parlance, as to do the Highlands, or the Channel Islands is in the home vocabulary?

But there were difficulties in the way; the Andaman Islands are the abode of all those native ladies and gentlemen who for some mistake or other are kept for years at Government expense; in other words these islands are a convict settlement; this fact had a curious effect upon our servants. English nurse, ayah and bearer all refused to go—the *Kala Pani*, and above all "the thieves," (Madrassi English) were obstacles which could not easily be overcome by our native servants. The offer of higher wages was unavailing, and it was only the day before, and when we were almost in despair, that we succeeded in persuading an ayah to go with us, John, our Madrassi butler was faithful and true, an English education had something to do with it, and thus it happened that our party was at last complete.

The good steamship which was to convey us to the Islands of Good Fortune (*Ἀγαθὸν δαίμονος*)—so Ptolemy calls them lay at anchor in our own Parish, and is justly claimed by us as a Parishioner. As the mail boat generally leaves at day-break, in our ignorance we embarked the evening before, caution all in vain as the good ship did not leave her moorings until nearly eight o'clock the following morning, and all the return we had for our anxiety, was a very miserable night, in a hot cabin, pestered by attendant and most attentive mosquitoes.

The morning light, however, brought a change, and as soon as we had taken on board some one hundred and eighty convicts, we steamed slowly down the Sacred River. It was a curious sight, and filled us with curious feelings, the arrival of our fellow passengers the convicts. The ominous rattle of their chains—they all wore both leg and arm chains—as they descended one by one to the hold was not a pleasant sound to hear. All fears, however, were quieted by the presence on board of a strong guard of Sikh police fully armed. Twice daily, during the voyage, the prisoners came up on the lower deck to breathe the balmy breeze and to perform their ablutions, an almost religious duty, in spite of present adverse circumstances both in position and surroundings: during that time of relaxation the police with fixed bayonets, mounted guard on the poop deck, much to the amusement of a *Baba* passenger, who also mounted guard with his miniature gun and bayonet, a pigmy beside the stalwart Punjabi.

Nothing of much moment occurred on our short voyage of

four days, if we except two facts which are worth mentioning; the geniality and kindness of the Commander, and the absurd pleas urged by various passengers, when asked to attend the Service held in the saloon on Sunday morning. One gets accustomed to any excuse given to avoid attending a religious Service at sea. I am inclined to think that the meagre attendance so often seen on these occasions, arises from laziness, rather than from wilful opposition to religion.

The Andaman Islands were sighted early on Monday morning, but very indistinctly, it was not until two o'clock in the afternoon that they could be made out with any definiteness; one hour later we cast anchor in the magnificent harbour of Port Blair—in the Island of Ross—the head-quarters of the settlement. The arrival of the Mail boat is always a great event, especially as the bringer of news from the outside world, and letters from 'Home.' No sooner had we cast anchor on this hot March afternoon, than we were boarded by most of the official inhabitants of the island. It is evidently a custom at Port Blair, for all who can, to go on board, both on arrival and departure, and to drink *bon voyage*,—(shall it be said?) in a "whiskey peg" in the Captain's cabin.

A learned Judge who did 'the round' a short time ago has put into vigorous verse the story of his trip; he expresses in the following lines our experience at this point.

'Soon as the anchor thunders to its bed,
'A swift boat glances from the jetty head;
'Twelve sturdy rowers of Punjabi race
'Bend to the oar and urge the speed apace.
'No prisoners they; since May, good and great,
'Fell less by convict than fanatic hate,
'These towering Sikhs, broad chested, iron hard
'Ply the Chief's oars, and form his body guard.'

It was the Chief Commissioner's boat, with kind thought sent to bring us ashore, and in it our brother and sister to welcome us to their sea-girt and hospitable home. In a few minutes we were on the jetty steps, and in a few minutes more, by the aid of friendly *Jampans* were safely housed in a pretty Bungalow in white and black, built on piles, after the Burmese fashion, as indeed all Andamanese houses are.

Now that we have reached our destination, it may be well for us to look around, and describe more in detail this great Penal Settlement of India.

The Andaman Islands, then, are situated in the Bay of Bengal some eight hundred miles from Calcutta. The Group is made up of the Great and Little Andaman; the former consisting of three large islands known as North, Middle and South Andaman. To the south are the Nicobar Islands,

and midway between them and Great Andaman, the Little Andaman. It is on the South Andaman that the harbour Port Blair is situated, containing the small islands of Ross, Chatham and Viper. On the first of these, lives the Chief Commissioner, and all the principal officials together with the European and native troops. The European barracks on Ross are very picturesque, and from the sea, when steaming up the harbour, were likened, by some of the passengers to Windsor Castle. The Church also is on Ross, and is a very neat and well appointed building. Although omitted in the poem just quoted, as one of the attractions of Port Blair, it is

The Church in the Andamans.

nevertheless an attraction to those who remember that there is a God, and that all nature acknowledges Him, if man sometimes does not. At any rate it was a pleasure to us, to see rising above the palm trees and foliage the sacred sign, the Holy Cross which told of Christ acknowledged and Christ worshipped.

While on this point, we may state that the interior of the Church is just as pleasing as its exterior. A helpful Lent and happy Easter made the religious remembrances of Port Blair bright ones. On Easter Day, Andamanese orchids in all their varied and tropical beauty, adorned the little Church, and the Services were most bright and hearty, thanks to the willing soldier-Choir. The gathering at the Altar told how the Christian Faith is suited to all nations and races. Even the aborigines were not left out, for one Andamanese girl made her Easter Communion among her Saxon and Aryan fellow worshippers. There is another Church belonging to the Church of England in Port Blair,—this is intended for the Indian Christians. People are now beginning to understand that the Indian Church is one, and that the spirit of caste, which reserves one building for Westerns, and another for Easterns, must be exorcised. In this particular case, however, an exception should be made, as most of those who attend this little Church are convicts, and as such, are under punishment for their crimes. We also visited the little Roman Catholic Church, but found it very tawdry in its arrangements. Candles planted in glass bottles, and old jam tins, are not suitable ornaments for a Christian altar. It may be that it is the best the poor can give, and so is accepted by God. Another comforting thought is that in the eyes of the unlearned such things do not appear common, or out of place. I was glad to find the Church open for private prayer, and more glad still to find an English soldier saying his prayers therein.

Viper, a barren and dreary island, five miles from Ross, may be mentioned because it contains the only Jail in the Settlement.

'We saw the little Jail on Viper's shore
'In those who, once admonished, erred once more;
'It seemed to need the few who were not free
'To emphasize the general liberty.'

Some weeks after our arrival we paid a visit to Viper, comfortably seated in the stern of the Padre's boat. Every Wednesday morning a steam tug leaves Ross at 7 A.M. for Viper, taking in tow any officers' boats bound for that island. We were much interested in the weaving, and in the production of a most artistic and neat kind of basket.

Nature has been very lavish in her favours on the Andamans. At the first approach one cannot help being struck with the luxuriant foliage, even to the water's edge. The magnificent forests in the centre of the larger islands, form a good background to the brighter green, chiefly palms and cocoanuts which border the blue waters. The water is famous for its extreme clearness, and the sight, as one gazes over the boat's edge, into the depths of the submarine world, reveal sights strange to Western eyes, a veritable fairy land. Corals with their many delicate tints of blue, pink, and buff; sponges in varied and grotesque shapes; and strangely shaped fish with bands of gold and blue, make up a picture seldom seen out of the fertile imagination of Jules Verne. Very vivid is the following description:—

'O favoured isles of Heaven! O lovely scene!
'Whose wooded heights slope down to seas as green,
'Save where the wave, dashed on some reef below,
'Lights the long base with clouds of wreathed snow
'Here, Mercy tempering Justice, for a time
'Britannia gathers India's sons of crime.
'Not theirs to pine in dungeons or in chains
'Chilled in the cold, or mouldering in the rains;
'Here must they toil, but free, or all but free
'Their only pri-on-wall the girdling sea!
'Toil, but in hope; for wisdom bids them learn
'The sweets of honest effort, and to earn
'The stipend of their labour, until time
'Fill the full tale of years that expiate their crime,
'Aye, all may hope! for even he whose knife
'Has dealt a death blow to another's life,
'He whose own life were forfeit, knows that he
'When twenty years have rolled, shall yet be free;
'Seek the dear village where a boy he played,
'The little temple and the banyan-shade,
'Rejoin his children grown to man's estate
'And early friends still mourning for his fate;
'Pluck the rich harvest of the mangoe groves
'And breathe his last among the scene he loves.'

A very good bird's eye view of the islands may be had from the top of Mount Harriet, the Sanatorium of Port Blair, 1,200 feet above the sea level.

The Chief Commissioner kindly placed his bungalow, on the summit of Mount Harriet at our disposal, and we spent a very cool and quiet month there, while our less fortunate friends on Ross were melting in the heat below.

I shall never forget an ascent when we first came into residence. We landed at Hope Town, on the very spot where Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, was assassinated by an Afredi convict sixteen years before. The distance from Hope Town to Mount Harriet is about two and a half miles up a very steep winding road, through magnificent forest and jungle—a deep ravine on either side. Birds of various sizes, and brilliant plumage, peacocks, and parrots crossed our path as we toiled up the steep ascent. Our procession looked quite patriarchal as it ascended the winding pathway. There were three *Jampans* with their eight bearers each, filled by the ladies and children; at various intervals in the rear came our numerous servants with the household goods, followed by the two Sabibs; the whole procession brought up by the two Ayahs, and quite in the rear by "Ruth," an Andamanese girl, one of the very few who have been successfully civilized. More of Ruth later on, sufficient to say now that our visible faculties were brought into play, as we looked back, and saw the little fat Andamanese girl with her dark face and dumpy figure, clothed in unnatural English garments, crowned with a curiously shaped straw hat and feathers, and with our puppy "Viper" in her arms, panting and puffing in the ascent of her native hills.

But it is time that we say something about those for whose benefit the Andaman Islands are garrisoned and kept up. There is no doubt that the comparative freedom which the convicts enjoy at Port Blair, reconciles a great many to their expatriation. I have heard the story of a Hindoo prisoner, who, on being sentenced to six years' imprisonment, implored the judge to make it one year more, so that he might be sent to the Andamans—no shorter sentence being deemed sufficient to turn an ordinary prisoner into an Andamanese one. Indeed, so light is the confinement of prisoners in the Settlement, that it is only for the first two or three months after their arrival and before their character is known, that they retain their irons; at the end of that time, their irons are knocked off, and they are sent to work in gangs. After ten years the convicts, provided they bear good characters, are released and allowed to cultivate their own land, rented from the Government—such are called Self-supporters: they are also allowed to marry after the same lapse of time if they can find any one to marry them.

And now for a few statistics: there are 12,177 convicts in
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the whole Settlement, and of these 743 are women. To keep this large number of outcast India in order there are 148 English troops, 316 Native Infantry and 627 Sikh and Punjabi police—a proportion of 11 convicts to one. Of the convicts 10,198 are life convicts; 2,579 term convicts; 3,260 are Mahomedans; 7,354 Hindoos; 2,022 Buddhists; 97 professing other religions, and 44 Christians. Of the Christians it may be interesting to know that 41 are natives, and three are Eurasians. The total number of Self-supporters—those who in various ways are able to keep themselves—amount to 2,116, and of these 340 are women. The average cost of each prisoner during the past year (1901-02) was Rs. 87-14-6. Of the 11,974 prisoners at present undergoing transportation, 8,010 were for murder, and 2,538 for dacoity, the next highest numbers are those under the headings of theft, house-breaking, and causing grievous hurt. Fifty-one prisoners (including two women) have been guilty of “abduction of females and house-breaking,” eight of “waging war against the constituted authority of Native States,” and seventeen of “using counterfeit coin.” No less than 712 of the 743 women prisoners have been guilty of murder,—a most tremendous proportion. In consequence of the small number of free men in the Settlement the convicts are employed on all kinds of service. Most of the crimes for which the prisoners are transported are those of murder, and therefore one experiences strange sensations at the thought of a crew of murderers rowing one's boat, a murderer cooking one's dinner, a murderer washing one's clothes, and a murderer waiting on one at table. Familiarity, however, accustoms one to almost everything, so that the strange sensation soon wears off, and one no longer feels that creepy sort of feeling which is natural at first; indeed one or two of our boat's crew grew to be very fond of the children, and were as far from one's idea of the typical murderer as can well be imagined. I believe the advice given is, to choose a murderer for a servant, in preference to a man who has been convicted of crimes, such as habitual theft, and forgery which imply a special training, the reason being that most murderers belong to the agricultural class and generally commit their crime in a moment of passionate dispute about some piece of land. There is a vast difference between the hardened and trained criminal, and the one who commits his crime in a moment of passion, without any premeditation. We certainly found this to be the case in the instance of the *manji* of our boat, a man who had served eighteen years or more for an offence such as I have specified and who certainly was a most bright, willing, and kind-hearted man.

It might be mentioned here, while speaking of the Self-supporters, that there are Tapioca, and Tea gardens, Coffee, Cacao and Ceara-rubber plantations on the island; there are also (roughly speaking) about 116,000 cocoanut trees in the Settlement, these are not natural to the islands, but have all been planted since they became the Penal Settlement of India. These cocoanut palms grow on the water's edge and make a most effective, and tropical fringe to most of the islands. The manufactures, carried on for the most part in Viper Jail and South Point (the Women's Section)—include cotton clothing, blankets and blanket coats, rattan chairs and tables, salt, (by solar evaporation), bricks and lime.

It has been said that most of the convicts are all but free—this is perfectly true—there is, however, a “but” in the way, and that represents the Sikhs and the sea. The records of attempted escapes from the islands are very few indeed, and owing to those two most formidable barriers, final escape is almost impossible. If a convict does reach the mainland, that is, one of the larger islands, he is almost certain to fall by the bows and arrows of the Andamanese. The “Junglees” have a great hatred of the convicts, and are glad to have a chance of shooting one. There is a report that a price is set upon the heads of runaway convicts, at any rate I was told that a great commotion was caused at one of the annual Athletic Sports, by the arrival of a number of Andamanese with the heads of escaped convicts in their hands, savage trophies of a successful raid.

During the year 38 convicts escaped, of whom 22 were recaptured within the year and 12 after its close, leaving four still at large. The total escapes are 17·3 per cent. below those of the previous year. Fifty per cent. of the runaways were prisoners from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the next largest number being convicts from the Punjab.

There were five organized attempts to escape during the year, *viz.* :—

- (1) On the 12th December 1901, four convicts, all Hindustanis, escaped from Aberdeen at 7-30 P.M. Two of them were recaptured on the 29th idem, and the remaining two on the 4th February 1902.
- (2) On the 3rd February 1902, five convicts, four Burmans and one Hindustani, made good their escape from Bamboo Flat. One returned and gave himself up a few days afterwards, and three of the remaining four were recaptured on the 10th April 1902, after the close of the year under report.

Before their recapture they made two attacks on Self-supporters' camps in the jungles, and plundered all they could secure in the form of provisions. The Hindustani man is still at large.

- (3) On the 28th January 1902, three men of the United Provinces escaped from Haddo and are still at large. All attempts to secure them have proved fruitless up to the present.
- (4) On the 30th January 1902, three convicts from the United Provinces escaped from Shore Point, all of whom were recaptured on the 13th February 1902.
- (5) On the 21st March 1902, three men, one Punjabi, one Sindi, and one Balochi, effected their escape from Goplakabang and are still at large. All endeavours to capture them, up to the present, have failed.

We now turn from the hunting of escaped convicts to a much more peaceful subject—the convict women of the Andaman Islands.

The Women's Section, as it is called, is one of the most interesting portions of this Penal Settlement. Just opposite Ross Island, at Aberdeen on what is called the mainland the convict women are housed—here they remain for the first five years of their convict life—at the expiration of that time they are eligible for marriage; if unsuccessful in finding a suitor, they spend the rest of their imprisonment in the same place. It was one evening in the rains that we first visited the Women's Quarters; we were rowed across the narrow strait which divides Ross from Aberdeen by ten convicts. The Senior Medical Officer kindly had undertaken the post of *cicerone*, and so we had the attendance of a Sikh as guard. All the Settlement officers go about with a Sikh in attendance, and since the assassination of Lord Mayo, the Chief Commissioner has a Sikh boat crew. The Women's Section is shut in on one side by the sea, and on the other by high palings. The gates, too, are most strictly guarded by female Jemadars. Unless accompanied by some one in authority there is no chance of entrance, at least for a male visitor. Some years ago two subalterns were anxious to inspect the place, and so appeared at the various gates seeking admittance. The Jemadars were profuse in their salaams, but absolutely refused to allow the youthful warriors to place one foot within the prohibited ground.

After passing the entrance gates we made our way uphill to the shed in which the women were seated on the floor winding thread on very primitive wooden wheels, while in the same

room others were walking up and down long lines of thread doing something which no doubt was very simple, but which I could not understand and which seemed very mysterious. In another room we found women sitting at old-fashioned wooden hand looms weaving the thread into the coarse material which forms their clothing. A board hung at the head of every worker, and from it we learned that each convict had to do six yards of stuff as a day's work. This is now all being altered, for during the past year the first step in a plan for improving the weaving in the female Jail was taken, by the introduction of a pedal loom of the sort known as the "Domestic Loom" to replace the hand looms at present in use. This will economise much labour, and improve the material turned out greatly. The experimental loom after a little adaptation to local requirements has been completely successful, and more such looms will be introduced in consequence, during the present year. The convict women took to the new plan readily and it was found that they could work it easily, while the quality of the material is much higher than that hitherto made. It is hoped in a short time that all the old hand looms will be superseded as one woman at the new loom does the work of four at the old ones. In addition to this loom a new Piru winder, bobbin winder and warp beaming machine were introduced to improve the quality of the thread used in the clothing factory. They were all successful and will economise labour.

In every room there are one or two Jemadars (or overseers) of course women, they wear a red *saree* as a mark of authority and receive for payment their food and clothes, with two rupees per month. We were all very much struck with the youthful appearance of most of the prisoners, and on questioning one or two as to their antecedents—one good looking girl had murdered her husband—found that nearly all were murderers—or murderesses. I said just now that the convict women spend the first five years of

their convict life in this abode, at the end of that time they are eligible for marriage. It may naturally be asked, who would marry a murderer and how are the preliminaries arranged? The answer is, that in the Andamans there is not much choice; a murderer must fain marry a murderess, and the courtship of such is very brief, and to the point. All convict men after ten years' imprisonment are allowed, if they like to become Self-supporters, *i.e.*, they are permitted by Government to rent and farm so many acres of land, on the produce of which they support themselves—if a convict prefers it, he is given a piece of jungle land uncleared, which he clears for himself.

A man doing this is allowed provisions, I believe, for six months, during the time he is clearing his land. The advantage of this latter way is, that the little money he has laid by, will come in very usefully as capital, to be spent on his newly-acquired acres.

When a man thus situated is passed by the authorities as able to support a wife, he is allowed to marry. The *modus operandi* is as follows; a gentleman convict is allowed to visit a lady convict at the Women's Section; perhaps the ladies are all put in a row for his inspection, he selects one whom he thinks will suit him, and is then allowed to take her aside, and in due course after one or two visits, according to the state of the lady's heart, to ask the all important question which is necessary on such occasions. During the past year, 56 applications for marriage were received; of these, 4 free and 24 convicts were sanctioned and the balance 28 were refused, for the following reasons:—Indian husband declining to divorce, 14; bad local conduct of the applicants, 3; difference in caste, 3; other reasons, 8.

Those who insist on the transmission of hereditary virtues and vices, would have plenty of scope for observations here, in the children resulting from such marriages. I am inclined, however, to think that the children of such parents would not be children wicked above other children. As I have already said, most of the murderers in the Settlement committed their crimes in a fit of passion, it may be in a quarrel over a piece of land, and I do not think that such a culprit, when he comes to himself, is half as dangerous and unpleasant as the man who has been guilty of a continuous course of crime and cunning.

There were a fair number of children in the Women's Section, and their presence is accounted for by fact that all women sent to the Settlement take their very young children with them, and also that the wives of Self-supporters often find themselves back again in the Women's Section with their children, on account either of their own, or their husband's misbehaviour. The children we saw were very bright and intelligent, one or two were paraded for an inspection in their acquirements. It was very amusing to hear these little half-naked urchins exhibiting their knowledge of Arithmetic, shouting out, *ek, do, tin*, and when the by-standers cried *jaldi jaldi*, getting positively frantic in their efforts to beat one another. One handsome light coloured boy was very persistent in his attentions, and when we asked if he would go with us, he was most ready to do so, his mother freely giving her consent. The little fellow gladly salaamed to his mother and trotted after us to the landing stage, where he very reluctantly bade us farewell.

And now we bid farewell to the convicts and their life and turn to a more interesting and novel subject—the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. I do not hesitate to say that they are a most interesting people to study, both because of their ignorance of the outside world,—we may say that they are in the stone age,—and because of their bright and happy disposition. Before their comparatively recent acquaintance with us, they had not the faintest knowledge of the existence of even the neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire earth area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants. The few voyagers, who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their (*ĕrema*) world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which the natives of India are to this day called, *viz.*, (*chān gala*) departed spirits.

The origin of the Andamanese race has until very lately been involved in obscurity; the knowledge we now possess has enabled us to speak with some certainty on the matter, at least, so says Mr. E. H. Man who was the Assistant Superintendent of the Islands, and whose book on the *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* is a standard work on the subject.* He says that the following facts have been arrived at:—

- (1.) That they are Negritos.
- (2.) That they are the original inhabitants, whose occupancy dates from prehistoric times.
- (3.) That all the tribes, as at present known to us, undoubtedly belong to the same race, and are of unmixed origin.
- (4.) That in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilization has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the original population.

When I say that the Andamanese are black, I wrong the word, they are as black as night; one authority describes them "as extremely black, more so than the African negro, and some have a dull leaden hue like that of a black-leaded stove"—indeed, this last is a most apt description. In stature they are very small, the greatest height of a man, quite a giant, being

* The manners and customs of the Andamanese, as described in this paper, are all derived from Mr. Man's most exhaustive and interesting book,—to him our thanks are due. My own few observations on the subject would, however, lead me to suppose that the manners and customs therein described refer rather to an ideal past, than to the prosaic present.

5ft. 4½—the lowest height 4ft. 5¼—the women are shorter than the men. They have very good figures, well made, the men having a peculiar bend in the back. Their hair is curly, of the usual negro type. It may interest some to hear that the ladies shave their heads, a proceeding which does not improve their personal appearance. As among more civilized peoples, so among the Andamanese, fashions in hair dressing come and go. I said the women shaved their heads, the men do not; the style most affected by the men is a circular patch of hair about 6 or 8in. in diameter, like a skull cap on the top of the head, others reverse the proceeding and appear with a clerical tonsure.

The first visit I paid to the aborigines, was one Wednesday morning in company with my brother. We were towed about four miles up the harbour by the steam tug, and then cast off, to make our own way to the opposite shore. It should be understood that we did not visit the Andamanese in the jungles, but at the Government Home at Haddo. The Government provide one or two Homes in which the Andamanese can live at Government expense, and where food and tobacco are supplied *ad libitum*,—a sure and certain way to destroy the independence of any race. I am glad to say the great majority of the Islanders prefer to live in their native jungles, and to depend upon their own exertions to get their daily food. The Home we visited contained fifty inmates, and when I speak of a “Home,” it must be remembered, it consists of three or four sheds, in which the aborigines cook, sleep and dance. As we landed at the small pier, we found that most of the “junglees” were departing in their tree canoes for the day’s fishing or hunting. I believe a “jungle” means an inhabitant of the jungle, and I was surprised to find that the Andamanese do not look upon it as a nickname, but speak of themselves as “junglees.” The learned judge whose poem has already been quoted, says of the Andamanese:—

“We saw some natives, half reclaimed and rude,
“Adorned with shells but desperately nude.”

This is true, for the Islanders wear absolutely no clothing at all—and that without any sense of shame. Belts, wristlets, garters, necklaces of bones and shells do duty for the clothing of civilized nations. I had almost forgotten one sign of civilization present. Each naked, and in most cases, painted savage, both men and women, had a short clay pipe in their mouths, which he or she puffed vigorously, making a most ludicrous and absurd picture.

On our way to the Home from the pier, we met one or two ladies;—I should say the woman *do* wear a small apron of

leaves, called an *Ō-bungada*,—and with an article of attire, which showed at once that fashion is not confined to London or Calcutta. It was a species of girdle called a *Bō-dā*, with an appendage behind (I quote Mr. Man) like a bustle. All I can say is, the way it swayed to and fro as the women walked presented a most laughable back view. We brought some of these articles of primitive dress away with us to testify to the universality of fashion in dress, all the world over.

As we arrived at the Home we met a very intelligent looking Andamanese, who saluted us with a “good morning,” indeed, most of the inhabitants of the Home seem to know this salutation. We found out that our friend had been one of a party of four men and two women, who were sent to Calcutta in 1883, for the purpose of being modelled for the International Exhibition. They were quartered for a few weeks in the Zoological Gardens, where they attracted crowds of sight-seeing Baboos. He was a very pleasing and good natured specimen, and readily entered into the spirit of a joke. I was anxious to possess specimens of the bows and arrows used by the Andamanese, and so we despatched him to one of the wooden houses for a bow and arrow; he was not long in returning and brought with him a Jemadar, who presented us with a printed notice as to the price of the articles we wished to buy (to my mind exorbitantly high). It was rather a shock to our feelings, in such an out-of-the-way place as the Andaman Islands, and surrounded by naked and painted savages, to be presented with an orthodox price list. This, and one or two other things, brought before us the fact that these aborigines were being *civilized*. For three Rupees we secured a bow and arrow, having, first of all, persuaded our Andamanese friend to try it; this he did, aiming at a tree twenty yards distant—he missed it—evidently the Andamanese are not good shots.

We found out afterwards that they have no chance of becoming so at long distances, the only game is the wild pig, and the jungle is so dense, that close quarters must be the order of the day. We had no means, at that time, of getting specimens of the necklaces of human bones and skulls belonging to deceased ancestors, which the Andamanese delight to wear “in memoriam.”

The bows used in the North and Little Andaman are quite distinct from those used in the South and Middle Andaman. The latter *Kā-rama* is a bow of a flattened S-shaped form, for hunting in the interior; the usual length of these bows, for the sake of convenience, is about four feet. Somewhat larger bows are used in the open jungle, along the coast, or when shooting fish; the bow string is made of bark fibre.

Of arrows there are three or four kinds; there is the common blunt wood-headed arrow, used for practising, and the fish-arrow, which is pointed with iron. The most curious, however, is the *xi-ai* or pig-arrow, some three and a half feet in length. It is of two parts, joined to each other by a thong of fibre; the top part consisting of a triangular piece of iron with barbs, fastened to the end of a small stick, about four inches long. This fits into a socket provided for it in the lower half of the arrow, the fibre thong being twisted round the shaft to keep both parts in position. In using the arrow, when a pig is stuck, the top part slips out of the socket directly any struggle, on the part of the unfortunate animal, is made; the lower half of the arrow soon becoming entangled in the brushwood, the poor victim of Andamanese skill is soon at the mercy of its captors.

The human bone necklaces (a specimen of which was a parting gift from the lay Missionary) are worn as charms during illness, by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may often be seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease, through the intervention of the disembodied spirit, who is supposed to be gratified by, and aware of, the respect thus paid to his memory.

After leaving our intelligent friend we entered one of the wooden houses and found in one corner two women elaborately painting with *og*, common white clay, two of the sterner sex, who were lying at their ease, with their heads on the women's knees. The women, as we have said, always shave their heads, and with the most elaborate designs in white traced on their dark bodies, looked positively hideous. White is a sign of mourning. The Andamanese when he is washed (and as a writer on the subject says, the more he washes, the blacker he becomes) is not a bad object to look at; although small in stature, he is well made and proportioned. On our entrance we were saluted with cries of *pice, pice*, and when we told the *fair* occupant that we had given *pice* to the intelligent "jungle" outside, she promptly told us we were not speaking the truth.

I must confess that the general feeling on quitting the Home was one of pity and sadness—pity and sadness that nothing was being done to raise these poor natives into a higher state, religiously. Efforts have been made, but with little success, not that the Andamanese themselves are unimpressionable, but that the obstacles in the way are peculiar and persistent.

Before I proceed to describe some of the habits and customs of the Andamanese I should like to say something about the inhabitants of Little Andaman.

