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this insistent concern manifested by Oriental religious and philosophic expression.

It is difficult indeed, to begin with, to define wherein the Orient properly consists. Asia, of course, is usually implied by the term, though Prof. Vambéry half-humorously contends that Buda Pesth marks the Occidental frontier. And remembering how the Hungarian nation is descended from the Asiatic Huns and Avars who fell upon Europe in the Medieval age, to be followed by Mongols and Turks, there is an element of truth in this assertion; pertinently emphasising in the present connection the interaction between East and West which has proceeded from the dawn of history, and particularly exhibited in the culture-contacts flowering in what is usually distinguished as the classic age of Europe: a consideration itself largely discrediting the theoretical lacuna betwixt Occident and Orient. But accepting this Asiatic connotation, we are met at once with a great dissimilarity of racial type in its aggregated population, with, it may here be noted, a correlative variation of mental and social habitude. The peoples of Asia number approximately some 900,000,000 souls or more than one-half of mankind; broadly classified into the Mongolian, Turki-Tatar, Malayan, Dravidian and Semitic peoples, with dispersed yet powerful representatives of the Aryan family, who thus connect with the European stock. Asiatic ethnology is still wrapped in much obscurity, the existing habitat of its leading peoples being apparently due to waves of migration, and conquest of less-known aboriginal tribes. Such is the case with the Chinese, the Japaneese, the founders of the Brahmanic culture of India; while ethnographic observation traces a connection between the Turkoman of Central Asia and the Teutonic races of Europe from a similarity

of national customs and antique usage; between the Durani-Afghan and the Semitic Ben-i-Israel; and identifies certain tribes of Kafirstan with the descendants of Pre-Alexandrian Greek colonists from the West, finding in their hymns and ballads the influence and evidences of Greek culture contiguous to Northern India: an influence not only in vigorous operation for centuries through the intercourse of the Eastern Græco-Roman Empire and the Kingdoms of Persia and Parthia, but subsequently exercised on the intellectual life of the expanding Islamic dominion in these quarters. While in the signal instance of Russia, which would seem to form the connecting link, geographically and ethnically, between East and West—and skilfully utilized by her in diplomatic relations with Oriental States—where large Asiatic elements exist side by side with her Slavonic population, the generally low state of culture of the Russian peasant permits him to easily intermarry with the indigenous tribes of the Ultra-Ural Districts. So that the vast additions to Russian territory in Asia made last century allow by this means of their practical Russian colonisation. And just as the salient facts of Oriental life make it impossible to exactly differentiate the true Oriental from the Occidental or “white man,” so, on examination, is it the case with the psychological aspect herein.

Any attempt at appraising the character of Oriental mentality must of course necessarily involve considerations of the Philosophy of mind *per se*, and the views thereon that have obtained credence. It must suffice, however, for our present purpose, that the position assumed here is that of the soundness of the experiential or comparative school of psychology, which treats all human intellection as phases

of the whole involved process of causal human development or evolution. That from primitive rudeness, rigidity, and incuriousness of thought there arises with widening experiences, more differentiated social life and civilisation, and larger acquaintance with phenomena, a heightened curiousness regarding the nature of things—issuing at length in the notions of cults and philosophic systems, with their corresponding practical codes of social regulation or views of conduct. “Self-consciousness consists in the state at which a being asks the questions. What? Whence? Whither?” The answers to these questions—rising in an ascending plane of rationality—is the story of the expansion of human reason and reasoning on the objective problem of existence and its varying interpretation; as distinct from that more concrete manifestation in the provision of the material arts of life subserving physical preservation, from the simplest tools to the elaborate mechanical equipment of to-day. In the conscious treatment of these interests there is no valid ground for crediting the races broadly classed as Oriental with the possession of any faculty markedly different in kind from that pertaining to the Occidental races. Whilst on the other hand the newer illumination of comparative psychology and ethnography studying mankind in these regards universally from the rudest surviving savages through all the grades presented by human development and all the evidences of past achievement embodied in the creations of human thought—is revealing the otherwise obscure operations of human intelligence at varying stages of culture. Thus by adducing a number of ‘ethnographic parallels’—the occurrence, that is, of the same or similar customs, practices, beliefs, ceremonies, arts, and even games and symbols, in peoples of nearly the same culture

at widely separated regions of the globe—it is now being demonstrated that there is a general law of uniformity in the psychic and social development of mankind, due allowance being made for variation arising from climatic and other physical differences in the environment. It is these last elements, perhaps, that most need taking into account in estimating very peculiar idiosyncracies of local character.

Coming then directly to the main issue, in much of the current assumptions over Oriental life there is a conspicuous absence of any such comprehensive and sympathetic organon of judgment. As Max Müller well remarks in his Introduction to the Oxford translations of the sacred Books of the East: "We need not become Brahmans or Buddhists or Taosze, altogether, but we must for a time, if we wish to understand, and still more, if we are bold enough to undertake to translate their doctrines. . . . To the patient reader these same books will, in spite of many drawbacks, open a new view of the history of the human race, of that one race to which we all belong, with all the fibres of our flesh, with all the fears and hopes of our soul. We cannot separate ourselves from those who believed in these sacred books. There is no specific difference between ourselves and the Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, or the Taosze. Our powers of perceiving, of reasoning, and of believing, may be more highly developed, but we cannot claim the possession of any unifying power or of any power of belief which they did not possess as well.

[Some Easterns even claim higher powers in certain directions here.]

We must draw in every religion a broad distinction between what is essential and what is not, between

the eternal and the temporary, between the divine and the human; and that though the non-essential may fill many volumes, the essential can often be comprehended in a few words, but words on which 'hang all the law and the prophets.'" In the reference to typical phases of Eastern thought contained in this pronouncement, we have a suggestive indication of what it is desired to expand a little further in the present argument—of the really wide differences obtaining over the objective problem of Existence in the higher spheres of Eastern speculation, correspondingly to those existent in the West. An important point bearing on this aspect may be introduced here, in the predisposition to quietism or inaction often credited to the East springing from a correlative mental obsession. Thus one of our foremost exponents of sociology—Mr. Lester F. Ward, is led to observe: * "Suffice it to say that oriental civilisation seems to have consisted chiefly in what may be called spiritual culture, largely ignoring material culture. But as matter alone is dynamic, they have acquired very little social energy, or social efficiency. They have not called nature to their assistance, and consequently they are practically powerless when brought into competition with Western civilisation. They lack chiefly the mechanic arts, and have developed but little machinofacture, being confined in the main to manufacture in the literal sense. . . . The widest chasm that separates the east from the west is the lack of individuality in the former contrasted with the exuberant individualism of the latter. The spirit of resignation, the prevailing philosophy of quietism, the denial or complete subordination of the will to live that prevail under Buddhism, Brahmanism, Shintoism, and other

Oriental 'isms,' are fatal to that vigorous push which has wrought Western civilisation. Desire is the social force, and where there is no desire, no will, there is no force, no social energy." Now, despite the writer's wide erudition, this statement repeats the error of lumping under one head all Oriental 'isms' as associated with one particular mental attitude. That the attitude in question exists is true; but it is but one amongst others diametrically opposed thereto, even in the case of that above mentioned—Shintoism—the national creed of Japan; now scattering to the four winds by her performance all the complacent prepossessions such as the preceding, wherein Westerns gratify their sense of superiority. We may also note in passing the underrating here of the debt of Western Industrial expansion too, the legacy of achievement in the arts of life bequeathed by the primary civilisation of the nearer East of Egypt, Chaldæa, and Phœnice—to the polity of Europe; "machinofacture" being the quite recent outcome of said expansion.* Before considering in their salient features the leading ideas of Eastern speculative philosophy, and their relation to the denial of the will within the limits of our space, a few words are necessary respecting the notions pervading what may be distinguished therefrom as the mass mind of the East; of those ignorant, and therefore superstitious classes, that constitute unfortunately, the majority of mankind.

As one of the most eminent English workers in the field of ethnographical research declares: "One of the great achievements of the century which is now nearing its end is to have run shafts down into

* A suggestive note on this point is appended to Dr. W. Cunningham's able treatise *Western Civilisation in its Economic Aspect*, 1900, treating of the line of development or independent origination herein.

this low mental stratum in many parts of the world, and thus to have discovered its substantial identity everywhere;" and to have shown "the essential similarity with which under many superficial differences, the human mind has elaborated its first crude philosophy of life."* In this category is broadly included belief in the efficacy of magic, fetishism, human sacrifice and propitiation of the great powers of nature, spiritism or animism, ancestor-worship and the cult of the Dead. Out of the higher stage of this development seen in Polytheism the belief in supernatural powers exterior to phenomena where the lower belief supposes powers inhering in phenomena—there emerges the finer and more spiritual, metaphysical concepts of the select few. All which is normally present in Oriental superstition; and one or two leading instances suggest themselves by way of illustration in regard to magic, animism, and the worship of the dead. Speaking of that mental phase which, under its related terms of witchcraft and sorcery, is exhibited in every historic society, including Europe, and may be taken to include the belief in the power to produce effects by other than natural causes, Professor Douglas points out† how "The Chinese are firm believers in magic, and place full belief in those arts of the sorcerer which have a congenial home among the

* D. J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, 1900. In addition to the mass of evidence marshalled in this monumental work on forms of primitive ideation anterior to those exhibited in the elaborated historic religions—universally manifest, reference may be made to that further advanced among English works on the subject, Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Dr. Taylor's *Primitive Culture*, Grant Allen's *Evolution of the Idea of God*, and the well-informed traveller, Mr. W. Simpson's *Worship of Death*.

† In his authoritative work *Society in China*, 1901. Laws against the practice of conjuration, witchcraft and sorcery existed on the English Statute Book as late as James I.

inhabitants of Central Africa. The code, which was based on the laws existing during the Ming dynasty, was thoroughly revised by a committee of the highest functionaries of the realm, and received the imperial approval in 1647, after careful consideration. In it we find, therefore, the mind which was in these grandees, and that they deliberately adopted a section providing that all persons convicted of writing and editing books on sorcery and magic, or of employing spells and incantations, in order to influence the mind of the people, shall be beheaded."

The mass-mind of China is often treated in particular as a *terra incognita* to Occidentals. An expression then by Sir Alfred Lyall* who adds to the advantages of the scholar those of his personal Eastern administrative experience—is apposite in this connection *apropos* of Chinese animism. "If demon worship develops out of the fear of malignant ghosts, the following extract carries us a little further along the connecting line of superstitious usages. A memorial from the Governor of Formosa describes an outburst of pestilence in the island when the savage tribes 'endeavoured, according to their ordinary custom, to avert it by putting people to death.' The victims were Chinese; their heads were exposed in front of the houses of the murderers; and these outrages became so frequent in parts of the island as to be suppressed only after a petty war. There we have one of the earliest forms of sacrifice and expiation representing the belief, which seems to be indigenous among all primitive societies, that some virulent plague, like the small-pox in India, is the literal embodiment of the wrath of an offended demon, who goes about like a wild

* From the wealth of ethnographic observation recorded in his *Asiatic Studies*, 1899.

beast seeking whom he may devour, and whose hunger must be satiated by victims. . . . From the expiatory assassinations of the Formosan savages and from the universal Chinese practice of leaving out food to appease a ghost's hunger, up to the annual offerings and libations made by the Chinese emperors, to the sacrificial feastings and commemorative sharing of food, one may venture to trace in long succession the genealogy and gradual refinements of a natural religious idea. That the plain unvarnished worship of ghosts, demons, and animals may be traced upward to the higher forms of anthropomorphic religion is a well-known and well-evidenced theory, *supported by the survival in the latest stages of some incongruous habit or function obviously belonging to the earlier conceptions.*"

The passage I have italicised gives a cue to the meaning of much of what otherwise appears confused and contradictory in the obscure working of primitive ideation, in this survival in a non-scientific atmosphere distinct from what we have breathed for a century past in Europe—of various incongruous planes of thought. The service that comparative Ethnographic psychology may be expected to render is just elucidating the premises of this lower world of thought, and thereby greatly furthering the solution of the difficulty repeatedly given expression to by Eastern administrators—"If we could only understand the people!" Sir A. Lyall, again, emphasises the universality of certain forms of belief as against the contention of Buckle—that the deification of mortals could not be expected in a tropical civilisation where the overwhelming aspects of nature filled man with a constant sense of his own incapacity, as contrasted with the quite opposite conditions, in both these respects, obtaining in Greece. "Buckle

had evidently never heard of the ancient and still flourishing Jaina community, whose external worship is entirely paid to divinised saints; and when we consider that the deification of men is universally characteristic of the cults of all the wild non-Aryan tribes in India, we see how completely Buckle's theory, that this deification implies a superior respect for human powers, breaks down under accurate observation. The bloodiest and most degrading superstition in all India—that of the Khonds, is saturated with the idea that men become Gods, and the worship of the dead which is embryonic polytheism, is an almost universal characteristic of the earliest superstitions in all countries."

If then the mental processes of the ignorant eastern masses are largely identical, allowing for envying circumstances, with those correspondingly placed the world over; the more developed attitude of Oriental thought exhibits, on the other hand, similar differences of view to those presented by Western intelligence. The notion that the denial or subordination of the Will is a distinctive Eastern attribute is a gratuitous assumption from one or two peculiar Eastern doctrines. True, a certain credence is lent to these notions of Oriental characteristics by specious claims of Orientals themselves. Thus, in a review article, an Indian writer declares of a particular phase of Indian sentiment—the efflorescence of Brahmanical philosophy: "So far as the Oriental is concerned . . . as a thinker, seer, prophet, he must realise that there is One only in the all of things, and that this One is the all-in-all of the universe. Whether spiritualised in the Upanishads, or reasoned out in the Darshanas, worked into the Mahabharata, or concentrated in the song of songs (Bhagavad Gita)

the oneness of the Spirit of all things, the vainness of the apparent world and worldly life, the supreme importance of perfect unity with the Eternal Essence must ever remain as the singularity of the Oriental's nature. This singularity mankind will have to learn and accept at his hands in the future as in the past. From what is said so far it will perhaps be readily perceived that the moral ideal of the East is the ideal of self-submergence." Now this passage puts explicitly the *esse* of that elaborated phase of Indian metaphysics broadly included under the Vedanta. Yet the Vedantic system is divided into separate schools of interpretation: one, the Advaita or Monistic, asserting the essential unity of God, Soul, and Matter, whilst others affirm the essential difference and separateness of God, Soul, and Matter. This distinction, one of the most pregnant in religious philosophy, re-appears in rival Eastern faiths, as also with philosophic disquisition in the West. And though desire for union with the Divine be truly the dominant note of certain Eastern manifestations—reflected under one peculiar form in the speculative poetry of Persian Sūfism—it is by no means a "singularity of the Oriental nature," nor universally characteristic thereof; but rather pertains to that universal aspiration known under its many modes as "Mysticism." For Mysticism is well said to be the eternal cry of the human soul for rest, the longing of a being to pass the limits of a fettered actuality towards the Infinite. By a remarkable uniformity of tenor, in all ages, in all countries, amongst developed humanity whether shown by the Brahman sage, the Greek philosopher, the Persian poet, or the Christian quietist "it is in essence an enunciation more or less clear, more or less eloquent, of the aspiration

of the soul to cease altogether from self and to be at one with God."

The One remains, the many change and pass ;
Heaven's light for ever shines ; earth's shadows fly ;
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity.*

Regarded in its more specific aspects, Eastern intellection broadly follows (though of course not literally) the ethnic division outlined above. Thus we get the semitic element represented on the one side by historic Judaism—with its Western outcome in Christianity—on the other by the expansive world of Islamism extending into Western and Central Asia: the Brahmanic tenets of India: the Buddhist system, communally embodied in Burma, Siam, Tibet and Mongolia, and pervading Eastern Asia: the national codes of the Mongolian States, of China and Japan. Each of these systems again is connected with a peculiar social ordering, involving differences so wide and antagonisms so deep as between their respective communities that they quite outweigh in significance whatever general ground of hostility can be really shown to obtain amongst Orientals towards Occidentals. Let us then in summing up this demonstration shortly glance at their leading differentiations.

Of the questionings that have impelled man's higher ratiocination, the Final Cause of things and the pervading existence of moral and physical evil are perhaps the most perplexing; and the attitude towards these concerns roughly defines the several Oriental philosophies. Jewish thought at one of its stages (and we may recall here how much of Western opinion therein is after all either Semitic in origin or affected thereby)† simply treats evil

* Shelley.

† The principle of a Divine Revelation and its related issues is here passed over as beyond the limits of this study.

as the inscrutable will of God. All that happens, all that befalls human beings, is the decree of Jehovah, a belief explicitly put by Isaiah in the passage: "I form the light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all these things." Prosperity and length of days are the reward and fruit of piety: nowhere, indeed, does the 'will-to-live' find more glowing expression than by the prophets and singers of Israel. If Israel obey Jehovah, then "Jehovah will make thee plenteous for good in the fruit of thy belly, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground. . . . Children are a heritage from Jehovah; the fruit of the womb are a reward from Him . . . Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them; they shall speak with the enemies in the gate." Only, it is when the fact comes home that prosperity does not invariably befall the righteous, that we get those interrogations of the Divine order so poignantly set forth in the great dramatic poem of Job. And the conclusion reached is strikingly parallel to that attained by the Greek, Æschylus, in a similar connection, with whom the writer might have been contemporary.

For dark and shadowed o'er
The pathways of the counsels of God's heart,
And difficult to see.

And from high towering hopes God hurleth down
To utter doom the heir of mortal birth:
Yet sets He in array
No forces violent;

All that God works is effortless and calm.
Seated on loftiest throne,

Thence, though we know not how,
He works His perfect will.

But the introduction of Satan—of an arch Evil Power, into the Book of Job and Jewish Theology—raises the connection of this concept with Persian

sources through the intercourse of the Captivity. Be this as it may, we find in the pre-Mohammedan religion of Persia, as expressed in the *Gathas* or sacred scriptures of Zoroastrianism, an important historic contribution of Aryan thought to Eastern doctrines, a quite opposite view to the one summarised above, where an evil power, Ahriman, is set over against a good power, Ormuzd. Zoroastrianism, though submerged under the tide of Semitic Islamism in the land of its origin, has exerted a wide influence beyond, appearing in Europe in the early age of the Church under the form of the Manichean heresy. Though only represented in Persia to-day by a few barely-tolerated adherents, and in India by the flourishing Parsee community, its teaching in regard to the problem of evil is thus noteworthy and the recent opportune exposition of a modern Parsee scholar states: * "There can be no doubt that the later Jewish conception of Satan affords a strong parallel to the Angra Mainyus (Ahriman) of the *Gathas*. The Satan of Zacharias, the accuser of man, and persecutor of the pious in particular, is a close parallel to Angra Mainyus, whose sole task is to fight against the followers of the faithful (of purity, goodness, and truth). The only difference between the two would appear to be that whereas Satan had been in the beginning one of the angels of God who, later on, was transformed into the opponent of God and the author of evil, and who was soon to be overthrown, the Angra Mainyus of the *Gathas* is coeval in time with Spenta Mainyas (Ormuzd), and the final defeat of the former is not so emphatically and immediately announced." This Parsee writer has a further suggestive note respecting the idea of matter itself as being evil, an idea

* The Philosophy of the "*Gathas*." *East and West*, July, 1904.

sometimes appropriated to Oriental origin and the Zoroastrian view thereon, which rather turns the tables on Western philosophy: "Matter is not treated as something lower than mind: both, on the other hand, are on a level, being equally the creation of the same good deity. The philosophical dualism between matter and mind, or body and soul, of which Cartesianism may be taken to be a typical instance, is here submerged and absorbed in the wider dualism between the good and the evil. Matter is not by itself evil, since God has been the author of it as of other good things. Hence we find that the contempt for the bodily life, or life on this earth, a contempt which is always present with those philosophers, like Plato and the neo-Platonists, who hold matter as something evil and opposed to mind, is entirely absent from the *Gathas*. Unlike Socrates in the *Phædo*, Zarathushtra invokes a long life and sound health for himself and his followers, and a happiness which by imperceptible gradations, merges into the bliss of an ideal hereafter."

The advent of Islam in Persia and adjacent countries introduces, indeed, some of the most pronounced aspects of inter-Oriental antagonisms of creed and conduct. As emanating from the Prophet Mohammed, Islam * is a dogmatic Theism, vaguely conceived in terms of personality, apart from the creation itself and into which such a figure as Satan only enters with kindred Semitic notions in a nebulous, traditional form, reviving here in a sense the earlier Jewish Monotheism. Thus says the opening invocation of the Koran: "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God—Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the merciful, the compassionate, the ruler of the Day

* Literally, Peace; or resignation to the Divine Will.

of Judgment! Thee we serve and Thee we ask for aid. Guide us in the right path, the path of those Thou art gracious to; not of those Thou art wroth with; nor of those who err." The age-long hostility of Islam and Catholic Christendom is matter of common knowledge. But even in Persia a host of heterodox sects have arisen within the fold of the faithful—Shi'ites, Súfis, Bábis, Philosophers—to vindicate the freedom of Aryan thought and to transform the religion forced on the nation by Arabs into something widely different from its original tenets—in the Koran set forth chiefly in vehement rhetoric—as these have aroused analysis and reflection on the part of thoughtful minds inheriting other religious traditions. Of these sects perhaps the most modern, that of Bábism, is one best deserving notice from its theory of continuing Revelations, from on High, of which it claims to be the latest dispensation. A claim evoking bitter repudiation and proscription on the part of the Orthodox Mohammedan leaders and Government. Professor E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, remarks, in his illuminating account of Persian sectaries and thought,* on the hatred with which the Zoroastrians of Persia regard the Arabs. "The fact that the Babi movement was entirely Persian in origin no doubt inclines them to look favourably on it. One of them said as much to me; the Semitic peoples, he added, were comparable to ravening beasts of prey, and the Aryan races to the peaceful and productive animals. An unmodified Semitic religion, he maintained, could never be really acceptable to Aryans." While on the side of Muslim antipathies, Professor Vambéry has pointed out how, "about 50 years ago, at the time when I was still living

* A year amongst the Persians, 1893.

among Mahometans, not as a stranger, but quite as a member of their community, I was much surprised to notice the utter contempt and hatred manifested by the followers of the Prophet against the heathen nations, viz., against those whom they called *bookless*, those who have not got one of the four books admitted by Mahomed as coming from God, i.e., the Bible, the Thora, the Psalms, and the Koran. Whilst Christians and Jews are styled *Kafir*, unbelievers in Mahomed, and can be tolerated by paying taxes, the bookless nations, called *Medjusi*, magicians, or *Putperest*, idolators, have no claim upon tolerance or clemency on the part of the true believers, and must be converted by force. Owing to this circumstance strictly Mahometan Governments were always averse to, and have always refrained from, an intercourse with Buddhistic or Brahmanistic countries, and it was only in the 15th century that a Timuride prince despatched an embassy to Peking."

There is something peculiarly ironical for Brahmans and Buddhists to be classed as *bookless* and *heathen* by their fellow-Easterns among Muslims; a view which *inter alia*, throws a side light on the degree of knowledge of each other existing heretofore between the several Asiatic communities. For the sources of the lofty metaphysics excogitated by the Hindu intelligence, the Pantheistic nature of which the passage cited earlier from the Indian writer is an intimation, are found in an ancient *litera scripta* or *shruti* regarded, too, as a form of revelation—expanded by commentators into an extensive religious and philosophic literature. While the other great system originating in India, that of Buddhism, now that the authoritative documents of the original Pali are becoming

known,* embraces a body of expositive teaching equal in extent to the English Bible. The mental differences, however, represented by these three systems are palpable enough. To the Theistic phase indicated above, Islam adds the belief in the resurrection of the body and the continuing after life of the personal ego, the Judgment Day and a Divine Retribution for the good or ill of earthly existence, approaching here in a measure to certain Christian tenets. Brahmanism, on the contrary, even in its highest metaphysical implications, is deeply permeated by the belief in Metempsychosis or Transmigration: and though Buddhism, in its purest connotation, rejects the supernatural tenets of other Indian systems, it shares equally in this doctrine of Reincarnation, apart from which much of its philosophic determination would seem to have little meaning. The tenet in question appears to be absent from Persian metaphysical conclusion. This notion, the re-birth of the human soul, the continuance of earthly experience in a fresh organic form, is a widely accepted ancient theory which Herodotus credits to the Egyptians.† It has lent itself to speculative thought as providing one explication of the mystery of human suffering, and the casualism of the human lot, by seeing in all this the law of Karma or retribution for actions committed in a previous state of existence. Thus it pertains to the philosophy of Evil generally considered; though why it should be accepted in some Eastern systems and rejected by others is yet another aspect of the complexities and variety presented by the Oriental mind when brought to the test of analysis.

* Largely through the labours of the Pali Text Society, London, under the direction of Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids.

† It is really connected in its inception with those Animistic beliefs touched upon in the foregoing.

To escape from this consequence of reincarnation is part of the Hindu theory of Salvation; embracing, in its highest conception, the "ideal of self-submergence" of *jivan mukti* or Life-liberation—the Vedantin's pursuit, through a prolonged course of spiritual discipline and study of conscious reunion with the Highest self—the Supreme Indefinable Power, Para-Brahman or God. This purpose is the burden of much detailed exposition; the synthesis of the meditations of many old *rishis* and sages embodied in authoritative Indian religious writings. Yet, beside this teaching, we get a materialistic doctrine, the Sankhya philosophy, with which the Buddhist system in its origins, appears intimately related.* While assuming these premisses of Karma and Transmigration, Buddhism, however, in its purest connotation, puts aside all supernatural solicitudes of the Vedanta order as in their nature futile; and posits a theory of salvation, derived from the deliberate mortification of the desire, thirst, or will maintaining the cycle of life, which is treated as always issuing in sorrow and disappointment. Evil is thus regarded as inhering in the very nature of things; and from the way in which Buddhist ideas have spread through Asia, it is to this source that the notion of the denial of the will as a peculiar Oriental attribute seems chiefly due, though ideas, somewhat less developed, perhaps, but partially corresponding, are found elsewhere in the West, whatever the original connection may or may not be. The process of self-culture by which this state of *nirvana* or the "going out" in the heart of all earthly desire, is reached, forms the subject-matter of Buddhist ethics, the noble path of the *Arahat* or saint.

* And various sub-sects, such as Sikhism, and Jainism, with particular tenets distinguishing them from the dominating views here noticed.

Though reigning for a period as the leading Indian faith, Buddhism has been driven by subsequent religious struggles from the land of its origin, struggles in themselves a sufficient comment on facile theories of Eastern immobility,* and has made its largest conquests in outer Asia, particularly its far eastern zone. Recently, some of its most cultivated adherents, encouraged by the interest taken by European scholars in the sources and scriptures of the original Buddhism, have sought to advance its claims to the attention of thoughtful people as a doctrine suited to the modern age when detached from corruptions that in the course of its expansion among diverse communities have obscured its true significance. In contrast to the sentiments previously cited from representative phases of Eastern thought, an authoritative statement of the Buddhist attitude to the Great Enigma, as understood by modern exponents occurs in an address presented by the Council of the International Buddhist Society† to the Congress of Free Thought, held at Rome in September 1904. After asserting their community of aim in the repudiation of supernaturalism, it speaks of this faith as "a Religion which denies in its Sacred Books in manner most categorical the existence of any immortal principle in man; which denies the existence of any Supreme Being and has no use for prayer; and in place of these conceptions teaches in manner most positive that it is only the outcome of the work done by a man on the universe—the total of

* Popular Hinduism, which has succeeded, is an amalgam of certain of these pantheistic doctrines with aboriginal polytheism and Brahmanistic ceremonial rites, wherein the chief deities are Vishnu, Krishna, and Siva with an innumerable minor pantheon.

† Lately established with its head-quarters at Rangoon in Burma for the advancement of the tenets of Buddhism, aided by the publication of a quarterly English organ.

his mental and other energies—which survives the physical death of any being; while in place of the conception of a Supreme Being it substitutes only the eternal Reign of Law. Thus, centuries before Copernicus, Kepler and Newton this Religion has taught us of a universe swayed by Law, and by Law alone; centuries before Spencer and Darwin, it has proclaimed the eternal evolution of all these worlds. More than this, its outlook on the world has been such that it has never imposed any bondage whatever on human thought, or defined the limits of the human mind; but has consistently proclaimed that through knowledge alone can come for Humanity that liberation from suffering which it is our hope some day to win; it is, to quote one of our ancient Scriptures, "Through not knowing and through not understanding that all the suffering of the world is due.

"Because of these things, these fundamental teachings of the eternity of Force (whether named material or mental); the universal Reign of Law; the apotheosis of knowledge, and the wide tolerance which flows from such ideas; because Buddhism has been throughout the ages the Religion of Free Thought, has never stained its annals with the record of one persecution or of one martyrdom in the name of that great Teacher Buddha, who taught wisdom and compassion as the highest glories of mankind, that we alone perhaps amongst the Religions of the World have claimed to be represented in this august conclave."

Wherein then, of the conflicting body of testimony thus passed under review, expressed as nearly as possible in the words of Orientals and their accredited teachings, is to be described the peculiar affinity of the Oriental mind, its distinguishing attribute or differentia-

tion from Occidental intelligence? Even of this last aspect cited—numbering, if in corrupt interpretations, the largest body of adherents alike in Asia, and of any one faith in the world, its eminent English exponent, Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, says: "It is at least interesting to remember that Gotama [the Buddha or Enlightened One] was the only man of our own race, the only Aryan who can rank as the founder of a great religion. Not only so, but the whole intellectual and religious development of which Buddhism is the final outcome was distinctively Aryan, and Buddhism is the one essentially Aryan faith." While frank overtures of the character above advanced largely dispose of those assumptions referred to at the outset, regarding an impassable gulf between the minds and temperaments of Occident and Orient to their irremediable antagonism; and all the more so in respect to the Buddhist address to the Free Thought Congress on account of the somewhat rationalised form in which the older doctrines appear to be presented. And though that testimony is a mere adumbration of what avails, it at least affords an indication at the same time of the really protean range of Oriental genius. For this is the aspect of the Eastern question in reference to European relationships which most needs to be kept in view, the immense complexity of Oriental affairs internally regarded. There are large social distinctions in the general life of the peoples affected by these several mental polities which have necessarily been passed over here; and there remains unnoticed yet one entire division of Asiatic society that can now only be referred to incidentally, namely, that embraced by the Chinese and Japanese Empires and their dependencies. It is on the developments opening up in these states and their contingent reaction

on Western interests in Asia, that European attention is at present chiefly concentrated; and a voluminous body of matter has lately appeared, treating more or less authoritatively of their idiosyncrasies. Suffice it for the present purpose that these embody, on the intellectual side, a phase of culture quite removed from the mental attitudes already illustrated, that will need a special presentation to characterise; although, on the other hand, Buddhist influences have left marked effects on national life and thought in the Mongolian world. In the earlier part of this survey reference was made to certain primitive survivals in the workings of Chinese ideation. But the most pronounced feature is the way in which Ancestry-worship and the Cult of the Dead has been wrought into the very constitution of Chinese society, wherein the family or familiar clan is the unit of the whole social ordering, sanctified and regulated in detail by an unique classic literature associated with the names of the national sages, Confucius and Mencius. The origins of Chinese civilisation and culture remain obscure. But owing perhaps to the isolation from the great stream of human movements, through which for centuries past the Chinese have pursued their own development, the Mongolian polities present a peculiar involved study in themselves; as Chinese influences appear to have penetrated into the contiguous domains of Corea, Japan, and Indo-China, there to undergo special modifications. For while the familiar cult is a common link between these countries, their social life exhibits marked differences. But the Confucian teaching has had a wide vogue throughout; and of that body of ethical prescription it might be said, that apart from the pervading spiritism underlying the ancestral cult, its attitude to those

supernatural solitudes which have absorbed so much of Oriental genius and energy—this might virtually be termed agnostic; summed up in the sage's words "to give oneself earnestly to the duties due to men, and while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom," and a Japanese publicist* has lately stated of his countrymen, that as a people they had not much aptitude for deep metaphysical thought. They were not the race to produce a Schopenhauer. Warlike by nature, they had from the beginning the soldier-like simplicity and easy sentiments of men of action. The fundamental principles of Confucianism they turned into working principles and maxims for immediate application. Until recently they had drawn on India and China for philosophic ideas; and now they were looking afresh to Europe and America.

