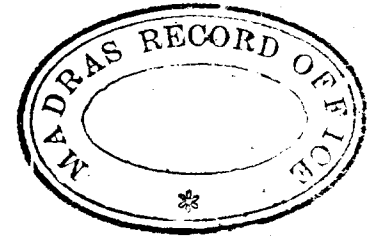


P 47



THE
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VOLUME CXXII.

October 1905.

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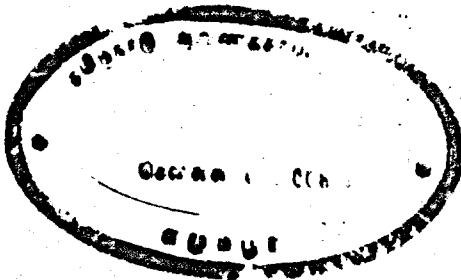
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No. 242—OCTOBER 1905.

Art. I.—THE DEATH OF SHIVAJI.*

"Comets, importing change of times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars
That have consented unto Henry's death."

[Shaks. I Henry VI, I. i. init.]

AFTER a career unexampled for daring and success in the annals of modern India Shivaji died in his fifty-third year in 1680. He found the Moghul Empire at its height, in the zenith of its power and extent, and in a few years he succeeded in dealing it a blow from which it never revived. He gathered round him all the forces of reaction against that Empire, and raised the indigenous power of the Hindus to a height which it formerly seemed hopeless it ever could attain under the Mahomedan rule. He carved out for himself a kingdom when Aurangzib was dismembering other kingdoms, and brooked no other power in the land, but was bent on incorporating the kingdoms of the Deccan into the empire in the north and making the Moghul power really paramount throughout India. He made his own Mahratha people conscious of its own military prowess and raised it to a height which it would have been well for indigenous rule if it had retained. Shivaji himself foresaw that the power which he had built up so rapidly would not remain in its pristine vigour under his successors, as we shall presently see from the account in the *bakhar* of Sabhasad. In one generation power ceased to exist in anything but the name in his family, and would have gone entirely out of his people but for the Brahman Peishwas, upon whom, chiefly

* An Essay read before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, on the occasion of its centenary.

devolved the momentous task of upholding Mahratha supremacy for nearly a century. They acquitted themselves very creditably of this task on the whole; and if their power went down, it was only before that of the English, a power which nothing in the land could withstand, before which the Mahomedan had already gone down, and the Sikh, greater than Mahratha or Mahomedan, was destined to fall half a century later. Before the advent of the English, the Peishwas bade fair to be the paramount power in India, and even the English did not rest securely in their supreme position till they had disposed of the formidable power of the Peishwas. And even in later times the spectre of Brahman supremacy has continued to haunt them on occasions.

Of Shivaji's concluding moments and death there are several accounts which it would be interesting to recount here for comparison. First there is the contemporary account by the *bakhar* writer, Chrisnaji Anant Sabhasad, who wrote his life under Shivaji's son, Rajaram, in 1698. This is fairly long, and on the whole appears faithful with its interesting details. This *bakhar* is not well known to all students of history, and even by Mahrathas, who deservedly attach a high importance to this among other *bakhars*, it is more praised than read and studied. I think the edition of Mr. Sane has been long out of print and no one seems to care to re-print it, a good example of the negligence of the Mahrathas for their historical literature. Sabhasad, as his name signifies, was a courier of Rajaram, for whom he specially wrote this life of Shivaji. According to him, when Sambhaji returned to Panhala after his unsuccessful overtures to Aurangzib and was reconciled to his father, Shivaji left that place for Raighad, in order to perform there the marriage ceremony of his younger son Rajaram. He said he would soon return and attend to the administration of his new possessions. The marriage was performed at Raighad with great pomp and large sums were given in charity.

Soon after, says Sabhasad, the king was attacked by fever. He was a righteous personage, and possessed foreknowledge of the time of dissolution. He thought within himself that his end was approaching and therefore summoned before him the wisest of his karkuns and servants. He said to them that his

death was approaching and that he was going to see the Goddess Bhowani and reside in the paradise of Shiva. Then he spoke as follows: "With regard to my sons, when I saw I was getting feeble, I told Sambhaji, my eldest son, at Panhala that I was desirous of dividing my kingdom between my two sons. Sambhaji did not like my proposal. My end is now approaching. From my original possession of the Mahal of Poona, which was worth 40,000 honas, I have now raised my acquisitions so as to be worth one crore of honas. I also acquired these forts, strongholds, Pagas and—the army. If Rajaram lives long after my death he alone will preserve and enlarge this vast kingdom. Sambhaji is sensible, yet of loose and dissolute habits, and I do not know how to act under the circumstances, especially as my end is now drawing near. You are old and experienced karkuns and servants in this kingdom of the Mahrathas and you must therefore have already been familiar with this state of things. After my death Sambhaji will usurp everything to himself by his exploits. Being the elder son, the army will prefer him and flock to his standard. Rajaram being the younger son, the army will not care to win his favour. The sirkarkuns will advocate the cause of Rajaram and urge the necessity of dividing the kingdom between the two brothers. The army will not agree with the karkuns, who will be betrayed by it. Sambhaji will put to the sword many eminent Brahmins of my time. There will thus be the sin of Brahman slaughter. He will next lay violent hands upon the Mahratha Sirdars in the army and degrade and even kill them. The mean and the insignificant will prevail. The respectable will dwindle into insignificance. Sambhaji will indulge in intoxicating drugs and in amorous pleasures. In the forts, strongholds and throughout the kingdom there will be injustice and offences. Sambhaji will not respect the worthy. He will squander away all the wealth and treasure. As soon as he learns of Sambhaji's weakness, Aurangzib will take advantage of the disorder into which my kingdom will fall and invade and capture Bijapur, Bhagnagar and even this kingdom. Ultimately Sambhaji will be ruined. Just as Futteh Khan turned disloyal to his father Malik Ambar Nizam Shah and treacherously deprived him of his kingdom and ultimately lost it, so

will Sambhaji lose my kingdom. Rajaram will then succeed to the throne and will reconquer the lost kingdom and restore order. He will perform deeds more chivalrous than mine. Now with regard to the kárkuns, the eminent sirkárkuns of my time, Sambhaji will not allow them to see the light of day. Pralhadpant and Ramchandra Nilkanth will however be illustrious. Nilkanth will also be popular. There will be a few others similarly illustrious, but these will be very few. Of the Mahrathas, Sambhaji will extirpate many. Of those that remain, Santaji Ghorpadé, Bahirji Ghorpadé, Dhanaji Jadhav will, if they live, perform chvalrous deeds. These three Brahmans and Mahrathas will prove serviceable in recovering the lost kingdom." Thus spoke the king.

Thus far Sabhasad. This speech of Shivaji is very probably composed by Sabhasad himself; but the sentiments put into the mouth of Shivaji are historically true and correct. It is interesting to find the Mahratha chronicler unconsciously imitating in this matter of speeches the great classical historians like Thucydides and Livy, who constantly compose speeches for their heroes and make them speak for themselves. The courtier-like manner in which Sabhasad, true to his name, flatters delicately the vanity of his patron Rajaram, for whom, as we have said, he wrote this chronicle of his great father's deeds, by making Shivaji prophecy his son's greatness, reminds one of Shakespear's similar flattery of Elizabeth, under whom he wrote and for whose court he composed several of his plays,—how he puts in the prophetic mouth of Cranmer in the presence of her father, Henry VIII, though of course there is a vast gulf between these finished lines of the famous world-poet and the crude effort of the Mahratha chronicler,—the following :—

" Let me speak," Sir,
For Heaven now bids me ; and the words I utter,
Let none think flattery, for they'll find them truth.
This royal infant (Heaven still move about her !)
Though in her cradle, yet now promises
Upon this land a thousand, thousand blessings,
Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be
(But few now living can behold that goodness)
A pattern to all princes living with her,
And all that shall succeed : Sheva was never
More covetous of wisdom, and fair virtue,

Than this pure soul shall be : all princely graces,
That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
With all the virtues that attend the good,
Shall still be doubled on her : truth shall nurse her,
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her,
She shall be loved and fear'd : her own shall bless her,
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow : good grows with her.
In her days every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants ; and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.
God shall be truly known ; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
She shall be to the happiness of England
An aged princess ; many days shall see her.
And yet no day without a deed to crown it,
Would I had known no more ! but she must die —
She must, the saints must have her—yet a virgin ;
A most unspotted lily shall she pass
To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her."

[*Henry VIII, V. 5, ad fin.*]

Sabhasad continuing his account says that after Shivaji had concluded his prophetic address, all the attendants were overcome with grief; they stood in silence and tears began to run down their cheeks. The king seeing this said: "Grieve not; this is but a mortal world. As many as are born perish. Calm your feelings, be of pure hearts, be peaceful and happy. Now sit quiet till I hold communion with my patron goddess (Bhowani)." The attendants accordingly sat in silence. Then the king bathed in the sacred waters of the Bhagirathi, rubbed ashes on his body, put on a necklace of Rudraksha—the berry of a tree sacred to Shiva his eponymous god—and having composed himself to abstract spiritual devotion, was lost in solemn communion. He expired at Rayghad in the afternoon of Sunday, the 15th of the light half of Chitra, in the year of Saliwan 1602, Roudra Samvatsar. "The angels of Shiva brought a chariot of the god in which his spirit was taken to Kailas, heaven; the perishable portion of himself, his body, being left in this mortal world."

The Rairi *bakhar* is another important and authentic chronicle of the life and deeds of Shivaji. It is so called because it was deposited in the fortress of Rairi which is now conclusively

identified with Raighad, the place where Shivaji died. Orme had previously placed it "fifty miles north and by west from Poona."¹ Scott Waring, however, has shown that Orme was misled by Fryer's account of Oxenden's mission to Shivaji. "Lieutenant Goodfellow, of the Bombay Engineers, established on the spot that Raighad to this day is called Rairi, and that instead of being north-west of Poona, it is situated thirty-eight miles west and forty-two south from Poona. This information I had always received, but it is owing to the active and intelligent exertion of Colonel Close, ardent in the promotion of all geographical inquiries, that its precise situation is now established beyond all question."² This *bakhar* is considered by Scott Waring, a very good authority on Mahratha historical MSS., as the most authentic of the four *bakhars* of Shivaji he had.³ He evidently had not before him that of Sabhasad. This *bakhar*, "which was kept at Rairi, the ancient capital of Shivaji's empire"⁴ was published for the first time by the Bombay Government in a volume of "Letters and State Papers in the Bombay Secretariat," edited by Mr. G. W. Forrest twenty years ago.

In this chronicle there is a somewhat different account of Shivaji's death from that given by Sabhasad. "Shivaji marched and plundered Jalnapur. Ranmast Khan came and opposed Shivaji. One day the Khan's troops made a furious attack on Shivaji's army. Sadhoji Nimbalkar, a Sirdar and over five thousand in Shivaji's service, was killed, and Shivaji was defeated and fled to the fort of Putta to which he gave the name of Vikramghad. After that Shivaji went to Raighad, and the Dasseria sent his Sirdars to collect Mulukgiri. Shivaji was soon afterwards seized with a violent fever which carried him off on the ninth day. His death happened in the year 1602 of the Salivan era (1680 A. D.). Shivaji, before he died, gave a paper, which he had written to Moro Pant Anaji Duttu Sabnavis and Babul Parbhu Chitnavis. At that time Shivaji's younger son, Rajaram, was at Raighad. His eldest son, Sambhaji, was

¹ *Fragments of the Moghul Empire*, p. 22.

² *History of the Mahrathas*, 1810, p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

at Panhala. The officers to whom Shivaji had given the paper gave the Government to Rajaram. The other Chiefs were averse to this measure, and joined Sambhaji."¹

Sabhasad we have seen makes Shivaji foretell the future on his death-bed. The Rairi chronicler also makes him prophetic. But he puts the event seven years earlier, when his patron goddess Bhowani possessed him for a few hours and showed him future events. This is much more striking than the former account as it goes farther into the future. "When Shivaji went to take half his share of Chandi Chunjavar in the year of Salivan 1595 (1673 A.D.) the goddess Bhowani came into his body and remained there five hours, during which time she gave him a view of future events, *viz.*, that all his domains would fall into the hands of people with red faces; that Shambhaji would be taken prisoner by the Moghuls; that Raja Ram would succeed him on the musnad; that Shivaji would in the course of time come into the world again under a new form, and extend his dominions to Delhi; and that dominion would remain in the Bhonsle family for twenty-seven generations; all this Raghunath Narayan Hunavanti and Dattoji Pant Wakarnavis and Babul Parbhu Chitnavis committed to paper."²

Of accounts by Europeans we possess two by contemporaries who were in India at the time of Shivaji's death, Manucci and Fryer. Manucci was a Venetian physician who resided forty-eight years in India and was in the service of the Moghul Emperors Shah Jehan and Aurangzib. He wrote memoirs of the Moghul sovereigns which were derived from Moghul chronicles preserved at Delhi in Persian. They were written in Portuguese, into which the Persian extracts had also been translated. They were sent to Europe in manuscript, but were not published. But Father Catrou, a learned Jesuit, based his history of the Moghul Empire published at the Hague in 1715 on these MS. memoirs of Manucci, and it is through this work that we know them. Unfortunately the complete work of Catrou which includes the reign of Aurangzib and life of Shivaji is very rare, and is not in our library, and I could not find it

¹ *State Papers*, Bombay, Vol. I, p. 22.

² *State Papers*, *ut supra*.

elsewhere.¹ An English translation was published in 1826, but this is incomplete as it comes up to Shah Jehan and does not include Aurangzib's eventful reign. We have this incomplete translation in our library.²

Orme, who has written much and well on Shivaji, has evidently consulted Catrou's history of Aurangzib based on Manucci's memoirs, as he says: "Catrou although guided by Manucci (who says more of Shivaji than all the other writers, and particularises the cause of his death) simply says that he died in 1679, from which we conclude that Catrou did not find the particular date in Manucci's manuscript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own."³ Scott Waring says that the account of Shivaji's death by Orme "is natural, and I should have adopted it, had I known upon what authority it was given."⁴ But in the passage given above Orme indicates clearly his authority to have been Manucci as given by Catrou. We will give Orme's account which seems to be a version of Catrou-Manucci, failing Father Catrou's own French. "Shivaji was gone from Rairi, but no one knew whither, a convoy of money to a great amount was coming to Aurangabad, of which as of everything concerning his enemy he received early intelligence; and taking his time before his intentions could be suspected, issued with a detachment of his hardiest cavalry, remote from all the Moghul's stations, and fell upon the convoy before his approach was known, within a few miles from Barhampore, where it would have been safe, until sent forward with stronger escort. He seized the whole, and brought it without interruption and the same rapidity to Rairi. But the purchase was dearly earned; for the excessive strain, of fatigue, greater than any he had endured since his escape from Delhi, caused an inflammation in his breast, attended with spitting of blood: his disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Rairi; and if it had been published would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very

¹ Edition in 5 volumes, French, 1715. *Biog. Universelle sub nomine.*

² Vide Irvine, Art. on Manucci, in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1903.

³ *Fragments*, p. 260.

⁴ *History of Mahrathas*, p. 205.

time he was setting out on some signal excursion; and at this very time his army towards Surat, which he probably intended to have joined, were acting with such ravage and hostility up to the walls that the city imagined Shivaji himself was commanding in person; and expected an assault with so much terror that the English Presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river, to the Marine of Swally, where lay some of their ships; and the Governor of the town redeemed his fears by a large contribution, with which Moro Pandit returned to Rairi to see his master die. He expired on the 5th of April 1680, and in the fifty-second year of his age. His funeral pile was administered with the same sacrifices as had been devoted the year before to the obsequies of the Maharaja, Jeshwant Sing of Jodhpur: attendants, animals, and wives were burnt with his corpse."¹

The other contemporary European account, that of Fryer, the famous English physician who was in Bombay and Western India from 1674 to 1682, does not throw any light on the cause of Shivaji's death, but merely records it with a wrong date, as we shall presently see, and gives details of the funeral ceremonies. Scott Waring, whose *History of the Mahrathas* written in 1810 is very important, and whose account of Shivaji is based as we have said above on four *bakhars*, including the Rairi, says: "He retired to *Rairi* (*sic*, Rairi), and as usual among the Mahrathas, detached his troops after the Dasara to raise contributions from the neighbouring provinces. His constitution had now begun to fail: he was seized with a spitting of blood and expired upon the 5th of April 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign dating it from the death of his guardian Kondev."² Grant Duff in his *History of the Mahrathas*, first published in 1826, says that "he was taken ill at Raighad, occasioned by painful swelling in his knee-joint, which became gradually worse and at last threw him into a high fever, which on the seventh day from its commencement terminated his existence on the 5th day of April 1680 in the fifty-third year of his age"³ He does not mention his

¹ *Fragments*, ed. 1105, pp. 89-70.

² *History of Mahrathas*, p. 87.

³ Vol. I., p. 295.

authority, but he must have had some Mahratha MS. lives of the hero before him. It may be here noted that both Shivaji and Napoleon died young at exactly the same age of fifty-three, and that Julius Cæsar was only two years older at his death than either.

The usual suspicion of poison when an Asiatic ruler dies was not altogether absent in the case of Shivaji. "The Mahratha MSS.," says Scott Waring, "insinuate a suspicion of poison. The suicide of his wife, whose views (of setting her son Raja Ram on the throne) had failed, almost justifies this supposition. One Mahratha MS. expressly charges her with the murder."¹ It would be interesting if these MSS. were to turn up. So far as I am aware they have not yet turned up. But that they exist we know on the very high authority of Scott Waring.

It remains to be said that the Persian MSS. attribute Shivaji's death to the prayers of a Mussalman devotee.² Jonathan Scott in his continuation of Ferishta's History of the Deccan, from supplementary Persian sources says that the curses of a Moslem saint brought about his death. In the journal kept by a Bundela officer, which came into the possession of Jonathan Scott and which he translated as "Auranzeb's Operations in the Deccan," this writer, who was a contemporary of Shivaji's, says: "Shivaji having marched from his country to invade the Imperial territories, totally laid waste the district of Jalnehr and others; and his soldiers, notwithstanding his commands to the contrary, offered insults to the servants of Jan Mahomed, a religious devotee, from whose curses it was believed Shivaji was taken ill, and shortly after died."³ This is a truly Oriental explanation of the death, and it may be that the people, both Hindu and Mahomedans, believed in it, as belief in death and misfortunes from curses of holy men is very common in this country and the East generally. But the real cause is, as Scott remarks, that he died neither by poison, nor the visitation of God at the prayers of a devotee, but rather by an illness from fatigue in his fight and vexation at the ill-success of his arms. Shivaji, it will be remembered, according to one

¹ *History of Mahrathas*, p. 215.

² *Ibid*, p. 215.

³ *History of the Deccan*, ed. 1796, Vol. II., p. 54.

account, was defeated in his last expedition, and pursued by the Moghul General Ranmust Khan; and also his fleet was destroyed about this time, by the Sidi of Janjira in conjunction with the English at Bombay.

As to the date of his death almost all authorities agree that it was 5th April 1680. It was the 15th of the light half of Chaitra in the Salivan year 1602, according to Sabhasad's *bakhar*. According to calculations I have made, making use of tables given in Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit's "Indian Chronology"¹ This Hindu date corresponds with the date given above and in Orme, Scott Waring and Grant Duff. Curiously the two contemporary European writers above noted give wrong dates in their, otherwise, excellent accounts of him. Manucci, according to Catrou, as we have seen in Orme, gives 1679;² but we may adopt Orme's explanation of this mistake as Catrou's, who "did not find the particular date in Manucci's MS. and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own."³

Fryer, the careful physician and traveller, whose travels are so interesting for the accounts of affairs in India that were happening in the eventful times when he was here in the seventies of the seventeenth century, says that Shivaji died on 1st June 1680. We quote what he has to say about his death and funeral in his own quaint language: "In the heat of all these combustions, the firebrand Seva Gi is called to pay the common debt to nature, he expiring 1st June 1680, though after some time his arms are carried on by his son Sambu Gi Raja, whose first care was to solemnize his father's exequies with hellish and cruel rites, after the barbarous custom of these princes, to burn all that were grateful to them when living, to attend them in the other state of life; doubtless deriving it (which is more than alluding to) from the ancient Getæ, their first parents and not theirs alone, but of all the world since the Deluge. . . . Seva Gi while living, as he delighted in fire and sword, so he was sent out of the world with a numerous company consumed in his flames: yet not such a train as

¹ London, 1895, Table I, p. CXXXVIII. Cf. also Cunningham's "Indian Eras," p. 147.

² *Fragments*, p. 260.

³ *Ibid*.

Raja Jessinsin had when he died, which was far greater, being a more potent though less barbarous Raja; but his widow now holding out against the Mogul, though his prime lady, being then big with child, was excused, and she still is preserved to bring up the young prince, whom they own for their Raja. Thus these two great Rajas being disposed of by Fate, the Gentiles seem to be under hatches (the Moghul for the present persecuting them with the utmost severity and *hatre**) and the rather, for that the great Ministers of the deceased Siva Gi were at variance about the promotion of the successor. Anna Gi Pundet, Chief Minister of State, setting up the younger son, and Morad Pundet declaring for Sambu Gi, the eldest; who after punishing his opposers, was before the time fit for expedition in the low countries, proclaimed Man Raja as the lawful heir to his father's conquest."¹ We may here note in passing that Fryer's quaint way of spelling Indian names, though sometimes faulty owing to false analogy, is yet not without its redeeming feature. He is distinctly wrong in calling Moro Pundit, Morad Pundet, here he is misled by the false analogy which the Hindu name bears to the Mahomedan. But his method of separating the Gi or Ji in Hindu names is rational, and more likely to point out that the real name is Seva or Sambha and the Ji is a mere honorific addition.

But though Fryer was a contemporary writer, he is wrong in his date, and this Orme, perhaps the most valuable of all writers on Indian history, alike for style and accuracy, and the critical judgment with which he used available authorities, points out ably in his note on the subject: "Mr. Frayer is mistaken in saying Shivaji died on the first of June 1680; but as Mr. Frayer did not digest his letters for publication until twenty years after their date, his memory might easily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum."² He points out that letters from the English authorities at Bombay, Surat and Rajapore prove that the 5th of April is the true date. He does not rely on the Mahratha MSS. for this; but has English records to help him; and these latter confirm

¹ A New Account of East India. Lond., 1698, pp. 415-6.

² *Fragments*, p. 260.

independently the former. How the mistake in the date arose may be at once seen from the letters of the Surat and Bengal authorities answering their Bombay friends who had written to them informing them of Shivaji's death. The English at Bombay wrote on 28th April 1680 saying: "We have certain news that Sevajee Rajah is dead; it *is now twenty-three days since he deceased*, 'tis said of a bloody ¹ flux being sick twelve days."² To this those at Surat replied on the 7th of May, "Sevajee's death is confirmed from all places; yet some are still under a doubt of the truth, *such reports having been used to run of him before some considerable attempt*; therefore shall not be too confident until better assured." The English in Bengal were more incredulous still, and in this incredulity we see the terror in which he was held by people everywhere, the Moghuls as well as the English, in Bombay and Surat as well as in Delhi and Bengal. "Sevagi," write the Bengal agents, in reply to the Bombay letter, on the 13th December 1680: "Sevagi *has died so often* that some begin to think him immortal. 'Tis certain little belief can be given to any report of his death until experience tell of the waning of his hitherto prosperous affairs; since when he dies *indeed*, it is thought he has none to leave behind him that is capacitated to carry on things at the rate and fortune he has all along done."³

What Fryer says about the barbarous and horrid funeral rites is unfortunately true, though no mention of them is made in the *bakhars*, chiefly because they were supposed to be a matter of course and hardly worth mentioning. Orme remarks upon these rites that they "almost revoke the respect which contemplation cannot refuse to the gentle manners of the Hindus in all other observances. The Brahmins always preside and officiate in these sacrifices, and with more zeal than in any other of their priestly functions, excepting when they

¹ This cause of his death is confirmed by the author of the "Maasir-Alamgiri," a history of Aurangzib's reign written by a contemporary writer Mustaridd Khan, and finished in 1710, a few years after its close. "On the 24th of 'Rabiul Akhir,' Siva returned from riding; he was overcome by the heat, vomited blood and expired." (Apud, Elliot "Historians of India," Vol. VII, p. 305 n.) The famous Khafi Khan who wrote under Aurangzib notes that "in the course of the same year (1090 of the Hegira, *i.e.*, 1680 A.D.) Sivaji was attacked by illness and died." (*Ibid.*)

² Orme from Records at the India House, London, p. 259.

³ *Apud*, Orme, *Fragments*, p. 259.

sacrifice themselves to save the temple of their religion.”¹ The mother of Shivaji's son, Rajaram, was exempted from the funeral pile, as having passed the term of beauty which, remarks Orme, seems alone to be consecrated to this cruel penalty. This wife of Shivaji, Tara Bai, was suspected of having poisoned him, as we have seen, and committed suicide when her project to place her son, Rajaram, on the throne immediately on the death of his father failed. “Toorya Bhy disappointed in her scheme of placing her son on the throne, to effect which it was supposed she had poisoned Shivaji, destroyed herself.”²

Recording the death of Shivaji, the *bakhar* writer, Krishnaji, Anant Sabhasud, says that “the king was no doubt an incarnation of the deity. By his exploits he established his sway over the vast range of country extending from the Nerbuda to Shri Rameswar, and having harassed and overrun the territories of the Adilshahi, Nizamshahi, Kutbushahi and Mughlai Governments and kept in awe the twenty-five Emperors that reigned over the sea, established a new kingdom of his own and assumed the throne and Chhatra under the title and dignity of the first Mahratha Emperor, and ultimately having died when he was disposed to die, went to Kailas. No such hero was ever born nor will there be any in the days to come.” And the awful events that happened when he died which the chronicler narrates, were in keeping with this character. “On the day of the king's demise there was an earthquake, also the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars and a pair of rainbows at night in the heavenly firmament; everywhere there was mist; the people at Shri Sambhu Mahadeo were frightened. The fishes leapt out of the water.”

We might at first be disposed to set this down to Oriental credulity, and brush it aside as a pardonable untruth. The mind, and specially the Oriental mind, loves to picture the forces of Nature as mourning for their great men, and associate extraordinary phenomena with their deaths. So we might think the Mahrathas fancied all the strange things they are here alleged to have seen out of their excessive love and admiration

¹ *Fragments*, p. 261.

² Scott Waring, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

for their national hero, who was called away from their midst. But with some exaggeration, natural enough under the circumstances, this seems to be true, and we have excellent independent evidence of an eye-witness that strange, very strange things were seen about the time Shivaji died; and it is to this I would draw your attention particularly to-day. Great calamities in which men somehow see the hand of Providence seem to be connected, or say coincide with great events in the lives of great men, their birth, accession, death. Both the accession to the throne of Akbar in 1556 and his death in 1605 were accompanied by famines of great magnitude. To take an instance nearer to our own time, as I have shown elsewhere¹ memorable dates in the life and reign of our late Queen, Victoria of saintly memory, are connected with great calamities which mark out its prominent years in India. Her birth in 1819 was marked by a great earthquake; her accession in 1837 coincided with a widespread famine and plague, soon followed by the disastrous first Afghan War; her proclamation as Queen of India in 1858, followed upon the unparalleled calamity of the Indian Mutiny; her proclamation as Empress in 1877 was in the midst of another great famine, soon followed by the calamitous second Afghan War; the celebration of her Diamond Jubilee of Sixty years in 1897 was a year unparalleled for calamity, plague and famine and frontier wars; and finally the year of her death, 1901, saw the recurrence of famine and continuation of plague, and war in various parts, in South Africa and China.

Nature seems to burn great dates in history into the memory of men by associating striking events, generally calamities, with them. The reigns of Akbar and of Victoria are the best periods of Indian history; but in order to make them indelibly memorable, their great years, the *anni mirabiles*, are associated with striking calamities. So it seems is the case with Shivaji. The year of his exit from the land was marked by events calculated to inspire awe into the people. The death of such a popular and national hero who had succeeded in reviving the spirit of nationality among a fallen people, was in itself a sufficiently awe-inspiring event. To mark this event, so it

¹ *Calcutta Review*, Jan. 1898.

seems, a comet appeared in the heavens, not an ordinary comet such as appears every few years, but a really extraordinary one, both in its brilliance and the awe that it inspired. Such a comet appears very rarely, but once or twice in a thousand years. According to the famous astronomer, Halley, it appears once only after the long period of 576 years, and according to recent calculations necessarily more exact, it appears but once in 8,813.9 years, and according to some astronomers it will never come again¹.

The Mahratha chronicler is confirmed in the main by Fryer, who, of course, was unconscious of what the courtier of Rajaram had written. The *bakhar* was curiously written in the same year that Fryer published his travels, 1698, from his notes made in India nearly twenty years before. Fryer mentions several extraordinary phenomena as having occurred in the year 1679-80, the year of Shivaji's death. We shall quote his accounts of them here. Writing on the last day of the year 1679 he says: "This year has been filled with two portentous calamities, the one inland, a shower of blood for twelve hours; the other on the sea-coast, Mechalapatam (Maslipatam) being overturned by an inundation, wherein sixteen thousand souls perished²." This was four months before the death of the hero. Writing in 1681, 25th January, he mentions more strange events still—a few months after his death. "This year (1680) a drought was feared, which the Brahmins interpret a judgment for the Emperor's persecuting the Gentoos, which whether it gain credit among all people, I cannot tell. But that night and day a mixed multitude of all sorts ran through the streets of this city [Surat], after the Brahmins carrying a board with earth upon their bare heads and crying: *Bowe bege panne des*; on which old and young make the chorus to the precentor, sprinkling water and sowing rice thereon, saying the same after the Brahmin, which in English is *God give us water*; and on this impending affliction they are very charitable, and give great largesses to the poor³."

¹ Halley's "Astronomy of Comets," apud Whiston's "Newton's Phil., more easily demonstrated," 1716, p. 440.

² *East Indies*, p. 414.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

Continuing, Fryer says that "I should have concluded these remarks here, had not a wonderful sign in the heavens appeared to call for animadversion, which, beginning the 20th of November (1680), disappeared not till the latter end of January (1681) which enters on the next year, that within the space of our Europe fleet may bring you the rise and fall of the most prodigious comet I ever was witness to; or it may, the oldest men alive: What makes me more willing is, that I may have your account overland, whether it was visible in England, and what observations our prying world have made thereon. Eleven degrees from the earth, south-east, a terrible flaming torch was seen in the skies in Capricorn, near the head of Sagitarius, darting its rays upwards to the stars; at first, not above two ells in a small stream, but day by day as it inclined to the horizon, the flame grew longer but slenderer; it rose first at three in the morning, and so later and later till the sun outshone it; and as if it had circled the globe, at last it arose and set at nights, after the sun was down, when we beheld it W.N.W. which was on the evening of the twelfth of December, and about seven at night; at first no bigger than a man's hand from its coming forth of the horizon, which thence arose with a mighty *fulgor* or shining light for more than nine degrees, as big as a rainbow towards the highest part of the hemisphere; or, to speak more truly, like a pillar of fire, whose basis, whether for its tardy rise of the clouds gathered about the atmosphere, I could not discern till the seventeenth, it setting about nine o'clock; but after that time it ascended above the horizon, and passing the middle of the heavens (which afore it seemed to enlighten after seven) as it grew higher it lost of its brightness and splendour, but looked more fiery. January, the 16th, 1681 it had attained its zenith, when about the noon of night it vanished, and so by degrees at last it came to nothing. While this was reigning, several in the Hole [Swally—Hole near Surat] and Bazzar, at Swally, attested they saw two moons; others of our Englishmen, out a hunting after sunset, saw an unusual star of the bigness of the sun, which must certainly be this fiery ejaculation, striking obliquely upwards, being equally thick until its highest part had stretched itself into a column. It pointed towards the north, and whether it be meteor, comet,

or exhalation, it is certainly ominous ; and since they disclaim its influence here, I wish it may not affect our European kingdoms ; for says Clandian :—

“ In coelo nunquam spectatam impune Cometa”

“ In Heaven no Comet ever shin'd

Which was not grievous to mankind.”

(Fryer, *ibid.*, p. 419.)

This is all very like what Sabhasad says happened at the time of Shivaji's death : “the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars, and a pair of rainbows at night.” Fryer even adds to these wonders his own : “a double moon, a ‘star of the bigness of the sun,’ and a shower of blood.” The earthquake spoken of by the chronicler is evidently the tidal wave, the “overturning inundation” at Maslipatam mentioned by Fryer. It may be noted that Fryer does not connect them with Shivaji's disappearance from the earth, and the Englishman would have no motive, as the native chronicler would have, in magnifying the event.