The inhabitants of this Island positively refuse to have anything to do with the outside world, and prevent any landing on their soil, by showers of arrows. Many attempts have been made to make them less hostile, but to no purpose. I recount here a visit made to the Island in the cause of peace, by the then Chief Commissioner. It certainly reads like a page out of the adventures of Captain Cook.

"Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than our relations with the inhabitants of this island, and they have never been otherwise. Situated not far off the course taken by ships trading with Burma, certain death would await the crew of any ship wrecked on the coast, or any boat's crew who in ignorance of danger, landed there.

In 1867 a boat's crew from the ship "Assam Valley" were murdered on the south coast. A small expedition was sent to punish the savages, and it resulted in a Lieutenant being drowned, and two men on our side being wounded; several of the islanders were reported to have been killed and wounded, but this is doubtful.

In 1873, five out of seven of the boat's crew of a Burmese craft, who landed on the east coast for water, were murdered. General (the late Sir Donald) Stewart at once sent down a punitive expedition under Captain Wimberley. That officer burnt six of their large huts, and several of the islanders who attacked him were killed, while on our side two men were wounded. Shortly before this, General Stewart had visited the west coast of the island, with the view of showing that our intentions towards the people were friendly. After landing presents at several places, one of his parties were attacked, and in the skirmish which ensued, one of the aborigines was wounded. He died while being taken off to the ship.

In 1880 I visited the island several times and all my friendly overtures were rejected. One evening they placed an ambuscade at the mouth of a creek up which I had rowed, and on our return they saluted us with showers of arrows.

On another occasion, not far from the same spot, while we were throwing coconuts ashore to the natives on the beach, one of my boat's crew was severely wounded with an arrow. On another occasion at Hut Bay on the east coast, they nearly cut off a boat's crew which had landed with Mr. Portman. Many arrows were fired by the savages, and on our side only two shots were fired from a fowling-piece, for the purpose of frightening them.

In 1882 and again in 1883 the island was visited by the station steamer, and the islanders accepted the presents which were left for them on the beach.

In April 1884 I visited several places in the island and rowed up two of the creeks without coming to hostilities with the natives. Presents were left in many places. The natives had no hesitation in taking them on our boat withdrawing fifty yards or so, but their bows and arrows were always handy. At one time I proceeded on shore in one of the ship's cutters, followed by the Jolly boat. After depositing yarns, coconuts, and red cloth in a canoe which we found, near the entrance, we rowed about three miles up the creek, and then landing, visited a large hut about a quarter of a mile from the boats. We encountered no natives there, but on rowing down the creek, we found the sandspits on either side of the mouth covered with painted savages, armed with bows and arrows. The tide was out and a passage of only thirty or forty yards was left for the boats to pass through. It would have been easy to clear the spits with a

few rifle shots, but wishing to avoid bloodshed, I resolved to wait in the broad part of the creek where we had stopped rowing, until the tide rose. Apparently mistaking our actions for surrender, four natives put off in one canoe, and two in another, and coming along side our boats they disdainfully refused the presents we offered, and by very peremptory gestures and shouts ordered us ashore. The canoe with the four men, was made fast to the Jolly boat, and they commenced cutting away the lanyards and fenders, and by gestures ordered the rifles and the compass box to be given up. On being shoved off, one of the savages took up his bows, and in the twinkling of an eye, sent an arrow through the helmet of Mr. Jackson, Apothecary, inflicting a slight scalp-wound. On this, our men began to fire, and all the savages fell into the water. I stopped the firing as quickly as possible. One of the savages taking the canoe painter of his canoe in his mouth tried to swim ashore with it. Two of the Port Blair Andamanese, by my order, jumped into the water and captured him, a fine young man, and unwounded. I was glad to see the remaining five savages emerge from the water into the mangrove jungle, all apparently unwounded except one, who had been hit in the calf by an arrow. The tide rose, the spits became covered with water, the natives retired, and we rowed out to the ship without further molestation, having broken up the two canoes which had attacked us, as a mark of our displeasure. The captive, to our great regret, died at Port Blair of pneumonia in the following month."

There is one thing about these Islanders of the little Andaman, that as a result of their isolation and refusal to allow strangers to land on their island, as far as is known, there is no disease among them, and they are not rapidly dying out, as their brethren of the Great and Middle Andaman are doing. Such being the case, I say, long may they be free and simple in their ignorance of those vices which have always proved destructive to aboriginal races.

In the description already given, some idea, doubtless, has been conveyed to the mind of my readers, of the Andamans and the Andamanese. I proceed now to speak more in detail of a few of the habits and customs of these most interesting little people.

First of all, they are not cannibals, and as far as we can learn, never have been,—there is a belief abroad that they are, but this is a mistake, and should be definitely contradicted.

Another incorrect statement is, that the Andamanese live in holes dug in the sand, that they build no kind of huts. This is also untrue, and both these statements are urged, as proofs, that the Andamanese are not much above the lower animals. When we come to enquire into the matter, we find that there are three kinds of huts, met with in the permanent and temporary encampments, throughout the territory of the eight great Andaman Tribes.

The first, the most lasting, and erected by the men, is found in the majority of the permanent encampments. The second kind are put up when temporary homes are required. They

last only for a few months, such as during the period of mourning. They are made by the men, and differ from the former in being smaller and less neatly thatched. The third variety are only meant to serve as a shelter during a halt or short stay. They are built in a much more simple way than either of the former, and are the work of the women. The majority of these huts are of a shanty character, the only respect in which they differ, being in size and durability. They are found standing alone or, as is more especially the case in more permanent encampments, so joined together as to form quite a large habitation, in the eyes of the Andamanese, a roomy and stately dwelling place.

A very interesting chapter might be written on the customs and habits of the Andamanese. Here is the full ritual observed at a Death and Burial. It is true I have not been present at such a ceremony, but

Habits and customs of the Andamanese.
Burial Rites.

Mr. Man the historian of the Andamanese has, and it is from his work on the subject that I have obtained my facts on this and on other points in my paper, which a short residence in the island, such a mine was could never have personally brought home to me. I think we shall say, when our description is ended, that these people sadly need a Funeral Reform Association in their midst.

When a child dies, the parents and friends weep beside the body for hours; they afterwards attire themselves in mourning garments by smearing their bodies with a compound of *og*, olive coloured clay and water, and by shaving their heads, and placing on their foreheads a lump of clay called *del-a*, (the women usually place it on the top of their heads) where it remains in a hardened state, a most uncomfortable ornament, until the days of mourning are ended. During the time between the death and the burial the Andamanese mother paints her child with clay, shaving the head, and folding the little limbs, so as to take up the smallest possible space; the body is then wrapped in large leaves fastened with strips of cane. While the mother is doing her part, the father digs a grave with his adze, in the place where his hut is generally burns.

And now comes an action which surely tells us that these poor untutored Andamanese are the same flesh and blood as ourselves and possess just the same feelings of love and affection. When all the final preparations are made the little head is once more uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face two or three times in token of farewell. This done, the burial takes place, the body being put into the earth in a sitting position. On the trees which surround the

hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, long fringe-like wreaths of jungle cane are placed,—the object of this is, to tell any approaching stranger that a death has lately taken place.

As the spirit of the dead is thought to frequent for a short time its earthly dwelling place, the hut fire is re-lit, and the mother places beside the grave a shell containing some of her own milk, in order that it should not want nourishment. The whole encampment then depart to some other camping ground, generally two or three miles away, taking such things as will be needed during the time of mourning. As a rule, this lasts about three months; at the end of this time, they all return to the old encampment, and destroy the *dra*, as the long fringe-like wreaths are called. The parents occupy themselves in digging up the remains, the father taking them to the sea-shore or to the nearest creek, there to be cleansed and purified, he then returns with the bones and skull, the former of which he breaks up into small pieces, suitable for necklaces. The mother, after painting the skull with red-ochre *koi-ob*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain called *rāb*.

The next few days are spent by the mother in manufacturing the bone necklaces, intending them for distribution among friends, as mourning mementoes. I should have said, however, that before this distribution takes place, the mourners remove from their heads, the uncomfortable piece of clay placed there on the day of the death; the wife also paints a most elaborate design in red-ochre on her husband, and also adorns herself in a like manner.

All things, then, having been duly done, according to the standard of Andamanese burial etiquette, the friends arrive to pay their final visits of condolence. During this visit the father sings some old song of his, on which all express their grief and sympathy, by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is sung by the women, while the parents indulge in a dance, which goes by the name of *lā-lā-labyga* (the shedding of tears), they then retire to their hut, the mourning friends outside keeping up the song and dance for some hours to come. It should be observed, that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding, or other joyful occasion, except in the long faces of the performers. The customs and rites at the burial of a grown-up person are similar to those just described, the friends blowing a farewell on the dead face, a nautilus shell filled with water, and some article which belonged to the dead Andamanese being placed by his side.

None but children are buried within the encampment, all others being carried to some distant or secluded spot in the jungle, and there buried. Two reasons are given for the practice they have, of placing the body with the face towards the rising sun; one being that it may sooner return to the dust from which it was made, the other that *jer eg*, or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, lies towards the east. Although in the majority of cases the outward show of grief is thoroughly real, there is no doubt that they hope by testifying their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the dead, and to be by them preserved from many evils, which might otherwise befall them.

We now turn from grave to gay, from the elaborate rites at an Andamanese death, to the more festive scene of an Andamanese dance.

Let us try and picture the scene, one which to civilized minds seems most weird and dramatic. Let us transport ourselves, then, in imagination to a small clearing in the midst, or on the border of a dense jungle; there we see gathered together a hundred or even more, painted savages of both sexes; the moon sheds its light on all, while from each hut, the lurid glare of a wood fire throws its fitful shadows across the scattered groups; on one side, seated in a row, are the women who are to join in the refrain, on the other in dark relief within their several huts, are seen the audience, many of whom assist in marking time, by clapping their hands. In a conspicuous place, stands the composer and conductor, with one foot on the pointed end of a sounding board, and supporting himself on a spear, he gives the time to the singers and dancers, by kicking the board with the sole and heel of the other foot. (These sounding boards, *pū-kuta-jem-nga*, are scooped out of very hard wood, always of some shield-like shape, and are frequently as much as five feet long and two feet wide.) In this wearying work of marking time, the conductor is relieved by one of his male friends, and occasionally by a woman. During the solo, which is really a recitative, all other voices are hushed, and the listeners remain motionless; but as soon as the signal is given for the refrain, a number of men suddenly emerge from the gloom surrounding the encampment, and rushing excitedly into the arena perform their part with frantic energy, generally adding their voices to those of the women to swell the savage orchestra.

Some of the social habits and customs of these people are peculiar. Contrary to the custom of most races, no salutations pass between friends even after a long separation;

Social customs.

such as rubbing noses, kissing, and shaking hands. Kisses are considered as a sign of affection, but are only bestowed on children. In meeting, an Andamanese will remain silently gazing at his friend, for an absurdly long time, the younger then makes some commonplace remark, which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence to talk of the latest scandals in Andamanese society. Relations after an absence of a few weeks or months, testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks, weeping and howling in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; indeed there is no difference between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions, and those of grief at the death of one of their numbers. The crying chorus at these times is started by the women, but the men quickly join in howling in concert, until from sheer weariness they are obliged to stop; when neither of the parties are in mourning, an impromptu dance is got up, in which the women, not unfrequently take part.

The Andamanese are known for their hospitality, and strangers introduced by mutual friends, are always warmly welcomed by the whole community. Of course by "strangers" we mean, Andamanese from other tribes, or other islands; they, as guests, are the first waited on, the best food is given them, and in every way they are well treated. 'Speed the parting guest' is the rule in all cases,—the host accompanies his guest to the landing place,—or at least some distance on the way. The guest bids farewell to his host in the poetical way usual among these islanders, by blowing upon his hand.

Concerning any bad habits the Andamanese have, it must be confessed with sorrow, that intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners, has unhappily opened their eyes to the existence of some vices of which they formerly had no knowledge; this is chiefly the case with regard to drunkenness: until they made our acquaintance, they were altogether ignorant of intoxicating liquors, and had no idea of their effect. To express a drunkard, they have manufactured a word signifying a 'staggerer.' Owing, however, to their extreme liking for all such drinks, much care has to be exercised, in order to prevent them from indulging this easily acquired taste.

Our advent, too, has brought to their knowledge the existence of tobacco, and it has been one of the evil results of our occupation of the islands. So rapidly has this habit of smoking progressed (both among men and women) that when at a distance from the Homes, and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been known to fill their short clay pipes with *pān* leaves, rather

than go without. "I have used the word 'evil,'" says Mr. Man, "advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in tobacco, has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief, have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work, without the accompaniment of the 'fragrant weed.'"

"The chief events of the year," says Sir Richard Temple, in this Report, "were the expeditions into the Jarawa country undertaken in consequence of murderous raids into the settlement by the tribe, which resulted, unfortunately, in the death of Mr. P. Vaux, 7th Assistant Superintendent. They were nevertheless most successful, as they effectively taught the tribe that we could go anywhere into their territory if we chose, and that raiding would not be any longer allowed to go unpunished. They showed further that the attacks of the Jarawas were not due to chance collisions in the jungle, but were the outcome of deliberate attempts to steal iron for their spears, arrows, and adzes. They much improved our knowledge of the interior, of the Jarawa haunts, and of the economic contents of the forests.

Every possible effort was made to prove to the captives taken who were kept only for a brief period, that we had no animosity towards individuals. This attitude towards them, coupled with the evidence shown them of our power and capacity to reach them, will, it is hoped, put a stop to that annual raiding, which has cost us lives in nearly every year since the Settlement was formed.

It is of interest to note that the Jarawas are on the whole a larger, stronger, and more intelligent people than the coast tribes so long known to us, with distinct implements of their own. Where their language differs will have to be worked out hereafter, mutual unintelligibility being no indication of difference of origin in the Andamanese dialects.

An account of the expeditions is given in the body of this Report, but I would like to add here that one has to know the Andamanese jungle, its darkness and denseness, the ever-present danger in threading it from a coal-black enemy, noiseless of trade and armed with noiseless arrows, and the insect pests that inhabit it, to fully appreciate the skill and courage and endurance shown by the party composing the expeditions. One has also to know the narrow, tortuous, straits through the islands, their uneven depth and the strength of the tides through them, to quite understand what is involved in navigating them at night. Hence I would like to record here my sense of the good service performed by

the late Mr. Vaux, Mr. C. G. Rogers, Mr. M. Bonig, the Police, the native servants, and the Andamanese trackers that comprised the expeditions."

We give here, in detail, as one of the most interesting features of this Report, the account of the expedition against the Jarawas, who have hitherto remained, practically unknown.

The marauding parties of Jarawas, that almost every cold season make raids on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement, this season, in November 1901 and January 1902, raided the Forest Department gangs working at Jatang, about 25 miles north of Port Blair, killing and wounding convicts at their work. A party was organised in consequence to try and discover their haunts in the jungles and to put a stop to further raiding, but on a somewhat larger scale than usual, as the two last raids appeared to be more purposeful than hitherto.

The officials detailed for the duty were Mr. Percy Vaux, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, with Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, and Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests. Men from the Andaman Military Police Force and picked Andamanese trackers accompanied them.

Mr. Vaux proceeded up the west coast of the South Andaman on 25th January 1902, and was successful in the very difficult operation of discovering the camps and paths of the Jarawas in the hills above Bilap Bay, about eight miles north of Port Campbell. He then, on the advice of the Andamanese with him, proceeded northwards to Port Anson and thence to Pochang, in the South Andaman, at the southern extremity of that harbour. Here, with much skill and difficulty, he discovered the main Jarawa track running southwards from the harbour, and also the chief place of residence of the Jarawas during the rains. Having accomplished this, Mr. Vaux returned to Port Blair and brought with him a much fuller report upon this practically unknown tribe than had hitherto been made. Mr. Rogers, meanwhile, was endeavouring to work his way direct from Jatang on the east across the South Andaman to Ike Bay on the west coast, right athwart the country believed to be occupied by the Jarawas.

Mr. Vaux was then directed to join with Mr. Rogers and make further investigations at Pochang, and after ascertaining that the main Jarawa path led southwards beyond Pochang indefinitely, the party returned to Port Blair. This expedition accomplished part of the objects aimed at, in that it showed where the Jarawas started from on their raids, and proved that the object of their unprovoked murderous attacks on parties from settlement working in the jungles was to procure iron and iron implements, and not to procure water and food as hitherto supposed.

On 17th February 1902 the party was reorganised thus: Mr. Vaux with Mr. Bonig, twelve Police and Andamanese; Mr. Rogers accompanying them. The general object was to discover the southern termination of the main Jarawa path and to drive the Jarawa marauders northwards along it and away from the neighbourhood of the Settlement. The party started as before along the West Coast, and on the advice of the Andamanese searched the jungles about Island Bay some ten miles north and north-east, respectively, of the outlying villages of Templeganj and Anikhet. This was a task of much difficulty, and in the course of the search, in three parties under Messrs. Vaux, Rogers and Bonig, Mr. Vaux came in the evening upon a hunting camp of the Jarawas. Judging from its position and distance from the chief home of the tribe at Pochang, he inferred that the party's real object was a raid on the Settlement villages. He successfully rushed the camp by moonlight and discovered, among other things, a large new Forest Department adze which had been taken from a convict wounded in the Jarawa attack on Jatang in November 1901. This confirmed him in his suspicions as to the reason of the hunting party's presence so close to the Settlement. None of Mr. Vaux's party was hurt in this attack, the Jarawas being too startled to shoot.

In their flight the Jarawas left in the camp a baby and a small girl. This circumstance, and also the advice of the Andamanese as to further proceedings determined Mr. Vaux to proceed to Port Anson, to the Andamanese Home there, where the children could be taken care of. Adopting generally the advice of the Andamanese, Mr. Vaux then proceeded again to Pochang and followed the main Jarawa track southwards steadily, which proved, beyond Pochang, to be an exceedingly difficult affair. The party proceeded about fifteen miles' march beyond Pochang in a south-east direction to Wibtang, a point about six miles west of Port Meadows and some eighteen miles from Jatang: thus showing that the chief Jarawa haunt is the jungle between the mouth of Shoal Bay and Port Anson. At Wibtang an occupied hunting camp was found to block the way further, and Mr. Vaux judged it necessary to rush this camp at night as he had the previous one. For this purpose he selected one Police Constable and sixteen Andamanese, and there were besides these, himself, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig and three servants: altogether twenty-three men.

The camp was rushed about 10 P.M. on the night of the 24th February after the moon had risen. Mr. Vaux went in first, followed by Messrs. Rogers and Bonig, the Andamanese coming up immediately behind. There was no real resistance; but as Mr. Vaux was stooping down in a hut grappling with

two Jarawas, his foot disturbed the smouldering embers of a fire, which blazed up, exposing him to the view of a man in another hut, who shot two arrows at him and decamped. These were the only two arrows shot in the affair, but one of them a barbed iron-headed arrow, entered Mr. Vaux on the left side between the ninth and tenth ribs with great force, killing him almost immediately. Next morning, as soon as it was possible to see, Mr. Rogers carried back the body with many difficulties through the jungles to Pochang and Port Anson, reaching that Harbour in the evening, whence the body was conveyed in the steam launch *Belle* through Middle Strait to Port Blair, arriving about midnight on the 25th February. Two women and six children were found in the camp after the attack, who accompanied Mr. Rogers' party to Port Anson and onwards quite cheerfully, and it has been ascertained that the children found in the first camp rushed are closely related to one of these women. European iron implements were found in the camp also. These facts prove that the men in both camps were the parties which actually attacked the Forest Department convicts at Jatang in November. A number of implements of offence were found in both camps and have been removed. In fact, these particular bodies of marauders have been deprived of means of offence for some time to come.

Mr. Rogers deserves the greatest credit for his rapid march back through the jungles, during which one of his party was slightly wounded by a couple of Jarawas, who, however, decamped on being fired on. So, also does Mr. Bonig, for his skilful management of the steam launch *Belle* through so narrow a passage as Middle Strait at night. The conduct of the Police on the return march was exemplary.

The object then of the operations which Mr. Vaux with the assistance of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig conducted with such conspicuous endurance, courage and skill, has been entirely carried out. Precise information has been obtained of the location of the Jarawas, of the real object of their annual raids, of the best mode of reaching them, and they have been taught that they cannot raid and murder with impunity. The return of the captured women will teach the tribe something of ourselves, and that we have the power, if we choose, to take their families away from them. Thanks also to the energy and determination of Messrs. Vaux and Rogers, much knowledge of the nature of the country and forests in the hitherto untouched interior of the South Andaman has been gained, and it is very satisfactory to note that the parties of Jarawas punished belonged to the actual perpetrators of the latest raids. No operations in relation to the Jarawas have hitherto been anything like so successful. It is therefore all the more to be

deplored that the leader should have lost his life in the chances of a struggle. It is a still more regrettable circumstance to record that the life need not have been lost, for at the last moment Mr. Vaux made an error in judgment in not waiting as usual for the Andamanese to rush into the camp first. Had this been done, it is more than probable that no life would have been lost. But it has been ascertained that he feared that if he did so the Andamanese accompanying him would kill all the men they could, and that the rest would escape with most of their weapons and stolen property. It was to avoid this that he determined to go before them when the word was given to attack, and thus he lost his life in a laudable, though mistaken, attempt to save bloodshed.

As a measure of precaution the outlying villages of Templeganj, Manpur, Anikhet and Muthra were protected by guards of Police and Andamanese trackers, and so were the distant forest files working at Jatang throughout the hot weather; but nothing more has been heard of the Jarawas, who, it is now hoped, will leave the Settlement alone.

As a measure of policy the women and children captured were returned on 11th March to Pochang with suitable presents after being shown about the Settlement, and especially by ocular demonstration the power of the rifle at the ranges. The confidence they exhibited towards the officials, and the absence of fear of Europeans displayed by them after landing will, it is hoped, have a favourable effect on the tribe. Two boys were kept behind in order to study their language, etc. One of these has unfortunately died of pneumonia, but the other is on very friendly terms with the Andamanese at the Home.

Nothing now remains for me, but to make a few remarks as to the efforts that have been made to civilize and Christianize the Andamanese. Efforts have been made, but

without much success. If any effort is to succeed, especially in a religious direction, it must be undertaken by men who are prepared to practise self-denial, and who are devoted to their work. The spirit that animated those eleven Moravian Missionaries to the neighbouring Nicobar Islands and who died one after another at their fever-stricken post,—is the spirit that should animate a Missionary to the Andamanese. The spirit that animated the Roman Priest who on landing on the same island knelt down and kissed the ground in token that he had taken the island in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, is the spirit that should animate a Missionary to the Andamanese and Nicobarese. The unworldly spirit of Augustine, Xavier, Patteson and Mackenzie, is the spirit to animate the soul of a man who wishes to do much good among these light-hearted and simple-minded people.

There was, for a year or two, a Church of England Lay Missionary working among them, he had learnt the language, and had just begun to plan out a scheme of work when he was recalled; and now, spiritually speaking, the Andamanese are sheep without a shepherd, having no one specially to care whether they become Christians, or whether they remain in their heathen ignorance and darkness.

On turning to the moral side of the question, we find that up to about the age of ten or eleven years these aborigines can hold their own with ordinary children of civilized races, with respect to mental culture; but after that age, further progress seems to be impossible. Some remarkable instances might be mentioned of boys and girls, who at no more than nine or ten years of age, were able to read difficult passages: physically speaking, training seemed to have a deteriorating effect.

A school for girls was established some thirty-four years ago, and two ladies from Kidderpore House, Calcutta, undertook the management of it; after a few years' trial, it was given up, and of the girls in it only two remained true to their teaching. It was found that civilized clothing was not congenial to the Andamanese mind, indeed most of the girls succeeded in escaping from the School, leaving their clothes behind them, and swimming to their friends and kinsfolk in the jungle. The two Andamanese girls who continued to wear clothes, and were civilized, were called Ruth and Martha, but there was a vast difference between them, both physically and socially, Ruth being stout and ungainly, Martha slight and active. Ruth was a sort of upper servant at the Parsonage, Martha was a servant at one of the 'Subordinates' houses.

Ruth had been highly trained by Mrs. Homfray, the widow of a former officer in charge of the Andamanese, who was much beloved by them. She could speak, read and write English as well as converse glibly in Hindi, as she has been with English people from infancy, it is hardly necessary to say that she did not know her native tongue. Ruth was also an accomplished needlewoman, and clever at making designs and some idea of the advance she had made over her fellow countrymen, may be gathered from these facts, but further proof is found in her asking for an English dictionary, which she said she found 'very useful' when writing her letters. Society distinctions, too, were observed among these Andamanese maidens. Ruth complained that Martha would not speak to her because the one lived at the Parsonage, and the other with Subordinates, but I imagine it is rather that Miss Ruth fancied herself above her more humbly situated companion. It was very curious to see Ruth beside one of her naked unreclaimed sisters, and very amusing to notice the look of indifference and scorn on the face

of the uncivilised Andamanese woman. Ruth in all the glory of a serge dress—her round fat figure looking more round and fat if that were possible, by comparison—the wild lady attired only in her *bô-dâ*, but with a graceful and active carriage, which said much for the freedom of the jungle, and the healthiness of jungle life, and very little for European clothes and European ways, when tacked on to a fat and ungainly Andamanese girl.*

Many years ago there was an Orphanage for boys under the charge of a native Catechist; and as the Andamanese from various causes are rapidly dying out, this care for the children was the most promising of any civilizing work among the aborigines.

The Andamanese boys are very bright and happy little fellows, I heard an amusing story about one of them. The Missionary, although a young man, wears glasses, and one day, he was surprised to find one of his boys appear before him with a pair of glasses on, in a word, clothed only in glasses. On questioning the boy he found that he had been all the way to Ross Bazaar, to buy the glasses, and the reason he gave was "Me want to be all same like Master!"

All good things must come to an end, and our visit to the Andaman Islands was no exception to the rule. We left those Islands of "Good Fortune," one Saturday afternoon, in a heavy shower of rain, clouds overcast, and a driving wind. The unpleasant natural surroundings were more than counterbalanced by the hearty farewells and good wishes which greeted us on every side from the Chief Commissioner—the kindest of men—down to my brother's convict crew, under whose dark skins, there also beat hearts ready and faithful. A pleasant voyage, both as regards passengers and weather, the latter quite unexpected, brought us quickly and safely to our journey's end and thus there remains now, nothing but bright and pleasing memories of the Andaman Islands.

A. SAUNDERS DYER.

* These 'civilized' Andamanese girls are now both dead.

APPENDIX NO. IX.

Abstract of Crimes for which the prisoners (as per strength) on the 31st, March 1902 were transported.

Crime.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Murder	7,298	712	8,010
Discoity	2,558	...	2,558
Mutiny	70	...	70
Theft	490	3	493
Abduction of females and child stealing	49	2	51
Receiving stolen property	96	...	96
House-breaking	297	2	299
Causing grievous hurt	315	6	321
Robbery	374	1	375
Poisoning	31	8	39
Dishonest misappropriation of property	11	...	11
Mischief by fire	56	1	57
Criminal trespass	108	1	109
Forgery	31	...	31
Riot	18	...	18
Escape from lawful custody	10	...	10
Rape	111	...	111
Unnatural offence	12	...	12
Using counterfeit coin	17	...	17
Waging war against the constituted authority of Native States	8	...	8
Harbouring an offender who escaped from lawful custody or whose apprehension has been ordered	9	...	9
Possessing arms without a license	2	...	2
Causing disappearance of evidence	9	...	9
Willfully doing an act endangering persons in railway ways	10	...	10
Cheating	5	...	5
Thaggi	...	...	...
False complaint	...	...	...
TOTAL	11,995	736	12,731
Local Convicts	43	3	46
GRAND TOTAL	12,038	739	12,777

APPENDIX NO. XI.

Statement showing the escapes and recaptures of convicts at Port Blair for the year 1901-1902.

	No.
Remaining uncaptured on the 31st March 1901	97
Deduct—Escapes at large over seven years	22
Balance of previous year's escapes	75
Escaped during the year	38
{ A. By land	...
{ B. By sea	...
{ C. Total	38
GRAND TOTAL	113
Recaptured during the year	1
{ A. Of those who escaped in previous year	...
{ B. Of those who escaped during the year	22
{ C. Total	23
Remaining uncaptured	74
{ A. Of previous year	...
{ B. Of present year	16
{ C. Total	90
Unexpired portion of sentence of those who escaped during the year.	...
{ A. Under one year	...
{ B. Above one year and under three years	...
{ C. Above three years and under seven years	4
{ D. Above seven years	34
{ E. Total	38

APPENDIX No. XII.