The discussion of the points of differentiation between modern Western life and Oriental life in the mass to-day, is beyond the present purpose. But the first step to a clear comprehension thereof is the removal of erroneous prepossessions regarding the Orient itself.

H. CROSSFIELD.

* *The Japanese Spirit*, by Y. Okakura

Art. II.—FROM PEKIN TO SIKHIM, THROUGH GOBI AND THIBET.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following articles, written by the Count de Lesdain, describing the adventurous journey concluded in November 1905, by his wife and himself, should be of considerable interest to our readers. All rights of republication and translation are strictly reserved.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ZAIDAM MONGOLS.

THIS Prince was the first chief of the great tribe of Zaidam Mongols that we had met, and I must say that the manner in which he treated us was enough to lead us to form a pleasant anticipation as to our future dealings with this tribe. He not only came himself to bring me presents, chiefly of food, but when he heard that my wife was with me he sent his consort and his daughters with gifts of welcome to her too. These ladies wore their hair streaming down the back, with imitation shells fixed to a piece of cloth which hung down behind.

The Prince made it his business to bring up and fatten camels which he sold at Latchou and Gnansitchou, through a Chinese merchant who resided with him. He also sold boots, flour, peas, sugar and tea at exorbitant prices to his own subjects. A pair of badly tanned boots costs five sheep, and a pound of sugar two. The Prince seemed to me to have a special gift for trade, and I am sure that he possessed great wealth for a Mongol. He

did not try to cheat us in our dealings with him, and he gave us a splendid camel in exchange for two of mine. These latter after twelve days' journey over the mountains were hardly able to move and could not carry any load.

He gave us an old lama as a guide. This man was to lead us by the best road, first to the gold mines of local celebrity and afterwards to the Prince of Zaidam our friend's suzerain.

On the following day under the guidance of the old lama we said good-bye to this hospitable Prince. We did a good day's march to the south-west. Gaiety was provided by the record of falls from a horse established during the day by our cook Hoa. He being a very bad rider, the caravan drivers had amused themselves by persuading him to get on a black pony which was very strong but full of vice.

Hoa had consequently hooked on to his saddle all the utensils that he generally carried about with him, a teapot, tin cups, a water bottle, and flour cakes, half baked, with which he now and again regaled himself. He had scarcely mounted when all this bric-a-brac began to clatter, the pony was startled by the noise and departed at full gallop towards the plain to northward, having previously deposited his unfortunate rider in a convenient hole. The Mongols brought the animal back late in the evening, all the utensils having disappeared, either lost or stolen. I thought it as well to confine Hoa's equestrian ambitions for the rest of the journey to the back of a stolid mule.

We marched in a south-westerly direction, across ravines caused by the torrents which came down from the great mountain chains. Nearly all were dry. All along we enjoyed a splendid view of the huge plain in

which Latchou lay, commanding it as we did from a great height. From our camp we could trace the course of the Arachagol, winding away like a gigantic yellow serpent till it was lost amid the northern plains. We were directing our march towards its banks. At sunset the view was really striking and impressive. Later, at nightfall, I made two unpleasant discoveries. First that our tent had been pitched on a bed of wild garlic, which gave off a most poisonous smell, and next, that all the men of my caravan were complaining of some trouble, one had bad eyes, inflammation of the eye-lids, I think, another had cut his foot, a third had pain in his stomach, while Hoa was very sorry for himself and was cursing his comrades, to whose machinations he attributed all his misfortunes. A small bird with an orange coloured tail came and sang near the camp in the evening, and by degrees peace prevailed and sleep overcame the caravan, including of course the watchman.

We reached the banks of the Arachagol or Tan-Ho on July 9th after a good day's march. The ground had gradually become more level as the ravines subsided, so that we moved at a quick pace. I had directed our course since the morning so that we might reach a place specially marked on the Royal Geographical Society's map, as being of some importance. It is called Gachun, and was in fact formerly the residence of a Mongol chief of the Zaidam tribe, but this half nomad has long since moved the seat of his small court to Tourainsien, not very far away, where purer water is to be had. Gachun is only represented to-day by some broken down walls put up originally as shelters for cattle at night.

There are still on the banks of the noisy muddy river the relics of a fortified town, which must have

been abandoned many years ago, to judge from the suggestion of walls and bastions which are the only trace of its former existence. This stronghold was called Tan tcheng, and is marked only on old Chinese maps.

We were surrounded by sheer desert. But for the sound of the noisy waters there would have been perfect silence. The Arachagol was pouring its yellow waters at a rate of ten miles an hour over a rocky bed whose level was so irregular that rapids formed continually. The river was not very deep, not exceeding an average of three and a half feet, while its greatest breadth when the rocks closed in upon it was not more than fifteen yards. But frail as this obstacle seemed it was yet too much for us to negotiate. The swiftness of the current, and above all the unevenness of the river bed, would have proved fatal to all our animals.

Accordingly, having spent a quiet night, we continued our march up the right bank of the river. It proved a hard day. We had to make our way, following our old Mongol guide, across dangerous defiles and steep passes, the mountains dropping sheer into the river bed. I wondered continually how the camels managed it at all, with their crushing loads on their backs, and their heavy clumsy feet often slipping on the stone heaps. We came down at last on the bank of the river once more, and as I did not want to go still further out of our proper course I decided to cross the stream at any risk, since the river at this point turned definitely to the south east. I tried to get ropes fixed from one bank to the other, and with this intention I ordered Hia, my most active and capable man, to go into the river and attempt to reach the opposite bank. As a measure of precaution I tied a long and supple rope to him under the arms and held

one end of it myself, so that if he happened to be carried off his feet I could haul him quickly to the bank. It was just as well that I did this, for just as he reached the middle of the current, which was less swift as it widened out, he suddenly disappeared into a hole. We hastily dragged him towards us, and as the poor fellow, losing his head at his unexpected ducking, struggled and wriggled incessantly under water instead of assisting us I had grave doubts as to a successful rescue.

This adventure having demonstrated the impossibility of fording the river at this spot we continued our march up the bank, and it was late in the evening when at last we found a place where there were four calm reaches. Here we crossed, and encamped on the left bank, on a patch of good grass.

As our caravan was composing itself to slumber it was suddenly aroused by the barking of our little watch-dog Shishi, and we saw the dark and lofty shapes of some camels emerging from the gloom. Their drivers were as much astounded to find us encamped on the banks of the Tan-Ho as we were to see them arrive from the south. We were soon on friendly terms, and discovered that the caravan consisted of Latchou Chinamen, who were on their return from the gold mines a hundred *lis* to the south to which they had been carrying provisions.

I had not been aware of any gold mines further south, but was not surprised to hear of them, for the whole mountain chain that we were crossing, which reaches eventually to Letchouan, is perhaps the richest mineral centre in existence.

Having satisfied my curiosity about the starting point and nationality of these wayside acquaintances I

went back to my tent, while my men, greatly reassured by the sight of their fellow-countrymen, pressed them to share a supper consisting of flour cooked over a bivouac fire with a tallow candle.

On the 11th and 12th of July we made a difficult journey over completely desert country along one of the small tributaries of the Arachagol.* We had to make our own road across the fragments of rock which occasionally so narrowed the valley as to compel us to tread in the icy water of the river or to cross it every five minutes. A march under such conditions was a sore trial both to man and beast. The animals varied very much in pace. The mules only took four hours to cover some nine miles, while the asses took eight and the camels eleven. The latter were heavily handicapped by their long legs and their feet, except when it was a matter of jumping from rock to rock, or coming down almost perpendicular slopes. The landscape meanwhile was picturesque enough. But we were so tired out in the evening that all the beauties of nature appealed to us in vain.

On reaching the spot at which our guide had assured us that there were gold mines we were at first disconcerted and disappointed. There were no buildings of any kind, and no traveller seemed at the time engaged in a search for the precious metal. However, having crossed the river for the last time, and settled the caravan, we set about finding the mines. They do in fact exist, in the form of circular holes, many of them not more than ten feet deep and three or four in diameter. These holes have been dug in the deposits left by the river Kakrousoun, whose volume was formerly

* The Mongols call this tributary the Kakrousoun, the Chinese name of it is the Tincheko.

much greater, and which in those days detached part of their treasures from the semi-circle of mountains which girdle its source. Some Chinese diggers come annually even now to wash out the alluvial deposits during the three or four months in which the country is habitable, greatly to the profit of the mandarins to whom they are bound faithfully to hand over the results of their labours. The shape of the nuggets proves that they come from large deposits at no great distance. Some are large enough to suggest that they must have come from veins of great richness. No doubt a well conducted working of the district would give excellent pecuniary returns. Unluckily such an exploitation is very difficult to accomplish, if not impossible, under present conditions. The climate would be the bold miner's first great enemy. Considering that a part of the river was frozen over on the 12th of July, it is not hard to calculate the severity of the cold in the winter. There is no pasturage in the neighbourhood, very occasionally some scanty grass appears in a grey-green patch. The wild yaks that visit this abandoned spot had long since eaten up the very little that had tried to grow there.

The Chinese mandarins would also unquestionably view with disfavour a foreign exploitation, and if it proved successful would squeeze it to the extinction of all profit. While examining the mines we came across three miners in a miserable hut hidden in a depression in the ground slightly sheltered from the icy wind. Our arrival at first affected them with an amazement almost amounting to terror, but a few kind words soon set them at their ease. Eventually they even showed us the gold they had found, with the very rudimentary instruments which they employ in washing out. They

use for this purpose the icy water of the river, and no man can bear for very long the chill of its low temperature. They had only been at the mines for six weeks and meant to return to Latcheou fu about the 15th of August. They had received one visit from a mule caravan which came to provision them and to carry away their harvest of gold. They seemed quite indifferent to their very lonely and debasing manner of life, and thought it altogether natural to supply their mandarins with gold nuggets in return for wages amounting to 8 taels per month.

We could not have stayed longer, for our beasts could not have obtained adequate nourishment anywhere, and it was most necessary to keep them in good condition.

I was therefore very reluctantly compelled to give orders to depart without having been able to make a thorough examination of the gold-bearing rocks.

On the morning of the 13th of July the lama, who was to have guided us till we reached the encampment of the Prince Zaidam, suddenly disappeared. He had gone off to look for his horse, but he was not to be found at the time fixed for starting, and I left without him, being confident that I could advance quickly and safely enough with the aid of my sextant. The ground soon became, if possible, still more hilly and steep and we tackled passes more than sixteen hundred feet higher than our camp that morning. Some sheets of unmelted snow and ice clung here and there to the bare sides of the mountains, and we were deprived of the magnificent view we should have enjoyed in bright sunlight by thick clouds which blocked the top of the pass. The summits on which we were moving commanded an enormous plain like a desert stretching out in the shape

of an oblong basin, in strange contrast to the mountainous country which surrounds and protects it.

Leaving on our left a pass which seemed to lead too definitely to the south-east we began to descend a very steep slope, which was rendered more difficult by the loose stones upon it which were dislodged by the feet of the mules. After a few adventures and harmless collapses we reached a more gentle slope, where a slender stream starting from the mountains flowed towards the plain. The vast plain which now opened before us, and whose extent we were able to judge of, thanks to a lifting of the clouds, seemed hopelessly sterile. I therefore thought it as well to fill from the pure water of the little spring the water skins which provided for us and our men.

The ground became more and more sterile and dry as we went down. We were proceeding between mounds of reddish earth scooped out by erosion into fantastic shapes, and the grass became very scanty. Little by little the mountains round us lowered their crests, and at the end of our stage we could see behind us the lofty clefts of the chains we had just crossed, while we stood now on the natural border of the great plain.

We pitched our camp on a hillock of sand devoid of grass or water. The little stream had long since disappeared under the sand. We had to hobble our animals, to prevent their straying after pasturage and water, and to serve out to them a large quantity of peas. Some of them moreover were already beginning to show traces of fatigue and their heavy loads had to be lightened.

At this camp we also made the acquaintance of the most impetuous and savage mosquitoes imaginable.

Luckily they are not poisonous. Their existence requires some explanation, at so lofty an elevation, considering that the country is very dry and that the winter cold must surely kill all the larvae. Bretschneider's German map, the only valuable one of Central Tibet, asserted the existence of some marshes in this vast plain. I did in fact in the morning see some dark green spots floating in a vivid mirage at a great distance. I at once ordered the camp to be broken up and we moved as fast as possible towards these floating spots, hoping to find water. The way was easy, over a long slope of sand and small pebbles, with hardly perceptible undulations. The mosquitoes punished us cruelly, especially when we drew near to the marshes. The swarms hummed loudly, and rose in thick clouds around us. The marsh was partly overgrown with grass, and was caused by the stagnation of a small stream in its centre which flowed from the east. The noisome insects swarmed out of the grass and fastened on to the legs of our animals, which were soon black and bleeding. The poor beasts, distracted between their longing to benefit by the excellent pasture which lay spread before them and the acute pain caused them by the mosquitoes, made a gallant effort to snatch a meal, but were soon scattered in all directions unable to endure the bites of their voracious foes. We had therefore to leave our tent half pitched, and to pursue the mules, which were galloping on all sides, maddened with pain and forgetting all their fatigue in their efforts to dislodge their enemies by rolling on the ground and tearing to and fro.

We suffered a good deal ourselves, for the meshes of our mosquito net were large enough to admit a good many of the insects. Their ardour flagged for a while

about midnight only. We then managed to get a little sleep, and the animals contrived to finish their meal.

All the travellers who have passed through Loli Nar and the district twice traversed by Russian expeditions, in a slightly different direction to that taken by us, mention the great trouble they underwent from mosquitoes, and no such story is exaggerated in this respect.

On the bank of the marsh lay the remains of a Mongol. All his flesh had been eaten away, but the bones inside his clothes had kept some semblance of his original human shape. How had this poor fellow come to die amid such unkind surroundings? He was no doubt a diseased wretch, who had no beast on which to make his way back to his tent.

The next morning I decided on the unlucky experiment of crossing the marsh to gain time. At starting the stretch of sand seemed solid enough to bear the weight of the caravan. But we soon reached a spot at which the dry and seemingly safe surface suddenly cracked and half swallowed our animals with their loads. It was as much as we could do to extricate ourselves from this false step, and we lost several hours through trying to gain one. We contrived none the less to cross the river at midday, and on reaching good ground again covered twenty miles before nightfall. We halted by the side of a small trickle of water.

On this march we met kyangs, or wild asses, for the first time. They came about us in large troops to look at us and to frisk around. They would come up fearlessly within fifty yards of the caravan, and then suddenly bound away, kicking up their heels and biting one another. Sometimes they formed squares, or deployed in double lines, executing with elegant charm manœuvres and combined movements that might have

been prescribed. Some of the troops contained two or three hundred animals, others barely twenty. Several young ones were frolicking beside their mothers. At this season they had found enough grass for some months past, and were plump and muscular.

A somewhat absurd incident now occurred, which gave us superabundant proof of the perpetual fear of Mongol or Tibetan bandits which dominated our caravan drivers. As the night drew on the men who were watching the animals at pasture a little way from the tents saw in a mirage at some distance some galloping shapes, and with the aid of their imagination believed they could distinguish guns, lances, and banners. In a panic they flew back to the camp at racing speed, and rushed into our tent. "Tajen, Tajen," they said to me, "we are attacked. All is over with us!" One of them even began to recite the prayers for the dead. Unmoved at this edifying spectacle I told him to get up at once and fetch me my telescope. As soon as I had focussed it I soon saw that the supposed bandits consisted of a large troop of kyangs pursued by some Mongol hunters. On great occasions the Mongols are rather keen on the flesh of the kyang, and the unusual manner in which they were hunting the beasts instead of waiting patiently on the look-out for them showed that some unforeseen necessity had arisen, and I concluded that we should probably soon meet the Prince of Zaidam, who must at that season be making his customary tour among his people, collecting taxes, appointing officers, and administering justice.

In fact, next day, after traversing a hilly region which was evidently well peopled, to judge from the flocks of sheep, the camels, and the horses which were feeding on all sides, on the gray-green soil abundantly

watered by the little river, we were much astonished at coming in sight of a great variety of horsemen. Mandarins and Lamas mingled the bright blue and yellow colours of their trappings in the plain, galloping after straying horses, while a busy group was erecting, on the banks of a small tributary stream, the white cloth tents with dark blue stripes which marked the presence of some chief, who could be no other than the Prince of Zaidam.

If we were surprised they were, I think, still more so, on seeing a company of strangers suddenly appearing. But they showed no indiscreet haste, and gave us time to arrange our camp. From motives of prudence I chose a raised spot on the top of a conical mound from which we could command the position and easily resist any attack. The Tibetan Mongols are very different to the mild and peaceful inhabitants of the plains of Mongolia, and very much disposed to robbery and even murder.

After about an hour some Mandarins of the lowest rank made their appearance, and insolently demanded in the name of their Prince who we were, whither we were going, and how we had made our way into that district. I made answer that I was not accustomed to give replies to underbred persons, and that if their Prince wished to make our acquaintance he might come and see me. As they insisted and demanded our passports to take away and show to their master, I declared that I would on no account surrender them, and that if he was so anxious to read them I would show them to him when he came.

Thereupon the ambassadors retired, and towards evening we saw a small mounted troop leave the tents and ride towards us. I immediately ordered a red felt carpet to be placed on the ground in front of my tent and I invited this august visitor to take his seat upon

it. He was a man of unpleasing appearance, dirty, and untrustworthy. He was not dressed in silk, but wore over his garment a strip of leopard skin, the mark of his high position. His two sons were with him, one a grand Lama, and the other the heir apparent. I showed him my passports, which he could not read and handed to his Lama son, who read them aloud to the great edification of his father and all the suite. Finding nothing in these to object to they asked us many questions about our plans for the future, and as to where we might be going. The prince had only one piece of advice to give us, not to go further south. "When", he said "you have left the borders of Zaidam, where alone my power can protect you, I shudder to think of what will happen to you. The Naitchi Tibetans are cruel robbers, regular brigands. Don't go that way. What will the Tsonq li Yamen at Peking say if I let you continue your journey and meet with misfortune? I shall be held responsible and punished." This was the pith of the speech His Majesty deigned to favour me with, but when he saw that it produced no effect he simply laughed and shrugged his shoulders, as if he washed his hands of the matter. He then began a close examination of our weapons, and was very greatly astonished at the distance of their range. If I had listened to his entreaties I should have absolutely wasted fifty cartridges, or, not content with firing a shot himself, he wanted all the mandarins and soldiers of his escort to share this unique pleasure. He made me a generous offer of fifteen taels for a Mannlicher rifle, and was much offended at my refusal. At last, realising that he could get nothing out of me and that I wanted nothing from him, he decided to return to his tents, and went off at a canter. He had hardly left us when a tremendous

downpour broke out which lasted for twenty-four hours, and gave us plenty of food for reflection. The rainy season had begun. It lasts as a rule from the beginning of July to the beginning of October, and literally floods the Tibetan plateau. Where we were the inconvenience of it was less serious, since as the country is largely intersected with rivers and ravines the water easily flows off. One cannot keep a dry stitch on one, but a caravan can advance without much extra difficulty.

At the Prince's request we stayed for one whole day near his tents. I had hoped to get a guide from him, but he declined, and his only reason for pressing us to remain was that he might renew his temptations with regard to the sale of arms. However our stay was productive of one good result, for our guide, who had so disingenuously deserted us at the gold mines, reappeared. I easily persuaded him to accompany us as far as the edge of the Zaidam basin, but could not induce him to venture with us across the Salt desert. "I am too old" he explained, "for such expeditions, and since you found your way so well by observing the stars, you will easily cross it without a guide." On the 18th of July we resumed our march southward, making for some snow peaks which rose like a spiked gate at a height of 2,500 feet above us. As we approached them up a slight slope we saw about us the tracks of wild yaks, seemingly fresh, and, yielding to a love of sport, I let the caravan go on with precise orders as to its direction, and went in search of big game, taking with me Tschrung, the best shot among my men. We climbed for hours, up very steep summits, and scaling the range I described above, we reached the upper snows without sighting anything. I was quite done up on my return to camp by this back-breaking stalk at a height of over

14,500 feet; and yet we were destined to rise more than 20,000 feet without feeling any evil effect from it, so great is the resisting power to be derived from habit. For three days we traversed a country without any striking features, consisting of small chains of mountains one after another, separating valleys which were often marshy and afforded in their depths good pasture, infested unfortunately by mosquitoes. The whole district was inhabited. Isolated tents here and there on the mountain sides, and collections of dwellings, wherever the comparative excellence of the verdure allowed of several families living together, proved this. The people were not engaging, and were very different from the Mongols in the Gobi, the latter being always ready to greet one. The inhabitants of these regions came out of their tents influenced solely by curiosity, and when we pitched our camp used to come and finger our sacks and boxes and try their weight with unparalleled effrontery. But for a vigilant watch many things would have disappeared. I had to get up two or three times every night to see that my watchmen were doing their duty, and though I often found them asleep, their own exceeding fear of the occupants of the neighbouring tents helped to keep them awake.

Although the rainy season had already set in we still had five days, neither hot nor cold, and as we had gone down 3,000 feet from the level of the Prince of Zaidam's encampment, our journey was easy, and rendered still more agreeable by the practical certainty of finding a good camping ground each evening.

From time to time we ran across caravans of Chinese merchants. These adventurous traders came from Sining-fu, to buy sheepskins at a low price, and to sell bad leather shoes, sugar, and dried raisins, at

ten times their value. These commodities are not sold under the most appetising conditions, either. They are coated with dust, and mixed with small pebbles to add to their weight, but once thoroughly cleaned they are excellent and last for ever. The last group of Chinese merchants that we met had with them a caravan of asses carrying more than a thousand sheepskins. These men were very young, and their manners were charming.

On the 21st of July after crossing some wide grassy plains, the home of myriads of mosquitoes, we encamped near a Mongol village of twenty-five tents. This was the largest encampment we had met with, due to the special excellence and abundance of the herbage round about. The flocks born and reared in this district pay little heed to the mosquitoes, and, as the Mongols themselves are hardly worried by bites that would madden a European, all is for the best in this retired corner of the world. Its name is Ikra Tsraidam, and it is the jewel of the principality.

It is one day's march only from this village to the Prince's palace. Having changed the south-easterly direction that we had been taking for two days to one more southerly, we crossed a ridge of bare hills running from south-east to north-west, and came out upon a great circular plain. This is enclosed round three-quarters of its circumference, has fat pasture land in the centre, and a blue lake glittering to the south. It is the Prince's special domain.

As soon as we reached the northern edge of the pasture we halted. The spot was a most suitable one for our camp. Water flowed close at hand, and we could see the royal tents not far away.

During the night, however, we met with an adventure which was not pleasant for tired people. Apparently the Prince takes in as paying guests horses and mules.

that are exhausted or wounded, at the charge of the Chinese merchants of Kansuh. These animals recruit themselves for months in the luxurious pastures, and are there in great numbers, herds of several hundreds wandering about. In the course of the night one of the herds made advances to our caravan animals, and, having doubtless pronounced in glowing terms an eulogium on liberty, induced them to join in a wild stampede. Luckily our pack beasts were tired out by their recent marches and could only play a very modified part in the stampede, owing to which good fortune we managed to get them back into camp after pursuing them for some hours.

Here also it was that we gave up for good and all paying the native in money. As towards evening we could not obtain a little milk or butter for less than one or two taels, a preposterous charge proportionately, and a "squeeze" that the most unscrupulous tradesmen in London or Paris could not rival, we decided to barter instead. So it came about that we got what we could not purchase for several shillings in exchange for two knitting needles. Intending travellers, please note.

After a calm, and as it seemed to us, very hot night, the thermometer standing at 18° Cent: minimum, we set out again at an early hour. First we crossed the great grassy plain, waving under the wind, and came to the banks of the lake. This was beautifully blue and perfectly clear. Besides the herds of animals that I have spoken of, camels were to be seen on all sides, plump with the good cheer they had been feasting on for months. Hia, with characteristic Chinese patience amused himself by counting them. According to him there were three thousand of them. Such wealth in cattle, added to his twenty tents and his two shops, makes the Prince of Zaidam the leading Mongol millionaire.

But an explorer does not attain all his desires on the shores of this exquisite blue lake. For although several little springs of drinkable water afford refreshment to man and beast on the northern side of the plain, it is not so to the south. Here the absolute lack of sweet water makes life impossible and camping difficult. It was only by digging a sort of well five feet deep that we could obtain some muddy water which we had to manage with. I was the more annoyed because our animals were about to undergo a severe test in crossing Zaidam, and I was anxious to give them abundant food and drink before entering upon it.

On the next day, after crossing the low but bare ridge known as the Tsrougin Ulan, which closes the basin of the lake to the south, we found ourselves confronted by the most desolate country conceivable. There are some views in nature that are more dreadful, there are some more terrifying, but none so disheartening. On the "sai" all down its infinitesimal slope, all traces of vegetation had entirely disappeared. There were not even those shrubs, half grass and half tree, which satisfy camels, nothing, absolutely nothing. In a shimmer of grey-blue, now looking like mirage, now like mere distance, the huge salt basin does not even suggest itself. It looks as if the slope you are treading must extend for ever. The desolation was as complete as in the most desert parts of Mongolia, but in addition there was the feeling that behind the fantastic glimmer of the mirage lurked hitherto untried perils.

We encamped by the side of a thin trickle of water that came from the Trsongin, but continued only for a few hundred feet in length.

LESDAIN.

(To be continued.)

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Art. III.—A SIDE-LIGHT ON RUSSIAN HISTORY.

BEFORE the 18th century was a decade old, Peter, surnamed The Great, had laid the foundations of one of the world's great capitals—had “flung his city,” in the words of the historian, “like a forlorn hope” on the newly conquered shores of the Baltic. That was Peter's way: Whatsoever he did he did it with all his might, working himself with his own strong hands, and directing in person with imperious energy the carrying out of his own ideas. “Following the advice God gave to Adam,” he wrote in 1696, “I earn my bread by the sweat of my brow,” and the early years of the 18th century saw him waging desperate warfare with the swamps and marshes of the Neva, and raising, literally by force, the city that was to become St. Petersburg.

Any one who visits the Russian capital to-day can examine for himself, among other things, the church that Peter built. It does not compare perhaps in wealth and material adornment with the blaze of magnificence presented by the more modern churches of the city—the cathedrals of St. Isaacs, of Our Lady of Kazan, and many more; but it stands nevertheless a striking monument to Peter's will. Moscow the Holy, the home of the traditions and recollections of the past, must bow her head before the infant capital and appointed centre of Russian regeneration, and so the Tsars of Holy Russia, who for upwards of three centuries had been laid to rest in the cathedral of St. Michael in the ancient capital, were henceforth to find their last resting place

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in Peter's city—in the silent vault beneath the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. There may be seen at the present day the tombs of all the Tsars, save one, (Peter II, who died of small-pox at the age of 17, was buried at Moscow), who have lived and reigned in St. Petersburg.

There is perhaps nothing suggestive of mystery in the long rows of square white marble tombs, each one representing a separate link in two centuries of Russian autocracy, that confront the stranger who is curious enough to visit them. Nevertheless over one at least of them hangs a deep shadow of uncertainty. In November 1825 died Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, at the town of Taganrog, whence his body was transferred in accordance with custom to St. Petersburg for burial. So at least it was recorded for the benefit of posterity. But it has also been recorded, though not officially, that, contrary to custom, people were not allowed to pass by and look upon the face of their late Emperor as he lay in state, and that it was openly declared at the time that, whatever officialdom might say, the body was not that of Alexander. Here then are the makings of a pretty mystery.

It is a far cry even in these days of railways from St. Petersburg to Tomsk in the heart of Siberia: it was infinitely further before Russia had thrust her ribbon of steel from one end of Asia to the other; yet it is in Tomsk that the key to the mystery is to be found. Any one whose business or pleasure may chance to carry him to this remote centre of Russian rule may study a chapter of Russian history which finds no place in the chronicles of recognised historians.

Tomsk, as all the world knows, is the university town and capital of all Siberia, the chief city, that is to say,

of a territory approaching five million square miles in area ; yet the convenience of those who would journey there has not even remotely been consulted. The main line has passed it by, and only as an afterthought seemingly has a branch line been constructed to convey one over the 60 miles of swamp and forest that lie between the main line and the capital. So it came about that at an unconscionably early hour one autumn morning I was roused from my broken slumbers and ejected from the comparative comfort of my berth in the Siberian express, to be deposited bag and baggage upon the cheerless platform of the wayside station of Taigâ. Four hours later I found myself at my destination.

The visitor to Tomsk is likely to be assailed by a variety of sensations : satisfaction at finding that there are hotels for him to live in and restaurants where decent meals are to be had—a satisfaction which will be all the more keenly felt if he has had the misfortune to experience the discomfort of the *numera*, too often the only form of hostelry in Russo-Asiatic towns ; disgust at the villainous ways that pass for streets ; astonishment at the size and magnificence of many of its buildings, at its air of 20th century progress and modernity, at its university and museums, its electric light and telephones, its theatres and its shops, and above all at the size and completeness of its splendid technological institute ; and, last but not least, absorbing interest at the chapter of secret history which it guards. It is with this latter subject that the present article is concerned.

On November 19th (December 1st) 1825 Alexander I, Tsar of Russia expired in the arms of the Empress Elizabeth. So say the historians : not so the men of Tomsk. There you will learn that what the historians

describe as “the premature and mysterious death of Alexander” was nothing more than that monarch’s abdication, that for many years under the guise of a pious ascetic he lived a life of prayer and self-abnegation among his subjects in far Siberia, and finally died an old man in 1864 at the house of the merchant Khromoff and was buried by the monks of Tomsk in the grounds of the Alexis monastery. In proof of which I was taken to the sacred tomb over which a chapel was in process of erection. Of a greater interest even than the tomb is the little house—known to this day as “Alexander’s house” in the vicinity of the residence of the deceased merchant Khromoff, where the ascetic spent the greater part of his later years. It is difficult to avoid being seized with something of the enthusiasm of the people as one stands in the small wooden room scarce 20 feet in length by 18 feet in breadth, furnished only, in the life-time of its occupant, with the brick stove common to the Siberian settler’s home, wooden chair and pallet and the simple household utensils, necessary for everyday existence, but ablaze to-day with golden ikons—expressions of the people’s worship and respect. Portraits of monarch and monk adorn the walls, placed side by side to show the strong resemblance—incontestible proof, you will be told, of their identity.

Here in brief is the mysterious chapter of Alexander’s life as told by the men of Tomsk. The Tsar, they point out, while yet in the prime of life, was an embittered and a disappointed man. His every action towards the close of his reign was suggestive of a morbid distaste for the position he occupied. And here they can appeal, with no little effect, to the pages of recorded history. Describing his departure for Taganrog the historian Rambaud writes as follows:—“At the moment of his departure

he appears to have been shaken by gloomy presentiments, and insisted on a requiem mass being said at the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski. In broad daylight lighted tapers were left in his room. —At Taganrog Alexander received circumstantial accounts as to the conspiracy of the Society of the South and its schemes of regicide. Cruel recollections of 1801 may have mingled with this melancholy. He thought sadly of the terrible embarrassments which he would bequeath to his successor of his lost illusions : of his liberal sympathies of former days which, in Poland, as in Russia, had ended in a reaction ; of his broken purposes and changed life. In the Crimea he was heard to repeat, 'They may say what they like of me, but I have lived and will die republican.'

Such were the circumstances surrounding the disappearance of Tsar Alexander I from the throne of Russia : a fitting prelude surely to a highly dramatic sequel ! The crown and the sceptre were laid aside, the coarse garb and the staff of the mendicant were henceforth to take their place ; the privileges and pleasures, the pomp and circumstance attaching to the autocrat of all the Russias had proved but vanity, the yearning spirit would henceforth seek peace and consolation in a humbler walk in life.

The people of Tomsk, it must be admitted, confess to complete ignorance at the time of the exalted rank of the stranger who had mysteriously appeared among them. Fancy and conjecture at all times played briskly round his name, but it was not until after his death that such conjecture assumed the shape which it wears to-day or developed into definite belief. Feodor Kuzmitch—such was the stranger's name—drifted into Siberia in company with a band of prisoners, having been "moved on" to

the land of exile by the frontier police on a charge of vagrancy. For long he lived a quiet and retired life in a village some distance from the capital and eventually at the invitation of the merchant Khromoff whose acquaintance he had made, took up his abode in the little shelter at Tomsk, known at the present day as "Alexander's House." Here beneath one of the portraits already spoken of, you may read his epitaph :—

"The bondservant of God, the old man Feodor Kuzmitch, who passed a hermit life in Tomsk, and died in 1864 in the cell of Khromoff."