Leaving the other strange phenomena alone for the present, we shall pursue the comet further. There is not the slightest doubt that it appeared a few months after Shivaji's death. It is famous all over the world and is historical, in that it was the first comet whose course was scientifically examined. The great Newton utilised it to give a valuable confirmation and proof of his gravitation theory, and deduced, from his observations of it, his famous laws of parabolic orbits for comets. “The great comet of 1680,” says a distinguished astronomer of our day, Prof. Simon Newcomb, “is remarkable for being not only a brilliant comet, but the one by which Newton proved that comets move under the influence of the gravitation of the sun. It first appeared in the autumn of 1680 and continued visible most of the time till the following spring. It fell down almost in a direct line to the sun passing nearer to that luminary than any comet before known. It passed in perihelion on December 18th, and, sweeping round a large arc, went back in a direction not very different from that from which it came. The observations have been calculated and the orbit investigated by many astronomers beginning with Newton ; but the results show no certain deviation from a parabolic orbit. Hence if the comet

ever returns, it is only at very long intervals. Halley, however, suspected with some plausibility that the period might be 575 years, from the fact that great comets had been recorded as appearing at that interval. The first of these appearances was in the month of September after Julius Cæsar was killed ; the second in the year 531 ; the third in February 1106 ; while that of 1680 made the fourth. If, as seems not impossible these were four returns of one and the same comet, a fifth return, will be seen by our posterity about the year 2255.”¹

Gibbon, in his great work, has noted the appearance of this comet in the reign of Justinian, when it was the precursor of unparalleled calamities, plague, war and famine over the Roman Empire, and made the following interesting observations about its various other appearances, or apparitions as they are technically called, in his stately and measured manner. “In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of September (531 A.D.), a comet was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagittary ; the size was gradually increasing ; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations, who gazed in astonishment, expected wars and calamities from the baleful influence, and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air ; and few among them embraced the simple notion of Seneca and the Chaldaeans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion. Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage ; the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers ; and in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of 575 years. The *first* which ascends beyond the Christian era 1767 years, is coeval with Ogyges, the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her colour, size

¹ *Popular Astronomy*, ed. 1878, pp. 374-5.

figure, and course : a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages. The *second* visit in the year 1193 is darkly implied in the fable of Electra, the seventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan War. That Nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the rain of her country ; she abandoned the dances of her sister Orbs, fled from the Zodiac to the North Pole, and obtained from her dishevelled locks, the name of the *Comet*. The *third* period expires in the year 618, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyll, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the west two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The *fourth* apparition forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Cæsar, a long-haired star was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by the young Octavian in honour of Venus, and his uncle. The vulgar opinion that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the Dictator, was cherished and consecrated by the piety of a statesman ; while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times. The *fifth* visit has already been ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the year 531 of the Christian era. The *sixth* return in the year 1106 is recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China : and in the first fervour of the Crusades, the Christians and the Mahomedans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the infidels. The *seventh* phenomenon of 1680 was presented to the eyes of an enlightened age. The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet 'from its horrid hair, shakes pestilence and war.' Its road in the heavens was observed with exquisite skill by Flamstead and Cassini ; and the mathematical science of Bernouilli, Newton, and Halley investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the *eighth* period in the year 2255, their calculations may, perhaps, be verified by the astronomers of some future capital in the Siberian or American wilderness."¹

Thus the comet of 1680 was probably that which visited the earth at the time of the death of Julius Cæsar, 44 B.C. ! ;

¹ *Decline and Fall*, ed., Bury, 1898, Vol. IV. pp. 432-4.

and the mind loves to dwell on this singular coincidence. It is surely extremely interesting to see the two great men, Cæsar and Shivaji, the greatest men of their respective nations, thus united in their deaths by this awful link in the heavens. We are not permitted by science to connect earthly events with the strange appearance of comets in the heavens in a causal relation. But it is surely an extremely interesting coincidence that the same comet in the course of his very rare visits to the earth, should have selected the years of the disappearance of these two great men from the earthly scene. "It is conceded," says the late Dean Farrar in connection with a similar phenomenon in the heavens, on a far more awe-inspiring occasion, the birth of Christ, "by many wise and candid observers, even by the great Niebuhr,¹ the last man in the world, to be carried away by credulity or superstition, that great catastrophes and unusual phenomena in nature have as a matter of fact—however we may choose to interpret such a fact—synchronised in a remarkable manner with great events in human history."² We may then surely prefer to err with such a dispassionate authority as Niebuhr, such an iconoclast among historians, and be even open to the charge of credulity and superstition and dwell a little longer on this particular remarkable synchronism of the comet's visits with two great events in human history. The death of Cæsar was an event similar to the death of Shivaji, in its effects on Roman history. Both marked the close of brilliant careers. Both Cæsar and Shivaji destroyed the mighty powers that existed, and both built other powers destined to take their place. Cæsar destroyed the Roman Republic which was so potent for good as well as evil during many centuries ; and his death led to the establishment of the mighty Roman Empire, fraught with such awful destinies for the world as then known. Shivaji dealt a mortal blow and led to the destruction of the Moghul Empire, which, for more than a century, had been omnipotent in India ; and his death led to the transition period of Mahratha rule, a period necessary for the final triumph of the English in India, during which the country was saved from anarchy by the

¹ *History of Rome*, Vol. II., 103.

² *Life of Christ* Vol. I., p. 35.

worthy successors of Shivaji, the great early Peishwas. The two periods were those of vast transition, the world passing away from its old masters, and old creeds and ideals to new; in the one case Paganism was giving way to Christianity, perhaps the most awe-inspiring change in all the world's history, in the other Islam was slowly but surely and steadily yielding its former supremacy in India, never to regain it again, making room for revived Hinduism and later on for a Christian power. Surely these were epochs which were worthy of being marked by extraordinary phenomena in nature, and they were, we may fancy, marked by such, among others, by the visits of a comet which comes but once in six centuries, and which has the longest period of all. To say this is not superstition. It is to acknowledge the profound wisdom of Providence which moulds human history on earth in a way which, in spite of our knowledge, is yet mysterious, and which also guides the course of those strange orbs in the heavens.

This synchronism of the famous comet with Cæsar's and Shivaji's death is not noted by any writer. Should this paper draw the attention of some to the interesting subject, and elicit further views, its object would be gained. I know that some astronomers are of opinion that the comet that appeared at Cæsar's death is not identical with that of 1680, which appeared after Shivaji's death. "Halley's conjecture," says Mr. Chambers, "has since been shown to be unlikely."¹ And he calculates the period of the comet to be 8,814 years: "this, however, is subject to much uncertainty, inasmuch as the observations might possibly be satisfied by an 805 years' ellipse or even by a hyperbolic orbit," in which case the comet would never return, but appeared only once. As Professor Bury says in his note on Gibbon's passage quoted above, it may be that "the identity is merely an ingenious speculation of Halley. There is nothing in the data to suggest 575 years, nor have we material for comparison with the earlier comets which Halley proposed to identify."² The tendency of modern astronomic thought is to give the comet of 1680 the unusually long period of 8,813·9 years, or even to say that it is unique and without

¹ *Astronomy*, p. 342.

² Ed. of Gibbon, Vol. IV, Appendix, p. 545.

a period. This does not much affect what we have said. On the contrary it accentuates it. The epoch when Shivaji died appears to be of such high importance as to be marked by a most brilliant comet which never before in recorded history had visited the earth and never will visit it for several thousand years to come. It is interesting to note that if a prodigious comet marked the exit of Shivaji, another famous comet heralded the birth of Napoleon in 1769. "It was called after that great man who looked upon it as his protecting *genie*, and whose belief in it is well known." "It was visible to the naked eye with a tail from 60° to 80° long. Bessel assigns 2,090 years as the most likely period. He has shown that an error of 5 seconds either may increase the period to 2,673 years or diminish it to 1,692 years."¹ Napoleon's death was not allowed to pass by without another comet being seen. It was, however, a very small one, having a tail of 2½° length. It shone a few weeks before and after his death in May 1821. "The Heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes."²

R. P. KARKARIA.

¹ Chambers' *Astronomy*, ed. Oxford, 1877, p. 345.

² *Shaks. Julius Cæsar II. ii. 31.*

Art. II.—THE CRIMINAL CLASSES OF THE BELLARY DISTRICT.

THE Bellary District is one of the westernmost of the Deccan districts of this Presidency and is peculiarly situated, bordering on the Nizam's Dominions, the Bombay Presidency and on the Mysore Provinces. This peculiarity of situation has made Bellary—especially the corner taluks bordering on other States—the safe home of several criminal tribes.

The *Dongadāsaris* live at Sangenhalli 14 miles south-east of Harpanahalli, the *Lambadis* at Sandur, and the *Korachas* at Rudrapadam, near Siruguppa.

As none of these castes have been critically examined till now, we propose to give all the available information about them, to the best of our researches.

The Dongadāsaris.—*Dāsari* is a Dravidian form of the word “*Dāsa*” in Sanskrit which means “servant.” *Dāsari* in Kanarese, Telugu, and other languages means a servant of God. It is an institution peculiar to all non-Brahman castes and is of Vaishnavite origin. Any member of a non-Brahman caste who wants to devote his whole life to the service of God, has only to go to a Vishnu temple, get himself branded with the *chauk* and *chakra*, the conch and the discus and to attach himself to the temple. He attends to the temple service, lives upon the charity that he collects in the temple and when he is specially religious becomes a *pūjāri* or priest also. When once he becomes a *Dāsari* he succeeds to the privilege of begging his food and when he starts on such an expedition, his castemen are bound to feed him. In addition to all these he is invited specially for the general feeding on festive or religious occasions and is

fed first, as such a feeding is considered to add to the meritoriousness of the person who gives him food. The *Dāsari* thus leads an easy life with his convenience secured by a religious guarantee from the hands of others. These *Dāsaris* are called *Gudidāsari* as the *gudi* or the temple is their home, and are a set of quiet, innocent and simple people leading a most idle and stupid life.

Quite opposed to the *Gudidāsaris* in every way are the *Dongadāsaris* or the thieving *Dāsaris*, *Donga* in Telugu and Kanarese meaning a thief. They are the most dreaded of the criminal classes in the Bellary District. There are about forty houses of this class in Harpanahalli and Hadagalli taluks. But it is very difficult to find the male members as they are always absent from their houses on predatory expeditions, never returning to them for several months. These *Dongadāsaris* are supposed to have come from Nellore into Bellary in the famine of 1876. In the former district they were said to have lived as peaceful inhabitants attending to agriculture and on their migration to the Bellary District, they had to take to thieving as their profession, finding no agricultural vocations to engage them. Thus they became the most detested and the most dreaded. No caste would accept them and when their number was diminishing, they became desperate and began to take in all people from other castes. In the early years of their settlement in Bellary, these *Dongadāsaris* were said to have practised kidnapping boys and girls of other castes to strengthen their number, and even now as the practice stands, any person can become a *Dongadāsari*, though very few would like to become one. But for all that, the chief castes who furnished members to this brotherhood of robbery were the scums of the *Lingayats* and the *Kabberas*. Of course none of the respectable from these castes would join them and only those who were excommunicated found a ready home among these *Dongadāsaris*. As observed already, any person can obtain ready admittance, and sometimes Muhammadan *budmashes* and the worst characters from other castes also become *Dongadāsaris*. The way an alien is made a *Dongadāsari* is as follows:—The regular *Dongadāsaris* take the party who wants to enter their brotherhood to the side of a river

make him bathe in oil, give him a new cloth, hold a council of *Dongadāsaris* and give a feast. They burn a twig of the Sami (*Prosopis spicigera*) or Margosa tree and slightly burn the tongue of the party who has joined them to make him a *Dongadāsari*. This is their way of purification and acceptance of every new member who, soon after the tongue burning ceremony, is given a seat in the general company and made to partake of the common feast. The *Dongadāsaris* talk both Telugu and Kanarese. They have no *panchayats* or caste councils and they have no *Yajamans* or headmen. They have only two *bedagus* or family names called *Sanna-akki* (thin rice) and *Ghantelavaru* (men of the bell). As the latter name is also a family name among the *Kabberas*, it is an evidence that members of the latter community have joined in large numbers the *Dongadāsaris*. Even now *Dongadāsaris* intermarry with *Kabberas*, i.e., they accept any girl from a *Kabbera* family in marriage to one of their sons, but do not give one of their daughters in marriage to a *Kabbera* boy. Hanuman is their chief god. Venkatesa, an incarnation of Vishnu, is also worshipped by many. But in every one of their villages they have a temple dedicated to their village goddess Huligavva or Ellamma, and it is only before these goddesses that they sacrifice sheep or fowls. They never practice animal sacrifice when worshipping Hanuman or Venkatesa. They have no caste festivals, but once in four or five years they all join together and celebrate a feast called Huligavva feast on which occasion they sacrifice sheep and fowls on a large scale. Vows are undertaken for these village goddesses when children fall ill. In addition to this, these *Dongadāsaris* are notorious for their peculiarity in taking vows before starting on a thieving expedition and the way these ceremonies are gone through is as follows:—The gang before starting on a thieving expedition proceed to a jungle near their village in the early part of the night, worship their favourite goddess Huligavva or Ellamma and sacrifice a sheep or fowl before her. They place one of their turbans on the head of the sheep or fowl that was sacrificed as soon as the head falls on the ground. If the turban turns to the right it is considered a good sign, the goddess having permitted them to proceed on the

expedition. If to the left they return home that night. Hanuman is also consulted in such expeditions and the way in which it is done is as follows:—They go to a Hanuman's temple which is near their village and after worshipping him, garland him with a hanging wreath of flowers. The garland hangs on both sides of the neck almost parallel to the hands. If any of the flowers on the right side drop down first, it is considered as a permission granted by the god Hanuman to start on plundering expeditions, and conversely these expeditions are never undertaken if any flowers happen to drop down from the left side first. The *Dongadāsaris* start on their thieving raids with their whole family—wife and children following. These are great experts in house-breaking and theft, and children are taught thieving by their mothers when they are five or six years old and the way it is done is peculiar. She takes her boy or girl to the nearest market and shows the child some cloth or vessel in that place and she asks the child to bring it away and when it fails it is thrashed and thrashed; and when strokes upon strokes fall upon its back the only reply it is taught to give is that it knows nothing. This is considered to be the reply which the child, when it grows up to be a man or woman, has to give to the police authorities when it is caught in some crime and thrashed by them to confess the same.

The marriage system among the *Dongadāsaris* is, as it prevails among other castes in the Bellary district. A branch of the Indian coral tree (*Erythrina indica*) called in Kanarese *Hāluvāna*, and in Tamil *Mul-murukkai* is planted as the marriage pole in the house in which it is to take place. The technical name of this pole is Halukamba or milkpole. On the wedding day new pots are arranged in a square near this pole and a square is formed by threads being passed over them. Within this square the pair chosen to be married sit together, dressed in new clothes; *kankana* or the auspicious thread of cotton is tied to their wrists and *Tāli* or marriage badge is tied to the bride's neck and a feast ends the marriage. As stated already, the *Dongadāsaris* accept girls from the *Kabberas* and the *Lingayats* for marriages in a regular form, but they are even ready to accept men and women of any caste who are prepared to join

them. One Dāsari marries sometimes many wives, three, four or five, but the Dāsari woman is not supposed to marry more than one man. As must be expected from their way of living, where men are sometimes absent from home for several months, the *Dongaddāsari* woman is very loose, but if she goes astray with a Brahman, Lingayat, Kabbera, Kuruba, Epparava or Rajaput, her tongue is burnt and she is taken back into the community. Widow marriage freely prevails among them. When a Dongadāsari dies, he is either burnt or buried according to convenience. They have no hard-and-fast rules to observe, one in preference to the other. But when death takes place in a family, the agnatic kindred or the *ādyādis* of that family do not enter the temple for a month, at the end of which a ceremony is performed; after that they can freely enter temples. They avoid eating beef and pork, but have no objection to other kinds of flesh. These *Dongaddāsaris* are only Dāsaris in name. They have neither branding nor temple service nor particular caste marks for their forehead. They are considered to be great experts in speaking several languages and in changing their dress and names. They are said to be notorious in carrying a very small short knife cleverly concealed about their person. Whenever they are caught by the Police they give false names and false castes. They have a cipher language among them and a few specimens which were gathered with a good deal of difficulty are as follows:—

Bantiya—The Police are coming, take care.

Mantra—Come, let us have our drink.

Kempu—If you go to that side, you will get gold.

The Korachas.—Rudrapuram in Bellary Taluk, Siruguppa Division and Sivapuram in the Kudligi Taluk are the two great centres for this notorious criminal caste, but one going to these places would be sorely disappointed at not finding any men there, for every one of these notorious criminals is under police surveillance and find a place in the K. D. gang register. Only old women and children he would find in the villages and to whatever questions he may ask, the uniform reply is that they know nothing. But how then to get over the difficulty? How to reach our subjects for conducting our examination?

The best place is the District Jail, Bellary, and several Korachalifers are always to be found in that place. Through the assistance of the Jail authorities the researches have to be very carefully made and verified at other places.

There are eight divisions among the Korachas—(1) Uru Koracha, (2) Uppu Koracha, (3) Vypari Koracha, (4) Edu Koracha, (5) Tadu Koracha—classes two to five are all supposed to be traders—salt, petty trading, cattle, ropes and swings being their professed petty trade and thieving being the ultimate motive. Edu Korachas lift cattle in Mysore and other provinces and sell them anywhere pretending to be cattle traders.

(6.) Kuntzu Korachas make brushes and trade in them.

(7.) Koti Korachas carry monkeys and beg with them.

(8.) Dubba Korachas make baskets, mats, etc., and trade in them.

Of the eight classes the Uru Koracha does not inter-dine with others for he says that others eat pork which he avoids. To a certain extent it must be said that the Uru Korachas are village Korachas, who have during the last fifteen years settled down as agriculturists in a settlement of their own in a corner of Harpanahalli and are living in huts made of bamboos. As far as marriage is concerned all these eight Korachas stand apart, intermarriages being prohibited. All the eight divisions have four *gotras* or *bedugus* called *sātpādi*, *kāvadi* and *manēpadi* and *menaragutti*, the meanings of which are not known. Next to the Uru Koracha, the Kote Korachas are said to be less addicted to criminal practices and all the other six subdivisions may be said to be the worst criminals in dacoity and cattle-lifting. Early marriage of girls is not known, the practice being adult marriage. Their marriage rite is only for a day. They do not engage any Brahman and they have no *Tali* tying ceremony. But they put on the arms of the girl bronze bangles five on the right wrist and four on the left, making a total of nine. A feast is given to all castemen and the marriage rites are completed. Drinking is the peculiar vice which distinguishes their marriage occasions. One peculiarity of their marriage is the absence of tomtoms and pipes. As soon as the

marriage is celebrated, the son leaves the parent's roof and establishes himself separately in a hut with his wife, the father giving him as his legacy whatever he can spare, there being no hard-and-fast rules. Besides the girl, money or *teravu* prevails among the Korachas and the amount fixed is Rs. 202-0-3. But this sum is not paid up all at once but by instalments of a pagoda or two per year. When the last quarter anna payment is made the *teravu* is considered to be closed. Widow marriage also prevails, Rs. 24 being the *teravu* or fee for the widowed woman, but a widowed woman can remarry only once and not more. The women of the Kuntzu Koracha sect practice fortune telling to every one who resort to them and especially to the *Malas* and the *Madigas*. A winnow is brought and rice—half a seer—is spread over it and the woman scribbles some lines over the rice and taking hold of the palm of the party who has come to consult her (right palm for men and left for women) tells his or her fortune. Of course the rice and the little fee becomes the property of the soothsaying woman. Venkatesa is the chief god of the Uru Korachas and Sunkalamma, the goddess of drink, the favourite goddess of all the others. They also worship Mariyamma by making mud cones in representation of her. The system of mortgaging wives to secure loans which is said to obtain among low castes is not prevalent among Korachas, but daughters are mortgaged and money taken on their security from the Korachas and not from other castes. These are always unmarried girls and they are free for the marriage only when the debt is cleared up. But to the credit of the Koracha community it must be said that the girl continues to live under the parent's roof. The Korachas have their Yajamans or caste heads—the person chosen for this function is always selected for his intelligence and power to command. All castemen of each village where Korachas live, join together and select a person well versed in matters of caste and nominate him as their Yajamana. If one Yajamana dies, and if his son satisfies all the qualifications he is chosen in his place, if not a new man is selected. So the post is not hereditary. The title of this Yajamana is Mukhi—a contraction of *Mukhyasta* the chief man. If any Government servant visit

the Koracha camp, it is always this Yajamana who receives and talks with him. These Korachas have a vow-taking ceremony before starting on a predatory expedition like the Dongadāsaris and they always resort to a Hanuman's temple. The Korachas are first-class horsemen, and criminal gangs in Kudligi are reputed to ride 60 miles in the course of a night after committing dacoity. They always delight in torch light robberies. They come in a gang and after their plundering is over, they disperse in different directions, fixing a rendezvous. The Korachas talk Telugu and Kanarese with others, but among themselves they talk what is called a Koracha language which is very much allied to Tamil. This will be seen from the few examples given below :—

“Have you had your food”? *Kali tendriya*. “Have you children or not”? *Chinna ikkida illa*. “I went to the field,” *Kollaikku poy vande*. Have you a wife”? *Pondu ikkida niku*. Did not the crow crow in your house? *Kak un bidu arisa ille*. *Madu*—cow. *Kudura*—horse.

Though their language is so much allied to Tamil they are not able to understand the Tamil spoken by a Tamilian. The Korachas do not dedicate any of their women as Basvis, but many of their fair girls are purchased and adopted by the Nayaksanis of Bellary, a sisterhood of prostitutes to continue their profession after their death. The criminal Korachas do not live in fixed houses, but wander about in Bidaris or removable huts.

The Lambadis.—The third and most interesting criminal class are the Lambadis. Their mythological origin and their grave crimes have been described by Mr. F. S. Mullaly in his Notes on Criminal classes, so that anything said on these heads would be only repeating what he had said. But the Lambadis dwelt upon by Mr. Mullaly differ in many respects from those of the Bellary District so that whatever is said here will be adding to the interesting information given by Mr. Mullaly. They are also called Brinjaris and this word is derived from the Sanskrit word *Vanij* or *Banij* meaning a trader. In almost all the accounts of the East India Company they are mentioned as dealers in grain and salt, moving about

in numerous parties with cattle and carrying their goods to different markets, and in the days of the Deccan wars were of the greatest resource to the commissariat as they always followed the armies with supplies for sale. They have a tradition among them of having first come to the Deccan from the north with Moghul camps as commissariat carriers. Captain J. Briggs in writing about them in 1813 states that as the Deccan is devoid of a single navigable river and has no roads that admit of wheeled traffic, the whole of the extensive intercourse is carried on by laden bullocks, the property of that class of people known as *Brinjaris*. The Lambadis of Bellary belong to three different families called *Angotti*, *Mud* and *Râmdvat*. Members of the same sect do not intermarry. Both the systems of marriages, child as well as adult, are prevalent among them. Mr. Francis in the Gazetteer of the Bellary District has given such a good account of a Lambadi marriage that it is not necessary to dwell upon the same here. The original profession of the Lambadi was trading in cattle, grains, salt, etc., and making saddles. They were once very rich, but owing to the introduction of the railway, their trade has suffered much. They have always been notorious thieves and dacoits living outside general habitations in detached settlements called *tandas*. Each *tanda* has a headman called the Nayaka, whose word is law and whose office is hereditary. Each settlement has also a priest whose office also is hereditary. Their language which is called Landa is said to be connected with Mahratti. Great care has been taken in the following tables to compare the Lambadi words with Guzarati and Mahratti and more than four-fifths correspond exactly with Guzarati words. The declensional endings of nouns and conjugational terminations of verbs, the names of the most common domestic and wild animals, the designations for expressing all kinds of nearest relationship are the same in both these languages. The Guzarati and Mahratti scholars who helped the writer in this direction have, between themselves, given as their opinion that the Lambadi language is distinctly Guzarati and not Mahratti. The marriage ditty quoted by Mr. Francis is found word for word in the Guzarati songs also. These several reasons would make one infer that the Lambadis must have originally come down to the south

from Guzarat. The tables attached below will speak for themselves :—

ENGLISH.	LAMBADI.	GUZARATI.	MAHRATTI.
Grandfather.	Dâdâ.	Dâdâ.	Âzâ.
Grandmother.	Dâdi.	Dâdi (or) Vadi Âyi.	Âjî.
Bazar.	Dokân.	Dukân.	Dukân.
Ghi.	Ghi.	Ghi.	Tûpa.
Rice.	Isâval.	Chôkha.	Tândul.
Cloth.	Dhôtî.	Dhôtî.	Dhotar.
Trowsers.	Jhânghiya.	Jhôngo.	Pâijâma.
Shirt.	Jhagala.	Jhabalu.	Dagalâ.
Turban.	Pagdî.	Pagdî.	Pagadi.
Rain.	Ôrs.	Varsât.	Pâvus.
Lightning.	Vigili.	Vijali.	Viza.
River.	Nandi.	Nadi.	Nadi.
Tree.	Zsâd.	Zsâdo.	Ztsâd.
Margosa tree.	Limbêvar zsâd.	Limdano zsâd.	Nimbache ztsâd.
(I) go.	Jâvuchu.	Jâvuchu.	Tjâtôn.
(He) comes.	Âvatche.	Avêche.	Yetô.
(They) go.	Jâtche.	Jâiche.	Jâtata.
I (eat).	Khâvatchu.	Khâdu.	Khatôn.
He (eats).	Khârôche.	Khâyiche.	Khâto.
Eat them (Imperative).	Khô.	Khân.	Khâ.
I	Mai.	Hûñ.	Mazhe.
Mine.	Mâro.	Mâro.	Mazha.
You.	Tûñ.	Tûñ.	Tû.
Yours.	Târo.	Târo.	Tujhe.
He.	Û.	Yeno.	To.
His.	Ôrô.	Yeno.	Tyachin.

ENGLISH.	LANBADI.	GUJARATI.	MAHRATTI.
I go to my house. This pillar is not good. The roof is good. The rafters are bent. The cow eats the grass. The sheep eats the leaf. The buffalo gives milk. I eat food. My father died. My mother is alive. My son is four years old.	Mai ghar jāvuchū. Ī khamb ballā. Ādiya atso che. Vāmsā vālō che. Gānni khad khāt che. Chhēli pālo khāt che. Mahsi dūd dāt che. Mai bhāt khāvū chu. Māvō bāp margō. Māvī yādi jivat che. Māvō betāne char var- she umbā.	Hūū ghar jāvuchū. Ā thamlo sārō na thī. Mālana sārō che. Vānsā vānko che. Gāyī tsāv khāyī che. Ghetā pāṇḍalā khayī che. Mehs dūd dē che. Hūū bhāt khāvū chu. Māvō bāp mari gayō. Mārō mā jive che. Mārō chokro chār var- no.	Mī Gharāla Jsātōñ. Hā khambha bara nahi. Chāvani bari āhē. Velu vākdī Āhēt. Gāyī gavvat khātāt. Sheli pālā khātē. Mahis dūd dete. Mī bhāt Khātōñ. Mazā bāp mēlā. Mazī āyī tsagalā āhē. Mazā mūlga char var- shatza.
There was heavy rain yesterday. To-morrow the river will be in freshes. My cloth is new. Your cloth is old.	Kāl ghano Ōrs pado. Kāl nandi bharaingī. Mārō dhōtī navvat che. Tānō dhōlī juno che.	Kāle ghano varsāt padyo or varsho. Kale nadi bharaiñ. Mārō dōtyu navvu che. Tārō dōtiyu juno che.	Kāl motha pāvus hōtē. Udya nadila pūr yeyil. Mazā vastra navina āhē. Tuzā vartrā phar jivna jsala.
In that house there are many men.	Ō gharē ma ghanā ādmi che.	E Gharmō G h a n o Mānas che.	Tya ghari phar loga apet.

T. M. NATESA SASTRI.

. Art. III.—ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

A YEAR'S RECORD.¹

"THE history of religion," wrote Dr. Hunter, "is, in India the history of the people. * * * * Dynastic revolutions and religious reformations have for centuries gone hand in hand. Buddhism and Hinduism, the Muhammadans and the Sikhs, represent a conflict of creeds not less than a struggle of races."² And the history of religion in India is the attempted supersession and suppression of one creed by another,—the devastation and desecration of the temples of the followers of the dishonoured faith by successful followers of the dominant creed.

Speaking of the rarity of ancient monuments in India, Grunwedel remarked: "Stress must be laid on the fact that in comparison with the vast extent of the country, the monuments are far from numerous, that great numbers of them have been destroyed through the indolence or by the sheer vandalism of men of other faiths, so that considerable monumental groups, in good preservation, remain only where the districts subsequently became deserted and the monuments consequently were forgotten, and so saved from direct destruction at the hand of man; or where, as happened in Ceylon, the old religion remained and protected the monuments of olden times."³

Dr. Mitra was unreasonably hard on the Muhammadans when he spoke only of their iconoclastic zeal. "Moslem fanaticism, which, after repeated incursions, reigned supreme in India for six hundred years, devastating everything Hindu, and converting every available temple, or its materials, into a masjid, or a palace, or a heap of ruins, was alone sufficient to sweep away everything in the way of sacred buildings."⁴ And here we must mention the fact that in ancient India the skill of the artist displayed itself on temples rather than in palaces.

¹ Annual Report—1902-3.² Hunter—*Orissa*.³ Grunwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.⁴ Rājendra Lāla—*Orissa*.

What is true of Moslem fanaticism is equally true of the work of followers of other creeds. Towering temples of the Hindus had been built with the reliques of Buddhist *viharas*, to be in turn torn down to supply materials for the building of Moslem mosques.

Coming next to, what Mr. Lane-Poole calls, mediæval India we find the caprice of kings responsible for the damage and destruction of many monuments. Round the royal palaces have grown up towns adorned with the residences of *amirs and omrahs*, bazaars and serais. Then capitals have been changed. Delhi, Agra and Lahore in turn received the attention of the Moghul emperors of Hindustan. While nothing sadder or more beautiful exists in India than Fatehpur Sikri "the silent witness of a vanished dream."¹ That even before the Moghuls, rulers in India had marched to immortality over their predecessors' graves will be evident from the following: "The present Moghul city of Delhi, which should properly be known as Shahjahanabad, is the most northern and most modern of a number of capitals and fortresses constructed * * * between 700 and 1550 of the Christian era, from the Lal Kila of Rai Pithora at the Kutub Minar eleven miles south-west of Shahjahanabad to the Jahannuma Palace and quarter, built by Firoz Shah Tughlak on the ridge, slightly in advance of the Moghul capital."² Indian rulers have not hesitated to remove to "fresh fields and pastures new" leaving old towns to—what Lord Curzon describes as—"the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population, who see only in an ancient building the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience."³

How true this assertion is will be seen from a perusal of the work before us. In Dr. Bloch's report we read that to preserve the remaining portion of the inscription in the Hâthi-gumphâ in Orissa "a shade or verandah has been erected in front of it, to keep off the glare of the sun and the torrents of the monsoon—evidently the most destructive factors."

¹ Lane-Poole—*Mediæval India*.

² Fanshawe—*Delhi—Past and Present*.

³ Speech on Ancient Indian Buildings.

Speaking of the ancient capital of the Ahom kings at Ghurgaon (Assam) Mr. Marshall remarks: "Time and the elements have almost entirely obliterated it, and the single notable sign post of its existence is a fine three storied building, which, however, is so overgrown with jungle as to recall to the imagination the nursery story of the Sleeping Beauty. And here it seems worth remarking that the exuberance of wild vegetation in India is such that the fabled magical envelopement of the Sleeping Beauty's palace in a tangled mass of impenetrable forest is a phenomenon that in real life confronts the Archæological Department again and again. One of the most persistent and insidious enemies the archæological conservator has to fight is the jungle." Gaur, we read, "was famous for its glazed tiles, but unfortunately these formed a much-coveted spoil for vandals, who, in the early days of the Company's rule, wantonly destroyed many a fine building solely for the sake of the tiles."¹ "History," remarks Dr. Bloch, "in this respect has repeated itself. In order to erect mosques and tombs the Muhammadans pulled down all the Hindu temples they could lay hands upon for the sake of the building materials. And again, when their time was over and their capitals were deserted, the monuments which they had left were again demolished and the stones and bricks used for common purposes."

In the early days of John Company the English were busy extending the boundaries and strengthening the foundations of the new empire, and paid but little attention to the preservation of the ancient monuments of the country. And it was not in a day that the traditions could be shaken off. According to Grant "the *nizamât daftar* received an annual payment of Rs. 8,000 from two local zamindars for allowing them the exclusive right to demolish the venerable ruins at Gaur, in order to carry away the highly prized enamelled tiles and the so-called Gaur marbles." Though Lord Canning invested archæological work in India with permanent Government patronage by constituting, in 1860, the Archæological Survey of Northern India, "in 1870, when Lord Mayo held a Durbar at Ajmir, and when the scheme for the establishment of the

¹ These tiles have "a marked Hindu character", *vide* Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*.

present Mayo College was publicly announced, a triumphal arch composed of pillars brought from the mosque¹ was erected under which the Viceroy and the principal Chiefs of Rajputana passed in procession."