Showing the religion, age and previous occupations of convicts in Port Blair during the year 1901-1902.

				Males.	Females	Total.	
Religion	{	A. Christian	a. Europeans	...	...	...	
			b. Eurasians	...	3	...	
			c. Natives	...	39	2	
			B. Muhammadan	...	3,001	259	
			C. Hindu	...	6,895	459	
	D. Buddhist	...	2,014	8			
	E. Other classes	...	86	11			
TOTAL				12,038	739	12,777	
Age	{	A. Under 16 years	...	1	5	6	
			B. 16 to 40 years	...	6,872	522	7,394
			C. 40 to 60 years	...	4,292	180	4,472
			D. Above 60 years	...	575	32	607(b)
	TOTAL				11,740	739	12,479
Previous occupations.	{	Males	a. Landholders	...	170	...	170
			b. Agriculturists	...	7,177	...	7,177
			c. Labourers	...	1,347	...	1,347
			d. Shop-keepers	...	420	...	420
			e. Artizans	...	665	...	665
			f. Government servants	...	238	...	238
			g. Domestic servants	...	673	...	673
			h. Weavers	...	504	...	504
	{	Females	i. Boatmen and Fishermen	...	191	...	191
			j. Other callings	...	648	...	648
			k. No occupation	...	3	...	3
			l. Occupation not recorded	...	2	...	2
			m. Married	...	...	731	731
			n. Unmarried	...	...	8	8
TOTAL				12,038	739	12,777	

(a) As per Census taken on 31st December 1901.

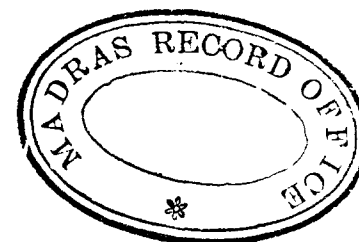
(b) Exclusive of one licensed prisoner and Criminal Lunatic.

APPENDIX No. XIII.
Showing the state of education of the convicts received in the Settlement of Port Blair during the year 1901-1902.

		M.		F.		Total	
PROVINCES.	Bengal.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		108	17	120	3	228	21
	Madras.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		3	15	18	13	21	28
	Bombay.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		144	16	160	13	173	25
	United Provinces.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		16	16	32	13	45	25
	Punjab.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		191	6	197	7	204	13
	Central Provinces.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		43	8	51	6	57	6
Grand Total.	Central India.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		19	3	22	3	25	6
	Hyderabad Assigned Districts.	M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		36	1	37	1	38	2
Burma.		M.	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.
		111	32	143	83	284	126
Grand Total.		111	32	143	83	284	126

Of those received from India and Burma during the year there were.

Of the total of the year there were learned white in Jail.



ART. IX.—WHIPPING AS A JAIL PUNISHMENT.

IN a recent number* of this *Review*, the practice of flogging in general, and flogging of Europeans in particular, as a form of jail punishment, came in for some very grave criticism.

The strictures passed by the "Reviewer" are so severe, and his statements so positive, that it is possible, and indeed probable, that the uninitiated may accept the views set forth at their face value, without further enquiry. As a matter of fact, at least one of our leading local dailies has echoed the wish for a special investigation of the question of the flogging of Europeans in jail.

It is, I assume, reasonable to suppose, that when a time-honoured institution is attacked, the self-appointed critic would, to a certain extent, make sure of his grounds, and would display a sufficient acquaintanceship with the object of his attack, as to give rise to the supposition that he knew something concerning the institution he censures, and of the grounds on which he based his conclusions.

Although we are told that "our prisons are still, in some ways, in the Dark Ages." There is certainly neither darkness nor want of publicity where their internal economy is concerned. The Government Reports which are published annually are so complete and contain such a mine of information, that it would be difficult to imagine any detail, however trivial, that had not been given to the world. These Reports are published at so low a rate, that they are within the reach of all, who may be interested in the subject of Jail Administration.

The system of visits by independent laymen, and the facilities afforded them by Government, leaves no loophole for any irregularity to escape detection. There can, therefore, be no excuse for error in writing on this subject.

Having started with the assumption that one who sets out to subvert the ancient order of things, should have sufficient wisdom to be sure that he is standing on firm ground, let us examine a few of the statements on which the "Reviewer" has based his strictures. We are told "we have in this country practically none of Lombroso's criminal class among Europeans,"—To look into this point carefully, we must first understand what is meant by the term Europeans. The Bengal Jail Code tell us: "Europeans, Americans, Eurasians, Africans, Jews Armenians, or other persons of foreign extraction whose

habits and manner of living more nearly approach those of Europeans are classified as European prisoners." The term European is therefore most comprehensive in its jail significance; and as all statistics are based on this interpretation, I think it is reasonable to assume that our "Reviewer" also bore this fact in mind. The number of pure-blooded Europeans committed to prison, for other than the most trivial crimes, is so small that it is hardly worth considering, nor can any special statistics concerning them be obtained. This fact alone shows that our "Reviewer" must have accepted the official meaning of the term European.

How then are the facts. At least fifty per cent. of the daily average of European prisoners in Bengal Jails are habitual offenders, and of these the majority belong to the criminal class of Lombroso. India can vie with Europe with regard to its type of criminal. A casual examination of the newspaper reports of the police courts will corroborate this statement.

Reading further, we find "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 climate where nervous shock is as detrimental to the system as India." This certainly sounds very dreadful—it looks as if the picture could easily be painted in darker colours. It makes one feel that it would be better if further data had been given of the percentage of cases admitted to hospital, and of the length of time actually spent under medical treatment. One would also like to know more of the nervous shock so detrimental to the system. Our "Reviewer" may of course have access to particulars that are not vouchsafed to all of us; but surely in that case, his hands would have been strengthened, had he presented them to the world. As it stands, the statement can hardly be called more than a general one, unsupported by evidence.

What, however, are the facts? Bengal Jails may be taken as possibly representative of Indian Jails in general at any rate their European statistics are quite typical, and may I think be taken as a fair basis for critical examination. During nineteen years preceding 1902 there were thirty-four cases of corporal punishment amongst Europeans. The average daily population was 46·5. In other words there were not two floggings a year for nineteen years. This would hardly seem to justify the hysterical cry which has been raised.

Of this very terrible total of floggings there is no evidence to shew which of the many varieties of European prisoners was so punished. Nor can I discover that any European prisoner was ever admitted to hospital as a result of such logging; indeed for several years no prisoner, European or native, has been admitted to hospital after corporal punishment in Bengal.

* January 1908. "Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab during 1901" a criticism with a special note on the flogging of Europeans in Jail.

Our "Reviewer" goes on to say "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——." Here we have another statement without the slightest attempt at proof. It is hardly worth refuting, displaying as it does, such an absolute ignorance of the conditions under which Europeans are confined in Indian Jails. It will be sufficient to state that Europeans are guarded, from unlocking to locking up, by paid European warders, and that they are practically never brought in contact with native convict officials. The statement that "no European can be found to undertake such work" (*i.e.* flogging) is imaginative.

The question of the factors concerned in the causation of crime is too large a one to enter on here, nor is it probable that much good can accrue from a discussion of the subject. No one disputes that certain varieties of crime depend largely on physical conditions; but it is carrying the thing too far to say that bad physical conditions are the only personal element concerned in the predisposition to crimes of impulse, it is as gratuitous as the assumption that even the majority of jail floggings are administered as punishments for crimes of impulse.

Crimes against nature possibly depend slightly on impulse but not a bad physical condition. They are always difficult of detection. Their extent and prevalence must always be conjectural. It is certain though that few realise how prevalent they are both inside and outside jail walls.

Corruptness and inefficiency of a jail staff do not appear to be conditions conducive to the detection and punishment of crime, and indeed in this point the Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal, remarked in 1881: "I have always considered a very small number of offences recorded to be a sign of defective discipline and short work," and again in 1883 he stated "so far from thinking that the record of an excessive number of offences reflects discredit on the management of a jail, I rather consider that it shows that discipline is good, and that a high standard of work is maintained." There is no doubt that these contentions are correct.

Jail statistics shew that a high rate of corporal punishment coincides with a low rate of crimes of violence.

Criminology is a subject fraught with the greatest interest, probably because so little is known concerning it. Many people have written on it, indeed every amateur of a philanthropic turn of mind feel justified in dabbling in it. It is doubtful whether much of any value has been published.

The common pitfall which entraps the unwary is forgetful-

ness of the fact that "The child is father of the man," we may measure our criminal, we may classify him by the colour of his eyes, or the length of his toes. We may throw the responsibility for crime upon our ancestors, or we may theorise to our heart's content, but we must not lose sight of the fact that man, be he saint or sinner, is only a grown-up child, moulded to his present shape by his environment and early training.

Criminals must to a large extent be treated as children; discipline to be of any use must be firm; nowhere as in a jail is exemplary punishment followed by such excellent results. The maxim "spare the rod and spoil the child" still holds good, and probably ever will.

Corporal punishment is the only effectual treatment for crimes of violence, and crimes against nature, not as "a dignified indication of abstract virtue, but as most beneficial to society and the individual, inasmuch as it is the only real deterrent punishment that is in the hands of those responsible for the good conduct and moral behaviour of our criminal classes either European or native."

J. M.

Since writing the above, I have been reading "Twenty-five years in seventeen Prisons by No. 7."* In this book the author amongst other matters gives his views on corporal punishment in jail. I reproduce them without comment.

"A mawkish sentimentalism lifts up its foolish head now-a-days in protest against the use of that very necessary deterrent the 'cat' or rather, the 'birch.' But why do penal heathens 'so furiously rage,' and, in their ignorance of known facts, 'imagine a vain thing'? No convict prison in the country could be governed for a week were flogging abolished.

"Quite recently a brutal attack was made upon a comparatively inoffensive warder by a prisoner, who did not hesitate to use a chopper. Our *soi-disant* 'humanitarians' would hesitate to use the 'cat' on the dastardly ruffian who perpetrated the crime, and, so thoroughly has this cant of the 'humanitarian' debilitated the masculine, good, sound common sense of the country that this brute is allowed to escape the castigation he deserves, and gets off with the nominal punishment of a dozen strokes with the 'birch—a small school boy's *allo vance* truly!"

* London, T. E. Robson & Co. 1903.

ART. X.—THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF DR.
WILLIAM HAMILTON, BENEFACTOR OF
CALCUTTA.

A WELL-KNOWN writer on Indian History has recently distinguished Dr. William Hamilton with the title of "Benefactor of Calcutta;" and it cannot be doubted that the fame of his name and exploits will last as long as the memory of the British Empire in India. The personal history of such a man should be interesting, but it has hitherto been unknown. I have recently done what I could to clear it up. For this purpose I have carefully gone through the Diary of Surman's Embassy to Delhi and the Bengal Public Consultations Books of the period which are preserved in the India Office. I have also read through a number of miscellaneous records such as the logs, receipt-books, and ledgers of the ships in the Company's service, the Miscellanies, Court Books, and Court Miscellanies and other odd bundles of letters in the India Office. I have written to the Minister of Bothwell in Lanarkshire and the living representatives of the Hamilton family, and I have made enquiries at the Edinburgh Register House, the Lyon Office of the College of Arms, the Royal Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons of Scotland, and the Universities of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. In this paper I desire to record the results thus attained.

William Hamilton was a cadet of the noble family of the Hamiltons of Dalzell which traced its origin to Gavin, third son of James, Lord Hamilton in the fifteenth century.* Fifth in descent from him was James Hamilton of Dalzell who married Jean, the daughter of Sir John Henderson of Fordell, by whom he had a large family. His large estates secured to him in 1663 by a charter under the seal of Charles II were divided at his death in 1668, and the farm of Boggs or Boogs in the parish of Bothwell, Lanarkshire, fell to his third son James.† Of this James, the first of the house of Boggs little is recorded, but of his only son John we are told that he was "persecuted for his religious opinions," which were displeasing to the Episcopalian Government of the restored Stuarts, and was "brought to much trouble for refusing to take the test."‡

* See Sir Robert Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, I, 463, also John Anderson's *Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*.

† See Douglas's *Baronage* I, 464. Douglas, however, erroneously makes John of Boggs, the son of James of Dalzell, whereas he was the grandson. This mistake is corrected by Anderson.

‡ See Anderson's *Memoirs*, 237, (edition of 1825).

To John of Boggs were born seven sons, of whom the second William was destined to become famous in the annals of British India and to "raise his name to the four quarters by curing the King of Kings."* Beyond his parentage we know nothing certain of William Hamilton's early life. His boyhood was probably passed at Bothwell, then even more than now the garden of Scotland, a swelling stretch of yellow farmland, shaded by green groves and orchards, sloping from the upland braes to the murmuring Clyde. The son of a Covenanting and persecuted father he was no doubt early imbued with the political and religious tenets of the extreme Presbyterians, and must have often listened to the story of their sufferings, how they had fought in vain against Monmouth and Claverhouse at the narrow bridge of Bothwell and had fled to hide themselves in the dens and caves of the earth. As a young man he may have entered the University of Glasgow, and perhaps it is his name which appears among the signatures to a protest drawn up in 1696 denouncing conspiracies against the life of William III, and promising to avenge the king's death should he die by violence.† With

* Anderson *in. op. cit.* gives John of Boggs's family thus:—

1. James, his heir; 2. William, who was in the navy service; 3. Daniel, a Major in the army; 4. Alexander, master of a trading vessel to the West Indies; 5. David, master of a trading vessel to the coast of Guinea; 6. Thomas, a surgeon at Bath; and 7. John, a Colonel in Major Hamilton's battalion. William Hamilton in his will, dated the 27th October, 1717, describes his father as "my hon'ble father John Hamilton of Boggs in the parish of Bothwell."

† Unfortunately the rolls of *alumni* in Scotch Universities do not seem to record the father's name, so it is impossible to identify William Hamilton satisfactorily with any particular student. The Librarian of the University of St. Andrews has kindly given me the following entries: "1694, Mar. 30. St. Leonard's College (Matriculated) G. Hamilton, and 1699, Feb. 22, St. Leonard's College (Matriculated) Gul. Hamilton. The Christian names are supposed to be in Latin." The Assistant Clerk of the Edinburgh University tells me that "There was a William Hamilton attending the University in 1694." The Clerk of the Senate of the University of Glasgow wrote to me very kindly as follows:—"The name is a common one and occurs several times in the University lists of students *circa* 1700, but without sufficient particulars for identification. The name William Hamilton occurs in a list of students under Professor Carmichael, 1695, in a list of students under Professor Law, 1707; as the holder of the Hyndford Bursary, 1707; in a list of students under Professor Dunlop, 1708; and in a list of Laureati (those who received degrees in Arts), 1710; as well as in the list of students of Theology, 1698 and 1703. Professor Carmichael taught Moral Philosophy, Professor Law, Philosophy; and Professor Dunlop, Greek. The name also occurs in a list of students who (among others) signed a bond in 1696 protesting against conspiracies menacing the life of King William, and engaging the signatories to avenge his death should he die by violence." The name of William Hamilton is not found at this early date on the rolls of the Royal Colleges of Physicians or of Surgeons in Edinburgh. Of course it is quite possible

more likelihood it may be conjectured that he became attached to his cousin Anna, the daughter of Robert Hamilton of Wishaw,* and, in the hope of speedily gaining enough to marry on bade good-bye to home and country and went "to make the crown a pound" in the distant east. At any rate the earliest mention of William Hamilton in the India Office records occurs under the date of the 12th November, 1709, when he signed a receipt for £7, being two months impress paid him in advance for his services as Surgeon of the frigate *Sherborne*.†

For a young doctor thus to begin his professional career with a voyage to India was by no means uncommon, but the peculiar characters of William Hamilton and of his commander Henry Cornwall led in this instance to unexpected issues. If the few indications now left us are to be trusted William Hamilton was a man of great and unmistakable ability, with an insight into character which gained him influence over his fellow men, but he was wanting in ambition and hopefulness and his strength of will varied. Between Hamilton and Cornwall there was a most wonderful contrast of character. While Hamilton had ability without self-assertion, Cornwall had self-assertion without ability. A man of good family with a disposition honest, energetic and persevering, he had no tact, no self-control, no insight into character. Always believing himself in the right, he was generally in the wrong. About the year 1700 he had left the navy in which he had been employed for twelve years‡ and entered the service of the East India Company, where through the influence of his great friends he had hoped for speedy promotion. In this hope he was disappointed. For several years he was left unnoticed among the seafaring men at Madras,§ the captain perhaps of some small local ship, and became involved with a certain Elizabeth Browne, whom he in the end promised to marry expecting through her to get preferment in England. Her recommendations, however, proved of little avail. Returning home in 1707, Cornwall found great difficulty in getting any employment,

that our William Hamilton like his great uncle Sir David Hamilton, the Court Physician, studied medicine abroad at Leyden or Rheims or some other continental school.

* The mention of her in William Hamilton's will is surely significant.

† See Receipt Book of the *Sherborne*, page 4; India Office Marine Records, 148 B.

‡ See in the Court Miscellanies VIII, Cornwall's letter to the Court dated the 2nd September 1713, also *ib.* IX, a letter signed by Lord Winchester and others, 5th October 1714.

§ See the lists of Madras European Inhabitants, 1701-1720, in the India Office.

married, ran into debt, and was at last glad to find himself in command even of a small ship.*

The *Sherborne* was a frigate of only 250 tons, carrying 22 guns.† In September 1709 she had been taken up for a pepper voyage.‡ and was with much hesitation despatched to Bencoolen. On the 11th of January, 1710, a muster was taken by Mr. Blakeley at Portsmouth, and the ship's company returned as consisting of 52 officers and seamen and 19 soldiers.§ Leaving England some time in February the *Sherborne* arrived at Bencoolen after an uneventful voyage of some six months. On the 7th of August she left, bound for the east coast of India.|| The evil fate which pursued Captain Cornwall throughout his life now overtook him. As men then reckoned, the *Sherborne* was "a small ship of little defense, a heavy sailer and indifferently manned;"¶ and her crew had been brought to the verge of mutiny by the harsh treatment they had received from their captain who caned or whipped them for the slightest faults.** On the 1st September the ship was sailing along the shoaling coast of Ceylon. The weather was fine and the lead was kept going; when at six o'clock in the evening the ship with all sails standing struck in nine fathoms of water upon a spit of sand at Mullaitivu to the north of Trincomalee, eighty miles from Point Pedro.†† According to one account every effort was made to get the ship off, but it seems clear that the men cared little what became of her. At midnight her captain left her to seek help from strangers. After twenty-three hours in an open boat Cornwall landed at

* See his letter in the Madras Public Consultations, 19th February 1711.

† See Miscellanies II, 234. The log of the *Sherborne* is lost.

‡ See Cornwall's letter offering her to the Court in the Court Miscellanies I, also the Fort General Letter of 2nd February 1712/3, para 9.

§ See Miscellanies II, 287. "A list of the names of the officers and seamen belonging to the *Sherborne* frigate, Capt. Henry Cornwall, Commander, mustered at Portsmouth the 11th January 1709 (*i.e.* 10) by Mr. Blakeley.—Henry Cornwall, Commander; John Brocket, first mate; John Cooke, second mate; John Tempest, third; Chas. Wibery, fourth; William Hamilton, Surgeon; Henry Price, Purser; 45 other officers and seamen, and 19 soldiers." From the ledger of the *Sherborne* (Marine Records, 148C) it appears that the captain received £10 a month, the first mate, £6; the second, £4-10; the third, £3; the fourth, £2; the Surgeon, £3-10; and Archibald Liston, the surgeon mate, £2.

|| See a letter from Fort St. George, dated 27th December 1710, in the India Office, the *Sherborne* had on board as a passenger Mr. Harrison who afterwards became Governor of Fort St. George.

¶ See Madras Public Consultations, 17th July, 1711.

** See their complaints in the Bengal Public Consultations for the 19th, 20th and 23rd October, 1710.

†† See Fort St. George General letter to the Court dated the 27th December 1710-11, para. 20, in the India Office, a loose paper.

Point Pedro, and made his way to Jaffnapatam. Here he was kindly received by the Dutch Governor who sent him back with as many sloops as could be spared. Meanwhile the crew had deserted the ship. Meeting their captain as he was returning from Jaffnapatam the mutineers told him that he need trouble himself no more about the *Sherborne*; her decks had fallen and she was broken to pieces. Not a man would consent to return to his duty till he had received his discharge,* and it was only with the assistance of the Dutch that the ship was, on the 8th September, got clear of the sand, and brought to anchor off Point Pedro. She was found to have sustained comparatively little damage, but it was agreed on all hands that the safest course now left was to sail straight for Bengal.† On arriving in the Hugli at the beginning of October the crew would have again deserted had not the Council at Fort William in response to the urgent representations of the captain sent strict orders to every officer and every man to obey his commander and do his duty. Under such compulsion the ship was brought up the river to Calcutta by the 16th of October. A protracted enquiry was held into the mutinous conduct of the crew and many of the officers and men were examined. They refused to serve under Cornwall any longer, and the Council knowing that it would be impossible to re-man the ship was afraid to proceed to extremities. At length on the 26th of October, having received promises of better treatment from Cornwall they consented to go on board again, all except the second mate John Cooke, and he was ordered to be sent to England for punishment.‡ But this apparent settlement of the quarrel did not secure approval from the Court at home who sympathised with the men, nor did it meet with much success in Calcutta.§ In the end most of the men deserted, and when the *Sherborne* arrived at Madras in February, 1711, she had on board her, out of her complement of fifty, only nineteen men and boys. Peremptory orders were given to make up the full number, and on the 3rd March the *Sherborne* was despatched with reinforcements to Cuddalore and Fort St. David where the English were engaged in hostilities with the Rajah of Jingi.||

* *Id.* para. 21.

† See the Fort St. George General letter quoted above, para. 22, Mr. Harrison did not go on in the *Sherborne*.

‡ See Bengal Public Consultations for October, 1710.

§ See Bengal General Letter from the Court of the 28th December 1711, para. 22.

|| See Madras Public Consultations of the 1st and 19th February and of the 3rd March.

What share had Hamilton taken, up to the present time, in the dispute between Cornwall and the crew? It would be difficult for a man of his ability to tolerate the pig-headed captain, but it was certainly his interest to do so. Did he then openly side with the men, or did he keep quiet? It would seem that hitherto he had patiently endured. His name was not mentioned at the enquiry into the meeting held in Calcutta. He did not desert his post with the faithless majority, he went with his ship from Calcutta to Madras, and from Madras to Cuddalore. Here for the first time, as far as we know, his patience gave way and he tried to leave the *Sherborne*. It was suggested in March by the authorities at Fort St. David that the services of Dr. Hamilton were required ashore, but Cornwall protested so vigorously that the suggestion was dropped.* Farmer, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David forbade him to quit his post, but the third in the Council, Baker, was more favourably disposed. On the evening of the 3rd May, 1711, the Doctor informed Baker that the Governor had given him permission to go to Madras, and in confirmation produced a letter from his kinsman Captain Hamilton. On this Baker not only gave him leave but furnished him with the means to go. That night William Hamilton took his fate in his hands, deserted his duty, and made his escape to Madras in a country boat under a false pretence.

Captain Cornwall reported the desertion to the Council of Fort St. George in a letter which bears evident traces of his violent temper. "Last Night my Surgeon Alexander Hamilton,"—the captain was too angry to remember his doctor's correct name,—"made his Escape in a boat from Cuddalore] producing a Letter from Capⁿ Hamilton to Mr. Baker wherein was Incerted he had leave from the Govern^r of Fort St. George to proceed forthwith to that Place and that Govern^r Fraser and his Council had writt to Govern^r Farmer to that Effect (Mr. B[a]ker being inclin'd to act contrary to Govern^r Farme[r's] Order gave him leave and Assisted him with a bo[at] so I presume before this arrives he'l be Incognito according to Capⁿ Hamilton's directions perhaps

* See a letter to Fort St. George from the Council at Fort St. David and another from Captain Cornwall, dated 13th March 1711, Nos. 449 and 450 in the Madras Press List of Records. Captain Cornwall's letter is written in such evident haste and passion that it is barely intelligible. The letters are given at the end of this paper, copies of them having been procured for me through the kindness of Mr. A. P. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India.

his Ship may be thought the securest place or so[] that part I must refer to Your Honr, &c. Council and can't omitt saying yor Honrs Countenance to this Vile fellow has occasion'd this proceed I humbly request your Honr &c Council will put up an Order at the Sea gate that no Commander shall carry him from the place on what pretensions soever and under what penalty Yor Honr &c Council shall think fitt Capn Hamilton being a relation is mos[tly] to be suspected so beg he may be Order'd in pticul[ar] and the Ships in the Road search'd Immediately if yor Honr &c approve the same that there may be no pretensions for any other Nation to carry him off I humbly request yr Notes may be writt In Severall Languages all the gentlemen here may judge of my treatment to him and what liberties he had to seive himself—Yor Honr &c., have already receivd a protest upon this Mans Account from all my Ships Company they will certainly prefer the same so I hope Your Honr &c will seriously consider this and of what consequence it may be I hear there is Severall Surgeons at Madrass I had much rather have any than him but without one my people will be very much disatisfied and not without reason this comes in some hast so I hope Yor Honr will pardon."

In consequence of this letter the Council of Fort St. George sent for Dr William Hamilton on the 7th of May, and ordered him to prepare to go on board the *Sherborne* as soon as she returned to Madras. But there is no evidence that he ever obeyed this order. On the contrary he probably continued his flight from Madras to Calcutta.

In the ledger of the *Sherborne* the account of William Hamilton, "Chyrurgion," is closed with the scornful word "run." And his life's reckoning might well have closed with the same shameful entry, were it not that the Divine Accountant is more long suffering than man. Hamilton lived to rue bitterly the false step he had taken, for in leaving his ship he left for ever home and country, father and kindred, and all that might have been, had he returned to marry his Anna and make his name as a great doctor in the land of his birth. Yet he lived to wipe out the memory of his false step by actions which brought lasting benefit to his nation, and from the hour of his leaving the *Sherborne* he belongs for ever to British India.

In December, 1711, Hamilton was out of employment in Calcutta, and the Council of Fort William were in need of a second surgeon. Knowing what sort of man Captain Cornwall was, they were not likely to regard running away from the *Sherborne* as an unpardonable offence, and so on the 27th of December they resolved that William Hamilton should

be "entertained upon the same allowance and privileges as William James our present surgeon."* Two years later, when the Council were selecting men for the embassy to Delhi, their choice again fell upon Hamilton. On the 5th of January, 1714, they resolved that it was necessary that one of the surgeons should go up with the gentlemen who go with the present and that Dr. Hamilton should be sent.† He was given Rs. 300 to provide himself with clothes,‡ and probably started for Patna with the present some time in April.

The proceedings of this embassy are faithfully recorded in the Surman Diary which begins in August 1714 at Patna. Here no less than eight months were spent in preparation and the embassy could not really start till the 6th April 1715. The journey which a modern traveller would perform in a few hours in a comfortable first class railway carriage took Dr. Hamilton three months in a jolting palanquin "slightly plated with silver."§ The Court at Delhi besides numerous native practitioners had in its employ a French physician Monsieur Martin.|| The English doctor, however, in a short time surpassed all his professional brethren in repute. His first distinguished patient was the Lord High Steward, Taqarrub Khān¶ This noble was suffering according to some from consumption, according to others from divine retribution. With his hand upon the Quran he had falsely sworn that the life of Zū-l-fiqār Khān should be spared. In this way Zū-l-fiqār had been entrapped and murdered, and Taqarrub Khān's right hand at once began to wither. On the 25th July, 1715, Dr. Hamilton was ordered to "physic" the Lord High Steward** with whom he took up his residence, but whose case he pronounced hopeless. A little later Farrukhsiyar who was

* See Bengal Public Consultations for the 27th December 1711. William James, by the way, had also begun life as a ship's doctor having come to India in 1709 as Surgeon of the *Des Bouve-i*; see *Miscellanies* II, 285.

† See Bengal Public Consultations, for the 5th January 1714.

‡ See Bengal Public Consultations, for the 26th February 1714. Afterwards, however it was complained that this allowance was not enough; see *Surman*, Diary for the 24th January, 1715.