On what rests his claim to identity with the abdicated monarch ? The people of Tomsk will adduce evidence which, to them at least, admits of no dispute. He was a man of kingly bearing, with a manner that from the first commanded homage from the simple peasant folk : His likeness to the monarch is there for all to see—here your attention is drawn once more to the pictures which adorn the hut. He himself hid his origin and former life beneath an impenetrable curtain of mystery, and to the frequent questions of his patron Khromoff upon the subject his answer was always : "No ; that cannot be revealed—never." But beyond all that is asserted that immediately prior to his death he handed over to his host papers proving to him beyond all doubt that in the humble anchorite he had been entertaining unawares no less a person than his abdicated emperor. These papers were carefully preserved and after his death were transferred at his own request to the archives at St. Petersburg.

And if further circumstantial evidence be demanded you may learn, as I did, how Alexander II, when heir to the throne, visited the lonely stranger while making a tour of inspection of his Siberian dominions, how for

long he remained closeted with him in the house of the priest of a small village near Krasnoyarsk, how the priest, unable longer to restrain his curiosity, screwed up his courage and peeped through the key hole, and how he was struck dumb with astonishment at there beholding the heir to the throne of all the Russias, humbly kneeling before the mysterious monk!

Such is the story of Alexander I as treasured by the folk of far Siberia. I have given it for what it is worth. You may smile indulgently as you read the tale; but if ever you chance yourself to visit Tomsk and to stand in "Alexander's house" or visit the lonely hermit's grave, you will not fail to be touched by the spell which the belief of a devoted people has woven round the spot. My sojourn in Tomsk has left me many vivid memories, none more vivid or more lasting perhaps than that of a simple peasant devoutly crossing himself as he knelt in earnest prayer on the brink of a lonely grave.

Art. IV.—THE CHIEF TIMBER-TREES OF INDIA.

IN such a vast country as India, extending over about 40° of longitude and 20° of latitude north of the equatorial line, there is of course a great variety of climate, and consequently also of botanical regions, each characterised by its own peculiar flora. There are vast tracts, larger than some of the countries in Europe, which have an arid and in some years almost a rainless climate, as in Sind, Rajputana, and portions of Central India and the Punjab; while towards the extreme east the notorious Cherrapúngyi, situated in a bend of the mountains which catches the moisture-laden southern monsoon winds and cools them down, has the largest known rainfall in the whole world, an average of 640 inches, or 53 $\frac{1}{3}$ feet a year. And when to this enormous variation between the extremes of drought and of moisture are added not only equal, but also even greater variations and extremes of heat and cold, ranging from the eternal snow of the great Himalaya Mountains to a temperature often about 115° to 120° in the shade during the hottest time of the year, it can easily be understood that tropical, subtropical, and alpine India offers, as Sir Joseph Hooker remarks in the Introduction to his *Flora of British India*, perhaps the richest, and certainly the most varied, botanical area on the surface of the globe. And elsewhere he estimates that the Indian flora includes about 15,000 different species of plants.

As might of course be expected with such a general wealth of flora the typically forestal vegetation likewise shows great variations, and occurs in vast abundance in most parts of the country which are not thickly populated. There has as yet been no general botanical

survey of the trees, shrubs, and woody climbers which are to be found in the forests and jungles; but, in the Introduction to the second edition of his *Manual of Indian Timbers*, Mr. Gamble estimated that there are about 4,749 known species actually indigenous to India, including 2,513 trees, 1,429 shrubs, and 807 woody climbers. It may, perhaps, give some idea of this enormous botanical wealth and variety, when it is stated that there are only 134 species of woody plants in the British Isles, so that the Indian forest flora is at least $35\frac{1}{2}$ times as rich and varied,—and probably much more so, because many of the wild and unadministered forest regions of Farther India have not yet been examined.

Among all this wealth of woody fibrous plants, about 1,450, including exotics, have been described in Gamble's *Manual* with regard to their general appearance and the character of their wood. But what may be termed the chief timber-trees of India consist of about thirteen kinds, a baker's dozen (teak, sál, deodar, sissoo, babul, juniper, kheir or cutch, blackwood, sandal-wood, red sanders, and the three ironwoods—pyingado, nahór, and anján), while a fourteenth, the *mahwa* of Central India, though also yielding excellent timber, is of much greater value for its flowers, the sweet and fleshy corollas of which form an important article of food throughout the local forest tracts.

In point of actual monetary and mercantile value the Teak-tree (*Tectona grandis*) is *facile princeps* the most important of all the forest trees in India. Its moderately hard, golden-brown wood, which darkens considerably with age, is easily recognisable from the strongly-scented essential oil to which this timber owes its special suitability for shipbuilding—an oil which preserves steel and iron, in place of corroding them like

the tannic acid contained in oak. The finest development of the teak-tree is attained in the mixed deciduous forests of Burma, whence about one and a half million pounds' worth of this timber is annually exported. But it also occurs scattered throughout the dry forests in many parts of the Central Provinces and Madras, and on the Western Gháts in Bombay. It was from these Madras and Bombay forests, situated conveniently near the coast for shipment to Bombay, that considerable supplies of this fine timber were first of all obtained for local shipbuilding, and then for export for the use of the English navy about a hundred years ago, when the existing stock of home-grown oak had become almost exhausted, and when the national outlook for shipbuilding timber, during the time of our continental war, had reached its very gloomiest stage. It seems to thrive best in places with a mean annual temperature of between 70° and 80° with a definite alternation of wet and dry seasons of the year, and without extremes of heat and cold. It is not exacting as to soil or aspect, so long as the drainage is good. Teak is not a truly gregarious tree, but is usually to be found associated with many other deciduous trees growing above an underwood of bamboos. It seeds freely, and germinates fairly well in clear places; but unless artificially protected, the seedlings which come up are for by far the most part either choked by young bamboos or weeds, or else are burned down year after year by jungle fires. Thus, in fire-swept areas where jungle fires run over the ground every year some time during the hot season lasting from the middle of March to the middle of May, young shoots are thrown up time after time for ten to twenty years, and sometimes more, until at length a stronger growth or some happy chance enables them to shoot upwards and assert

themselves in future. In the Burmese forests the association of teak with bamboos is taken advantage of to make sowings at the periodical flowering and dying off of the bamboo undergrowth, at intervals varying from 15 or 20 to over 50 years, according to the kind of bamboo, because it is only then that the seedlings can be expected to have any chance of getting their heads up high enough to escape being out-grown and suffocated by the young bamboo shoots thrown up in ever greater lengths year by year unless checked by shade overhead. Plantations are also largely formed to provide larger supplies in the future; and, besides this, much assistance is given in the way of protecting large forest areas from jungle fires, and of killing inferior species of trees by "girdling" or ringing them into the heartwood in order to increase the proportion of teak. It has a strong upward growth and a marked tendency to clean itself spontaneously of side branches, even when not grown in close canopy; and in plantations it runs up, straight as a plummet-line, to a height of about 75 to 80 feet in the course of 15 to 18 years. Working-plans have been introduced into all the chief forests in Burma to determine the number of mature trees that can be cut in each during the next 30 years, so that there may be no danger of overworking any tract; and it has been found that, on the average, it takes a teak-tree from 150 to 180 years of age to attain the mature marketable size of 7 feet in girth, measured at 6 feet above the ground, the rate of growth being of course quicker in the fairly moist than in the very dry forests. The investigations made in order to arrive at these practical conclusions showed that, while the average rate of growth is about 12 annual rings per inch of radius (a rate often equalled and even exceeded in the case of our own oaks and

other hard-woods), the average age of a 3 feet tree is 68 years, and that after this it takes other 29 years to reach $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet girth, 35 more to attain 6 feet, and other 27 to reach the fully mature girth of 7 feet. Under favourable circumstances teak attains very large dimensions. In the Kyaukmasin forest in Burma, 26 years ago, I measured several huge, but usually rather stunted, trees varying from 20 to over 24 feet in girth at 6 feet up; and gigantic logs have been floated out having the fine dimensions of 64 feet by $13\frac{3}{4}$ feet mean girth, and $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 10 feet mean girth. When quite fresh, teak timber is hardly floatable, but after being "girdled" and allowed to season on the stool in the forest for two or three years it is easily raftable. Although some of the finest forests have of late years been overworked, the measures taken for the protection of this splendid timber are such as to secure not only the continuous maintenance, but also largely increased supplies of it in the future.

The SAL-TREE (*Shorea robusta*) occupies, like the teak, two of the distinct forest regions of India. It grows more or less gregariously in the form of a belt skirting the base of the Himalayan range, and clothing the valleys and lower hills to a height of 3,000 to 4,000 feet, while it also occurs similarly in Central India extending from the Central Provinces into Rewa, Orissa, Jeypur, and Vizagapatam. It is a very hard, heavy, coarse and cross-grained timber of great durability, though it is a very difficult wood to season owing to its liability to warp and split. But as regards durability, strength and elasticity, well-seasoned sál is perhaps the finest of all the Indian timbers—except, perhaps, the pyingado or ironwood of Burma. It is chiefly used for railway sleepers, though also largely employed for

general constructive purposes, such as bridges, piles, beams, etc. As it is not floatable, difficulty is experienced in extracting it in large logs from the forest. It is usually found growing on shingle and sand, or on loam resting on gravel. As it produces seed abundantly, and as the seeds ripen just at the beginning of the annual rains and germinate readily, the large-leaved and shade-bearing seedlings soon manage to choke all other seedling growth and to assert themselves gregariously. The young seedling crop, however, usually disappears year after year, either in consequence of frosts by night or of sun-scorching by day, while jungle fires kill them wholesale unless the area be specially protected; and it is not until, after some years, the roots have penetrated down to a permanently moist subsoil that the young plants are able to assert themselves against this annual dying down of the shoot. The finest growth of the *sál* is attained near the foot of the Nepál hills, where trees grow to between 100 and 150 feet high, with a clear stem of 60 to 80 feet and a girth of 20 to 25 feet. Climate and soil of course cause considerable variations in the rate of growth of this as of other trees; but it has been found that it usually takes from 80 to 100 years to reach a girth of 6 feet, and consequently a rotation of about 100 to 120 years has been adopted in the forest working-plans. Protection against fire, and improvement-fellings to replace badly-grown stems by those growing under more favourable circumstances and to reduce the proportion of inferior species throughout the crop, are the chief measures taken by the Forest Department to preserve and increase this very valuable timber; and no doubt the effect of these measures will be to largely increase the available supply for future generations.

The DEODAR, or "GOD'S TREE" (*Cedrus Libani* var. *Deodara*), the most important and valuable of the Northern Indian timbers, furnishes a light, moderately hard, strongly scented and oily wood of a pale yellowish-brown colour. It is chiefly to be found in the Western Himalayan regions, at an elevation of about 6,000 to 8,000 feet, whence it extends to the mountains of Afghanistan. Except in the case of sacred groves around temples, and in some parts of Kumaon, the Punjab, and Kashmir, it is rarely to be found growing gregariously and forming pure forest; because it usually occurs in family groups interspersed among its characteristic associates, the Himalayan spruce (*Picea Morinda*), the blue pine (*Pinus excelsa*), three kinds of Himalayan oaks, and sometimes the Himalayan silver fir (*Abies Pindrow*), cypress and yew, and the long-leaved pine (*P. longifolia*) at lower elevations. But, besides these more frequent kinds of trees, the deodar forests contain a rich variety in the Indian birch, poplar, horse-chestnut, elm, hazel, maple, cherry, holly, and rhododendron, together with an undergrowth of shrubs closely related to many kinds common in different parts of Europe. Two well-marked varieties of deodar grow in those forests, which are said to run true to seed. One of these has a dark green, and the other a silvery foliage; but the latter is comparatively infrequent, and is chiefly to be found at the foot of low-lying ravines. The deodar has naturally a spreading and very beautiful habit of growth, and unless this expansive tendency be checked, it soon runs into branches instead of forming the clean, straight bole desirable in a timber-tree. In the close canopy of the forests the deodar seeds rather sparsely, and the best seed-bearers are those occupying sunny spots on ridges.

whence the winged seeds are wafted for some distance by wind, when the cones break up and drop their scales during warm, dry weather in the months of October and November, about a year after the flowering. The male and female flowers are sometimes, though not usually, found on the same trees, but a really good seed-year only occurs once in four or five years. On these occasions, in suitable localities, the growth of young seedlings is abundant and rapid, unless they are choked by rank grass and weeds, or checked in growth by severe drought, cattle, or forest fires. They can bear a fair amount of shade, though it is best to assist their development by means of lopping branches and girdling trees of inferior kinds. In order to produce the best class of wood for railway sleepers, it has to be kept in fairly close growth, and careful thinnings can only be made when once it has completed its main growth in height. The rate of growth and the dimensions attainable vary greatly in different localities. In the corridor of the Imperial Forest School at Dehra Dun, there stands a magnificent cross-section of a Kumaon deodar, 23 feet in girth, and showing 665 annual rings. Numerous trees have been found between 30 and 36 feet in girth, but the largest known is one at Kuarsi, in the valley of the Ravi river, measuring 44 feet in girth at 2 feet and 36 feet at 6 feet up; while heights of 216 and even 240 feet have been recorded. Even in good localities, however, the tree is at its best for timber when it reaches about 12 feet in girth, while in less suitable situations its maturity is attained at about 9 to 10 feet. Under the forest working-plans the average girth of the mature trees may be taken as between 7 and 8 feet, attained at an age of 140 to 165 years, while the average number of narrow-gauge sleepers converted from each

such tree varies from 50 to 70. The chief means of maintaining and increasing the supplies of this very valuable timber-tree is to cut out a large number of the other trees, or to kill them by girdling if not marketable, and work up the soil; and after a good seed-year has produced a rich crop of young seedlings, the whole of the area is gradually cleared and blank spaces filled up, so as to leave immature trees and the new crop—a procedure which of course requires to be varied according to the given circumstances. Being light, the timber floats well; and most of the deodar logs brought out from Kashmir and the Punjab, and the sleepers worked out from the Tons and Jumna valleys in the United Provinces, are drifted or rafted down the streams.

The Sissoo or Shisham (the "Shittim" wood of the ancient Jews, *Dalbergia Sissoo*) grows gregariously in the river-beds of streams and on the sandy or stony banks of torrential rivers all along the sub-Himalayan tract and the valleys up to 3,000 feet from the Punjab to Assam, whereas elsewhere it sows itself only sparsely throughout the plains of Upper India. Its very hard, close-grained, brownish heartwood, streaked with dark longitudinal veins, does not show the annual rings at all distinctly; but it is a decidedly ornamental wood, which seasons well without warping or splitting, takes a good polish, and is admirably adapted for carving as well as for all purposes where strength, toughness, and durability are demanded. In furniture and carving, indeed, it is one of the finest woods in India, being perhaps rivalled in this respect only by its very near relative the black-wood (*D. latifolia*). Though it reaches a height of about 60 feet or more, it does not run up in a clean, straight stem, but is often buttressed, gnarled-like and

twisted, so that it seldom can be got to yield good, straight logs. It is of rapid growth at first, but soon decreases to a slower rate. It does not usually grow to more than about 6 feet in girth, although occasional stems of 10 and 12 feet near the ground are not altogether uncommon. Even when growing gregariously the Sissoo trees bear an extremely light crown of foliage; and being exceedingly light-demanding, it soon thins itself gradually during the pole stage of growth. The pure or almost pure patches of Sissoo forest to be found on the sandy river-bed lands of Upper India are formed from seed washed down in the pod while the streams are in flood. As the pods are indehiscent, they gradually rot away till the seed is enabled to germinate, and the young seedling utilises most of its energy at first in forming a long tap-root of about 6 feet in length, which fixes it in the soil and prevents its being washed away during the floods of the following year. As the sands become deposited here, this gradually raises the level of the ground and forces the water to deepen the channels alongside, so that the young crop gradually rises above the surrounding water-level, and occupies separate islands or terraces. On suitable soil Sissoo can easily be grown from seed, although it is a difficult tree to transplant owing to its long root-strands. It is a prolific seed-producer, and seeds itself easily, while its natural reproductive power is often increased by a free production of root-suckers. Under favourable circumstances it attains a girth of 30 inches in 12 years, and 54 inches in 30 years, representing respectively $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ annual rings per inch of radius; but in the celebrated Changa-Manga plantation, formed by irrigation with canal-water near Lahore, many of the trees averaged 4 feet in girth at 12 years of age; while in the natural forests in Oudh

an average girth of 36 inches and height of 50 feet is attainable in 16 years, or at the rate of 1 inch of radius in $2\frac{3}{4}$ years. As in the case of all the other more valuable timber-trees, much is being done to increase the supplies required for future use.

The Bombay Blackwood, perhaps better known in England as "Indian rosewood" (*Dalbergia latifolia*), is a valuable and extremely hard and close-grained furniture wood of a dark purple colour with black longitudinal streaks, deepening with age, in which the annual rings are quite indistinct. It is found throughout the whole of the Indian peninsula, but not in Burma, and it attains its finest growth along with teak and bamboos in the dry forests of the Western Gháts, where it ascends to an elevation of about 3,500 feet. It is essentially a tropical tree, and attains its finest growth in the southern localities. Though not an uncommon tree, it is nowhere abundant. It can be easily raised from seed, besides freely sowing itself naturally, and it has a strong reproductive power in throwing out coppice-shoots. It is a tree of slow growth, though it ultimately reaches a height of 80 feet, with a girth of from 12 to 15 feet, the largest recorded specimen being 20 feet. It takes about 100 years to attain a girth of 6 feet. The black carved tables, chairs, sideboards, etc., made of this fine wood are not as fashionable now as they used to be, so that there is in some places less demand for the wood than formerly. One result of this has been that it has been used for sleepers; but, though well suited for this as to durability, it seems a pity that so fine a timber should be used for purposes for which less beautiful woods are equally well adapted. In these days of specialities in furniture, it should pay some large firm to develop the blackwood industry in Britain.

The Babúl (*Acacia arabica*), a tree of moderate size, with hard pinkish-white heartwood turning reddish-brown on exposure and mottled with dark streaks, is one of the most important trees in the arid regions of Western and Northern India. Its true home is among the sandy wastes of Sind, Rajputana, Guzerat, and the North Deccan, but it is also found self-sown and cultivated throughout all the drier regions of Central and Upper India, and much is done for its cultivation in Sind and the Punjab. Sometimes it grows gregariously in patches, sometimes merely scattered about in single trees or small knots. In these dry tracts, usually poor in timber, it is an exceedingly valuable tree, yielding not only fine timber, very durable when well seasoned, and much used for wheels, sugar and oil presses, rice pounders, agricultural implements, etc., and making excellent fuel, but also furnishing tanning and dyeing products from its bark and pods, while the branches and leaves are used as fodder, and the thorny boughs for fencing fields. The babúl tracts of the arid regions are therefore carefully reserved and worked systematically. Though babúl is a free seed-producer, reproduction is often difficult within the reserved areas, as insects destroy the seed. To obviate this difficulty goats are often grazed inside the reserves and allowed to feed on the pods, and when the seeds pass through undigested they have a better chance of germinating. Otherwise it has good reproductive power and coppices well, while it may also be grown from cuttings. Though not usually a large tree, it reaches a height of 50 to 60 feet, with a girth of 6 to 8 feet, the largest known tree being one at Pandharpur, in Bombay, 80 feet high and 14 feet in girth. In Sind it usually takes about 35 years to reach 4 feet in girth, and about 55 to attain the

mature girth of 6 feet, while its rate of growth is generally quicker in the Punjab. In some parts of Madras the babúl forests are worked as coppice-under-standards, with a rotation of 20 years, in order to furnish supplies of much-needed fuel and fencing-thorns.

The Indian Juniper, or Himalayan Pencil Cedar (*Juniperus macropoda*), is one of the most important timber-trees in Baluchistan, whence it extends westwards into Afghanistan and eastwards to Nepal, growing at elevations varying from 5,000 to 14,000 feet. Its light, moderately hard, and fragrant wood, red in colour and often with a purple tinge, though it has little strength, is used in these districts, where timber is at a premium, for all sorts of purposes, from building temples, and forming beams and wall-plates, to drinking-cups and walking-sticks, while it is also used as fuel and burnt as incense. The bark at the base of old trees is of immense thickness, and is pulled off in long strips and used for roofing huts. This juniper forms pure forests at Ziarat in Baluchistan and in the Pil and Zarghum ranges, while in the Hariáb district it forms fully half of the forest at 9,000 feet, and has *Pistacia*, a kind of ash, and the ebony prune as its chief associates. The finest tracts of juniper are those of the open forests of Ziarat, about 60 miles to the east of Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan, where they extend for over 200 square miles. The trees generally branch from the base, straight stems and clean boles being very rare. The lowest branches are often buried in leaf-mould and dead foliage, so that they have the appearance of younger growth rising up round a parent stem. The rate of growth is slow, though the trees occasionally rise to a height of 70 feet and attain a girth of 20 feet. Although it produces itself naturally from seed, it often happens that very few

of the seedlings survive, owing to fire. Throughout these juniper tracts the hill-sides still show remains of old stems killed through fires lit against them by shepherds at night, in order to scare wild beasts from the flocks,—a practice that is now, fortunately, almost extinct. Happily, too, most of such dead trees are surrounded by a younger generation of saplings, poles and young trees growing vigorously without much shelter. The principal agent in sowing the seed is a bird called the “Obisht-khwarak,” or juniper-eater. Though slow, the reproduction of these forests is now ensured, and the fears once entertained as to maintaining the supply of wood for future use are now at an end. In its Himalayan *habitat* the juniper is usually found growing gregariously on rocky slopes, where it does not generally grow over about 50 feet in height, though its girth is often considerable, 6 to 7 feet being not uncommon. Exceptional girths of 20 feet and more are sometimes reached, the largest being $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet, at Lahoul.

The Khair, or Cutch-tree (*Acacia Catechu*), is a tree of exceptional value, not only on account of its very hard, heavy, and durable wood, varying from dark red-brown to light brick-red in colour, but also, and more particularly, from the brown-black astringent product, the “cutch” of commerce, obtained from boiling chips of the heartwood, and known as *kath* in Northern India and *sha* in Burma, the preservative dye used to produce the dark brown colour of sail-cloths, fishing-nets, etc. The wood is a splendid timber, which takes a fine polish and is extremely durable, defying both white ants and the teredo. The only reason of its not being very extensively used as timber is the unfortunate fact that it does not grow to large dimensions. The cutch-tree is

common in the lower deciduous forests of most parts of India and Burma, where the rainfall is moderate. In Burma its distribution extends very little above the tropic line, but in Upper India it spreads to the sub-Himalayan tracts west of the Indus, and there ascends the valleys to a height of about 3,000 feet. There are three distinct varieties of this tree, in which the calyx, petals, and rachis of the leaves are respectively hairy, downy, and smooth. The hairy variety is that common to the dry regions of Upper and Central India but rare in Burma; the downy kind is that found chiefly in the much moister locality of Bengal, Sikkim, Assam, and Burma; while the smooth variety is confined to the arid regions of the Deccan, Carnatic, Rajputana, Western India, and the dry zone of Upper Burma. In India the khair or light red variety is found, both sporadically and also more or less gregariously, interspersed among the other deciduous trees characteristic of the dry forests. When gregarious, it is usually found—like the Sissoo, though seldom growing along with it—on newly-raised banks in beds of streams issuing from the mountain ranges, down which the seed-pods are borne by the waters, and get lodged among the sand and boulders of the freshly-deposited banks and islands. Such river-bed *khair* forests seldom show any natural regeneration, as they are liable to be washed away by floods, consequently the trees can be freely felled whenever of marketable dimensions for *kath*-boiling. The new growths springing up spontaneously on fresh silt-deposits require no treatment except protection against grazing, as they soon thin themselves sufficiently, and need to be kept fairly dense in order to prevent erosion of the soil. In Burma the growth of the *sha* tree, yielding the dark-coloured wood, is more usually sporadic than gregarious,

though in some of the forests of the Prome and Thayetmyo districts, and in the southern part of Upper Burma, in the zone having an average rainfall of from about 40 or 45 to 55 or 60 inches a year, it forms a considerable proportion of the trees found in certain localities. In these districts catch-boiling forms an important rural industry, and in years of scanty rainfall additional facilities are offered for this, in order to reduce the pressure upon the poorer agricultural population. So far as catch-boiling is concerned, *sha* trees are marketable as soon as they are a foot in diameter, but felling is usually limited to trees of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in girth at 6 feet above the ground, in order to ensure proper regeneration and the maintenance of future supplies. To regulate the manufacture of catch, many of the best tracts have been reserved, and are worked by area, like coppices in Britain, with a rotation of about 30 years. In such reserves the right of making the fall of timber in the precise locality permitted by the working-plan is sold by auction each year, and the blanks thus formed are sown with seed; but outside these reserves the neighbouring villagers are permitted to fell and boil, after taking out licenses for a specific number of trees. Seed-production is abundant, and natural regeneration is prolific while the tree coppices freely. But, in addition to relying on spontaneous growth, much is also done in the way of sowings to increase supplies in the drier forests where the growth of teak is less vigorous than that of catch, as is particularly the case in the drier forests where the timber-trees are chiefly associated with small kinds of bamboos.

The fragrant, yellowish-brown Sandalwood (*Santalum album*) is mainly confined to the dry region of Southern India. Its finest growth and development are

attained in Mysore and Coorg, where the most oily and heavily-scented wood is found between 2,000 and 3,000 feet elevation. Its hard, heavy, oily, close-grained, and strongly-scented wood, so well known in the shape of carved boxes, frames, and similar small articles, is largely exported to Europe and Arabia, but most of it goes to China to be converted into coffins for rich people. It is not a tree of large dimensions, as one of the largest known only measures 66 inches at 5 feet above the ground. The whole of the annual sales of this, the most costly of all the Indian woods per cubic foot, amount to only a little over 2,000 tons, having an export value of about £40,000, of which about 1,850 tons are produced in Mysore, 100 in Coorg, and 75 in Madras. In Mysore sandalwood is a royal monopoly, and most of the wood, brought to market, is cut in hedgerows and scrub jungles outside the areas demarcated as reserved forests. The proportion of the valuable scented heartwood is only about one-half of the log, while the unscented sapwood has little or no value. Even the fragrant sawdust or powder, used for distilling the sandalwood oil employed for perfumery and medicinal purposes, sells at the wood depôts for from £27 to £33 a ton. The tree is chiefly propagated by means of birds, which eat the fruit and drop the seed from the branches where they perch. Here it germinates in the shade, usually coming up in wisps of a tree or two among bushes, through which it gradually pushes its way, though more quickly, of course, with artificial aid, in quest of the light necessary for its proper development as a tree surrounded with scrubby vegetation. Thus, if carefully protected against grazing and fire, it can be made to extend itself naturally on suitable land, its favourite situation being on a red and rather stony soil; and this

method of cultivation, combined with judicious management of the existing forest areas, gives better promise of good future supplies of first-class wood than plantations are ever likely to yield, as the latter have proved unduly expensive and not really satisfactory in other respects. Hence, the most that is now done in this way is to dibble in seed in suitable places under the shade of other trees, and in prepared patches in clumps of bushes and scrub jungle. Planting in the open seems to fail invariably, as the seedlings require some little protection against the scorching power of the strong tropic sun. Its rate of growth varies considerably according to the given local conditions as to soil and climate, but old trees examined in Mysore have been found to give an average of a little over 9 annual rings per inch of radius. The system of working adopted in Mysore is to fell the trees at the age of 40 years, 8 inches being estimated as the average growth in girth per 10 years, and the minimum size of the mature tree being taken as 32 inches in girth at $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the ground. In the sandalwood forests of Madras, selection-fellings are annually made over one-tenth of the area, all dead and dying trees being removed, as well as all mature trees above 32 inches in girth, and the roots of the same.

The Red Sanders (*Pterocarpus santalinus*) of Madras has the least extensive distribution of any of the important Indian trees, as it is confined to an area of about 6,000 square miles in and around the Cuddapah district, where the annual rainfall is only about 42 inches, and the shade-temperature varies from 70° to 120° . Its extremely hard and heavy wood, of an orange-red colour when freshly cut, but deepening to a claret-red or almost black, are highly prized as house-posts, often being richly carved in the houses of the rich, and for ploughs

and other agricultural implements. Twenty years ago old dry pieces and seasoned rootwood were largely exported to Europe (over 15,500 tons, valued at £37,000, having been shipped in 1882-83), where this "redwood" was largely used in dyeing, the red colouring principle being the *santalin*, soluble in ether and alcohol, but not in water. Dissolved in water it dyes silk a beautiful salmon-pink colour. Perhaps owing to want of suitable old-seasoned wood, but more probably owing to the discovery and manufacture of cheaper and gaudier artificial dyes, the export of Indian redwood (as of other natural dye stuffs) has fallen off very considerably, and is now of little value. But large quantities of the wood are used for carving and other ornamental purposes, as well as for furniture and carpentry, and the timber is in considerable local demand. It is a pretty tree, with a tall, straight stem, and a high-set compact round crown of dense foliage, though, curiously enough, its leaves are impatient of the shade of other trees. It seeds in February and March, and natural regeneration from seed is easy, although, as in the case of teak and sál, and many other of the best timber-trees of India, the new shoots are apt to die off year after year until the increasing roots are able to throw out a shoot strong enough to resist the withering effects of the fierce sun and the scorching winds of the hot season. It also reproduces itself well by means of coppice-shoots and root-suckers. It grows best on the northern and eastern slopes of low ridges and spurs, on the stony soil of which the isolated poles of red sanders rise here and there above tufts of scented lemon-grass. The natural forests in the home of this tree are now being carefully protected against fire and grazing, while plantations have also been formed to provide increased supplies for future

use. Planting is usually done with seedlings raised in small loosely-woven bamboo baskets, which are inserted into holes of suitable size dug in the ground, and are regularly watered during the dry season. Few observations have been recorded as to either its rate of growth or as to its attainable dimensions. Gamble mentions a plantation made in 1865, which showed in 1883, at 18 years of age, an average height of 40 feet and girth of nearly 18 inches, with an average annual increment of nearly 3 tons per acre; but this is probably less rapid than its growth in the open natural forests.

Each of the Indian provinces, as indeed almost every tropical and sub-tropical country, has as its own peculiar "ironwood," some hard, heavy, and durable kind of timber. The chief of the Indian ironwoods are the PYINGADO (*Xylia dolabriformis*) of Burma, the NAHOR of Assam, or NAGESAR of Bengal (*Mesua ferrea*), and the ANJAN (*Hardwickia binata*) of Southern and Central India. The Burmese ironwood, PYINGADO, occurs abundantly in some parts along with teak, many other deciduous trees, and bamboos, in the dry forests of the lower hills, and is, next to teak, the most important of the timber-trees of that province. Under favourable conditions as to soil and environment, it grows to 90 or 100 feet in height and 9 to 12 feet in girth, but on poor soil and in uncongenial situation (as in Arakan) it remains dwarfish and stunted—a description applying also to it in Godavery and the western coast of Madras, where it is also indigenous. The reddish-brown to dark brown, close and cross-grained, very hard and heavy wood is exceedingly durable, and is much prized and largely exported for railway sleepers, Burmese wood being, in this respect, much finer than that grown in Southern India, owing to the greater amount of resin contained in

the former. Extracts made from the wood possess good tanning properties, and it is quite possible that the sawdust and waste wood in conversion might easily be turned into a profitable article of export. It produces seed abundantly, and seedlings spring up readily where the forests are protected from fire. The ANJAN of the dry forests of Southern and Central India, which also extends northwards into the southern portion of the United Provinces (and is found also in tropical Africa), is likewise a deciduous tree, but is to be found growing more or less gregariously in isolated belts and patches of various extent, and usually on sandstone. Its extremely hard and dark-red wood, streaked with black and often having a purple tinge, has, again like pyingado, its pores filled with resin, which tends to increase its weight and durability. It is extremely durable, does not warp, and is not liable to split, while it is perhaps the hardest and heaviest of all the Indian woods. It is in all respects well suited for sleepers, bridge-construction, house-building, and ornamental work, but it is too hard and too difficult to work to be much in favour among the natives. It seeds freely, regenerates itself easily, and coppices well; but the seedlings and the shoots thrown up by the roots are killed off year after year by hot winds and fires, until finally one is found strong enough to withstand these hindrances to normal development. The NAHOR or NAGESAR of Assam and Bengal, on the other hand, is an evergreen tree, with beautiful foliage and fragrant white flowers. Though its true home is in Eastern Bengal and Assam, it extends far southwards into Burma, where it is known as GANGAW, and venerated as a semi-sacred tree. As it has been foretold in the Buddhistic sacred writings that the sixth and next Buddh will make his appearance under the shadow of a

Gangaw-tree (as the fifth and last Gaudama attained the supreme knowledge of the Law while reclining under the sacred *Banyan*), it is to be found planted near monasteries all over the country, ready for the great event, should any of the monks happen to be the embryo Buddh. The dark-red and very hard and heavy wood is an exceedingly strong and durable kind of timber; and it is only, as in the case of Anjan, its great weight, and its extreme hardness, and the difficulty of converting it with native tools, that accounts for its comparatively small use. It takes a fine polish and, having a beautiful dark grain, is suitable for high-class furniture and decorative purposes in Britain, much in the same way as the PADAUK (*Pterocarpus indicus*) of the Andaman Island—which, by the way, is also obtainable of finer colour, texture, and dimensions in some of the deciduous forests of Burma (Toungoo district).