But the Government has warmed to its task, and—to reverse Lord Curzon's assertion—the æsthetic now dominates the barbarian in the official mind. Spasmodic efforts have given place to systematic work of renovation and preservation. A new era has dawned for archæological work in India. Lord Curzon has earned the gratitude of all Indians by his earnest efforts to preserve the ancient monuments of the country. "We have a duty"—the vicegerent of the emperor has declared—"to our forerunners as well to our contemporaries and to our descendants—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own times—if, indeed, any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors." ² "Instead of destruction"—as Mr. Marshall, the Director-General of Archæology puts it—"we have now reconstruction." The re-organised Department now takes in hand no haphazard operations—due to the promptings of a pious but passing impulse—hastily undertaken or hastily conceived.

During the year under review many ancient buildings have been restored exactly to their original condition. And to the spectator viewing them now they appear almost as they did when they emerged from the hands of the architect in their pristine beauty. That the Government have not grudged money for the repairs will be evident from the statements that the Mandalay Palace has been and is being repaired at a cost of

¹ Arhai-din-ka Jhompra Mosque—described by Cunningham as "the finest and largest specimen of the early Muhammadan mosque that now exists"—*Ind. Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. II.

² Speech on Ancient Indian Buildings.

Rs. 72,248, and that the total expenditure incurred at Kanarak up to the end of the financial year 1902-03 was Rs. 27,033—a sum not unworthy for the repairs of a temple whose cost "was defrayed by twelve years' revenue of the province."¹

The publication of the present report marks a new departure in the history of such publications. Brilliant works on Indian archæology—the results of long study and patient assimilation of the work of generations—had been published in the past. "The publication of each report was usually delayed until enough material had been accumulated and studied to enable a complete monograph to be published, that should be fit to stand as the final word on the subject for the next generation." From 1874 to 1902 thirty-two miscellaneous volumes of the *Imperial Series* saw the light without any semblance to periodicity; sometimes one volume appeared in five years, sometimes five volumes came out in one year.

These publications, with their long periods of gestation, had a value as to scholarship, fulness and finality which the new "Annual" cannot and need not emulate. But because of their very finality these publications tended, to some extent at least, to stifle rather than to stimulate further research in the particular paths trodden by their authors. And those interested in Indian antiquity had long felt the want of an ever-fresh annual report promptly informing the public of what has been done during the year. The object of the present publication is to remedy this want. To quote the Director-General's remarks:—"Instead of silently accumulating during a long course of years the materials for some future volumes, and keeping these materials hidden, as it were, behind a hoarding until the finished structure can be disclosed, it is the intention to show year by year exactly what materials have been and are being collected, so that other labourers may know how they can add to the heap and, if possible, themselves build from it the ultimate edifice. In other words, it is the intention, by means of these progress reports, to show that the department, so far from looking to monopolise the field of research desires and facilitates the co-operation of every earnest student and learned society. More than this, it is the intention to attempt to do for India

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*.

something of what the volumes issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund during the last 20 years have done for the land of the Pharaohs—to attract wider and more abiding attention to India's grand treasure-house of historical relics. Even if active co-operation should not always be forthcoming, generous interest and sympathy at least, it is hoped, will periodically be excited, and the public led to view the work of the Department as something not outside the range of their concern." Let us hope this policy will act in the world of letters as the abolition of the monopolies did in the commercial world. Now it will be possible for scholars outside the Archaeological Department to produce—with the materials thus placed at their disposal—works which up to now had been the monopoly of officers of the Department who kept the general public in the dark as regards the progress of the work of the Department till their finished and final works saw the light.

In the introduction to the first volume of the report of the Archaeological Survey of India Cunningham gave a brief history of Archaeological work in India from the foundation of the Asiatic Society in 1784 to the publication of the volume in 1871. Thirty-three years later Mr. Marshall begins his "Annual" with an introduction in which the reader will find a brief account of the Archaeological Department "and of the transformation it has lately undergone." The two introductions are typical of the two books. Cunningham's Reports aimed to be finished, full and final, while the new Annual is designed to inform the world of the annual work of the Department and to place at the disposal of students all new information to be utilised by them. It may here be noted that in 1900 Lord Curzon, in his speech delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, gave a brief account of the Archaeological Survey Department and of archaeological work done in India by the British; and in a recent issue of the *Calcutta Review* we tried to bring this account up to date.¹ The history of the Department is at once instructive and interesting, and shows how in respect of the preservation of ancient monuments in India the present pious policy of the Government has been developed in spite of serious drawbacks and occasional neglect—if not downright opposition.

¹ January, 1905.

During the year under review the work of conservation has been carried on in Bombay, Central India, Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Ajmir, Madras, and Burma. Those who have supervised the work have, in most cases, contributed accounts of the work done.

There are some people who set little value on conservation and aim, primarily, at research. But they are mistaken. We must not forget that "research is a work that can be taken up equally well by any qualified person or organisation, with or without official aid; whereas conservation in these quick-moving times is a duty of urgency devolving upon the Government of the day with the certain knowledge that no future solicitude will be able to repair the consequences of past neglect." Research can wait while conservation—which would supply materials for research—cannot.

To explain the present policy of the Department about conservation, and in justification of it we quote below the remarks of the Director-General on the renovation of the Mandalay Palace:—"It may appropriately be mentioned here that local opinion does not unanimously endorse the conservation of the Mandalay Palace, and that the ground of disagreement usually urged is that the building, being of wood, is necessarily doomed to early decomposition. Compared with more solid and enduring memorials of stone, the Mandalay Palace, constructed entirely of wood, may indeed seem wanting in some of the elements of permanence. But permanence is relative, and, at any rate, the hope may be confidently entertained that the moderate scheme of conservation now in hand will preserve the palace intact for fully a hundred years. Is a century of extended existence too small an end to justify the effort? When we remember that the palace is the one and only example of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese kings; that it embodies some of the finest examples of Burmese wood carving anywhere extant; that since royal patronage passed away with Thibaw the glorious skill of the native decorator languishes for want of encouragement; that under the uninspiring influence of Western utilitarianism, the Great Palace in Mandalay almost alone remains to keep alive the ideals of the depressed craftsmen; and that the abandonment of this majestic landmark would

probably be the signal for a more rapid and hopeless decadence of the wood carver's craft in Upper Burma—when we think of all this, and when we hear the workmen of to-day acknowledge the inferiority of their handiwork compared with the masterpieces of King Mindon's and King Thibaw's times, can we say that the preservation of the Palace, if only for a hundred years more, is a thing of small account?"

In this "Annual" the reader will find instances of Western utilitarianism disfiguring ancient buildings of exquisite design and finish to serve modern purpose. Sidi Sayyad's Mosque at Ahmedâbâd had been converted into a treasury and record-room for the local Magistrate, the Mâmlatdâr of Daskrohi *tâlukâ*. To fit it for this purpose the whole front was walled up, modern doors and windows were inserted, cross walls and iron-barred partitions were added, the great perforated windows were walled up from behind, and two of the *mirhabs* were converted into presses. The space before the mosque was closed in with surrounding out-houses and shut off entirely from public view. The Mandalay Palace was being used as a club house, a Government office and a church. What it means to restore buildings thus disfigured to their original beauty will be understood by a perusal of Mr. Tucker's account of restoration work in Ajmir. In 1687 Shah Jehan erected five marble pavilions or pleasure houses and one *hammâm* or Turkish bath on the embankment of the Âna-Sâgar. The embankment and the grounds below known as the Daulat Bâgh, formed a favourite garden house of the Moghul Emperors when they visited Ajmir. On the British occupying the place in 1818 the embankment was selected as a site for the dwelling houses of the Commissioner of Ajmir, and his subordinate staff, and public houses also were erected on the embankment. The house of the Commissioner included two pavilions which were embedded in and concealed by the walls of the inner rooms. In another an office and a court room were erected. A fourth pavilion was converted into a station reading room and library, the spaces between the marble pillars being blocked in with masonry, while two masonry wings were added to the building. It was also used at one time as a municipal office. Another pavilion was built into another dwelling-house

An office was built on to the *hammâm*. In 1899 the rains failed and the lake became dry. The foundations of the Commissioner's house subsided and the house became uninhabitable. Another house too suffered in the same way. An opening was thus presented for the restoration of the entire embankment and the beautiful buildings on it; and a scheme was prepared—under Lord Curzon's direction and supervision—for the demolition and removal of the modern buildings, the preservation and re-erection of the original marble buildings contained in them and the restoration of the embankment, as far as possible, to what it was when the Moghul Emperor first beautified it. The scheme has been carried out. The pavilions in the Commissioner's house were found to be nearly intact. "Step by step," we read in the Report, "as the house was demolished, the marble work was carefully removed, the pillars, brackets and panels were numbered and re-erected *in situ* after the modern building material had been cleared away." The pictures in the "Annual" show how carefully and completely the work has been done. No wonder "the embankment is now largely visited by both Hindus and Muhammadans who appear to enjoy and to appreciate the transformation that has been effected."

Successive writers of this *Review* have striven to show the evil influence exerted on Indian art by the style persistently adhered to by the Public Works Department in its buildings and the adoption of this style "stamped with official approval" by the aristocracy and plutocracy of India whose vitiated taste makes them prefer the "horrors that have been perpetrated in the name of Architecture" by the Public Works Department to exquisite old buildings of the land. They have urged the adoption of indigenous styles, and the revival of old industries. "Not many years ago," wrote Mr. Havell in this *Review*,¹ "a number of important buildings were being erected in Calcutta, and for their external decoration terra-cotta to the value of a lac of rupees was obtained from England. This terra-cotta was not of exceptional artistic merit, to set an example to the Bengalee artisan, but the ordinary commercial ornament which is sold by the square yard by

¹ *Art Education in India.*

European manufacturers. Now Bengal is a great brick-making country, and there once existed a beautiful art in moulded brick-work, still to be seen in old buildings in many parts of the province. If a lac of rupees had been spent in reviving this decayed art public buildings in Calcutta would have had far better ornament and an old industry might have been revived."

In his remark on the renovation of the Mandalay Palace, quoted before, the Director-General has admitted that for want of encouragement the skill of the Indian artist is decaying and deteriorating. That it may still be found possible to revive that skill by encouraging and stimulating the hereditary powers of the Indian artist is apparent. Stones being rare brick was freely used in the buildings at Gaur, the mural ornaments which the mason would ordinarily have cut out of stone facings being imitated in the softer material of bricks and tiles, often with great skill. "As a rule," remarks Dr. Bloch, "these brick decorations were not moulded, but were actually cut out with a chisel, and workmen trained in this art are still to be had and have been employed in restoring the ruins at Gaur." Referring to the repairs at Bhubaneswar the same writer remarks: "Carvings, when broken and lost, were replaced by new ones with careful discretion, and the work of the modern stone-mason, native of Bhubaneswar, does not fall much behind the old work, except that modern restorations of human or animal figures are less graceful than their older models." Then we are told that Agra can boast of, perhaps, the greatest success that restoration has ever yet achieved in any part of India; and this is due, to a great extent, to "the exceptional skill of the local masons, which has enabled them to copy the original carvings with scrupulous fidelity." And again—"In the copying of the Moghul designs upon fresh slabs of stone, and in the careful fitting in of new patches, where bad fractures had occurred, in such a manner as to save every inch of the original that could be saved, the native sculptors displayed all the ingenuity and skilful mastery over material acquired by hereditary instinct." This reminds us of Mr. Griffiths' remarks in connection with the work at Ajanta: "Hindu, Parsi and Goanese students can still easily do the

work which was done centuries before, while English artists cannot."¹

The recovery from England and restoration to their original places of the mosaics which once adorned the throne of Shah Jehan in Dewan-i-Amm at Delhi deserve mention. "The Throne was approached by the Emperor from the back by a doorway, pierced in a recess in the wall. The main feature in this recess was the mosaic work of marble and coloured stones with which its entire surface was adorned. The decoration is more particularly famous for the panels of the black marble, inlaid with a variety of coloured stones in designs of birds and flowers. These panels are the sole examples in India of this particular form of technique. The most justly famous among them is one representing the figure of Orpheus sitting under a tree and fiddling to a circle of listening animals. At the time of the Mutiny in 1857 a good many of these panels, which are quite small, were picked out and mutilated, twelve of them, including the representation of Orpheus, as well as four larger and seven smaller panels were appropriated by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Jones, and afterwards sold by him for £500 to the British Government, who deposited it in the South Kensington Museum." On a strong appeal for their recovery made by the Government of India the trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum have returned them. The character of the panel designs is obviously Italian. The black marble of their backgrounds and the majority of the inlaid stones are Italian, and not Indian; and, remarks Mr. Marshall,—“it is not unreasonable to suppose that they are not only designed but actually executed in an Italian studio, and afterwards imported into this country.” Even after the replacing of the panels got from England there remain some gaps where panels are partly or wholly missing. "It will take some time," wrote Mr. Marshall in the 'Annual,' "before the precise stones used can be identified and procured from Europe, and it will very probably be found necessary to get the panels executed

¹ The *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*.

"The patient Hindu handicraftsman's dexterity is a second nature, developed from father to son working for generations at the same processes and manipulation."
—Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*.

in Florence or to obtain artists from Italy to do the work in India. Since this was written the following intimation has appeared in the papers:—"Lord Curzon is adding one more to the gifts he has already bestowed upon India in aid of the preservation of its monuments. Some time ago, His Excellency recovered and had replaced in their original positions in the wall behind the throne of Dewan-i-Amm, Delhi, a few of the beautiful panels of coloured inlaid marble representing birds, flowers, fruits, and animals which he discovered in the South Kensington Museum in London. He is now bringing out from Florence, at his own expense, an Italian artist or mosaicist to restore the remaining panels which covered the whole of the wall behind the throne. There are about a hundred of these panels and the work will take about two years." We are all grateful to Lord Curzon for this act.

In more than one case it has been complained that renovated temples and mosques are being misused by people who do not and cannot appreciate their artistic value. After referring to the renovation of Sidi Sayyad's Mosque Mr. Cousens remarks: "But, alas with the permission of the Muhammadan community to use it under certain conditions, the building is likely to suffer at the hands of the worshippers unless a close watch is maintained. When I was at Ahmedâbâd, the first time after the restoration, they had stowed away the ugly bamboo framework of one of their great tabuts in one corner, and although I had it removed, it was again put back with, I was told, the permission of the Collector." But these worthy worshippers had never showed eagerness to undertake the work of renovation. And if they could curb their zeal when the Mâmlatdâr was in possession of the mosque they can easily be made to spare the building from injury resulting from misuse. They ought to take special care to preserve intact this glorious monument. The Government repair these buildings with public money not for the benefit of a community but in the interest of archæology; and this fact should never be lost sight of. Dr. Bloch thus concludes his remarks on the Caves at Khandagiri: "As long as the caves continue to be occupied by modern yogis and sannyasis, who cook their meals in them, there is little chance of protecting their interior against

grime; yet an attempt to oust the intruders meets with no popular support, as even educated Hindus labour under the idea that structures of this kind can be claimed as of right as residences for ascetics, since that was their primitive use and object." Alas for education! *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.* These ancient monuments should now be preserved as national treasures, and the world allowed their use. To misuse them would be sheer vandalism which should not be permitted. In this particular case the ownership of these caves has changed hands so often that it can afford to do so once more. But we are not without hope. That the light of the new dawn has penetrated and is penetrating into the strongholds of staunch conservatism will be apparent from the news published in the papers the other day—that the Jeer Swami of Tirukurungudi, an ancient and influential muth in the Tinnevely District, has presented to the Madras Museum a stone pillar from the precincts of his muth, containing inscriptions of Pandyan era in "Vatt Ezhuttu" characters. The stone is believed to be of great archæological interest, and the action of the Jeer Swami in surrendering it to so suitable a depository denotes a degree of enlightenment which invariably characterised the learned heads of religious houses in the country in the past.

With a word or two on the Bâgh Caves we will take leave of this portion of this fascinating work. These caves, we are told, are now falling in and are so ruined that it is now almost hopeless to do anything to them. "This is much to be regretted," remarks Mr. Marshall, "since they had upon their walls fresco paintings similar to those which make the Ajantâ caves so famous." The date of these caves cannot be ascertained with accuracy. But we are of opinion that they should be relegated to about A.D. 450 to 500. The paintings belonged, perhaps, to the sixth century A. D. Cave No. III was known as the "painted cave"—"from its having been covered with fresco paintings apparently quite as good as any at Ajantâ, but somewhat different in the subjects and arrangements."¹ The upper portions of the walls for about four feet were covered with intertwined vegetable patterns, while below were figures and

¹ Fergusson and Burgess.—*The Cave Temple of India.*

scenes, Buddhist Jātakas, etc. There was a verandah 220 feet long, and "the back wall of this was adorned with a series of very beautiful frescoes, rivalling in excellence those at Ajantā¹⁸ Processions on elephant and horseback, musical entertainments, and the like, formed the principal subjects, and the number of women considerably exceeded that of the men. The paintings had been very much injured when Fergusson and Burgess wrote their book—by the fall of much of the roof, as well as from natives having scribbled their names over the frescoes, and from decay. It is a pity that an attempt was not made earlier to preserve these frescoes from further destruction. The frescoes in the cave temples in the absence of other examples of painting form the only reliable source of information as to the high level of excellence reached in painting in ancient India. We are sorry, we seek in vain in the "Annual" for an account of what is now being done to preserve these precious frescoes for the benefit of future students.

Those who apprehend that the publication of these annual reports will tend to deteriorate scholarship will, on a perusal of the later portions of this "Annual," find their fears falsified. They will be agreeably surprised to find a mine rich in ore and suggestions to utilise it to the best advantage. The student will find in it not only materials ready for use, but also directions how to use them. And let us hope the production of scholarly books on Indian archæological subjects will be stimulated and not retarded by the accumulated materials being made easily accessible to students outside the Archæological Department.

It will not be possible—within the limited space at our disposal—to do the subjects dealt with full justice by an elaborate discussion. The heads of chapters contained in the "Annual" will, we hope, enable the reader to form an idea of the contents.

(1.) Exploration and Research—(A) General, (B) Prehistoric Antiquities in Tinnevely—(a) The prehistoric site at Āditanallur, (b) Contents of the Urns, (c) Objects in metal, (d) Gold Diadems, (e) Bronze Vase, Stands and Vessels, (f) Miscellaneous Bronze objects, (g) Iron Weapons and Implements.

¹ Fergusson and Burgess.—*The Cave Temple of India.*

(2.) Excavations at Chārsada in the Frontier Province (a) Historical and Geographical, (b) Bālā Hisār, (c) Muhammadan remains on the Bālā Hisār, (d) Minor Finds in the Bālā Hisār, (e) Mir Ziyārat, (f) Palatu Dheri, (g) Ghaz Dheri, (h) Pottery from Chārsada.

(3.) Buddhist Gold Jewellery.

(4.) Ter-Tagara.

(5.) The Iron Pillar at Dhar.

(6.) Tombs at Hinidān in Las Bela.

(7.) Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and its Buildings.

(8.) Epigraphy—(A) General.

(B.) Ratlam Plates of Dhruvasena II.

(C.) Inscriptions of Chambā Stāte—(a) Inscriptions of Meruvarman, (b) Copper-plate Inscriptions, (c) Grant of Yagākaravarman, (d) Grant of Vidagdha-deva, (e) Grant of Somavarma-deva, (f) Grant of Somavarma-deva and Āsata-deva, (g) Grant of Āsata-deva, (h) Conclusions—Geographical and Historical.

(D.) Armenian Inscriptions in Beluchistan.

(9) List of Archæological Reports published under official authority.

Readers of Dr. Stein's "Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan" must have noticed the value archæologists attach to manuscripts in the Kharoshthi character—transplanted from the extreme North-West of India. Dr. Stein found Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and an unknown but manifestly non-Sanskrit language represented among the literary finds from the ruined temples of Endere, in the extreme east of the territory explored. "But," he remarked, "much older and of far greater importance than any of these finds are the hundreds of Kharoshthi documents on wood and leather from the ruined houses and rubbish-heaps of the ancient settlement discovered beyond the point where the Niya River now loses itself in the desert."¹

Chārsada was placed first on the list of sites to be excavated in the Frontier Province because two inscriptions in Kharoshthi had been found there, and it was hoped that others might be recovered. "Our hopes," remarks the Director-General, "were not disappointed, for we obtained another

Stein—*Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan.*

votive inscription cut on the stone pedestal of a statue, and three more written in ink on earthen-ware vessels, recording their presentation to a community of monks."

In his report on the Prehistoric Antiquity of Tinnevely, Mr. Rea remarks: "It used to be the custom to assign an immemorial antiquity to everything Indian, of which the date was unknown, and now perhaps the scale has turned too far in the opposite direction, for some will, without sufficient or perhaps any data, at once confidently state that the tombs (in Tinnevely) cannot be more than a few centuries old; while at the same time they will readily accept unquestioned a date of as many thousands of years before the Christian era for a Greek or Egyptian tomb or monument as devoid of actual evidences of date as these are."

The vexed question of Greek influence on Indian art has not yet been set at rest. "I do not suppose," wrote General Cunningham, "that building with stone was unknown to the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion."¹ Rājendra Lāla strove to prove: "Whatever the origin or the age of ancient Indian architecture, looking to it as a whole it appears perfectly self-evolved, self-contained, and independent of extraneous admixture. It has its peculiar rules, its proportions, its particular features,—all bearing impress of a style that has grown from within,—a style which expresses in itself what the people, for whom, and by whom, it was designed, thought, and felt, and meant, and not what was supplied to them by aliens in creed, colour, and race."² Fergusson admitted that Indian architecture had throughout remained "a purely indigenous art, without any trace of Egyptian or of classic art"—"nor can it be affirmed that it borrowed anything directly from Babylonia or Assyria."³ "In no instance," he said, "did the Indians adopt the architectural designs of the contemporary nations."⁴ But he had suggested that it was not till they came in contact with the Greeks and other nations using stone, that they thought of employing stone for their architectural purposes. But afterwards he was constrained to say: "If any one likes

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III.

² *Orissa*.

³ *Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

⁴ *Archæology in India*.

to argue that the Indians, from their habit of copying their wooden buildings in the rock, acquired a fondness for the more durable material, and a familiarity with its use, which induced them to employ it in their structural buildings also, I have very little to urge against the hypothesis. It seems incapable of proof or disproof."¹ So Rājendra Lāla had not written in vain.

But this point has now been settled. After much doubt, discussion and diffidence the author of the latest work on ancient India has accepted that Indian architecture owed nothing to Greece.² Still he holds that the plastic arts of India owe much to Hellenic influence. It is generally the case that during one period of artistic creation one art leads the rest and gives them their tone. To go to Europe: "In the thirteenth century it was Architecture; all other arts were her hand-maidens: in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Painting led. Even sculpture was then picturesque. The change from architectural sculpture to picturesque sculpture may be traced in many French cathedrals and is very interesting to follow."³ In ancient India, architecture was never a frame for sculpture and painting; but sculpture and painting were architectural decorations. This naturally makes one think that architecture in India being indigenous these too were so, and not due to foreign influence. They do not betray those imperfections which generally characterise those hasty imitations which are not "true growth," but rise like "Jonah's gourd, up in one night, and due to sudden sun."

In a previous issue of this *Review* we had tried to prove that painting in ancient India was essentially indigenous.⁴

What is true of the art of painting is, we think, also true of the art of sculpture. We are aware that even Cunningham held that "the Indians in all probability derived the art of sculpture from the Greeks."⁵ But we cannot share that opinion.

¹ *Archæology in India*.

² Vincent Smith—*Early History of India*.

³ Conway—*Domain of Art*.

⁴ The *Calcutta Review*, July, 1903. I had termed the paper "Painting in Ancient and Mediæval India." But since then scholars have, I find, agreed to call Mahomedan India—"Mediæval India"—relegating the periods preceding it to "Ancient India." In my paper I had not come beyond the 7th century A. D. I had followed the example of Mrs. Manning.

⁵ *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. III.

That Cunningham was not certain that his assertion was true will be evident from the following remark: "It is a fact which receives fresh proofs every day that the art of sculpture, or certainly of good sculpture, appeared suddenly in India at the very time that the Greeks were masters of the Kabul Valley; that it retained its superiority during the period of the half Greek rule of the Indo-Scythians; and that it deteriorated more and more the further it receded from the Greek age, until its degradation culminated in the wooden inanities and bestial obscurities of the Brahminical temples."¹ It is possible, nay, probable, that good sculpture in India owed something to Greek example. When two nations possessing different civilisations meet each stamps its influence on the other in manners and customs, arts and industries. We are ready to admit that the fascinating art which grew up and flourished in Gāndhāra (the present Peshawar Valley) and other neighbouring tracts in the extreme North-West of India, during the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era was fostered by "Hellenistic-Roman influences," and is justly called "Græco-Buddhist Art." Nothing serves to maintain the perennial spontaneity and purity of art as the inspiration which comes of the contemplation of the best examples of foreign art. No wonder the art of sculpture in India was much benefited by the contemplation of the best examples of Greek sculpture.

That India, in some cases, even borrowed from Greece is probable. The researches of James Princep have clearly demonstrated that some of the Hindu princes of the first century of the Christian era borrowed their numismatic devices from the Bactrian Greeks. They failed, however, to preserve the beauty of the original designs, and in a few centuries so entirely debased them as to render them irreconisable.²

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III.*

² Dr. Bhandarkar goes further and says: "Originally we, Indians, learnt the art of coining from the Greeks who had occupied the Punjab and other parts of Upper India. But as soon as we lost touch with the foreigners our coins degenerated in point of artistic workmanship till at last we came to the Chatrapati coin—with only a letter—*chah* on it and characterised by a complete want of artistic skill. *Vide* Lecture at the Anniversary of the Fergusson College. We are sorry we cannot agree with this opinion. We have strong reasons to suppose that coins were in circulation in India long before the advent of the Greeks. Greek influence gave Indian coins beauty of design and a high finish not known before."

Some of the finds described in the "Annual" show unmistakable traces of Greek influence. Witness, for instance, the sculptures found in Chārsada (see plates XXV, XXVI, and XXVII).

Referring to the Kharoshthi inscriptions written in ink on earthenware vessels (spoken of before), the Director-General remarks: "The inscriptions on these vessels are of special interest, as the practice of inscribing pottery in this way with dedicatory records was peculiarly common in ancient Greece, but almost unknown, I believe, in India, and we should perhaps, be justified in seeing in them another trace of Hellenic influence."

Referring to the small collection of gold jewellery from the country of Gāndhāra he remarks: "The extreme rarity of ancient gold work, whether Hindu or Buddhist, makes the recovery of these ornaments of exceptional value, and it is instructive, in view of what has been written about the origin of Gāndhāra art, to observe the Semi-Eastern, Semi-Western character of their style and technique, and the close connection which exists between them and certain articles of jewellery belonging to the pre-Christian era from Western Asia."

In ancient India gold work was not at all rare. Turning to ancient Indian literature we find examples of the use of gold ornaments and utensils galore. In the present work Mr. Marshall himself has, in another place, spoken of "the abundance of gold for which India has at all times been famous, and the inordinate fondness shown by natives of the country for personal ornaments." Commenting on the finds in Tinnevely Mr. Rea remarks: "The people who made these objects appear to have been skilful in moulding pottery, in casting and brating metals, in weaving, and in working stone and wood." And a solitary instance of "the use of pottery for ear-rings" should not be taken to imply that the ornaments seen worn by men and women represented in sculpture and painting in Sānchi, Orissā,¹ Ajantā,² and Amarāvati³ were not of gold and silver. The explanation of the extreme rarity of ancient gold and

¹ *Vide* Rājendra Lāla's *Orissa*.

² *Vide* Griffiths' *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā*.

³ *Vide* Burgess' *Amarāvati*.

silver work is simple enough. Gold and silver ornaments and utensils were, and still are, considered the property not of individual members of the family but of the family in India. "The movement of the progressive societies" says Sir Henry Sumner Maine, "has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency, and the growth of individual obligation in its place. The individual is steadily substituted for the family, as the unit of which civil laws take account. The advance has been accomplished at varying rates of celerity, and there are societies not absolutely stationary in which the collapse of the ancient organisation can only be perceived by careful study of the phenomena they present."¹ But in India the tempest of conquest and the tidal waves of nations that swept over the continent frequently disturbed and delayed this advance and the sway of foreign nations checked it. In India the family and not the individual has been considered the unit of society. Consequently individual members of a family are only allowed to use gold and silver ornaments and utensils—not to appropriate them. "Men may come and men may go", but these family possessions "go on for ever"—changing shape with change of fashion. The giving of the diadem with the dead was nothing more than a peculiar custom confined to a particular locality. And we cannot refrain from remarking that out of 16 ornaments in plate XXXVIII (a) not more than three show unmistakable trace of Western influence.

It is unfortunate that the newly-organised department loses the services of Dr. Hultzsch who has, during the seventeen years he held office, done epigraphical work of unique value to India, and the archæological world generally.

The list of Archæological Reports published under official authority given at the end of the volume is very useful and shows what the Government has already done for archæology in India.

We cannot do better than bring this long notice to a close with a reference to the steps that have been taken to secure the preservation of minor and movable antiquities by instituting small museums in some of the main centres of archæologica

¹ Maine—*Ancient Law*.

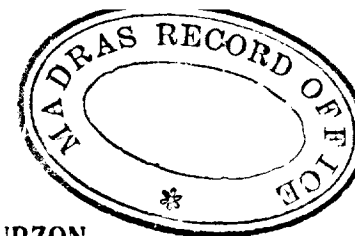
interest, and by stimulating local officers to assist in bringing together any objects of value upon which they may chance. "This", justly remarks Mr. Marshall, "is one of the most important aspects of conservation, inasmuch as many of the smaller monuments scattered about the face of the country are incapable of preservation on the spot where they have been found and often too bulky to be removed to the larger museums which exist only in the capital cities of India; and even if their removal were practicable, there are few local officers with sufficient general interest in the preservation of antiquities to take the trouble to despatch them to some far off museum, where they themselves may never have the opportunity of viewing them again. The museums which have recently been arranged for—all, it should be added, at the instigation of His Excellency the Viceroy—are at Malda in Bengal, at Pagan and Mandalay in Burma, at Bijapur in Bombay, at Sarnath near Benares, at the Taj in Agra, and at Peshawar in the Frontier Provinces. The districts in which these museums are placed are sufficient guarantee that they will be rapidly stocked with interesting and valuable antiquities. Already at Pagan the efforts of one native assistant and the outlay of a few rupees have brought together a collection of inscriptions, idols, terra-cotta plaques, enamelled tiles, and the like of first-rate importance. By the institution of such collections it may be hoped also that the attraction of visitors to these localities will be increased, that fresh light will be thrown on the groups of monuments with which they are connected, and that the minor antiquities themselves, which go to make up the collections, will be studied to greater advantage on the actual spot where they have been discovered, than they could be, if dissociated from their surroundings in some distant museum."

The only thing we miss in the "Annual" is an index, for want of which the student has to make one for himself. A separate index volume was given to the continued series of reports by General Cunningham, but the scope of these "Annals" is different, and each volume should contain an exhaustive Index for ready reference.

The "Annual" is a book to read and re-read, for it presents us with a perennial feast. To quote the *Statesman*: "It is

a superb book * * * which, whether viewed as a work of scholarship or as a work of art, merits unstinted praise. Its contents make it a valuable addition to every student's library, while its magnificent illustrations and its general typographical beauty render it a suitable ornament for the drawing-room table." Let us hope it will stimulate curiosity in the student and help him in his researches, and make the educated public outside India interested in Indian antiquities.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.



Art. IV.—LORD CURZON.