§ See *Surman* Diary for 30th November, 1714.

|| Mr. Irvine, to whom I owe much of my knowledge of the contemporary Mahamadan History, tells me that Mā'in Khan, as he was called, was the Mogul Doctor for 40 or 50 years and died in the reign of Muhammad Shah.

¶ Mir Muhammad Jafar, Shīrāzi, entitled Taqarrub Khān first appears in the English records in July 1708, when he befriended the English. (See my *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* I, 179 and 298, where his name is wrongly spelt Dafar.) He was then Mir Sāmān to Prince Farrukhsiyar. When Farrukhsiyar became Emperor, Mir Muhammad Jafar became Khānsāmān or Lord High Steward. Mirzā Muhammad in his *Tazkirah* relating the events of Rabi II, 1128 tells us that "on Friday the 9th of the said month Muhammad Jafar, Shīrāzi, . . . who had been severely ill of consumption for a year last died at Shāhjahānābad" (i.e. on the 1st April 1716 N. S.).

** See *Surman* Diary for 25th July, 23rd August, and 30th September, 1715.

suffering from swellings in the groin put himself in Hamilton's hands with the most beneficial results.* The English treatment naturally gave more satisfaction to the king than to the Lord High Steward. On the 30th September the latter having "gratified Hamilton, dismissed him and took to other doctors. On the 3rd of October the empress mother herself sent for the English doctor, and with the help of an interpreter a long conference was held on the subject of His Majesty's health. This time the king was suffering from a violent pain which he feared would turn to fistula. The disease whatever it was taxed all Hamilton's skill for nearly two months, during which he was exposed to much misrepresentation and jealousy. The introduction of a new doctor could not have been pleasing to Monsieur Martin or to the Hindu and Musulman practitioners at Court, and even excited the suspicions of the populace. Monsieur Martin sided with the king's doctor in opposing the new-comer.† On one occasion as Hamilton was "coming from the fort at night his head was cut with a pebble, of which the king being informed, he ordered search to be made for the offender, and gave the doctor people for his protection."‡ On another occasion, according to tradition, in consequence of a rumour that the king had died under the surgeon's hands the house of the English ambassadors was surrounded by an infuriated mob who could only be appeased by Farrukhsiyar's showing himself from a gallery of the palace. At length, on the 20th November, all the plasters having been removed, the king washed himself and received the congratulations of the whole Court.§ A week later he publicly presented Hamilton with a jewelled plume, a vest, two diamond rings, an elephant, a horse, and five thousand rupees. "His Majesty further ordered buttons for a whole suit of clothes to be made of gold and set with diamonds and rubies, as also the handles of all his small instruments of solid gold."|| These took many months preparing and were not actually presented to Hamilton till the 19th April 1716. Three days after these distinctions had been conferred on the English doctor, Monsieur Martin's feelings were soothed by the gift of "a vest, elephant, and a thousand rupees, a favour purely owing to His Majesty's generosity and because he was his servant."¶

* See Surman Diary for 30th July and 16th August 1715

† See Surman Diary for the 19th October 1715.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 7th November 1715

§ See Surman Diary which records on the 15th November 1715 that the king is perfectly recovered, and on the 20th that he washed himself. In their letter to Fort William, dated the 7th December, the English ambassadors say that the king washed himself on the 23rd.

|| See Surman Diary for the 30th November.

¶ See a letter from the Embassy to Fort William dated the 7th December 1715.

On the 12th May 1716 the king again sent for Hamilton, being fearful that his old sores were breaking out. But "Hamilton made light of the matter and advised" the king to have other physicians called. But His Majesty would not "hear of it besides he has ordered the greatest privacy."* The doctor, however, must have been right in his diagnosis, for the English heard no more from His Majesty and so believed him perfectly well.† In September Hamilton was consulted once or twice by the Vazir; in April 1717 he attended the wife of the Grand Vazir's uncle.‡

Such is in outline the story of Hamilton's professional services at the Court of Delhi. It is the traditional belief that the influence he thus acquired over the king materially assisted the embassy in gaining its objects; but this has been questioned by modern writers. Busted, for instance, believes that the concessions made by Farrukhsiyar were "wrung by fear, not given in gratitude." I believe that tradition is nearer the truth than modern history. I think that the emperor and his vazir were well inclined to the English from the first, and that Hamilton's services made them still more ready to grant privileges which they would probably have granted in any case out of policy and natural inclination. Jahāndār Shāh had patronised the Dutch, therefore the new régime patronised their commercial rivals. Azīm-sh-Shāh had granted the tenancy of three villages to the English, and his son might well grant the tenancy of a few more. Why then did it take two years to grant the requests of the embassy? Because the embassy consisted of young and inexperienced men who did not understand the proper official procedure and were consequently imposed upon by a crowd of greedy Court underlings. These men thrust themselves in between the vazir and the embassy, traded on its ignorance, and wasted its time, while they took large bribes for doing what they had no power to do.

At length, at the beginning of the year 1717, the embassy had bribed and blundered its way to its objects. On the 20th February, as soon as the great seal had been placed on their three firmans the ambassadors applied for their dismissal.§ As usual they did not proceed through the proper official channel, the grand vazir. They entrusted their petition to their patron Khwāja Asīm, Khān Daurān and to their deputy patron, Abū-l-Hasan Salābat Khan. Though the kind offices of these courtly nobodies

* See Surman Diary for the 12th, 13th and 16th May, 1716.

† See Surman Diary for the 24th May 1716

‡ See Surman Diary for the 19th and 23rd September, 1716, and for the 1st and 5th April, 1717.

§ See a letter from the Embassy to Fort William, dated the 23rd February 1717, and one to Bombay, dated the 30th March at the end.

three months were spent in wearisome formalities.* In conformity with the firmans orders signed by the grand vazir had to be issued to various local officers and these were delayed by the clerks in the Treasury Office.† A fourth firman in answer to Governor Hedges's letter had to be drawn up signed and sealed.‡ Lastly the king, the grand vazir and the Khān Daurān had each in turn to formally dismiss the members of the embassy with suitable presents, which gave rise to many nice questions of distributive justice. Salābat Khān professed to be anxious that the English ambassadors should be despatched with at least the same honours as had been shown to the Dutch and the Portuguese in the previous reign, but on the 28th April when the list of honours was announced it was found that, while the Bengal President was to receive an elephant more than the General of Batavia, Mr. Surman and his companions were to get less than the Dutch envoys. In their eagerness to go the ambassadors, though surprised at this treatment after making a quadruple present, would have raised no objections;§ but Salābat Khān protested that his honour was in question. According to his own account he angrily attacked Khān Daurān who sheltered himself under the authority of the king. It then appeared that the Majesty himself had refused to recognise the example of the usurping Jahāndār Shāh and had declared that it would be a dangerous precedent to make too much of European ambassadors.|| But Salābat Khān insisted, so he said, that Surman should have an extra horse and a dagger, and in deference to his wishes the concession was made.¶ At the same time it was stipulated that these presents should not all be made to Surman on the same day. At one reception he was to have the horse and dagger, and at the next his plume and vest. The other members of the embassy were to receive dresses of honour only. For these distinctions they had in the end to pay handsome sums to the superintendent of elephants, the keeper of the robes, and the jewel and perfume offices.**

When after much angry discussion between Khān Daurān and Salābat Khān these details had been settled the English expected to be allowed to depart. On the 10th, 15th, 16th and 20th May they patiently waited at the emperor's receptions; but

* See a letter from the embassy to Fort William, dated the 10th April, 1707, towards the end: see also the Surman Diary for April, 1717.

† See Surman Diary for the 22nd March, 1717.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 7th March, 1717.

§ See Surman Diary for the 28th April, 1717.

|| See Surman Diary for the 30th April and 1st May, 1717.

¶ See Surman Diary for the 10th May, 1717.

** See Surman Diary for the 27th May and the 10th, 11th and 12th June, 1717.

nothing was done.† At length on Thursday, the 23rd May, Surman received his first instalment of parting honours, the promised dagger and horse; but nothing was said about the dismissal of the embassy. On the 26th May the embassy did what it should have done several months earlier. It waited on the grand vazir, offered him a present, and asked "his permission to be dispatched from his Majesty." The whole procedure of the embassy had been regular and insulting to the grand vazir, but he was too good natured and too well disposed to the English to take offence. He "readily consented" to their requests and said that, if he had the opportunity, "he would speak to the king in their behalf. Then he ordered them. now their business was done to visit him frequently without bringing anything."‡ Two days later the embassy repaired for the last time to the Court of Public Audience. For the last time the ambassadors looked upon that brilliant scene: within the railed enclosures, throngs of Indian nobles covered with gold and jewels, without, the bright sunshine which the purple awnings could only partially exclude. The curtains were drawn aside from the royal alcove above them and Farrukhsiyar appeared seated on his throne. John Surman was now duly invested with his dress and plume, and dresses of honour were put upon the other members of the embassy. Then one by one they made their obeisance to the throne and passed from the Court, the last being Hamilton to whom Farrukhsiyar was so much indebted. He was moving off like the rest when an order from the throne suddenly stopped him and bade him resume his place. The vest bestowed on him merely betokened the royal favour and did not permit him to leave. The king rose, the curtains were drawn, the audience was over.§

Those and only those who have spent long years in India away from their native land will understand Hamilton's feelings on this occasion. He had gone on board the *Sherborne* with the expectation of returning within two or three years at the most, an expectation which had been destroyed by his desertion at Cuddalore. But with the embassy fortune had smiled upon him. At the beginning of the year 1716 he could write home to his father and Anna telling them that his exile was drawing to a close and that he was soon coming home famous and rich.|| And now to be detained indefinitely

† See Surman Diary for the dates given.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 28th May, 1717.

§ See Surman Diary for the 30th May, 1717.

|| This is more or less conjectural. More than once we find the Mogul officials speaking of Hamilton's wife and family, thus on that 11th June, 1717, the vazir told him to come back and "bring his wife and family with him." Hamilton's will makes it clear that he was not married.

at Delhi! Hamilton lost all patience at the very thought of it. Again and again he was entreated to accept the service of the Mogul, but he could not have been induced to stay if Farrukhsiyar had appointed him grand vazir and given him the Peacock Throne. "No," said he, "if the king will have me, he may keep me in irons, but I'll not accept his bread much less his service." And these were no idle words. "We are satisfied," say the ambassadors in their diary, "that should he be kept by force, his stay would be no longer than the first opportunity to elope. For such a burning desire reigns in him after his own country, that neither promises nor threats can avail anything."* There was nothing for it but to importune the king to let him go. With their usual perversity the ambassadors applied to Khān Daurān; but he seems to have at last got tired of playing the part of Jack Lofly. "I have spoken to the king twenty times concerning this affair," he angrily declared, "and can speak no more unless you have a mind to make me ridiculous. Let Mr. Surman go to the vazir and engage his intercession with his Majesty, and then I may find an opportunity to speak effectually."†

These instructions though sound came a little late, but then it was not to be expected that Khān Daurān would be in haste to inform the English that he had not the power which they supposed him to have. On applying to the grand vazir all difficulties speedily vanished. On the 4th June the whole case was laid before him. He accordingly at once forwarded to the king a copy of Hamilton's petition enforcing it with a pathetic address of his own writing.‡ On the 6th June the royal answer came back. "Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very willingly have kept him and given him whatever he should have asked. But seeing he is satisfied with no terms, I agree to it provided that after he has gone to Europe, procured such medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and children he return once more to revisit this Court. Let him go."§

While Hamilton was thus struggling to get free from Delhi and return to his native land, a letter from London was on its way to Calcutta releasing him from the Company's service as well. On the 15th February, 1716, the Directors in their

mentions his cousin Anna. Putting these things together I think it highly probable that Hamilton intended to go home and marry Anna, and that he explained this to the Mogul Court. I further think that the existence of such definite intentions shows that Hamilton had regularly corresponded with his family and had duly informed them of his varying fortunes.

* See Surman Diary for the 30th May, 1717.

† See Surman Diary for the 30th May and 1st June, 1717.

‡ See Surman Diary for the 4th June, 1717.

§ See Surman Diary for the 6th June, 1717.

Bengal General Letter wrote, "Reduce the surgeons. We think one head surgeon enough, and two or three assistants under him. Dr. Colt we sent from hence; him keep. Dismiss Mr. Harvey, and, unless you can give us very good reason to the contrary, dismiss Mr. Hamilton on his return from Court." Advantage has been taken of these orders, by modern writers to express indignation at the ingratitude of the Company. In the present case such indignation is quite uncalled for. Even if the Directors had dismissed Hamilton against his wish and the wish of the Council at Calcutta, I do not see that they could have been greatly blamed. From their point of view he was a ship's doctor who had deserted his duty and had been irregularly appointed at Calcutta. When they did hear of his success in curing the Great Mogul they changed their tone and said that if Dr. Hamilton desired a continuance in their service it should be readily granted.* But as a matter of fact the original orders dismissing the doctor were quietly accepted by the Council at Calcutta† and Hamilton himself did not desire to continue in the Company's service. In those days furlough and leave were unknown, and a servant of the Company could not return to Europe without resigning his appointment. Doubtless when Hamilton heard that he was to be dismissed at the conclusion of the embassy, he welcomed the order with a feeling of intense relief like that with which the modern European official learns that he has been granted furlough. Had Hamilton been informed of the subsequent offer made by the Directors to continue his service he would have declined it with thanks.

Unhappily he did not live to hear the news. Somewhat older, it would seem, than the other members of the embassy, its hardships had tried his constitution very severely. In returning from Delhi to Calcutta his health finally broke down. On the 27th of October, at Surujgara, on board a boat descending the Ganges, Hamilton made his will. He died on the 4th of December just after reaching Calcutta. Here he was buried in the old cemetery which now lies in the heart of the modern city. In 1786 when digging the foundations of the steeple of St John's Church the masons brought to light the tombstone of the great doctor. Warren Hastings who was familiar with the story of the embassy, wished this memorial to be placed in the centre niche of the entrance to the church, and the letters gilt; but it is now in the

* See Bengal General dated the 18th January 1717, para. 82.

† See letter to Court dated the 13th February 1716 (*i.e.* 1717), para. 93, summarised in the "Correspondence Papers," 1713-1715, vol. I.

Charnock mausoleum. The inscription is in English and Persian, and runs as follows:—

Under this stone lyes interred the body of WILLIAM HAMILTON, Surgeon, who departed this life the 4th December 1717.

His memory ought to be dear to this Nation, for the Credit he gained ye English in Curing Ferrukseer, the present king of Indostan, of a Malignant Distemper, by which he made his own Name famous at the Court of that Great Monarch; and without doubt will perpetuate his Memory, as well in Great Britain as all other Nations in Europe.

ولیم هملٹن حکیم نوکر کمپانی انگریز کہ ہمراہ الیچی انگریز حضور پر نور
رفتہ بد واسم خود در چہار دانگ بسبب علاج شامشاه عالم پناہ محمد فرخ میر غازی
بلند کرده بہزار تصدیقہ از درگاہ جہان پناہ و نصرت وطن حاصل نمودہ بقضائے الہی
چہارم دسمبر یک ہزار و ہفتصد و ہفتادہ در کلکتہ فوت شد درینجا مدفون است *

NOTE A. A LETTER FROM FORT ST. DAVID ABOUT HAMILTON.*

To

The Hon^{ble} WILLIAM FRASER, Esq^r.
President and Governor of Fort St. George
and St. David &^s Council

No. 36

Hon^{ble} S^r &^s

This acknowledges the Rec^d of Yo^r Ho^l] of the primo and 7th Instant the former of w^{ch} came by the *Sherborne* wth 8,000 Pag^{ds} and Several Stores as p^r the accompanying lists Invoice and bill of Loading the Stores are not all yet come ashore so cannot advise if the quantity comes out right nor the Condition they are in but after they are housed shall examine into both and give Yo^r Hon^r &^s an account thereof the Military by said Ship are stationed at the companys Garden w^{ch} is contiguous to y^e Outguards of Trepopulore and Billeveroyuntum the better to march to the relief of Said places in case of an Alarm Wee shall observe Yo^r Hon^r &^s Orders Relating to Capⁿ Jⁿ Roach and that he have a Horse to view the bounds whensoever he enquires t—By Ship *Industry* wee Sent Yo^r Hon^r &^s 435 bales w^{ch} had been on board Said Ship many days having kept and detained her so long on Account of the Advices Yo^r Hon^r &^s gave Us that the French Ships were Seen and spoken with off Sadrassapatam w^{ch} wee esteemed a Sufficient Reason for her detention but if Yo^r Hon^r &^s had any Urgent Occasion for said Bales your Hon^r &^s might overland Soon have Sent an Order for them w^{ch} should have been readily obeyd—Dr. Morton by the permission Yo^r Hon^r &^s gave him of being discharged

* Copied from Vol. XII, Letters to Fort St. George, referred to as No. 430 in the Madras Press List of Records, 1711.

the companies service is very pressing to leave this place and is resolved to be gone when Mr. Jones Sloop Sails for ffort St. George if wee could have got Dr. Hamilton to Supply his place it had been well enough but Capⁿ Cornwell says he cannot spare him so that when Dr. Morton is gone the Fort & Cudolere must be without a Surgeon w^{ch} is a very great disheartning to all in generall but more in particular the Military at this Juncture if Yo^r Hon^r &^s please to Send Mr. Jolly or any good Surgeon to reside here before Mr. Morton's departure twill be a generall Satisfaction in hopes of Which crave Leave to Subscribe.

Hon^{ble} S^r

Your most obedient Servants,
RICHARD FARMER,
JNO. BURLUE,
RICH HARRISON,
PHIL. BAKER,
MATW. WEID,
HEN. COLRELL.

FORT ST. DAVID: }
Marsh y^e 13th 1717. }

NOTE B. ANOTHER LETTER FROM CAPT. CORNWALL ABOUT HAMILTON.*

To

The Hon^{ble} WILLIAM FRASER Esq^r.
Governor of Fort St. George &^s Council.

No. 37.

GENTLEMAN,

I delivered you a petition Just before I Saild from Yo^r Port concerning my Surgeon that I perceive wasent aboard Surgeon of the party of Souldiers that came on [] for this place (and assume the same) if it is Yo^r pleasure to confirm it my ships compa^y will all leave me at this port and I shall petition the same I have very often in writing satisfied y^e consequence of such proceedings and without a speedy Relief I fear a great disturbance may arise from my people's resentment then is at present apprehended. I pray yo^r Hon^r &^s will please to take this into consideration in order to prevent the misfortunes that appear on this occasion I am,

Sherborne in Fort
ST. DAVID^s ROAD,
March 13th 1717

Hon^{ble} S^r &^s GENTLEMAN,
Your most obedient servant
HEN. CORNWELL.

* Copied from Vol. XII, Letters to Fort St. George, referred to as No. 430 in the Madras Press List of 1711 Records.

NOTE C. WILL OF WILLIAM HAMILTON.*

In the name of God, Amen. The twenty-seventh day of October, Anno Domini, 1717. I, William Hamilton, Chyrurgien, of Bengal in the Ea t Indian being of perfect memorie and remembrance considering the uncertainty of this transitory life do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, viz :—

Intimis, I bequeath my soul unto the hands of Almighty God my Maker, hoping through the meritorious death and passion of Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer to receive free pardon and forgiveness of all my sins, and as for my body to be buried in Christian buriall at the direction of my trustie hereafter mentioned.

Item I give, devise and bequeath unto my good friend Mr. James Williamson five hunder pounds

Item, I give to Mr. Edward Stephenson five hunder rupees and a diamond ring with twentie pound.

Item, I give to Mr. Baker a diamond ring with twentie pound.

Item, I give to Mr. Phillips a diamond ring with twentie pound.†

Item, I give and bequeath to the Church of Bengal one thousand rupees.

Item. I give, devise and bequeath unto my Honourable Father John Hamilton of Boogs living in the parish of Bothwell all sum and summs of monie, goods, chattles and effects whatsoever wherewith at the time of my decease I shall be possessed or invested or which shall then of right appertain unto me but in caice of his decease then I give and bequeath what is herein before given and bequeathed unto my said Father to be equally given among my brotheis and sisters.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin Mrs. Anna Hamilton, daughter of the deceased Robert Hamilton‡ of Wishaw in the parish of Cambusneather five hunder pounds. And I do hereby make nominate and appoint Mr. John Surman to be my trustie§ to whom I give my large diamond ring that I had given me by King Ferruckseer and likewise my culgie. This I do declare to be my last Will and testament revoking all other wills and deeds of gifts by me att any time heretofore made or given in witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Signed and sealed at Surugegura,

W. HAMILTON,

on board of the boates going for Bengal where no stamp paper is to be had in the presence of us

JOHN COCKBORNE.

JOHN STURT.

C. R. WILSON.

* Extracted from the Bengal Public Consultations for the 9th Dec. 1717.

† James Williamson was third in the 'Calcutta' Council when the will was made; Stephenson Barker and Phillips had been associated with Hamilton in the embassy.

‡ According to Anderson's Memoirs, pp. 23, 3, Robert Hamilton died before his father William of Wishaw who died at an advanced age in 1724 or 26. Robert married in 1698 Jean, eldest daughter of William Hamilton of Brownmuir in Ayrshire and left 4 sons, William, Robert, John, and James. Anderson does not mention the daughters.

§ John Surman was chief of the embassy. He returned to England in 1718.

ART. XI.—RELIGIOUS ASPIRATIONS OF THE EDUCATED HINDU.

THE Hindus claim for themselves the title of being the most religious people in the world. Religion, certainly, enters into the minutest affairs of their life, and regulates their food, their dress, their incomings and outgoings, their family life, and their relations to society in general. But ask the most brilliant graduate of any year of the Calcutta University to define the religion of the Hindus, and he will without hesitation admit that this is by far the most difficult problem ever given to him to solve. The Hindus differ from other communities in that, whilst these are known to the world as professing a particular faith, or as the followers of a particular individual, in Hinduism this element is conspicuous by its absence. The gods included within its pantheon are countless, the revelations are as voluminous as they are contradictory, with the result that each one pins his faith on the deity of his choice. This of necessity produces an amount of toleration, wanting in other religions, and the bigotry and exclusiveness we hear of is of caste, and not relating to any dogma of belief. In a Brahmin family of ten adults, of both sexes, one may be an atheist, another an agnostic, a third a silent believer in Christianity, and others followers of Vishnu, Siva and other deities, and yet live in place and harmony as members of a household. They may all discard the family god, without incurring the pains and penalties of apostates, but let one of them venture to eat publicly with a person whose religious views may be identical with his own, but who is of a lower caste, he will find himself put out from his community, and may be from his family. The bond that keeps the Hindus together is not one of religion, but of membership of a social organisation, for the regulation of which, clearly defined rules are laid down relating to even the trivial affairs of every-day life. Such was the material which had to bear the brunt not only of a western education and of a higher civilisation, but of a religion based on the noblest ideals, with the result that the faith of the educated classes in their antient creeds has crumbled into the dust, for it has led to the overthrow of gods and goddesses which for centuries had reigned supreme in India, whilst the efficacy of methods of salvation which the ingenuity of the Brahmin had devised with the sole end of promoting his ascendancy or feeding his greed, is appraised at his real value. Some found refuge in Christianity, but by far the bulk of this class was tossed to and fro from scepticism to Brahmoism, from agnosticism to atheism. But it

Is a curious fact that now so far as these classes are concerned, not only are Christianity and Brahmoism at a discount, but the various shades of belief founded on unbelief are also discountenanced, and Hinduism is again in the ascendant, or to be more precise a general feeling has been generated to carve out for themselves from their antient religion a faith which will satisfy their souls, and help them to maintain before the world their long acquired reputation as a religious people.

Christianity, I speak of it as affecting the higher classes reaped a splendid harvest on the first introduction of education in the English language, a scheme for which Dr. Alexander Duff was to a great extent responsible, and from which he very largely benefitted. To a man convicted of sin and who had lost faith in the saving power of his own religion, and who looked with abhorrence on some of the social observances of his community, there was no other alternative but to seek refuge within the Christian fold. There was of course the new cult of the Brahmos lately started by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, but this was then not a new sect, but a Sabha or a prayer meeting of a number of men, who setting aside sectarian differences came together to worship and to pray to Him whom all sects recognise as the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. Ram Mohan Roy who was brought up in an atmosphere in which corruption, vice and debauchery sought each for an upper hand, took up the rôle of a reformer who would retain all that is good and true in Brahmanism and sweep away all that was corrupt and false, and though he took his stand against such doctrines as implied a faith in a multiplicity of gods, yet he was unable to separate himself from a religion or rather from a community so intimately associated with idolatry. He denounced caste, but was accompanied in his trip to England by a couple of Brahmin servants, so as to provide against the necessity of having to break caste. The venerable Debendro Nath Tagore who followed him also set his face against the worship of idols, but although he belonged to a family which for generations had been out of the pale of Hinduism, he had and has a sneaking regard for caste and a decided objection to inter-marriages. He introduced the Brahmo covenant which was signed by twenty persons, who have all disappeared, and his Samaj has no following outside the members of his family.

It is when we come to Keshub Chunder Sen that we find Brahmoism developed into a sect. He discarded caste with its attendant evils and advocated intermarriages and widow marriage, and thus cut himself adrift from the Hindu community. He surrendered the Vedas and the Upanishads and took a stand against all revelation, and at his Samaj, selections from the Bible, the Koran, the Lendavesta and the Hindu Shastras

were impartially read. The pretensions of the Brahmos at this time were pretty high, for the aim they had in view was the founding of the future Church of India. For a time they achieved most remarkable results, for Samajes were started all over the Bengal Presidency and even in Mádras and Bombay, and there was a rapid increase in their adherents, who again were of a class the most intelligent and the most educated, whilst the number of their secret sympathisers was very large. The minds of the educated classes were entirely unsettled at this period, and their reluctance to take part in idolatry and superstitious ceremonies, or to give a public adhesion to beliefs in which they had no faith was as great as their unwillingness to isolate themselves, and cut themselves off not only from their own community, but from all that was near and dear to them, which was the result of the acceptance of Christianity. Brahmoism offered a compromise, a half way resting house, where, without adopting an alien faith, a Hindu could repudiate observances that were obnoxious to him. But the very force that brought it into existence has very nearly destroyed it. Education and enlightenment forced certain persons even at the cost of social ostracism to enter its ranks, so as to be emancipated from the thralldom of idolatry, superstition, and caste restrictions, but times are more advanced now, and sitting in his ancestral home, the educated Hindu is free to adopt as much or as little of Brahmoism as suits him, or to keep as much or as little of caste as he likes, so long as he does nothing to outrage public opinion. If however his heart craves for something higher and better, Brahmoism has nought it can give, for however much it may deny the fact, it appears in a garb which is undoubtedly borrowed. It rejects revelation, but has, practically accepted the Christian scriptures as its guide, and has drawn its moral precepts from them, copied its ritual and adopted its fundamental principles. Except as regards the divinity of Christ, in respect to which divers and contradictory and most mystifying opinions are held, the Brahmo may well be mistaken for a Christian. He lives like a Christian, acts like a Christian, discourses and prays like a Christian, reads his Bible like a Christian, but unnecessarily wastes a good deal of his energy in protesting that he is not a Christian. Theism or Unitarianism, or call it what you will, has been no more a success in India than it has been in England. It has nothing distinctively its own to offer its votaries, and when it comes to the Hindu and asks him to cut himself adrift from his community, it receives the cold shoulder. It is now a spent force, as is evidenced by the fact that, so far as the number of its adherents is concerned it is according to the last Census at a standstill, whilst other communities are advancing in a greater or lesser degree.