Besides the valuable kinds above described, the MAHWA-TREE (*Bassia latifolia*), growing scattered throughout the deciduous forests of Central India, and extending thence south-westwards to Kanara, and northwards to Oudh and Kumaon, and also occurring in Upper Burma, is one of the most important trees in the districts to which it is indigenous. Its value depends less, however, on the excellence of its hard, smooth, durable, red wood than on the edible qualities of the sweet, fleshy leaves of the corolla of its flowers, which, appearing in the hot season during May and June, form an important article of food throughout the forest districts where this tree occurs. The corollas are eaten either raw or cooked; they are used for making sugar; and a coarse and highly-intoxicating spirit is distilled from them, the odour of which is so strong and so unpleasant,

as to be noticeable at a long distance from the still. The average yield of corollas from a mature tree is about 200lbs., which sell for about half-a-crown when collected. When eaten, they are mixed with other food, or with seeds and leaves of other plants, and they taste somewhat like pressed figs. The outer coating of the fruit is also edible, being either eaten raw or else cooked as a vegetable, and the inner coating is dried and ground into meal; while a yellowish-green, butter-like oil, which soon becomes rancid in that hot climate, is expressed from the kernel, and used by the hill-tribes or sold for soap-boiling. In this respect the mahwa resembles the shea tree (*Bassia Parkii*) of Western Africa, the "shea butter" obtained from which Mungo Park, the famous traveller, declared to be whiter, firmer, and richer in flavour than the best ordinary butter he had ever tasted, with the additional advantage of keeping fresh and sweet for a twelvemonth without any admixture of salt. On account of the edible value of its flowers and fruit, the mahwa-tree is worked with a view to these, rather than for its fine timber, and special provisions are accordingly made for the protection of the oldest and best trees growing in forests worked under a systematic plan. It seeds freely, and the fresh seed germinates well; but, being oily, its germinative power soon passes away. It is much cultivated either in avenues along road-sides, and in "topes" or clumps by itself or along with mango, and in such places it often sows itself spontaneously.

Nothing like the whole of the areas throughout which these chief timber-trees of India occur have been brought under the direct control of the Indian Forest Department, although the area at present administered by it amounts to close upon 120,000 square miles, over

two-thirds of which, or about 81,000 square miles (amounting to about one-twelfth of the total area of 945,000 square miles of British territory), have been reserved and legally settled as permanent forest estates to be administered for the benefit of the people, and of their agriculture, and of the finances of the Indian empire. These great forest estates already yield a net annual income of about £500,000 a year, after payment of all charges directly or indirectly connected with the working, maintenance, protection, improvement, and increase of the marketable products they supply, and leaving out of consideration enormous quantities of timber, fuel, bamboos, grazing and grass, thatching material, etc., supplied free from payment to villagers resident in the vicinity of the reserved forests. This net revenue, moreover, is steadily expanding under the careful husbandry of the well-trained and hard-working corps of officers forming the Indian Forest Service.

J. NISBET.

Art. V.—MACAULAY IN LOWER BENGAL—III.

II.—AS LEGISLATIVE MEMBER.

OF the two great legislative Acts which brought to Macaulay unlimited praise and unlimited blame, the one was for the liberation of the Indian Press and, the other was what was then familiarly called the Black Act. For passing the latter Act through the Legislature, the whole artillery of the Calcutta Press—from the great guns of the *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Englishman* to the little swivel of the *Gyananneshan*, were directed against him with a degree of vehemence and perseverance unexampled in the history of the Indian Press. Every form of writing, prose and verse, wit and sarcasm, ribaldry and declamation, was employed to exhibit him in the most odious point of view. All sober men were greatly shocked at the abuse so indefatigably heaped upon a single individual. The foulness of the abuse was such that he could not allow the newspapers to lie in his sister's drawing-room. Cheat, swindler, charlatan and tyrant were milder epithets with which he was assailed, and a suggestion to lynch him made at the Public Meeting against the Black Act was received with rapturous applause. For three years, from 1836 to 1838, he was pursued by the Calcutta Press with unsparing and continuous acrimony, and even after his departure from Calcutta when he was beyond the sound of their praise or censure, he was not spared from their personal hostility.

But Macaulay bore this disgraceful vituperation with the most unruffled equanimity. "His cheery and robust common sense," says his biographer, "carried him safe

and sound through an ordeal which has broken down sterner natures than his and embittered as stainless lives." The following allusions to this ugly matter in his correspondence, brief and rare as they are, clearly show that the torrent of obloquy to which he was exposed for doing a noble act, interfered neither with his temper nor with his happiness. Writing to his friend, Thomas Flower Ellis, then editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, under date, Calcutta May 30, 1836, he says :—

"We have been for some months in the middle of what the people here think a political storm. To a person accustomed to the hurricanes of English faction this sort of tempest in a horsepond is merely ridiculous. We have put the English settlers up the country under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Company's Courts in civil actions in which they are concerned with natives. The English settlers are perfectly contented ; but lawyers of the Supreme Court have set up a yelp which they think terrible and which has infinitely diverted me. They have selected me as the object of their invectives, and I am generally the theme of five or six columns of prose and verse daily. I have not patience to read a tenth part of what they put forth. The last ode in my praise which I perused began,

"Soon we hope they will recall ye
Tom Macaulay, Tom Macaulay"

The last prose which I read was a parallel between me and Lord Strafford."

This clearly shows how he could remain unaffected when the Calcutta Press was attacking him with the most rancorous invectives, for remedying a great defect in section 107 of the Charter of 1813 at the special request of the Governor-General in Council and with the unanimous approval of the Indian Law Commissioners. It was for doing common justice to the people of India at large without any distinction of caste, creed, and colour, that the Act was first conceived by the

Legislature, and, as such, received Macaulay's advocacy. When it was on the Legislative anvil, it was asserted* that the Black Act originated in an accident. Mr. Watson, an indigo and silk factor in the districts of Rajshahe and Moorshidabad, having many advances to make to *pykars*† and other natives engaged in the produce of raw silk, wished to be able to sue these people for breaches of contract in the courts of the Munsiffs that were near the factories. In order to compass this end, he waited upon Mr. Macaulay, accompanied by a leading merchant and agent, and he informed them that there was no good reason why their desired end should not be obtained as it seemed to him very reasonable. I do not know whether the above incident is true or otherwise. All that I can say is that much importance was given to the above at the time when the agitation against the Black Act was surging up furiously against my subject. At this distance of time, it is very difficult to find out the real reasons which prompted Macaulay to advocate the change in the then existing law. Suffice it to say here that it originated with the Law Commissioners, most probably at the suggestion of Sir Charles Metcalfe, then acting as Governor-General of India. Long before the Act was first published‡ for public information, Macaulay as President of the Indian Law Commission thus writes in the Legislative Consultations under date December 17th 1835 :—

I would certainly give to the sudder ameens jurisdiction in civil causes in which Europeans and Natives might be concerned. The only objection which has occurred to me is

* The assertion appeared in the *Bengal Hurkaru* of February 28th, 1838.

† The native cultivators.

‡ In March 1836, the draft appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

this : at present an Englishman has an appeal to the Supreme Court, in every case in which a native would have an appeal to the Sudder. Natives have an appeal to the Sudder in causes originally tried before the Zillah Judge. All causes in which Europeans are concerned in the mofussil are now tried before the Zillah Judge. The Englishman, therefore, has a direct appeal to the Supreme Court. If the Government shall give to the sudder ameens jurisdiction over causes in which Englishmen are parties, our countrymen will be deprived of the right of appeal which they possess ; and possibly, some discontent might by this change be excited among them ; but I don't conceive that this discontent would be deep or extensive, particularly if the Government should, in the exercise of its undoubted power, appoint a few intelligent Englishmen to the place of sudder ameens in those districts which contain a considerable number of European inhabitants."

In the above, the reader clearly finds the true origin of the Black Act. All the other members of the Law Commission, Messrs. Cameron, Macleod, and Anderson, heartily supported the above finding of Macaulay for a change in the law. So the following short draft of the Black Act was published in the official gazette in March 1836 for general information :—

I. It is hereby enacted, that from the first day of June 1836, the 107th clause of an Act of Parliament, passed in the 53rd year of King George III and entitled, "An Act for continuing in the East India Company for a further term the possession of the British territories, together with certain exclusive privileges :—for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories and the better administration of justice within the same, and for regulating the trade to and from the places within the limits of the said Company's Charter" shall cease to have effect within the territories of the East India Company. II. And it is hereby enacted that from the said day and within the said Territories, no person whatever shall, by reason of place of birth or by reason of descent, be, in any civil proceeding whatever,

excepted from the jurisdiction of any of the Courts hereinafter mentioned, that is to say :—

The Courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut—of the Zillah and City Judges of the Principal Sudder Ameens, in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George in Madras.

The Court of Sudder Adawlut—the Provincial Courts—the Courts of the Zillah Judges—of the Assistant Judges - of the Registrars, and of the Native Judges—in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

The Courts of the Sudder Adawlut—of the Zillah Judges—of the Native Judges—and of the Principal and Junior Native Commissioners in the Territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay.

This draft was received with satisfaction* by the mofussil people and received their support, as it was chiefly intended for their benefit. But the Calcutta people backed by the legal practitioners of the Supreme Court who thought their practice would go away if the appeals from Mofussil Courts were forbidden to come to the Supreme Court, and joined by the Indigo planters of Lower Bengal who acted *con amore* in this agitation, presented a remonstrance in the first instance against the measure. This memorial was considered by the Governor-General in Council before finally passing the Act, and Macaulay was asked to not only express his opinion on the memorial, but also to reply to it. The following minute on the proposed Act was submitted to the Governor-General in Council by Macaulay with his reply to the memorialists :—

Date—(no date).

The draft which is now under consideration is so important in itself, and derives so much intrinsic importance from the

* The indigo planters of the Upper Provinces signified their approval of the proposed Act by not only petitioning the Government of India but also by writing to the President of the Committee formed for repealing the Black Act. Among the signatories we find Mr. J. O'B. Saunders, the first proprietor of the *Englishman*.

nature of the opposition which has been made to it that I think it my duty to record my opinion concerning it.

By the Charter Act of 1813, British subjects settled in the mofussil were, with some reservations, placed under the jurisdiction of the Company's civil courts, but it was provided that in every case in which a native would be entitled to appeal to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, a British defendant might appeal to the Supreme Court.

In cases in which natives are concerned, appeals lie to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, in suits originally instituted before a Zillah Judge, and under certain special circumstances, in suits originally instituted before the lower judicial functionaries.

Europeans are not now subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder améens; they can be sued in no mofussil Court lower than that of the Zilla Judge, consequently in every case in which a British subject is a defendant, he has an appeal to the Supreme Court.

The British in the mofussil, have scarcely ever had recourse to this appeal, and seem to set very little value on it. In 1826, indeed, some of them actually begged to be deprived of it, in a large class of cases. They petitioned to be made subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder améens, and stated that unless this were done, they should, in petty cases, be left without any prospects of redress. In petitioning to be made subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder améens, they were, in fact, as I have said, petitioning to be deprived to a considerable extent of their right of appeal to the Supreme Court. By Regulation IV of 1827, the sudder améens were empowered to take cognizance of causes in which Europeans were concerned: this continued to be the law till 1831. A change then took place in the judicial system, and Europeans were again exempted from the jurisdiction of the lower mofussil courts; whether this change was at the time proper, is a point on which I will not offer an opinion. It is certain that Regulation IV of 1827 was called for by the British in the mofussil, that its operation was never complained of by them, and that by some of them at least it is still regretted.

During the last cold season I was assured by a deputation* of indigo planters, that they and those whom they represented, were desirous to be made subject to the jurisdiction of the sudder améens; and when I mentioned to them the appeal to the Supreme Court, they declared that they did not value it in the least; in fact, such appeals are extremely rare. The present Chief Justice† informs me, that he scarcely remembers one instance of such a proceeding.

It appeared to the Government likely that in consequence of the provisions of the late Charter Act, the number of British residents in the mofussil would increase. It, therefore, seemed expedient to determine, before any great influx of such residents should take place, what jurisdiction the Company's civil courts should possess over them.

The principle on which we proceeded was that the systems ought, as far as possible, to be uniform; that no distinction ought to be made between one class of people and another except in cases where it could be clearly made out that such a distinction was necessary to the pure and efficient administration of justice.

One such distinction, and only one, we thought it necessary to make. The general character of the munsiffs is such, that we could not venture to intrust them with the decision of suits in which a European and a native might be opposed to each other. These functionaries are ill-paid. They do not appear to possess the public confidence. Their courts require a thorough reform, and till that reform is effected, it would be highly inexpedient to give them jurisdiction in a class of cases in which the strong will very generally be opposed to the weak.

We, therefore, determined not to permit Europeans to sue or to be sued before the munsiffs; in other respects, we thought that we might safely put Europeans and natives on exactly the same footing in all civil proceedings. Nor did it appear to us that there was any reason for allowing a British-born subject to appeal to the Supreme Court, in a case in which a Hindoo, a Mussulman, an Armenian, a Jew, a Greek, a Portuguese, or an

* May be an allusion to Mr. Watson and others who were said to have waited upon Macaulay as referred to before.

† Sir Edward Ryan.

American would have no appeal, except to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut.

In the draft of a letter which accompanies this Minute, I have stated some of the reasons which lead me to think that, as a court of appeal from the mofussil judges, the Sudder Dewany Adawlut is preferable to the Supreme Court. But in my opinion, the chief reason for preferring the Sudder Dewany Adawlut is this, that it is the court which we have provided to administer justice in the last resort to the great body of the people; if it is not fit for that purpose, it ought to be made so. If it is fit to administer justice to the body of the people, why should we exempt a mere handful of settlers from its jurisdiction? There certainly is, I will not say the reality, but the semblance of partiality and tyranny in the distinction made by the Charter Act of 1813; that distinction seems to indicate a notion that the natives of India may well put up with something less than justice, or that Englishmen in India have a title to something more than justice. If we give our own countrymen an appeal to the King's courts, in cases in which all others are forced to be content with the Company's courts, we do in fact cry down the Company's courts; we proclaim to the Indian people that there are two sorts of justice, a coarse one, which we think good enough for them, and another of superior quality, which we keep for ourselves. If we take pains to show that we distrust our highest courts, how can we expect that the natives of the country will place confidence in them?

The draft of the Act was published, and was, as I fully expected, not unfavourably received by the British in the mofussil. Seven weeks have elapsed since the notification took place. Time has been allowed for petitions from the furthest corners of the territories subject to this presidency; but I have heard of only one attempt in the mofussil to get up a remonstrance; and the mofussil newspapers, which I have seen though generally disposed to cavil at all the acts of the Government, have spoken favourably of this measure.

In Calcutta the case has been somewhat different; and this is a remarkable fact. The British inhabitants of Calcutta are

the only British-born subjects in Bengal who will not be affected by the proposed Act, and they are the only British subjects in Bengal who have expressed the smallest objection to it. The clamour, indeed, has proceeded from a very small portion of the society of Calcutta; the objectors have not ventured to call a public meeting, and their memorial has obtained very few signatures; but they have attempted to make up by noise and virulence for what has been wanting in strength. It may, at first sight, appear strange that a law which is not unwelcome to those who are to live under it, should excite such acrimonious feelings among people who are wholly exempted from its operation; but the explanation is simple. Though nobody who resides at Calcutta will be sued in the mofussil courts, many people who reside at Calcutta have or wish to have, practice in the Supreme Court. These appeals, indeed, have hitherto yielded but a very scanty harvest of fees; but hopes are entertained, and have indeed been publicly expressed, that as the number of British settlers in the mofussil increases, the number of appeals will increase also. Great exertions have accordingly been made, though with little success, to excite a feeling against this measure among the English inhabitants of Calcutta.

The doctrines which, during the last five or six weeks, have filled the newspapers of this city, are, that the Government has no power to touch the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court; that an Englishman brings to India all the political rights which he possessed in London; that he owes no obedience to the Company, or the Company's servants; that Parliament alone can make laws to bind him; that he is one of the conquerors of this country, and one of the electors who choose the House of Commons at home: and that it is therefore absurd to suppose that the Legislature can have meant to place him on the same footing with the natives. In the memorial before us these doctrines are maintained in more decorous language than has been used elsewhere; but the spirit of an exclusive caste breathes in every paragraph of that document.

These circumstances appear to me to have given a new character to the question. I certainly think it desirable that

the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut should try these appeals from the mofussil; but I am quite ready to admit that the Supreme Court, composed as it is now, would be a very good court of appeal, some people may doubt whether it was worth while to stir the question; but the question has been stirred. My voice is decidedly for going boldly forward. The least flinching, the least wavering, at this crisis, would give a serious, perhaps, fatal, check to good legislation in India. It was always clear that this battle must sooner or later be fought: the necessity has come earlier than I expected; but I do not think that we can ever bring matters to an issue under more favourable circumstances. We must remember that if we suffer the memorialists to carry their point, it will be universally believed that we admit the soundness of their argument. The real question before us is whether from fear of the outcry of a small and noisy section of the society of Calcutta, we will abdicate all those high functions with which Parliament has entrusted us, for the purpose of restraining the European settler, and of protecting the native population.

The political phraseology of the English in India, is the same with the political phraseology of our countrymen at home; but it is never to be forgotten that the same words stand for very different things in London and at Calcutta. We hear much about public opinion; the love of liberty; the influence of the Press. But we must remember that public opinion means the opinion of 500 persons, who have no interest, feeling or taste in common with the 50 millions among whom they live; that the love of liberty means the strong objection which the 500 feel to every objection which can prevent them from acting as they choose towards the 50 millions; that the Press is altogether supported by the 500 and has no motive to plead the cause of the 50 millions.

We know that India cannot have a free Government; but she may have the next best thing, a firm and impartial despotism. The worst state in which she can possibly be placed is that in which the memorialists would place her. They call on us to recognise them as a privileged order of free men in the midst of slaves. It was for the purpose of averting this great

evil that Parliament, at the same time at which it suffered Englishmen to settle in India, armed us with those large powers which, in my opinion, we ill deserved to possess, if we have not the spirit to use them now.

I think that the Act before us is in itself a good Act; I think that by passing it we shall give a signal proof of our determination to do justice to all races and classes; I think that if we withdraw we shall be universally believed either to have assented to the monstrous doctrines of the memorialists, or to have been scared by a very contemptible clamour; and thinking thus, I vote for passing the Act without any amendment.

With this minute* I circulate a draft of a letter, in answer to the Calcutta memorial. I have done my best to preserve the gravity and dignity which become a government engaged in a controversy with individuals.

(Sd.) T. B. MACAULAY.

The day on which the Black Act was finally passed through the Legislature, in spite of the vehement opposition of the Calcutta lawyers, Macaulay wrote the following minute on the same Act:—

9th May 1836.

We are now, I trust, about to pass the Act, giving to the Company's courts jurisdiction, in civil cases, over British-born subjects in the mofussil. Everything which has taken place since I recorded my former Minute on this subject, has confirmed me in the opinion which I then expressed.

The Government of Madras, the Government of Bombay, the late and present Lieutenant-Governor of Western Provinces, the civil service as far as I can learn, almost to a man, are favourable to this measure. The class whose interests are most directly affected by it—I mean the British-born subjects in the mofussil,—appear to approve of it. It has been three months before the public. The English settlers in

* The Hon'ble Henry Shakespeare, another Member of the Supreme Council, said:—"I see no reason why the passing of the proposed Act should be stayed by anything urged in this memorial."—15th March 1836.

the remotest districts have had ample time to become acquainted with it, and to make up their minds as to its probable effect on their interests. They have the strongest motives to consider the question fairly and attentively; they have the best opportunities of forming a correct judgment; they know the manner in which justice is administered by the Company's courts. They know the value, and they know also the cost of a proceeding in the Supreme Court. They are, by no means, a class of people disposed to lie down quietly under what they consider as oppression; they are, on the contrary, inclined to raise a clamour whenever they think their interests neglected. They have all the national impatience of control; and they have also much pride of caste. No exertions have been spared to rouse their passions against this measure. They have been told that they are outlawed; that they are marked for destruction; that the Company regards them with the same feeling with which it formerly regarded those private adventurers who interfered with its monopoly; and this Act is the first of a series of measures, the object of which is to evade the liberal provisions of the late Charter and to make India so disagreeable a residence to the English that none will venture to settle there. They have been urged to meet, to remonstrate, to act in concert with the opponents of this law at the presidency. The effect of all this excitement has been, that a single district has sent a petition signed by perhaps 20 persons against the proposed Act. In none of those provinces in which the greatest quantity of European capital is invested, is there the smallest sign of discontent.

In the meantime, a small knot of people in Calcutta, a knot of people who are not to live under this law, who know nothing about the administration of justice in the mofussil, and who are interested in the question only as practitioners or officers in the Supreme Court, have kept up an incessant clamour against the Government, and have done their best to conceal the smallness of their numbers and the weakness of their cause by the violence of their invectives and the audacity of their assertions. They have produced no effect in the mofussil, and scarcely any at the presidency. Their supporters

appear to be dropping off. Their first memorial bore about a hundred names; their second, I think, about 47. They have threatened to call a public meeting; but they have found that it would be imprudent to persist in that design; and nobody doubts that such a meeting would have been a ludicrous failure.

I mention these things lest the Honourable Court should imagine, from the virulence with which some of the Calcutta newspapers have attacked the Government on this occasion, that we have rashly provoked the hostility of the great body of our countrymen resident in India. Any person who should form his judgment from those newspapers, would believe that the whole empire was in a flame. The fact is, that the hostility to the proposed law is confined to those who live, or wish to live, by the abuses of the most expensive court that exists on the face of the earth. The proposed Act, indeed, will directly affect their gains but little. There are not two appeals from the mofussil courts to the Supreme Court in five years. But the persons to whom I refer see in this measure the beginning of a great and searching reform. They see that we are determined not to suffer the high powers bestowed on us by Parliament to lie idle. They have, therefore, attempted to stop us at the outset, and by interesting all classes of their countrymen in their quarrel, to prevent us from proceeding to the correction of those evils which I firmly believe have ruined more native families than a Pindaree invasion.

All the reasons which have led these persons to oppose this Act, ought to lead us to pass it instantly. It is a pledge of our determination to rescue our native subjects from a ruinous system of chicane; to do justice without distinction of persons; to defy interested clamour; to exert fearlessly, as well as prudently, for the general good, the whole of that vast power with which the British Parliament has armed us. I think this Act in itself a useful and important measure; but its intrinsic merits are now the smallest part of the question. There is no want of argument for passing it; but the strongest of those arguments is the manner in which it has been opposed.

(Sd.) T. B. MACAULAY.

Provoked by Macaulay's personal attacks, the Calcutta agitators at last convened a public meeting on 18th June 1836 for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against the Act passed (Act XI of 1836). The meeting took place at the Town Hall under the chairmanship of Mr. R. H. Cockerell, then Sheriff of Calcutta. There were several eminent speakers, among whom Mr. Longueville Loftus Clarke, M.A., F.R.S., was perhaps the foremost. The following is an extract from his speech, delivered at the meeting :—

"The inquisition interdicts the works of the philosopher, the continental tyrants, those of the patriot and the East India Company would take from the natives the dangerous example of seeing any class of their fellow citizens free (*Hear, hear*). But that I may not be accused of misrepresenting, I will read the words of Mr. Macaulay—the tool of the Court, the agent of their work—I will quote his words on the debate on the Indian Bill. Mark them well, Gentlemen,—‘At present in India, liberty we cannot have, despotism we must have, but let us avoid that worst of all evils, a partial despotism.’ Such was his language, and were it not taken from the mirror of Parliament, I should have doubted that any man dare have uttered such trash and absurdities in an assembly of intelligent men. If despotism be an evil, then the more unmixed it is, the greater must the despotism be, the more partial it is, the less must it be; but according to Mr. Macaulay, the greater the despotism, the less the evil; the more limited the despotism, the greater the evil (*laughter*). Was there no one in that House to suggest to this wise legislator, how striking is the similarity between a body politic and a body corporal and to ask him whether he would prefer to have a gangrene on some one spot of his own person or to be an entire mass of ulcerous sores; methinks, he would then have a lively sense of the greater and the lesser evil (*laughter*). But, gentlemen, Macaulay was determined to clear up every mistake; having told the House that the despotism must be universal and ought to be extended from the native to the Briton, he proceeded

to show what the quality of that despotism was, and he gave no dubious idea of its frightful extent when he announced that the Governor-General had the power of decimating the native population. Such was the language of Mr. Macaulay, and I thank him for apprizing us of his notions of the tyranny to which we are subject (*Hear, hear*). I will not stop now to discuss whether the Governor-General would decimate the population if the machinations of the Company and their agent succeeded in driving the English from India by making it intolerable for a free man to live in it, but this I do know, that while English hearts and hands are in this country, our native fellow-subjects are safe from decimation, and that we would soon tell the tyrant by whom such a mad attempt might be made :—‘There yawns the sack, and yonder rolls the sea’ (*Loud cheers*). Mr. Macaulay might treat this as an idle threat, but his knowledge of history and literature will supply him with many striking examples of what has occurred when resistance was provoked and that milder instances of despotism than the decimation of a people, have harbingered the wildest changes. Experience teaches us, that despotism is of all suicides the greatest, and invariably perpetrates its own destruction, for no man, however vast his authority, is capable of resisting an excited people. Individually they may be lighter than the grains of dust in the desert, but the wave of the sand storm is not more overwhelming than the concentrated powers of the multitude. The Court of Directors know this. Mr. Macaulay, their agent, knows this."

When the Calcutta lawyers determined at the meeting assembled to memorialise the Home Authorities and Parliament to disallow the Black Act, it was deemed expedient by Lord Auckland, then Governor-General, and all his councillors* including Macaulay, to record their reasons in full for passing the Act and in the sequel, to offer such remarks on the memorial itself as were necessary to convince the Home Authorities of its

* Lord Auckland, the Hon'ble H. Shakespeare, A. Ross, Colonel W. Morison, C.B., all separately recorded their opinions on the Act, which I cannot reproduce here for want of space.

uselessness. At the invitation of Lord Auckland, Macaulay wrote his last Minute on the Black Act, which is perhaps the best and most illuminating of all his Indian minutes. The following is the full text of Macaulay's last minute on the Black Act :—

4. It is not the fact, as stated without qualifications by the petitioners, "that the English law has prevailed in the town of Calcutta during 130 years" ; on the contrary, it is the fact, that, with regard to 99-100ths of the population of Calcutta, a law of inheritance, a law of succession, and a law of marriage, widely differing from the English law, have always prevailed in that town. But if the allegation is true, it would, with reference to the present question, be altogether frivolous, inasmuch as Act XI., of 1836, makes no change whatever in the legal condition of any person residing in Calcutta.

5. It is not the fact that, before the passing of this Act, "British born subjects possessed a right of appeal in all cases to the Supreme Court." In the first place, no British born subject ever had any such right of appeal except in a case in which he was defendant ; in the second place, no British born subject ever had such a right of appeal except in cases in which a native would have had a right of appeal to the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*. By the charter of 1813, it was always in the power, not, as now, only of the Governor-General in Council, but of the Government of Madras, and of the Government of Bombay, by enlarging or narrowing the right of the native to appeal to the *Sudder Court*, to enlarge or narrow also the right of the Englishman to appeal to the Supreme Court.

6. And here I may observe, that every argument which is urged from the beginning to the end of the petition in favour of the Supreme Court, and against the Company's courts, is exactly as applicable to cases in which Englishmen are plaintiffs as to cases in which Englishmen are defendants. If the Company's courts are so ignorant, so corrupt, so servile, that when not overawed by the Supreme Court, they will not do justice to an English defendant, we may be certain that, when not overawed by the Supreme Court, they will not do justice to an English plaintiff. Now is it even pretended that during the 23 years during which English plaintiffs have been left to the justice of the *mofussil* courts, without any appeal to the King's, their interests have in any respect suffered? I answer confidently, that this is not, and has never been pretended.

7. If so, I conceive that the question has been decided by experience, and that no honest Englishman need be afraid of being brought as a defendant before courts, tribunals which have sufficiently protected his interests when he came before them as a prosecutor.

8. But this is not all. A few years ago the British in the mofussil were, at their own petition, placed under the jurisdiction of the Company's lower courts. The effect of the law which placed them under that jurisdiction (Regulation IV of 1827 of the Bengal Code) was to deprive them, in a very large class of cases, of their appeal to the Supreme Court, even when they were defendants. This law was rescinded some years after, injudiciously as I think, not, however, in consequence of any representations from the British settlers, but I believe, from a fear that the British settlers might be able to obtain more than justice from native functionaries.

9. While the Regulation IV of 1827 was in operation, did a single Englishman petition against it? Did a single Englishman complain that he could not obtain justice? Did a single Englishman miss the appeal to the Supreme Court? I answer confidently, not one.

10. We have, then, ample experience to guide us. During 23 years English plaintiffs in the mofussil have had no appeal from the Company's courts to the Supreme Court. During several years a large proportion of English defendants had no appeal from the Company's courts to King's courts. That English litigants were treated with injustice, in consequence of this arrangement, is not even asserted; why then is it to be supposed that they will be treated with injustice now?

11. All that the petitioners say on the subject of the law of inheritance, marriage, succession, is founded on complete misapprehension of the whole scope and meaning of Regulation VII of 1832. That Regulation, indeed, is not expressed with so much neatness and precision as might be wished; but it is plain that it does not abrogate any portion of the law of England which, at the time when the Regulation passed, was law in the mofussil. It merely says that none of its provisions are to be understood as justifying the introduction

of English law except in cases in which that law is in equity and good conscience applicable.

12. The reason which induced the Government not to answer more explicitly the question as to the substantive law to which Englishmen in the mofussil are subject was simply this: that no member of the Government, nor, I believe, any other person, can give an explicit answer to that question. That our Act made no change in the substantive law, we were, and are, certain; that it does not, in the smallest degree, tend to increase the evils arising from the ill-defined state of the substantive, and that it is a great improvement in the law of procedure, we fully believe. It would surely have been the height of absurdity in the Government to suffer itself to be drawn by persons, of whose captiousness it had ample proof, into a controversy on a legal question, abounding with difficulties, which, to my certain knowledge, have perplexed the most distinguished lawyers. Nothing is easier than to moot points touching the legal condition of Englishmen in the mofussil, which all the ingenuity of Westminster Hall would be puzzled to settle, points which no judge would think of deciding without hearing them fully argued, and which, I believe, he would at last decide by making a law for the occasion.