LORD CURZON has resigned the high post which he has held for nearly seven years amid almost universal regret and Lord Minto is appointed to succeed him. It cannot be said that in this case an Amurath an Amurath succeeds, for it would be hard to find another ruler who combines in himself all those qualities, mental and moral, which Lord Curzon brought to his difficult task of governing this vast country, really a continent, with its three hundred millions of widely differing races and creeds. It is no disrespect to the new-comer to say that he does not possess the genius with which his predecessor is gifted without doubt. In the eyes of common-place men this will perhaps be his greatest qualification. The Ministry that has selected him does not, it seems, want in this post a brilliant man of genius with the courage of his convictions to withstand the new policy they are forcing on this country of military autocracy, but requires merely one who can subserviently carry out this policy without saying nay to any demand of the Commander-in-Chief, provided he makes it in the name of that new shibboleth, which has gained currency since the Boer War, military efficiency. Whether Lord Minto is the proper person to play this subordinate part which the Ministry seems to have marked out for him, or whether when once fairly installed in the post he will not rise to its full height and refuse to carry out Lord Kitchener's commands, even like his immediate predecessor, remains to be seen. He has one thing in his favour; he has an hereditary and almost family interest in India. His great-grandfather, the first Earl of Minto, held, nearly a century ago, the high and responsible post to which his illustrious descendant has been now called. His great-grand-uncle, Sir Hugh Elliot, the brother of the first Earl, was ruler of Madras. His maternal grandfather was a famous Commander-in-Chief of Madras, Sir Thomas Hislop, who helped greatly to render the rule of Lord Hastings famous by his brilliant victory of Mehidpore over Scindia;

whilst several Elliots have served or are serving still in the Civil and Military services of this country. He himself is no stranger to India, having served in the second Afghan War a quarter of a century ago. He served under Lord Roberts there and also was Private Secretary to him when that great soldier went to South Africa in 1881, only, however, to return without even landing there, as an inglorious peace had hurriedly been made by Mr. Gladstone, a peace that he was destined later to avenge by his splendid victories. He may thus be supposed to share Lord Roberts' views on the present regrettable incident between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief; and these views as declared in his great speech in the House of Lords, are decidedly against Lord Kitchener's pretensions, though he himself once filled the same high post as the latter and might naturally be supposed to sympathise with him.

Though these are good auguries, one expects troublous times during the coming years of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty. Lord Kitchener requires an exceptionally strong Viceroy to control him in the militarism which will now grow very aggressive after the first easy victory just scored. Where Lord Curzon has failed one need not be called too pessimistic if he does not expect Lord Minto to succeed. The very circumstances under which he has been appointed probably tend to show that he is not meant to succeed. The present Ministry is at the very end of its career of office. The alliance with Japan has been just renewed for another five years, and thus the only cause, which, according to its own showing, prevented it from resigning is removed. The appointment of a new Viceroy by such a Ministry must have been made with the full consent and co-operation of the other party which is very likely to come into power next. Otherwise there may be a repetition of the untoward events of 1835, when Lord Heytesbury, who had been appointed Governor-General by an outgoing party, was a few months later told by the party that succeeded it not to proceed to India, and his appointment was cancelled under humiliating circumstances by the sending out of Lord Auckland, the choice of the party that had come into power. (*Cf.* Thornton, *Hist. of British India*, Vol. VI.,

pp. 22-50.) It may be taken for granted that Lord Minto has not allowed himself to be put in the humiliating position of Lord Heytesbury and that he will continue to be the Viceroy under the Liberals also. The advent of the Liberals, however much it may be wished for by the Young India party here, bodes nothing good in the matter of the dispute between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Kitchener is the chosen pet of the Liberal party and Lord Rosebery has often in his speeches paraded him as the heaven-sent saviour of the nation and extolled his schemes of re-organization of the Army. One therefore cannot look for relief from this quarter. The military incubus will sit tighter upon poor India and exhaust her treasury.

Only in one case does one see relief. Lord Rosebery and his followers may see reason to recall Lord Kitchener, not in disgrace but in triumph, and set him the task of re-organising the Army in England, which, from all the recent accounts, has been made a mess of, giving him the free hand, devoid of any control, that he so much hankers after. No one in India, not even Young Bengal which from interested motives is now exultantly jubilant over his triumph, would grudge England the glorious services of her great, her "only general," *le brav general*; and most would join in wishing him godspeed. That would be the best solution for India of the present difficulty, and then Lord Minto would reign without the danger of being overshadowed by an imperious personality who would brook no brother near the throne. Or if the English nation is so very willing to try the experiment of giving full sway to military autocracy,—not, however, on herself but on the *corpore vile* of poor India—why is not Lord Kitchener at once made Viceroy as well as Commander-in-Chief, as in former times Lord Wellesley and Hastings were Commanders-in-Chief as well as Governors-General. In those days the military situation was considered so critical that to the Civil ruler was also entrusted military authority. At the present day in the opinion of the English Ministry things are supposed to have come to such a pass that the Civil authority must be rendered perfectly subordinate to the Military. *Silent arma inter leges* was a sound maxim. But now it seems laws, of control and check, ought to be silent

in times of profound peace. It would, in the long run, be better to hold the post of Viceroy in abeyance for a time than to degrade this supreme office which ought to be second to none in this country, by rendering it subordinate, for that is what the resignation of Lord Curzon really means. He has risen to the full height of his great character when he has proudly declined to hold this "Imperial appointment which is the greatest honour England has to give, except the Government of herself" on any terms inconsistent with its supreme controlling power. It has been his misfortune that he hands over this high post shorn of an essential part of its power. But it is his misfortune only; he has had no hand in bringing about this diminution of the Viceregal authority. He has resigned rather than submit to it. He had but a few months more of office here. In any case he was to have left our shores next April. He goes a few months earlier now, a fact which affects him personally but little. A few months more or less of office are a matter of indifference to such a high-souled man as Lord Curzon has abundantly shown himself to be.

The renewal of his term of office last year was not of his seeking. His continuance in India has been a sacrifice of his ambitions which we all know lie towards English politics. But he has sacrificed these ambitions to his sense of duty towards the Empire and towards India in particular. He had undertaken several tasks in the best interests of the land and its peoples, and those best able to judge knew that his presence here was required if they were to be brought successfully to a close. In this sense, and with this object, he consented to come out again for a fresh term. That he leaves now some of those objects unaccomplished or but half accomplished is through no fault of his own. The responsibility of placing him in circumstances where no alternative was possible but resignation lies on other shoulders. There are occasions when a statesman must relinquish the noblest aims for higher considerations and in preference to principles from which he cannot swerve. Nobody can doubt that such a rare occasion arose in the case in which Lord Curzon found himself placed. And melancholy as are the circumstances under which so splendid a Viceroyalty has ended somewhat

prematurely, one cannot but rejoice that he was found equal to the occasion and has acquitted himself during this crisis in a manner worthy of his past career and of the best traditions of English statesmanship. He did not stoop to palter for power. Nor on the other hand did he assume an unpractical and uncompromising attitude under a mistaken notion of duty as sometimes happens. He did not resign at once, but tried to bring round the Ministry by conceding something in order to save the principle in which he was throughout firm as a rock, of the final controlling authority of the Viceroy in military matters. But when he saw clearly that it was the settled purpose of the Ministry to give *carte blanche* to Lord Kitchener and to raise him above the control of the Viceroy, he recognised manfully that opposition on his part would be useless, and refused to be a party to such a strange departure from constitutional methods.

Those who affect to see in Lord Curzon's resignation nothing but personal pique and resentment of the tactless conduct of Mr. Brodrick do gross injustice to him and show a strange want of knowledge of his character. If the present writer has read his character aright, not so much from his words as his works, a sense of duty must be said to form its strongest feature. Duty first to England and then to India has inspired his whole policy and every act which he has done in furtherance of that policy. Sometimes he may have been mistaken in his notions of that duty. Those of my countrymen who have first blamed him and then abused him till now they have come to hate him as if he were their worst enemy, are eminently unreasonable and therefore it is useless to argue with them. But to those Indians who admit that he did some good to India but did also great harm by his retrogressive measures, it may be answered that they are judging by a false standard and from a different point of view to that of men like Lord Curzon. With men like him England is and ought to be first and foremost in their affections: their duty is and ought to be towards England first and foremost. It is their dearest object to make England's Empire over the world stronger and wider, and their first notion of duty is to help that object forward. Now Indians, because they are Indians, can never look upon England and her Empire

with the same eyes as these Englishmen. But if they have imagination they can put themselves in their position and judge accordingly. This they fail to do in most cases and hence their unjust criticism and censure of men like Lord Curzon. They judge an English Viceroy from a purely Indian point of view ; it is natural that he should hardly satisfy them. In the case of Lord Curzon, who is thoroughly English and Imperialist to boot, it is very natural that they should not be satisfied with him at all. The Englishman and Indian are so much at variance in their standards and their standpoints. An Indian cannot be expected to feel much for the Empire on which an Englishman sets so much store and for which his fathers have in days gone by suffered so much. Even the so-called "Little Englander" who affects to belittle the Empire feels at heart for it and would resent the slightest injury to it meditated by others. In spite of the cant that is being talked by some on the subject, the truth must be recognised and looked full in the face by Indians that England governs India as part of the British Empire first for herself and then for the Indians.

Nothing in contemporary politics does so much harm as the blinking of this fact by Indians and the consequent confusion of points of view. And none do more mischief than those "benevolent" Englishmen who encourage Indians in blinking this fundamental fact and thus help the confusion. They are to my mind not the true friends of India or of England either, who help the notion that England governs India solely for the benefit of Indians regardless of her own interests ; that when her interests conflict with those of India they must give way before the latter. It is some such notion that Indian politicians have got into their heads ; and it is by some such impossible standard that they judge our Viceroys. They consider England to be a purely philanthropic country which undertakes the burden of ruling millions upon millions of subject peoples in a missionary spirit regardless of her own interests. They forget that she has sunk capital and, what is more precious than capital, the life blood of her sons in rearing her Empire in India as elsewhere and that she expects a legitimate return from all this, somewhat as a merchant does

from the business that has been built up by the firm of his fathers. In all political transactions they are apt to look to Indian interests alone and to lose sight of the fact that England has any interest of her own in India. This is the fundamental fallacy of these Indian politicians and publicists who judge of English Viceroys and their policy and acts, from a wholly and purely Indian standpoint. India for the Indians is their impossible standard of measuring the English Rule, and no wonder that English Rule fails to satisfy them. They forget that India is a subject country, and think that they ought to be on the same level as their English subjectors. They forget that the Indian Empire is a sort of partnership in which the predominant partner is England, and that in cases of a conflict of interests those of the predominant partner must prevail. This is a fact, an inconvenient fact no doubt, but it must be borne home upon the Indian mind. It must be clearly understood by Indians that England means to govern India and to keep it as her possession and that she will do everything that can strengthen her hold upon this country. She is rather shy of proclaiming this fact, but all the same her conduct towards India is based on this. She will not allow anything that tends to weaken her hold upon India.

Now Lord Curzon throughout his career had this one fixed object in his mind : to render India impregnable without as well as within and to eliminate as much as possible the factors that make for disruption. In pursuing this policy firmly and unflinchingly he displeased many and especially Indian politicians. But the task of an English Viceroy is not to please or displease persons or parties, but to do his duty to the Empire and to India to the best of his abilities and according to his lights. If he is so fortunate as to please the Indians whilst doing his duty it ought to be considered a lucky coincidence. He should not for the sake of pleasing them and gaining their momentary applause swerve from the thorny path that duty points him. His foreign policy has been much criticised by his Indian critics. But they are not and cannot, in the nature of things, be in a position to judge of it fairly in all its bearings. Even if they had the will they lack the necessary knowledge of

foreign politics which alone can enable them to be fair and well-informed critics. India comes in contact at some point or other of its vast land frontier with three first-class powers, Russia, France, and China, besides two second-class states like Afghanistan and Persia. The ruler of India has to conduct the delicate negotiations which this contact involves. He must have an eye to what is going on at St. Petersburg or Peking, an ear for what is passing at Cabul and Teheran. Much of this knowledge is necessarily kept from the public gaze. Action based on this taken under such complicated circumstances is not transparent to the outside world. The Viceroy is bound not to disclose his justificatory knowledge in cases where his actions and policy are criticised freely by ignorant and irresponsible critics. He is like a person who is fighting with his right arm bound behind his back.

No part of his foreign policy has been so bitterly attacked by Indian critics as his attitude towards Tibet and the expedition to that country. It was throughout a game of sheer ignorance and misrepresentation on their part displayed against a man who they knew very well could justify his policy to the hilt if he was permitted to disclose the real facts which were, of course, kept a State secret. But enough was let out to make it quite clear that Russia was playing her old hostile game behind Tibet and that she was merely using the weak and worthless Dalai Lama as her pawn to annoy and if possible hurt India and through India, the British Empire. We know to our bitter cost in two Afghan wars what the game of Russia is; and that Viceroy would be culpably wanting in his duty if he quietly allowed Russia to make of Tibet what she had made of Afghanistan not long ago and use it as a means of perpetual threat to us on our northern frontier. Lord Curzon boldly grappled with the awkward situation which Russian diplomatists had created at Lhasa and nipped the danger in the bud which would otherwise have grown to large proportions and complications in a short time. By a master stroke of policy he discomfited the refractory little politician-priests, proud and insolent in their ignorance of the outside world, and showed them the true nature of Russian promises of support,

at just the time when Russia was entangled in a life and death struggle with her Far Eastern rival. It is a pity that our Indian critics saw in all this nothing but a fresh example of England's insolence to weaker powers and an illustration of might being right. This explains how utterly unfit are such critics to take broad views, especially when the Empire is concerned, and how little able they are to rise above village politics. That Lord Curzon is criticised by such ought to be his greatest praise. If past English rulers had been guided by their views and encouraged by their applause, there would probably be no British Empire in India or elsewhere left to be ruled by Lord Curzon or anyone else.

Turning to internal and domestic affairs we find Lord Curzon's policy still more fiercely criticised, and even himself personally attacked by the Indian critics. The reason of this will be again found to redound to his credit as an English statesman. They admit that he came out to this country with no hostility to its peoples; one would like to know what English ruler ever comes out with such hostility, even Lord Lytton, the worst criticised of our Viceroys, is allowed to have had sympathy for the people. But Lord Curzon is credited with no such sympathy during the latter part of his rule. The Indians praised him during the first years of his rule and there were loud cries of his being the best the most sympathetic Viceroy, about his being another Lord Ripon and so forth. *Nemo fit repente turpissimus*. Yet suddenly he seems to have grown extremely unpopular. But here we must distinguish. Unpopularity amongst the Indian peoples is a different thing from the unpopularity so ostentatiously expressed by certain prominent Indian politicians and their following. One may be extremely unpopular with the latter without being unpopular with the former, because the real Indian peoples are almost voiceless. We believe this to be really the case with Lord Curzon. We know from various signs that with them he is not only not unpopular, but so far as they can appreciate him he is even popular. They know that he has stood up for curtailing needless expenditure and for rendering India greater justice than before at the hands of English politicians. They

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know that he alone of the last several Viceroys has appreciably reduced the taxpayer's burden, and twice within two years has lowered the salt tax, a tax felt particularly by the lower classes. They know that although throughout his rule plague, famine, and other disasters have been raging, he has taken very efficient measures for relieving their suffering and has cheered them by his genuine sympathy.

But with the small class of educated Indians Lord Curzon is not popular. And the real reason of this unpopularity, almost hostility, is not far to seek. It is owing to his having passed the Universities Bill. There are many educated Indians, and the present writer is of their number, who consider it a good measure calculated to do great benefit to the country. But the class who think thus is small and, moreover, not an adept in the prevalent methods of political agitation. Indian public opinion is very hard to ascertain. What calls itself by this grand name is a mere travesty. What exists and asserts itself is mere political ventriloquism, the multiplication of the opinion of one individual or class in many ways and forms, in the press, the platform and even at the council board. Chiefly the educated few voice their opinions everywhere and by making the most noise create the impression that there is no other opinion beside theirs. They are mortally offended with Lord Curzon because he would not let them have their own way in the vital matter of education. They were very cleverly using education as a means of weakening the tie which binds India to England with the view of finally initiating a separatist movement. Indeed some enthusiasts have already formed an Indian Home Rule League in England—with all the consequences which such a movement involves. With this purpose they were gradually absorbing the whole educational machinery in the country into their own hands, very subtly and quietly but steadily. Beginning with the schools they proceeded to the colleges and finally they captured the universities. These latter have become anything but educational; they are really political institutions engineered by Congress politicians. This has been going on for a long time past; those who keenly observed raised a warning voice long ago. The universities

and colleges were assuming the aspect of similar institutions in Russia and elsewhere and were being prepared silently to work similar harm to the authorities in course of time. Many Viceroys were aware of this grave menace. But none of them had the courage to take up the task boldly and arrest the menace before it grew to grave proportions. Each of them realised its importance, but left the *damnosa hereditas* to his successor. Lord Dufferin made some attempts towards the solution of this grave problem. But even he shrank from it. The task was peculiarly ungrateful to a statesman steeped in English traditions who shrinks from all methods of repression. But unless he is prepared to see the grave of the English connexion with India, he is bound to do something to arrest this movement effectually. We can well believe that Lord Curzon undertook this task with no great eagerness. If he had consulted his own ease and popularity he would have shirked it and been content to let it drift towards some future successor of his. That he tackled it shows not only his courage, but his statesmanship of a high order which refuses to tinker at reform.

By the Universities Bill Lord Curzon restored the controlling power in the universities and through them in the colleges to the State, gently wresting it from the politicians who had usurped it too long. We say restored, for when the universities were created nearly half a century ago this power was reserved in the hands of the State and for a time exerted by it. But gradually Government neglected its proper function and, of course, it was willingly relieved of it by other persons we know of. If former Governments had done their duty that of Lord Curzon would not have been called on to perform this unpleasant task of restoring to the State its proper control in educational matters. The universities and the colleges affiliated to them would not have become, as they are now, the strongholds of Indian radicalism and outposts of the Congress movement, in time to grow into the Home Rule movement for India. By this Bill the government of the universities is to be in the hands of proper educational authorities and no longer in those of irresponsible politicians who took to education only as a means to their own end. This was enough to

make the Indian politicians, who hoped to turn the universities to still better account in the near future, but for this awkward blow to their hopes, the bitter foes of Lord Curzon. They made a desperate attempt to get into the governing bodies or Syndicates of the universities through some technical flaw in the Bill. But their adversary was not to be foiled. He passed the famous Invalidation Bill; and this completed in the eyes of his foes the measure of his offence. They have persecuted him bitterly; they have reviled him, lampooned him mercilessly. But all this did not make him swerve by a hair's breadth from what he thought to be right and expedient for India as well as England. For India would be the first to suffer if the attempt of interested parties were to succeed in changing the educational character of the universities, making them political institutions pure and simple using them as machinery of agitation against the Government and the authorities.

A country situated in the circumstances of India at present would gain nothing, but on the contrary would be much harmed by poisoning the mind of the rising generation, which is specially the charge of the universities and colleges, against British rule and England's connexion with India. It was surely not with these objects that they were founded by England; she generously and wisely thought that education would be her greatest support and bulwark in this land of many castes, creeds, and races, that if she could succeed in training the youth in her own Western ways they would sympathise with her and help her in the task of ruling their ignorant brethren. When these objects were perverted, when Englishmen saw that education instead of being a help was used as a hindrance, instead of proving a uniting bond was used as the means of sowing discord between the rulers and the ruled, there was assuredly time to call halt and to reform the educational system that had gone wrong. Any other country but England would not have allowed the system to go so very wrong, but would have taken in hand the work of reforming it long ago. Nowhere else, not even in countries which boast of the freest institutions, was liberty in these educational matters so scandalously abused. In all well ordered Governments the education of the youth is the special

object of State control. The French Republic neglected it for long, with the result that doctrines inimical to its existence were found to be alarmingly widespread, owing chiefly to Catholic priests having had the education of the French youths in their sole hands. At last the Republic was thoroughly alarmed and the recent stringent measures against the Church and especially its influence in education were passed. Every Government has the right to adopt whatever measures it thinks proper for its safety and stability. The British Government in India has assuredly that right, and those who preside over it ought not be blamed for exercising that right, occasionally even in a somewhat harsh manner. It should not be called upon to look on unconcernedly when its foundations are being slowly and subtly yet steadily and insidiously sapped. That the educational system as it is worked at present is doing this, is my firm conviction and those who know something of its working from inside would be disposed to agree with this opinion.

Though I am an Indian, yet I make bold to state that it is unworthy of Indians to abuse thus the magnanimity of England and to use the undoubted benefits of British rule to sap the foundations of that rule. It is not only unworthy but also disastrously shortsighted and suicidal. For better for worse the fortunes of India are bound up with those of England. Her strength is our strength and we ought to rejoice in it even out of selfish motives. Anything that weakens her in the estimation of the world is sure to react on us terribly. India cannot stand by itself; this has been proved over and over again in her past history. She must be taken in tow by another country. If England were to give her up, another power, Russia, Japan, France would pounce upon her at once. She cannot have Home rule; she is not fitted for it. She must have English rule or the rule of some other power. That English rule is better than that of any other power will be admitted in their calm and reasonable moments by even its bitterest critics. It is the bounden duty not only of British but also of Indian politicians, if they really feel for India and if they are really far-sighted, to do everything that tends to strengthen the connection of England with India, and to avoid doing anything that would

weaken it. Surely he is not a real Indian patriot who like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji says intemperately : "The British people stand charged with the blood of the perishing millions and the starvation of scores of millions, not because they desire so, but because the authorities to whom they have committed the trust, betray that trust and administer expenditure in a manner based upon selfishness and hypocrisy and most disastrous to the people" (*Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, 1902, p. 386) : or who like him compares the English in India to robbers and cut-throats : "Let them withdraw their hand from India's throat, and then see whether the increase in population is not an addition to its strength and production instead of British-made famines and poverty," (*ibid.*, p. 388). Language such as this comes not from an irresponsible individual, but from one who is the chosen champion and mouthpiece of educated Indians and who, from his position, may be supposed to have weighed his words and the influence they would have on the rising generation of Indians. What is worse these Indians find Englishmen in England to encourage them in their wild talk, and set them a pernicious example which they are but too willing to follow. According to the late Mr. William Digby, the English connection with India, is as ruthless and immoral as the conquests of those Tartar "brutes," Timur and Genghiz ! "If an absolutely impartial judge, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances in each instance, were to place side by side the wrong and human suffering caused by Timur the Tartar or Genghiz Khan, with the mental, moral, and physical misery endured in India during the past fifty years, the ill consequences properly debitable against Christian Englishmen, who have a high place in the National Valhalla, would be as great as those for which the ruthless brutes of ancient days have had to answer to history, and may be to God !" (*Prosperous British India*, 1901, p. 4.) It is melancholy to reflect that these are the words of an Englishman.

But diatribes like these of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. William Digby are eagerly accepted by Indian critics, and the books in which they occur are subsidised and scattered broadcast by the Congress. One may ask sober Indians whether this is to continue, and whether the British Government

should go on producing as the results of its educational system such specimens as Mr. Dadabhai and his younger followers. The educational system should be thoroughly overhauled if it is to produce such fruits. It may conceivably be fit for a very advanced country with free institutions and strong enough to stand by itself and wise enough to govern itself. India is not such a country. What is meat for one is poison for another. And assuredly the results which education as at present carried on in this country produces, do not bode any good to anyone and least of all to Indians themselves. Lord Curzon let it be said to his lasting credit saw all this and seeing this he did not sit still like some of his predecessors, but began to take action in the proper direction. He began with overhauling the universities which had become the stronghold of misguided and mischievous political activity. He has aimed at restricting them strictly to their proper sphere by placing their management in the hands of educationists alone, and taking it out of the hands of those with whom political aims were foremost. A stricter control than now obtains is to be kept by the universities over colleges and high schools, and care is to be taken about what is to be taught in them and by whom. It may be objected that this is officialising the universities. Let it be frankly admitted that this is the case. *Res dura et regni novitas talia me cogunt moliri*, may well be said by Lord Curzon in justification. The difficulty and novelty of such an experiment as the introduction of Western education in an Eastern country have compelled him to proceed warily. And the results of this experiment so far, as we have cursorily seen, are such as to make a statesman with his sagacity more than usually cautious.

This is not a question to be decided by the approbation or disapprobation of Indian politicians. In this matter they are as it were in the position of the accused. Their disapprobation and denunciation is natural. Until now they alone have had a hearing and we have heard much of the dire consequences to befall the universities owing to this measure. There is time now, since Lord Curzon's personality is to be withdrawn from our midst, to judge the question dispassionately in the dry light

of reason. And we think the judgment of sober enquirers will justify the man and his measure. The universities are to be officialised, and what of that? Is not nearly every department in India official or officialised? And is not this required by the condition in which education now is and will remain for a long time to come? Does not everything in India, and the East generally, fall within the province of the Government? The Congress itself clamours every year that the State does not do enough for this and for that, and for education in particular, that it does not spend enough on this object. It wants the State to do everything for education except control it. They want men, they want money, they want the State to give them more colleges and schools, and even universities. But they do not want that there should be State control over all these. They point to foreign countries to show how much they spend on their educational institutions and how little does the State here. But they forget that these foreign countries exercise a far more rigorous control over these than the British Government thinks of exercising in this country. One may recommend these critics to study deeply the Prussian system of education in this connection. India is not nearly so advanced as Prussia, yet there the education of the youth is entirely an affair of the State and the whole system from the lower schools to the universities is under efficient and rigid control of Government officials.

The head and front of Lord Curzon's offence in the eyes of his Indian critics lay in this that he dared to interfere with the license that was reigning in our educational system, especially in its higher branches and tried to introduce the reign of law there, hurtful to no legitimate liberty but, on the contrary, giving full scope to their energies if they want to use them in the right direction for the benefit of both England and India. The irritation caused to them is too deep to pass away soon. But pass away it will one day, and then sensible men, as some of these Indian critics are, they will acknowledge that the change which Lord Curzon has brought about was urgently needed and is on the whole beneficial to their country. At present they are blinded by their great prejudice on account of this education question to the great merits of the brilliant

statesman who is passing from a splendid career of useful and conscientious work in India to a still higher sphere with nobler ambitions that awaits him, where the experience gained in our midst will be more widely available for the Empire at large which he has so much at heart. It is rarely that England sends out such a statesman with such rare accomplishments to govern India. During the whole of last century she sent out three or four such, and in the long rôle of England's proconsuls in India, the place of Lord Curzon will be beside Wellesley and Hastings, Dalhousie and Canning. Contemporary opinion in the case of all these men was in violent conflict. Wellesley was hampered and hindered at every turn by the East India Company at home, as his great successor of our day has been hampered and hindered by an unsympathetic Secretary of State at the end of his career. There was a petition from India for the recall of Canning just as there has been a petition from Bengal for the recall of Lord Curzon. Torrents of unmerited obloquy occasioned by the breaking out of the Mutiny, for which he was not only not responsible, but which would have been averted had the measures he strongly recommended been taken, broke but could not bend the haughty head of Dalhousie confident in his own righteousness of the power of posterity to do him that justice which his contemporaries denied him in their ignorance or perverseness. Lord Wellesley lived to see the Directors of the East India Company, who were ready to recall him in 1804, render him justice more than thirty years later when they voted to erect a statue of him to grace their hall, and presented him with an address in which they called him a great benefactor of their Indian Empire. Lord Curzon is still young, and he may live to receive a like tribute of tardy gratitude and admiration from the people he once ruled so wisely and well.

At present he leaves the country under a passing cloud and the sun of his fortunes which had become almost proverbial is suffering a partial eclipse. It is some satisfaction to contemplate that the circumstances that have cast their shadow on him are entirely honourable to him. It is only a shadow from which he will emerge unsullied. The military

autocracy, in the struggle with which he has been worsted, is bound in the long run to collapse. England cannot long remain in the present state of military hypnotism. The spectre of military inefficiency is haunting her and she is deluded by the will o' the wisp of army reorganisation. It is only in such a state that she has consented to such an overthrow of the civil power and triumph of militarism as is implied by the fall of Lord Curzon. But she will be soon herself again. Militarism has never for any length of time gained the upper hand in her concerns. The instincts of the country are against it. The Indian army is assuredly not in such a parlous state as is made out by rampant partisans of militarism. And surely it is an irony of fate that that army should be so much decried for want of efficiency at just the time when it is least wanted to fight the traditional foe who has been menacing the peace of India for a century; but who at this moment is lying low and is not in a position to injure us for many years to come; and that the ruler who has done so much to safeguard the interests of the Indian Empire and to render it impregnable from without, in whose time Russia has been exhausted as she has never been before in our time, without any effort on our part, should himself fall a victim to the panic he has done so much to remove.

R. P. KARKARIA.

II.

THE Viceroy has resigned! Look away from the passion in Calcutta over the proposed partition of Bengal, detach yourself from the controversy in Simla between the War Lord and the Civil power; and think quietly of what has happened in the last six years or more since this courageous man, George Nathaniel Curzon, attempted the Herculean task of uplifting the standard of life in India. When Queen Victoria asked Baron Curzon to help her to govern 340,000,000 of her subjects, whom she had never seen, but whom she loved passionately, she made choice of a man of great gifts, one of the few *real* Imperialists in England, a man of great courage, with a consuming fire of devotion to duty, and a man withal who knew something of the East. He had been in India, had been the guest of Abdur Rahman in Kabul! He saw that personality is the governing force in the Orient, that the man in a little chair here is of greater importance in the eyes of the people than the man in a big chair a thousand miles away. He, therefore, landed in Bombay, determined to try and uplift the moral standard of everyone from the highest noble in the land to the meanest extortioner of a village constable.

His speeches rang with enthusiasm, with praise of work done; but now and then with warning. The feudatory chiefs saw that the same hand signed the increase of guns for the good Begum of Bhopal and removed from his *gadi* the unjust, incompetent Holkar of Indore; and they now see the nobility of his statement that they exist for the good of their subjects.

While he upheld the Covenanted Civilian in every way, he saw that high Civilians had made a practice of going on three months' privilege leave, coming back for four months of cold weather work, and then taking a year's furlough.

Baron Curzon issued an order that every Civil officer, Covenanted and Uncovenanted, must work eighteen months between any one leave and any other, unless he got ill, in which case he was treated with marvellous consideration. To silver this pill of eighteen months' continuous work, Baron Curzon announced that every man could combine his privilege leave and furlough, *i.e.*, he could draw full pay, as if on duty,

for the first three months of his furlough ; and this concession has been extended to the military. This is the greatest boon that has ever been conferred on the services in India.

Men who, before 1901, could not afford to go Home to see their wife and children, at once took six months' combined leave. And yet these same men snarl against the man who gave them this ineffable privilege, who gave them hope while working hard, that they might go away oftener, and come back more fit for work.

There is no good in attempting to deny the fact that nearly every Army man dislikes the Viceroy. The main causes are two :—

(a) The IXth Lancers' case.

(b) Shooting passes.

(a) In the matter of the punishment of the IXth Lancers a punkha coolie had been murdered.

The regimental authorities could not find the murderer.

Lord Curzon said in effect :—

"If your regiment were in England the Colonel would be removed. Here in India, I punish you all from the Colonel 'down to the youngest drummer boy,' but, later on, he permitted them to furnish the escort to the Connaughts at the Delhi Durbar.

(b) Very early in Baron Curzon's Viceroyalty, new rules for shooting passes were issued, in which the British soldier on pass was kept further away from villages and villagers.

Mr. Thomas Atkins thought that Baron Curzon was "all for the native;" but in all such cases, it is demonstrable that he is the incarnation of justice ; and the passionate exponent of the doctrine, laid down in the *Pax Britannica* of 1858 by Victoria the Great, that all are equal before her throne.

It takes a Colonel commanding a British regiment some little time to believe that, in the eye of the law, his punkha coolies and regimental mehtars have equal rights with him ; and Mr. Atkins blasphemes loud and long against being given gaol for kicking such a menial ; but, when I laid down the hasty doctrine (in a particular case of thrashing a native) that there was one law for the officer and another for the private, a shrewd old Colonel of the Bengal Cavalry made answer :—

"No, no ; in the present Viceroyalty there is one law for 'both officer and private.' *He must not hit a native.*"

Of course, the planter who walks about on his estate among a thousand coolies knows that there is no equality there ; but if he thrashes a coolie, he ought to be very careful, extremely careful that the man's spleen is not large.

The fact is that, with the exception of the Covenanted Civilians, nearly every white man gets angry at times with a tricky or insolent native, and thrashes him. Baron Curzon's simple exposition of the majesty of the *Pax Britannica*, therefore, enrages us all, although we know that he is, superhumanly, quite right.

Not long ago, the Premier declared in the House of Commons that the problem of the North-West Frontier of India is the first problem of the British Empire.

Baron Curzon is an adherent to the simple common-sense policy of endeavouring to create contented, peaceful, frontier tribes, and contented buffer states between us and Russia.

At no time within the memory of living men have the tribes on our frontier, from the Afridis to the Shans, been so contented. Peaceful among themselves they cannot be ; they would then die of *ennui*, but they are contented to be our neighbours.

The expedition into Thibet I do not understand.

Let me pass it by.

Afghanistan is a contented, buffer State, ruled by an Oriental who understands his people, and who knows that they are quite happy, as long as Russia on the one side and Britain on the other, keep out of Afghanistan.

I should be glad to be able to believe as the years roll on that the Police Commission has reformed the Indian constable. It is difficult to believe the alacrity with which a Sub-Inspector and a Head Constable will fabricate a false case ; the simplicity with which a common garden constable will extort four annas from a man or woman, wrongfully accused. I am lost in admiration of the man who came back from England for a sixth or seventh year of work in order, *inter alia*, to reform the Indian Police. The police are the people put into uniform, and the people lie cheerfully.