It is a curious fact that another offshoot from Hinduism, which took its rise somewhat later than Brahmoism, but has a good deal in common with it as regards the principles on which it is founded, is progressing by leaps and bounds, and within the last ten years had increased its numbers by 70 per cent., and has now a following of 67,105 members. The Arya Samaj was founded by Dayanand Saraswati who died in 1883, having for the previous twenty years wandered about Upper India as a Sanyasi (religious mendicant) preaching against idolatry, caste, infant marriage, pilgrimages, the domination of the priesthood, and the restraint on widow marriage, whilst he held up the Vedas as the only revelation and guide for mankind. Except that the Brahmos recognise no revelation, the other points also form part of their propaganda, and it is certainly curious that their progress should not be equally great. It is because they have the courage to carry into practice their convictions. By giving up caste they cut themselves off from the Hindu community, but the Aryas continue to remain within its fold, because though they loudly inveigh against caste and infant marriage, they look the courage to repudiate them in practice. Their crusade of destruction was very comprehensive in theory, but, as a matter of fact, it left Hinduism untouched in its most vital part, that is its social organisation. Not that the Arya is a *persona grata* with the orthodox Hindu who has tried many a time and employed many a device to be rid of him as an apostate, but he, not only metaphorically but sometimes literally, stands bludgeoned in hand and challenges all and sundry to a deadly combat, and considering that his Samaj contains some of the most intelligent and highly-cultivated men from the educated classes, he generally comes off victorious. This bump of self-assertion on his part is most highly developed, and is impartially directed against the orthodox Hindu, the Mahomedan and the Christian. But probably it is this which constitutes his strength, for it has obliged him to create an organisation, which whilst it keeps the scattered units together enables him to carry on an extensive propaganda as a militant religion for bringing others to its fold. And has led him to initiate an elaborate scheme for the promotion of the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of the community. Education, and especially that of the weaker sex, is widely encouraged, orphanages have been opened out and the principle of co-operation extensively applied in starting banks, benefit societies, insurance companies and other commercial undertakings. But there seem to be indications that what has hitherto been a source of great strength may become to the Samaj the root of much mischief and danger, for the superabundant

energy of its members, in the absence of any contention with the outer world, finds vent in disputing with each other often on trivial matters, and as the Aryas are usually men of strong feelings and great earnestness their capacity for injuring each other and the cause in which they are interested seem to be unlimited.

But whilst the educated Hindu of Bengal ignores Brahmoism because of its inordinate capacity for destroying time-honored beliefs and customs, without offering in return anything that is distinctively its own, it is not to be supposed he is any the better disposed towards Christianity; from which there is much to be obtained, as it indicated by his own conduct in silently appropriating from it maxims and truths as a guide for his moral and spiritual life. At one time the general attitude towards the founder of this religion was one of uncompromising hostility as evidenced by the comparisons mostly unfavourable instituted between Him and the alleged incarnations of Hindu deities, but now the life and the work of Christ are not only spoken of with the greatest respect, but are freely utilised as illustrations of all that is pure and holy. And in another direction also a striking change is noticeable. The first effect of education was to destroy a student's faith in religion and lead him towards scepticism and atheism, but now there is a kind of revival of religious feeling, which is exhibited in a variety of ways, but is chiefly characterised by an intense longing for a loftier ideal of God and a purer ideal of morality. That this craving should find expression in a revival of Hinduism which had been weighed and found wanting is due to a curious combination of circumstances. For some time past the conviction had been gaining ground, that the new order of things wherein a young man roamed about at large without religion and sometimes without morality, was not conducive to his individual welfare or that of the community of which he was a member. Just about this time European scholars of renown, as also the Theosophists, began to bestow unstinted praise on Hinduism, and to impress the world with the fact that it contains principles upon which a religion pure and noble could easily be constructed. And if we add to this the growing feeling of nationality which is the mainspring of the conduct of the educated Hindu of to-day, urging him to look to his own country to satisfy all his requirements whether material or spiritual or social, we see clearly how it is that he resolved that this new religious force was to be evolved from Hinduism, battered and discredited though it be in its present form. Actuated with this feeling Young India launched himself before the world with an advertisement, "Wanted! a religion for the educated Hindu,

adapted to his intellectual attainments and not antagonistic with the present structure of society or repugnant to his feelings of patriotism!" The response received has been as prompt as it is varied in character. It has given an impetus to the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and though in other parts of India within the last two decades, no great man has risen to found a new cult or a new sect, the inventive faculties and devotional instincts of many have been exercised in formulating certain articles of belief and certain forms of ritual intended to create or stimulate a religious fervour.

As may easily be surmised there is a complete absence of uniformity in this respect. The most incongruous creeds are fastened upon, and dogmas the most contradictory are believed in by one and the same person. Talk to an educated Hindu, and he will leave the impression on one individual that he is a Theosophist, on another that he is a Buddhist, on a third that he is a Vedantic Theist, on a fourth, a Vedantic Pantheist, and on a fifth that he is an Arya Samajist. The truth is, he is a jumble of all, for in the search of truth, or at least of anything that will satisfy his soul, he finds something in each that commends itself to his judgment, though taken as a whole these various sects, if I may so term them, are diametrically opposed to each other. The Hindu mind is restless and troubled, and has at present a vacuum which is ready to be filled in by anything decently presentable. Some there are who spend their lives in a state of suspended belief, others groping in the dark clutch at any straw that comes in their way. Orthodox Hinduism, the religion of their forefathers can afford no relief, for the belief multiplicity of gods, and the practice of degrading and superstitious ceremonies is an insult to their cultivated minds. The day education on Western methods was introduced in our schools and colleges, Hindu orthodoxy was doomed. And what has followed is, uncertainty, chaos and even worse. A pious Hindu writing to a Missionary made the following pathetic complaint. "Your scientific education has made our children irreligious, atheistic, agnostic. They have lost all fixity of character, "You say you have given us light, but your light is worse than darkness, We do not thank you for it. Better far that our children should remain ignorant of your sciences, but retain the simple faith of their ancestors than that they should know all the *ologies* of the day, but turn their backs upon religion and morality as mere rags and remnants of a superstitious age. From all right-minded people there can be but one response to that—*far better.*"

The door towards orthodox Hinduism being barred, something has to be found to replace it, and according to Rai Baha-

dur Baij Nath, the accomplished writer on Hinduism ancient and modern, the wisest and best intellects of the country are engaged in trying to solve this problem. Some recommend a return to purer forms of worship and the elimination from Hinduism of all accretion due to superstition or later innovation. The lives of the gods and heroes of the Hindu pantheon are being carefully scrutinised to find out which portion of them is based upon fact and truth, and which upon fiction, and how far they can furnish ideals for modern Indians to follow. Every year large numbers of Hindus meet in social and religious conferences to discuss their social and religious institutions with reference to the more authentic teachings of their religion, and a general revival of Hinduism is seen almost everywhere in India, threatening in some cases to slide back into superstitions which it is aiming to remove. A religious revival is by no means unknown in European countries but it is always connected with and promoted by the adherents of a particular sect who try to stimulate the flagging zeal of their followers by eloquent addresses and lectures or stirring appeals in writing. The object is to promote spirituality by depicting in glowing colours the evils of worldiness. But the dogmas of religion are never touched, nor is the faith of those who are the subject of this revival, shaken as regards them ever so slightly, or modified in any way. And it would indeed be considered a very curious revival if it had for its object the quest after suitable dogmas to be extracted out of a religion that taken as a whole had been condemned. But this is precisely what the Hindu revival is. It is a frenzied attempt on the part of honest and well-meaning men to carve out a new religion for themselves from the ruins of one which tottering with old age and decay now lies prostrate in the dust, at least so far as they are concerned.

In his search after a new religion no common, well-organised and united effort is made, but each one has his own particular theory or hobby which he rides to death. One goes in one direction and another in an opposite direction, without having the faintest idea whither they are bound, or why they have selected that particular road. I noticed the other day in a Calcutta Journal, edited by a Hindu, that there are plenty of young men to be found in the streets of Calcutta who are fully equipped with long hair and a pocket edition of the sacred Gita, of which in all probability they know no more than a few verses, who go about preaching a cult, the cardinal principle of which is to have a thorough contempt for everything Western and an equally thorough admiration for everything Hindu. This is a phase of Hindu revival which will be noticed further on, for perhaps its votaries are larger in

number than those of any other cult, or at all events have more to say for themselves than the others. Within the short compass of this article it would be impossible to make even a passing allusion to the various cults that have been started or of the individuals whose names they bear. The number of Swamis that have come into existence is wonderful and each has his own following, the number of which is in proportion to his reputed sanctity or learning or the fiery eloquence he possesses. What are the specific dogmas taught by each, and how far they differ from each other, life is too short to enable one to ascertain, and it would be a gross libel on the devoted followers of each of these leaders of religious thought, to charge them with having engaged in a long and painful process of inquiry and investigation, till at last they emerged triumphant with a full comprehension of the meaning of their teacher and of the drift of the doctrines preached by him. But probably the less a man knows or understands the doctrines and dogmas of his spiritual guide, the more devoted he is likely to be as a follower, and very possibly it is the recognition of this principle that leads these worthy gentlemen so to clothe their ideas as to defy a man of average intelligence to guess what they are aiming at, or to resort to the use of terms so abstruse and learned, and to expound doctrines so complicated that though reflecting much credit on their intellectual and inventive powers certainly leave their disciples in a state of extreme perplexity and doubt. That notwithstanding this each Swami has a devoted following is only proof of the fact that the educated Hindu is really in earnest in the quest of some creed, and that he is ready to snap at anything, whether he understands it or not, so long as it is preached and expounded by one of his own people.

But it is not only in Bengal that the minds of the educated classes are unsettled and they are found either rushing after a phantom, or holding views the incongruity of which is patent to all but the unfortunate individual concerned. *The Advocate* a tri-weekly Journal published in Lucknow is the exponent of Hindu thought in North India, and is edited by a man universally respected for his high character and freedom from cant.

In a recent article, entitled "Incongruous Creeds" he depicts a picture of the intellectual Hindu which is as startling as it is amusing. "Every man," says he, "may be left to his own faith, but whatever else it may be, it should at least be definite and consistent. Let each man trust his own Inspiration, Reason, or any Light that may have been vouchsafed to him. But it is essential that he should know his own mind; that in fact he should have a faith, and not

"an incongruous jumble of Faiths. We are afraid we discover from many signs of the times, the growth of a class of men who talk much about religion, but who can have hardly any definite conviction. We do not refer to the very subtle inaccuracies, the slight unnoticed differences of a creed, or those unavoidable contradictions which appear in notions of Godhead and inhuman views of the ways of God to man. What we mean is that there are growing up amongst us men whose creed is a manifest jumble, who cherish, unconsciously no doubt contradictory ideas on the broadest of questions." The writer then passes in review the Theosophist, the Buddhist, the Arya Samajist and the Vedantist, criticising each in turn and pointing out the inconsistencies of each. This is all very well and no doubt all very true, and only shows how easy it is to assume the rôle of a critic, but when we come to that portion of the article where he takes up the rôle of one who has a panacea ready at hand to provide against all these evils and which would wipe out all the blots in the religious attitude of the educated Hindu, he shows how ludicrously barren are his ideas, and that the man who gives up orthodox Hinduism is at his wit's end to discover something to substitute in place of it. "If the Hindu," says the writer, "knows his own position, his sheet-anchor is not this or that book, nor this or that philosophy, nor this or that code of ethics, but the spiritual experiences of his co-religionists, of Sadhus in particular. There is never a firmer or more reliable basis than that of facts. It is the simple truth that there is an immense and ever-growing mass of spiritual facts, manifestations of the Divine Will, which prove conclusively that the Hindu is at least one of those who knows how to approach the deity and obtain his favour. There is no reason for him then to be chameleon-like in his professions of convictions, or to seek added dignity from fresh labels which can only confuse him and perplex others." Here again is a jumble of words not very intelligible. Anyhow the world would certainly become a more lively place to live in than it is now, if each man were to select his own Sadhu (a religious devotee) for a guide and regulate his conduct by the experiences of this prototype. The annals of the Courts of Justice afford some very edifying reading of the character and conduct of these Sadhus, though no doubt there are some who lead a life free from reproach. But the spectacle of millions of people in search of an irreproachable Sadhu seems to be no more practicable or profitable than their setting at his feet to learn from his experiences how to shape their own line of conduct in this life, or make due preparation for the life that is to follow.

That orthodox Hinduism has had its day is now admitted at all hands, as also the fact that, the larger the number of the people that are being educated the greater will be the addition to those who now eschew the religion of their forefathers. That being so, what do the terms "Hindu Renaissance" or "Revival of Hinduism" mean, of which we hear so much as being countenanced by the educated classes. It may sound somewhat strange, but these terms have really a significance quite apart from the religious aspect of the question. When a person leaves the ranks of Hindu orthodoxy and pins his faith to Theosophy or Buddhism or Vedantism or any of the new cults which have sprung up, and which are really poles apart from conservative Hinduism, it is a contradiction in terms to say that he has gone in for a revival of the Hindu religion. He has really destroyed Hinduism properly so called and has put in its place something which is antagonistic to it. What then is this Hindu Renaissance and why is it so called? It is the name given to a feeling which has been generated of late to discard everything Western and return to everything Eastern, with certain very significant limitations. There were at one time two well-defined forces at work, the one was an intense admiration for everything European, which for a time carried all before it, but has now had to give way to the other and counteracting force, *viz.*, a predilection for everything Eastern, never mind, whether having regard to merit, it is to be preferred or not. And it would seem that thoughtful Hindus deprecate and deplore the one attitude just as much as the other, influenced as the one is by an unreasoning prejudice, and the other by a sudden accession of fanaticism. And here I will again let a Hindu writer speak for himself and his friends, so as to avoid the imputation which could easily be brought against an outsider of having misunderstood those with whom he may be supposed not to be in sympathy. In the *Bengalee* of Calcutta appeared sometime ago an excellent article entitled "Hindu Renaissance," and the writer after referring to the disorganised elements of Hindu social life, goes on to say:—

"The progress of English education, the advent of the materialistic thought of the West, had routed the ancient Hindu religious and social ideas, and at one time in the very distant past, it was the fashion among our young men to profess a profound contempt for everything which was Hindu in its origin, and to profess an equally exaggerated admiration for everything which came from Europe. Both the contempt and the admiration were unreasoning. The young Hindus of those days could not adduce any reasons for either. They were drunk with the new ideas imported

"from the West, and in their inebriation, the respect due to the grand part of their race, the admiration due to the acute reasoning of the wise of old were lost sight of, and it became the fashion among them to speak with supercilious contempt of institutions and rites of the *rationale* of which they knew nothing, and could know nothing on account of their defective education. And in proportion to this contempt of everything Hindu was their admiration for everything European. After a time, however, came the reaction. And now we are running into the opposite extreme of admiring everything that is Hindu and of despising everything that is European. And our present admiration and our present contempt are equally unreasoning. It seems that we are not prepared to do anything by halves, and it is so because we cannot divest ourselves of a gross superstition which has almost become to us as a second nature. And if we are wise it is time for us to substitute for this superstition a calm and reasoning frame of mind which alone constitutes that tolerance which is the first essential towards real progress. The fermentation which we have spoken of as now happening in Hindu society is the result of these two conflicting forces of action and reaction, *viz.*, the past exaggerated admiration for everything European and the present equally exaggerated contempt. And this fermentation, this war of two contrary forces is best typified by what is called the revival of Hinduism, which is just now going on among us."

Now how are we to account for this sudden and rapid change? Why is it, to use the words of Mr. Baij Nath quoted above, that the attention of the wisest and best intellects of the country has been suddenly directed towards examining the lives of the gods and heroes of the Hindu pantheon to the end that by a process of elimination it may be discovered how much or how little of the teaching of Hindu orthodoxy can be retained for the purpose of providing a new creed to the educated classes. No doubt the spectacle of Young India roaming about without religion and without the restraints depending thereon, exercised the minds of pious Hindus, and very possibly there are a good many who like the author of "Hinduism Ancient and Modern" believe that the Vedantic ideal of religion is based on a deep conviction that it has always been the religion of not only the hermit or the recluse, but of the wisest and the best men of India engaged in the busiest affairs of life, as well as of the wisest and the best of other countries also. But for all that, there are good grounds for the belief that the sudden popularity of Vedantism had its origin in, or at least that it was

materially furthered by the new-born idea, patriotism, which deprecated a resort to things foreign when a want could as well be supplied by things indigenous. It had become the fashion, once upon a time, for Indian ladies of the advanced school in Bengal to adopt European dress. The Ilbert Bill hurt their susceptibilities, and they discarded foreign attire as a protest to the unfairness and injustice to which, in their eyes, the Indian nation had been subjected. The Indian National Congress was similarly the outcome of a feeling that the foreign rulers did not possess an adequate knowledge of the wants and aspirations of the people, nor had they any sympathy for them. A wave of patriotic feeling seems to have swept over the people and influenced not only their social and national life but also their religious life. Why become converts to Christianity, and for the matter of that why join the Brahmos, when the effect of both was a total dissociation from the society of friends and relatives? Why not try to find out, nearer home, something that would satisfy either their souls or their intellect and prevent the breach in social and family life? Thus it was that the reaction set in to which reference has been made above, and everything European began to be tabooed. If the worship of the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon was repellent, it was discovered, with satisfaction, that in the Vedas which are a portion of their sacred writings, there is inculcated a monotheism in comparison to which, its advisers say every other religion, no matter how spiritual, seems more or less idolatrous. It is true the Vedantic Philosophy was somewhat complicated and abstruse and far above the level of the average intellect, but what mattered that, when it could enable the educated Hindu to gratify his patriotism in that it formed part of the religion of the land which, in a fit of ill humour, he had condemned and rejected. That there was some extra pious reason, apart from the merits of the Vedas that obtained for them popular favour is evident from the fact that Rajah Ram Mohun Roy almost a century ago drew from them the ideal of an imperial deity and had hoped to lay on them a foundation of a new and purified religion for the Hindus, but signally failed in the attempt, for the orthodox section of the community looked askance at him, and Keshub Chunder Sen who succeeded him as a reformer practically denied to these ancient writings the status of revealed scriptures. In fact they were more or less neglected, till the patriotic graduate incensed with, or disappointed with things European, turned to them again as a last resource. And this change of attitude culminated in the latter days of the last century in the curious spectacle of Maharajahs and

Rajahs walking with bare feet in the streets of Delhi whilst the Vedas were being carried in procession with a great deal of pomp and ceremonial.

Granted that the Vedas now hold a pre-eminent place in the estimation of the educated Hindu and are a lamp for his eyes and a guide to his feet, it would nevertheless be a mistake to suppose that the general tenor of his life has been materially effected thereby. There is a great deal more talk about the transcendental merit of these ancient writings, than any attempt made to follow the precepts to be found therein. The very same individual who is ready to pin his faith in the Vedas, which are strictly monotheistic in their tendency, will sometimes be found doing reverence to the incarnations of the deity found in later writings. At all events he will raise no objection to the members of his family believing anything and everything they please and will wink at the practice of the most superstitious rites and ceremonies for which no sanction is given in the book of his choice. It furnishes him with certain articles of faith to which he accords a mental assent, and there the matter ends, but his every-day life is regulated by rules which are utterly antagonistic to the precepts found therein. With the Hindus the social life is intimately associated with the religious life, but though the earlier Vedas are clear in their teaching as regards caste, infant marriage, widow-marriage and such like, absolutely no heed is paid to this, and the Vedantist is as abject a slave as his orthodox brother to customs, which he is ready to admit, are most objectionable accretions to the purity and the simplicity of the religious and social practices of the ancient Aryans. If in defiance of the rules of popular Hinduism he eats forbidden food or eats in the company of those outside his caste, he does so more with the object of gratifying his animal nature, than with any desire to conform to habits which find sanction in the Vedas. For the self-same individual will sit calmly by and see his friend and neighbour outcasted for having crossed the seas in the pursuit of education, though during his absence he may have avoided animal food and spirituous drinks altogether.

In Mr. Baij Nath we have an ardent Vedantist and a most active social reformer; he has besides spent six months in travelling in Europe. He admits caste was unknown in ancient India, he deplores the evils that it gives rise to in modern India, and he longs for a return "to the golden age when there was no caste and when everybody was a Brahmana with asceticism and knowledge of truth for his sole duties." But what is his own contribution towards the return to this golden age? Is it to solemnly impress upon the educated

classes the desirability of breaking down the barriers which separate one caste from another, and to enforce these precepts by his personal example of association and sympathy with those outside his own community? Nothing like it, for the utmost he can say, and the furthest he can go, is to advise "a beginning in the shape of a gradual fusion of such of the minor divisions of a caste as admit of such a fusion." Whilst District Judge of Gorakhpore he was a guest at a public entertainment on the occasion of the opening of a branch railway to Benares, and according to a pre-arranged plan he put in an appearance just when the speeches commenced, and with much difficulty was persuaded to accept a bottle of lemonade. But the absurdity of this proceeding was manifested in that he had as his next neighbour another District Judge, and of a higher caste than himself, who is neither an ardent social reformer, nor has devoted his energies in writing panegyrics on Vedantism, and who had heartily partaken of the good things that were provided. Here we have two different types of men, the one rejoicing in a new-born faith and newly-acquired principles, most excellent in themselves, but lacking the courage to put these principles into practice; the other disgusted with the objectionable customs with which Hindu social life is hedged in at present, and quietly discarding them without making any special fuss about the principles that led him to do so. The man who professes most is not the man who practises most. He means to be honest and straightforward, but his good intentions are choked by circumstances over which he has no control. He is afraid to hurt the susceptibilities of his friends or to break away from them altogether, which in many instances would be the result of his carrying his principles into practice. Of a like nature is his attitude as regards other social questions. The Vedas assign to women a position higher than they hold at present, for in ancient times they were treated not as inferior but equal to men. Early marriage receives no sanction therein, nor was there any restriction placed on widow marriage. But the most devoted and pious of Hindu revivalists, who have discovered a priceless treasure in the Vedas, will not so much as move their finger to discountenance or minimise what they admit are evils, but which they confess by their actions, if not in words that they are powerless to contend against.

What then is the sum total of the Hindu revival which is the result of the religious aspirations of the educated classes of to-day? To put it concisely, a belief in a multiplicity of gods is discountenanced, and the practice of rites and ceremonies more or less superstitious is condemned. As a necessary corollary the bulk of the Hindu scriptures, and with some

the whole of them, are denied the position of inspired writings. And for this has been substituted something which it would be difficult to describe, for it may literally be said there are no persons, to be found anywhere holding identical views. So far, however, we are certain that the Hindu revival has not taken away a much valued privilege that was allowed to its votaries by orthodox Hinduism, and that is a considerable latitude as to what they were to believe or not to believe. If therefore I were to give to the new faith, substituted for the old, the name of Vedantism or Neo-Hinduism I feel I would be doing no injustice to the other cults which, called by other names, have a following of their own but in a greater or lesser degree have the Vedas as their basis. And indeed neither Vedantism nor Neo-Hinduism represent any particular faith which can be strictly and rigidly defined as made up of any particular dogmas. The other day on seeking some information on this subject from one whom I reckoned as an authority, I was curtly informed I might speak to a hundred persons who call themselves Vedantists and find they differed from each other on material points, and as to Neo-Hinduism it might mean anything or nothing. I am afraid there is considerable truth in this somewhat frank and comprehensive statement. But this at any rate is clear that one of the prominent features of this revival is a substitution of monotheism for polytheism. Now so far as the monotheism of the Vedantist is concerned it is not an easy thing to understand, for we find him paying homage to a deity which he himself admits is incapable of definition. He, it is said, is best described by a negation of qualities rather than by the possession of certain well-known attributes. He is without form and is the most abstract of entities, and withal the essence of all things—the Infinite wisdom and Infinite bliss. And as to the world it is all illusion. The fact is that, the Vedanta is not a religion but a philosophy and is not only incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, but, however much it may flatter the intellect of the person who thinks he understands it, will never satisfy the craving of his heart. His heart craves for sympathy for fellowship, for love such as a father shows his son; and for a direct response to his appeal whether it be for daily bread, relief from affliction, or a mastery over temptation. But of all this the Vedantic god has nought to give. Vedantism is a religion admirably suited for the Yogi who has retired from the world and abjured its pomps and vanities, and cut off the hundred and one ties which draw him towards it. It cannot be a religion for those who are in the world and of it. It will not do to call the world an illusion and yet be engaged in a feverish struggle, for wealth and honor and the pleasures

of life. Then again the religion of the Vedanta in its ideal transcendentalism is not for the uncultured and the unthinking, and millions of men who are unable to grasp its intricacies will have to do without it. Finally where Vedantism signally fails as a religion is in the absence of any scheme for the moral redemption of mankind. It practically divorces action from belief, and fails to touch the conscience of mankind. Has an individual obtained a correct conception of duty, if so he is a true Vedantist, never mind, whether he regulates or not his daily life according to what his conscience tells him is the right thing to do. As Sir Alfred Lyall, who is much in sympathy with the higher Hinduism, remarks, "Salvation comes not by righteousness, but by knowledge; not by the casting out of sin, though there is a longing to be delivered from it, but by emerging out of ignorance."

Such is the newly-acquired faith of the Hindu. That, in its way it has exercised an influence for good on the educated classes cannot be denied. It has turned the tide of irreligion, agnosticism and atheism, and has checked the utter demoralisation that was attendant thereon. I am assured, by those who may be credited with possessing the most reliable information on the subject, that the educated young man of to-day is more serious and steady in his behaviour, more moral, and more spiritually-minded than that of a preceding generation, when religion of any kind was at a discount. Probably the estimate is correct, but the question arises whether this newly-acquired faith possesses such intrinsic merits as are likely to ensure its permanence and progress. The foregoing remarks seem to afford ground for great doubt in this respect, and the probability is that the good sense and intelligence of the educated classes will in course of time lead them to entertain a similar opinion.

ALFRED NUNDY.

ART. XII.—A TRAINING-SHIP INSTITUTION.

NEARLY four years ago a young lad, belonging to the domiciled community appealed to me for help to get him into a situation whereby he could earn his living. He was sixteen years of age, well built, well mannered, and fairly well educated for his years. In the course of conversation I happened to ask if he would not care to go to sea as an apprentice. He said he would be delighted to do so, but when he tried to get a ship he had been told that being only a d—d half-caste, he would have to ship on the same footing as a lascar, or not at all. His rejection, for this reason, took place at the Calcutta Shipping Office, when a Commander willing to ship the boy, had taken him for the purpose of signing articles. On making enquiry I found the statement of the lad to be quite correct. The authorities at the Shipping Office read the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act as prohibiting lads of the domiciled community, however well qualified they might be otherwise, from being shipped on the same footing as British apprentices.

Knowing that great complaints were being made at home regarding the dearth of boys for the sea, and that the President of the Board of Trade had stated, in a speech, that the scarcity of British seamen was getting to be so acute, that in the event of a Naval War, he was afraid our merchant vessels would have to be entirely manned by foreigners, I ventured to send to him a statement of how the case stood here. Then, briefly, what happened was this: the Board of Trade communicated with the India Office; the India Office communicated with the Government of India, and then His Excellency the Viceroy sent down the papers to the Bengal Government and asked for a report on the whole question. After realising the situation, Lord Curzon quickly put matters right by declaring that the local authorities had been misinterpreting the Act, and by ordering, that henceforth no barrier should be raised against any Eurasian,* otherwise qualified, from being shipped on board a merchant vessel on the same footing as British sailors. This took place about two years ago, and since the door has been opened to this class of employment an increasing number of the men and lads belonging to the domiciled community are availing themselves of the opportunity of going to sea.

I may mention with reference to the boy spoken of at the beginning of this paper, that a kindly American Captain allowed him to go on board his vessel as a stowaway, with instruc-

* I use the word "Eurasian" in this paper in no other sense than in its very convenient and strictly ethnological significance.

tions to make his appearance on deck after the vessel got clear of her pilot. The boy proved a most useful fellow during the voyage. On his arrival at New York, he shipped on board a United States battle-ship, went through the Spanish-American wars with credit, and when last I heard of him, he was a leading gunner on board a cruiser.