13. The question which we, as legislators, had to look at, was a practical question. It was not necessary for us to know, what nobody knows, the precise extent to which the substantive law of England is the law under which Englishmen in India are placed. There are wide differences of opinion on this matter, considered as a matter of speculation; but these differences will be found to diminish greatly, if not to disappear altogether, in practice. Those who maintain that an English planter carries the substantive Civil law of England with him to Tirhoot or to Cawnpore, do not mean that he carries with him the whole common and statute law exactly as it exists in Middlesex. They would admit that the circumstances of this country render it necessary that the English law should be modified by a very large and not very well defined equity; on the other hand, those who do not think that the English law, merely because it is English law, is applicable to an Englishman in the

mofussil, would yet admit, that in some cases in which Englishmen are concerned, the Company's judges, whose rule of decision is equity and good conscience, would be bound in equity and good conscience to decide according to the principles of English law. I see little difference between English law modified by a large equity, so as to suit India, and equity frequently recurring for guidance to the English law, when it has to deal with Englishmen. Two persons who would differ from each other widely as to the extent to which English law is, as such law in the mofussil, would agree in pronouncing that a mofussil judge ought to consider an Englishman as married who had been married in conformity with the law of England, and that the effects of a deceased English intestate, ought to be distributed according to the English Statute of Distributions.

14. There is no doubt that the unsettled state of the substantive law in the mofussil is an evil which requires correction. In a few years, I doubt not, it will be corrected. In the meantime, considered as a temporary substitute for a body of well-defined law, I really think that the rule of the Company's Regulations, which directs the courts to decide according to equity and good conscience, is as unexceptionable as any other as could be devised. It is not meant to be a permanent rule: it is a prop which must be suffered to stand till pillars can be set up and which will then be taken down. Such as it is, 100,000,000 of human beings live under it, and obtain by means of it a certain measure of justice, not such as I wish to give them, but still such as suffices to hold society together, and to make men tolerably secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry. Though I admit that the rule is most defective I do not see how we can at present have a better; and of this I am sure, that of all the millions who live under this rule, the English in the mofussil have the least reason to complain. They are of the same race, they speak the same language, they profess the same religion, they have the same laws of inheritance, succession and marriage, with the zillah and sudder judges. If a zillah or sudder judge can be safely trusted with the interests of Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, Jews, Armenians, is it not absurd to say that he cannot be safely trusted with

the interests of his own countrymen? Is it not absurd to say that the only national usages to which he will not allow their due importance are those of his own nation? That the only law of marriage which he will treat with contempt, is the law on which the legitimacy of his own children depends? That the only law of succession which he will disregard is that law which secures to his own nearest connexions the property which he may leave behind him?

15. The petitioners say that the provincial courts of first instance ought to be altogether prohibited from meddling with these questions of inheritance, marriage and succession. By the provincial court of first instance, I presume that they mean the courts of the principal Sudder Ameens and Sudder Ameens: if so, they are under a complete mistake as to the system of procedure in the mofussil. The zillah courts are strictly the courts of first instance. No cause is tried by a Sudder Ameen or a principal Sudder Ameen, except on a reference to him from the zillah judge, who is always an European functionary. It will be perceived that it is not an idle dispute about nomenclature, but that it is a point of great practical importance. These English questions go first before an English gentleman, who is at liberty to refer them to an inferior court, if he thinks that court competent enough to try them, or to reserve them to himself if he thinks that course preferable. Can we doubt that such a functionary will reserve to himself questions which are purely English, and which a Hindoo or Mahomedan functionary would not be likely to understand? Surely, when we trust a man with such vast power over the happiness of hundreds of thousands of foreigners as a zillah judge possesses, we may give him credit for a disposition not to treat his own countrymen with absurd injustice.

16. The absurdity of the outcry which has been raised respecting the law of inheritance, will be evident, when it is remembered that no Englishman has a legal right, at the present moment, to purchase land in perpetuity in the mofussil. The Charter Act gave to Englishman only a right to hold land for terms of years. The people who have no right to hold estates of inheritance at all, should be in alarm

because the law of inheritance is unsettled, seems scarcely reasonable. The few who are permitted by the special indulgence of Government to hold such estates as matter of favour, may surely submit to a law, which the Government thinks necessary for the general interest of the people.

17. The apprehensions expressed respecting the law of marriage and divorce have, if possible, less foundation; indeed I know of no court in the mofussil which has power to grant a divorce to any party of any race or religion.

18. Again, let it be remembered, that almost all questions touching inheritance, marriage, and succession, must be between two persons, both of British race. There may be exceptions, but they will be few. Now, in all cases where both the parties are British subjects, the Supreme Court has concurrent original jurisdiction with the Company's courts. In cases of divorce, where British subjects are concerned, the Supreme Court has exclusive jurisdiction.

19. The petitioners think it hard that questions which ought to be decided by the law of England should be decided by judges not bred to the study of that law; why is this harder than that questions of Hindoo law and Mahomedan law should every day be decided by judges of the Supreme Court, who were never bred to the study of the Hindoo or Mahomedan jurisprudence. The very act of Parliament which gave that appeal, the loss of which is represented as so terrible an evil, directed the judges of the Supreme Court to proceed on every such appeal according to the rules of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adalut. On those rules the judges of the Supreme Court, learned and able as they are, are necessarily quite ignorant. There have only been as yet two appeals under the Act of 1813; and on both occasions the judges of the Supreme Court were forced to send to the judges of the Sudder to ask what was to be done. I cannot conceive why the judges of the Sudder should have more difficulty in learning what the law of England is on a particular point, than the judges of the Supreme Court have had in learning what is the Hindoo law, what is the Mahomedan law or what is the practice of the Sudder.

20. But the petitioners think it a great evil that Englishmen should be subject to the jurisdiction of courts which carry on their proceedings in Persian or in the vernacular tongue. This is no place for discussing the advantages of employing the Persian language in legal proceedings; on that point I shall not give an opinion. But I wish to know why it is a greater evil that a few hundreds of Englishmen should be under the jurisdiction of a court which conducts its proceedings in Persian, than that some hundreds of thousands of natives should be under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court which conducts its proceedings in English. It is hard, according to the petitioners, that Englishmen should go before courts, the pleaders of which do not understand the English laws or language. Why harder than that natives should be forced to go before the Supreme Court, on which there is not a single barrister who has studied Oriental law or who can speak any Oriental language.

21. But the Company's judges, say the petitioners, are dependent on the Government, and therefore no British subject ought to be under their jurisdiction. That the dependence of judges on a Government is in many respects an evil, will be universally admitted; whether in India it be a necessary evil or not, is a question concerning which there will probably be different opinions. But on what ground is it that we are to make a distinction between the Englishman and native? On what ground are we to say that an inferior kind of justice, such as can be procured from dependent judges, is good enough for a hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, but that we must have a purer sort for a handful of our countrymen?

22. Since the foregoing pages were written, I have read with great pleasure, Mr. Shakespeare's* valuable Minute on this question. I have been particularly interested by his remark on the charges which the petitioners have brought against the native judicial officers. I am willing to believe that the view which he has taken of the character of that class of persons, is not too favourable; but if all that the petitioners

* The Hon'ble Henry Davenport Shakespeare.

say on the subject were true, I should still think the Act of which they complain a salutary Act.

23. In the first place, I think that nothing can be more pernicious or absurd, than, because a certain body of functionaries are corrupt, to exempt from their jurisdiction a very small class, distinguished by intrepidity and by hatred of oppression and fraud, accustomed also to think little of the frown of power; certain to complain whenever they think themselves wronged, and certain to be heard whenever they complain. Such a class the English settlers in the mofussil will be. To exempt them from the jurisdiction of the local courts, and to have subject to that jurisdiction a vast population, timid, weak spirited, the ready prey of every extortioner, the ready slaves of every tyrant, would, I think, be in the highest degree reprehensible. What is the great difficulty which meets us whenever we meditate any extensive reform in India? It is this, that there is no helping men who will not help themselves. The phenomenon which strikes an observer lately arrived from England with the greatest surprise, and which, more than any other damps his hopes of being able to serve the people of this country, is their own apathy, their own passiveness under wrong. He comes from a land in which the spirit of the meanest rises up against the insolence or injustice of the richest and the most powerful; he finds himself in a land where the patience of the oppressed invites the oppressor to repeat his injuries. Therefore it is that I am not desirous to exempt the English settler from any evil under which his Hindoo neighbour suffers. I am sorry that there should be such evils, but, while they exist I wish that they should be felt, not only by the mute, the effeminate, the helpless, but by the noisy, the bold, and the powerful. If, therefore, I thought that the mofussil courts were as bad as the petitioners describe them to be, I should still say, "Put the English settler under them; then we shall know the whole; then we shall have the corrupt functionaries brought to shame and punishment for one who is detected now." Many abuses there undoubtedly are in the Company's courts; and, therefore, I would give the English settler a common interest with the native in the

ing of these abuses. The more these courts require amendment the stronger are the reasons of giving those who have power to produce amendment motives for producing amendment. Many a grievance which would pass unredressed, because unknown, while only some thousands of natives feel it, will be forced on the notice of the Government as soon as one of our countrymen smarts from it.

Secondly, I conceive that, if the Company's courts are corrupt, there is an additional reason why appeals from those courts should be to the Sudder Dewanny Adalat rather than to the Supreme Court. It is not pretended that the Sudder Dewanny Adalat is corrupt: the judges of that court stand as high in repute for integrity, higher it is impossible to stand, as the judges of the Supreme Court. Integrity, then being supposed equal in these two courts, which of the two is the more likely to detect corruption in a subordinate functionary? Which of the two is the better able to punish corruption when detected? Surely it cannot be doubted that a Sudder Judge who has been in India from his youth, who has himself presided in a zillah court in the mofussil, who has passed years in the daily transaction of business with native law officers, who is familiar with all the shapes which dishonesty takes in a mofussil cutcherry, must be more likely to discover malpractices than an English barrister, who, in the middle of life, has come out to this country, and who has probably never stirred beyond the limits of a town which may be called a British colony. Again if corruption is detected by a judge of the Supreme Court he has no power to punish it; the Company's law officers are not under his authority. If the Sudder Dewanny Adalat should discover that a decision is corrupt, it should be their duty, not only to set it aside, but to visit the offending functionary with condign punishment.

24. The petitioners complain of the time at which this measure had been adopted, and I have reason to know that a few enlightened persons, who think this Act in principle good and who altogether disapprove of the manner in which it has been opposed, are yet inclined to consider it as premature. They conceive that the formation of a complete code of

substantive law ought to precede this change, instead of following it. I differ from them: I conceive that the admission of British-born subjects to settle in India, rendered it desirable to take this measure without delay. That there are arguments in favour of postponing this measure till the completion of the code of civil rights, I admit; but I say that all those arguments go further, and are arguments against admitting British settlers till the code of civil rights is completed. Parliament has decided that British settlers shall be admitted, and that decision rendered the step which we have taken necessary. Nay, Parliament did not leave it to us to determine whether this or some similar step was or was not necessary: the Charter Act, after providing for the admission of British settlers, goes most positively to enjoin us to take measures immediately, and without waiting for the necessarily slow progress of the general code, for the protection of the natives against the wrongs which may be apprehended from such settlers. The intention of Parliament, I firmly believe was, that British-born settlers should be placed with as little delay as possible, under the jurisdiction of the Company's courts. My only doubt is, whether we have fully acted up to the intentions of the Legislature; for it is my persuasion that Parliament intended British settlers in the mofussil to be made subject to the criminal as well as the civil jurisdiction of the Company's courts. Till the passing of Act XI of 1836, an Englishman at Agra or Benares who owed a small debt to a native, who had beaten a native, who had come with a body of bludgeon men and ploughed up a native's land, if sued by the injured party for damages, was able to drag that party before the Supreme Court, a court which, in one most important point, the character of the judges, stands as high as any court can stand, but which in every other respect, I believe, to be the worst in India, the most dilatory, and the most ruinously expensive. Judicial corruption is indeed a most frightful evil, yet it is not the worst of evils. A court may be corrupt, and yet it may do much good; indeed there is scarcely any court so corrupt as not to do much more justice than injustice; for there is no reason to believe that the party who is in the right will be less able to fee the judge than the party who is in the

wrong, and, *cæteris paribus*, the worst judge will, from selfish motives, decide rightly rather than wrongly. Thus we see, that in many countries, and through many ages, society is held together, order is preserved, property is accumulated, though the courts constantly receive bribes, and occasionally pervert judgment.

25. A sullied stream is a blessing compared to a total drought; and a court may be worse than corrupt: it may be inaccessible. The expenses of litigation in England are so heavy that people daily sit down quietly under wrongs and submit to losses rather than go to law; and yet the English are the richest people in the world. The people of India are poor; and the expense of litigation in the Supreme Court is five times as great as the expenses of litigation at Westminster. An undefended cause, which might be prosecuted successfully in the Court of King's Bench for about £8 sterling, cannot be prosecuted in the Supreme Court under £40 sterling. Where an English barrister receives a guinea; a barrister here receives a gold mohur. Officers of the court are enabled to accumulate in a few years, out of the substance of ruined suitors, fortunes larger than the oldest and most distinguished servant of the Company can expect to carry home after thirty or forty years of eminent service. I speak of Bengal, where the system is now in full operation. At Madras the Supreme Court has, I believe, fulfilled its mission, it has done its work, it has beggared every rich native within its jurisdiction, and is inactive for want of somebody to ruin. This is not all: great as the evils of the Supreme Court really are, they are exaggerated by the apprehensions of the natives to a still more frightful magnitude. The terror with which it is regarded by them is notorious. Within the last few months, in consequence of an attempt made by some persons connected with that court to extend its jurisdiction over the suburbs of Calcutta, hundreds of respectable and wealthy natives petitioned the Government in language indicating the greatest dismay. To give to every English defendant in every civil cause a right to bring the native plaintiff before the Supreme Court, is to give to every dishonest Englishman an

immunity against all civil prosecution. It is true that such appeals are scarcely ever heard of. There have as yet been only two actually brought to a hearing. But it is the opinion of some of the most experienced servants of the Company, that the threat of appealing has often been employed, and employed with success, by dishonest debtors against honest claimants. And I am quite certain, from what I have myself seen of the dread with which natives regard the Supreme Court, and from what I myself know of the expenses of that court, that the threat would in a great proportion of cases be successful.

26. I conceive, therefore, that the Act is good in itself, and that the time for passing it has been well chosen. The strongest reason, however, as I formerly said, for passing it, was the nature of the opposition which it experienced. Approved by the Governments of Madras, Bombay, and Agra, approved by the body of the Civil Service, not disapproved by those English settlers to whom alone its provisions applied, it has been violently assailed by a portion of the English inhabitants of Calcutta. In this petition they have not taken quite so reprehensible a tone as in their memorials addressed to the Indian Government; but the same spirit of caste, the same love of oligarchical domination, disguising itself under the phraseology which in England we are accustomed to hear only from the most zealous supporters of popular rights, may be seen in both. While the excitement which has now completely subsided, was in its full force, the organs of the opposition repeated every day that the English were the conquerors, the lords of the country, the dominant race, the electors of the House of Commons, whose legislative power extends both over the Company at home and over the Governor-General in Council here. The constituents of British Legislature, they told us, were not to be bound by laws made by any inferior authority. The firmness with which the Government withstood the idle outcry of two or three hundred people about a matter with which they had nothing to do, was designated as insolent defiance of public opinion. We were enemies of freedom because we would not suffer a small white aristocracy to domineer over millions.

27. How utterly at variance these principles are with reason, with justice, with the honour of the British Government and with the dearest interests of the Indian people, it is unnecessary for me to point out either to my colleagues or to the Honourable Court. For myself, I can only say, that if the Government is to be conducted on such principles, I am utterly disqualified, by all my feelings and opinions, from bearing any part in it, and cannot too soon resign my place to some person better fitted to hold it.

28. The petitioners say that the East India Company has always been opposed to the free trade and settlement of the English in India, and they, therefore, conceive it to be a great hardship that they should be placed under the Company's courts.

29. This is an ingenious attempt to compound two things which are in themselves widely different and which the English Parliament and nation are likely to regard with very different feelings. The jealousy of interlopers, which the Company felt while the Company was still a commercial body was natural and not inexcusable; but it was a feeling not likely in any age to meet with much sympathy from the public, and the spirit of our age is so strongly, and as I think justly, opposed to restriction on trade, that an interloper, thwarted and depressed by a powerful monopolist, is sure to have the general voice on his side.

30. But is it just or reasonable to advert to a state of things which has wholly passed away, for the purpose of raising a cry against the Indian Government? The Company is no longer the competitor of the private merchant; it has ceased to be a commercial body; it is now merely a ruling body, and as such, it has no interest to exclude from its dominions any class of people who are likely to make those dominions more flourishing by carrying thither the arts and industry of Europe.

31. As to the apprehension which the petitioners express, that the effect of this enactment may be to deter Europeans from settling in India, I cannot do better than quote the language of a most valuable servant of the Company, the late lamented Mr. Mill.* That gentleman was asked by the

* James Mill, father of John Stuart Mill. Both the father and the son were on the clerical establishment of the East India Company.

Committee of the House of Commons which sat on Indian Affairs in 1832, whether he did not conceive that the total abolition of the King's courts would prevent Europeans from settling in the interior. His answer was, "By no means. I think the same motives which carry them into the interior now, as far as their objects are honest and justifiable, would carry them there still; and if they go there for the gain of misconduct and oppression, it is very much to be desired that they should not go at all."

32. It is impossible that any rational person can be so prejudiced against the Company and its servants as really to believe that having given up all connexions with trade, they are still jealous of all other traders.

33. But there is a jealousy widely different from the old commercial jealousy, of which the Company is invidiously and unfoundedly accused by the petitioners, a jealousy which it is their duty, and that of all who are in authority under them to entertain, that jealousy is not the jealousy of a merchant, afraid of being undersold, but the jealousy of a ruler afraid that the subjects for whose wellbeing he is answerable should be pillaged and oppressed. India has been subjugated by English arms and is governed by English functionaries. To be an Englishman is therefore a rank in India. Nor is this all: those qualities which enabled us to conquer, and which now enable us to govern the country, that valour, that resolution, that intelligence, that closeness of union, that marked superiority, both in mental and physical energy, which reared our empire and which have upheld it, make every individual Englishman a formidable object to the native population. Under these circumstances, there is reason to fear that a tyranny of the worst sort, the tyranny of race over race, may be the effect of the free admission of British settlers into our provinces. This apprehension the British Parliament evidently entertained when it passed the Charter Act; and if any person is inclined to think it an unfounded apprehension, I would refer him to the writings and speeches to which this very Act has given occasion. In these speeches and writings it will not be difficult for him to detect, under the disguise of expressions which in England are

generally employed by demagogues, the spirit of an oligarchy, as proud and exclusive as that of Venice itself.

34. Against that spirit it is the first duty of the Government to make a firm stand. I, at least, will make no concession to it, and I must earnestly hope that the unflinching and uncompromising resistance which I have, in common with my colleagues, felt it my duty to offer to demands made in that spirit, will be approved by the Honorable Court. I hope so, not principally on my own account, though their approbation must always be most gratifying to me, but because I am convinced that on the course which they may take the dearest interest of this empire depends.

35. In all ages and countries, a great town which is the seat of the Government is likely to exercise an influence on public measures disproportioned to its real importance. This is no evil, if the interests, the opinions, and the feelings of the population of such a town coincide with those of the population of the empire; but in India, unfortunately, while the influence of the society of the capital of the Government is greater than in almost any other country, the interests, feelings and opinions of that society are often diametrically opposed to those of the mass of the people. Calcutta is an English colony in the midst of an Oriental population. Here we are surrounded by men of the same race and colour with ourselves, by men who speak and write our language, by men who constantly correspond with the country to which we all hope to return. That the favourable and unfavourable opinions of such men should affect us more than the opinion of crowds of foreigners, of heathens, of blacks; that the execrations of whole provinces in the mofussil should wound our feelings less than a scurrilous article in a Calcutta newspaper; that the benedictions of whole provinces should gratify us less than a complimentary address from 50 or 60 of our own countrymen, is, I fear, but too natural. To overcome these feelings; to take greater interest in the many, who are separated from us by strong lines of distinction, than in a few to whom we are bound by close ties; to brave the clamorous censure of those who surround us, for the purpose of serving those whose praises we shall never hear, is no more than our

duty; but it is a duty in the performance of which we have, I think, a peculiar claim on the home authorities to support and encouragement. We have now, in defiance of misrepresentation, abuse, and calumny, passed a law, which is considered by ourselves, by the late Governor-General, by the Governor in Council of Madras, by the Governor in Council of Bombay, by all, or almost all, the Civil Servants of the Company, as a law beneficial to the great body of the people. The English settlers in the mofussil, the English at the Towns of Madras and Bombay, are, to all appearance, contented with it, the English population of Calcutta alone, led on by a class of men who live by the worst abuses of the worst court in the world, have raised an outcry against us. If that outcry be successful, the prospects of this country will be dark indeed, but I know the Honourable Court and the British Legislature too well to think that it can be successful, and I confidently expect that we shall receive on this occasion such support as may encourage us, and those who shall succeed us, when legislating for the general good of India, to disregard the clamour of Calcutta,

(Sd.) T. B. MACAULAY.

In the above grand state document to which Macaulay's biographer makes not the slightest mention, the greatest English rhetorician had shown with what admirable lucidity he could expose the knotty points of law and with what marvellous moderation and tact he could reply to his opponents. The bold tone, the calm confidence, the uncompromising attitude, the persuasive language, the utter disregard of either praise or blame, that run throughout the memorable minute, went a great way in convincing the Home Authorities that truth and justice were on his side and in winning final victory for him. As a matter of fact, the petition of the Calcutta agitators against the Black Act was considered by a committee of the House of Commons, but the result was in favour of the Government

of India. The kind of advocacy which Macaulay did for enacting the Black Act, thereby chiefly aiming at abolishing all race distinctions in India, and placing both the rulers and the ruled on a footing of equality, so far as the law of the country was concerned, arose mainly out of his strong Whiggish nature. In doing so, he fought with his own countrymen, for depriving them of a legal right to which, he thought, they had not the slightest claim. In that conviction, he acted throughout without any fear or favour, and thought that by enacting the Black Act, and subjecting his countrymen to the jurisdiction of the Company's courts, he was able to disillusionise them of the mischievous idea that they were a privileged class in India. The result was his unpopularity in Calcutta Society. But he was supremely indifferent to the calumnies hurled at him by the Calcutta agitators.

S. C. SANIAL.

(To be continued.)

Art. VI.—HORO DURANGKO ; OR MUNDARI SONGS.

BY MAULAVI ABDUL WALI,

Member, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

IN collecting, transliterating and translating, these songs—the Folk Poesy of the Mundas—I have experienced an unusual amount of difficulty. The first, though not the foremost, difficulty for a newcomer to Chota Nagpur like myself, was the bewildering similarity of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Plateau, in colour, habit and speech. As time passed by, and some experience was gained, the problem became less perplexing. Practical experience showed that the people, who appeared so undistinguishable from one another, and similar in complexion and habiliments, were dissimilar in speech, temperament, and sympathies, and that each race was sub-divided into innumerable septs. It took me some time to ascertain that while some of the songs they sing were in Mundari, others were in Uraon or Sadān (Hindi). However long one might live among the Kols of Chota Nagpur, one would never be able to distinguish one race from another, merely from outward appearance. There is, however, real variety in apparent similarity.

After considerable deliberations and thinking I determined to collect a few Mundari songs, which are sung by one of the most important races that dwell in parts of Chota Nagpur. I had as many songs of these primitive people, as I could conveniently collect, reduced to writing in Hindi. I then set to work and find out what those songs treated of. Out of them I selected a few typical songs, transliterated them in the Roman

character, classified them into their various sections, and with considerable difficulty translated them into English. The songs, which I herewith present, have been collected from such parts of the Munda country, where the language is spoken with greater purity and which is not yet contaminated by alien influences. The modern aliens—including Christian Missionaries—who have learnt the language, cannot understand these songs, without being interpreted. My official duties often made it inconvenient for me to find out from the blue-blooded Mundas, who live far away from the headquarters, the true interpretations of these songs. It was exceedingly difficult for me to get an accurate knowledge of the various Munda customs from those young Mundas who had been removed early from their village surroundings, christianized and educated, and who in their borrowed costume, and affected manners, know nothing of, or everything but, their own country and people. The Mundas who have come under the influence of the Missionaries are proud of speaking Hindi and forgetting their own mother-speech. I present the songs to the public with English renderings and notes, as specimens of the unwritten literature of a very primitive and deeply interesting aboriginal race, who, I believe, are destined, sooner or later, to be wiped out from existence as a distinct race by the modern civilizing influences, which persist to wean the savage races from primitive ways, and induce them to adopt modern practices.

RACE AND COUNTRY.

The chief dialect of the Chota Nagpur Plateau is usually, though inaccurately, called *Mundari*. It is spoken in the southern and western parts of the Ranchi District, and also in north Singhbhum. The principal

Kholarian races are the Hoṛo and the Kurukh,* the one, it is said, preceding the other in its retreat into the hills and forests of Chota Nagpur. The Hoṛoko or the Mundas, and the Kurkhar or the Uraons, in spite of differences in their languages, and also in manners, fraternized in their mountain fastnesses and common distress. Necessity forced the one to adopt what was wanting in the other.

The wide green meadows, verdant earth encircled by blue hillocks, from which gush out innumerable rivulets, stimulated their passion to drink, to dance, and to be merry. In process of time, and under the altered circumstances of their living, these simple people came to dread and worship the *nags*, (snakes) which infested the hills and forests of the Plateau. Out of this superstitious fear was evolved a supernatural King, who lorded it over them, and called into being sacerdotal and martial castes, whose title to those offices are still disputed, and at times disregarded.†

But the Province of Magha has always been a recruiting ground for various trades and crafts which the denizens of the Plateau were badly in need of. These later emigrants have in various ways revolutionized their manners, customs, and beliefs.

Both the people now sing songs either in their original Hoṛo-Kaji and Kurukh, (or Mundari and Uraon) or in the Budhistic dialect of Magha, called Gawaṇri-Hindi. But happily there are still representatives of one of

* Ho, or Hoṛo is singular; Hoṛoko plural. Kurukh is singular; Kurkhar plural; Hoṛo-Kaji (the man-language) is the Mundari language.

† The Nagbansi Rajas of Chota Nagpur became great potentates among Hindus and grew to despise the Kols. Foreigners were introduced, to whom lands were assigned for military and religious services. They supported the Raja in his innovations. Gradually some of the chieftains of the tribe, Mankis, etc., were won over to Hinduism, without altogether rejecting their ancient sylvan deities. The masses, however, remained in their pristine state. Abstracted from Colonel Dalton's ethnology of Bengal. *Ibid* Statistical Account of Lohardaga District, 1877.

these races who know but one language. The Hoṛoko of Mankipatis, the Pañch Parganas, and Sonpur, speak their language in almost its pristine purity, and have very little to do with the corrupting influences of the Magha aliens.

VILLAGE COMMUNION.

The Hoṛo race is divided into *Kilis* or septs. The peculiarity of the place and the race is that one must level the ground and cut the forest in order to make a particular area one's home. Each Kili is, therefore, the owner of a particular tract of the country. The head-man or patriarch of the family, who is called Pahanṛ, offers sacrifices to protect the village from snakes and wild beasts, presides over communal functions, and transmits rents to the superior-landlord, assisted by his assistant called *Munda*. During the supremacy of the British Law Courts, the Munda who attended them, and who represented the village, was looked upon as the head of the village. The junior members of the family are called *Mundaris*. Owing to the exclusiveness of the race, and the inability or indifference of alien law-officers, the representatives of the village—Mundas or Munṛas—were regarded as holders of the racial designation of the people. So according to the dictum of certain scholars "the fact that he (Colonel Dalton, the author of the 'Ethnography') regarded the name 'Munda' as their racial designation shows how successful were the village delegates, who bore that title, in screening the brotherhood from the officials" This is however supposing too much, as the officials might, from individual instances, have supposed the whole race to be of the same designation, without any deception on the part of the simple delegates, as they were simple

enough to deceive anybody. Also, those Mundas who have been living at and round the Ranchi town, and to the west of the District, from which they as a dominant race have been crowded out, had very little to lose or gain by concealing the racial nomenclature. They are living with aliens, and under the fullest glamour of public gaze and official scrutiny. Nay, long before the time when Ranchi or Lohardaga was made the headquarters of a District, the terms Munda and Mundari were used in the documents registered by the Qazis of that period. The real fact, so far as I can judge, is that the word Munda (*Hin*: Mandal) like all their words expressing village communities, etc., is a foreign word, used indifferently both for a village headman as well as the racial designation of the Ho or Hoṛoko.* To the foreigner they are the Mundas; to the brotherhood Hoṛoko. What "Khan" is to an Aghan or a Turk, what "Esquire" is to an Englishman, the designation "Munda" is to a Hoṛo. It is at once conventional and indefinite. In the Pañch Parganas, as well as towards Thana Khuṇṭi, where the ancient system is still intact, the title Munda is borne by a village functionary, who is of course of Hoṛo race, but in other localities it is used by a village functionary irrespective of race, as also by the remnants of the Hoṛo race. The word Mundari is seldom or never used by the latter in such tracts.

The Nagpur nationality is composed of several distinct tribes, each of which is split up into a number of clans. Social intercourse with the members of the other sex is not denied to them. Excepting the Uraons and Mundas the other tribes are inoculated with Hindu

* The word Munda-Savaka or disciples of the shaveling is used among Buddhist orders of hermits, *vide* Rhys Davids' "Buddhist India," p. 145.

ideas, but, like the Uraons and Mundas, with aboriginal habits.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The Rev. Father Hoffmann, S. J., in his Mundari Grammar says that "neither civilisation nor intellectual activity have so far exercised any marked influence on the language." Again, "their religious system is neither very clear nor homogeneous." This is quite true. But certain of their festivals; the *Diku* or Sadan language (Hindi) which they speak; and the Hinduised aborigines that dwell side by side with them, indicate that some of their songs and ceremonies are not only tinged with Buddhistic and Baisnav ideas, but I am sure that at some ancient time, Buddhist missionaries had converted these simple folks, as they had converted the barbarian hordes of Central Asia, to their ideas. These beliefs are quite pronounced in the case of Sawansis and Bairagis. Any one—without giving up the racial distinction—can become a *Bhagat*. The modern Kol beliefs, I think, are the product of the infusion of two ideas, acting on and being reacted in turn—though it is obvious, without appreciably influencing the original social and religious life of those shy and ever-retreating Mundaris, who vacated the plain and settled in the elevated and jungle-covered tracts on the *West* and *South*. The more one proceeds towards the southern and western sides of Chota Nagpur the less one observes alien influences on the life of the Munda people. The Mundari fraternized with the Uraon, when the latter came to live with them, but they left them, I think, when the Buddhistic or Baisnav wave swept over the country, and the Uraon people were won over to the Buddhistic or Baisnav side. But, nevertheless, the alien

influences have been never absent altogether from their language and manners. The *Karma** festival, to take one instance, is distinctly Hindu or rather Buddhistic in its conception and ideas. The songs sung in different places in Chota Nagpur are often composed in Hindi such as it is spoken in the Buddhistic Magha (Gaya and neighbouring districts). The aborigines of Chota Nagpur Plateau use more the old, than the Sanskritic, form of words. With the gradual downfall of Biddhism the Brahmanical influences spread everywhere, except in mountainous regions or out-of-the way places. The Hindi spoken in Chota Nagpur is more primitive and Buddhistic, than modern and Brahmanical—only it is intermixed with the local *patois*.

May I conclude from the above argument that at some remote period the Buddhistic influences were predominant at Chota Nagpur. The *Bhagats* or Baisnava religious reformers followed the Buddhist monks, when the latter system went out of fashion, and the former came into vogue.† The prevalent ideas, as expressed in the lyrics, give us but a faint glimpse into the dim past of the place and the races. The matter requires, however, more systematic investigation than I am capable of doing.

PLAYS AND SONGS.

The time of the Mundari and Uraon aborigines of Chota Nagpur, always of gay and frolicsome disposition,

* Gautama held that after the death of any being, whether human or not, there survived nothing at all, but that being's Karma, or the result of his deeds. Every being (human or divine) is the inheritor and last result of the Karma of a long series of past individuals. Abstracted from Rhys Davids' Lectures.