I once asked a Sessions Judge in Moradabad :

"What is the difference between the duties of a Judge in England and in India?"

He replied:

"In England he has to try cases in which I grieve to say 'that one of the parties is a liar. Here, in India, both plaintiff and defendant are liars. The man who has the truth on his side thinks so little of it that he will bolster it up with false evidence. Do you see those five thousand men under the trees? What do you suppose that they are?'"

I answered "Suitors."

"Suitors! How could I get through even a thousand cases in a day? They are waiting to be hired at two annas to swear falsely for either plaintiff or defendant in any case to-day."

Verily we have very inferior tools to use in the task of governing India; and the wonder is that a Judge ever gets at the truth and tramples on the false cases trumped up; but the High Courts are the glory of India.

One might dwell on the fixity of exchange caused by the gold standard, or the creation of a Government department to help commerce and industry, on both Baron and Lady Curzon's encouragement of Indian art, on her endeavours to get more women doctors for the women of India, but as Baron Curzon of Kedleston and his charming helpmeet pass away from India, let our final thought of him be in connection with the Delhi Durbar. Its picturesqueness, its Oriental magnificence, its barbaric splendour quickened the pulse of the nation. We are a shopkeeping nation, but we do like a good show; and the proclamation of Edward the VIIth as Kaisar-i-Hind was the finest show that has ever been seen on land since we became a nation. And when the Mutiny veterans hobbled up the arena, guests of the nation, did you not cheer yourselves hoarse until you sat down with a lump in your throat, and tears in your eyes?

Yes you did, and you felt that Baron Curzon was the right man in the right place, the noble representative of our King. Then if I have persuaded you out of your surliness, your churlishness, take off your hat with me before the Band plays, and, as the launch steams out from the Bunder, say—God bless the Viceroy, the ablest man that ever came to India.

J. MIDDLETON MACDONALD.



Art. V.—RECOLLECTIONS OF RETIRED CHAPLAINS OF THE HON. E. I. CO.*

I.—The Rev. Anthony Garstin, Rector of Redmile, Dioc. Peterboro'.

THE Rev. Anthony Garstin received his theological education at Bishop's College in Calcutta, and was ordained Deacon in 1834, and priest in 1835, by Bishop Daniel Wilson. His first charge was that of Chaplain and Secretary of the Calcutta Free School, of which joint office he was the first incumbent.

About the time that Mr. Garstin held this appointment at the Free School, Sunday Schools were first enterprized in India. They were started first either at the Free School Church (St. Thomas's) or at the Old St. James's Church Calcutta, and met in the afternoon. An old friend of Mr. Garstin's, himself a chaplain of the company, Josiah Bateman, wrote on this subject: "Each corner of the Free Church below and of the gallery above became a little Sunday School." What we now call classes, in 1840 were called "Schools."

At about the same period there were founded two Diocesan Institutions still exercising a far reaching influence in the Calcutta Diocese. The Diocesan Church Building Fund founded in 1835, mainly through the advocacy of the Church Magazine, the predecessor of the *Indian Churchman*, of which for many years Archdeacon Corrie had been editor. To start this fund one thousand subscribers contributed each one rupee a month. The other Diocesan Institution is the "Additional Clergy Society" established in 1841. The magazine, when Mr. Garstin arrived, was edited by his fellow chaplain before mentioned who has left this note about it. "It had originally a missionary aim, but now it became almost necessarily somewhat 'churchy'; and bearing a semi-official character, its influence spread all over Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. Every chaplain read it, and every station circulated

* Compiled by permission from original correspondence.

it; and it did its part I trust in honouring Christ, checking evil and promoting unity."

At this period the missionary enterprise most vigorously supported by the Church Magazine was the introduction of native Infant Schools into India. "A first-rate master, excellent and pious, who afterwards obtained Holy Orders and still lives," these are Canon Bateman's words of (1832) "an ornament to his profession, was brought from England, and—'continues he—' I remember few more striking sights than one hundred native infants presented, after a little while, on their platform, as drawn from the harems of the native gentry, clothed in gorgeous robes, with their dark skins and flashing eyes repeating verses and singing songs in simple English words."

In the opening of his career Mr. Garstin's health was very feeble, he was believed to be in a decline, and he was obliged to resign his appointment and retire to England to recruit his strength. It had been his intention, however, to return if possible to his Indian work; with this in view, therefore, he took with him letters from his Bishop and from Mr. Blunt, Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces, and other influential persons addressed to several of the Company's Directors recommending him for a chaplaincy. It had been hoped that Government would appoint a Chaplain of the Establishment to the position Mr. Garstin had held. But this hope was not to be realized for many years to come.

In course of time Mr. Garstin's health improved and a vacancy occurred on the list of Bengal Chaplains. To this vacancy Mr. Garstin was eventually appointed. The manner of his election is thus narrated by himself and opens a curious picture of the customs of the period relating to appointments in the superior branches of the Company's service. The choice of chaplains as well as of cadets and writers devolved upon the several Directors in turn. The Ecclesiastical vacancy fell to the Director to whom Mr. Blunt had written on Mr. Garstin's behalf. On him Mr. Garstin had called at the East India House and had been met with a most disconcerting rebuff. "He not only informed me"—he writes "that it was out of his power to serve me, as no appointment of the kind was available, but that even if he had one to dispose of he had so

many previous applications for appointments of one kind or another, all entered in his list that he could hold out no expectation on my part. Strange to relate"—continues Mr. Garstin—"when a vacancy did occur falling as it happened to this very Director I succeeded in stepping into it greatly to my astonishment. On hearing of the vacancy I ventured, though in fear and trembling, to present myself before him a second time, in spite of the sorry reception he had given me on the previous occasion, and soon found that I should have still less of a welcome on this occasion for so it turned out. He opened out upon me in great wrath for again asking for what he had told me he could not give me and I was in the act of beating a humble and hasty retreat and closing the door after me when he called out "Do you think you could get a *cadetship*?" To which I replied "I am in Orders," mistaking he drift of his question, and thinking he meant to suggest that if I failed to obtain Ecclesiastical appointment I might fall back upon a Military one, which was more easily procurable, as far more frequently at the disposal of all the Directors. "O I know you are in Orders," he rejoined very gruffly, and almost savagely, "but what I meant is, could you get the *disposal* of a cadetship?" and then went on to explain that sometimes an exchange of appointment took place between one Director and another, and that as he had applications for cadetships, but none for chaplaincies, he was willing to enter into an arrangement of the kind if any brother Director desirous of serving me, but having no chaplaincy at his disposal, nor any prospect of one, would give a cadetship in exchange for his. This was, indeed, a most cheering intimation, and completely changed the aspect of affairs, for it was tantamount to presenting me with the appointment he had snubbed me for daring to ask for. I had been informed by the Secretary that several of the Directors were interested in my favour, and would gladly give me the coveted appointment if it were in their power, and there was one in particular who told me how much he wished to serve me in the matter, and how much he regretted that it was not then in his power to do so, or likely to be for an indefinite time, as such appointments were of comparatively rare occurrence, and like all the others, fell to the gift of the

entire body of the twenty-four Directors in turn. To his room then I posted, in the same building, the old India House in Leadenhall Street, and told him what his brother Director had said—that he had a chaplaincy at his disposal, but there was no applicant for it except my poor self, who had no right even to ask for it, whilst on the other hand he had ever so many applications for cadetships, but had none to give—my friend was startled, and looked as if a new light had burst upon him and then, after looking thoughtfully for a while, said—"I will do what I can and let you know"—what he had to do was to place a cadetship at the disposal of the other in exchange for the chaplaincy, and next day I had a note from him to say that it was all arranged—such was the singular way in which I became a Bengal Chaplain!

After this I had to appear before the whole court of Directors, sitting in solemn assembly and take the oath of allegiance and fidelity, and was in due time informed that my pay as Assistant Chaplain would be Rs. 500 a month rising to Rs. 800. On my rising to the higher grade, which I did in somewhat less than 9 years, the service to be of 15 years' continuance, or 18, including furlough, before being entitled to the pension, which would be £365 a year—moreover I was allowed, to begin with a gratuity of £150 for my passage to India, and was thus enabled to land in Calcutta free from debt, and to enter upon my duties unencumbered and unembarrassed."

Mr. Garstin's service is dated 8th November 1841, and he was first gazetted to Dum-Dum, then the headquarters of this Bengal Artillery, where he remained for a year and a half.

At this period, and for long afterwards, daily service was unknown or almost unknown anywhere in the diocese of Calcutta save only in the Cathedral. The regular station services were only those on Sunday mornings and evenings. Even at the Cathedral there was but one daily service, which was held early in the morning. When Bishop Cotton succeeded to the diocese even this service was discontinued, because, as it sheds a curious light on the opinions of the day, sometime not more than two or three persons attended it. Mr. Garsti

in illustration of this view of things narrates an almost incredible tradition—To say Matins or Evensong with a congregation of the gospel "two or three" was waste of energy. "Not worth the powder and shot," as dear old Bishop Wilson so characteristically expressed it, when asked by the Judge of a small station he was passing through in the course of a visitation to stay over the Sunday, which was close at hand, and give them a service. This was on hearing that the congregation would consist of not more than a dozen persons! Weekly celebrations of the Holy Communion were scarcely known in the Company's days.

Mr. Garstin's experiences of "Out-station duty" were on a very large scale. After leaving Dum-Dum he was appointed Chaplain of Assam, 500 miles in extent, when he commenced his duties early in 1843. One of his journeys from Gowhatti, the Chief or Sudder Station of the Assam Chaplaincy, to one of the outlying ones well nigh cost him his life. "I was foolish enough," he says, "to go after a wild buffalo on foot, gun in hand, and got tossed and battered and bruised and broken for my pains, but other parties hastening to the rescue, and shouting as they ran, the animal made off before it had quite made an end of me; but I was terribly injured. Fortunately medical assistance was procurable on the following day at the station I was on my way to, travelling by boat. In due time the broken bones, the bruises and other injuries ceased to cause pain and disfigurement. It was a miraculous escape, for which I can never be sufficiently thankful, but what is most singular and unaccountable in the matter is that, though up to the time this happened I was universally looked upon as doomed to die of consumption at no very distant period, from that day forward I ceased to have any symptom of the kind. It is now more than half a century since the tossing and goring and stamping took place; from whence it may be inferred that if I ever was in a galloping consumption, as I was believed to be, it has galloped away from me long since."

Mr. Garstin was transferred in March 1844 from Assam to Sylhet with Cherrapunji. The connecting link being only 30 miles long. "This was a most advantageous appointment,"

he says, "Cherra being a hill station, where my family and myself always spent the hot season. All the rest of the year the climate of Sylhet, in the plains, was as temperate and enjoyable as one could wish." After some years of service in Sylhet, Mr. Garstin was sent to the Calcutta Cathedral—in January 1849. Thence in August 1851 he was transferred to Howrah where he served for several years. After this he was transferred to Darjiling (December 1854) for two years; and thence (January 1857) to Patna (Bankipore) just when things were at their most dangerous pass during an advanced stage of the mutiny. After this Mr. Garstin served in succession in Benares (October 1857)—where there were then thirteen regimental hospitals, Cawnpore (February 1859), Dacca (April 1859). Then in January 1866, after furlough, he was sent to Thyetmyoo in Burma. His final station being Muttra (December 1867) whence he retired under the then new 25 years' rule on the 8th of April 1868.

Writing from Redmile, Mr. Garstin concludes his narrative thus—"Little did I dream of being here now, towards the end of the century, to tell the tale, when in the early part of it (1834) I was in the threatened *rapid decline*. Little did I think that I would get through 34 years' work there, and then on returning, do nearly 30 years' work in England; yet here is the superannuated chaplain of more than a quarter of a century ago still in. An event of 53 years back recurs to me. Being very much out of health harness I went to Barrackpore for change of air, and put up with two Military friends, travelling by boat, and intending to go further, in due time. One of their officers was a powerful healthy young fellow, and as he sat writing one day with his coat off, and his shirt sleeves tucked up, I congratulated him upon being able to display such a pair of arms. "Yes, thank God, (he replied) I am very strong and well," looking contentedly at the said limbs as he uttered the words. Well, in ten days after that I attended his funeral, and his brokenhearted chum then told me that after they had seen me to my boat on taking leave of them his dear lost friend had said in a sad tone of voice as they walked back to their bungalow, "poor Garstin, I fear he is not long for this world," yet here I am now, in my 9th decade and still in

harness, truly shewing that "the race is not always to the swift," and that the ways of Providence are inscrutable.

II.—The Rev. Frederic Farrer, M.A., Rector of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Moreton-in-Marsh, Diocese of Gloucester.

THE Rev. Frederic Farrer graduated at Cambridge from St. John's College, B.A. in 1849 and M.A. in 1861. He was ordained Deacon in 1849, and Priest 1851, by the Bishop of Ely. On the 26th of August 1852, while serving a parish in Suffolk, he was appointed to his Bengal Chaplaincy.

"To begin *ab ovo*," writes Mr. Farrer, "it may not be without interest that on the day on which I presented myself at the India House in Leadenhall Street to receive my official appointment I was specially warned by the Chairman (Sir James Hogg) not to take any part in missionary work amongst the sepoys and others. Take this in connection with what Herbert Edwardes, whom I afterwards met in the Punjab, was in the habit of declaring in his own vehement style both in conversation and on platforms, that the mutiny was in a great measure owing to our wicked reticence about our religion. He used to say that to the Asiatic his religion is the Alpha and Omega of his existence, not a thing to be ashamed of and hidden away—rather a thing to glory in and boast of. Therefore when a powerful race of conquerors who brought with them their literature, their arts, their peculiar habits of life making no secret or mystery of them, but had no word to say about their religion, the conclusion drawn both by Hindoos and Mahomedans was that this was some crafty trick of the English that they might suddenly, and by some underhand means, turn the whole population into Christians. The electric telegraph (new then), the greased cartridge, everything in the way of civilization and improvement was some crafty plot against the old religions of the country. So that the good old Chairman, a man of piety I believe, in forbidding any interference with the native religions was according to Edwardes giving a helping hand to the mutiny."

"My pay," says Mr. Farrer, "as an Assistant Chaplain was the same as a Captain's pay—500 rupees a month, the rupee all through my service being equal to two shillings. A certain

sum, the amount I have forgotten, was deducted for Military and Orphan Funds. I was allowed, as far as I can remember, £150 for passage money and outfit. In India a marching allowance of eight annas a mile was made me for my 1,200 miles in Lahore. In addition to my pay I drew monthly a certain allowance for Church establishment—Soldier Clerk (*chota Padré Sahib !*)—Bearer, Punkah Coolies, Oil, *Sacramental Elements* !! etc. With regard to length of service and pension our term was 15 years after which we could retire on £1 a day pension, a smaller pension if compelled to retire before on medical certificate according to length of service," and of this latter alternative Mr. Farrer was forced to take early advantage.

On the 1st September 1852 with his newly-married wife, eldest daughter of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, Vicar of Frome, Mr. Farrer sailed for Calcutta in the *Prince of Wales*, a fine frigate-built ship of Messrs. Green and Co.'s Line. "Being a born sailor," he writes "I preferred the long voyage round the Cape to the Overland Route and had no cause to regret my choice although we were four months at sea. Our passengers were nearly all dear old John Company's servants, and a very pleasant lot, about seventy in number. It was a most delightful voyage though almost entirely devoid of interest unless I except a little friendly controversy I had with a C.M.S. missionary, one of four on board. We occasionally had for breakfast certain horrors known as black puddings made of pig's blood and other things. This man was particularly fond of them and was somewhat surprised and slightly indignant on being taken to task by a young fellow like myself for eating them. I pointed out to him that food of that nature was prohibited by the 1st Council of Jerusalem as recorded in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. To this he demurred and I proposed to submit the question to the Clergy on board. So we held a little Council in the Saloon (called Cuddy in those days) and debated the matter. There were five of us I think and a Dissenting Minister. After a considerable discussion we agreed that the food in question was forbidden to Christians. I may add that I had a good deal of pleasant friendly intercourse with the

Dissenting Minister which resulted in his taking orders in the Church. I believe he was ordained by Bishop Wilson in Calcutta and employed by the Additional Clergy Society. The only book I had at hand to lend him was Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus* by which he was greatly influenced."

The Farrers landed in Calcutta a day or two before Christmas Day and were hospitably entertained for about three weeks by Sir James Colvill, who was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. At that time Mr. Bellew, an Assistant Chaplain and Junior Chaplain of St. John's, was the popular preacher of Calcutta. Bellew resigned in April 1855 and the Service Register of St. John's records a congregation of 1,000 (!) to hear his farewell sermon. In London he found himself as popular as in Calcutta, eventually he romanized and gave himself up to public readings and recitals. Mr. Farrer remembers attending a great missionary meeting in Calcutta presided over by Bishop Daniel Wilson. "The proceedings," he says "were made remarkable to me by the Bishop complaining with tears in his eyes that his orders and wishes did not receive from the C.M.S. (a society he loved) the same attention and respect as they did from S.P.G. This statement made a great impression on me at the time and confirmed me in my attachment to the older society. At this time in company with Bishop Smith of China I visited the S.P.G. Station of Mograhat and Barripore, two villages in the Sunderbuns entirely christianised. I was greatly interested and much struck with the reverence and devout attention of the crowded congregations in Church. Bishop Smith acting for Bishop Wilson confirmed, I remember, a very considerable number of candidates."

Mr. Farrer is a strong partizan of the S.P.G., but he advocates the cause of the C.M.S. from pulpit and platform, having himself witnessed the admirable and successful work of the latter society in Benares, Amritzur, and Peshawar.

At the latter part of Bishop Wilson's rule, Church parties in the Diocese were somewhat sharply opposed. The Bishop, as is well known, favoured the Evangelical side, "accordingly," says Mr. Farrer—"soon after my arrival I was warned that as a high Churchman I should probably be sent to the extreme limit of the Presidency which accordingly came to pass and I

received orders to proceed to Peshawar. This was considered rather hard times even for a so-called Puseyite, and I was let off 300 of the 1,500 miles and permitted to stop short at Meean Meer, the Cantonment of Lahore 1,200 miles from Calcutta. There were no *pucca* roads above Delhi in those days and even between Benares and Delhi especially near rivers and nullahs, there were many miles of broken ground over which driving was dangerous. Though for the matter of that, driving was dangerous on the best roads with the wretched vicious horses then in use on the *palki gharries*. Indeed we had more accidents and were in greater danger in the more civilized part of the country than when we took to dhoolies on the other side of Delhi. It goes without saying that we were always most hospitably received at the various large stations—Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, etc., etc.—letters of introduction having gone ahead of us from Calcutta. At other times we halted at the Dāk Bungalows where we were fairly comfortable and were always hungry enough to enjoy the *moorghee* curry and *chuppaties* which, after our bath, we found ready for us. At Delhi we found most kind hosts in Captain and Mrs. Douglas, of the Palace Guard, who, with Mr. Jennings, the Chaplain, a most charming man with whom I kept up a correspondence till his death, were the first victims of the mutiny at the hands of the rebels from Meerut. The celebrated and successful Delhi Mission was then passing, if I remember rightly, from having long been a happy dream in dear Jennings' mind into an accomplished fact—two University men being then on their way out to begin the work. Mr. Jennings himself made two distinguished converts before the arrival of the missionaries from England, one of whom was killed in the mutiny, the other escaped and returned to Delhi and did good work there. Mrs. Douglas left Delhi for England through ill-health shortly after this, thus escaping the awful massacre in 1857. She afterwards married Dr. Lightfoot, the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford. I met her in Oxford on my return to England in 1860. At Ferozepore the Hon'ble Tom Ashburnham, a relative of my half-brother, Henry Mitford, was in command of the station and received us most kindly, he was a fine old soldier and a man of real piety."

Mr. Farrer thus describes his first interview with Mr. John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence,—“One morning early towards the end of March our dhoolies were deposited by our bearers outside a large circular building, an old tomb, on the Lahore road midway between the Civil station of Anarkallie and the Cantonment of Meean Meer, the residence of the already great and renowned John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who had kindly offered us hospitality until we could settle ourselves in Meean Meer. We were hardly out of our dhoolies shaking the dust out of our clothes when the great man himself in duck trousers and shirt sleeves with a pen behind his ear hurried out with outstretched hands to welcome us. A loud voice, a sun-burnt, strongly-marked face, a rough but kindly manner a tone of decision without rudeness in his orders to our bearers and his own servants made a good deal of the man known to us at the first meeting. We had to learn by degrees how much good strong common sense there was in his head and how much tenderness in his heart. How firmly and wisely he settled and ruled the Punjab in those early days. How he saved our Rāj during the mutiny by means of the Sikh troops who were devoted to him. What a noble band of men he gathered round him to help him in his work and to carry it on after his departure—Herbert Edwardes, Montgomery, MacLeod, Raikes, Barnes, Egerton, Nicholson, Chamberlain, and others—this is all matter of history. But the charm of his character, the depth of his piety, his transparent truthfulness and honesty were only known to those who were fortunate enough to hold daily intercourse with him.”

The Cantonment of Meean Meer, at the time Mr. Farrer entered upon his duties there, was reputed to be about the most miserable spot on the map of India. “I have neither the heart nor the ability,” he says, to “recall and describe the wretchedness of it nor the utter discomfort of the squalid little houses (flat-roofed, not thatched bungalows) which were the only ones available until one could build for one's self.”

With regard to Church services we had not arrived in these days at weekly Celebrations. There was only a monthly Celebration in Meean Meer Church during my tenure of office. On Sundays there was an early parade service for the troops, and

an evening service at sunset. In the week a small number of soldiers used to meet in the Church for prayer and reading by my permission. I attended when I could, and I lent them a volume of sermons to read aloud when I was not there. This privilege was greatly appreciated by the few men of piety in the station as there was no room in the Barracks, either artillery or infantry, where they could meet. The Church was a long low *kutch*a building, hideous to a degree and in the hot weather like an oven—so fearfully hot that I remember George Edmonstone, one of the Punjab Commissioners who happened then to be living in the Cantonment, coming into the vestry one Sunday evening after service with a thermometer in his hand showing the mercury among the nineties and saying “Mr. Farrer you are always at us for not coming to Church. Look, this is my excuse for staying at home.” I did not say to him what Dr. Baddeley, a thick and thin supporter of mine in those days, though rather an extreme Puritan, actually did say: “Yes, it’s very hot certainly, but hell’s hotter.” Soon after my arrival I planned in concert with Major Sharp, who under Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) was Engineer Officer of the Cantonment, a Church worthy of so large a station. This was built with considerable help from the Government, on John Lawrence’s recommendation, and with very generous subscriptions and handsome gifts, and ready for service early in 1856. Two other very handsome Churches were built about the same time—one at Sialkote where Mr. Sloggett was Chaplain, the other at Umballa under Mr. Mayne. The dedication of our Church was St. Mary Magdalene. I was travelling to London from Oxford not long ago and heard a Cleric in my carriage relating Indian experiences to some people opposite. Amongst others he mentioned a visit to Lahore and spoke of the Church at Meean Meer as being still the most beautiful in India. I couldn’t help saying “I built that Church.” He seemed somewhat incredulous, but after some satisfactory cross-examination my statement was deemed at least probable, and I hope he acquitted me of being an impostor.

An incident too interesting not to be mentioned occurred soon after the opening of our Church. A young Assistant

Surgeon with a very charming newly-married wife arrived at Meean Meer just in time for her confinement. One night my bearer woke me out of a sound sleep to say that a note had come from the Doctor Sahib. It was to this effect: “Please come immediately, I am in great distress.” I hurried off at once and found that the poor young creature had been confined and was raving with puerperal mania. It was difficult to say which was in the worse case, he or she. I never saw a man so hopelessly wretched and helpless. I reasoned with her and prayed with her, but without the slightest effect. In that dreadful state she remained like one possessed for I dare say a couple of months. At last a thought struck me which proved to be a very happy one. I suggested that he and a lady friend who had been with her a good deal should bring her to Church and I would meet them there and read the Churching Service. Accordingly they drove to the Church and led her to the altar where I was waiting in my surplice. She knelt down. I read the service. She burst into tears and became perfectly sane from that moment. Had I been a Roman instead of an Anglican Priest a good deal would have been made of this and a new miracle made known to the world. It is an interesting fact anyhow, and might be useful under similar circumstances.

Whilst on the subject of woman-kind I might record here an amusing circumstance that occurred only a few months later during the worst of the mutiny. Our available European force was so small and the mutinous troops in the Station so numerous (two Infantry and one Cavalry Regiment) that General Gowan, Commanding the Division, ordered all ladies and children into an empty barrack with a sufficient European guard over them. Notwithstanding the extreme peril they were in, at any moment we might have been simply overwhelmed and utterly destroyed, these ladies chose to quarrel to such a degree and to make such complaints of each other that the General was in despair. No threats or remonstrances were of any avail. At last he came to see me and said “Mr. Farrer, I must make this business over to you. As a teacher of peace and good will your arguments may be stronger than mine. Please go and use your influence with these ladies.” Accordingly I entered Room No. 1, made my enquiries and

began my little sermon with some such answer as this "Oh Mr. Farrer, you wouldn't speak like that if you knew what a horrid woman Mrs. X. is; she found my poor little Alice in the verandah and boxed her ears for interfering with her children. Christian or not I cannot be expected to endure that," and so on. In Room No. 2, I began over again with a similar result. "Please, Mr. Farrer, don't talk to me of peace. Can't by any law, human or divine, be expected to put up with what I and my children have to endure at the hands of that woman next door," and so on and so on—something like this stronger or milder as I passed from room to room. So I returned with a heavy heart to make my report to the General. "Well, Sir, have you been successful?" "No, General, not more successful than yourself. The truth of the matter is that we are committing an outrage upon human nature, as it appears to me. God intended women to live with men, General, and not with women; so we had better leave them alone and not attempt the impossible." "Well I suppose you're right," said the old fellow laughing. "The deuce is in it somehow. Good morning."

"Apropos of attempting the impossible there was a good story which I suppose I heard from dear old Jennings at Delhi or from Douglas of the Palace Guard about one of the early Mahomedan Emperors. An old chestnut probably, but I will tell it. This Emperor wisely chose as his Wazeer, a high caste Brahmin, in order that he might with less trouble influence and govern his Hindoo subjects who were disposed to be unruly. The appointment gave great satisfaction of course to the Hindoos who became so quiet and submissive that the Emperor grew envious of the power possessed by this man. So he sent for him one day and said I intend to become a Brahmin myself, take the necessary steps to have me initiated. The Wazeer prostrated himself and said "Ruler of the Universe and Father of the poor, the thing is impossible, you must be born a Brahmin, you cannot be made one." "Nevertheless I intend to be made one," said the Emperor, "so go away and if in three days you have not discovered some means of admitting me to your caste you lose your head." The next morning the Emperor looking out of a window over the river

saw a poor man struggling vehemently with a donkey to get him into the water and having got him there began with much fuss and trouble to wash him. The Emperor watched the proceedings and was much amused. The next morning he saw the same little comedy acted again and being curious to know what it meant he sent for the Wazeer, related the circumstance and asked for an explanation. "Lord of the Universe," said the Wazeer, "that man is a poor idiot who believes that he can wash his donkey into a horse." "Well, he must be a fool," said the Emperor. "Ah yes," answered the Wazeer, "but not such a fool after all as the Mussulman who thinks he can be turned to a Brahmin." The Emperor with true magnanimity forgave his Wazeer and retained him in his office.

"Talking of Brahmins—whilst at Meean Meer about the time that I was mastering colloquial Hindustani fairly well, two young Brahmins called on me one morning and begged to receive instruction on the Scriptures. I told them I had too much to do already in ministering to my own people to give them any of my time, but they seemed so disappointed, and as there were no *Church* missionaries nearer than Amritzur to refer them to I consented to give them an occasional hour. They attended very regularly for some weeks when they left off coming altogether. I enquired of my bearer, himself a high caste man, if he knew where they came from. He told me they lived with their father a few miles out in the country. Accordingly I got into my buggy one day and drove there and introduced myself to the old gentleman, a man evidently of some means and some importance, and enquired what had become of his sons and why they came to see me no more. He told me I was teaching them too much and that if they continued with me much longer they would become Christians. "Well," said I, "what is your own opinion about Christianity? You are a learned and intelligent man and must have come to some conclusion about it." Looking round him carefully and stealthily, to be sure no one was listening, he said in a loud whisper "Padré Sahib, I believe that Christianity is true." "Then," said I, "why don't you acknowledge yourself a Christian?" "Forgive me Sahib, but it is a foolish question. I am revered and honoured over all this district almost as

God himself. I become a Christian. All my people spit on me and loathe me. And you Christians will not receive me into your society. I must become an outcast and a vagabond. Death were infinitely preferable. No, don't say anything more about it, Salaam." Here I found much to think about. It was an interesting adventure, especially in those days."

"My first experience of Hospital visiting was sufficiently memorable to be recorded. After a pleasant week with John Lawrence I removed to Meean Meer and was entertained most hospitably by Captain and Mrs. Gordon of H.M. 96th, during the time that I was finding and furnishing a house for ourselves. One evening after dinner just at the commencement of the hot weather a coolie arrived from the Hospital with a note from the Hospital Sergeant to say a man was dying and would like to see me. To reach the Hospital I had to cross about 300 yards of treeless sandy *maidan* in a straight line—nothing by day light, but the night was pitchy dark and a storm was brewing. However taking a stick to feel my way I started and had done about half the distance when a vivid flash of lightning revealed to me a disused well of quite 40 feet deep at my very feet—another step and my Indian career would have ended then and there. I found my way at last to the poor fellow's bedside and having performed my office to his profit and comfort I hope, I returned safely home. The next day I buried him and having heard that he was a married man I enquired for the married quarters with the intention of visiting his widow. But the soldier from whom I sought information seemed to think a visit of condolence quite a waste of time and pity. 'Bless you, Sir. She'll be coming to you in a day or two. You needn't trouble to go to her.' 'What will she be coming to me for?' said I. 'To be married, Sir.' 'Married!!' said I with a face of horror. 'Oh yes, Sir, you don't know Indian ways yet. There ain't many women allowed with the Regiment, so the few there are are engaged two and three deep, don't you see; there is not a woman here but what has got, at least, two on her list after her present husband. And very nat'ral, ain't it, Sir? What's a poor woman to do in this blessed country if her husband dies? and there's always plenty of fellows ready to take care of her.' And so it turned

out. It was not many days before a young fellow came to me, as Surrogate, for a license and the following day he married the widow. In a little time I ceased to be shocked at this sort of thing."

When the 96th left the station they were succeeded by H.M. 10th, the crack Regiment of the European forces then in India commanded by the notorious Colonel Franks, a martinet and tyrant of the most pronounced description, though a dashing officer and in a certain sense a fine soldier. He was positively detested by the men and it was said that he had been fired at more than once on parade and had known some narrow escapes. The truth of this rumour was verified by myself in a very disagreeable manner soon after the arrival of the Regiment. Colonel Franks, who was exceedingly proud of the efficiency of the Corps, invited me to ride with him on the Parade ground one morning to see the Regiment manoeuvre. I was, of course, highly gratified until the order came to form in hollow square, the officers in the middle, Franks and myself and a Bugler outside. The command to prepare to receive cavalry was given and immediately afterwards "Fire." There was an unmistakably unpleasant whiz between Franks' head and mine thereupon 'cease firing' was at a sign from Franks sounded by the Bugler and in the coolest manner he rode up to the square and said in his loud clear tones: "Men, one of you just now tried to shoot me. Remember you might have killed the parson which I imagine was not your intention," and so the parade was brought to an end. The matter was talked about for the proverbial nine days and then forgotten. A few years before this in one of the great Sikh battles, Moodkhee I think, a battery was giving much trouble and causing some loss when orders came to Franks to take it at the point of the bayonet. He had been warned that he was to be shot by his own men during the battle, so before putting himself at their head he called out: "Men, I understand you are going to shoot me in this action. I have one favour to ask you, wait until I have got you inside that battery, at the double, march." There was a shout raised "Bravo old Franks. We'll follow you, Colonel," and the battery was taken and Franks not shot. Once he showed his can-

tankorous nature to me. A very large number of the 10th were accustomed to attend the voluntary evening service on Sundays, many more than was usual in H.M. Regiments. From sheer "cussedness" I suppose this was displeasing to Franks and accordingly one Sunday evening I noticed there were no 10th men in Church. On enquiry the next day I was told that a roll-call had been ordered for the very hour of service, no one knew why or wherefore, and that it was to continue every Sunday at the same hour. Accordingly I wrote through the Adjutant to protest and to beg that it might be at some hour that would not interfere with the Church Service. The Adjutant by the way was young Havelock, the present Sir Henry, a very good fellow and friendly to me. A rather unpleasant correspondence ensued in which I threatened to appeal to a higher authority. At length Franks sent me notice that there would be no evening roll-call the following Sunday stating that the men didn't really care to attend Church and that I was making a fuss about nothing. I suppose he thought that the men out of fear of him would not come. The contrary however happened. The Church to the amusement of our little world was literally crammed with 10th men to the evident disgust of the Colonel who for once was present himself. Spite being stronger than fear was on my side and gave me the victory. Soon after this Franks got a Brigade and did good service in the mutiny. I think he was made a K.C.B.