In the belief that plenty more raw material, like this lad, existed amongst the Eurasian poor and only needed a little kindly fostering care and training to fit them for being useful to themselves and to their country, instead of growing up to swell the ranks of loafers, already too full, a provisional Committee was formed to consider the question (not for the first time) of promoting a Training-Ship Institution for the Hughli where the homeless and destitute boys of the Eurasian class could get their feet planted on the first rung of the ladder up which they could climb into useful citizenship. The Committee had several interviews with the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn, on the subject. He was warmly sympathetic in favour of any practicable scheme that could be formulated, and he asked that the proposals of the Committee should be placed before his Government in an official manner. This was done in May last year. The Memorial related the history of all the previous efforts that had been made towards providing a sea-training for the destitute lads referred to, from the time, in 1827, when the Calcutta Apprenticing Society purchased a vessel as a Marine School for the boys, then designated Indo-Britons, up to the time of the present movement. The vessel of 1827 proved to be a bad speculation. She was old and unsound and had to be sold in the following year for Rs. 4,000. The younger boys were sent to the Orphan and Free Schools, and the older ones were provided for on board the pilot and other vessels of the port. The Report of the Apprenticing Society of the time says that of all the schemes tried for the purpose of helping the lads, *the Marine School was the one that seemed likely to answer*. Since 1827, and at various intervals, the Training Vessel Scheme has been brought before the notice of the Government. In 1891 "The Pauperism Committee" nominated by the Government considered amongst other questions, "*What openings for the employment of poor Whites and Eurasians can be enlarged, what new ones developed, and what present disabilities can be wholly or partially removed.*"

That Committee submitted in their Report a scheme for a training-ship, but Sir Charles Elliott, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, after consultation with experienced men connected with the shipping trade and also with the Port Officer, came to the conclusion that it was doubtful whether employment could subsequently be found for the boys after they had received

their training, and so he vetoed the scheme, but added, in his resolution, on the subject, "It must be confessed that the outlook does not seem very promising, but if the training can be cheaply given, *it might be worth while to try the experiment.*" The lapse of a dozen years has entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The embargo has been taken off, and the lads, if willing and otherwise qualified, are now free to ship as British apprentices.

The late President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Sir Montagu Turner, gave his unqualified approval to the scheme, and the present President is heartily in favour of any feasible plan that can be devised for helping the lads to get an uplift in life. The Conservator of the Port, and the Merchant Shipping Commanders frequenting Calcutta, also expressed their approval of a Training-Ship Institution. The scheme put before the Government of Bengal in the Memorial was modelled after the numerous Institutions of a similar nature, now riding in British waters. It was proposed that an old battle-ship should be obtained from the British Admiralty, and that the vessel should be fitted up and furnished for, say, four hundred boys, by money obtained through public subscription; that the Government should give a capitation grant for each boy similar to the sum which the Home Government give annually for each lad on board the Training-Ships in British rivers, the balance required for the upkeep of the vessel being defrayed by public subscription in India. The Institution was to be managed by a large and representative Committee taken from high official, professional and commercial circles, all subject to the control of the Government. The capitation grant suggested was Rs. 180 per boy per annum, as against Rs. 234 which the Government pay at home. Two of the Committee went to London and interviewed the First Lord of the Admiralty on the subject. Lord Selborne was most cordial and sympathetic. He said there was plenty of employment ready for the boys, and suggested that they should be trained for filling the artisan posts on board the war ships. He wanted armourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, painters, plumbers, sailmakers, shipwrights, stockers, domestics, ships stewards and members of other crafts required on board the ships. This suggestion of his Lordship was cordially accepted by the deputation. He likewise promised that we would get an old battle-ship on the easiest terms on which any similar vessel had ever been given, whenever a responsible Committee were ready to receive it. This meant practically a free gift, for it was ascertained that the "Mars" had been given *as a loan*, some thirty years ago to the Dundee Training-Ship Institution, and she has been there, as a loan, ever since.

When the deputation were in London the reply of the Bengal Government to the Memorial of the provisional Committee was received. In brief while earnestly sympathising with the object aimed at the reply went on to state that the money consideration alone—the large annual grant suggested—would prevent the Government from entertaining the idea of a Training-Vessel on the Hughli, but His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the late Sir John Woodburn, suggested as an alternative scheme, that the Committee should direct their efforts to see if it would not be possible to get selected boys sent home to some of the Training-Vessels already in existence—a plan which he thought would, in the end, be very much better for the lads themselves, as on board of a ship in British waters and in a temperate climate, a boy would receive a better training, and, at the same time, be endowed with a better physical outfit, than he would be likely to receive on board a ship in the Hughli, and in a tropical climate. His Honor hinted that if such a plan as he suggested were put into operation, the Government would not be slow to lend a helping hand. Acting on Sir John Woodburn's suggestion, the deputation in London, interviewed the Head of the Navy Recruiting Department and the Marine Society. They then separated, in order to save time, and to cover as much ground as possible, and individually visited some of the Training-Vessels around the British coasts. The result has been to entirely confirm the wisdom of the suggestion of the late Lieutenant-Governor and the Committee are now formulating a scheme for sending, as an experimental measure, a number of selected boys home to one of the Training-Ships whose Captain has cheerfully undertaken to see that the lads will receive every fairplay and attention during their training time, and every encouragement to make the most of their opportunities.

There are about 90,000 persons belonging to the domiciled community in India, and the poor amongst them have, up to recent times, received much less consideration at the hands of their European kith and kin in the way of kindly help and educational facilities, than have been provided by Missionary societies for what they term the "heathen" in India. A better state of things has now sprung into existence. The various societies throughout India, into which the members of the domiciled community have organised themselves, are awake with life, and the Association in Calcutta already shows a good record of work done in helping the poor belonging to their own order.

The splendid work commenced at Kalimpong by the Rev. J. A. Graham, in connection with the Colonial Homes, is another example of the living interest that is being taken in

the orphaned and the destitute children among the Eurasian poor, nor must I omit to mention the American Methodist Episcopal Missionaries as being in the forefront of those religious bodies who are caring for the highest well being of the class referred to.

The Eurasians in India deserve well at the hands of the Government and of the Europeans in the Empire. The qualities of character which we sometimes deplore amongst them are largely the result of long hereditary surroundings, and would gradually disappear under better environments. It has long been a puzzle to the Government of India what to do with the Eurasian poor and how to provide them with suitable means of earning their livelihood. As a modest contribution towards the solution of the problem, we propose opening the door to allow the suitable amongst the poor boys being sent to Training Ships at home to be turned out into well-equipped artisans or sailors, according to preference.

A disciplinary training of the kind proposed would improve the stamina of the body and all else within it, and put the lad in the way of being a credit to himself and his country. The Government have already hinted that they are willing to do their part when the scheme is matured.

This paper is written in the hope that the public will not be slow to provide whatever else may be required to make the first experiment a complete success.

JAMES LUKE.

ART. XIII.—THE MUD-BANKS OFF THE MALABAR COAST.

THE unusually heavy floods last year on the West Coast caused by the almost unprecedented S. W. monsoon rains have wrought an amount of havoc which is simply appalling. Not to speak of the several lives swept away, the value of property lost, in crops, cattle, houses and timber, amounts to "over a lakh of rupees." All this but represents the devastation on *terra firma*. On the sea adjoining, the ravages of the monsoon have even been worse. In addition to storms, cyclones and other meteorological disturbances which are common enough, it has produced a disaster of much more serious significance—far more intense and lasting in effects, in fact, than all the abovementioned put together. I refer to the recent shifting of the mud-bank off Alleppey in the Native State of Travancore.

The mud-bank is a curious phenomenon of nature peculiar to this land of curiosities—the West Coast of the South Indian peninsula, and its value lies in ensuring in the heaviest of monsoons, safe harbours of refuge for ships on the open coast. It is a characteristic shoal-bank consisting of a kind of soft, unctuous mud which rises from the bottom of the sea and, dispersing itself in the water, effectually stills the raging surf and presents, irrespective of the weather all the year round, a safe roadstead called "mud-bay" by the pioneers of commerce on this coast. There are four such banks as yet discovered, doing duty for harbours, so to speak, off Quilandy, Calicut, Narakal and Alleppey which have enabled,—in the absence of natural harbours and in spite of the exceptionally squally seas on this coast in the monsoon season,—foreigners to visit Malabar and export her products to the West, at least from the times of Solomon onwards. Likewise, tradition says, Vasco Da Gama who has given to Calicut the distinction of being the first Indian port visited by modern European nations owed the protection of his fleet through the monsoon of 1498 to the bank in the Quilandy offing.

Alleppey known always as the premier port in the prosperous State of Travancore owes its reputation chiefly to the never-failing shipping facilities afforded by the mud-bank of from 6 to 9 feet which extended until a few days back, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles off shore, $9^{\circ} 29' 48''$ N. Lat. and $76^{\circ} 18' 44''$ E. Long. During the monsoon while the surf broke boisterously on the shore to the north and the sea outside raged white with foam, Alleppey presented an expanse of smooth water in the outer

rim of which ships could conveniently ride and load and discharge cargo in $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms with much less risk than at any other point on this coast. Sometimes when the monsoon rendered the port of Cochin unapproachable the difficulty could be got over by the vessel touching and unloading at Alleppey which enjoys inshore water-communication with the former place. In consequence Alleppey has always carried on a very considerable trade in teakwood, pepper, coir and betel-nut. Recently, however, the mud-bank which hitherto held out all the advantages of an excellent harbour and made this port so very attractive to shipping and thus helped in building it up into an emporium, one of the oldest in this part of the world, appears to have, partially, at all events, shifted to about twelve miles south near a village called Puracand. Thus Nature has snatched off one of the best advantages with which she had endowed Alleppey, with the inevitable result that the town is now face to face with a south-ward diversion of its trade, and its time-honoured commercial eminence stands doomed—at least for the time being. I take care to add the qualifying phrase, seeing that quite possibly the operation of natural forces similar to those which have now carried off the mud-bank may, at some future time, move it back to its original site and leave Alleppey *in statu quo ante*. Speculation apart, the occurrence in question is certainly a serious economic disaster to this unfortunate town and indirectly to Travancore.

The nature of the phenomenon connected with the appearance, disappearance and shifting of these mud-banks is a subject which has not, as yet, been exhaustively investigated and the question may be regarded as still *sub-judice*.

The mud-banks are formed, it is said, by the action of submarine volcanic forces which throw up, from the bottom of the sea, the unctuous mud of which these banks are composed. Mr. Crawford who was, for some time, Agent to the Travancore Sircar at Alleppey, however, gives a different explanation thereof. He is of opinion that subterranean passages or streams communicating with some rivers and backwaters become more active after heavy rains and carry off into the sea the accumulating water and, with it, vast quantities of the subjacent soft mud forced out by hydraulic pressure. The two theories might, at the first blush, appear contradictory of each other, but on a closer examination the difference will be found to be nothing more than that which arose with reference to the shield in the fable. In the light of the data available it may be safely stated that the mud-bank owes its substance partly to the play of volcanic energy and partly to the washings of rivers and backwaters.

That the mud of which the mud-bank is composed is

primarily volcanic in origin is an undoubted fact. Dr. Day in his "Land of the Perumals" describes it thus:—"The mud feels unctuous and sticky. . . . It is of a very dark greenish colour and has but a slight odour. Under the microscope it shows very minute angular fragments of quartz, the largest hardly visible without a lens: this is the sand. Secondly,—*foraminiferous* shells of the genus *rotalia* and a few fragments of larger shells. Thirdly,—*diatomaceæ* of which were discovered species from upwards of twenty genera. Fourthly,—a few spicules of sponges and corals very minute: and some amorphous matter which was not destroyed after long boiling in strong acids. An examination into its composition resulted in the discovery of sixty-two species belonging to thirty genera of the class *cryptogamia* and subgroup *diatomæ*." He also goes on to ascribe its surf-stilling virtue to the spring-like action of its pressure-resisting component particles—a surmise which may be dismissed as "not proven." The true explanation of the process by which the mud "pours oil on troubled waters" is certainly that given by Dr W. King of the Madras Geological Survey in a paper prepared in 1884 wherein he has established that the mud contains "a sensible amount of oil" derived from the decomposition of organisms and from the distillation of oil in subjacent lignitiferous deposits belonging presumably to Warkilli strata, the distillation being due to heat arising from a line of volcanic energy possibly lying "parallel to the West Coast of India." The presence of the oil in the mud is conclusive of its volcanic origin, and the fact that in certain cases this mud is brought into the sea by water-currents does not affect the correctness of this theory. Apart from this fact, there is another kindred phenomenon of the sea, locally known as "Neer" or "Kêd Vellam" (lit. 'fetid water') to which the hypothesis of hydraulic pressure is, as will be presently seen, obviously inapplicable.

Sometimes the West Coast sea and backwaters have been observed to exhibit occasional patches of dark, stinking water of varying dimensions, exhaling very offensive effluvia and leaving a deposit of dark-coloured mud of the same nature as the substance of the mud-banks. Fishes of all kinds may be seen floating dead and dying on the water and brought up by the waves from Davy Jones' locker on to the beach, to which fact the peculiar stench is, perhaps to some extent, due. The phenomenon is akin to the one above described and both appear to have a common geological origin. "Kêd Vellam" has been known to occur in all parts of the year, even in the non-monsoon months of November and December, and under circumstances which

upset Mr. Crawford's suggestion that the peculiar mud which gives rise to these puzzling occurrences is always derived from subterranean passages which become "more active after heavy rains, particularly at the commencement of the monsoon" and enter the sea. All the above facts point to the conclusion that while the mud which manifests itself in "Kêd Vellam" and "mud bay" is, in some cases, produced by explosion caused by submarine volcanic energy and, in others, forced out by the pressure of water in backwaters, the presence of oil in the mud is always due to volcanic distillation.

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that Mr. Crawford has had exceptional opportunities of studying the phenomenon *in situ*, and his conclusions based on personal observations are certainly correct *as far as they go*. But they do not appear to have gone far enough, and, in consequence, the theory is *imperfect*. That the mud-bank is connected with the monsoon rains is a proved fact. In the course of his boring operations carried on somewhere east of the beach at Alleppey he seems to have struck, at a depth of about 60 feet, a stratum of mud stromatologically identical with that thrown up in the sea. He appears to have also noticed, about the mud-bank bubbles of this kind of soapy mud above the water, embodying *debris* of vegetable matter decayed, and in some cases, even fresh and green which must certainly have come into the sea through water-currents in the way suggested. The higher water-level caused by the accumulation of water during the monsoon season in the back-water, over that of the outside sea and the existence of subterranean connecting channels through which the mud is forced out by the water-pressure into the sea, account for the accretions to the bank, and hence its greater efficiency as a calming agent during the rains. It is interesting to note that the same monsoon that thus nourishes these mud-banks proves, occasionally, an unnatural foster-mother. Sometimes the S. W. monsoon freshes develop an overwhelming plexus of currents and cross-currents which breach or shift these banks and at times even break them up altogether. Thus during the monsoon of 1793 the bank off Quilandy was broken through, and the East India Company's vessel, *Morning Star* which was lying under its protection came to grief in consequence. The Alleppey mud-bank itself, it is recorded, suffered in a like manner in the heavy seas of 1882, and the latest instance in point is its removal, on the opening of the current monsoon to the southward above referred to, this direction being determined by the prevailing littoral current, on the coast, which, it is well known, is from north to south.

The foregoing account of the mud-bank off Alleppey—and *mutatis mutandis*, it applies to other banks as well—presup-

poses the existence on this coast, of underground volcanoes or heat-foci as well as of a stratum of mud forming the substance of the bank and containing oil derived from lignitiferous deposits, and this hypothesis rests on various evidences of a convincing character. I have already referred to Dr. King's conclusion that there is a line of volcanic energy "lying parallel to the West Coast"—a conclusion based on his "enlarged experience" of the region, and the sporadic appearance of the phenomenon of fetid water above described, in the sea and inland waters from Cannanore to Cape Comorin goes to show that the volcanic range extends very much further afield. Tradition says that the whole valley of the Western Ghats—the "Kerala" of Puranic fame—was reclaimed from the sea and modern researches point to the occurrence of a volcanic upheaval, an act of God quite suggestive of the tradition as in the highest degree probable. The unctuous mud stratum itself of volcanic origin also stretches far and wide. About the middle of last century the Government of Madras constructed a canal to connect the two rivers, Kadalundi and Ponnani in South Malabar, but the cutting had to be abandoned by reason of a bed of this mud which was found a little below the surface and which continually oozed into the canal and rendered it impracticable for boats. Two years ago I was myself present at the deepening of a well at Madayi—14 miles to the north of Cannanore—whose *sthala mahatmyam* (chronicles of local legends) speaks of a geological upheaval, and the boring revealed, at a depth of nearly 20 feet, a stratum of unctuous lignite, embedding rusty iron nails and immediately underlying a bed of hard laterite, and I have also observed, not far from this well, several puddles of a kind of characteristic fetid mud not improbably connected with the phenomenon of "Kêd Vellam."

Observations of kindred phenomena made outside the region also bear out the view that submarine volcanic heat while giving rise to geological disturbances, disengages the oil from organic deposits where they are present, and thereby calms the sea. From a descriptive account of the recent earthquake at Bunder Abbas it appears the shock was preceded by a rumbling sound proceeding from the direction of the Island of Kishm, and the sea became at the time "as still as a pond." The remarkable "soft place" of navigators covering the area lying between the equator and 9° North Latitude and extending from Ceylon to Socotra has, it is well-known, a glassy appearance in the height of the monsoon. The phenomenon has not been exhaustively investigated, but the fact that, according to tradition which there is every reason to believe to be well founded, the tract has witnessed the submergence of a continent which once stood there, seems to show that the cause of the quiescence is

the unspent activity of the volcanic range which is said to have, ages ago, produced the catastrophe. Is it not evident that the process of working out the calm in these cases, though far more extensive, is precisely similar in kind to that of the mud bay?

The recent disruption of the Alleppey mud-bank calls attention to the susceptibility of the banks in general to the vicissitudes of the monsoon and other meteorological conditions, and the question seems well worth considering whether it is not possible to provide against the danger of these banks—the sheet-anchor of the immemorial sea-borne trade of the Malabar Coast—being dissolved or floated away without warning. Unfortunately the subject has not received that amount of attention which its importance certainly demands. But it is scarcely necessary to say that it behoves every one who has the economic interests of the country at heart to put forth efforts towards an exhaustive enquiry into the appearance and characteristics of the phenomenon found in no other part of the world, so as to turn one of Nature's rarest gifts to the best possible account—an enquiry which promises results full of scientific interest and practical importance.

A. KRISHNA PODUVAL, B.A.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Trade of Bengal, with Nepal, Thibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, 1901-1902.

Report on the Trade carried by Rail and River in Bengal, 1901-1902.

Report on the Trade of Bengal by River and of Calcutta by all Routes, 1900-1901 (all three compiled by the Director-General of Statistics).

OF the river-borne merchandise of Bengal, naturally the canals and waterways round Calcutta, bear the heaviest burden. In 1901, 41 lakhs of maunds out of the total of 59 lakhs in all Bengal belonging to Calcutta by boats—by steamer by far the largest portion of the trade was from or to Calcutta. The imports into Calcutta represent the convergence of the products of the country into the chief sea port for shipment overseas, and the exports from Calcutta the distribution inland of goods received from overseas, excepting in both cases the fraction consumed within the city. The statistics of the trade on the Nadia rivers, the Midnapore, Hijili, Kendrapara and the Orissa Coast Canals, represent the total trade carried up and down those channels; the portion of that trade which finds its way into Calcutta by boat and steamer is registered again at the cordon of stations around the city and by the Inland Steamer Companies. The Jalangi is the most important trade route on the Nadia rivers; the principal articles carried down being food-grains, jute, oilseeds and tobacco-leaf to Calcutta, and raw silk from Malda to Murshidabad. The chief upward trade was in salt, Kerosene oil, rice and sugar. There was an increase in the trade in coal, owing to a larger demand in the silk filatures in the Murshidabad, Malda, and Rajshahi districts. Notwithstanding the opening of the Bengal-Nagpore Railway, both the downward and the upward trade on the Midnapore Canal increased, mainly owing to a larger trade in unhusked rice, which in its turn was due to the failure of the rice crops in that part of the Hooghly district commanded by the canal. There was a remarkable increase in the downward trade in stone and lime. On the Hijili Canal which serves Midnapore, Cuttack, Balasore, and Calcutta the slight diminution of the trade is attributed to indifferent crops and the diversion to the railway of the trade of the Central Provinces, although Bengal and Assam are

now connected by railway, the greater portion of the trade between the two Provinces is still carried by river. The imports from Assam in 1901 were double the exports to that Province. The principal imports from Assam were tea, stone, lime, rape and mustard seed, jute and husked rice to Calcutta, unhusked rice and timber to Dacca, coal to Dacca and Eastern Bengal. The exports to Assam were European cotton piece-goods, metals, mustard and rape oil, grain and pulse, salt, refined sugar, iron and steel. During 1901 there was an increase of $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the trade of Calcutta carried by inland steamers, and a small increase in the rail-borne trade, but that by boat and road fell off. The weight carried by rail in 1901 represented 64·6 per cent. of the whole; that by boat was about $\frac{1}{3}$, by steamer $\frac{1}{10}$, and by road little more than 6 per cent. The trade which is moved by steam whether rail or river steamer is progressive while other trade does not seem to increase, although it must be expected that there will always be a considerable boat traffic in a country covered by such a network of water ways as this Province. Animals are chiefly imported into Bengal by river; they come principally from such a distance as the United Provinces, and though time would be greatly saved by the railway, the animals themselves probably suffer less and cost less when river-borne. Coal is sent chiefly by rail and so are cotton, foodstuffs (except rice), gunny-bags, and metal. The articles imported into and exported from Calcutta in the internal trade indicate the character of the city as a great commercial and industrial centre. In the main, the imports consist of food-grains and other articles required either for export by sea to foreign countries or for the supply of local factories or raw material needed for both purposes—such as jute, coal and cotton—supplemented by the food stuffs needed for a population of not less than a million souls. The exports again consist of articles imported from foreign countries for distribution throughout North-Eastern India or made in the local factories, gunny-bags being prominent here. The imports and exports of gold are quite trifling, nor is the trade in silver bullion large except for imports by rail from Bombay. The inflow and outflow of rupees are however extremely large, the imports in 1898-1901 being 1,044 lakhs, the exports 2,021 lakhs. "It should not, however," says the Director-General of Statistics, "be assumed that such a vast excess of exports of rupees represents normal conditions. Two out of the three years were seasons of drought and famine, with prices of food-grains ranging at an abnormally high level. While the traffic in them was also abnormally active, great stocks being directed to the centres of distress—and these factors operated to greatly

increase the demand for rupees in the districts whence the food-grains were moved. It is probable that in the three years following 1900-1901 it will be found that the conditions of the import and export of rupees in the internal trade will have been materially modified."

The trade of Bengal with Nepal is far the largest on the frontier, representing practically $\frac{1}{10}$ of the whole. The imports of food-grains from the Terai fell off, in consequence of the partial failure of the crops and high price in Nepal, and of the prohibition of exports owing to apprehended scarcity in the State. There was an improvement in the trade of all the other important imports, namely, cattle, jute, hides and skins and oilseeds. There was a small increase in the export of cotton yarn and woven goods. The trade with Thibet exhibited some improvement. The conditions which limit trade with that country continue unmodified in any appreciable degree. With Sikkim and Bhutan the trade is still on a very restricted scale: but trade with Sikkim has been passing unregistered through an unrecognised route and a new registration station has been established in Darjeeling since April 1902. There has been an increase in the trade with Bhutan due to the development of the importation of oranges—"a suggestive illustration of the creation of trade by the facilities offered for transport by the construction of railways.

Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1900-1901 and 1901-1902.

Forest Administration in the Central, Oudh, and School Circles of the United Provinces, 1901-1902.

THE Forest area in Bengal is 13,579 square miles as against 11,292 square miles in the Circles of the United Provinces of the above Report. Considerably more expenditure has been incurred in Bengal on demarcation work, Rs. 15,464 as against Rs. 1,329 in the United Provinces. The chief work in Bengal has been in the Chittagong Division. The average cost per mile of boundary cleared and repaired varies considerably in different places, being Rs. 9-8-5 in Buxa, Rs. 4-2-11 in Darjeeling, and Rs. 1-15-5 in Singhbhum.

No survey operations have been carried out during the year in the United Provinces, but in Bengal the Singhbhum Division, including the Porahat Range, was surveyed by Mr Ewing, who completed the 4-inch detail survey and began the survey of the protected forests, while a small detachment under Babu Odey Ram completed the 4-inch detail of the Koderma Reserved and Protected Forests of Hazaribagh. Progress was slow in this district owing to the mica mines that had to be

surveyed. The total cost in Bengal was Rs. 22,786, of which only 70 per cent. is charged to the Forest Department, the remainder being debited to Topographical Survey. Existing maps were brought up to date in the Darjeeling Division. It appears that 1902 was the ninth year of the plan in force for the Sundarbans Forests, and the Divisional Officer reports that some improvement was made towards preventing the felling of Sundri poles and fuel, by prohibiting the issue of permits for those products at stations within these circles, "a precaution," Mr. J. H. Lace remarks, "which should have been taken long ago." "From enquiries made on the spot" the conservator proceeds, he is "convinced that the restrictions placed by the working plan on the size of the Sundri timber that may be felled have never been fully enforced, and that so much undersized timber has been removed as to seriously impair the stock of the future in the coupes hitherto worked, particularly as the rate of growth of the Sundri appears from the data collected to have been considerably over-estimated by the Working-Plans Officer. The result during the past nine years has been an undue inflation of the revenue at the expense of the future, and a serious drop in receipts may be anticipated during the next felling-period for which the existing plan comes under revision during the current year." In Bundelkhand it was decided some years ago that in the forest area of 303 square miles the forests were not sufficiently valuable to require a working-plan, but as they are being worked to a certain extent, a rough working scheme will have to be devised for them.

The total expenditure on roads and paths was Rs. 22,874 in Bengal as against Rs. 19,485 in the preceding year—that in the United Provinces to Rs. 6,369. In the latter provinces, the repairs cost some Rs. 3,000 more this year, owing to heavy floods which obliterated large portions of the roads in the valleys, and also to the improvement of the main roads by extraction of boulders and gravelling the surface.

The section "Protection of Forests from Injury" shows that the total number of cases taken into court was 322 less in Bengal than in the preceding year. A decrease had occurred under all heads, that under "Injury by Fire" being 29 cases. The percentage of undetected cases was 27. The offences are chiefly injury by fire, and illicit felling and grazing. As a rule most of the cases are of a petty nature. In Jalpaiguri a large amount of illicit buffalo grazing takes place, partly by animals belonging to graziers living in Bhutan; compensation is exacted at the rate of Rs. 2 per head. The area damaged by fire was greater; the most serious case was in the Raman-dag reserve. The success attained in the prevention of fires

in the Saitba block is attributed to the fact that the setting fire to the forest by villagers entails the closure of the burnt tract to the exercise of their privileges, and to the fact that the removal of firewood is restricted to fixed areas. Of 72 fires, 18 are ascribed to intentional firing, 30 to carelessness or accident; 15 entered the forest by crossing fire-lines.

In his section on the "Improvement of Forest Growth" the Conservator remarks that he is much struck by the general adequacy of natural reproduction of the more valuable species and the insufficiency of the steps taken to assist that reproduction in the Terai, the Duars, and Sal areas situated in the lower hills. "The benefit derived from fire-protection is remarkable. In the Buxa Division there are large areas of what must once have been fine forests of *Dalbergia Sissoo*, but which owing to constant firing have been reduced to a sea of grass and scattered trees. Much money has been spent in the past on the artificial cultivation of species foreign to the whole or certain portions of the country, and with very poor results. With a multitude of indigenous species in the forests producing excellent timber, fuel, and even rubber, it will be well for the Department to direct most attention to the encouragement of the valuable native species, and to spend money on such work rather than on the cultivation of exotics."

Creepers-cutting has been conducted with considerable energy in the Kurseong forests during the past few years and with incalculable benefit. In the Buxa forests except on high well-drained soil, nearly every Sal tree is embraced by one or more gigantic creepers, which have killed great numbers of poles and seriously interfered with the growth of older trees.

An interesting experiment is being tried at Tahsiding. A method believed to be Chinese of producing rubber plants consists in removing a small ring of bark from a living branch, and binding wet moss round the wound. The branches thus treated throw out numerous roots at the top of the wound, and are then cut off and planted. It is too soon yet to judge of the success of the method.

Tigers are reported to have killed 112 persons in the Bengal forests as against 60 last year and the Sunderbans are responsible for 86 in 1902.

In the United Provinces an experiment was made in tapping *chir* trees for resin in the Kumaun Division, with a view to ascertaining whether resin would exude in the winter months in the lower forests: 1,000 trees were tapped but the resin did not begin to flow till March and then only in the hotter localities. The greatest amount was obtained in June. "Very little resin was obtained from trees over 6 feet in girth, which the Divisional Officer thinks is due to maltreatment of the trees

when young. The average of all the trees is 1'8 seer per tree, the cost of extraction Rs. 5 per maund."

Annual Report of the Sibpur Experimental Farm. 1901-1902. Report on the Cawnpore and other Experiment Stations in the United Provinces. 1901-02.