† The Statistical Account of the District of Lohardaga (now Ranchi), pp. 447-450, gives extracts from Professor Blochmann's Notes on the steps that were taken by Akbar and Jahangir for the subjugation of Chota Nagpur. Men of South Behar and Western Bengal composed some of the detachments sent against the Raja of Chota Nagpur. Baisnav ideas must have been introduced about this time.

is divided between work and play—play first, work next. Nay, their secular and religious life is taken up with play and drink, and nightly and periodical dances. Unlettered, shut up in their native hillocks and forests, these sons of nature, nevertheless, display a high talent for dancing and singing. Males and females, young and old, more often young than old, take part in their frequently-recurring village feasts. Attired in the country-woven clothes, interwoven with red lines, with barbaric ornaments of brass and copper, their hair adorned by flowers, plumes and feathers, the girls proceed to the Akhṛa, diverting themselves on the way by exchanging pleasantries with the boys whom they accompany. In Jatras which take place once or twice a year, in some known places, different bands come with their own flags, drums, and musical instruments. They always dance—men and women—in a ring or chorus, indulging in gaiety and fun.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The musical instruments in ordinary use among the populace are maṇḍar or dumaṅg, naḡra, narsinga, dhol and sahnai. The maṇḍar, naḡra, and dhol, are different kinds of drums. A maṇḍar is a huge drum, fitted with the skin of a monkey on one side, and of a goat on the other. The mouth of a naḡra is wide, fitted with the skin of a buffalo, but its other side is narrow and has a very small hole, and a *dhol* is fitted with the skin of a calf on one side, and of a goat on the other side. Sahnai is a sort of flute. Narsinga is a kind of crooked bugle. These instruments seem to have been all borrowed from the Hindus, as their names show. Did the Hindus take some of these instruments from the aborigines?

influences have been never absent altogether from their language and manners. The *Karma** festival, to take one instance, is distinctly Hindu or rather Buddhistic in its conception and ideas. The songs sung in different places in Chota Nagpur are often composed in Hindi such as it is spoken in the Buddhistic Magha (Gaya and neighbouring districts). The aborigines of Chota Nagpur Plateau use more the old, than the Sanskrit, form of words. With the gradual downfall of Buddhism the Brahmanical influences spread everywhere, except in mountainous regions or out-of-the way places. The Hindi spoken in Chota Nagpur is more primitive and Buddhistic, than modern and Brahmanical—only it is intermixed with the local *patois*.

May I conclude from the above argument that at some remote period the Buddhistic influences were predominant at Chota Nagpur. The *Bhagats* or Baisnava religious reformers followed the Buddhist monks, when the latter system went out of fashion, and the former came into vogue.† The prevalent ideas, as expressed in the lyrics, give us but a faint glimpse into the dim past of the place and the races. The matter requires, however, more systematic investigation than I am capable of doing.

PLAYS AND SONGS.

The time of the Mundari and Uraon aborigines of Chota Nagpur, always of gay and frolicsome disposition,

* Gautama held that after the death of any being, whether human or not, there survived nothing at all, but that being's Karma, or the result of his deeds. Every being (human or divine) is the inheritor and last result of the Karma of a long series of past individuals. Abstracted from Rhys Davids' Lectures.

† The Statistical Account of the District of Lohardaga (now Ranchi), pp. 447-450, gives extracts from Professor Blochmann's Notes on the steps that were taken by Akbar and Jahangir for the subjugation of Chota Nagpur. Men of South Behar and Western Bengal composed some of the detachments sent against the Raja of Chota Nagpur. Baisnav ideas must have been introduced about this time.

is divided between work and play—play first, work next. Nay, their secular and religious life is taken up with play and drink, and nightly and periodical dances. Unlettered, shut up in their native hillocks and forests, these sons of nature, nevertheless, display a high talent for dancing and singing. Males and females, young and old, more often young than old, take part in their frequently-recurring village feasts. Attired in the country-woven clothes, interwoven with red lines, with barbaric ornaments of brass and copper, their hair adorned by flowers, plumes and feathers, the girls proceed to the Akhṛa, diverting themselves on the way by exchanging pleasantries with the boys whom they accompany. In Jatras which take place once or twice a year, in some known places, different bands come with their own flags, drums, and musical instruments. They always dance—men and women—in a ring or chorus, indulging in gaiety and fun.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The musical instruments in ordinary use among the populace are maṇḍar or dumaṅg, naḡra, narsinga, dhol and sahnai. The maṇḍar, naḡra, and dhol, are different kinds of drums. A maṇḍar is a huge drum, fitted with the skin of a monkey on one side, and of a goat on the other. The mouth of a naḡra is wide, fitted with the skin of a buffalo, but its other side is narrow and has a very small hole, and a dhol is fitted with the skin of a calf on one side, and of a goat on the other side. Sahnai is a sort of flute. Narsinga is a kind of crooked bugle. These instruments seem to have been all borrowed from the Hindus, as their names

CLASSIFICATIONS OF PLAYS.

The following are the principal kinds of plays they perform during the course of a year :—

I. Magē or Jarga is played from Sohrai (Katik or October) to the month of Magh (February-March).

II. Jadur is played from Magh to Baha or Sarhul. The festivities at Sahrul are celebrated from Magh to Jaith (May-June) but usually in Chait (March-April) according to the customs of different villages.

II (a). Gena :—After every two Jadurs one gena is sung.

III. Japi :—From the day of Baha or Baha Chandu is played for 15 days or in some tracts for one month. Japi is played on the occasion of hunting or *shikar* when the villagers indulge in hunting—killing tigers, deer, and all kinds of game.

IV. Karma or Lahsua is played from the Baha Chandu or the new moon after Baha to Sohrai.

In the annexed diagram No. I is depicted the position in the Jarga play of the dancers—boys, girls, beaters of musical instruments and of *maṇḍar*. Their body sways forward as they move on in a ring, dancing all the time up and down, always preserving the position, their feet and waist moving as if in mechanical unison. One of the men acts as a master of the ceremonies, who commences a song, which is repeated by the dancers—first by the boys and then by the girls in chorus. The dancing is kept up with great spirit and joviality, and appears to be full of grace and unity. They dance to the tune of music, going round and round ; but no sooner do the dancers turn round on the opposite direction, than the musicians too change their tune and direction, as if mechanically. Among the southern Mundas the boys and girls stand apart,

although both enjoy the near proximity of each other, and the home-manufactured beer, which is consumed in abundance ; the beauty of the thing is that nothing appears to be immoral or indecorous in the whole performance. There is, as far as I could see, no part of the dance with grotesque postures or coarse gestures in the public performances. The number of the boys and girls that take part in the play, is large or small, according to the area and extent of the stage (*akhṛa*) allotted for the purpose.

In the performance known as Jadur, the position and movement of the various parties remain the same as in Jarga or Magē, only the players stand straight and move on, or romp in rapid whirling motion, as in *waltz*, with different movements of the body. Similarly in *Gena* the body of the dancers remains erect or bended, as they move on, swinging backwards and forwards, with occasionally one of the legs lifted up and bended at the knee.

Diagram No. II shows the position, the boys and girls, as well as the musicians, occupy respectively in the play called Karam or Lahsua. In front and rear stand the musicians. The middle is occupied by the males and females in rows of several abreast ; the boys occupying the front, and the girls the back, lines. The whole company of actors, including the musicians, proceed up and recede down very spiritedly. In this the players do not move on in a ring.

I have been told that the manner and position of dancers vary according to the custom of the different places. And I believe, from what I have heard and understood, that the songs sung are classified according to the way they are rendered, though the rhyme may sometimes vary.

URAOṆ PLAYS.

It will not be amiss, if I allude *en passant* to the various kinds of Kurukh or Uraoṇ songs, all of which have been adopted by the Mundas in most parts of the country. The performance called *Kharia* is gone through from the end of Bhadoṇ to Katik; *Jarga* and *Matha* from Aghan to Pous; Jadur from Magh to Baisakh, again *Kharia* in Jaith; and Karam from Asin to 28th Bhadoṇ. The period is calculated according to luni-solar months.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

The hilly Chota Nagpur differs in many respects from the plains of Bengal—in *fauna* and *flora* and as regards life and culture of men and women. Fresh from the Gangetic plains, some of my first impressions of the locality were unique. I saw streams issuing from hillocks, as well as from fields. The rivers had no water. No one knew what a boat was like.

The palki started while the sky was overcast with cloud, and the morning had not dawned. I fell asleep in the palki. After an hour or so my eyes open, and lo, what do I see! The sun appears through the cloud, the surrounding range of dark green hillocks which encircle the horizon, green grass, and pretty trees, are suddenly transformed into a fairy land, and I am lost in thought and reverie.

Going with a *Kol* boy I hear for the first time in my life a noise—shrill and distant. Is it the song of a bird? I proceed on with my guide, mute and afraid of making an enquiry, lest the songster may fly. As I go on noiselessly, nearer comes in the noise from behind. Is this the singing of a *Kol* girl? My guide replies "Yes." "Do you consider it nice?" "Yes, Sir" was the

reply. I question my guide very quietly, lest the girl may feel bashful, and stop singing. The singer, a fat black woman, then passes by me to the *Akhra* while singing on, without taking the slightest notice of on-lookers.

The day's work being finished, I sit down quietly to think over the various problems of which an official's life is made up, and of those other matters which never leave one on this side of the grave. I see a company of frisky *Kol* girls, and jolly boys, after their day's labour is at an end, going several abreast, singing merrily. Suddenly my former thoughts leave me for a while, and I ask "Who is happier? Is life that educated and civilized nations lead worth anything as compared with that of these unthinking people?" "If the *savage* life is in accordance with nature, the whole progress of civilization has been the result of an effort to get away from nature."

In Mundari vowels are all short. Nasal *n* is indicated with a dot or mark below it as *ṇ*, *ṇ̣*, *ḍ* and *ṭ* with a dot under them should be pronounced as in German, or as in Arabic > and <. Certain of these letters cannot be pronounced by the foreigners.

DIAGRAM I.

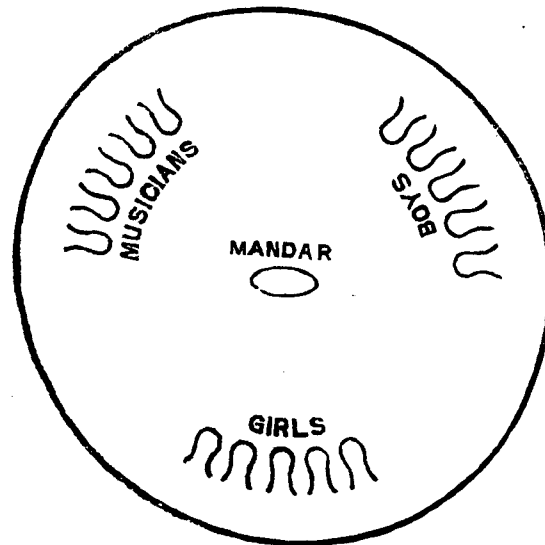
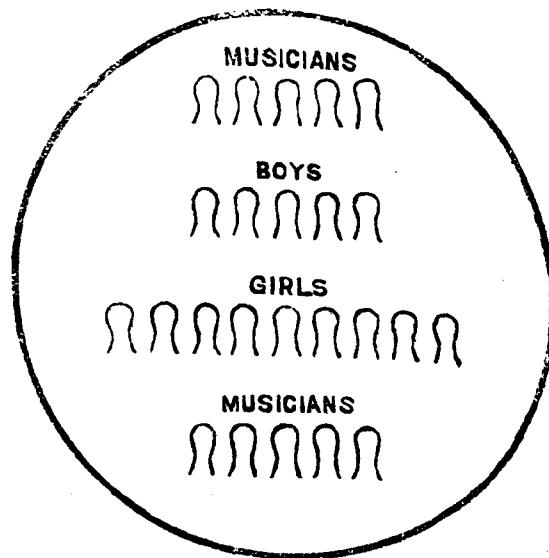


DIAGRAM II

SONG I.
LAHSUA.

1. Hohorē kuṛi bano āma muṇḍi.
2. Niral uṭu rongokeda maṇḍi naṅg kuṛi.
3. Bano ama muṇḍi.
4. Nirṭanam piṛi piṛi bahaleḍam chaṭu lundij.
5. Kuṛi bano ama muṇḍi.
6. Emkedai dali taka ama kakam leka kedai.
7. Kuṛi bano ama muṇḍi.
8. Gonong siṭa miad baṇḍi guṇḍi.
9. Na kuṛi bano ama muṇḍi.
10. Binandas kajitanai nawa samai sengo senai.
11. Kuṛi bano ama muṇḍi.
12. Modṭelang seno juṛi juṛi.
13. Kuṛi bano ama muṇḍi.

TRANSLATION.

1. Hallo! Hallo, Girl, nothing is certain of thee.
2. Thou burnt the savoury curry (with gravy) that was being cooked for the meal.
3. Girl! nothing is certain of thee.
4. Thou art running across the field, wearing cooking pots and spoons (made of the outer rind or covering of a pumpkin).
5. Girl! nothing is certain of thee.
6. Thou wast bought with (nuptial) money, (which) thy uncle counted.
7. Girl! nothing is certain of thee.
8. Thy price at first was a tailless cow.
9. Girl! nothing is certain of thee.
10. Saith Binandas,* she would go at another time.
11. Girl! nothing is certain of thee.
12. Come, let us both go together.
13. Girl! nothing is certain of thee.

*I could not learn anything about Binandas. His advanced ideas only find expression in Lahsua or Karma songs.

NOTE.

A newly married girl is running away from her husband's house. A man meets her and accosts, and jokes with, her on her conduct.

Nuptial money is equal to two to six bullocks or buffaloes, which the bridegroom gives to the bridal party. Rich men give dowers in buffaloes, kine, or in landed property in the name of their sons-in-law.

In cooking, oil of surguja, mustard or dola (*i. e.* oil of Mahua fruits) and salt are necessary.

The Mundas have their midday meal, consisting of rice and vegetables, cooked on the previous evening. Rice and pulse-curry are cooked and eaten at about 9 P.M., of which they keep half for the next day meal.

SONG II.

LAHSUA.

1. Bhati oṛa pit pīṛi honoṛṭan juṛi juṛi.
2. Nirāl sobha leloṭanakin kulgiakin bano hiyaṭing.
3. Aṭa ṭaben kiringṭana arkiloo chakraṇ jomṭana.
4. Jiu baṛē rajṭana gapaṭe gaṭing bano hiyaṭing.
5. Sona sakha munga mala jinang bhari inagi bhala.
6. Mogoe leka lanḍa jagartanakin bano hiyaṭing.
7. Nawa hiṭ pirtikin bano hiyaṭing.
8. Bano muṇḍi naṭa goṭa pap punrē bano paṭa.
9. Binandas ḍo kajṭanai thorea musing bano hiyaṭing.
10. Nawa hiṭ pirtikin bano hiyaṭing.

TRANSLATION.

1. At the marketplace where the grogshop is—Both are walking *tête-a-tête*.
2. Both look very pretty—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.
3. They are purchasing fried flattened rice—
Eating it with liquor.
4. Their heart beats in unison, everything for the morrow—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.
5. Gold, shell, coral, beads—
They are good throughout life.
6. Smiling, laughing, and talking—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.
7. Newly united couple—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.

8. There is no knowing as to their relationship—
No idea of sin and reward.
9. So saith Binandas—
Some day they will grow wiser.
10. Newly united couple—
No sign of sadness in the married couple.

NOTE.

The idea of sin and reward is a non-Munda one.

SONG III.

LAHSUA.

1. Nawa samay rakablēna bilaiṭi gicha bahalēna.
2. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.
3. Bakhriṛedo jhinga baha bahalēna.
4. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.
5. Rachare giṭisia kenam girigido bahalēna.
6. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.
7. Ama samai phaway seno ṭanarē.
8. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.
9. Sim merom sobē jomṭanare.
10. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.
11. Binandas ḍo lelkeḍai nawa samai hijulēna.
12. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.
13. Haṛam hoṛo sobe bagṭana.
14. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.
15. Ama samai phaway seno kenarē.
16. Maina chiminḍin ṭaina.

TRANSLATION.

1. New time had come, tomato had blossomed.
2. Maid, how long will it last?
3. In the garden adjoining the house, jhinga had flowered.
4. Maid, how long will it last?
5. Thou slept in the courtyard, giri-geḍu had flowered.
6. Maid, how long will it last?
7. Thy time is passing away in vain.
8. Maid, how long will it last?
9. Fowls and goats thou art eating all,

10. Maid, how long will it last?
11. Binandas sees, new time has come up,
12. Maid, how long will it last?
13. Old men are all leaving,
14. Maid, how long will it last?
15. Thy time is passing away in vain,
16. Maid, how long will it last?

SONG IV.
JADUR.

1. Samai samai go samai senotana.
2. Samai samai go nosair notanglen.
3. Mikia sindurite samai senotan.
4. Barandorea sasangtē nosair notanglen.
5. Noko hoṛoa kajitē samai senotan.
6. Chimai hoṛoa bakaṛtē nosair notanglen.
7. Gaṭim hoṛoa kajitē samai senotan.
8. Sangim hoṛoa bakaṛtē nosair notanglen.

TRANSLATION.

1. The time! the time! the time passes away.
2. The time! the time! (like) the whirlwind it moves away
3. From within the vermilion-pot, the time passes away.
4. It fleets from within the turmeric-pot, as a whirlwind.
5. By whose order is the time fleeting?
6. By whose advice does the time (like) the whirlwind pass away?
7. It fleets by order of thy companion.
8. It passes (like) a whirlwind by the advice of thy associate.

NOTE.

The bride becomes old, no sooner is the vermilion applied on her forehead at her nuptial, or the turmeric is rubbed on her body. The vermilion and turmeric powders are kept in earthen pots. The poet means to say that the time is so fleeting and life so transient that a girl becomes old even before these articles are taken out of their receptacles.

SONG V.
JADUR.

1. Magē phagunrē susun koḍo.
2. Asaṛ sawan rē karam koḍo.
3. Susun koḍo rabang jana.
4. Karam koḍo rearjana.
5. Niḍia kopē bursirē sengel.
6. Sētēra kopē ruṭara buchang.
7. Bursirē sengel kē chokē dupilkeḍai.
8. Ruṭara buchung kē tētenga tēngo keḍai.

TRANSLATION.

1. The dancers in Magh-Phagun.
2. Karam dancers in Asarh-Sawan.
3. The dancers felt cold.
4. Karam dancers felt shivering cold
(on account of being soaked with rain water).
5. Carry to them fire in paddy-husk.
6. Convey to them *ruṭa* fuel partially burnt.
7. Fire in paddy husk, the frog carried on its head.
8. The partially burnt *ruṭa* wood the lizard bore on its shoulder.

NOTE.

In this—as in other similar songs—the first two lines are connected with, or explained by, the third and fourth lines respectively. Similarly the fifth and sixth lines are connected respectively by the seventh and eighth lines.

SONG VI.
JADUR.

1. Buṭarē hēṇḍē rimil subarē gamalēḍa.
2. Baiṛdoga pērēlēn nangkaṛi ḍoṛanglen.
3. Mara lirē lirem dewaridoga pērēlēn.
4. Mar hojor hojorem nangkaṛi ḍoṛanglen.
5. Chimintēgē lirēam dewaridoga pērēlēn.
6. Chimintēge hojoram nangkaṛi ḍoṛanglen.

TRANSLATION.

1. The black cloud (is) on the horizon; it rains.
2. (The rivulets) have flooded, the roots (of trees that spread towards the ditches) are giving away.

3. Let thee run and run (*i.e.*, run fast,) the (river) Deori has swollen.
4. Let thee walk fast, the roots are giving away.
5. How much wilt thou run, the Deori has overflowed.
6. How fast wilt thou walk, the roots are giving away.

NOTE.

In this song, the poet describes the terrible scene which sometimes takes place at the time of a violent storm, which suddenly bursts forth, accompanied by heavy downpour, when the village folks are still far from their home.

The river Deori is on the east of Burju in the Khuṇṭi thana.

SONG VII.

JADUR.

1. Hora hora ranga hasa mai re kichiriḍo rangalena.
2. Buruḥaṭu dakhin tolarē jadurako susunkena.
3. Dola ṭobu lelia kichiri ḍo rangalena.
4. Dola ṭobu chinalia jaḍura ko susun kena.
5. Besleka leloa kichiriḍo rangalena.
6. Besleka chinhaoa jaḍurako susun kena.

TRANSLATION.

1. Throughout the way (is) red Clay, O damsel? (he) has dyed his clothing red.
2. In the southern tola (part) of Buruḥatu jadur is going on.
3. Let us go and see if (his) the clothing is dyed red.
4. Let us go and observe if jadura is going on.
5. It looks nice the red-dyed clothing.
6. (He) looks pretty in jadur (dancing, on account of his clothing being dyed red).

NOTE.

The first and second lines are connected with the third and fourth, as also with the fifth and sixth lines respectively. Apparently a village damsel has taken a fancy to a man who has dyed his clothing red, and she wishes his companion to go with her to the dancing, and admire the man's dress dyed red, or rather the beau who has attracted her fancy.

SONG VIII.

JADUR.

1. Singi ṭuro horarēḍo nokoi mai re niyam ṭana.
2. Chandu molong dahareḍo ehi mai mairē saheḍṭana.
3. Singi ṭuro hora re ḍo gaṭim mairē niyam ṭana.
4. Chandu molong dahar rē ḍo sangi mai rē saheḍṭana.
5. Gaṭim mai re niam ṭan seke ken seke ken.
6. Sangi mai re saheḍ ken sekeḍ ken sekeḍ ken.

TRANSLATION.

1. On the way to sunrise (east) O Girl who laments?
2. On the way to moonrise (west) O damsel who bewails?
3. On the way to sunrise, O damsel thy lover laments.
4. On the way to moonrise, O damsel thy enchanter bewails.
5. O damsel, thy lover laments, seke ken seke ken.
6. O damsel, thy enchanter bewails seke ken seke ken.

NOTE.

The interjectional phrase *seke ken seke ken* is the sound of weeping.

SONG IX.

JADUR.

1. Dola Gaṭingrē Sili sikar rē.
2. Dola sanging rē Jhalida gamarē.
3. Sili sikar rē nokoe menaiya.
4. Jhalida gama rē chimai menaiya.
5. Sili sikar rē gaṭim menaiya.
6. Jhalida gamarē sangim menaiya.

TRANSLATION.

1. Let us, friend, to Sili sikar (game).
2. Let us, friend, to Jhalida country.
3. In the Sili sikar, who is there? (whom shall we meet?).
4. In the Jhalida country, who is there?
5. In the Sili sikar, thy love is there.
6. In the Jhalida country, thy charmer is there.

NOTE.

Sili is full of jungle and is famous for game, it is 36 miles east of Ranchi town. Jhalida too is famous for game and is 45 miles east of Ranchi.

SONG X.

JADUR.

1. Sisi piṇi rē dhechua sisi kairṭan.
2. Dhechua balē baḍirē dhechua lalakairṭan.
3. Rengai menaṭē dhechua sisikairṭan.
4. Dhechua tetang menaiṭē dhechua lalakairṭan.
5. Sonsoroe menaṭē dhechua sisikairṭan.
6. Dhechua pampalad menaṭē dhechua lalakairṭan.

TRANSLATION.

1. In the Sisipiri the Dhechua is twittering.
2. The Dhechua in Balē badi, the Dhechua is whistling.
3. On account of hunger, the Dhechua is twittering.
4. On account of thirst, the Dhechua is whistling.
5. (Having seen) grass hoppers the Dhechua is twittering.
6. (Having seen) butterflies the Dhechua is whistling.

NOTE.

Dhechua is a singing bird, which, sometimes, sings softly and sometimes loudly. Piṇi is a taur or high land, and badi a don land which dries soon. Sisipiri and Balē badi appear to be proper names of fields.

SONG XI.

JADUR.

1. Saḍom ḍo saḍom ḍo ṭuiyu leka saḍomḍo.
2. Painkar ḍo painkarḍo nata tira painkarḍo.
3. Dola ṭobu lelia ṭuiyu leka saḍomḍo.
4. Dola ṭobu chinhaia nata tira painkarḍo.
5. Achha leka leloa ṭuiyu leka saḍomḍo.
6. Bes leka chinhaia nata tira painkarḍo.
7. Saḍom je ki ki lē heḥheken honhonken.
8. Painkar je misirlē bijirken balangken.

TRANSLATION.

1. The horse, the horse! the fox-like horse.
2. The paikar, the paikar! the dwarfish paikar.

3. Let us go and see the fox-like horse.
4. Let us go and view the dwarfish paikar.
5. It looks fine, the fox-like horse.
6. It appears pretty, the dwarfish paikar.
7. The horse is neighing heḥ-heḥ, hoḥ hoḥ.
8. The paikar is showing (its) shining teeth.

NOTE.

Paikar is from Hindi, and means a retail trader. The village folks are very much amused at the sight of a mean-looking trader sitting on an ugly looking horse passing through a Munda Village.

Heḥ-heḥ, hoḥ-hoḥ are the neighing sounds of the horse.

SONG XII.

JADUR.

1. Bundu baṇḍa jhlpileka maina bijir bijir.
2. Raja baṇḍa achraleka maina bial boyol.
3. Nengamra sunuya maina bijir bijir.
4. Napumra sasang maina bial boyol.
5. Dola ṭobu lelea maina bijir bijir.
6. Dola ṭobu chinhaia maina bial boyol.
7. Besleka leloa maina bijir bijir.
8. Achha leka chinhaia bial boyol.

TRANSLATION.

1. (The water of) Bundu Band like Jhilpi, O damsel is glittering.
2. (The water of) Raja Band, like achra, O damsel, is moving.
3. The oil (in possession) of thy mother, O damsel is glittering.
4. Thy father's turmeric (dyed cloth) O damsel, is moving.
5. Let us go and see, O damsel, the glittering (the sight of the glittering water).
6. Let us go and view, O damsel, the moving water.
7. It is pleasant to look at, O damsel, the glittering (water).
8. It is enchanting to view the moving (water).

NOTE.

Jhilpi is a piece of tin or brass cut triangularly and fastened with a chain to the lobes of the ear, by Mundari women as an ornament. *Achra* is the coloured border of a Munda woman's *sari* which when moved with wind looks as if the fish in a pond are swimming.

There is a large lake at Bundu, District Ranchi, constructed about 60 years ago by the Sarawaks of Manjhitola at Bundu, by erecting an embankment on the southern side of it. The Raja band is probably at Tamar.

SONG XIII.

JADUR.

1. Dolang senoa bakuli raja bandhṭeya bakuli.
2. Dolang biriḍeya bakuli Sobornakaṭē.
3. Raja bandh ḍoya bakuli nanjeḍjana.
4. Sobornakaḍoya bakuli sengeḍjana.
5. Nicha pichaya bakuli niyamṭana.
6. Siripiya bakuli saeḍṭana.
7. Sengeḍ sengeḍya bakuli niyamṭana.
8. Somboḍya bakuli saeḍṭana.

TRANSLATION.

1. O Bakuli ! Let us go to the Raja band,
2. Let us proceed, O Bakuli ! to the Subarnika.
3. Raja band, O Bakuli, is dried up.
4. The Subarnika, O Bakuli, is entirely dried up.
5. The prawns (nicha picha), O Bakuli, are lamenting.
6. The siripis, O Bakuli, are bewailing.
7. (The prawns) piteously lamenting (singid singid),
O Bakuli.
8. (The siripis) piteously bewailing (sombod sombod),
O Bakuli.

NOTE.

In this song, one bird is addressing the other. *Siripi* is a small insect which lives in shallow sandy water. The river Subarnarekha rises from a field in village Nagri. The river at Tamar. The 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th lines and the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th are connected with one another. The 7th line

explains the 5th line, and the 8th line explains the 6th, how the prawns and siripis are bewailing their fate owing to the water being dried up.

SONG XIV.

JADUR.

1. Jojo ḍaru jhiki miki ḍaḍa mainae cherē bereaḍaḍa.
2. Baṛi ḍaru jhakamaka ḍaḍa suga reṅho reṅho.
3. Nokoe nasulliae ḍaḍa mainae cherē berea.
4. Chimae jaṭan liae ḍaḍa suga reṅho reṅho.
5. Saggim nasulliae ḍaḍa mainae chere berea.
6. Saggim jaṭanliae ḍaḍa suga reṅho reṅho.

TRANSLATION.

1. The tamarind, whose branches have spread out (jhiki miki) brother ! the maina is chirping (chiribiri).
2. The banyan, whose boughs have spread wide (jhakamaka) brother ! the parrot is singing (reṅho reṅho).
3. Who have tamed, brother, the chirping maina ?
4. Who had taken care, brother, of the singing parrot ?
5. Thy companion had tamed, brother, the chirping maina.
6. Thy friend had taken care, brother ! of the singing parrot.

NOTE.

ḍaḍa (brother) is a familiar term which means a senior brother or cousin.

SONG XV.

JADURA GENA.

1. Chikan baha bahalenam mai.
2. Baha baha soanam.
3. Chikan dandid dandid lēnam mai.
4. Dail dail singrijam.
5. Baha ṭechi numtenam.
6. Baha baha soanam.
7. Dandid ṭechi reaṭ lēnam.
8. Dail dail singrijam.

TRANSLATION.

1. What flower hadst thou worn, O Girl.
2. (That) thou smellest (like) flower.
3. What ear-stick hadst thou worn, O Girl.
4. (That) thou smellest (like) ear-stick.
5. Didst thou bathe in flower.
6. (That) thou smellest (like) flower.
7. Didst thou wash thyself with ear-stick.
8. (That) thou smellest (like) ear-stick.

NOTE.

Two opposite views—one agreeable and the other repulsive—are set forth in the alternative lines. Mundari girls are fond of wearing to their hair beautiful flowers and leaves that are plentiful in the jungle. *Dandid* or *dail* is a stick usually of mail and occasionally of *makai* (maize) plants which the young women put into the holes made on the lobes of their ears.

SONG XVI.

JADUR.

1. Kuḍa buta dhodoro rē.
2. Nalorē gangiam.
3. Rengē rabang kokorjokrē.
4. Nalorē chalniam.
5. Kuda suba dhodoro rē.
6. Rengejako menea.
7. Rengerabang kokorjamrē.
8. Tetangako menea.

TRANSLATION.

1. To the hollow stem of Jamun * tree.
2. Do not give (a girl) in marriage.
3. To a place where hunger and cold prevail.
4. Do not give (her) in marriage.
5. In the hollow stem of Jamun tree.
6. It is said, there is hunger.
7. In a place where hunger and cold prevail.
8. It is said there is thirst (scarcity of water).

*Jamun or Eugenia Jambolana.

NOTE.

The 1st and 2nd lines :—Do not marry a girl to a man who has nothing to support her. The 3rd and 4th lines :—Do not marry a girl to a place, where she may be in want of food and clothing.

SONG XVII.

JADURA-GENA.

1. Neṭe raji neṭe nulamali.
2. Rajiḍo dhunḍhurlen.
3. Neṭe raji neṭe nulamali.
4. Desaḍo kuṇwaslen.
5. Nokoe rakablen rajiḍo dhunḍhurlen.
6. Chimai nuparlen desaḍo kuṇwaslen.
7. Gaṭim rakablen rajiḍo dhunḍhurlen.
8. Sangim nuparlen desaḍo kuṇwaslen.

TRANSLATION.

1. In this Raj, in this part, too, there is disturbance.
2. (On account of which) the country has become dim.
3. In this Raj, in this part, too, there is disturbance.
4. The country is full of fog.
5. Who has arrived (that) the country has become dim?
6. Who has come (that) the country has become foggy?
7. Thy friend has arrived (that) the country has become dim.
8. Thy companion has come (that) the country has become foggy.

NOTE.

This song was composed probably during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, or some other disturbance.

SONG XVIII.

JADUR GENA.

1. Hora rē sarjom baha ṭiṭeḥo ka ṭebagoa.
2. Haṭure dinda dhangoro mocha ṭeḥo kay kaklaya.
3. Tiṭeḥo ka tebago banka ho baiyaingmē.
4. Mochaṭeḥo kay kakla ṭiṭeḥo goṭaime.
5. Nea dinda mundire ṭiṭeḥo ka ṭebaga.
6. Nea joṛa joṛi rē mochaṭeḥo kay kaklaya.

TRANSLATION.

1. On the way-side the blossom of the * Sal tree can not be reached by hand.
2. In the hamlet the maid does not speak from mouth (*i. e.*, does not open her mouth).
3. (As) it is beyond the reach of the hand (so) make a banka.
4. (As) she does not speak from mouth, (so) encircle her with hand.
5. At this (period), it is beyond the reach of hand.
6. At this similarity of (our) age, (she) does not speak from mouth.