"The 81st followed the 10th and with them came" a most melancholy trying time—a fitting forerunner of the mutiny. The cholera which had been slowly travelling up-country at length reached Meean Meer and remained with us six weeks during which time I was day and night in the various Hospitals and saw 400 Europeans die of it. There was a perfect panic amongst the men, the artillery suffering most. They used to say to me: "Oh let us go into action against any odds, but we can't fight this unseen foe." It will well illustrate the state of mind I was in when I say I found it one night a positive relief when an artillery man was brought into the Hospital with an arm dreadfully injured by the bite of a horse, the flesh and sinews torn off and the bone crushed. There was nothing for it but amputation, a young Assistant Surgeon who happened

to be on duty in the Hospital had to perform the operation, but the half-caste Apothecary who was attending to the sick and dying men of whom there were, perhaps, fifty in various stages of cholera couldn't be spared to help him, the poor fellow having been removed to a small verandah room where there was a bed and a single cocoanut oil lamp. I was therefore called upon to assist as best I could; one thing being absolutely necessary that someone should hold a candle close to the limb that the Surgeon might have as much light as possible for taking up and tying the artery. Fortunately I was able to go through with it and the operation was successfully performed. I may here relate that during the worst of the cholera when not two per cent. of those seized recovered the Doctor of the 81st was down with it. He sent for a bottle of laudanum and swallowed enough he told me to kill an elephant. He passed into a state of coma in which he remained many hours and came to his senses cured. A risky thing to do but it succeeded."

Mr. Farrer gives the following realistic sketch of the duty and amusements of a chaplain nearly 50 years ago:—"In the hot weather I turned out soon after gun fire as it was getting light. My bearer brought me a delicious cup of hot tea foaming over with goat's milk and a *chupattie*. Either horse or buggy was by that time ready and I rode or drove straight to one of the Hospitals, which all through the hot season were always full. The Doctors were going their rounds. I followed the Doctors and remained a longer or shorter time at each bed according to the man's condition. If any one, very ill indeed, expressed a wish to receive the Holy Communion or was persuaded to receive it, I made arrangements with the Hospital Sergeant to prepare for me later in the day. It took me from 6 o'clock to perhaps 7-30 to visit all not Roman Catholics, for there were no protestant Chaplains in those days, the Anglican Priest had to attend to Presbyterians, Wesleyans and others who gladly accepted his ministrations. From the Hospital I usually passed to the Regimental School and gave some religious teaching to the children. At about 8 o'clock the sun being then at almost its most dangerous position in the sky catching one at the side of the head, I reached home, took off as many clothes as decorum permitted, had my easy chair in

the verandah and enjoyed my *chota hazaree*, bread and butter, tea or coffee, and an unlimited supply of fruit—mangoes, poor things in the Punjab, usually strong of turpentine, melons, quite excellent, flat peaches, small but very good, figs, also small but quite worth eating, and the long mulberry, not worth eating. Fruit of this sort cost next to nothing. Real Bombay mangoes brought packed in ice by running coolies reached one occasionally, Lord William Hay, one of our Commissioners, was sometimes a benefactor in this direction. At about 9 I enjoyed a good deep sleep of a couple of hours. Had my bath followed by a big meal—an early tiffin. Fish from the Ravee quail and teal and some kind of curry being the usual food. Then followed reading and writing. A cup of tea at 4. Then in the buggy to whatever Hospital I had not visited in the morning. Then home for a wash-up and a little smartening and a ride to the 'Course' to hear the Band and meet all one's friends. Perhaps a gallop with a party to the Shalimar Gardens where probably we dined under the orange trees having sent our *bowarchee* and *khitmutgars* on ahead to prepare. Then a pleasant ride home in the cool night to bed."

As to spiritual relations with the natives Mr. Farrer says "to a Chaplain in sole charge of a large Cantonment with two, perhaps three, Hospitals to visit daily there was not much time for missionary work nor indeed many opportunities. I have already recorded the somewhat interesting visit paid me by the two young Brahmins who voluntarily sought instruction in the Bible from me and what came of it. I had also a series of remarkably instructive and interesting conversations with a Mussalman gentleman from the City of Lahore, a cousin of the King of Delhi, a most courtly well-bred man who added something to his small income by teaching Persian. It was for that purpose that he regularly visited me for some weeks, but he was too controversial and I had to dismiss him. I learnt no Persian, but I gained some insight into Islam and perceived how all but hopeless the controversy with Mahomedans must ever be. I am unable to record with any accuracy the many interesting but provoking discussions I had with him, but I remember his asking me one day whether there was not a text in the Bible which said "He shall bruise

the nations with a rod of iron and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel." "Sahib, do you consider that a prophecy and it is of whom?" "Yes, certainly, a prophecy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." "But Sahib, it is not true of Jesus Christ, he never did it. He was a good man and a wise teacher, but God gave Him no such power as that. Now we hold it to be a prophecy of our Prophet which in a short time was literally fulfilled." "That is rather a big claim," I said, "to make for the very limited conquests of your Prophet. Of the Son of God, our Blessed Saviour, it is as yet an unfulfilled prophecy. The great day of His temporal victory over the nations of the world is in mercy deferred, but it will come. In the meantime He is in the highest and best sense slowly but surely overcoming the nations by a spiritual victory leading them happy and willing captives to the Gospel." "Ah, that's how you Christians manipulate the Bible! By that spiritual interpretation of yours you make it mean anything you like. *We* show more reverence for the Word of God and allow it to speak for itself." This was the substance of that day's talk. I wish I could remember more. I had a discussion once with two Mussalmans coming out of the great Musjid at Delhi. After some general talk I asked one of them upon what he rested his hope of salvation he replied "upon my obedience to the will of God." So I turned to the other man and asked him how long he had known his companion. He said "from a child." "What then, has he never displeased God? Never lost his temper or given way to the many temptations that daily and hourly assail us men in this world. Is he really so angelic as his words would imply?" "No, Sahib, I should hardly like to say that. He goes wrong occasionally as we all do." So turning to him I said: "Your friend you see knows something against you. Your conscience, of course, knows more, and God most of all. Were I in your shoes I should not feel that I was standing on a very sure foundation. For my own part I don't trust to my own obedience but in the perfect righteousness of One who represents me before God. Of whom I shall be glad to speak to you." But he lost his temper and would not listen to anything more.

Mr. Farrer narrates two interesting stories relating to Faquirs. "I was once riding," he says, "down to the Plains from Simla by what was then called the old road passing immediately under Subathoo. There was a bridle path leading through a wild overgrown country across the valley to a Dāk Bungalow at the foot of the Hills without going up to Kussowlie and down again. It was not the well-known and much used Bungalow at the foot of the Kussowlie Hill, but one less frequented more to the north. I knew it pretty well and this by-path across the valley also, but unfortunately it was getting dark as I struck into it and in a short time I lost my way hopelessly. I was in a tangled mass of jungle full of tigers and hyæanas. It was a moonless night and I was extremely uncomfortable and my horse not much happier than myself. I have no doubt. At last in the distance I spied a light gleaming through the shrubs and after many checks and much tacking to right and left I found myself on the outside of a mud hut with a narrow slit in the wall in which a small oil lamp was burning. There was a small door without a handle barred on the inside. At this I knocked without any result, but getting impatient my blows were heavy enough to convince the inmate that I intended to see him, so the bar was drawn and the ghastly figure of a Faquir smeared with cow dung and ashes, looking all the more uncanny from the time and place, stood before me. I asked him in the colloquial Urdu which I knew fairly well, the way to the Bungalow I wished to reach. Without opening his lips he took my horse by the bridle and let me through rough and smooth for a very considerable distance into a good open road, silent as the grave all the time though I tried all I knew to make him speak. When on the road he pointed to the lights of the Bungalow some distance ahead, let go the bridle and dived into the jungle and vanished. I had my rupee in my hand and called him to come back and take it, but in vain. I trust he reached his hut before a tiger had him."

The other reminiscence is as follows:—"A very beautiful and touching instance of the highest charity on the part of a Faquir during the mutiny was much talked of, about Meerut and the neighbourhood at the time and I believe it to be true, though

I have forgotten on whose authority it came to my knowledge. A Faquir with a bundle on his arms came to the Cantonment and demanded to be taken before the Brigadier as he had something to make known to him. He was conducted into the Brigadier's presence and unrolling his blanket displayed an English baby alive and well. He reported that on passing through a small station, the name of which I have forgotten, he witnessed a massacre of the European inhabitants which he was powerless to stop, but he snatched up a baby and got well away with it. He had travelled with it many days getting milk for it at the various villages he passed through and he now desired to give it up. The Brigadier spoke some words of commendation and gratitude and requested to know what reward would be most pleasing to him. He said he was sufficiently rewarded in having saved a life, and having no wants, material rewards were of no use to him. But when the Brigadier insisted upon making some return for so noble a deed he answered that there was a road leading to some sacred spot much frequented by Faquirs and Pilgrims where it was impossible to obtain water and much suffering and sometimes deaths ensued in consequence, would the Government cause wells to be dug at intervals on that road? It would be a most acceptable boon to himself and thousands. The Brigadier promised to use his influence with the Government to get it done and the man made his salaam and disappeared. My children say 'But what became of the baby?' Alas! I can't say. Perhaps my good friend, Parker, Principal of the Lawrence Asylum, at Sanawar, had it, but I don't know."

The work at Meean Meer had been exceptionally trying especially in the hot weather of 1856 when the Chaplain saw and ministered to 400 men dying of cholera in six weeks, for which services Mr. Farrer was publicly thanked both by the General Commanding the Division and by Brigadier Corbett, Commanding the Meean Meer Brigade. Such labours and the dangers and sorrows of the mutiny following the next year, resulted in his contracting a very trying illness which quite unfitted him for work in the plains. Just before the fall of Delhi he was appointed to Simla in succession to Mr. Mayne, a charge which he exchanged for Kussowlie at the end of a

year. In 1859 he was sent home on medical certificate for two years, but Sir Ronald Martin, the Company's Physician in London, would not allow him to return, therefore he was forced to retire on a pension of £127 a year.

III.—Rev. Charles Sloggett, M.A., Rector of Chiddingfold in the Diocese of Winchester.

THE Rev. Charles Sloggett graduated B.A. from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1846. He was ordained Deacon in 1846, and Priest in 1848, by the Bishop of Exeter. Having served a curacy in Cornwall, for but a few months, he was appointed to his Bengal chaplaincy on the recommendation of Sir James Melville, then Secretary of the India House. He sailed on the 20th of January 1849 and arrived in Calcutta on the 7th of March and stayed for a week in the house of Bishop Wilson, who, he says, "was most kind and affectionate." The Bishop then sent him up to Wuzerabad some 60 miles beyond Lahore. This station was then occupied by a considerable force of H.M. 10th and 24th Foot and 9th Lancers, succeeded by 3rd Dragoons and a force of European Artillery—with 3 Native Regiments of foot and one of Cavalry (4th Lancers).

Here Church services were at once commenced by the new chaplain, at first in Field Hospital Tents—then in a large room which had been built as a Mess House, but was given up for this purpose. "Officers and men alike were most kind and helpful," writes Mr. Sloggett "especially Major Harley Maxwell, of the Engineers' by whom Hospitals and Barracks were built up with marvellous rapidity, for the European soldiers, before the rapidly approaching hot and wet seasons. The officers, too, were all employed in providing similar shelter for themselves, and I was fortunately enabled to purchase quarters in the staff lines than in rapid course of completion, their owner having being ordered home on sick certificate. The Hospitals were crowded with patients after the recent campaign, but I had no difficulty in holding weekly services in the whole five by turns, then used by Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry soldiers. Funerals were of daily occurrence at the two Burial Grounds on the extremities of the station lines some seven miles apart, but by the help of an excellent pony, with

a buggy and another larger animal, I was enabled to manage very well for the first two years or more.

Then with the coming of the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, it was determined to remove about half the force to Sialkote, to which station, the remaining part of the force was sent in the course of a few years, while the former station of Wuzerabad could probably be only now discovered by the bases of two handsome brick pillars which had been built before the intended change of station as the commencement of a large and fine station church. Wuzerabad, however, was continued for a few years until permanent buildings could be erected at Sialkote, situated on the borders of the Cashmere provinces. One of the first of these public buildings was the fine church in the centre of the staff lines, which was pushed on by Major Harley Maxwell with such determination and success as to be completed and opened for service just before Christmas 1854. It was consecrated in the Name of the Holy Trinity, and accommodated a congregation of 700. I had been removed to Sialkote permanently some two years previously, when the work at Wuzerabad was carried on by my excellent and able successor, the Rev. J. Cave Browne.

The work of building the Sialkote church was much helped by a freely offered gift by the Rajah Golab Singh, of all the timber of which might be required for it, and which we were permitted to accept by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General. The letter of the Rajah is no longer in my possession, but I have not forgotten the remarkable sentence in it. What he said, was as follows: the address being to Major Maxwell who also had been sent to Sialkote, and by whom, an immense quantity of timber had been required, and duly paid for, in the erection of the new and fine public buildings. After compliments, then, and now commonly used, it went on, "your unworthy servant, being himself a believer in the Deity, and hearing that your honourable and distinguished self is now engaged in the erection of a temple for the worship of the God in Whom you believe, requests your condescending acceptance of the few sticks he is able to offer in aid of so good a work: "a few sticks for the building and furniture, meaning a supply of the best and finest wood, sent at the Rajah's cost to the site

of the building, and which to have bought, would have cost some five thousand rupees. The distinguished and able Governor-General in conveying his consent, required to be exactly informed in this respect, of the whole character of the transaction, lest there might have been any previous pressure, or other unworthy cause, by which the Rajah might have been influenced in what he did respecting it; and in writing as I was requested to do, to give to him my own private account of it, I was enabled to prove to His Excellency, the perfect purity, and motive, of both the high contracting persons, in what had been so gratuitously and so unexpectedly given, and so thankfully accepted.

The mention of this leads to another circumstance which it may, perhaps, be useful to record. Before that time, when churches had been built in existing stations, the largest part of the funds had to be obtained through private resources. But the annexation of the new territory in the Punjab, leading to the necessity of taking up new stations, and of removing from some of the older ones, after much consideration of the Government with the Bishop and Archdeacon in Calcutta, led, under Lord Dalhousie, to the following declaration: "that where troops and other servants of the Government were employed, and churches required for Christian worship, it should be looked upon as a distinct and acknowledged principle, that the Government would provide for the construction of the whole fabric, and fit it for its intended purpose, in an absolutely plain and simple manner; but if more than this were desired by those using it, as in ornamentation of any kind, all this must be provided for, at the cost of those desiring it." No better illustration can be given of the working of this rule than in the case of the large and handsome church built at Meeran Meer under the chaplaincy of the Rev. Frederic Farrer two or three years after that at Sialkote. Instead of a common plain Font, the good, and ever to be respected Sir Robert Montgomery, placed in the Church a Noble Font of white marble, which is still, I believe, its most beautiful adornment.

The rule is so manifestly fair and good for all concerned that it is probably still acted upon. The Sialkote Church so built, was the first erected in the whole of the Punjab.

In 1855 I was sent by Bishop Wilson to take up the chaplaincy at Simla, where the Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Gomm then resided, who, with his admirable consort Lady Gomm, was the helper and benefactor of that beautiful station. The small plain church then existing there was without an Organ. On my arrival there I found a new gallery in course of erection and heard that an Organ had been purchased at cost of £600, and was soon expected. It came a month or two afterwards, when Lady Gomm, with resident ladies and gentlemen formed one of the best church choirs I have ever listened to, both from its superior excellence, and the reverence, and felt power of religion pervading all its members. The instrument had come so carefully and correctly marked and explained that it was put up without much difficulty. For the former Musical services at Wuzzeerabad, a fine choir was trained and kept up for *vivâ voce* singing, without instruments by Colonel Hope Grant, of the 9th Lancers.

In 1857, came the outbreak of the Great Mutiny; I had been removed previously to Dagshaie at the Commander-in-Chief's suggestion; and was there when we first heard of it. The Regiment of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers was moved off at 24 hours' notice, so that, beyond a few families, the station was at one swoop deprived of almost all its inhabitants. Knowing that communications were stopped on the way to Calcutta, I wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, then Sir John Lawrence, volunteering my service with the Force marching to the siege of Delhi. After an interval he replied by saying that he had written to the Governor-General, recommending the appointment, and that in the meantime I must stay at my post; for, ere long, invalids and wounded men would certainly be sent up to the Hospitals in that cooler invigorating climate. And come they did, until the Hospitals were almost filled, communications were stopped with Calcutta, and I had to remain till the end.

Soon after the departure of the Regiment from Dagshaie, a Company only having been left behind, I witnessed a remarkable illustration of the way in which strong and brave men may become self-deceived, and suppose things had happened which had no other foundation, than an excited,

overworked, distempered imagination. Walking with a calm able engineer officer, who with others had come to Dagshai from Simla, after a scare which had been set up there of a threatened uprising of the Ghoorka Regiment, we saw presently a man we both recognised, riding at the top of his speed; and as he met us, beckoning that we should follow him, he went down a little path to the house of the Colonel Commanding, Colonel Welchman. On running after him, the first words we heard him utter were "all Simla is massacred!" Other officers had rushed in with us who also heard it. He told us how, after he had been 20 hours in the saddle, he had come to a place we all knew, I forget the name, about 6 miles distant, on that still Sunday morning whence Simla was full in view on the other side of the long deep valley yet to be passed over. Then on the instant, he saw that an attack had commenced on the centre of its rapidly constructed defences.

His own house commanding the roadway and pass into the station had just been set on fire, and the assailants were partly hidden in the smoke. Then, for a few minutes, two sustained volleys had been given by the defenders, after which all seemed silent, as he was too distant to hear what was going on. To him there was but one possible solution. The enemy had penetrated the slender obstruction and were now engaged in massacre. But he said, many flying ladies with their children *must now* be hastening down by various hill paths to the shelter here awaiting them, but only to be butchered by their savage pursuers unless help could be sent at once to defend them. "Tired as I am," he said, "give me the Company now here, and the aid of all who will volunteer, and I will undertake, even now, to go and rescue them, knowing as I do every foot of the various pathways." The Colonel replied, "I will not give you a man, Sir!" "What," he said, "will you endure it that our poor ladies should not be defended with their children?" "No Sir!" was the reply, "nor will I allow *you* to repeat your words. If they be true words, then with my small force it will be hardly possible to hold the ground on which we stand! We *could not* help the others, but could only expose ourselves, and the great number from Simla already arrived here, to certain destruction!" Time passed on,

measures were taken at once for all the residents to go into well situated defences in two of the Hospitals—and this was done accordingly. For the first time and the last, I carried a loaded pistol to help to guard the feeble defences. The night however passed in silence. Next morning in the early dawn, I sent out scouts to see what had happened, but ere long they returned with the same story that all in Simla had been quiet and gone to church. Yet the officer who had left us soon after his agitated story and gone to Kussowlie, was a man of distinguished ability, and afterwards was highly distinguished for bravery in action. He must have had a waking sleep, produced by over fatigue, with his whole thoughts engaged in imagining what would happen if the native soldiers should rebel, until his exhausted nature was no longer able to guide his reason.

In course of time, by God's Blessing, the country became quieted—things were restored to their old position, and I was directed to proceed at once to take up the chaplaincy at Lahore where I remained, at the Civil Station of Anarkulle for more than five eventful years. One of my first duties was to use my comparative leisure, where all the great and good officers were overworked, by getting up a fund for helping many poor afflicted ones to get once more to their English homes in peace and safety. Every claim was met, and well enquired into by the Committee, who had been appointed to assist me. A year or two after succeeded a fearful visitation of Cholera—especially among the soldiers at Meean Meer, and in the Fort of Lahore. For some three months the work and labour were incessant. Very few of those recovered who were first attacked: but afterwards there were more recoveries. Out of H. M. 52nd Regiment of Foot, nearly a quarter perished; a wing of the 93rd was even more severely dealt with; the European Artillery in about the same ratio as the 52nd. The soldiers behaved on the whole most admirably—although it became desirable to bury many by night, in which duty I was always warmly helped by my dear friend, Mr. Taylor, of the Civil Service. Soon orders came to remove men in troops day by day to new ground—and by this means the fell pestilence became at last ended.

A year or two afterwards came another call for help to the famishing people round Delhi and in other parts, for which I was first appointed Secretary, and by permission of Bishop Cotton, was sent by the Lahore Government to go to the afflicted districts, and organise measures for more general and successful relief; money was freely sent to the extent of their resources by our generous and high minded countrymen, who, I believe, are, of all other nations, the most self-denying, and bountiful in their charities when the need is fully explained to them. I was supported in every possible way by Sir Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor, who, with the highly beloved Finance Commissioner, Sir Donald MacLeod, accompanied me to the districts round Delhi where the famine was at the worst. Meanwhile money had been flowing in, and large sums sent, from London by the Lord Mayor, until they agreed with my suggestion for what I believe should be a principle of all such undertakings, that our first care should be to give a *sufficiency of food to every needy supplicant* to the extent of, our present resources, any thing short of this is but weakness. People who give will give again, or find other helps so long as the need lasts. The result was that in May 1861 we were feeding in the several districts of starvation, no less, daily, than one hundred and five thousand persons; many of whom, as I had before seen, especially the women in their first wretchedness, standing out in the high places, holding up the linen cloth which all wore as raiment, to catch, in the strong hot wind, after holding it more than an hour, about half a tea cup full of the small innutritious seeds which the wind blew with it.

By God's Blessing much good followed our proceedings. Not only in saving the lives of the majority in many large districts; not only in placing a check upon the advancing prices until what little food remained in private hoards could not be bought by the starving and impoverished ones, but also by the moral effects upon the minds of all the people. The two Mr. Berkley's of the Civil Service who were sent with me, and who in everything assisted me, and without whom I could have done nothing advantageously, were present when we were giving out one of the accustomed doles before one of

the hitherto unvisited towns, when two of the chief men came out and addressed me. "Sir," they said, "the time is only as yesterday, when in the mutiny, the people of this town, and other neighbouring towns, came out and chased some of your flying English people with scorn and ignominy, as they were trying to reach some place of refuge in their distress. You come, Sir, sent by your fellow countrymen, to bring food and life to those who behaved so cruelly: this will make our people believe that your religion is true and noble, and you will be blessed accordingly."

After completing this great work, I was sent from Lahore to Nynce Tal partly to recruit my energies; and from there I returned to England in May 1864, and have nearly lived out the remainder of my life in country towns and parishes, by the good Providence of my Heavenly Father. I hardly knew what it was in India, to have a serious illness; I received the greatest kindness from all I ever met there; and I can truly say that up to the time when I left the country, with great advantages of knowing what was done for the people over whom God has placed us, that upon the whole, no country upon the face of this earth has been more justly and faithfully governed. Often too as before mentioned, this has been said to me by other natives from their own experience of the upright honourable character of our country's Legislation.

Besides the organization of famine relief Mr. Sloggett had another special and important work consigned to him. "A worthy brother Chaplain, Mr. Ellis, suggested to me" he says "that it would be beneficial both to ourselves, and all our brethren, if I could draw up some plan to which they could all agree, for obtaining a higher pension, by a sort of general sacrifice. He thought that if all agreed to give up the expectation of the higher emoluments then paid to the two presidency chaplains so long as they remained in Calcutta, all alike would derive a benefit. Work being light at Simla in the winter season, I set myself to the work—writing first to every chaplain, not one of whom but agreed to the suggestion, and then obtaining the consent of Bishop Wilson, and his worthy and talented Archdeacon Mr. Pratt. By these it was earnestly taken up, and recommended to Government, by

whom also it was readily supported, and referred to the India Office at home. Here too it was most successful—no loss accrued to Government, the increased payments to the two presidency chaplains when done away with, made up a sufficiency of funds, there were many other good reasons for the measure and none against it, thus the scheme progressed until after my own return to England and I had brought the matter once more home to Government, I had the satisfaction of being informed by a letter from the Home Office, that the measure had been at length decided upon, and the chaplains' retiring pensions increased to the amount now given. It may be mentioned here also, that in the original appointments of our body, as I believe of all other covenanted branches, the retiring pay was put down in Sterling money, which remains a fixed and definite home allowance."

On returning home Mr. Sloggett served a curacy again for five years. In 1869 he was preferred to the Vicarage of St. Bartholomew, Hyde, Winchester. In 1878 the Lord Chancellor presented him to his present cure, the Rectory of Chiddingfold near Godalming in the Winchester Diocese.

*IV.—The Rev. Thomas Cartwright Smyth, D.D., LL.D.,
Chaplain of the Coatham Convalescent Home, Redcar.*

THE Rev. T. C. Smyth graduated in Mathematical Honours in 1843 from St. Catherine's, Cambridge (of which College he was a scholar). In the following year he was ordained both Deacon and Priest in the Bishoprick of Durham and served in succession the parishes of Long Benton and St. Andrew's and St. Nicholas's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, until he obtained in 1849 his appointment as a Company's Chaplain in Bengal. Mr. Smyth received, as was then the rule, £150 for his passage and outfit and sailed for India in the ship *Marlborough*. The length of the voyage, he says, was 96 days from pilot to pilot.

Mr. Smyth arrived in Calcutta on the 29th November 1849 and was shortly afterwards sent by Bishop Wilson to Agra in the N.-W. P. where he ministered in the Cantonment and officiated in the fine Church of St. George, which had been built in 1829 to accommodate a congregation of 1,100 soldiers.

Dr. Smyth speaks of the Civil Lines Church at Agra (in charge of another Chaplain) as being about two miles distant from St. George's. This must have been the predecessor of the present St. Paul's which was not built until 1855.

At St. George's in Dr. Smyth's time the only services were Matins and Evensong on Sundays with a Celebration of the Holy Communion once a month. There was a Soldiers' Chapel in the Infantry lines and in this service was held on Wednesday evenings. While the Artillery were out in Camp during the cold weather the Chaplains provided their parade service in the early mornings.

"I believe" writes Dr. Smyth "the only daily services and weekly celebrations before the mutiny were established at Delhi by the Chaplain, the Rev. M. J. Jennings, who was murdered there on 11th May 1857, the day after the outbreak at Meerut."

In 1849 there were four out-stations attached to Agra; Muttra (which has now a Chaplain of its own); Myapoorie (where a little Church was built in 1849,—now served from Tundla); Aligarh (now in the hands of the C.M.S.) and Morar, Gwalior, (the only remaining out-station of St. George's). These four stations were visited alternately, once in three months, by the Civil Lines' and Cantonment Chaplains. "My mode of travelling to Gwalior" says Dr. Smyth "by Shigram, a kind of spring cart on two wheels; drawn by bullocks, on account of the difficult state of the roads; to the other places by dāk gharries." "The allowance for travelling" he writes "to and from out-stations, was 12 annas a mile, 8 annas a mile being the sum granted on joining a station. But a Chaplain when proceeding to Calcutta on leave or on returning from furlough did not receive any travelling allowance."

■ After a residence of four years at Agra, Mr. Smyth was appointed to the Chaplaincy of Mussoorie and Dehra for two years, living in the winter at the latter station. In January 1856 he was posted to Meerut as the Senior Chaplain; two Chaplains then being stationed there. On the outbreak of the mutiny the Junior Chaplain, Mr. Rotton was sent to Delhi as Chaplain to the besieging forces. Mr. Smyth remaining at Meerut in sole charge.

Meerut was then the largest Military Station in India, and, scarcely excepting Peshawar, the strongest in European troops of all arms, and consequently the least likely to be the scene of any native *émute*. Meerut, however, as a contemporary Chaplain of Dr. Smyth and Dr. Rotton,—the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, still like them happily continuing in the work of the ministry in England,—testifies * “was to be the crater from which with lava-force the long gathering and pent up stream of mutiny was to burst forth and desolate the North-West.” On the morning of Saturday, the 9th of May, eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Native Light Cavalry were put in irons and imprisoned for refusing to touch the new pattern cartridges, although the order about biting off the ends had been rescinded two months before. That day and the next the rest of the native troops were orderly and respectful and useful. The only remarkable circumstance being that the Cantonment that night was free from bungalow-burning; but treason was working desperately in secret. Chaplain Cave-Browne thus describes what follows:—

“On the Sunday evening (10th May) soon after six o’clock while the church-going portions of the community were preparing for service, a large body of the 3rd Cavalry turned out without orders, mounted and galloped off to the jail, here they met with no resistance, and having liberated all the prisoners, some fourteen hundred in number, they brought off their comrades, fetters and all in triumph to their own lines, where a blacksmith was soon busy filing off their irons. The other troopers of the 3rd had not been idle; hastening to the bungalows of their own officers and others they were soon engaged in the work of bloodshed and plunder.” The officers of all three native corps did their utmost to restrain and pacify their men, but many of them were slain. Colonel Finnis of the 11th N. I. (a corps which remained almost wholly loyal), was the first to fall, then Captain Macdonald “Happily,” as Mr. Cave-Browne remarks “spared all knowledge of the indignities and agonies to which his poor wife was to be subjected.”—Thus the flood-gates of order were forced and “the torrent swept on in overwhelming flood over the doomed

* “The Punjab and Delhi in 1857,” London, 1861.

station. The liberated prisoners poured in from the jail; the city and the bazaars had already belched forth their blood-thirsty butchers and vagabonds, who, as by preconcerted arrangement, were at hand to take up the work of conflagration and massacre. The whole of the Southern portion of the Cantonments was in their hands, and here they revelled in the most ruffianly cruelty, and glutted themselves, in the death-throes of their victims. The atrocities perpetrated on defenceless ladies, men speak of even now in suppressed whispers ‘[this passage was written in 1861]’ and shudder at this recollection. From that part of the station volumes of smoke were seen rolling up, while flames, glaring and flickering along the roof of some blazing bungalow, shed a ghastly gloom over the darkening twilight, and although nature sought to shed a pall over the agonies of those helpless unoffending victims long did the human fiends hold their orgies unrestrained.”—Why unrestrained, with the 6th Dragoon Guards, the 1st Battalion of H. M. 60th Rifles, a troop of horse and a company of foot artillery and a field battery in the station?—It is a question with which historians deal in one way or another. By the next day the Europeans, nearly 2,000 strong, took measures to defend themselves and the mutineers marched unopposed upon Delhi.

A contemporary account by the Rev. Mr. Smyth is as follows:—*

“All remained quiet until the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when I was driving down to Church as usual (distant about a mile from my house) for the 7 P. M. service, and met on my way two of H. M. 60th Rifles covered with blood and supported by their comrades. On reaching the Church I found buggies and carriages driving away in great confusion, and a body of people running to me and pointing to a column of fire and smoke in the direction of the city, frequent shots were then heard and the cries of a large mob. My colleague, the Rev. Mr. Rotton and his wife came up at the moment; but finding that the people had all gone back, we abandoned of course the intention of commencing divine service, and I drove home, Mr. Rotton and I have

N.A.—* Chick’s Annals of the Indian Rebellion. Calcutta, 1858, p. 103.

buried thirty-one of the murdered, but there are others whose bodies have not yet been brought in."

Of the nature of Mr. Smyth's duties during the mutiny at Meerut the following extract from a testimonial signed eight months later by the whole of the European residents of Meerut will give some idea :—

"The fearful tragedy of the 10th May, 1857, the occurrences of the following morning, and the scenes, through which we subsequently passed, appalling even the stoutest hearts, can never be effaced from our recollection. But, when remembering those scenes, how can we forget your unwearied and incessant exertions during that harassing period, to fulfil worthily the duties of your sacred calling? The constant visitation of the sick; the establishing of the relief fund, which had its origin with you, and its attendant duties; and last, though not least, your voluntary daily ministry in the fortified square, will ever be remembered by us with feelings of deep affection. Firmly assured are we, that those fervent aspirations which, in that season of peculiar trial and anxiety, ascended to the throne of the Most High, were not disregarded by Him, who can save by many or by few."

Early in February 1858, Mr. Smyth was transferred to Singapore, a station and port then belonging to the Hon'ble Company and where the Chaplain (who was always, when appointed, no higher than sixth on the list of Assistant Chaplains in order to prevent too frequent changes) received the pay of a full Chaplain Rs. 800 a month, on account of the extra cost of living. The Chaplain of Penang was appointed under the same conditions.