THE Cawnpore Farm is senior to that at Sibpur, the one being, some twenty-one years old, the other only fifteen. It consists of 51'33 acres, while that at Sibpur is only 27 acres in area. The Professor of the Civil Engineering College who is in charge of the Sibpur Farm remarks that the area is too small for practical experiments. In the Sibpur Report, particulars of present employment are given of the twenty-eight students who have passed out. Three are employed as Farm Overseers under Government, and three under Zamindars. Two former students have been made Overseers of the Sibpur Farm, and the Professor, N. G. Mukerjee, has found them efficient and useful. Since the extension of the course to two years, the numbers of the students have fallen off. A Sibpur College Journal in Bengali has been started, with one of the senior agricultural students as editor. Dr Leather in submitting an analysis of the soil to Government observed that the Farm is situated out of reach of the general cultivating classes, and it would seem desirable to avoid any further expense on it. Experiments made on the spacing of sugar-cane showed that "for both seed purposes and ordinary agricultural purposes, sugar-cane should be planted in lines not less than six feet apart." Experiments were also made on the drought-resisting power of various paddies. At Cawnpore various manurial experiments have been tried on wheat, sugar-cane and potatoes. Other experiments have been made in the reclamation of barren land by tree-planting, and by the removal of alkali by subsoil drainage or by scraping.

Investigation have been carried on regarding wheat rusts: the conclusion to which the Director of Land Records and Agriculture (Mr. W. H. Moreland) comes is that "every attempt so far to treat the soil, the seed, or the growing crop has failed to give satisfactory results, and the only chance appears to consist in being able to raise rust-resisting varieties of wheat." During the past year the systematic study of the insect-pests found on the Cawnpore Farm has been begun. Attempts have been made to find the eggs of the sugar-cane borer, but without success. A good deal if not all of the injury in the early stages is due, says Mr. Moreland, to the sowing of infected cuttings in which the borer is overlooked. The borer begins to pupate in March, and in about two weeks the moth appears.

These are in time to lay eggs and affect the young sugar-cane. There are apparently two or more generations during summer. The maize plants are attacked when young, and in some cases killed. The larvæ pupate in the stalk or inside the leaf sheath, and the second generation appear to attack the plant higher up. Some moths kept in captivity have laid eggs (200 by one moth): these will be hatched out, and, if possible, reared and the number of generations studied.

Annual Report on the Government Cinchona Plantation (Bengal, 1901-1902. (Major D. Prain, M.B., I.M.S.)

Annual Report of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta. 1901-02. (Major D. Prain, M.B., I.M.S.)

INVESTIGATIONS at the Royal Botanic Gardens have been made during the year into the history of the dye-yielding Indigoferas. It appears that the Indigofera now grown in India is not, as is usually supposed, Indigofera Tinctoria or Indian Indigo, at all, but is really an exotic, from Malabar or Malaya. This is of importance from the fact that objections have been raised to the East African Indigofera on the ground that it was an exotic. It was recorded in the last Annual Report that during the excessive floods of September 1900 this East African Indigo came by no harm when all the Indian and American kinds were practically destroyed. In 1901, the experimental plots were attacked by an insect blight which destroyed all save a few plants of every Asiatic and American Indigofera under cultivation without in the least affecting the East African species.

Paspalum dilatatum has received attention during the year: the difficulties regarding its cultivation in Bengal have been successfully overcome. In S. India it is found that its drought-resisting qualities as displayed in Australia have not been overestimated, but in N. India it is stated that though an excellent fodder-grass where irrigation is available, it is as a drought-resisting species decidedly inferior to some well-known native grasses.

Arrangements have been made with the Department of Agriculture, Western Australia, to introduce into that colony the different varieties of Indian oranges. The greatest number of specimens contributed during the year from private sources are from a lady, Mrs. A. S. Bell, Banda.

The Government cinchona plantation in Sikkim now numbers nearly three million living trees. The issues of sulphate of quinine for the year amounted to 3,670 lbs. 4 oz. The principal Veterinary Officer, South Africa, indented for 300 lbs. of Cinchona Febrifuge. The approximate profit of

the Department for the year was Rs. 12,783. The quantity issued to the Jail Department fell off by 1,500 lbs. No explanation of this falling off has been received from the Departments concerned.

Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1902.

IN the classification of monuments for conservation purposes the following is the rule adopted by Mr. Henry Cousens, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, who is the writer of the Report before us:—

- (I). Those monuments which from their present condition and historical or archaeological value ought to be maintained in permanent good repair.
- (II). Those monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such minor measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from the walls, and the like.
- (III). Those monuments which from their advanced stage of decay, or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.

This Report really consists of a journey of inspection through the southern part of Berar, taking Akolâ as a convenient centre from which to start work.

Some idea of the work done may be gathered from the description of Mr. Cousens' visit to Bârsi Tâkli, Sirpur and Lonâr, with its craters and series of temples.

The first place visited from Akolâ was Bârsi Tâkli, 12 miles south-east. Here, to the south-east of the town and on its out-skirts, is the compact little black-stone temple of Bhavânî. It consists of a shrine and *mandapa* or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of mouldings and figures. The *mandapa* is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideways to it, the open side of the *mandapa* with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the *mandapa* is rectangular while that of the shrine is star-shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Ganapati, are females, Mahâkâlî and Mahishâsuramardani occupying important positions. The temple is not free from indecent figures. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those in a temple at Balsâne in Khandesh.

The temple is not in regular use and we found no one living on the spot save a filthy half-demented old man who had taken up his lodgings in the temple and was cooking inside the *mandapa*. The place is very dirty and requires to be thoroughly cleaned out (*not white-washed*) and no one should be allowed to live in it. The accumulated earth around the basement should be cleared away, and a certain space around properly levelled. Round the back of the temple the villagers have converted the place into a latrine, and rank vegetation comes almost up to the walls.

The *sikharas* of both *mandapa* and shrine have disappeared and the roof is covered with long grass.

Within the temple, engraved upon the back wall, is a long Sanskrit inscription, which is, unfortunately, very much damaged by the peeling of the surface of the stone. It is dated Saka 1098 (A.D. 1176), which, from its style, seems to be the date of the construction of the temple.

Sirpur is 12 miles west by north of Bâsim. A short distance outside the village, on the west, stands the old temple of Antariksha Pârsvanâtha belonging to the Digambara Jaina community. At present their principal temple is a very modern one in the village, but this was the original temple from which there is a tradition of the image having been transferred probably about the time of the Muhammadan invasion of this part of the country. In the new temple they have the usual underground chambers in which to conceal their images in the event of a repetition of the treatment they once received at the iconoclasts' hands. The old temple has an abraded inscription above the east doorway to one side with a date which seems to read Samvat 1334 (A.D. 1406), and the name Antariksha Pârsvanâtha. The plan of the shrine is star-shaped and the walls are decorated with bands of arabesque, no images being carved except in the three principal niches, and these were loose and detachable if necessary. If they did exist they have been removed. The temple gives one the impression of being unfinished, and the date of its erection must be quite a hundred years earlier than the date of the inscription. Like the temple at Pur, this one was probably being built at the time of the early Muhammadan invasion of the Dakhan, when the building was stopped and it was left in an unfinished state. In 1406, when the fresh iconoclastic zeal of the conquerors had subsided into the tolerance of the rulers, the temple was taken in hand again and the image of Pârsvanâtha Antariksha was installed. Interference with the shrine during the contentions between the rival Muhammadan powers of the Dakhan may have necessitated its final abandonment,

and the erection of a temple in the heart of the village provided with its underground cells. This probably happened when they were adding the hybrid style brick *sikhara*, which again was left unfinished.

There can be little doubt that the people of the Dakhan had heard long before their arrival in their midst of the terrible destruction meted out to Hindu temples by the image smashers of Northern India. It is possible that this is the reason why the Hindu temple builders of this period introduced this new form of decoration for the exteriors of their temples—bands of arabesque and plain mouldings in place of the profusion of images which formerly prevailed, so that there should be nothing outside to excite the fanatical feelings of this new enemy of idolatry?

The entrance doorway of the hall is elaborately carved and here we have images, but they would have been covered and hidden by the porch in front had it been completed. Standing on either side of the doorway are nude Jaina figures. Over the lintel, upon the dedicatory block, is a small seated Jina. In the shrine are now two small marble Jinās, neither of them being Pârsvanâtha. They are much neglected and receive little attention.

Lonâr lies 12 miles south by west of Mehkar. In the village is the old temple of Daitya-Sûdana, a Vaishnava temple, so called on account of its connection with the story of the demon Lavanasura or Lonasura who used to dwell in the crater close by, and who was eventually slain by Vishnu in the incarnation of Daitya-Sûdana. The temple measures 105 feet long by 84½ feet broad, it faces east, and is built of black stone profusely carved all over the exterior with images and other ornament. The work, however, is comparatively late, and this is seen in the inferior workmanship of the images, the style of the bands of moulding, particularly those in the basement, and an indiscriminate spreading of ornament over every available surface. The building, too, seems never to have been finished. The roof and some parts of the tops of the walls, with the tops of the three doorways of the hall, were never completed. There is a total absence of sculptured stones from these parts lying about; some fragments would surely have remained, had the building been finished and subsequently ruined. The unfinished portions are in stepped out horizontal courses as left by the builders. The four great pillars to support the intended dome together with part of the inside masonry lining of the walls were never erected; but at a very much later date the building was again taken in hand and finished off in a rough and ready manner, with

coarse brick-work, and brick arching was thrown over the unfinished tops of the three door-ways. The moulded basements for three porches before the door-ways were laid, but the porches were never finished. It is probable that this temple, like that at Pûr, was being built when the Mahomedans first overran this part of the country about the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. They stopped the work, dispersed the workmen, and mutilated the images. Whether the original image for the shrine was ready at that time or not is uncertain, most probably not. When the temple was taken in hand, and the brick-work was added, a modern and very poor image of Vishnu, said to have been brought from Nagpur at great cost, was set up in the shrine, and this is now the object of worship.

Occupying the principal niche on the back of the temple outside is a standing image of Sûrya; as this is the position always of the leading image on the exterior of the temple, and has direct connection with the image in the shrine, it is just possible that the temple may have been intended as a shrine of Sûrya. Of the two other chief niches, that on the south has an image of a *devî*, but which it is almost impossible to say, owing to its mutilation. The north niche is empty. One of the side shrines of the modern temple at the head of the descent to the lake, where the tank and *gaumukha* are, contains some old loose images of Sûrya and Narasimha. They have been brought here from elsewhere, probably from the big temple. The three niches mentioned are very salient features upon this temple. They project from the face of the wall a great deal more than usual, so much so that they almost look like miniature porches. The basement mouldings of the temple support and follow these projections. Amongst the images on the exterior, there are Vishnu, Narasimha, Varaha, Ganapati, Brahma, Bhairava, Sarasvatî, the regents of the eight points of the compass in their respective positions, Parasurama, Râma and Kâliya-mardana.

We come now to the crater and its temples. At a short distance to the west of the town is what is supposed to be the crater of an extinct volcano, the only one known of in the Dakhan. It is a great bowl-shaped hollow, five miles round at the top, and about three miles five hundred feet below, where a salt lake occupies the centre surrounded by a wide margin of land between its edge and the foot of the circular slope of the walls of the crater. The walls which differ in nothing from ordinary hillside covered with jungle and grass, slope down from the upper rim at an abrupt angle of from 75° to 80° to the level belt around the lake. In the outer ring of this belt tamarind and date palms thrive, while the

inner nearest the lake supports the babul tree only, but nearly all the latter had been cut down leaving but their stumps. On the northern margin of the lake, where this belt of land is much wider, are kitchen gardens and fruit-trees watered by the stream which descends from the *gaumukha* above. The water of the lake is impregnated with salt which is extracted and sold as a marketable produce for use in washing and dying cloth. Although the lake is so impregnated with this salt, which causes it to give off an offensive smell, yet in a well sunk quite close to its edge on the south side, the water is perfectly fresh and is used for drinking purposes.

Down in the crater, around the margin of the lake are a number of old temples of sorts, 16 in number, and there are others in the descent to the lake from the *gaumukha* temple. From this temple down to the lake extends a ravine which is the only break in the continuity of circular walls of the crater, and it is down the sides of this cleft that the pathway leads to the bottom. The head of the ravine bifurcates near the top, and it is at the head of the western branch that the spring is located from which the water is led through a *gaumnkha* or cow's mouth into a small square tank in which Hindu pilgrims of both sexes, old and young, bathe promiscuously. The water is supposed to come from the Ganges, in proof of which it is said that a marked stick thrown into that river was found to emerge at the spring! A temple and an accumulation of other cell shrines, all of more or less modern growth, have sprung up around the tank. The Mahomedans had the audacity to trench upon this snuggery of the Hindus. They actually began to build a mosque right in their midst, upon the western side of the sacred tank, but were eventually stopped in their rash venture and warned off.

This is a most interesting Report to the antiquarian, and Mr. Cousens incidentally mentions that this tour through Berar has enabled him to complete the collection of material for a volume he has in hand in the temples of the Dakhan, and which is already partly written out and which we shall be glad to welcome.

The Agricultural Ledger (Vegetable Product Series). 1901—No. 14. (*Index*.) 1902. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7. 1903. No. 1. Edited by the Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India.

THE objects of the Agricultural Ledger according to its own statement are to provide information connected with agriculture or with economic products in a form which

will admit of its ready transfer to ledgers and to secure the maintenance of uniform ledgers on the plan of the Dictionary of Economic Products in all offices in India, besides facilitating the circulation of economic information and of all papers of interest.

No. 1 of 1902 deals with Indian Tanning Materials. (Mr. D. Hooper, F. C. S.) During the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of London, 1886, a conference examined new Indian Tanning Materials. In 1899 another conference was held in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, between the Inspector-General of Forests and the Reporter on Economic Products, when it was proposed to institute a systematic enquiry into the matter. This number of the Agricultural Ledger gives the last results obtained of the chemical analysis, and the actual trade value of the ordinary raw tanning materials and the solid extracts prepared from them. The forests of India are rich in barks and fruits capable of being more extensively used in tanning.

No. 4 of 1902 is a popular account of arsenic as it occurs in India, by Sir George Watt. It gives the vernacular names for White Arsenic, Orpiment and Realgar. The chief localities in which Arsenic is found in India are Munsiri in Kumaon, Chitral and Upper Burma. Arsenic has been imported from Burma and China from the earliest times. There is an extensive consumption of the various forms of arsenic in the industries of India. White arsenic is used medicinally, and also in preparing skins for export. It is the form most usually employed for criminal purposes, "cholera of the white arsenic kind" being familiar to readers of Kipling. In 1899, out of 915 cases investigated the poison was arsenic in 382 cases. It is most frequently used in the Punjab, Orpiment (a sulphide of arsenic, known as Yellow Arsenic) is a pigment and dye, an essential ingredient in the manufacture of shellac, is the poison of insect proof paper, the chief ingredient in insecticide powders, gives the blue flame in fireworks, and is an ingredient in nearly all depilatories. Recently it has become of fresh interest, as a poison for locusts, since when dissolved by boiling in an alkali, it may be used very diluted so as to be quite harmless to the higher forms of life but very fatal to locusts. It is sweetened with sugar sprinkled on fragments of straw, which is strewn over the fields invaded by the insects. The first to die are eaten and in turn poison their cannibal fellows. So that a comparatively small quantity does large execution. Realgar (another sulphide, known as Red Arsenic) is a pigment and is also used in pyrotechny.

No. 5 Alkalies by Sir George Watt, C.I.E., and *No. 6*

Aeschynomene Aspera (the Sola-pith Plant) are equally interesting, even to the lay reader. We quote one or two paragraphs.

"All over India shells are burned for lime. Away in the interior of the country wherever annual inundation occurs, a marvellous crop of exceptionally large land shells furnishes an abundant supply for most local necessities, for example at Murshidabad. On the coast tracts of India and Burma, immense beds of marine shells and raised coral reefs are met with. These are regularly utilised as sources of lime, and in South India have mainly given rise to the prosperous industry of Portland Cement manufacture—an industry that I understand is likely to be very shortly organised near the mouth of the Ganges, where rich beds of marine shells are abundant. So strict are some Hindus, that they will not use for their *padu* the lime obtained from shells, on the ground that it is derived from animals. "The *Aeschynomene Aspera* of Linnæus is the Shola of Hindustani—a word corrupted into Solar by English manufacturers of the topis made of it. It is a floating bush with sensitive leaves found on land annually inundated or in the margins of tanks. If left until the seeds mature the stem becomes dry, shrinks, and leaves a large cavern along the centre. In Bengal and Assam the workers in pith belong as a rule to the Hindu caste of garland-makers, the Malis. The stems are cut into lengths of two or three feet and tied into bundles. They are stored till dry, the brown bark is removed, and the pith if intended for hats is split into thin sheets. For this purpose the stem is held in front of the operator and with a sharp thin knife is stripped spirally. To perform this feat expeditiously requires great skill. Hats are worked up on wooden or clay moulds, and if honestly made are built up layer upon layer of sola sheets, pasted one on the top of the other. By dishonest makers a large proportion of paper is intermixed with the pith, thus adding greatly to the weight of the hat and lessening very materially its insulating power—the property which makes the sola-topi superior to hats made of felt, cork, or any other material. In Assam the idols of Monosa, the snake goddess, are made of sola-pith, and in some parts of Bengal both Hindus and Muhammadans during the month of August worship a sola-pith idol." In this last particular they might claim as brothers the globe trotter who appears at Calcutta garden parties in December in his sola-topi.

1902 No. 7 deals with the "*Asphodelus Ternnifolius*," an Indian Famine Food (Mr. A. Ghose). It is excessively common in North India, loves sandy soils, and the plant and

seeds are eaten in famine time. The plant is very mucilaginous and something like an onion. It belongs to the Liliaceæ. The bulbs when ground give a greasy black paste. The analysis shows 25 per cent. of albuminoids and 25 per cent. of oil, 17 per cent. of carbohydrates, proportions showing considerable nutritive powers. Medicinally like onions and squills it is a diuretic. (1). The seeds show no trace of alkaloids. (2) The present report on it is in response to a request from the Officiating Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India.

1903 No. 1 on "Camellia Thea" and the Principles of Tea Pruning is by Sir George Watt and Mr. Harold H. Mann, M.Sc., F.I.C., F.L.S., Scientific Officer to the Indian Tea Association. The writers hold that pruning is the most important operation in the tea garden during the whole season and attribute to its absence the deterioration of tea gardens and hence of the lack of permanence of tea properties. With regard to the method of pruning, they express the opinion that it says much for the hardy nature of the tea-plant that such essentially different methods seem to give very good results. They suggest, however, that some very good results are obtained *in spite of* a bad system of pruning.

These little manuals are highly interesting, and most practically useful, besides being in a very handy form. They can be obtained from the office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, and are arranged in different series—the Veterinary, Forest, Mineral, Vegetable Series, etc. It might be useful if a list of the various Series were printed on the last page of each number.

Financial and Commercial Statistics of British India. Compiled by the Director-General of Statistics. (Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, pages 441.)

A NEW section has been added to the Annual Report of 1902, consisting of a page which records the rates of steamer freights *vid* the Suez Canal from Calcutta and Bombay to London from 1871 to 1902. The great progressive decrease may be seen by comparing the rates of the census years:—

From Calcutta (per ton).

	Rice.	Wheat.	Jute.	Linseed.	Tea.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1871	4 5 0	4 5 0	4 5 0	4 15 0	5 2 6
1881	2 5 0	2 5 0	2 7 6	2 10 0	2 15 0
1891	1 12 6	1 12 6	1 15 0	1 15 0	2 10 0
1901	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 2 6	1 2 6	1 15 0

From Bombay (per ton).		Cotton (to Liverpool).	
Wheat & Seeds.			
£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
1 10 0	(1872)	2 7 6	
1 5 0		1 15 0	
1 2 6		1 3 9	
0 14 0		0 14 0	

The section on Inventions and Designs has an interesting column showing an increase in the number of natives making applications to file specifications of inventions though the number is still small—22 in 1892, 46 in 1901,—whereas that of Anglo-Indians, and of persons not resident in India remains fairly constant. The total income derived from fees under the Inventions and Designs Act of 1888 was Rs. 15,705 in 1892, and had risen to Rs. 45,100 in 1901.

The Emigration Section shows that between 1878 and 1901 360,549 persons left India, of whom only 153,062 returned including children, presumably including those born during the parents' stay out of India. Apparently therefore 207,487 did not return, and really a number larger by the number of children born during the exile. The chief destinations of emigrants in order of popularity were Demerara (94,000), Natal (68,000), Trinidad (56,000), Mauritius (34,000), Mombasa (33,000), Fiji (22,000), French West India Islands (22,000—no emigrants since 1884), Dutch Guiana (17,000), Jamaica (8,000). By far the largest number ship from Calcutta; from Madras they only ship for Mauritius and Natal; from Bombay to Mombasa and Seychelles; from Karachi to Mombasa. The greater portion of the emigrants are drawn from the United Provinces, Bihar and North Arcot coming next.

The Section on Wrecks shows a very gratifying decrease in the numbers of lives lost.

	British Vessels.	British Indian Vessels.	Native Craft.	Lives.
1876	23	8	11	407
1886	10	54	23	66
1896	6	27	16	151
1901	3	51	14	18

The apparent increase of wrecks of British Indian vessels is probably a real decrease owing to the increased numbers afloat. Does the apparent decrease of wrecks of British vessels point to a decrease of the numbers afloat? Sailing ships (British) show a great decrease of wrecks due it may be supposed to their decreasing numbers. The British

Indian vessels lost are nearly entirely all sailing ships. It would be interesting if next year this point were elucidated by the Director-General of Statistics, it is difficult to make it out from a comparison of the Section on Wrecks with that on the Number and Tonnage of Steam and Sailing Vessels entered or cleared for foreign trade. (Section XXX.)

The section on large industries shows in most mill-industries: the number of mills and of persons employed were as follows:—

	1891.		1900.	
	Numbers.	Employés.	Numbers.	Employés.
Cotton Mills ...	396	18,842	813	49,630
Dairy Farms ...	...	...	78	697
Dye Works ...	...	...	9	799
Flour Mills ...	52	1,172	101	2,554
Ice Factories ...	31	634	53	827
Indigo Factories ...	5,726	84,162	5,145	240,333
Iron and Brass Foundries ...	83	9,816	124	17,585
Mineral Water Factories ...	76	315	554	2,393
Oil Mills ...	69	1,651	212	5,084
Tanneries ...	44	3,094	202	6,200
Distilleries ...	..	...	36	1,277

Tobacco-farms, Indigo factories, Bone-crushing mills and Coffee Works are the only industries which show a decrease, or in any case remain stationary. Distilleries, dye works, and dairy farms, chemical works, fish-curing yards, gas works, hemp presses, printing presses and woollen weaving establishments not classed as mills do not appear in the column of 1891, and well represented in 1900.

Section XIV on Paper Currency shows that the number of Rs. 10 notes in circulation was nearly 5 times as great in 1902 as in 1875: the other notes have about doubled, except the Rs. 100 which has almost trebled, and the Rs. 10,000 note which has increased from 597 to 7,728.

The nett imports of gold have much increased, exceeding already in the seven years of the decade beginning 1895 the total for the preceding decade. In 1900-01 alone the total imported was 11,89,80,197; but the amount exported that year nearly equalled that imported, leaving the nett import much less than usual.

The Summary of Contents shows that of Joint Stock Companies registered 64 per cent. have been failures, a considerable number of "provident" associations formed in Bengal amongst the number.

The great bulk of Savings Bank Deposits is made by natives of India, the balances of Europeans and Eurasians being

Rs. 1,11,22,861, and those of natives Rs. 8,93,09,708 at the end of 1900-01. The largest amount was invested in Bengal, though Bombay nearly equals it with a population only one-third as great.

The Post Office Section records a fact which reflects the greatest credit on that department, that its business is carried on over 92,960 miles worked by boats, mail-carts, horses, camels, and runners to only 38,661 miles worked by trains and steamers—the number of packages delivered in 1900-01 amounted to 532 millions. Value-payable post though only introduced in 1877, gave a value declared for realisation of Rs. 3,42,00,000 in 1900-01. The insurance fee is $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and the gross sum for which articles were insured in 1900-01 was Rs. 9,55,30,000. Since 1884 British postal orders have been sold at Indian Post Offices. It seems desirable that these orders should be realisable in South Africa since the recent influx of English people into that country. The annual subsidy paid by Government to the P. & O. Company for the Combined Eastern and Australian Mail Services is £330,000. The Indian share of this subsidy has not yet been determined.

Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Zoological Garden, Calcutta, for the year 1901-1902.

THE Calcutta Zoo is one of the most carefully and tastefully kept of any Zoological Garden we know of, and from an experience of many years residence in Calcutta, we can testify to its continued attractiveness.

During the year 1901-1902 Rai Bahadur Camaleshwar Prasad Singh of Monghyr has given to the Garden Rs. 4,000, Babu Ramanath Ghose, Zamindar, Rs. 1,000, and Syud Hossain Haider, Zamindar of Comilla, Rs. 1,000.

The Burdwan Raj Estates have granted Rs. 3,600 for repairing the Burdwan House, and the Maharajah Surya Kanta Acharya of Mymensingh has contributed the very handsome donation of Rs. 20,000 for building an open-air enclosure for the larger carnivorous animals, behind the Burdwan House.

The donations and subscriptions show an increase of Rs. 3,103—Rs. 20,691 the year under review as against Rs. 17,588 the previous year.

The number of visitors has increased, and that too, without taking into account the number of students from different schools, members of some charitable institutions, and children under age, who are admitted free of charge,—the number being 182,310, nearly 30,000 more than last year. The entrance

receipts have gone up from Rs. 12,145-8-0 to Rs. 14,242-4-0. The expenditure under the head "Establishment" has decreased from Rs. 13,384-11-3 to Rs. 13,041-14-1.

Some of the houses and enclosures of the Garden, which were in a very bad condition, have had to be repaired, involving an outlay of Rs. 15,059-4-3, and Rs. 15,493-14-3 were spent under the head "Original Construction" and Rs. 4,213-10-9 on "Garden Construction." Among the donors of animals during the past year are Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E., His Grace Archbishop Goethals, S.J., H. H. the Sultan of Johore and Her Excellency Lady Curzon.

We notice among the animals given, two fishing cats, and one English cat, also five tigers, seven leopards, one crocodile, three bears, one crocodile and one elephant, and the following animals were born in the Garden, two spotted deer, one Rhesus monkey, one sambur deer, one Banteng calf, three Andaman pigs, one scarlet ibis, three purple coots, and one crested pigeon.

The following comparative tables will show how the various collection of animals in the Garden stood during the last four years:—

Year.	Mammals.	Birds.	Reptiles.
1898-99	... 447	591	157
1899-1900	... 449	752	187
1900-1901	... 462	905	218
1901-1902	... 490	914	240

The following table will show additions to the collection of animals in each of the last four years:—

Year.	Mammals.	Birds.	Reptiles.
1898-99	... 103	258	69
1899-1900	... 78	299	91
1900-1901	... 112	409	102
1901-1902	... 132	250	105

The following statement showing the visitors and receipts during the year 1901-1902.

SUNDAYS.						WEEK DAYS.		TOTALS.	
Number of visitors at 1 anna.	Amount of receipts at 1 anna.	Number of visitors at 4 annas.	Amount of receipts at 4 annas.	Number of visitors at 1 rupee.	Amount of receipts at 1 rupee.	Number of visitors at 1 anna.	Amount of receipts at 1 anna.	Total number of visitors.	Total receipts.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Rs. A.		Rs. A.		Rs. A.		Rs. A.		Rs. A.
11,979	749 1	5,351	1,313 0	1,957	1,957 0	163,123	10,233 3	182,310	14,242 4

A Monograph on Wood-Carving in Bengal, by Chevalier O. Ghilardi, Officiating Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta. Bengal Secretariat Press. 1903.

THIS 'monograph' was originally allotted to Mr. G. B. Havel, but he, having gone to England, on leave, the duty has devolved upon M. Ghilardi, who visited Gaya, Patna and Monghyr to see the wood-carvers at work. The Report before us is the result of this visit; and to it is appended a Note on wood-carving in the district of Cuttack, prepared by Babu Monmohan Chakravarty. That the wood-carving industry in Bengal had, and may still have, clever mistries, able to do decorative work is evidenced from the fact of three specimens in the Economic Section of the Imperial Museum in Calcutta, *viz.*, a massive pillar carved in Muzaffarpur and the models of the temples at Kantanagar and Barakar, which are excellent indeed.