* Sal or *shorea robusta*.

NOTE.

This is one of the most beautiful songs even in translation. Lines 1 and 2 :—As the Sal blossom is beyond the reach of one's hand, so the village girl in her bloom too is unapproachable on account of her bashfulness. Lines 3 and 4 :—As the blossom can only be reached by a stick bended on one side, so the bashful village maid can be forced to speak on embracing her.

Banka is a long bamboo stick bent at the end to pluck fruits, etc.

SONG XIX.

JADUR-GENA.

1. Nikuḍore mai nokoren hoṛoko.
2. Nikuḍore mai ṭolo silo kapi.
3. Nikuḍore mai chimay ren penṛay.
4. Nikuḍore mai Jhakal ṭarwar.
5. Nikuḍore mai Bunduren hoṛoko.
6. Nikuḍore mai ṭolo silo kapi.
7. Nikuḍore mai Tamaṛ ren penṛay.
8. Nikuḍore mai Jhakal ṭarwar.
9. Nikuḍore mai nengamra hoṛoko.
10. Nikuḍore mai ṭolo silo kapi.
11. Nikuḍore mai napumra hoṛoko.
12. Nikuḍore mai jhakal ṭarwar.

TRANSLATION.

1. These (men), O Girl, are of what place?
2. These, O Girl, some of whom have their baluas on their shoulders placed in different position?
3. The chik-weavers, O Girl, are of what place?
4. These, O Girl, with shining swords?
5. These men, O Girl, are from Bundu.
6. These, O Girl, some of whom have their baluas on their shoulders placed in different position.
7. These chik-weavers, O Girl, are from Tamar.
8. These, O Girl, with shining swords.
9. These, O Girl, are thy mother's men (acquaintances, used in good sense).
10. These, O Girl, some of whom have their baluas on their shoulders placed in different position.
11. These, O Girl, are thy father's men.
12. These, O Girl, with shining swords.

NOTE.

Kapi or Balua is a kind of spear of this shape* used by men of Tamar and Bundu, which are situated in thick jungle, infested by wild beasts. The men of these are very black and also go about with thick sticks and baluas, etc.

Chiks or chik-Baraiks are the original weavers of Chota Nagpur.

SONG XX.

JADURA-GENA.

1. Kuḍa suṛa kuḍa suṛa kuḍa suṛa gaṭimḍo.
2. Baru suṛa baru suṛa baru suṛa sangimḍo.
3. Kuḍa suṛa gaṭimkē ho nokorē lelia.
4. Baru suṛa sangimkeho chimarē chinhaia.
5. Kuḍa suṛa sangimkeho dadi dare lelia.
6. Baru suṛa sangimkeho kuṇwa dare chinhaia.
7. Daḍi dare leliaho dadi dare niyamṭana.
8. Kuṇwa dare chinhaia ho kuṇwa dare saeḍṭana.

TRANSLATION.

1. The young blackberry leaves, the young blackberry leaves, thy companion (like) young blackberry leaves.

2. The young maica leaves, the young maica leaves, thy friend (like) young maica leaves.
3. Where wilt thou see thy young blackberry-leaf-like companion?
4. Where wilt thou find thy young maica-leaf-like friend?
5. Thou wilt see thy young blackberry-leaf-like companion in the dadi water.
6. Thou wilt find thy young maica-leaf-like friend in the well-water.
7. It will be seen (that he) is lamenting in the dadi water.
8. It will be found (that he) is bewailing in the well water.

NOTES.

Thy young man is as fresh as the leaves of the blackberry or kusum * trees, when they first come out. Thou wilt find thy lover either by the side of a dadi or well, where he is expecting thee and bewailing his fate. *Dadi* is an excavation made in a Don land or field and enclosed with sticks or stones where village girls go to fetch water.

* Kusum or *Schleichera trijuga*.

SONG XXI.

JADURA-GENA.

1. Haṭurē haṭurē golaiṇchi haṭurē.
2. Piṛiṛē piṛiṛē pindarkom piṛiṛē.
3. Bahalena bahalena golaiṇchi bahalena.
4. Jolena jolena pindarkom jolena.
5. Bahakomē bahakomē golaiṇchi bahakomē.
6. Jomkemē jomkemē pindarkom jomkemē.

TRANSLATION.

1. In the hamlet, in the hamlet, the golaiṇchi in the hamlet.
2. In the field, in the field, the pindarkom in the field.
3. (It) flowers, (it) flowers, the golaiṇchi flowers.
4. (It) produces fruits, (it) produces fruits, the pindarkom produces fruits.
5. Wear, wear, wear the golaiṇchi flowers.
6. Eat, eat, eat the pindarkom fruits.

NOTE.

Golaiṇchi is a kind of white flower. Pindarkom is creeper with fruits resembling small water apple.

SONG XXII.

JADURA.

1. Aingḍo uma duluchi pampela.
2. Aingḍo uma rajaing notanga.
3. Aingḍo uma desaing apira.
4. Aingḍo uma seṭa chi pusi.
5. Aingḍo uma phaḍa lagainga.
6. Aingḍo uma gurḍa lagainga.
7. Aingḍo uma giḍi chi kuriḍ.
8. Aingḍo uma soḍa lagainga.

TRANSLATION.

1. Am I, mother, a fly or a butterfly?
2. Mother, I shall be wafted to another country.
3. Mother, I shall fly to another country.
4. Am I, mother, a dog or a cat?
5. Mother, I am kicked (so that I am) tired.
6. Mother, I am fisted (so that I am) wearied.
7. Mother, am I a vulture or a kite?
8. Mother, I am kicked (so that I am) tired.

NOTE.

* This song refers to a girl's disinclination to submit to parental rule, and indirectly to suggest her desire to be sent away on marriage.

SONG XXIII.

JAPI.

1. Marang buru ḍiya sengel ;
Nē ḍiya sengel ḍo, ne ḍiya sengel ḍo.
2. Huding buru maḍi maḍi marsal ;
Ne maḍi marsal ḍo, ne maḍi marsal ḍo.
3. Buru bigking ḍiya ṭaḍa.
Ne ḍiya sengel ḍo, ne diya sengel ḍo.
4. Sangsundiking marsal ṭaḍa.
Ne maḍi marsal ḍo, ne maḍi marsal ḍo.
5. Jili mili sereng rē
Kichiri nura kuri. kichiri nura kuri

6. Chapa chuṛi chalagirē
Gamecha sobod koṛa, Gamecha sobod koṛa.
7. Kichiri naṭuṭana
Bingeko nikirtē bingeko nikirtē.
8. Gamecha bualṭana
Ṭayan ko mandaltē tayan ko mandaltē.

TRANSLATION.

1. On the high hill the fire is burning
The fire is burning, the fire is burning.
2. In the low hill the dim light is
The dim light is, the dim light is.
3. The pair of hill-serpents have set fire (to them)
The fire is burning, the fire is burning.
4. The pair of low hill-snakes have set dim fire (to them)
The dim light is, the dim light is.
5. The girl is washing her clothes *jilimili* (which is shining)
On a rock
6. A youth who is washing his clothes
On a rock.
7. The cloth is floating towards the abode of serpents
Towards the abode of snakes.
8. The male cloth * is floating
To the abode of crocodiles, to the abode of crocodiles.

NOTES.

Mundari men who alone go to hunting, sing these songs on the hills, but at home with their women folk. The above song gives an idea of the Munda worship of mountain spirits and of dreadful reptiles.

There are several Buṛus in Tamar and Bundu (the latter being an alien corruption of Buṛu). *Japis* are typical national songs of the Hoṛo people, and are seldom sung by other people. Those Mundas who live with the Uraṛs or other people do not know them.

* Male cloth or a cloth worn by a male, which is only a loin cloth.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

A HISTORY OF ASSAM. By E. A. Gait, of the Indian Civil Service.
Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1906.

Border Lands are often interesting. Those about Bengal and Assam are deeply so. Sir William Hunter, in the first volume of his *Annals of Rural Bengal*, has clearly shown how genius divesting them of their technicalities and presenting the salient features which appeal to the universal human heart, can make even the description and modern annals of a small Border Tract of Bengal Proper interesting to an age of novel readers. The antiquities and early history of Birbhoom, whose foundation is lost in the cloud of traditionary myths of the Romulus-Remus type, would prove attractive even in far inferior hands. The geographically extensive Border Land on the north and north-east of the great province of Bengal is in reality the most important. It is a real Political Frontier and a very long one. It is a long and more or less narrow wall which divides us from our northern neighbours; and as it is, for the most part, naturally a weak wall overlooked and commanded by those neighbours, themselves hardly Highlanders, the character of its inhabitants, physical and moral, is of the utmost consequence to us. It means the nature of our defence on all that side. It is one of the Non-Aryan hives peopled by a variety of *quasi*-Mongolian, aboriginal and Aryanite tribes of every degree of mixture, and Brahman and Kshatriya colonists, and hence our most interesting Ethnic frontier. Nor is its historical importance the least of its claims to attention. From a very early time we find it the seat of kingdoms flourishing in comparative seclusion, enabled by their physical situation and characteristics to maintain their independence against the ambition of the rulers of the more extended and powerful countries below them.

As such, the publication of a connected narrative of our north-eastern Frontier Province, otherwise called Assam, contemporaneously with the commencement of a Lieutenant-

Governorship over it, by Mr. E. A. Gait of the Indian Civil Service, has come most opportunely. Though it is nearly a century since Assam has come under British sway, it is still the province whose history is least known. In 1894, Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., then officiating as Chief Commissioner of the Province, pointed out that the time had come for a sustained and systematic endeavour to rescue the historical monuments of Assam from destruction: and at his request, Mr. Gait drew up a scheme for the prosecution of historical research in the Province. As a result of this project, several copper-plates and rock inscriptions were discovered throwing considerable historical light concerning the kings who reigned in the Brahmaputra Valley between the years 800 and 1150 A.D. Besides manuscripts and family histories containing the records of the Ahom kings of Assam were discovered showing that a section of the Assamese possessed a historical faculty. These family histories, or *Buranyis* as they are called in native parlance, are written on oblong strips of bark and are carefully preserved and handed down from father to son. They are wonderfully accurate as regards their details and dates. Finding these excellent materials available for a continuous narrative of Assam, the author naturally was seized with a desire to become the historian of Assam and hence published the present work amidst harassing official duties.

The book is divided into twenty-seven chapters with four appendices. The style of the narrative is easy, and the method of the treatment of the details is not in any way cumbrous. In the absence of authentic formal history, it is quite impossible to construct an account of Assam in its early days. Hence whatever is written by the author regarding the prehistoric and traditional rulers of the Province in Chapter I has been compiled from such dubious and fragmentary references as can be found in the *Mahabharata*, the *Purans* and the *Tantras*. Besides, some general reflections have been made regarding the ancient movements of the Assamese from philological and ethnographical considerations. Chapter II begins with the account of Kamrupa as left by Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the seventh century A.D., and traces the history of the Province till the twelfth century

from copper-plates and rock inscriptions. In the thirteenth century Bengal was conquered by the Mahomedans, and Assam became overrun by their invasions. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they were defeated by the Ahom kings of Assam, which led to the loss of the whole of their newly conquered territory in the north-east. In Chapter IV, a history of the Koch kings has been given. In the sixteenth century these kings became very powerful. Bishya Singha, who commenced reigning in 1524 A.D., conquered Kamrup, attacked Bhutan and compelled the Debraj to pay tribute. Gour was next invaded and part of it brought under subjection. He then removed the seat of his government from the Hills (Chikangram) to Hingulabash (Kuch Behar) in the plains, and having reigned for 31 years died in A.D. 1555 and was succeeded by his second son, Nara Narayan. He extended his kingdom on all sides from the river Dikkar, the western boundary of Kamrup or Lower Assam, to the Ganges in the east. He conquered Rungpur, and coined money, called after him "Narayani Rupees." He then defeated the King of Gour and planted his standard on the eastern banks of the Ganges. In 1563, he conquered Gowhati, Bizni and Darrang; and in 1565, rebuilt the temple of Kamakshya, where his and his brother, Sukladyaja's, effigy are still to be seen. The newly conquered countries east of the Manas were then conferred on Sukladyaja who was succeeded by Raghu Deva Narayani, whose sons, Parikshit Narayani and Belit Narayani, are the ancestors of the Rajas of Bizni and Darrang, respectively. On his return, he bestowed Panga on his elder brother, Nrisingha Narayani, and having reigned with great splendour for 30 years, breathed his last in 1588. He was the Charlemagne of this quarter, and had, of course, his Alcium in Purushottam Bhattacharya, who in A.D. 1568 prepared the Sanskrit Grammar "Ratnamala."

It was during Nara Narayan's brilliant reign that the English traveller, Ralph Fitch, visited this part of the country. He saw Sukladyaja, Nara Narayan's brother, ruling the country on behalf of his brother. It was also about this time that the Vaishnava religion of Chaitanya made a firm stand against the older form of faith which was more or less a debauched

form of Hindu *tantrikism*. It is not stated by Mr. Gait why the purified Vishnuvism made a favourable impression on Nara Narayan's mind so quickly. That was most probably due to the fact that Chaitanya's father, Jagannatha Misra, was an emigrant from Sylhet, and had numerous connections in Assam when he had settled at Nadiya. Naturally when his son preached a new faith he found many adherents among his own kith and kin of Assam, who most probably persuaded the reigning monarch, Nara Narayan, to adopt the new cult as his State religion. Another probable cause of Nara Narayan's acceptance of the new religion may be his marrying Kamala Priya, a niece of Sankara Deva, a great enthusiast of the Vaishnava Reformation. The spread of the new religion, to whatever cause its origin and acceptance in Assam might be due, put a salutary check on the prevalence of many debauched customs among the Assamese and helped them to a great extent to avoid a horrible and grotesque caricature of religion which had been evolved from the grafting of a degraded Hinduism on the tribal practices of the aborigines.

Chapter V describes the rise of the Ahom kings of Assam. These people had the historic sense very fully developed, and their chronicles, called *Buranjis*, contain a careful, reliable and continuous narrative of their rule. As such, the greater portion of the book under review has been devoted to the history of their reigns. Their several encounters with the Mahomedan kings of Bengal occupy Chapter VI, and the climacteric of their rule in Assam is described in the following chapter. Raja Gourinath, with whom began the decay and fall of the Ahom kingdom, first sought the aid of the English in 1792, to expel a gang of marauders from British territory. Mr. Lumsden, then Collector of Rungpur, which had become a British possession in 1765, when the whole of the Mahomedan possessions of Bengal were ceded to the East India Company in virtue of the *Dewanny* Sanad, referred the matter to Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-General of India. His Lordship directed the leaders of the gangs of marauders to return to British territory, but as they refused to obey the order, it was decided to expel them by force from the

territory of Raja Gourinath. Accordingly Captain Welsh proceeded to Goalpara to the Raja's relief and recovered Gowhati from the enemies of Raja Gourinath. When Gowhati was rescued by Captain Welsh, the sole object of his expedition was fulfilled, but as there was a serious rebellion in Upper Assam and as Raja Gourinath was totally unable to stand alone, the Ahom king placed himself unreservedly in the hands of the British Government and begged for assistance against all his enemies. When this changed programme was submitted to Lord Cornwallis for approval, the Governor-General wrote that the Raja should be made to understand that he must try to pacify his rebellious subjects by adopting conciliatory measures. But Raja Gourinath being of a vindictive disposition, failed to carry out Lord Cornwallis's order, and Captain Welsh was obliged to remain in the country to pacify the Raja's enemies and to introduce salutary reforms in its administration. In December 1793 Sir John Shore succeeded Lord Cornwallis and adopted a non-interference policy. Accordingly Captain Welsh's expedition was recalled. In this way ended the first and the earliest interference of the British Government in the affairs of Upper Assam.

In Chapter IX is given an account of the Ahom system of government, and in the next chapter is treated the history of the Kacharis. Next follows the account of the Jaintia kings. Sylhet and the Burmese war have been treated in Chapters XIII and XIV. In the former chapter, the author has entirely omitted William Makepeace Thackeray, the first British Collector of Sylhet and grandfather of the immortal English novelist. His successor, Robert Lindsay, son of the Earl of Balcarres, is mentioned as a Mr. Robert Lindsay. But not a word is said about his great predecessor, who, in 1772, was selected by Warren Hastings as the first "Collector" of the dangerous frontier province of Sylhet. In this great outlying angle of North-Eastern Bengal, these two men, William Makepeace Thackeray and the Hon. Robert Lindsay, are the first British administrators who left their mark and converted what had been a wild border land into a British province, and "Thackeray's House" is still pointed out by the natives after more than a century. Their rule

was a simple one. "Black tax-farmers brought the £17,000 of land tax to the treasury in the local currency of cowries, 41,000 of which equalled one pound sterling. The British head of the District shipped off to Dacca the heaped up masses of little shells or kept part of them in payment for the lime, timber, and elephants which he supplied to the Company. Such local products formed in fact a means of remitting the revenue, alike profitable to the British Resident and convenient to the Central Government. The Dacca Council asked few questions as long as the fixed amount of cowries, or their equivalent in the articles ordered for the Company, came down the river. The serious business of the Resident of Sylhet or "Collector," as he began to be called in 1772, was to hold the District against the frontier tribes and rebellious chiefs. Each autumn the hillmen burst upon the valley; if in any year they did not come, it was because the floods had already swept away the crops. Murderous affrays still took place between the Hindu and Mussalman cultivators. At the greater festivals of the rival religions, temples were sacked, cows were slain within the holy precincts, mosques were defiled, and bloody reprisals followed on both sides. It must be remembered that when Thackeray went to Sylhet in 1772, it had only been under nominal British control for six years. He found it as it was left by centuries of native rule. Two of his sources of income were the destruction of tigers and the capture of wild elephants. Thackeray's name survives as a mighty hunter of elephants. Herds of these animals roamed through the mountains and forests, at times forcing the hillmen to lodge in trees for shelter, and sallying forth to devastate the villages and crop lands of the plains. "On visiting the country where the greater part of my elephants were caught," wrote Lindsay, "I fell in with a small tribe of hill people, living more in the style of the brute creation than any I had ever met with; they are well known by the name of Kukis, and have their habitations on spreading trees to defend them from the beasts of prey. They live on wild honey and the fruits of the forest."

During Thackeray's two years in Sylhet, he continued the native system of administration, but gradually imposed on it

methods of British rule. Under the Moghuls, an agent of the Delhi treasury, always distrusted and constantly changed, had remitted the revenue to Dacca and made as much as he could by extortion during his precarious tenure of office. Village tax-farmers brought to the Emperor's intendant the quota payable by the separate village communes, as shown in the books of the village accountant and the Imperial registrar. Each of these subordinates took in his turn an allowance, and increased it as much as he dared by bribes. The native Government recognised no land owners or intermediate proprietary rights between the Imperial fisc and the actual tillers of the soil. The rural community in Sylhet consisted of two classes, the officials and the cultivators. In the early days of British rule, the system began to be humanised by appointing the revenue farmers from the chief occupiers of land. A class of *quasi*-proprietary thus grew up, with a stable interest in the good management of the District, representing the treasury demand on the one side and the actual capabilities of the rural communes on the other. In 1793 this class was sufficiently important to supply the basis of the Permanent Settlement of Sylhet. Under Thackeray and his immediate successors, a number of oppressive imposts were abolished. The armed fleet against the river pirates, for which a single division of the District had been mulcted in a tribute of forty-eight armed boats by the Moghul Governor, became a thing of the past. The District produced more revenue with less pressure upon the people. Deductions were frequently made for bad seasons and raids by the hillmen. But cultivation steadily extended, and the same area which sent £16,704 to the Moghul Emperor in 1765, yielded £27,372 to the British Government in 1792. The land tax continued to be paid in the shell currency of cowries till 1820. In 1774 Thackeray left Sylhet and became a third member of the Council of Dacca.

We have stated the above facts in detail as they have been totally left out by the author in his work. It is desirable that in the future edition of the book under review, the name of William Makepeace Thackeray, as well as an account of his administration of Sylhet, should be incorporated. Another

notable omission is Major James Rennell, who in 1764 was appointed a Bengal engineer by Governor Vansittart. He buried himself in the recesses of Eastern Bengal and year after year studied the great river systems in which he discovered the key to the geography of the country. He first surveyed the Brahmaputra Valley, amid dangers from river pirates, herds of trampling elephants and roaming hosts of banditti, the fierce remnants of the native armies. On one occasion, Rennell saved himself from the spring of a leopard by thrusting a bayonet down its throat. In 1766 while surveying the North-Eastern Province he had been literally cut to pieces by a band of marauders 800 strong. Having routed them in a pitched battle, he came unexpectedly upon them again the next morning with an escort too weak for defence. One sabre stroke cut his right shoulder blade through, and laid him open for nearly a foot down the back, cutting through or wounding several of his ribs. A second slashed his left elbow; a third pierced the arm, a fourth came down on his hand depriving him for ever of the use of a forefinger, besides lesser thrusts and hacks. In this mangled state he had to be rowed down three hundred miles in a country boat to the nearest surgeon at Dacca, with such cataplasms of leaves and onions as the anxious affection of his native servants could devise for his wounds. After hanging for months between life and death, he recovered to find himself promoted by Lord Clive to be Captain of Engineers and Surveyor-General of Bengal at the age of twenty-four. The name of the first Surveyor-General of Bengal who took infinite pains to open up the great river systems of East Bengal and Assam should be honourably mentioned in the history of Assam.

The history of the consolidation of British rule in Assam is told in Chapter XV. In 1823 the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley was taken under the direct control of the English Government and David Scott was appointed Agent to the Governor-General. In 1827 he felt the expediency of opening direct communication between the Brahmaputra Valley and that of the Surma, and the preparation of a road *viâ* Nungklow to the Surma Valley was decided upon. While the

road-making was progressing, a serious attack was made by the Khasias on the Nungklow bungalow in which two young military officers were killed. As Mr. Gait has not fully described the circumstances in which they fell victims to the assassin's sword, we give a full history of the pathetic tale in which two promising lads were massacred.

Lieutenant Philip Bowles Burlton, one of the victims, arrived in Calcutta about the end of the year 1821 and was placed at Dum-Dum, where the Bengal Artillery was then permanently cantoned. Being of a frank and manly disposition, he was a general favourite both with officers and civilians alike. On a certain public occasion, he invited James Silk Buckingham, then editor of the violent *Calcutta Journal*, to the gunners' mess without the slightest reference to his political creed, but merely as a friend and a guest. This was very unpalatable to the Commandant of the Corps, Major-General Hardwick, an uncompromising opponent of Buckingham and his principles. He adopted drastic measures to purge the mess room of the pollution it sustained by the objectionable presence of the dreaded editor, an obnoxious guest. With this object in view, several meetings were convened, and sundry resolutions proposed, the sole end and purport of which were to blackball the journalist from the regimental mess. "The young, liberal and independent spirits" (chief among whom was Lieutenant Burlton), says a contemporary writer, "fought manfully in opposition to the propositions tendered for their acceptance, and asserted with an honest frankness their perfect right to invite to their mess any gentleman of their acquaintance of irreproachable private character, let his politics be what they might." This helped to add fuel to the fire already raging, and the two principal leaders of the independent party, Lieutenant Burlton, and his bosom friend Lieutenant Wiggins, were selected for punishment. The former was sent to the "penal settlement" of Gowhati in the pestilential marshes of the recently-acquired province of Assam, and the latter to Agra. It was a welcome change to Burlton, however unpleasant its cause. In a short time, the First Burmese War broke out, and Burlton had opportunities of distinguishing

himself, being honourably mentioned in despatches. At its conclusion, his abilities had more extended scope in a direction more genial to his taste for adventure than mere fighting an enemy. He was engaged in the difficult and arduous task of solving the problems of the sources of the Brahmaputra and the Irrawaddy, knotty questions on which the *savants* of Europe were very much divided in opinion and which are shrouded in doubt and mystery even to this day, besides enriching the scanty knowledge of the geography of the country lying to the north of Assam. Constant exposure to a deleterious climate brought on its inevitable consequences, severe indisposition and a breaking up of the constitution. To recruit his health he took leave, and accompanied by Lieutenant Beddingfield, a comrade also of the Artillery, proceeded to the newly established sanitarium of Nungklow, ten miles from Gowhati. The following graphic description of the sad affair which terminated the career of these two promising young officers is contributed by a correspondent shortly after the occurrence :—“All of a sudden four or five hundred Khasias and Garrows surrounded the house and poor Beddingfield went out amongst them unarmed to see what they wanted. They immediately seized him, and after tying his hands behind his back, and cutting the tendons of his legs commenced shooting at him with their arrows. It is said that he told them, if it was his life they wanted, to kill him outright, which they accordingly did, and cutting off his head planted it on the rock where a house formerly stood ; poor Burlton, upon seeing his friend's fate, defended the house, assisted by a few sepoys of the Assam Light Infantry and his servants and held out in gallant style for a day and night until the house was set on fire, when they sallied out and made a good retreat of about ten miles from Gowhati ; and by keeping up a constant fire kept the savages off until a dreadful shower of rain coming on, wetted their ammunition and rendered their firearms of no use. The small party then dispersed, a few of those who took shelter in the jungle escaped, but Burlton and one European writer, Bowman, having both kept the pathway, were immediately massacred. The former was in the act of extracting an arrow from his wrist, when he was cut down, being in an exhausted state from the immense

exertions he had made and his previous ill-health. This happened on the 2nd and 4th of April 1829. On the 25th of May following, an Assistant Surgeon, H. Beadon, who was a dear friend of the murdered officers, was killed in action against Suchet Singh and his myrmidons, whilst nobly avenging their death. The three bodies were laid side by side on a beautiful spot close by, named Ostrich Hill. The following pathetic allusion is made to the mournful event by the Rev. Mr. Lisle Bowles, uncle of Lieutenant Burlton and father of the “Living Poets of England,” on a view of a range of ghauts in the East Indies :—“And can I look upon this sunny scene of Asia? Can I look upon those hills, the distant ghauts, and not remember him, the poor youth bound to me by dearest ties, upon whom therewith fell the murderous savages, hunted to death! Ah, faint upon the sands he sinks ; he bleeds, his hand is on his breast, he thinks of his mother! He is dead!”

The above is the full account of a romantically tragic incident in the history of Assam, in which it should be chronicled in all its details. As a result of the above rising of the Khasias and Garrows, vigorous reprisals were undertaken. On the 9th January 1833, the ringleader, Terat Singh, surrendered himself, and general pacification took place immediately. The chiefs were allowed to retain some portion of their independence, but a Political Agent was stationed on the hills. The first Political Agent was Captain Lister of the Sylhet Light Infantry, who ruled the Sylhet hills for 20 years. On account of the unhealthy state of the country, it was thought desirable about this time to establish a sanitarium on the hills now occupied. Nungklow, which was founded by David Scott, became very unhealthy. Some advocated the claims of Mairang, while others preferred the tableland between Shillong Peak and Nongkren, and others again, a site near Serraim. The decision was eventually given in favour of Cherrapunji, mainly on the score of its accessibility from Sylhet. In 1864 this place was abandoned for Shillong. The native name for the site of this town is Yeddo, but there is another place of this name in Japan, and its founders preferred, therefore, to call it Shillong after the peak which dominates it.

The last chapter is devoted to the growth of the tea industry. In 1823 Mr. Robert Bruce learnt the existence of the tea plants from a Singpho chief who promised to obtain some specimens for him. In the following year, they were delivered to his brother, Mr. C. A. Bruce, who submitted them to David Scott, by whom they were sent to the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens for examination at Calcutta. They were pronounced to be of the same family, but not the same species, as the plant from which the Chinese tea was manufactured. Nothing further seems to have happened till 1832, when Captain Jenkins was deputed to report on the resources of Assam, and the existence of the tea plant was pressed upon his notice by Mr. C. A. Bruce. The result was that a Tea Committee, consisting of seven civilians, three Calcutta merchants and two native gentlemen, was appointed with Dr. Wallich, of the Botanical Gardens at Sibpur, as President. Mr. Gordon, its Secretary, went to China to procure plants, seeds, and persons skilled in the manufacture of tea. In 1837 he returned from China, and samples of tea, as grown in Assam, were prepared by the Chinese manufacturers brought by Mr. Gordon. In consequence of this, Mr. C. A. Bruce was appointed Superintendent of the Government Tea Forests. In 1837 Mr. Bruce packed forty-six boxes of tea, but owing to defective packing, much of it was damaged by damp before it reached Calcutta, and only a small portion was sent to England. The report received from England was encouraging. In 1840 the Assam Company was formed with a capital of half a million, and they took over Government plantations. Since then, the tea industry in Assam has grown by leaps and bounds.

Although the book has been compiled under harassing official duties, it cannot be said to be defective or unsuccessful. It contains a tolerably fair historical account of Assam, in which the author has aimed at giving as much information about the past days of Assam as is possible under the present circumstances. We therefore congratulate the author on the production of this work, which we have every reason to believe will be made more useful and informing in the edition to come. There is ample room for improvements, some of which we have pointed out above.

WESTERN CULTURE IN EASTERN LANDS, A COMPARISON OF THE METHODS ADOPTED BY ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By Arminius Vambéry, C.V.O., Author of "Travels in Central Asia," "History of Bokhara," etc. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W. 1906.

In his seventieth year, Arminius Vambéry, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Buda Pest, Vienna, has given to the world his mature views on what England and Russia have respectively done in their spheres of influence in Asia, towards civilising or Europeanising those people who are now living under their thralldom. In discharging this work, great and difficult as it is, the Professor has tried not only to defend himself against the charge of being prepossessed against Russia and partial to England, but also to disillusionise Europe of the prevailing idea that the Russians, being semi-Asiatic in thought, culture and civilisation, are more fitted than England to undertake the cultural transformation of the Asiatics. "To prove the erroneousness of this view and to defend myself against the accusation of an unjustifiable partiality, these pages have been written." But we regret to say, too late. For over half a century, Professor Vambéry is persistently writing against Russian aims and aspirations in Central Asia, and his well-known Cassandra notes have got so much circulation throughout the world that Humanity is more than convinced of the fact that he is a great *dushman* of the Russian people. To explode such a conviction now is an impossible task. His views on Russian affairs in Central Asia are too well known, and in the book under review, the same are repeated with emphasis and are held in comparison with those which he himself believes to be the achievements of England in India. Hithertobefore his literary work was chiefly confined to those countries of which he had some personal knowledge or with whose past history he had acquired some special familiarity, and, as such, was regarded not only reliable but valuable in many respects. But in his present work, he has tried to write upon a country which he himself has never seen or whose history he has not read with sufficient care. Hence his conclusions regarding England's work in

India are more or less overdrawn, not warranted by the data upon which he has sought to draw his inference.

The book is divided into three parts—Part I is devoted to what Russia has done in Central Asia, Part II to what England has done in India, and Part III to an altogether different topic, the Future of Islam. In writing upon Western influence in the East in Chapter I of Part I, Professor Vambéry has given in a nutshell what he believes to be the mainspring of England's and Russia's activities in the East. He thus says:—"If the English poet, Mathew Arnold, was right when he sang—

The East bowed down before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again,

our present day Europe, in its restless bustling activity will take good care not to let the East relapse again into its former indolence. We forcibly tear its eyes open; we push, jolt, toss and shake it, and we compel it to exchange its world-worn, hereditary ideas and customs for our modern views of life; nay, we have even succeeded to some extent in convincing our Eastern neighbours that our civilisation, our faith, our customs, our philosophy, are the only means whereby the well-being, the progress, the happiness, of the human race can be secured."