"Shortly after my arrival at Singapore," says Dr. Smyth "the British residents had subscribed to establish a Mission there, under the name of St. Andrew's Mission, S.P.G. and C.M.S. having declined to do so, owing to lack of funds. There were two sets of converts in the station; Chinese, of whom some 50,000 were living in the island and 'Achings,' the descendants of Madras native settlers. Separate Chapels were built for each and native Catechists were placed in charge of the two congregations under the Chaplain. Weekly reports were brought to me of all connected with the work of the Mission

and monthly celebrations were held by me in each of the Chapels. I preaching at such times, with the Catechist as interpreter. I need scarcely mention that no converts were admitted to Baptism until after a course of careful preparation. The charge of this Mission was very interesting, and was blest with more success than missionary work in many of the large stations and districts in India."

Falling sick in the summer of 1860, Mr. Smyth left Singapore on furlough to England; while at home he received at Cambridge the degree of B.D. and at Dublin the degree of D.D. He returned to Calcutta towards the close of the following year. After officiating at Dum-Dum for five or six weeks, he was sent to Ferozepore, where he remained for nearly three years.

"A Native Regiment" he writes, "the 23rd Bengal Infantry formed part of the troops then stationed at Ferozepore. Sometime before they had been quartered at Peshawar, where a C.M.S. Missionary, Mr. Clark, had succeeded in making some converts among them; but afterwards they had been destitute of any spiritual supervision. I naturally took an interest in such of them as continued Christians and had an afternoon service on Sundays for their benefit as frequently as possible. When Bishop Cotton visited Ferozepore in 1864, I presented 16 of the Regiment (including women) for Confirmation; 300 of their comrades requesting permission to attend the Church upon that occasion. This incident is mentioned in the Bishop's life, written by his widow."

"The same year," he continues, "I was kindly recommended by Bishop Cotton to the Government for appointment to a second Hill Station, the chaplaincy of Simla, in consequence of the trying nature of my service during the mutiny. The number of English residents there necessitated the holding of three Sunday services in the Church and a week day service, besides Bible Classes, during the summer. In the winter of 1864 I went to Calcutta and officiated there for about two months as Senior Chaplain of St. John's Church and acted as Commissary on the death of Bishop Cotton, and in the absence, up-country, of Archdeacon Pratt."

On retiring from the service in 1867 Dr. Smyth sailed for England. He returned to England, on retiring from the

service, in the troopship *Winchester* (the time of the voyage being three months and a half) with the Headquarters of the 98th Regiment, £100 being then allowed to a clergyman in spiritual charge of soldiers proceeding home *via* the Cape. The privilege of passes in troopships has been since unfortunately lost to Indian Chaplains. In 1868 he was preferred to the Vicarage of St. Chad's, Far Headingley, in the neighbourhood of Leeds, which he held for nearly twenty-three years, and after a retirement of two years and a half Dr. Smyth undertook the chaplaincy of the Convalescent Home, Coatham, Redcar.

V.—*The Rev. John Edward Wharton Rotton, LL.D.; D.D.*

DR. ROTTON was ordained Deacon in 1846, the year after he had graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He received the Priesthood the year following, while serving the Curacy of St. Martin's, Birmingham. In 1849 he was removed to the Curacy of Coleshill, in the same diocese of Worcester, and after rather more than a year's service here he was appointed an Assistant Chaplain to the H. E. I. C. He sailed from England on the 20th November 1850 and his rank therefore dates from that day. His passage he says cost him over £100: the Company then gave a Chaplain £150 for passage and outfit. On arrival in Calcutta on the 4th of January following, he was sent by Bishop Wilson to serve the Arracan Chaplaincy of Akyab with Kyouk-Phyoo. At the latter station a Church (St. John the Baptist's), now closed had been built in 1846, but at Akyab there was no Church, the present St. Mark's not having been built until 1855, and Divine Service had to be held in the Magistrate's Cutcherry. "Here" writes Dr. Rotton, "I had my first experiences of cholera; which confined its ravages to the European community. And after killing every one attacked, excepting the Civil Surgeon who resolutely refused all medicines and treated himself with water only, spent its vengeance on the natives, killing large numbers of that community daily. The duration of this epidemic in 1852 lasted, between the two quarters" [European and native] "for well nigh two months."

"In Arracan" says Dr. Rotton, "I found the American Baptists had a large Mission established for many years before my advent to the Province, presided over by a learned and well-known and devoted American Missionary with two assistants on his staff. The three worked heart and soul for the cause, their wives being excellent helpmates to each of them. Under these circumstances, for me to do there," [in the way of missionary endeavours] "nothing was possible but to give the work my sympathy and prayers notwithstanding important differences existing between myself and them."

At the end of 1852 he was transferred to Meerut, arriving early in 1853. Here he says, "I found all arms of the service, artillery, British cavalry, and European infantry, with the addition of Bengal cavalry and infantry;—the officers and their families only of the Bengal troops being part of my spiritual charge. The work was incessant. The year 1854 proved to be a year of intolerable heat, and the garrison were attacked with *coups de soleil*, which smote the 81st with unrelenting fury. This corps was only just out from England and lost large numbers of men, women and children, partly from the sun and partly from the treatment received when they were stricken. The doctors had recourse to bleeding, a treatment never used before in India, so Dr. Rotton says, as a remedy for sunstroke. "This proved certain death, in every case but one, and he only was saved by stopping the arteries first and then freely using the *mussack* on the head and spine." Besides the ordinary Chaplain's week-day duties,—Visitation of Hospitals, School teaching, Soldier's Chapel Services and so forth, the Clergyman of a large station like Meerut was frequently summoned by day and night to perform his spiritual duties in sudden cases of cholera as well as for these fatally treated sunstroke sufferers.

"In 1856" he continues, "we had a severe epidemic of cholera commencing on the 30th of June and lasting to the 30th of August and again in 1861 another attack. The attack in 1856 and 1861 differing in this respect that in the former year we lost mostly men, while in the latter year, mostly women and children."

On Sundays in Meerut in 1854 during the hottest weather two parade services were held in succession, namely, at 4 and 5 A.M. The "station service" was provided in the late afternoon.

"In Meerut," says Dr. Rotton, "I regret to say we only had monthly Communion and alas! no daily Matins and Evensong."

"St. John's Church at Meerut," he adds, "was the first Chaplaincy Church built in the N.-W. P. and was consecrated by Bishop Heber [in 1824] it is a large and commodious building with a spire. Nothing more can be said for it. I tried to get Transepts, the Executive Engineer supporting the cause, but we were only snubbed for our zeal by the N.-W. P. Government." This Church, which may have been enlarged since Dr. Rotton's day now accommodates 2,000 troops.

In January 1856 Mr. Rotton welcomed his Senior Colleague in the work of his huge parish, Mr. T. C. Smyth. The Chaplains, however, were not the only Clergymen in Meerut at this time, for Dr. Rotton writes that he found there "a long established C.M.S. Mission with [a Church and] two ordained missionaries and catechists, in all of whom" he says "I thought more devotion might have benefited the holy cause so dear to our Blessed Master. Perhaps I was wrong in the thought."

Shortly after the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut, Mr. Rotton was appointed Chaplain to the Delhi Field Force and his experiences are fully narrated in his book published in London in 1858 entitled "*The Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi*." Of the actual outbreak he writes in this memoir "no disturbance was reported until late in the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th of May. The first intimation that I received of the outbreak was from a female servant, who came to my wife, and said to her with very anxious and troubled looks 'O, Madam don't go to Church this afternoon.' The carriage was then at the door, ready to take us to Church, and the service was appointed to commence in a quarter of an hour from the time this speech was made. Hearing this singular request addressed to my wife, I naturally enough inquired 'why should not Madam go to Church, this evening?' The servant

replied, 'Because there will be fight,' I asked, 'Who will fight?' The woman answered, 'The Sepoys.'"

Of course, I could not give any credence to such a statement. I had to preach in the evening and had been in my study all day long in course of preparation. There was nothing for me now to do but to hasten to Church and to quiet my wife's fears. I consented to both the children accompanying us in the carriage, together with this faithful servant who was to take charge of them in the Church compound, while Divine Service was being solemnized. This was the only precaution I felt it necessary to take, in connection with our servant's statement: as to weapons, fire-arms, or sword or anything more effective than a walking cane, the same I used at Cambridge, I had none; nor did I much fear that during my whole service in India, I should ever want more, either for the protection of myself or family, I was soon convinced, however, that there was some credit due to the servant's statement. The sounds of musketry, and the pillars of smoke ascending into the air, and proceeding from the burning bungalows, or houses, in the native lines of cantonment forced upon me the conviction that mischief had already commenced. By and by, I heard the Rifle bugles sound the alarm and assembly. The cantonment was now evidently in motion—troops were assembling, and people congregating, the Church parade dispersed, and was converted into a general assembly of troops of the three arms. Amid all this energy, there was one thing which has apparently impressed every one—the delay in leading the troops from the grand parade ground to the scene of mutiny and bloodshed. The native soldiery, and the fellows of baser sort in the bazaars, had ample time to commit the greatest outrages, in consequence of this simple fact."

On the 27th of May Mr. Rotton left his wife and family at Meerut and departed with the small detachment of troops from the station, to join the force which was to besiege Delhi, he says—

"After three nights' marching we reached Ghazeeoddeen-nuggur, a small but very strongly-fortified position on the river Hindun, near which we took up our encampment. It

was now the 30th of May. The hot winds were prevailing and both man and beast in camp were feeling their power and intensity. The presence of an enemy nearer to us than Delhi, which was a distance of some nine or ten miles, never occurred to any one. Indeed why should such a thought occur when our vedettes were on the look out and *reported* nothing? Numbers of our officers, likewise, led by curiosity, had either strolled on foot or ridden on horseback, soon after our arrival, in the immediate vicinity of the camp ground, and saw nothing? No wonder, then, we should imagine ourselves out of harm's reach; at any rate for the present. The day was passed as weary men, I presume, generally pass a hot day in camp, in the plains of India—in conversation and in sleep. It was nearing four o'clock when the vedette rode in, and announced the fact that we were about to be attacked. The news took us by surprise, and the bugles of the British camp had barely time to call to arms, when the enemy's artillery opened upon us. The Rifles had scarcely formed, when an eighteen-pounder shot came bounding into camp. This shot took off one leg of each of two native palkee-bearers, who were sitting at the tent door of the Carabineer's Hospital." Then ensued a brief but fierce engagement in which the 700 Englishmen put to flight the disciplined army of more than seven times their number by which they had been attacked, and captured their five guns and also cars full of entrenching tools. A graphic account of this action is given in Mr. Rotton's book.

The next day, 31st May, 1857 was Whitsunday. There was no Church parade. The early hours were occupied in burying the dead. Mr. Rotton says, "A babool tree, a little in the rear, and a mile stone (either the 8th, 9th or 10th from Delhi) a little above, and situated on the main road between Meerut and Delhi mark the spot."

At mid-day that Sunday the little force was again attacked by the mutineers who again were routed, but the excessive fatigue of our troops prevented them from following up the retreating enemy.

"Only those present on the occasion" writes Mr. Rotton, "can form any idea of the power of the rays of the sun during the day. They smote like the fiery blasts of the furnace. The

sufferings of the soldiers must have been something terrible, and beyond anything which they had ever experienced, in or out of India, before.....Amid all this heat the fight was at its very fiercest. Moreover it continued very long. Some were sunstricken, some slain, and a few, whose cruel thirst induced them to slake it in water provided by the enemy, in vessels [left in the adjacent village] containing strong corrosive poison, were thus deprived of life."

In this part of his book Mr. Rotton pays an enthusiastic tribute to the gallantry of the 60th Royal Rifles in the course of which he says, "whether as a parent or as a Christian Minister, without a moment's misgiving I would say, if a son of mine *must* be and *will* be a soldier, I hope he may have the good fortune to learn his profession, and continuously exercise it too, in no other regiment than the 60th Royal Rifles."

At 1 A.M. on Monday, the 8th of June, the camp at the Hindun was struck and the force marched on the mutineers' entrenched position at Badlee-ki-Serai which was attacked at dawn. Mr. Rotton gives a stirring account of the action which resulted in the total rout of the rebels and the capture of twelve guns, and all their ammunition, stores and tents. By sunset the force had encamped outside Delhi, beside the now famous Flag Staff Tower on the old sepoy parade ground. On that spot remained the headquarters of the British force until the end of September,—the very worst period of the year for life in tents anywhere in the plains of India. From these headquarters batteries were served commanding the approaches from the city, but with the smallness of the British numbers it was found impossible to advance any battery nearer than 1,500 yards of the walls and breaching was impossible.

On the 9th of June the first instalment of the Punjab native reinforcements, sent by Sir John Lawrence arrived. This was the renowned "Guides Corps." They had actually in their march covered 600 British miles in 22 days, and they appeared in camp "in perfect order and fitted for immediate service in the field." That same morning cholera first appeared in the camp.

The enemy continually issued from the city to attack the besiegers. "Nothing," writes Mr. Rotton, "could exceed the

pertinacity with which the enemy continued their attack. The earliest days of encampment before Delhi were, unquestionably, the most trying and harassing to our troops. The poor fellows had no proper rest by night, the smallness of the force requiring so many for the ordinary picquets, and admitting scarcely of any relief for any length of time together; while those who were in camp often slept under arms, not knowing the moment when their services might be urgently required. At first it was literally nothing but fighting by day, and watching and expecting to renew the conflict by night, and in the discharge of both duties you could not fail, from frequent visits to the picquets, to recognise the same hands, everlastingly employed in the same work.

We came to besiege Delhi, but we very soon learnt that, in reality, *we* were the besieged, and the mutineers the besiegers."

Mr. Rotton gives very full accounts of these attacks day-by-day and of the British schemes and attempts as well. He describes the hospitals, the refugees who kept arriving in camp from distant districts, the arrivals too of occasional small reinforcements. Divine service in three centres was performed regularly every Sunday and the sick and dying (for cholera grew worse and worse) were assiduously ministered to. The rains broke on the 19th of June and thence onward the miseries of the low-lying camp were increased ten fold. The enemy cut off communication with Meerut and, as may well be imagined, the anxieties of those who like Mr. Rotton had left their families there, were miserably increased. A veritable plague of flies settled down upon the camp which so poisoned the food that most men suffered attacks of nausea after meals.

The incessant labours accompanied by harassing anxiety called for occasional relaxation and Mr. Rotton apparently during the long course of the siege took two "holidays" which he thus describes:—

"The 23rd of July was one of our stormy days. The enemy renewed the conflict in a very earnest and determined manner. Their attack began about seven in the morning, and was mainly directed against the picquet in the neighbourhood of Sir Theophilus Metcalf's house, which inclined to our left

flank. I remember this day very well, I had my hospitals as usual to visit; but the work had become a positive burden. I could not set about it with any alacrity or goodwill; so after making one or two ineffectual attempts to subdue my disinclination and put my shoulder fairly to the wheel, I gave up the task in despair, and promised myself, as far as I really could do so, a holiday. The fact was, I had been overburdened with duty during the past week, and while my physical health was far from good, I was also anxious in mind, on account of the letters received from Meerut. Instead of working, I freely confess I went up that I might see the battle. The point which I selected for observation was the top of the Flag Staff Tower. From this elevation I could see everything with complete satisfaction to myself, and yet without personal danger. There I stood a very long while, now depending upon one friend for a telescope to lengthen my sight, and now under obligations to another for the loan of a binocular to make out the more distant operations of the engagement. Upon one occasion only during my stay here, did the enemy seem disposed to interfere with our sight seeing. We were all intent on what was passing before us, when the outlook exclaimed 'Look out.' His eye had detected the enemy's intended mischief. They fired a shell from a piece of ordnance which commanded the Flag Staff Tower. No sooner was the exclamation heard, than every looker on, the instructed and uninstructed alike, instinctively crouched beneath the parapet upon which we had been a moment before leaning. The shell fell far short of our position and in bursting killed a camel near the spot where it fell; this was all the mischief that it did. The enemy at that period rarely condescended to expend ammunition on the picquet at the Flag Staff Tower, so that you might generally watch from thence without fear of harm."

The next account presents a startling example of the indifference to danger which familiarity with it is known to breed—Mr. Rotton writes—

"I accompanied two friends to our picquets at Subzi-Mundi, in order to see a little of what was passing there.

When approaching the place we could scarcely advance ten yards without being obliged either to bob our heads to

avoid coming in contact with round shot, or to lie prostrate on the ground to escape being wounded by shell : besides musketry shot came around us both thick and fast.

I saw a rifleman behind a breast work struck to the heart, after having himself shot a mutinous sepoy only a moment before. My after-thoughts respecting this needless exposure of ourselves made me ashamed of my conduct.

We proceeded, as we thought, on a jaunt of pleasure, which might have put us not only to pain, but even cost us our lives, without affording us the gratification of being able to say, 'we were in the path of duty.'

There was a constant suspicion of treachery on the part of some of the sepoys within the British lines. And on several occasions traitors had been discovered and "destroyed." The following is one of the examples of this given by Mr. Rotton:—"Some fresh evidences of treachery" he writes: "within the camp were detected on Sunday, the 16th August. It appeared upon examination that the ordnance charges were found to have been tampered with, to such an extent that our artillery practice could not be depended upon; sometimes our guns carried too far, while at others the shot fell very short of the proper range. Moreover, the gun would sometimes flash as often as three or four times, and once I heard of a piece of artillery flashing as many as seven times, before it would discharge. We were at a loss to account for this phenomenon; but at length the discovery was made. Some of the gun lascars had been sympathising with the rebels, and in consequence of this sympathy, they had been altering the charges so as to make our fire harmless; they had also filled the vent of the guns with powdered glass: by this last means, the enemy having the benefit of the signal flash, had ample time to escape, while, when rapid fire on our part was necessary, our operations were hampered and delayed, and our plans often completely frustrated.

Two of the lascars were seized and brought to trial. Their guilt was fully established, and without further delay they were disposed of by the rope of the common hangman, in spite of the sacredness of the day. The more summary the justice, the more the impression is made on the native

mind: it is your tedious processes in the civil courts, and liberty of appeal from one seat of legal administration to another, which the *mild* Hindoo and the blood thirsty Mohamedan alike smile at in scorn.

The day passed off quietly, with these exceptions; and to those off duty, and who felt so disposed, ample opportunities were vouchsafed to pass the Sabbath in serious contemplation, and solemn and earnest prayer. My excellent colleague, the Rev. F. W. Ellis, who had joined only a few days previously, kindly relieved me of my morning sermon before the headquarters camp. The special form of prayer from the Venerable Archdeacon Pratt, directed to be employed during the continuance of the present troubles, was used for the first time on that day."

The siege dragged on its weary length, with varying fortune on either side, but by the end of August despite disappointments, checks, casualties and cholera "the spirits of the camp" writes Mr. Rotton, in "anticipation of coming events strengthened day-by-day. The happy countenances of officers and men, the games in camp, and the weekly practise of the regimental bands, were among the best evidence of this fact."

The coming events were the speedy arrival of fresh British reinforcements with a tolerably heavy siege train. With this a sustained assault upon the rebellious city was early begun and by Saturday morning, September 12th, all our artillery: fifty guns and mortars, was engaged in pouring an incessant hail of shot and shell upon the walls and bastions of Delhi. "From Saturday until Monday morning" writes Mr. Rotton, "when we stormed and took the ramparts of Delhi, roll after roll of ordnance thunder, in a succession almost momentary fell with electric effect upon the ear." In speaking of the terrific splendour of a living shell traversing the air at night he says, "This sight will detain you, in spite of weariness and want of sleep, and hold you for the hour together, gazing in wonderment and admiration not unmixed with awe.

That Sunday the usual services of divine worship were held despite the roar of the siege and were very well attended, and the Holy Communion was administered.

The city was entered by the breaches in its ramparts and by the Cashmere gate on the 14th and after a week's fighting within the walls "a royal salute at sunrise proclaimed that Delhi was once more a dependency of the British crown." On Sunday, the 27th of September, a public thanksgiving for the victory was offered by Mr. Rotton and his devoted colleague, the Rev. F. W. Ellis, in the presence of the troops in the "Dewan Khas"—or council chamber of the Imperial Palace.

On the evening of Monday, the 28th, Mr. Rotton obtained a week's leave of absence and he says, "I started for Meerut to see my wife and children, after an absence of four as critical months as any ever passed by the English in India."

Returning from leave, Mr. Rotton continued for some months longer at Delhi as chaplain to the garrison until on being relieved he was enabled to revert to his duties at Meerut.

Mr. Rotton received, of course, the Mutiny Medal with the clasp for the siege.

In 1862 he was transferred to the Punjab Hill station of Kussowlie, where the present font and the curiously designed and beautiful altar exist as monuments of his piety. Of this charge he writes—

"My duties there were divided between Kussowlie and the Lawrence Military Asylum; the principal of which died suddenly on 1st January 1863 and from that date I was connected with the institution until I left in 1864 for Umballa. The Local Government was desirous to make me principal, but the Government of India ruled I could not hold it with a chaplaincy nor without forfeiting my pension and rights to membership with the Bengal Military and Orphan Funds. These sacrifices I could not afford to make and begin Indian life *de novo*, with my pension almost due. The chaplains of my date earned their pensions after 15 years of service in India."

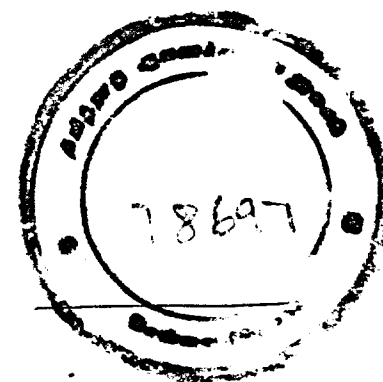
In 1874 Bishop Cotton sent him to Umballa where he established the daily offices and a weekly and Holy day celebration of the Holy Communion.

"At Umballa" he writes, "The S. P. G. had in the Sudder Bazaar a catechist who confined himself to preaching on Sundays in the Mission Compound. I gathered for them some 12,000

rupees and built them an unpretentious chapel, and induced Bishop Milman to ordain a country-born, successful retired merchant to take an interest in and minister to the converted and unconverted natives of the Bazaar. I raised subscriptions monthly in support of the cause."

"I left that station" he concludes, "and Church, heart-broken in consequence of the cruel wrench I experienced by my cruel compulsory retirement, contrary to my original covenant with the H. E. I. C. There I had to encounter three epidemics of cholera and one of scarlatina, the first I knew of that disease, in the last year of my service." In 1868 he received the degree of D.D. from Trinity College, Dublin. On the 22nd of January 1876 Dr. Rotton retired and returned home, where he undertook the curacy of Soulderne in the Oxford Diocese; this he resigned in 1890. In 1879 he received the degree of LL.D. from his own University of Cambridge.

H. B. HYDE.



Art. VI.—NOTES ON THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

THOSE who are interested in the advancement of scientific research in India, will be glad to notice that the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, which, with the Indian Museum of that city, form the two main centres of zoological study in this country, are being gradually developed. Among the recent improvements effected in the Gardens, may be mentioned the expansion of its area towards the western boundary. A large strip of land has been acquired from the grounds of the Kidderpore Orphanage and tacked on to these beautiful Gardens. On this newly-added land, several large houses for the accommodation of mammals and birds have been and are being built.

A few years ago, a hot controversy took place in England regarding the alleged inhuman treatment of animals "caged, cribbed, and confined" in the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's Park, London. The advocates of the movement for the humane treatment of animals specifically charged the Zoological Society of London with wilfully keeping the animals, in their menagerie, confined in small and stuffy rooms or cages, or lodged amidst surroundings which were quite unsuited to their life in a state of nature. One of these advocates went so far as to say that the Zoological Gardens at Antwerp was a model institution of its kind and, as regards the good management thereof and the satisfactory housing of animals therein, could give points to its sister institution in London. He stated that, in the Antwerp Gardens, the dumb creatures were lodged in lofty and airy cages furnished with appurtenances contributing to the comfort of their inmates, or kept in breezy paddocks planted out with shady trees or provided with artificial rockeries where the mammals had free scope for the display of their habits in a state of nature. The houses which have been and are being erected in the newly-added area of the Calcutta Gardens, and

those structures that have been built in the older part thereof, leave nothing to be desired on the score of their suitability and would disarm the criticism of any advocate of the humanitarian movement, who felt inclined to charge the authorities of the Calcutta Zoo with cruel inhumane treatment of animals under their charge.

Among the cages built on the newly-added area may be mentioned the lofty house for the accommodation of the larger *Raptors* or Birds of Prey. It is quite roomy and high and affords these denizens of lofty and inaccessible mountains and hills ample scope for preening their wings and taking higher flights. Among the structures on the old area may be mentioned the new Sarnamoyi House which is quite admirable in its way and quite suited to the habits of the many Cockatoos, Macaws, Parrots, and other smaller birds from the Himalayan regions and submontane tracts of India. To most of the older houses, outer annexes, provided with trees, shrubs, rockeries and little reservoirs of water, have been attached, which enable their dumb occupants to give free play to their natural habits and, thereby, conduce to their health and prolonged life in a state of captivity.

Another useful feature of recent introduction, which I noticed in the course of a visit to the Calcutta Gardens on Monday, the 14th August 1905, is that short notes describing the habits and habitats of many of the important mammals and birds have been recorded on the labels affixed to their cages. This is a move in the right direction, as it enables the ordinary visitor, who is not well up in Natural History, to learn something worth knowing about the animal or bird which he is inspecting. The value of these Gardens as an important factor in the scientific education of the people has, thereby, been enhanced.

NOVELTIES.

Among the animals exhibited at the Calcutta Zoo on the 14th August 1905, are the following which I found to be altogether new to the collection:—

In the high sentry-box cage to the south of the Refreshment Rooms, is a specimen of the Particolored Flying Squirrel

(*Sciuropterus alboniger*, Hodgson), which lives, at an altitude of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, in the Himalayas from Nepal eastwards, and also in the hills south of Assam. It is also found in Manipur, Yunnan, and Siam. The upper surface of its body is covered with fur of a greyish brown color, varying to rufous brown. The lower surface of its body is white. Its feet are of a dark brown color, while its tail is brown. The young specimens of this rodent are of a black color on the upper parts, and white on the under surface. Its ears are large but thinly clad without pencils at the base. The tail is flat and distinctly distichous. The fur on the under surface of its body is short. An adult specimen of this beautiful creature measures 11 inches in length.

In the same cage are to be found examples from the Andaman Islands, of that curious crustacean—the Cocoanut Thief or the Robber Crab (*Birgus latrans*) which has the habit of climbing up cocoanut trees and clawing off and bringing down the big fruits thereof. The habits of this crab have been fully described by Professor V. Ball in his interesting work entitled *Jungle Life in India*.

In the Rodent's House close by, are exhibited specimens of the following animals:—The Common Hare Wallaby (*Lagorchetes leporoides*) and the Orange-bellied Squirrel (*Sciurus gordonii*, Anderson). The former is a marsupial or pouch-bearing animal and is a handsome little creature. Its forelegs are black; and its muzzle is hairy. They resemble their namesakes—the hares—both in their fondness for lying in a "form" and also in their fatal habit, possessed to some degree by all members of the Kangaroo family, of doubling when chased. This species lives in Victoria and New South Wales. There are two other congeners of this pretty little animal, namely, *L. hirsutus* and *L. conspicillatus*, both of which are found in Western Australia.

The squirrel is from Burma. This beautiful animal has the upper surface of its body of a brown or olive color, while its under parts are furriginous, sometimes pale and sometimes deep. A distinct middle line runs along the breast and abdomen. Its throat and foreneck are of a speckled olive color; but sometimes they are furriginous. Its tail is annulated

the tip thereof being rufous or white. Sometimes there is a black bar between the annulated part and the rufous or white tip. Nothing is known about its habits in a state of nature.

In the Schwendler House are several specimens of the Orange-headed Parrot (*Conuropsis carolinus*) which is found in the United States on the Mississippi River. It is a beautiful bird, and has its head and neck of a bright orange color, while the rest of its plumage is green.

We now proceed to the Duck House to the west of the Schwendler House, and find therein several specimens of the somewhat rare White-winged Wood Duck (*Asarcornis scutulatus*, Salvadori). This bird is known to the natives of Assam as *Deo-haus*. It is a shy resident bird and generally frequents sluggish streams and swamps in thick forests. It is found in Assam, Tenasserim, the Malayan Peninsula, and Java. An adult male of this species measures 32 inches; and a female 29 inches. The head and neck of this species are white, speckled with black, more thickly on the crown and hind neck. Its lower neck is blackish brown, glossed with green all round. Its back, scapulars, rump, tail, and primaries are olive brown; the bend of the wing and upper and under wing coverts are white. The greater secondary coverts are blue-grey, broadly tipped with black; the secondaries are blue-grey on outer webs; the tertiaries brown; the lower parts brown tinged with rusty red. Its upper mandible is dusky orange-red, marked with black at base and tip; the lower mandible pale orange-yellow blotched with black along the sides; the nail at the tip of its beak is of a dusky pink color; its irides are crimson; while the legs and feet are orange-yellow. Nothing is known of its breeding habits in a state of nature.

We, then, proceed to the Murshidabad House, where we find, in one of the wall-cages, specimens of the Andaman Green Pigeon (*Osmotreron chloroptera*, Blyth), which, as its name indicates, is found in the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands. It measures about 12½ inches in length. The sides of its head and neck, its chin, and throat, are of a greenish-yellow color; the upper part of the neck is green and the crown and nape are French-gray. The back scapulars, and all the smaller wing

coverts are of a chestnut color; the lower back and upper tail-coverts are more yellow-green than the middle tail feathers. The under surface of its body is of a light yellowish green, to the lower abdomen, the feathers of which and of the lower tail-coverts are of a dark-green color with yellowish-white tips edged with yellow.

In the south-eastern wall-cage of this House is a specimen of the Jumbo Fruit-Pigeon (*Philopus jumbo*). The upper parts of its body and the crown of its head are green, while the sides of the head are crimson. The breast is whitish green, on which, below the throat, is a circular patch of a light crimson color.

In the central compartment is one of the jewels of the collection, namely, a specimen of the extremely beautiful Red Bird of Paradise (*Paradisea rubra*, Vieillot), which inhabits the island of Waigion and for which the Committee of the Zoological Gardens and the Calcutta public are indebted to the liberality of Sir Maharaja Jyotindra Mohan Tagore, K. C. S. I. This gorgeously colored bird measures about 13 to 14 inches in length. "The side plumes, instead of being yellow, are rich crimson, and only extend about 3 or 4 inches beyond the end of the tail; they are somewhat rigid, and the ends are curved downwards and inwards, and are tipped with white. The two middle tail feathers, instead of being simply elongated and deprived of their webs, are transformed into stiff black ribands, a quarter of an inch wide, but curved like a split quill, and resembling their half cylinders of horn or whalebone. They are about 22 inches long, and form the most conspicuous and extraordinary feature of the species. The rich metallic green color of the throat extends only the front half of the head to behind the eyes, and on the forehead forms a little double crest of scaly feathers, which adds much to the vivacity of the bird's aspect. The bill is gamboge yellow, and the iris blackish olive. The female of the species is of a tolerably uniform coffee-brown color, but has a blackish head, and the nape, neck, and shoulders yellow." Mr. A. R. Wallace, who has given the above description of the Red Bird of Paradise in his delightful account of travels in the Malay Archipelago, says that in a state of captivity, this bird would eat any number of grasshoppers and drink plenty of water. On the first day of its life

inside the cage, it would hop from one perch to another, and cling on the top and sides of its cage, and would rarely rest a while till night. On the second day, it would remain more quietly, but would partake of its food as freely as before; and on the third day, it would be found lying dead, at the bottom of the cage. Some birds would take boiled rice, fruit and insects, but none would live more than three days in captivity.

Next we go to the Sarnamayi's House, where, in one of the compartments, we find specimens of the extremely handsome Gold-crested Myna (*Ambeliceps coronatus*, Blyth), which lives in Cachar, Manipur, Lower Pegu, and Tenasserim from Moulmein to Tavoy. Its forehead, the crown of its head, chin and throat are of a bright yellow color. With the above exceptions, the whole of its plumage is of a glossy black color. Its bill is pale orange, iris dark brown, and legs dull orange. This remarkable myna is the only species known of this genus.

Then we find our way to the new Birds of Prey House erected on the newly-added area to the west of the Gardens. In one of its compartments we find a pair of the rare Hodgson's Hawk-Eagle (*Spizaetus nepalensis*, Hodgson). The males of this bird are 27.5 inches in length; while the females measure 29 inches. This splendid Eagle haunts the forest-clad heights of the Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan and visits the plains of Northern India only during the cold weather. It feeds on pheasants and other game-birds, and on hares and other small mammals. It breeds in the Himalayas from January to early May and lays two eggs of a greenish white color. It is known to the Lepchas under the name of Kandapanthiong. The upper parts of this bird are of a dark-brown color; the crown, crest feathers, the sides of the head and the broad cheek-stripes are black; the ear coverts are streaked with brown; the rump and upper tail-coverts are marked with brown and white bars; the feathers of the tail are barred with alternate stripes of black and brownish gray; the chin and throat are white with a broad black band down the middle and bordered by black on each side; foreneck light brown with large black drops; the rest of the plumage of the lower parts is brown.