At Patna, which is the first place Chevalier Ghilardi visited nothing remains to testify to its identity with the ancient Palibotra, the capital of the Mawrya Emperors, visited by the Greek Ambassadors of the successors of Alexander.

Mr. Ghilardi is not very sanguine as to a better future for the wood-carving industry in this district, and at the present it is practically nominal.

The past seems to have enjoyed a period of happy florid forms, with which the work done at present, will not bear comparison. It appears that all the old carving visible along the road, where the villages of Muradpur, Chowhatta and Aru are situated, was cast more or less from the same mould, so little is the variety in form or design. The carving to which Mr. Ghilardi alludes is that in connection with buildings, such as the pillars, architraves and brackets supporting their verandahs and roofs. Unfortunately now, all this is changed. When a house has to be rebuilt, no more carved pillars are used; bricks are the only substitute. Originally most of these pillars were first worked by the turner, and afterwards carved by clever artisans, but when the present proprietor of a house changes the old pillars, the work of the turner is dispensed with, and the pillars, although fairly well carved, remain of a quadrangular form. The decay in the profession has proceeded so far that none of the new buildings on the long road between Bankipore and Patna have any wood-carvings at all.

A certain percentage of the men make their living by carving blocks for printing cotton materials. The demand for these blocks is constant and will go on increasing.

The fact of the matter is there is no demand for work of a higher order—and this is the reason why the more important

branches of wood-carving in connection with architecture, such as pillars, architraves, brackets, door-ways, window framing or screens, boxes and caskets—are neglected.

Toys also are made, which are distributed in large quantities in the country, and find their market in bazars and fairs.

The tools used are of a very primitive description—although the wood-carvers on blocks use better tools, but they spend too much time in finishing their work, and—as Mr. Ghilardi says, the “old adage ‘time is money’ will probably always remain unknown to these poor men, to whom the whole world seems to be circumscribed to limits of their own land, and as a natural consequence, they are, as a class, very imprudent.”

What is true of Patna, is also true of the old city of Gaya—all is in the past. In earlier days, both rich and poor, appear to have thought it absolutely necessary that at least some part of their dwellings, in which they would spend the greater part of their lives should possess something to delight the eyes, therefore stone and wood-carving was employed in the erection of a frontage to a house whose proportions, adequate to the means and æsthetic of its owner, would generally afford at least some carved pillars, doorways, architraves, carved windows, etc., etc.

Mr. Ghilardi went through the remotest recesses of the extensive native quarter and had the opportunity of admiring some really beautiful wood-carving, which must have originated from the splendid examples of old carved stone on the Buddhist and Hindu temples which seem so gloriously to defy the ravages of the centuries.

He also visited the house of Rai Behari Lall Barrick Bahadur, where the best specimen of ancient carving can be admired and profitably studied. Here he found a door with its pillars, architrave and freizes so admirably carved that they might well be exhibited in a museum. Near this house is the corner of a very narrow lane, at which there is a small house evidently old, and displaying some beautiful carvings of the more minute style, almost resembling chased silver or filigree work. The natives themselves have great veneration for this building, owing to the beautiful construction of its verandah, beams, pillars and freizes. Many other fine examples here are injured by several coats of tar having been laid over them in such a way as almost to obliterate the ancient carving, of which little or no trace is now visible. The same barbarous process of tarring or coating has unfortunately not spared the grand Buddhist temple at Buddha Gaya, a site which cannot fail to inspire in the archæologist the same interest as Niniveh, Memphis, Thebes, Jerusalem, Athens and Rome.

In fact, there is now no wood-carver in Gaya who may be able to do any work similar to these splendid remains. Industry in the strict sense of the word does not exist either in Gaya town, Manpur, Maksudpur, Buddha Gaya or Tikari. The mistries are mere carpenters, and very seldom receive orders for even common carving.

In Buddha Gaya Mr. Ghilardi spoke with a mistry who had carved a nice architrave in the court-yard of the Buddhist monastery four years ago, and from that time he has had no orders for any other carvings, for which the man has special talent. He insists that this architrave carved by him is in the ancient Buddhist style; but it is not so, as the carving possesses all the characteristics of the Burmese manner, as indeed do the greater part of the old carvings in the town of Gaya. An exception might be made in favour of those of Rai Behari Lall Barrick Bahadur's house and a few others. Patna has a style more purely Hindu, and is certainly more free from this Burmese influence.

The wood used here, as at Patna, is sisso or paisor, which offers a better medium for carving than teakwood, which possesses a viscous fibre, giving a good deal of trouble even to the most skilled artisan. The tools used by the local mistries are good ones, and all of European manufacture. With the exception of the already mentioned Barrick and two or three other rich native gentlemen, nobody cares for good carving in Gaya, as the new houses are built in a pseudo-European style, or in a horrid mixture of styles which, while giving a partial suggestion of Oriental character, shock the æsthetic sense, and may be broadly defined as outrages on architectural taste when he came to Monghyr Mr. Ghilardi found that wood-carving, as it is understood in Bankipore, Patna and Gaya, is not carried on there. In reality there is no wood-carving in Monghyr, but only inlaid work, for which there is a fair demand, and clever artisans.

The small quantity of carving necessary in their inlaid work on small articles of daily use is made on ebony or mahogany wood, the depth of the carving not exceeding the thickness of a rupee, and therefore the work of the local artisan is not employed on heavy carving in paisor or sissoo wood, such as pillars, architraves, freizes doors, etc.

The Monghyr carving has a certain reputation for the embellishment of inlaid work, and the craft has been handed down from father to son for several generations. The few families practising it were established here in the middle of the 18th century, and they were brought to Monghyr, as the tradition goes by, Mir Kassim, with his gun-makers. It may be supposed, then, that the wood fittings of the guns

were the only articles worked upon in the very beginning of the industry by those mistries who, it is known, excelled so well in making rich inlaid work on the gun-carriages. When the demand for such work ceased, in the course of time, the artisans devoted themselves to other branches of the industry, and applied their inlaid work to objects such as those in use at the present day.

In the Note on wood-carving in Cuttack, by Babu Manmohan Chakravarty,—he states that wood-carving is a decaying art in this district, and less important than the sister art, of stone-carving. In the following kinds of work, wood-carving is used—(1) Wood-work of houses, especially verandahs, doors, door-frames and windows. (2) Furniture: articles for personal use, such as bedsteads, stools, chests, lampstands and combs. (3) Vehicles, such as *palki*, boat's prows. (4) Carved mythological figures for show at the time of *yatras*, such as *Ravana* and other demons, *Hanumana* and other monkeys, (5) Toys.

The principal objects carved on the works are (1) Beings, mythological or otherwise, such as Krishna, Radha, Sakhis, demons and monkeys. (2) Animals, lion, elephant, crocodiles and horses. (3) Plants, lotus in bud, half-blown and full-blown, *was* flower, *muckkundi* flower and creepers. (4) Also ropes, and geometrical patterns.

The wages are certainly not high, in Cuttack, for this kind of work—in the mofussil, *kharadi* (food) plus three or four annas:—in the town, from five to eight annas per diem.

At the conclusion of a very interesting report Mr. Ghilardi writes—"In my humble opinion the wood-carver in Bengal will never improve his craft, and will always produce the same kind of work. All his forebears did so, therefore he does not trouble himself to think for a moment of inventing a new form or a detail. This sad apathy is perhaps due to the proverbial laziness of the Hindu artisan, or to his narrow mind, which often amount^{ed} to actual prostration, and accounts for this want of research and invention in his craft.

I do not by any means advocate innovation at this late period of Indian art, when its forms and conventions have become so familiar to the public mind, that they in a variety of cases virtually constitute its sole claim to a distinctive existence. There is no possibility in India of any movement, even remotely similar to the *Arte Nova* recently exemplified at the International Exhibition of Decorative Art at Turin, where its English exponent, Walter Crane, is looked upon as a man with a new message for the art world. Nor is this desirable, for Indian art, in consideration for its past is not called upon to develop any radical changes in the future,

and cannot now have an evolution like the art of other nations. It has been for too long a period in a state of lethargy. To hope, then, an for evolution in Indian art to-day would be vain; but we can well hope for a *revival* following a very short programme (similar to be one formulated with three words only by the grand composer, Verdi, about Italian music "*Torniamo all' antico*") which would consist more in the restoration to Indian art of all that was admirable in its earlier form than in changing the classic traditions of artistic industries, which have already suffered enough from the intrusion of corrupt forms, largely due to foreign exploitation.

The present object of the Government of India, as well as that of all lovers of Indian art, is to co-operate for the betterment of the Indian artisan's condition, as well as for revival of all the Indian arts, of which happily some noble examples belonging to the most flourishing periods of each branch of art and industry are preserved to us.

The Durbār Exhibition at Delhi will, no doubt, be the great starting point. There we shall see the productions of the past compared with those of the present; and I trust that a serious and deep study of that Exhibition will clearly point out the lines along which future progress is to be made in order to insure the revival of every branch of this Indian art.

When the Indian artisan will commence to understand that he is an object of real interest to his rulers, he will become another man.

With more confidence in himself and his prospects, the artisan may be expected to cultivate his artistic ideas through the glorious roads already marked by tradition.

With such a magnificent past to guide him, it is not unreasonable to expect that the Indian artisan might with patience and encouragement be induced to take a personal interest in the regeneration of his art, which, though it may not, as I have already pointed out, be profited by change, must improve and prosper during the era of revival which, let us hope, is impending and may lead eventually to a renaissance on Indian art."

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Raghuvansa: the Story of Raghu's Line. By Kalidasa. Translated by P. de Lacy Johnstone, M. A., of H. M., Bengal Civil Service (retired); sometimes Bowden Sanskrit Scholar in the University of Oxford. London: 1902. Dent & Co.

ONLY a few months ago the Scott Publishing Company produced in a very cheap but attractive form a volume of translations of Kalidasa. Mr. de Lacy Johnstone now provides us with a blank verse rendering of the *Raghuvansa*. This poem, as perhaps the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, hardly need to be told, is a most important treasury of legend, and although it would be impossible to reproduce in a translation the subtle charms of the original, Mr. de Lacy Johnstone's version will certainly initiate many English readers into the beauties of India's greatest dramatist and epic poet. Like every book turned out by Messrs Dent & Co., this volume is charming in appearance, a photogravure view of Sitapur forms the frontispiece, and the text is illustrated by reproductions of works by Indian artists originally prepared for Mr. Growse's translation of the *Rāmāyana*.

The Nineteenth Century Series. Wars of the Century and the Development of Military Science. By Oscar Browning M. A. London. 1903. W. & R. Chambers.

MR. BROWNING has given us an accurate and interesting account of the Napoleonic wars, the war in the Crimea, the Franco-Italian war of 1859, the American war of secession, the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, the great war of 1870, the Russo-Turkish war, and the Spanish-American war of 1898. It is obvious that in the space at his disposal, Mr. Browning could only make selections from history, but we should have preferred an account of the operations of our armies in India or South Africa to that of the Spanish American war in 1898. Mr. Browning tells us that "he has preferred to indicate the progress of military science by what is implied in the narrative than by a special treatment which could hardly fail to become unduly technical." Military readers will, we are afraid, be rather disappointed, and even the average man will complain that when a book bears as its sub-title "The Development of Military Science" they should be abruptly told to deduce that branch of history for

themselves from the facts recorded. The absence of maps and plans make the work of deducing the military science all the more difficult. In point of fact, although Mr. Oscar Browning is always interesting, and his accounts of the wars are vivid in the extreme, yet he fails to show us how the science of war has developed.

Progress of the British Empire in the Century. By J. Stanley Little.

MR. LITTLE does not deal with his subject after the fashion of the illustrated Magazine writer who would convince us of the growth of the army by a tiny soldier to represent 1800 A. D., a stripling to represent 1850, and a giant to represent 1899. Neither does he appeal to us with charts and appendices. He uses facts as illustrations of his theories, and does not indulge in statistics as if figures were a joy for ever. But Mr. Little does what Mr. Oscar Browning fails to do, he makes us feel that history is moving. His view of spiritual as apart from religious progress is most alarming. "That the bulk of the people was always pagan, one recognises. Christianity put a thin veneer on paganism; and, such as it was, the Reformation removed a good deal of that veneer," and now, Mr. Little thinks, science promises to take off what veneer remains. And here is another sad confession. "In the important matter of happiness, we were never so poverty-stricken, never so bankrupt as to-day." Pleasure having become a god, with the "smart set" as its hierarchy, content has disappeared. But even Mr. Little seems to see that a brighter day is dawning. "The worst sinners in this pinchbeck society of triflers are not the young women of to-day: they belong to another generation despite their more or less successful attempts to disguise this fact. That they make desperate attempts to inoculate their daughters with the poison which is in their own blood is only too true; but the open-air-school is growing in power, and recent events have brought home, even to those women born into a world where the pursuit of 'pleasure' is the only serious business of life, conceptions of a higher and loftier aim and of simpler joys." And we think this is also true of the religious question. We are getting through the regretful time of Mathew Arnold. We do not, because Calvinism has been blown upon, cry out that the foundations of Christianity are shaken. Mr. Little sketches the story of our material progress with a firm hand, and draws his materials from unexceptionable sources.

Evangeline the Song of Hiawatha. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Aurora Leigh. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse.

THESE are two volumes of the Oxford Miniature Edition, —a pocket edition, beautifully printed, and attractively bound. Each of the volumes before us contains 950 pages, and the type is clear and distinct.

Chambers' Twentieth Century Dictionary edited by the Rev. Thomas Davidson, 1207 pages. London, W. R. Chambers.

THIS is the third Dictionary which the Rev. Thomas Davidson has prepared,—it is therefore the result of much experience. The great aim of the compiler is to include all the common words in literary and conversational English, together with words obsolete save in the pages of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and the Authorised Version of the Bible. An attempt has also been made to include the common terms of the sciences and the arts of life, the vocabulary of sport, those Scotch and provincial words which assert themselves in Burns, Scott, the Brontes, and George Eliot, and even the coinages of word-masters like Carlyle, Browning and Meredith. In addition to the Dictionary itself there are chapters on,—Explanations to the Student. List of Abbreviations used in the Dictionary. Prefixes and Suffixes. Etymology of names of Places, etc. List of Abbreviations, together with signs and symbols used in Medicine and Music. Correct Ceremonious Forms of Address. Pronouncing Vocabulary of Scripture proper names, with their origin and Meaning. Words and phrases in more or less current use from Latin, Greek and Modern Foreign Languages. This is the best one volume Dictionary we have met with.

Flower-o-the-Corn, by S. R. Crockett. 456 pages. London Macmillan & Co.

THERE is not a single dull page in this book, and we consider it one of Mr. Crockett's best. The scene is laid during the Camasard revolt against Louis xivth and there pass, in rapid succession before one's eyes, incidents varied and exciting. Flower-o-the-Corn, so called from her blue eyes and golden hair, the Presbyterian Chaplain's daughter shares the place of heroine with Yvette Foy the wayward and clever damsel who captures the Marquis de Montrevel. Much has to be gone through ere the faithful Scotch lover Maurice Raith receives his reward, and then only in an epilogue at the end,

however, alls well that ends well, and we are grateful to Mr. Crockett for a most interesting and briskly written book.

Some Desultory Notes on Lord Curzon's Work in India. (January 1899—June 1901) By Krishna Chandra Roy. Calcutta: Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., College St.

THE writer of this pamphlet explains the reason of it in his Preface which we quote at some length. "The writer of this paper knows very well that a full and proper review of the Viceroy's work can only be made, after he has completed his term of office in India. But he has his own reasons for preferring to take up *the first half* of Lord Curzon's term and confine himself to that period *only*, instead of waiting till the end of his five years' rule. In the first place, being an old man with very precarious health, he fears he may not live to have his say in full; and yet, as an admirer of Lord Curzon, he desires to say something about him in his own way, however crude, defective, and desultory that may be. He is fully conscious of his deficiencies for the work, having never had anything to do with *politics* in any shape whatever, and having, besides, never tried his hand at review-writing of any kind.

In the second place, the writer believes that Lord Curzon has already done a good deal of useful work during this brief period, which may well be taken up separately now.

Another reason which induces him to write now is that, there are matters, or rather points looked upon as *grievances*, which it will be of little use to speak about, *after* Lord Curzon has left the country, but which, if brought to his notice *now*, when he is in authority, may receive attention and find some measure of redress, such as a large-hearted, vigorous, and sympathetic ruler, like Lord Curzon alone, can afford.

Having therefore watched the events of the past two years and a half, and the career of our Viceroy, with great interest, the writer humbly ventures to say what his honest impressions are, even at the risk of being ridiculed by those who may know better and are therefore more competent to judge. There is not however, much in this paper that is the writer's own. He has freely and largely used the words of others, either to substantiate or strengthen the points which he urges, or to give prominence to the views which he expresses and which he believes he shares with many of his countrymen.

Krishna Chandra Roy writes chiefly of, what he calls, the Twelve Reform Projects of Lord Curzon. These twelve subjects are: (1) The Creation and Pursuit of a sound Frontier Policy. (2) The frequency of official transfers—a great evil.

(3) Superfluous Report-writing, another great evil. (4) Preservation of ancient monuments. (5) Inauguration of a Stable Exchange. (6) Increasing indebtedness of the Agricultural population (another great evil). (9) Reduction of Telegraphic rates* between India and England. (10) Improving the relations between British soldiers and Indian villagers. (11) Educational Reforms. (12) Police Reforms, etc.

All these questions are treated of in Lord Curzon's own words, with suitable comments and criticisms by the writer. Most of these show common-sense, and with nearly all of them we are in agreement. Mr. Roy concludes,—“It is clear then that Lord Curzon, autocrat though some may think him to be, is by no means an impulsive or a hasty man, as autocrats generally are. He takes time to think over and mature his views by personal observation, and in consultation with those best fitted to advise and give him the benefit of their experiences.”

Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo Indian words and phrases and of Kindred terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive,—by Colonel Henry Yule, R. E., and A. C. Burwell, Phd., C.I.E.—new edition, edited by William Crooke, B. A., pp. 1021—28s., London, John Murray, Albermarle Street.

“**W**EE have forbidden the severall Factoryes from wrighting words in this language and refrayned itt ourselves, though in bookes of coppies we feare there are many which by wante of tyme for perusall we cannot rectifie or expresse,”—so wrote the Surat Factors to the Court of Directors on February 26, 1617, evidently fearing, in their day the increase of those Anglo-Indian words, which have so grown in number that they now require a portly volume of over a thousand pages to do justice to their explanation and elucidation.

The first edition of this book was published in 1886,—and is the joint work of Colonel Yule, of the Royal Engineers, and Mr. Arthur Burwell, of the Madras Civil Service—the latter, however, never lived to see the completion of the work,—dying four years before its appearance.

It has been a labour of love,—certainly as far as Colonel Yule is concerned (¾ths of the book is his work) for he says—“The work has been so long the companion of my ‘horae subsicivae,’ a thread running through the joys and sorrows of so many years in the search for material first, and then in their handling and adjustment to the edifice—for their careful building up has been part of my duty from the begin-

ning, and the whole of the matter has, I suppose been written with my own hand at least four times.”

Among those who have afforded help, are the late Sir. Joseph Hooker, for articles dealing with plants,—Professor Robertson Smith for words of Semetic origin. Bishop Moule, of Ningpo revised those articles which bear on expressions used in China. Mr. W. W. Skeat has read the contributions on Malay words. Colonel Sir R. Temple, Bart., has permitted the use of several of his papers on Anglo-Indian words. Mr. R. S. Whiteaway on words from Portuguese writers, also such well-known Anglo-Indians as Sir George Birdwood, C. S. I., Mr. Beveridge, Professor G. U. Pope, and Mr. C. H. Tawney.

The title of the book—“Hobson Jobson,” would seem to require explanation,—and here it is in the author's own words,—“A valued friend of the present writer many years ago published a book, of great acumen and considerable originality, which he called ‘Three Essays,’ with no Author's name; and the resulting amount of circulation was such as might have been expected. It was remarked at the time by another friend that if the volume had been entitled ‘A Book, by a Chap,’ it would found a much larger body of readers. It seemed to me that ‘A Glossary’ or ‘A Vocabulary’ would be equally unattractive, and that it ought to have an alternative title at least a little more characteristic. If the reader will turn to ‘Hobson-Jobson’ in the Glossary itself, he will find that phrase, though now rare and moribund, to be a typical and delightful example of that class of Anglo-Indian ‘argot’ which consists of Oriental words highly assimilated, perhaps by vulgar lips, to the English vernacular; while it is the more fitted to our book, conveying, as it may, a veiled intimation of dual authorship. At any rate there it is; and at this period my feeling has come to be that such ‘is’ the book's name, nor could it well have been anything else.”

Since the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth words of Indian origin have been insinuating themselves into the English language e. g., “calico” (so called from the fine cotton stuffs of Calicut, in Malabar, first mentioned as early as 1592) “chintz” (first mentioned in 1614), “gingham” (1602)—and they have increased with marvellous rapidity, with the increase of the British power in India. As a natural consequence, vocabularies and glossaries of Indian words in use among Europeans in the East have appeared, and in the work before us a detailed list of some 22 is given.

There is, of course, a great difference in the correct standing of these Anglo-Indian words and phrases, as far as the English language is concerned:—Some we may count as already English, while others, though familiar enough can hardly,

as yet be accorded full recognition:—of the first we may mention such terms as “curry toddy, veranda, cheroort, sepoy,” etc.—of the latter class, “compound, pucca, baboo mahout, ayah, and nautch.”

It will be a matter of surprise to many readers to know that the names of three of the boats of a man-of-war are of Indian origin, *viz.*, the “cutter,” the “jolly boat” and the “dingy,” of still greater surprise that, when urged on by prickly heat, and a trying climate we give expression to the expressive phrase “I don’t care a ‘dam’” to know that we are using an Hindustani word of most innocent antecedents.

It is interesting to notice the influence, the various nationalities have had on the introduction of foreign words and phrases into this Anglo-India “patois.”

To the trade and conquest of the Arabs we owe such words as “bazaar, hummaul brinjaul maramut, dewan.”

To the conquests and long occupation of the Portuguese “goglet, gram, plantain, caste, peon, padre, mistry, cobra, mosquito,”—indeed the natives of India, who came in contact with the Portuguese learned a bastard variety of the latter, which, for many years, became the “lingua franca” of intercourse between European and natives,—for we find that the early Lutheran Missionaries of the South all seem to have begun by learning Portuguese, and in their diaries speak of occasionally, preaching in the same language—this was doubtless this “patois” since A. Hamilton, at the end of the 17th Century writes.—“Along the sea-coasts the Portuguese have left a vestige of their language, though much corrupted, yet it is the language that most Europeans learn first to qualify them for a general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India.”

There are many words, too, of native origin, which have come to us through the Portuguese,—and bear traces of their contact such as “palanquin, monsoon, mango, batta, curry, coir, betel,” etc., and there are a few examples of Hindustani words, borrowed from the Portuguese, e. g., “chabi, balti, martol, tauliva, satun, basan.”

Neither the Dutch nor the French have contributed much to the store of Anglo-Indian expressions:—to China we owe “loquot, leechee, chow-chow, jinrickshaw.”

There are not a few words, which are really English corruptions, fully accepted and adopted as Hindustani by the natives such as “sinkin, port-shrab, brandy-pani, rail-ghari, jailkhana, bottle-khana, gymkhana.”

We are very glad to notice that the authors of this book have contented themselves with quasi-English spellings,—perhaps not strictly correct, but yet popular, and certainly not pedantic.

“And when I see other good and able friends follow the scientific Will-o’-the-Wisp into such bogs as, in the use in English composition of sipahi and jangal, and verandah—nay, I have not only heard of bagi, but recently seen it,—instead of the good English words “sepoy,” and “jungle,” “veranda” and “buggy” my dread of pedantic usage becomes the greater.”

We venture to give here almost in full the entry under the word Dam,—which seems to have a derivation many of us are ignorant of and this extract will also give us a good idea of the information supplied by Hobson Jobson.

Dam, s. H. dam.—Originally an actual copper coin, regarding which we find in the Ain 1-31, ed. Blochmann:—“1. The Dam weighs 5 tanks *i.e.*, 1 tolah, 8 mashas, and 7 sukhs; it is the fortieth part of a rupee. At first this coin was called Paisah, and also Bahloli; now it is known under this name (dam). On one side the place is given where it was struck, on the other the date. For the purpose of circulation, the dam is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a “jetal.” This imaginary division is only used by accountants. 2. The adhelah is half of a dam. 3. The Paulah is a quarter of a “dam.” 4. The “damri” is an eight of a “dam.” It is curious that Akbar’s revenues were registered in this small currency, *viz.*, in lakhs of “dams.” We may compare the Portuguese use of “reis.”

The tendency of denominations of coins is always to sink in value. The “jetal” which had become an imaginary money of account in Akbar’s time, was, in the 14th century, a real coin, which Mr. E. Thomas, chief of Indian numismatologists, has unearthed (see “Chron.” “Pathan King,” 231). And now the “dam” itself is imaginary. According to Elliot the people of the North-West Provinces not long ago calculated 25 “dams” to the “paisa,” which would be 1,600 to a rupee. Carnegie gives the Oudh popular currency table as follows:—

26 “kauris”	...	...	1 “damri.”
1 “damri”	...	...	3 “dam.”
20 “damri”	...	...	1 ana.
25 “dam”	...	...	1 pice.

But the Calcutta Glossary says the “dam” is in Bengal reckoned 1/20 of an ana, *i.e.*, 320 to the rupee. “Most things of little value, here as well as in Bhagulpur (writing of Behar) are sold by an imaginary money called “taka,” which is here reckoned equal to two “paysas.” There are also imaginary moneys called “chaddam” and “damri;” the former is equal to 1 “paysa” or 25 cowries, the latter is equal to one-eighth of a “paysa.” (“Buchanan, Eastern Ind.” 1,382 seq.)

We have not in our own experience met with any reckoning of “dams.” In reality the “damri’s” absolute value has remained the same. “Damri” is a common enough expression

for the infinitesimal in coin, and one has often heard a Briton in India say: "No. I won't give a 'dumree!'" "with but a vague notion what a 'damri' meant, as in Scotland we have heard," I won't give a "plack," though certainly the speaker could not have stated the value of that ancient coin. And this leads to the suggestion that a like expression often heard from coarse talkers in England as well as in India, originated in the latter country, and that whatever profanity there may be in the animus, there is none in the etymology, when such an one blurts out "I don't care a 'dam!' i.e., in other words, 'I don't care a brass farthing!'"

1628.—"The revenue of all the territories under the Emperors of Delhi amounts, according to the Royal registers, to six 'arbs' and 30 'krors' of 'dams.' One 'arb' is equal to 100 'krors' (a 'kror' being 10,000,000), and a hundred 'krors' of 'dams' are equal to two 'krors' and 50 'lakhs' of rupees." 'Mohamed Sharif Haniji,' in "Eliot," 7. 138.

1840.—Charles Greville saw the Duke soon after, and expressing the pleasure he had felt in reading his speech (commending the conduct of Captain Charles Elliot in China added that, however, many of the party were angry with it; to which the Duke replied,—"I know they are, and I don't care a 'damn.' I have no time to do what is right."

"A 'two-penny damn,' was I believe, the form usually employed by the Duke, as an expression of value; but on the present occasion he seem to have been less precise." "Autobiography of Sir Henry Taylor," 1,296. The term referred to seems curiously to preserve an unconscious tradition of the pecuniary, or what the idiotical jargon of our time calls the "monetary" estimation contained in the expression.

1881.—A Bavarian printer, jealous of the influence of capital, said that "Cladstone baid millions of money to the beebie to fote for him, and Beegonsfeel would not bay them a 'tam,' so they fote for Cladstone." "A Socialistic Picnic in St James's Gazette," July 6.

1900.—"There is not, I dare wager a single Bishop, who cares one twopenny halfpenny Dime" for any of that plentifulness for himself," "H. Bell," Vicar of Muncaster, in "Times," August 31st.

Nothing more remains for us to say, but that we gladly welcome this new edition of a most valuable and necessary book. As a book of reference it is indispensable—as a book to take up, at odd times, it is most interesting, for it contains a mine of information, well arranged, and well illustrated. (*Englishman*).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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