We then go to the Kangaroo House in the south-eastern corner of the Gardens, where, in one of the paddocks, we find specimens of the Rufous-necked Wallaby (*Halmaturus ruficollis*, Desm.), which are found in New South Wales, Australia. These animals have somewhat lighter colored fur than the larger Kangaroos and Wallaroos and possess hairless muzzles. It derives its name from the fur of its neck being tinged with a reddish hue.

Synoptical list of mammals and birds described in this paper.

Class Mammalia.

Order Rodentia.

Family Sciuridæ.

Genus Sciurus.

1. *Sciurus gordonii*, Anderson.

Hab. Burma.

Genus Sciuropterus.

2. *Sciuropterus alboniger*, Hodgson.

Hab. The Himalayas from Nepal eastwards.

Order Marsupialia.

Family Macropodidæ.

Genus Halmaturus.

3. *Halmaturus ruficollis*, Desm.

Hab. New South Wales.

Genus Lagorchetes.

4. *Lagorchetes leporoides*.

Hab. Victoria, New South Wales.

Class Aves.

Order Passeres.

Family Sturnidæ.

Genus Ambeliceps.

1. *Ambeliceps coronatus*, Blyth.

Hab. Cachar, Manipur, Lower Pegu, Tenasserim.

Order Columbæ.

Family Columbidae.

Genus Osmotreron.

2. *Osmotreron chloroptera*, Blyth.

Hab. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Family Carpophagidæ.

Genus Ptilopus.

3. *Ptilopus Jumbo*.

Hab. The Indian Archipelago.

Family Paradisiidæ.

Genus Paradisea.

4. *Paradisea rubra*, Vieillot.

Hab. The Island of Waigion.

Order Psittaci.

Family Psittacidæ.

Genus Conuropsis.

5. *Conuropsis carolinus*.

Hab. The United States to the Mississippi River.

Order Accipitres.

Family Falconidæ.

Genus Spizaetus.

6. *Spizaetus nepalensis*, Hodgson.

Hab. The Himalayas from Kashmir to Bhutan.

Order Auseres.

Family Anatidæ.

Genus Asarcornis.

7. *Asarcornis scutulatus*, Salvadori.

Hab. Assam, Tenasserim, Malay Peninsula, Java.

DESIDERATA.

One of the present defects of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens is the want of a Refreshment Room for Indian visitors. A considerable portion of the visitors consists of native gentlemen mostly of the middle class. They and their children visit the Gardens generally during the forenoon and, after perambulating therein, often get thirsty. But, for want of a Refreshment Stall, they and especially their youngsters experience much hardship. Formerly, there was such a stall in the north-western corner of the Gardens, where wholesome sweetmeats and cold drinks could be purchased by the Indian visitors. But it has been abolished for reasons not known to the public at large. In view of the crying need for such a stall, the Committee of Management of the Calcutta Zoo will confer a real

obligation on the Indian public by taking effective measures for the opening of this much-needed restaurant.

Visitors to the Zoo will learn from the note recorded on the label on the Rhinoceros enclosure that the Great One-horned Rhinoceros (*Rhe unicornis*) is now found only in certain parts of the Nepal Terai and in some jungly tracts of Assam, whereas a few decades ago these huge pachyderms could be found in the forests of Purnea. Certainly one of the causes which is resulting in their decrease and their retreat northwards is the deforestation of those parts of the country which were formerly frequented by them. But another potent cause of their decrease is that a fair number of them annually fall victims to the rifle of European sportsmen. It is apprehended that this interesting animal will become extinct like the dodo at no distant date. It is, therefore, high time that *some* effective measures should be taken for the preservation, in the interests of science, of this animal from further decimation. One of the objects for which the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were presumably established is the acclimatization and preservation of beasts and birds. It, therefore, behoves the Managing Committee of the Calcutta Zoo to bring the matter to the notice of the Government to induce it to pass an Act, on the lines of the 'Elephants' Preservation Act, for preventing the further destruction of the Indian rhinoceri.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

Art. VII.—THE FOLK LORE OF THE PSALMS.

I.—THE GRADUAL PSALMS.

II.—THE PSALMS OF IMPRECATION.

Their Title.—In the Chaldee Targum (for the sake of the general reader it will be convenient to say that the Targum version of Scripture, is, more or less, of a paraphrastic kind. It was a Targum that Ezra and his companions read, which "gave the sense," the very word in Hebrew of the Book of the Law of God. Nehemiah viii. 8),—in that Version every single one of the gradual Psalms is preceded by this singular enlargement, and paraphrase of its Hebrew title:—"A song which was said upon the steps of the abyss."

What is "the abyss" will be asked? The phrase refers to a strange legend, which, though it has no critical value, is at least curious from its very strangeness. The story occurs in that one of the two parts of the Talmud known as the Genow, which is in no form accessible to the English reader. I, therefore, translate it as standing there:—"At the time that David was excavating the foundation of the Temple, the deep (that is to say, the water under the earth) overflowed, and wished to destroy the world, David then said, 'Who is there that knoweth whither it is permitted to write the name of Jehovah upon a tile, and cast it into the deep to quiet it?' But there was no one who said a word. David then said, 'Whoever is capable of deciding it, and does not do so, shall be hanged by his neck.' Ahithophel accordingly wrought the matter in his mind, and applied the *à fortiori* argument. To make peace betwixt a man and his (suspected) wife, the Law says, 'My name, which must be written with sanctity, must be blotted out with the water.' (Numbers v. 23.) To cause peace for the whole world, then, how much more so? He said, therefore, to him, 'It is permitted to write the Name of JEHOVAH and to do as proposed.' He then wrote the Name of JEHOVAH upon a tile, and cast it into the deep (abyss). The deep, thereupon, receded 16,000 cubits. When he saw that the water sank deep into the earth, he said, 'It is

better for the earth, that the water should rise higher, for it imparts moisture to the earth. He, therefore, said the fifteen gradual Psalms, and made the water ascend 15,000 cubits, and caused it to remain at a thousand cubits from the earth. The gradual Psalms themselves are, it may be observed, supposed to contain some expressions referable to this wonderful story of the Talmud. When, for instance, David found the waters gushing out, he was in great distress. It is this distress that he reports in the very first words, with which he opens the group of gradual Psalms.

"In my distress," I cried unto the LORD (Ps. ccx. 1). He refers to it again in these Psalms under the image. "Then the waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul." (Ps. cxxiv. 4)*

Their Title.—The name *Shir Haunna chalotu*, "Song of Ascents," prefixed to these fifteen Psalms, has given rise to much controversy! Different opinions may be thus stated:—

I. The ancients understood it to relate to the steps of the Temple, of this supposition we shall speak hereafter.

II. Luther, whom Thobuck is inclined to follow, renders it a song in the higher choir, intimating that they should be sung from an elevated position, or as Patrick says, "in an elevated voice."

III. Junius and Tremellius would translate it "Song of Excellencies" or "Excellent Song."

IV. Gesenius with De Wette consider that this name refers to a particular rhythm in which the sense ascends in a rhythming gradation, but as this barely appears in one Psalm (cxxi.) the facts will scarcely support the hypothesis.

V. The more modern opinion is that (notwithstanding four of them being composed by David, and one by Solomon) it signifies Song of the Ascents (*αβαβάρις*), or "Pilgrim's Song," being composed for or sung by the people during their journeys to Jerusalem, whether on their return from the Babylonian captivity, or as they stately repaired to their national solemnities. The first of these hypothesis, though in least repute, I am inclined to prefer.

* *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 9.

The title in Chaldee is "A Song sung upon the Steps of the Abyss; the LXX superscription 'Ὠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν' and the Vulgate, Carmen Graduum, Song of the Steps."

In accordance with which the Jewish writers state that these Psalms were sung on the fifteen steps leading from the Atrium Israelis to the Court of the women. In the Apocryphal book of the "Birth of Mary" translated by Archbishop Wake, which is to be found in the works of S. Jerome, and which is attributed to S. Matthew there is an account of a miracle in the early history of the Virgin Mary, in which it is said, "And there were about the temple, according to the fifteen Psalms of Degrees, fifteen stairs to ascend." For the temple being built on a mountain, the altar of burnt offering, which was without could not be come near but by stairs. It goes on to state how the infant Mary miraculously walked up these stairs. In the account of the same miracle in the Protevangelion, ascribed to S. James, it is related how the priest placed her (the infant) upon the third *step of the altar*.

From this comparison, it would appear, that the "stairs about the temple" were synonymous with the "steps of the altar."

I would, therefore, suggest for the consideration of those better acquainted with the subject that these Psalms were adopted to be sung (not *on* the steps as some think, but) as a kind of introit while the priests ascended the steps of the altar. To show their adaptation for this purpose, it may be worth remarking that they are all, except cxxxii, introits in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.*

Their Headings: (1) The Song of the Start, (2) A Song by the Way, (3) The Song of the Arrival, (4) The Song of the Suppliant, (5) A Song of the Redemption, (6) A Song of the Return, (7) A Song of the Free for the Bound, (8) A Song of the Home and the City, (9) The Song of the Home, (10) The Song of the Farm, (11) De Profundis, (12) A Song of Humility, (13) The Song of the Ark, (14) A Song of Brotherly Love (15) A Song of the Night Watch.†

* *Notes and Queries*, Vol. IX., I Series, p. 377.

† *The Pilgrim Psalms* by S. Cox.

The Term Gradual.—It may be well to say at once, by way of caution to the unwary, that the term *gradual*, as applied to this group of Psalms, must be distinguished from the same term as applied also to a Psalm in the Eucharistic office of the Christian Church. The Psalm (or portion of a Psalm) that was, and is still in the Western Church, outside the English Communion, sung immediately before the recitation of the gospel, is called the gradual, because it is sung on the steps (*gradus*) to the pulpit or ambon, from which the recitation of the gospel takes place.

The term *gradual*, however, in this sense belongs not to any particular group of Psalms, but is applied promiscuously to any Psalm which the Office Book might have appointed for the service in question.*

Analysis of each Psalm.—Origen believes they came to be used later by the caravans of Hebrew pilgrims going up to Jerusalem at the three yearly festivals, and so explained, a remarkable order is manifest in them.

Ps. cxx. expresses weariness of heathen companionship and surroundings.

Ps. cxxi. The first sight of the mountain girdle of Palestine by the pilgrim now fairly on his way and trusting in GOD to keep him safely on his road.

Ps. cxxii. The concourse of pilgrims, as every cross road send its single travellers to swell the great caravan of the main highway.

Ps. cxxiii. A prayer in peril of an attack by banditti.

Ps. cxxiv. Thanksgiving for deliverance from that danger.

Ps. cxxv. The first sight of the mountains round about Jerusalem.

Ps. cxxvi. Happy and peaceful talk with sympathizing hosts, sheltering and feeding their fellow-countrymen.

Ps. cxxvii. brings them in sight of the peaceful city itself, and therewith recalls how it was once compassed by war as a punishment, for neglecting its keeper, the true Builder of the glorious House, the one sure watchman of its formidable walls.

* *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 1.

Ps. cxxviii. is the greeting of the citizens who come out of the houses to meet and welcome the approaching pilgrims.

Ps. cxxix. is the thankful expression of security uttered by those who are now safe within the fortifications.

Ps. cxxx. brings them in sight of the temple and breathes mingled tones of penitence, longing and hope, uttered from the valley "out of the deep," as the pilgrims prepare to ascend Mount Moriah.

Ps. cxxxi. is the hush of reverence on near approach to GOD'S House of Prayer.

Ps. cxxxii. brings the pilgrims in full view of its pomp and beauty, which causes them to break out into eager words of praise and blessing, recalling the memory of David's zeal for the Tabernacle.

Ps. cxxxiii. is caused by the sight of the anointed priests, visible on the steps, and in the outer court.

Ps. cxxxiv. brings the happy pilgrims within the sacred precincts, and is their greeting to the priests whom they had seen at a little distance just before, while the closing words of all being the priestly benediction uttered upon the travellers, fitly end the pilgrimage, and are the final reply to the first utterance of the series, "When I was in trouble, I called upon the LORD," answered by "The LORD that made heaven and earth, bless thee out of Sion."

An old Jewish comment on this Jacob's ladder of prayer and praise is that each Psalm of the series is a "Song on the steps on which GOD leads the righteous to a happy hereafter." The great Carmelite expositor alleges that the fifteen Psalms were divided by the Jews into three portions of five, with prayers intercalated, much as the Gregorian division of Matins into three Nocturnes; and that each of the three grades of advance in the spiritual life is betokened by each quinary; the beginners, the progressors, and the perfect; or in other terms those who are severally in the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive way. And thus it will be noticed that in Psalms cxx.-cxxxiv., there is constant reference to trouble and danger; in cxx.-cxxxix., to confidence in GOD; in cxxx.-cxxxiv., to direct communion with Him His house.

And a later commentator (Genebardus) defines the fifteen degrees of going up out of the valley of weeping to the presence of GOD, to be (1) affliction, (2) looking to GOD, (3) joy in communion, (4) invocation, (5) thanksgiving, (6) confidence, (7) patient waiting for deliverance, (8) GOD'S grace and favour, (9) fear of the LORD, (10) Martyrdom, (11) hatred of sins, (12) humility, (13) desire for the coming of CHRIST, (14) concord and charity, (15) constant blessing of GOD.

The gradual Psalms are called by the Greek Church, Proskyrria, from the opening words in the lxx. version of Psalm cxx. and they are said, all but the last, at Vespers, in the fifteen weeks before Christmas, Ps. cxxxvi. being substituted for Ps. cxxxiv., already occurring in Nocturnes, and they are also used on week days in Lent. In the West, they were anciently recited daily throughout Lent, but are now restricted to the Wednesdays of that season, and appointed to be said in choir before Matins. They are broken up into three quinaries, with intervening versicle and prayers. *

Their Use in the Jewish Church.—The Hebrew ritual employs the group of Gradual Psalms upon two occasions, which show that in the national mind, they were especially associated with protection from excessive rains. This connection is partly due to the phrase in Psalm cxxiv. 4: "The waters had overwhelmed us, the stream had flowed over our soul." The entire group of fifteen Psalms is said in the afternoon of the Sabbath during the winter months.

The reason of this usage is a tradition that the flood took place in the winter.

This same group, too, formed a prominent feature in the ceremonial practised on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles—called the festival of the Water Drawing, a festival of the very highest joy, of which the Talmud says that "he who has not seen the rejoicing at the feast of the water-drawing has seen no rejoicing in his life." On that occasion the gradual Psalms were sung, the Levites standing upon the fifteen steps which led from the Women's Court to the Court of Israel, and accompanying the song with harps and bow-instruments and

* *Sermons in a Religious House* by Dr. Neale. xvii.

cymbals and trumpets, and musical instruments without number.

Here again the reason for the use of these Psalms seems to be much the same as before.

The world, say the Hebrew sages, is judged by water. These Psalms are said as a protection against its excess. *

In Church.—The Gradual Psalms have furnished the Versicles and Responses with which nearly every office in ancient times commenced. (To convey some idea of the frequency of this use, I have compiled the following list from a Pontifical in Sarum Cathedral Library. The couplet occurs at the beginning of these offices: (here follows the Latin titles of 14 offices). "

Our help standeth in the name of the LORD,
Who hath made Heaven and Earth.

This couplet is nothing but the last verse of Psalm cxxiv. and with the ancient English Rite directs that all benedictions of things and persons should begin. With this also began the ancient Sarum Office for Confirmation, and it has survived also in the Confirmation Office of our own Prayer Book.†

Use in the Roman Catholic Church.—In the devotions of the Roman Church all Gradual Psalms are interwoven in the office of the Blessed Virgin, being mostly said under Antiphons which give a new meaning to the several Psalms.

A similar use is found in the famous arrangement of the Psalter by S. Benedict for his rule. Here also Psalms cxx.-cxxxix. are said in groups of three at Terce, Sext, and Nones, on Tuesday and on all succeeding days of the week, the rest of the Gradual Psalms occurring at Vespers or compline. ‡

Their Use in the Eastern Church.—"I can find (says Rev. S. C. Malan, at one time Prebendary of Sarum) no actual services for the Gradual Psalms, nor offices of them in the book I have. But in the Greek Church by which they are called Proskyrria (from the first word of Psalm cxx.), they are said or sung at evensong from September to Christmas. They are also said or

* *The Gradual Psalms* by Rev. H. T. Armfield.

† *The Gradual Psalms* by H. T. Armfield, p. 92.

‡ *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 99.

sung in the Roman Church during the special service for Thursday in the first week in Lent." They form, of course, he adds "one of the Kathismata" into which the Psalms are divided in consequence of Canon xvii., of the Council of Laodicea, and of Canon lxxv., of the sixth Œcumenical Council. These Kathismata obtain throughout the Greek Church, in the Russian, Georgian, etc., and also in the Armenian divisions of the Psalter.*

The Greek Church appointed these "Songs of degrees" or up-goings to be sung in the fifteen weeks before *Christmas Day*. The truth embodied in this appointment is this—that at that season the Church of GOD which is a pilgrim in the world, approaches nearer every week to Him who is the True Temple in which the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily.

Probably from a similar feeling, two of these Psalms (the 130th and 132nd) are appointed in the Sarum and Latin Use for Christmas Day.†

Office of the Gradual Psalms.—One of the most striking uses of the gradual Psalms as a whole consists in the beautifully constructed office of the Gradual Psalms which is contained in the Roman Breviary. Whether the English Rite had any similar Office I have not been able as yet to ascertain. This Office is said on all Wednesdays in Lent (the Penitential Psalms being said on Friday) unless one of the greater Festivals happen to fall then. Bona (*De Divenâ Psalmodiâ*) gives the reason for this use. "Inasmuch as it is proper that we be holier than usual on those days, we add these (gradual) Psalms to the task of our wonted service, that by them we may be admonished that an ascent, as it were by steps (graduum) to perfection in the spiritual life is prepared for us.‡

Curious rhyming abstract of these Psalms.—The Psalms of Degrees in the ancient Church, often constituted in common with the "Penitential Psalms," a vehicle of special devotion. In the "Coventry Mysteries" there is a curious rhyming abstract of this portion of the Psalter introduced

* *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 105.

† Bishop Wordworth's *Commentary*, p. 197.

‡ *The Gradual Psalms* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 95.

into one of these pious interludes. The subject of the Play is "Mary in the Temple," and among the interlocutors is a Bishop, who thus addresses the Virgin.

Come, gode Mary, come baba, I the calle,
Thi pas pratyly to this plas pretende,
Thou scalt be the dowtere of GOD eternalle,
If the fifteen grees thou may ascende;
It is meracle if thou do, now GOD the dyffende!
ffrom Babylony to hevynly Jherusalem this is the way,
Every man that thynk his lyf to amende
The fyftene psalmys in memory of this mayde say.

Maria! et sic deinceps usque ad finem quindecim psalorum.

The first degree gostly applyed
It is holy desyre with GOD to be
In trobyl to GOD I have cryed
And in sped that LORDE hath herde me.

Ad DOMINUM cum tribularer clamavi et exaudivit me
The secunde is, etc.

So on from Psalm 120 to 135 inclusive; the first two lines of the English stanza, stating the subject generally; the other two being in each case a translation of the first verse of the Psalm, the Latin being subjoined, as in the foregoing example.*

Bishop Parker's Observations.—The bearing of the various portions of this sacred Gradual is thus pointed out by a series of "Observations" prefixed in Bishop Parker's version to the 120th Psalm.

These fiftene psalmes next following,
Be songs denamd of steps or stayers
For that the quiete on them dyd sing
The people's vowe to bless by prayers.
For lucky speede in theyre affayres,
As nede and tyme as case dyd bring,
In wedlock, warr, or house begonne,
For peace for ayde, for freedom wonne.†

We may notice the following characteristics of nearly all these Psalms: sweetness and tenderness; a sad pathetic tone; brevity; an absence generally of the ordinary parallelism; and something of a quick trochaic rhythm.‡

* Hammond, p. 86.

† Hammond, p. 88.

‡ *The Speaker's Commentary*, p. 455.

II.

THE PSALMS OF IMPRECATION.

Bishop Perowne's view. But how are we to account for such prayers for vengeance at all. We find them chiefly in four Psalms, the 7th, 35th, 69th, and 109th; and the imprecations in these form a terrible climax. In the last no less than thirty anathemas have been counted. Are these the mere outbreak of passionate and unsanctified feeling, or are they the legitimate expression of a righteous indignation? Are they to be excused as being animated by the spirit of "Elias," a spirit not unholy indeed, but far removed from the gentleness and meekness of CHRIST; or are they the stereotyped forms in which the spirit of Christian devotion may utter itself? Are they Jewish only, or may they be Christian also? An uninstructed fastidiousness, it is well known, has made many persons recoil from reading these Psalms at all. Many have found their lips falter when they have been called to join in using them in the congregation, and have either uttered them with bated breath and doubting heart, or have interpreted them in a sense widely at variance with the letter. Some have tried to reconcile them with a more enlightened conscience, by regarding such words, not as the expression of a wish, but as the utterance of a prediction, but the Hebrew optative, which is distinct enough from the simple future, absolutely forbids this expedient. Others again would see in them expressions which may lawfully be used in the soul's wrestling against spiritual enemies. And finally some would defend them as utterances of righteous zeal for GOD'S honour, and remind us that if we do not sympathize with such zeal, it may be not because our religion is more pure, but because our hearts are colder.

Now the real source of the difficulty lies in our not observing and bearing in mind the essential difference between the Old Testament and the New. The older dispensation was in every sense a sterner one than the new. The spirit of Elias, though not an evil spirit, was not the spirit of CHRIST. (Luke ix. verse 55.) "The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." And through Him His disciples are made partakers of the same spirit. But this was not the spirit

of the older economy. The Jewish nation had been trained in a sterner school. It had been steeled and hardened by the discipline which had pledged it to a war of extermination with idolaters, and however necessary such a discipline might be, it would not tend to foster the gentler virtues; it is conceivable how even a righteous man, under it, feeling it to be his bounden duty to root out evil wherever he saw it, and identifying, as he did, his own enemies with the enemies of Jehovah, might use language which to us appears unnecessarily vindictive. To men so trained and taught, what we call "religious toleration" was a thing not only wrong, but absolutely inconceivable.

It may be quite true that we find revenge forbidden as directly in the Old Testament as in the New, as, for instance, in Lev. xix. 18. "Thou shalt not avenge, etc.," though even there is a limitation "against the children of Thy people." And it may be no less true that we find instances of imprecation in the New, as when S. Paul says (2 Tim. iv., 14). "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works," or when he exclaims (Acts xxiii, 3) "God shalt smite thee, thou whited wall" or, "If any man love not the LORD JESUS CHRIST, let him be anathema." But these expressions are very different from the varied, deliberate, carefully contracted, detailed anathemas of the Psalms. And Our LORD'S denunciations to which Hengstenberg refers, are in no way parallel. They are not curses upon individuals, but in fact solemn utterances of the great truth. "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

But after all, whatever may be said of particular passages, the general tone which runs through the two covenants is unquestionably different. To deny this is not to honour Moses, but to dishonour CHRIST (Matt. v, 4-3; xix., 8). On the other hand we must not forget that these imprecations are not the passionate longing for personal revenge. The singer undoubtedly sees in his enemies the enemies of GOD and His Church. They that are not with him are against GOD. And because the zeal of GOD'S house even consumes him, he prays that all the doers of iniquity may be rooted out.

The indignation, therefore, is righteous, though it may appear to us wrongly directed, or excessive in its utterances.

Once more, the very fact that a dark cloud hid GOD'S judgment in the world to come from the view of the Old Testament saints, may be alleged in excuse of this their desire to see Him take vengeance on His enemies here. How deeply the problem of GOD'S righteousness exercised their minds, is abundantly evident from numerous places in the Psalms. They longed to see that righteousness manifested. It could be manifested, they thought, only in the evident exaltation of the righteous, and the evident destruction of the wicked here. Hence, with their eye always fixed on temporal recompense, they could even wish and pray for the destruction of the ungodly. The awful things of the world to come were to a great extent hid from their eyes. Could they have seen these, then surely their prayer would have been not "Let the angel of the LORD persecute them," "Blot them out of Thy Book," but rather with Him who hung on the Cross, "FATHER forgive them, for they know not what they do."*

Bishop Alexander's view.—That explanation which regards the "enemies" as spiritual foes has a large measure of truth.

It commended itself to a mind so far removed from mysticism as Arnold's. It is most valuable for devout private use of the Psalter.

For, though we are come to Mount Sion, crested with the eternal calm, the open ear can hear the thunder rolling along the peaks of Sinai. In the Gospel, the wrath of GOD is revealed from Heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness. Sin is utterly hateful to GOD. The broad gates are flung wide open of the city that lies four square towards all the winds of heaven; for its ruler is divinely tolerant. But there shall in no wise enter in anything that defileth, neither whatever worketh abomination; for He is divinely intolerant too. And thus when, in public or private, we read these Psalms of imprecation there is a lesson that comes home to us. We must read them, or dishonour GOD'S word. Reading them, we must depart from sin or pronounce judgment upon ourselves. Drunkenness, impurity, hatred, every known sin of flesh or spirit—these, and not mistaken men, are the worst enemies of GOD and of His

* *The Book of Psalms* by J. Stewart Perowne. Vol. I, p. 293

CHRIST. Against these we pray in our Collects for Peace in Morning or Evening Prayer—"Defend us in all assaults of our enemies, that by Thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness." These were the dark hosts which swept through the Psalmist's vision when he cried, "Let all my enemies be ashamed and sore vexed" (Psalm vi, 10.)*

I cannot forbear the following little incident that occurred the other morning at family worship. I happened to be reading one of the imprecatory Psalms, and as I paused to remark, my little boy, a lad of ten years, asked with some earnestness, "Father, do you think it right for a good man to pray for the destruction of his enemies like that?" and at the same time referred me to CHRIST as praying for his enemies. I paused a moment to know how to shape the reply, so as to fully meet and satisfy his enquiry, and then said, "My son, if an assassin should enter the house by night, and murder your mother, and then escape, and the sheriff and citizens were all out in pursuit, trying to catch him, would you not pray to GOD that they might succeed and arrest him, and that he might be brought to justice?" "Oh, yes!" said he, "but I never saw it so before. I did not know that that was the meaning of these Psalms. "Yes," said I, "my son, the men against whom David prays were bloody men, men of falsehood and crime, enemies to the peace of society, seeking his own life, and unless they were arrested and their wicked devices defeated, many innocent persons must suffer." The explanation perfectly satisfied his mind.†

So far from the Scotchman being destitute of humour, his dry drollery seems to break out incessantly. The author of "Stronburg; or Hanks of Highland Yarn" appears in many of his pages to have gathered up and incorporated into his conversations a good many pieces of floating humour which we have heard before.

After a good laugh at the factor's story (quoted in Paxton Hood) we began to get ready to walk home, but the shepherd

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity.*

† *The Psalms Chronologically arranged* by F. G. Hibbard, M.A. (Cambridge).

returned to the subject, which had evidently taken a deep hold of his mind. "Well, ye ken, gentlemen, no to deteen you, thae Psaumes—many's the time they come into my mind on the hill side. Many a time when I am up yonder, I'll say to myself 'I to the hills will lift mine eyes.' They take an awful grip of the heart thae Psaumes; if an angel would tell me yon twenty-third Psaume was no inspired, I dinna think I would believe him. But yon cursing Psaumes is terrible, I canna thole them at all."

"Yer wrang there," said the factor, who was shouldering his basket, but who put it down on the floor again, "yer wrang there; do yo mind Donald McLennan who was once at Cambuslaich?"

"I do that" said Ronaldson, "and a great blackguard he was."

"Well then, he was in prison for taking a sheep by mistake, at least that was what he said, but the Lords o' Session would not believe him; and one tay when the meenister or chaplain came into the cell, he found him reading the Bible vara attentive."

Oh, my man,' says the meenister, 'I'm glad to see you occupied that way; you will find the Psalms you are reading very comforting.' 'Deed I do, sir,' says he, 'I was just reading the Psalm where David curses all his enemies, and I was hoping the curses would come on the heads of them who put me in here.' Ye see, Ronaldson, he got goot out of the cursing Psalms, though you could git none!"

"Well, factor, if he did, I mak' him welcome to any comfort he could get. I'm thinking the Bible is like yon park down by the burnside; if you put a horse and cow, and a sheep and goat in it, each would find good food in it according to his own nature."*

M. A. (CAMBRIDGE).

* *Scottish Characteristics* by Paxton Hood, pp. 305, 306.

THE VICTORY.*

TRAFALGAR CENTENARY.

21st October 1805.

I stand upon the spot where Nelson fell,

The lion-hearted Chief whom none could tame,

But doom'd—ere peal'd his country's proud acclaim—

To leave Her—whom he loved, and served so well:

Upon me floats the deep o'er-mastering spell

Of the great sailor, and the day of fame,

When that last signal, flashing forth like flame,

Thrill'd through our sea-kings o'er Trafalgar's swell.

O Ship of high renown, and ancient home

Of storied valour, to our race how dear!

For me thy memory haunted planks become

Peopled with warriors, and again I hear

The three decker rush onward thro' the foam,

And the glad thunder of the victors' cheer.

C. A. KELLY.

* Reprinted (with amendments) with the writer's permission.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

(1) A. FOUCHER : *L' Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*. (2) SYLVAIN LÉVI : *Le Népal*.

THESE two monumental works have appeared this year in Paris and it is no credit to Indian and British scholarship that it should have been left to Frenchmen to produce them. The latter from its local interest to inhabitants of Bengal, has the first claim on our notice. Prof. Lévi holds the view so stoutly contested by Prof. Rhys Davids, the Buddhist *savant*, that India has no history. Only three countries within her pales have really, according to him, kept their part in memory, namely, Ceylon, Kashmir, and Nepal. The history of this last he has traced, in the most approved methods of critical scholarship, with notes of his authorities at the foot of every page. To these German virtues he has added that clearness of statement and lightness of touch which hardly ever fail to enlighten the erudition of a Frenchman, and make the book the most delightful reading.

The first European to visit Nepal, so far as is known, was Father Grueber, a Jesuit, who while in Pekin got orders from Rome to return home, and finding the sea route blocked by the Dutch, calmly took the alternative, and proceeded by land, crossing Tibet and Nepal on his way (1662). There reigned in Katmandu when he passed through a freakish monarch named Pratâpa Mulla, self-surnamed the "Prince of Poets," who set up in his capital an inscription, even now standing, with specimens of the fifteen "scripts" which his Majesty professed to decipher. Among these were French and German, taught to him perhaps by some wandering Armenian. This part of the inscription runs : AVTOMNE WINTERLHIVERT.

The results of Grueber's journey soon began to appear in European maps. In one drawn by Nicolas Visscher is a curious error. Grueber's German accent led him to write Batana for Patna, and the strange form was taken to be the name of some new city, so that Patna and Batana are found at a considerable distance apart. In the same map Nepal is made to have Orissa as its southern boundary.

Coming to modern times, the author expresses regret that Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri and Professor Bendall

have not yet produced the detailed catalogue that they promised of the Sanskrit MSS. examined by them in Nepal. As readers of the CALCUTTA REVIEW are doubtless aware, this promise has just been redeemed.

The second volume of M. Lévi's work will be awaited with a lively interest.

The work of M. Foucher is devoted to a subject which is not devoid of local interest in Bengal, since some of the finest specimens of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhara are to be found in the Calcutta Museum, where they give pleasure to thousands of persons, mostly coolies. It is perhaps too much to hope that the publication of this magnificent work may draw the attention of Europeans in Calcutta to the neglected treasures of the Museum. To any one with the slightest tincture of taste or knowledge of these sculptures, where the art of Greece and India are so subtly blended, cannot fail to be attractive. Atlas, Triton and Cupid form a strange contrast to elephant, crocodile, and cobra. Another feature may be mentioned—the visitor runs no risk of encountering those abominations which the student of later Indian art has only too good reason to expect.

MEMORIALS OF OLD DEVONSHIRE, edited by F. J. Snell, M.A. (Oxon).
London : Bemrose and Sons.

THE object of this book is to present, what may be termed, a history of Devonshire in episode. Historic Devonshire. The Royal Courtenays; Old Inns and Taverns of Exeter; Gallant Plymouth Hoe; The Blowing up of Torrington Church; The landing of the Prince of Orange at Brixham; French Prisoners in Dartmoor; Ottery St. Mary and its Memories; Honiton Lace, and Barnstable Fair are among the chapters in this volume. The various writers have, more or less, connections with the place or subject on which they write, and many interesting and valuable facts are gathered together under the different chapters. There is an abundance of illustrations which add much to the value and importance of the volume.

There is much matter here for speeches at the Annual Dinner given by Devonshire men in this City, and we recommend the book to the Devonian Society in Calcutta.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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