In the above passage, lies the initial blunder which has vitiated the whole reasoning of the book—in fact, the total misconception of the duty which the author has sought to discharge by writing the book. We have already said that Professor Vambéry has totally failed to grasp the trend of transformation which is taking place in the East owing to its contact with the West. The Asiatics never believe that European civilisation, European faith, European customs and European philosophy are the only means of acquiring happiness and prosperity in life. On the other hand, they have come to believe by comparing the two systems of civilisation, Asiatic and European, that their world-worn, hereditary ideas of religion, philosophy, social duties and morality, are far more conducive to real happiness and peace of mind than what

their brethren of the West possess. Hence under the influence of Western culture, an Asiatic would never exchange his religion for the light of Christianity; would never alter his moral code for becoming pitiful and forgiving and would never raise his standard of comfort for becoming happy in the European sense of the word. Neither Russia in Central Asia nor England in India, has been able to convince the natives that the political supremacy which they have got over them, is due to the superior quality of their civilisation, their faith, their customs and their philosophy; Russia and England have not achieved success in that way even to some extent. On the other hand, the brilliant success of Japan over the greatest of European Powers has most unmistakeably shown that Asiatic civilisation, Asiatic faith, Asiatic customs and Asiatic philosophy are no hindrances to the progress of a nation along the line of modern culture, provided it can carefully manipulate and assimilate the Western methods of political organisation, organise its military on Western models and systematise its commercial activity along the European principles. Hence Japan, without in the least ceasing to be Asiatic, without changing their civilisation, without changing their religion, without changing their customs, and without changing their philosophy, has developed an unexpected energy which clearly shows that cultural transformation of a nation does not necessarily connote a change in its ideas of civilisation, faith, philosophy and customs. Hence if by cultural transformation in Asia, Professor Vambéry means only what he has stated in the passage quoted above, he must be said to have had no idea of what is taking place among the Asiatics in virtue of their contact with the West.

Western culture in India and elsewhere is slowly and steadily convincing the Asiatics that in order to secure political ascendancy, military power and commercial success, they must exchange their world-worn ideas on these matters for those of Europe on the same. That is, they must carry on their educational, political, military and commercial activities on modern scientific European ways. That is what we believe to be the results of the cultural transformation as effected in

their respective spheres by England and Russia, and in order to investigate how far the natives have been able to assimilate Western political thoughts and imbibe European intellectual attainments after coming under the influence of Western culture, one must be provided with a history of the efforts made by England and Russia for securing to the natives the advantages of modern European institutions. If that history can be correctly written, it would clearly show what advantages the Eastern people have derived from the interference of the Europeans in their affairs. Instead of seeing that, if we merely try to see how far the Eastern people have succeeded in changing their civilisation, their faith, their religion, their customs and their philosophy for those of the Europeans and consider these as the effects of Western culture in Eastern lands, it would be extremely difficult for us to give sufficient specimens of such changes among the natives. Scarcely ten in a million would be found among the natives who for securing "happiness, well-being and progress of the human race," have changed their religion, customs, civilisation and philosophy for those of their Western neighbours. Hence weighed in that scale, Western culture in Eastern lands is bound to show most sorry and deplorable results, and as much, must be regarded as dead failure.

Written with inadequate knowledge and with no definite conception of the changes that are taking place in India and Central Asia in virtue of their being under the subjugation of Russia and England, Professor Vambéry devotes a large portion of the book to the description of the wars, offensive and defensive, undertaken by Russia and England to conquer Turkistan and India respectively. In this work of conquest, Professor Vambéry finds Russia to be wholly impelled by motives of self-aggrandisement and territorial expansion, and England to be wholly free from such ignoble ideas. "Knowing something of the extraordinary difficulties which Clive and Hastings had to deal with, and estimating them at their true value, we cannot fail to see that the tenacious perseverance and stubborn strength of the English character formed the chief factor which eventually brought about the realisation of that

marvellous scheme—the establishment of the Indian Empire. In this respect I cannot agree with Professor Seeley, who maintains that the acquisition of India was a blind speculation, and that, of the exploits ever achieved by the English, nothing has been more unintentional and accidental than the conquest of India." The question of how and why the English had come to acquire sovereignty over India is quite foreign to the present occasion, and as great philosophers and historians are at variance in their opinion on the issue, it is better to leave it undiscussed here with only giving the reader what our author thinks of the matter.

Coming to the subject-matter of the book—that is, what are the methods adopted by Russia and England to train the natives of Turkistan and India in Western institutions, and how far the natives have been able to utilise those institutions for their well-being, we regret to say, we do not find a very satisfactory treatment of the questions. Regarding the "cultural" efforts of Russia in Turkistan and Kirghis Steppe, we are told that as early as 1859, Lieutenant-General Glukhoff had suggested that schools should be built in which the nomad children could receive tuition in the elementary subjects in the Kirghis tongue. But as the natives were violently prejudiced against all seminaries of Russian undertaking, it was decided to allow these institutions to be superintended by the natives and to be carried on strictly on Moslem ritualistic principles. The first school of this kind was opened in 1863, and since then, in spite of the strenuous exertions of the Russian authorities, only sixty-three Kirghis have studied in these institutions. Hence still the cultural efforts of Russia in Kirghis Steppe are not in any way hopeful. Leaving Kirghis Steppe and coming down to Turkistan, Western culture does not show any more bright aspect. It is true that since coming under Russian sway, many cruel practices have been suppressed; the native laws have been improved; police arrangements have been made, and the freedom, the security and the facilities of trade and traffic have been made available to the Turkistanis, but practically nothing has been done by the Russian Government

to enlighten the natives with Western knowledge and culture. On the other hand, the evils of Western institutions have taken a firm hold over them. Before Russian conquest, alcohol and prostitution were unknown things in Central Asia, but now they have assumed terrible dimensions. Half a century ago, brandy was never heard of in Turkistan, and wine was only found among the Jews, who made it for ritualistic purposes. To-day brandy distilleries abound. According to an official report, the import of spirits in one year is 308,924 firkins, the export 75,327 firkins. That the Mahomedans assist in the consumption has been confirmed by several travellers, who state that the Kirghis are particularly partial to the Russian national beverage. But more surprising even than the spread of alcohol is the increased prevalence of prostitution. In older times this vice was punished by death, but now under the protection of the Russian Government, it has free course. Frederick Duckmeyer writes:—"In the place of Koknar (opium) we find beer and brandy, and immoral intercourse is greatly encouraged by the numerous modern Bordelles. At festive times not a few followers of Mohammed get drunk on brandy and beer (wine is not so much in favour); they go reeling and shouting through the streets, visit bad houses, misbehave themselves in every way, and generally finish up the festival with a day or two in the police station." The Russified Kirghis Nalivkin says that the public houses are patronised not only by the Russians, but also by the Sarts, and preferably in the sacred month of Ramzan. With the advent of the Russians, prostitution has entered, and has spread rapidly, even in the family circle.

Professor Vambéry recounts the above and much more to show the result of Western culture in Turkistan. Certainly the object of all this is to discredit Russia as a civiliser of Turkistan and to depict her as utterly unfit for becoming a successful civiliser of the Asiatic people. With no less object in view he writes:—"The corruption of the Russian officials, which cannot be too severely censured, will naturally not be noticed so much by passing tourists, but it is all the more realised by those Europeans who have been appointed by Russia

to some office in Turkistan, and who see with their own eyes the rotten condition of things there. Indeed, the picture they disclose makes one shudder; it is disgusting in every detail. A rich merchant of the name of Ivanoff held for a long time several high-placed Turkistan officials at his mercy. The postmaster had for many years lived in his house without any rent, and even General Chernayeff was amongst his debtors. Colonel Yanoff, the leader in the first Pamir Expedition, had in the exercise of his office incurred a debt of 40,000 marks (£2,000); Major Gerasimoff, the former Commander of Kuldja, spent every year on champagne alone twice the amount of his pay. Others, again, fell victims to gambling at cards—in short, the extravagance and the licentiousness of the Russian officials in Turkistan defies all description; and this side of the Russian character is certainly not calculated to set a good example to the natives, especially as, in most cases, the natives have to pay for it. We are justified then in asking:—"Are these the qualities which are likely to attract the Asiatics towards their Russian masters, and is it by such means as these that civilisation will be more readily accepted than through the medium of other European Powers?" Regarding the educational movement in Turkistan, we are told that of the 5,260,000 natives, only 2,427 attend the schools. During the last ten years, that is, from 1893 to 1903, the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction has spared no expense and has spent 3,432,000 roubles on education, excluding local contributions. All that has been done so far to advance the education of the Turkistanis must be attributed either to the pressure of the authorities or to the allurements of material gain. In summing up the result of Russian influence in Central Asia, the author says:—"Judging dispassionately and without prejudice, we must frankly acknowledge that the Russians have done much good work in Asia, that with their advent, order, peace and security have taken the place of anarchy and lawlessness, and that, notwithstanding the strongly oriental colouring of their political, social, and ecclesiastical institutions as representatives of the Western world, they have everywhere made a change for the better, and inaugurated

an era more worthy of humanity. But we must not lose sight of the fact that it is Russia in particular which, as far as its own culture is concerned, has not by a long way reached that stage of perfection which would enable it to take its stand as the representative of the true, genuine spirit of modern advancement. Russian culture is only half European, and still half Asiatic, and although modern Russia has produced a few great personalities, yet, taken as a whole, its education is half finished and not matured enough to make it the successful civiliser of other entirely or semi-barbaric societies." Hence the erroneousness of the view that Russia being semi-educated and semi-Asiatic is better qualified to undertake the civilisation of the Asiatic people.

With the results above summarised Professor Vambéry compares what England has done in India for educating the people, and enlightening them with Western institutions. Of course the cultural transformation that has taken place in India is far more brilliant and hopeful than that achieved in Central Asia. No one can gainsay the fact that coming under England's sway the people of India have learned to reap the benefits of western institutions with amazing rapidity. But two things must be clearly held in view when comparing the works as done by England and Russian in their respective spheres. Russia has come to acquire Central Asia not more than half a century ago, while India has come under England's sway more than a century. This periodicity has been entirely overlooked by our author. Another and the greater fact has reference to the mental or intellectual condition of the two peoples, Indians and Turkistanis. The essential condition of the cultural transformation of a people is their mental pliability or flexibility. When England brought the influence of Western culture to bear upon the Indians, the latter were remarkable for their intellectual attainments. They were ready intellectually to absorb Western ideas and help England in its work of cultural transformation. Indeed, the seeds of Western culture were sown upon a most fertile soil by England, hence the fruits have been plentiful and abundant. In this productivity, the credit belongs more to the people of India than to their English

rulers. The first great English school which sought to impart English education to the people of Bengal was set up by the natives themselves and not by their English rulers; after them came the Missionaries. It is a well-known fact that the East India Company strenuously opposed the education of the natives on Western lines in fear of losing their Indian Empire. Hence it is unjust to say that the English rulers first encouraged the natives to utilise Western education for their welfare. The institutions—Benares College and Calcutta Madrasah—which were set up by Warren Hastings about the end of the eighteenth century did not, in the least, seek to impart English education to the natives; they were purely sectarian institutions for the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic only. As the Indian Empire has come to be acquired by the English without any definite plan and aim, so the wonderful cultural transformation that has taken place in India has come into being without any great attempt and expense on their part. It is the natives who have exerted most to acquire the benefits of Western culture, and even now, it is they who own, manage and superintend a far larger number of Western institutions—schools, libraries, newspapers,—than those of their English rulers. Instead of supporting the growth of the Press in India, the East India Company did their level best to suppress it. Who does not know the early history of the Indian Press, full of vicissitudes, deportations, suppressions and ignominious interferences? The Indian Press have grown up against the wishes of the English rulers of India: and the Indian education and enlightenment have sprung up and solidified in spite of the vigorous oppositions of the Anglo-Indian rulers. There is no denying these patent facts. Hence if anyone try to give all the credit of the intellectual transformation as effected among the Indians to their English rulers, and make them solely responsible for the change, he is wholly mistaken.

Physically and mentally Central Asia is a desert, an absolutely barren soil. Who can expect that in such a soil the seeds of Western culture will produce a satisfactory harvest? The dead orthodoxy of the Turkistanis has hermetically sealed them from the imbibing of any Western innovations and has

Political annihilation of a nation has never become an accomplished fact and will never become so in the time to come. In writing this book Professor Vambéry has taken a mistaken step. Still his lucidly written imaginings, which remind us of the grandfather's tales, are a delightful reading. We have read the work with great interest, without in the least being influenced by his opinions, which to us appear to be greatly overdrawn and exaggerated. We have failed to see wherein lies the value of the book, as in it all objective standpoints have been allowed to be replaced by theoretical propositions. In the modern matter-of-fact world, such books, full of conjectures, overdrawn conclusions and imaginings, are out of place.

HERE AND THERE, MEMORIES INDIAN AND OTHER. By H. G. Keene, C. I. E., author of "A Servant of John Company," "Sketches in Indian Ink," etc. London: Brown, Langham and Company, 78, New Bond Street, W. 1906.

Of the few distinguished Haileyburians who are still surviving, Henry George Keene is one. Son of a distinguished Anglo-Indian, himself a distinguished man, H. G. Keene is a prolific writer on Oriental subjects. He has written much to establish his claim as one of the authorities on Indian history, and his auto-biographies show that he has a keen insight into human affairs. Some years ago he delighted his readers by publishing an account of his Indian career in a book called "A Servant of John Company." "Here and There" is only a supplementary publication to his former work with an additional part containing reminiscences of men and things in England as observed after an exile of thirty-five years. In the prefatory note, which is rather large and long, he tells us that his object in publishing the present work is social rather than political, the storing of the flotsam and jetsam of tradition rather than of the solemn facts of history. It is needless to say that in fulfilling the object Mr. Keene has truly given us many hitherto unknown facts of Indian life as experienced by him.

Being a "chip of the old block"—a Haileyburian by birth and adoption, Mr. Keene naturally feels a leaning towards the method by which the Great Corporation used to select or recruit their Indian Civil Servants, that is, by nomination. In the Prefatory Notes, he writes a defence of the old method in the following manner:—"Being for the most part men of good family, accustomed from their boyhood to hunt and shoot, to rule stable boys and manage gamekeepers, they brought to their duties just sufficient intelligence to enable them to put healthy vigour into routine work and to rule men by personal influence. When the great storm (Sepoy Mutiny) broke upon Upper India, it found a body of brave and simple-hearted gentlemen not unprepared to cope with it. How far the present system of appointment by competitive examination is an ideal fulfilment of that duty (of Britain to provide for axes and razors in the Indian service) may be a subject of inquiry: objections have been brought against it, and it does not appear to find favour with other nations having colonies to administer beyond sea. It has certainly raised the level of the average officers, and has probably rendered impossible the recurrence of what has been above designated as 'hard bargains.' But it may be urged against it that very success involves a difficulty; for the uniform training prepares men cast in one mould to be subsequently further assimilated by the pressure of a highly organised system. Originality may be thus repressed, yet it cannot be altogether destroyed; the half-century of appointment by competitive examination may neither have produced so many great scholars and administrators as the period between Elphinstone and Sir Alfred Lyall; but the fact that it produces men so distinguished yet so diverse as Hunter and Burnell, Sir Antony Macdonnell and Sir Mortimer Durand, is sufficient testimony to the elasticity of human nature."

In the first two chapters on old Haileybury an attempt is made to defend its existence and to give the reader an idea of the manner in which the College used to benefit its students. The author's father joined it in 1824 as Professor of Arabic and there the present writer, Mr. H. G. Keene, was born. In 1834 his father retired from Haileybury. During this interval, John

Lawrence obtained his nomination and was a student of the College. Mr. Keene states he was one of the most careless of the students of that time. Our author joined Haileybury College as a student in 1844 and remained there for three years. Thus twice in his life he lived at Haileybury—as a boy and as a student. During these two periods he came to know some of its renowned Principals and Professors about whom he writes in his present volume many interesting anecdotes. The pranks and peccadilloes of his early boyhood as well as those of his comrades at Haileybury are given in full details to show how the distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators in embryo lived, moved and had their being in the training college, and how far their associations imparted a beneficial corporate spirit to them as a whole. The Haileybury College was chiefly maintained for creating a healthy *esprit de corps* among the Indian administrators and for establishing traditions of honourable duty among them. Besides these, Haileybury was an ideal place of education, and in comparison with other institutions, was rather a lath-and-plaster Temple of the Muses. Hence old Haileybury was an excellent institution for the training of the Governors of men. In concluding the second chapter, the author says:—"Competition has probably raised the general level of knowledge; it has not yet produced better scholars than Brian Hodgson or better statesman than John Lawrence."

In the next two chapters on "London and Oxford" Mr. Keene gives us a glimpse of the old London life and that which was led by Anglo-Indians in Bengal. In October 1847 he landed in Calcutta and found Lord Hardinge received there with a sort of Roman triumph, the captured Sikh guns—256 in number—being paraded on the *maidan*, and a warm address of congratulation offered by the community (Native and European), culminating ultimately in the erection of a fine statue. Of some curious customs prevalent in the Anglo-Indian social life of that time, the author mentions only tobacco smoking and the taking of wine. Tobacco ceremonial was practised universally in Bengal when Mr. Keene entered the Indian Civil Service. The manner of it was this: after

the ladies left the dinner-room, if not before, each man was provided (by a special attendant) with a silver mouthpiece in a bowl of perfumed water, a strip of carpet being laid behind the chair, on which was placed the crystal vase containing the water through which the smoke was to pass and be inhaled in a cool condition. In the top of this vase was placed the bowl containing the *chillum*, a paste of tobacco and conserve; a glowing ball of ignited charcoal was laid on this, and the end of the "snake" at the same time introduced under the right hand arm of your chair. You then inserted the mouthpiece, and in another minute the room was full of gurgling sound as of camels protesting against their loads. Such was the solemnity witnessed after every Anglo-Indian dinner; to which it remains to add that it was a deadly affront to step over that portion of the snake which lay upon the carpet. The other social function of the day was the taking of wine with one another—confined in England to mess-rooms and practised between persons near enough to catch one another's eye. In India, however, it would sometimes happen that a guest at one end of a long table wished to exchange greetings with a friend at the other whom he knew to be present even if he could barely see him. It even happened occasionally that the parties had quarrelled and one, or both, desired to renew amiable relations. In all such cases the man making the overture would send his servant round to the other with the message "So-and-so sends compliments" (*Sahib salaam deta*), on which the recipient was expected to lean forward and "look towards you," each raising his glass and making a bow over it at the same moment.

In the fifth chapter the author describes "Mofussil Life" of the Indian civilians "before the Mutiny" and accounts for the tension of feeling between those who always lived at the metropolis within the charmed circle of high officials and those who resided in the mofussil far away from the enjoyments of the capital city. Between these two classes of the Indian civilians there was a chronic mistrust amounting to hostility. For the "Mofussilite"—as the Indian civilian residing in the mofussil was called—the headquarter man—or the Secretariat man as we now call him—felt a suspicion not unblended with a

tendency to take him for granted until you could trip him up; whilst he, on the other hand, regarded his fortunate colleague with envy, perhaps tending towards insubordination. Lord Metcalfe denounced the "favoured few" in general as a dominant caste of which the suppression was essential to the wellbeing of the Empire. This antagonism had found voice towards the end of the Bentinck period (in 1835) in the pages of the *Meerut Universal Magazine*, whose affectionately shortened title was "M. U. M.," a monthly periodical set going by an officer of the 11th Hussars named Tuckett, and supported by two very able young civilians, H. Torrens and H. M. Elliott, who were then serving at Meerut. It was the postulate and position of the provincial staff of those days that its members passed their lives in correcting the blunders of the departmental chiefs at Calcutta whom they pictured as overpaid bureaucrats wallowing in a pool of selfish ignorance and imbecility. The above state of feeling which existed before the Mutiny could not be said to have come to an end when the Company was succeeded by the Crown. At the present time the same sort of feeling exists between the "favourite few," who always enjoy the loaves and fishes of the Secretariat offices at Head-quarters, and those who live in the mofussil amidst malarious attacks and thousand other difficulties incidental to mofussil life. In fact, the Secretariat "caste" of Lord Metcalfe has degenerated now-a-days into a Secretariat "clique" who always keep in the mofussil those members of the Indian Civil Service whom they do not like. The fate of mofussil civilians is entirely at their disposal; and if a particular member is unable to see eye to eye with one of the Secretariat leaguers, he is sure to be punished with as many transfers as the regulations of the Service permit. Many distinguished civilians have already fallen victims to the intrigues of the "Secretariat clique" owing to their inability to pull on well with the departmental chiefs.

Mr. Keene gives us the following particulars in the briefest of leaderettes that ever appeared in an Indian newspaper. "It was in those days that the memorable one line leader appeared, of which something has been said elsewhere—

The Gorham case; damn the Gorham case.' The Gorham case is well nigh forgotten now; but it made a stir about the year 1850, and the commotion became perceptible all through the Empire, being indeed a distinct but connected outcome of the Anglo-Catholic movement. The 'case' arose out of a controversy on baptismal regeneration, a subject unlikely to possess the least interest for Mr. Lang (Editor of the *Mofussilite*); and in the book cited above (the author's 'A Servant of John Company') a rumour was mentioned assigning the credit—or debit—of the contemptuously laconic editorial to W. F. Courtenay, Private Secretary to Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of India. Since the publication of my former work, another account has come to notice, according to which the briefest of leaderettes had its origin in a private note addressed by the Editor to Mr. Gibbons, (his printer) at the Meerut office, enclosing or including a second note from an impatient Simla friend to whom Lang had applied for an article on the question of the day, and whose want of leisure or inclination took this familiar form. And Gibbons—always according to this version—being in urgent need of copy, and rightly gauging the taste of his public, printed the curt comment as a leading article. Certainly there was nothing in the relations existing at the time between Lang and Courtenay to forbid conjecture that the latter was the writer, though he may have no idea that his somewhat petulant refusal would be itself turned into a contribution. In any case, the readers of the *Mofussilite* applauded it as being a consummate sample of the editor's genius; and the applause presently developed into gaping admiration of the ensuing apology. This explanation ended with words to the following effect: 'We have been requested to take this opportunity of announcing that the notice of the Gorham case was not from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Quarthy, the respected Chaplain of Simla.'

On the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, Mr. Keene went to Allahabad and shared in the inception of a newspaper there, which may be noted as an attempt to inaugurate the changed system of the Indian Empire. The old Company with all its faults and merits had been abolished by an Act which obtained

the Royal sanction on 2nd August 1858. A few individuals, of whom the most distinguished was Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., father of the Indian National Congress, bethought themselves of forming a small syndicate to conduct a journal in the Provinces, under the ambitious title of *The New Times for all India*. The editorial chair was assigned to Mr. Sydney Leonan (not Laman as Mr. Keene writes) Blanchard, a London *litterateur*, son of the Blanchard who married the daughter of Douglas Jerrold and was much befriended by the first Lord Lytton. Mr. Blanchard was editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* of Calcutta before he went to Allahabad for taking the editorial charge of *The New Times*. Mr. Keene's own contribution included a light serial, on the lines of "Humphry Clinker," to which he gave the name of "The Simpkiners in India," it being intended to describe Anglo-Indian life as seen by a Cockney family who had come out to settle on a tea plantation. The paper, however, soon collapsed; but Blanchard finished his serial and published it with some papers of his own, in a two-volume book entitled "The Ganges and the Seine."

As a judge of Agra our author made the acquaintance of many distinguished visitors such as the Duke of Buckingham, Vasilli Vereschatgin, the great Russian War painter, President Grant of the United States and others. From Agra he retired in 1882. In the last chapter of Part I he institutes a comparison between the Moghul and English methods of administration and discusses the problem—How far an Alien Yoke is conducive to the welfare of the Indian people. The question will ever remain debatable. But as Mr. Keene's treatment of the question is warranted by some undoubted facts of Indian history, these appears to have something original in it. In the first place, he tells us what was the object of the Anglo-Indian fathers by whom the British Empire in India was founded. "In their eyes," he says, "the sceptre of the sovereign was the schoolmaster, and, there was in their minds a clear perception that whenever the schoolmaster's work was done, pupils would be set free to live their own life. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the famous historian of Mahomedan India, was Governor of Bombay during the first quarter of the nineteenth century and

was in constant communication with other great Anglo-Indians of the time—Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro and Sir James Mackintosh—and in a letter to the latter of June, 1819' he thus expressed his ideas:—"I am afraid the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long-lived is reason and not prejudice. It is difficult to guess the death it may die, but if it escapes the Russian and other foreign attacks, I think the seeds of its ruin will be found in the Native army—a delicate and dangerous machine which a little mismanagement may easily turn against us. The most desirable death for us to die of should be the improvement of the native reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for a foreign nation to retain the Government; but this seems at an immeasurable distance." In the next place, he shows the advantages which the Indian people have derived from the English Rule, and concludes by saying that the 'alien yoke' presses lightly on the Indians and is not one of which it can be their present interest to be rid."

The second part contains extracts from the diaries kept by the author in his retired life. As a member of the Athenæum Club, he had frequent opportunities of feeling the pulse of public affairs in conversation with distinguished men of the time. These extracts are remarkably informing. In going through them, one's memory is refreshed with many forgotten events of English political life. In every respect Mr. Keene's diary notes are valuable. In writing such a book and in allowing the public the benefit of his long and varied experiences, he has placed his Indian readers under a great obligation. But for him these forgotten incidents of Indian history would have never come to light. We have enjoyed the book very much for which we thank the author heartily and in concluding, hope that the Almighty may spare him a few years more, to delight us with another instalment of his most fascinating recollections.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Annual Report, 1903-1904.
Government Printing Office, India.

THIS beautiful work contains 72 plates, and 48 text illustrations. Mr. Marshall, in his introduction, gives a good

account of the work of his department and it is a very creditable record indeed. It is pleasing to think that a critical and expert knowledge is being lavishly expended in the restoration of India's historical and architectural glories, and in the exploration of famous sites and ruins. In this report various chapters are written by different authors, but enthusiasm and intelligence are revealed throughout all. We congratulate Mr. Marshall and his colleagues on having so signally vindicated the foresight of Lord Curzon in creating this branch of Government Service. It has gone far to redeem the repute of an administration under which such unspeakable acts of vandalism occurred in the past in the palaces at Agra, Delhi, and Lahore.

THE RELIGION OF ISLAM, by the Rev. F. A. Klein. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.)

IN this book Mr. Klein passes in review the leading tenets of Islam, and adds a chapter on the sects of Islam. The work of printing has been very well done at the S. P. C. K. Press, Vepery, Madras. The author wisely does not indulge in any comments or criticism, a style of dealing with the faith of others which is very welcome in these days. The book is a valuable one as giving those who have no Arabic, and they are the majority, a clear statement of what the religion of Islam does and does not teach as matter of faith. The notes are copious and lucid. The last chapter, on the sects of Islam, is from a historical point of view perhaps the most interesting.

GILLESPIE'S ARGUMENT A PRIORI, etc., 6th edition. (T. and T. Clark.)

This is a book which has encountered a great deal of criticism, and seems to be surviving it. Logical proof of matters of faith and feeling, as a rule, do not command much popularity. The minds are few and far between which are led to the love of religion by argument rather than by experience or example. The Deistic controversy is happily over and the difficulty of our day rather consists in interpreting the duty of man in his relation to the Superior Being than

in recognising the attributes of that Being Himself. And we cannot but feel that a certain peril of *Mortemain* must attach to the practice of re-publication of opinions through trust funds when the author is no longer in a position to reconsider his views or to alter their expression.

CHRISTIAN MISSION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, Vol. III, by the Rev. J. S. Dennis. D. D. (Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrice.)

THIS volume worthily maintains its author's high reputation for industry and scholarship. The subject is indeed a great one, and it is here treated with a dignity and conciseness which leave nothing to be desired. While the book will be specially welcome to those who have the cause of missions at heart, it will be impossible for anyone who casts even the most superficial glance upon it to remain unimpressed by the extraordinary energy and devotion of which it is a permanent record.

HISTORY OF INDIA, by H. G. Keene, C. I. E. (2 vols). 2nd edition. (John Grant).

We welcome the second edition of Mr. Keene's History. The author has fairly attained the object he sets before him "to relate the whole growth of India, from Chaos to Cosmos, in a consecutive order." The chronological analysis and the maps which accompany these volumes are of special importance. It is perhaps unavoidable that names should bulk largely in a history of India, but Mr. Keene's view of his vast subject differs very markedly from the vulgar conception which sees in the history of a country nothing but the personalities of its rulers and hears nothing but the clash of swords. Mr. Keene writes in a pleasant readable style, and the book is excellently printed and indexed. The book should be largely used by students for higher subordinate services in which Indian history is a selected subject for examination.

DISENCHANTED, by Pierre Loti. Translated by Clara Bell. (Macmillan and Co.)

THIS book deals with a pathetic subject, the conditions under which Turkish ladies of the upper class live their lives.

to-day. It has all the elegance and grace of diction for which the author is so famous, and so good is the translation that the delicacy of the original has not been lost in it. M. Loti has no definite suggestion to offer for the amelioration of a state of society which all must feel to be deplorable and anomalous. He trusts to the sympathetic perception of the true Mussulman to find some way out of the *impasse*. Incidentally we get a pleasanter impression of the Sultan of Turkey than is usually suggested to us either by fiction or by history.

IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET, by H. G. Wells. (Macmillan and Co.)

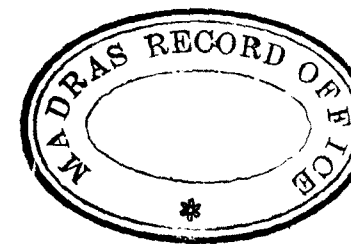
MR. WALLS is in some respects the most original and suggestive writer of the day. In his new book his many admirers will feel that he has reached his high-water mark at present in the realm of imaginative romance. If the aim of true fiction be, as many of us believe, to sketch the possibilities of the future by a kind of prophetic instinct, then we must hold that Mr. Wells has formed a clearer conception of the ideal of novelist than most contemporary writers. And the comforting feature about Mr. Wells' work from a reviewer's point of view is that it continually improves. This book, along with Kipps', marks a very considerable stage of advance on the mere cleverness and brilliancy that distinguished the author's earlier contributions to our literature.

RUNNING HORSE INN, by A. T. Sheppard. (Macmillan and Co.)

A study of English life under the Regency, with the Thistlewood conspiracy as a political background. The book is well written, abounding both in humour and pathos. It paints very vividly the distress that followed on the great war against Napoleon. Many readers will regret that the conclusion is not a happy one. The heroine's accidental death might well have been dispensed with, and its occurrence renders the vicarious sacrifice of George Karnatt comparatively useless.

NO FRIEND LIKE A SISTER, by Rosa N. Carey. (Macmillan and Co.)

MISS CAREY writes with great simplicity and charm. The ordinary domestic life of England is her field, and she secures excellent results from it.



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THE
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Art. I.—IN ARAKAN A CENTURY AGO.

LOOKED at backward from the present day, the goings on in India in the early years of the last century seem fascinating in their interest, and we feel thankful to each Busteed, Blechynden, and Lawson who gathers the fast-fading memorials and prepares a permanent record of times with which our fathers were familiar, but the like of which will never be seen again, those strange days, rosy and romantic, when the East of twenty centuries appeared, like the full moon, and then disappeared for ever in a Western light. But at that time Arakan, across the Bay, on the east of Burma, was more enchanting than India; and materials are very scant from which to bring out a picture of life as it was lived there before our Arakan war of 1825 introduced the *pax Britannica* and made that battleground of rival races, tiger-haunted and robber-infested, like a flourishing district of British India. One man who could tell about the Arakan of the past, and who left some record of what he knew, was the late Rev. Robert Robinson, Baptist minister, and, under Government, Examiner of Privy Council Appeals, long and well known in Calcutta as a man of energy and eloquence. In his youth Mr. Robinson married a Miss Fink, whose father had a strange and eventful career, during many years of which he was identified with

Arakan and all that coast, civilizing the people, pacifying the tribes, and more than once doing yeoman's service to what there was of British authority in the place. An old pamphlet by Mr. Robinson, long out of print and remembered only by his surviving children, tells the life of his father-in-law, and has furnished many of the particulars for this account of Arakan as it was before Robert Clive occupied a clerk's stool in Madras.

Mr. Fink—John Christopher Fink—came, not from the West, but from the East. He was born in 1796, in Ternate, a minute spot among the Moluccas, and was a son of the Dutch commandant, a native of Amsterdam, Dirk Vink, the V being turned into F by the son because his English friends would not respect the Dutch pronunciation, which is similar to the German. After a lengthened residence in Ternate, Dirk Vink went as Dutch Resident to one of the Celebes islands, where he remained till the successes of the French revolutionary army in Holland compelled the surrender of the Dutch possessions in the Eastern Archipelago to France. After his death, in 1803, his widow, herself the daughter of an Amsterdam Dutchman, returned with her family to Ternate, and lived there on the labour of her slaves, as was a common way among the Netherlands residents in the East at that time. Mr. Robinson tells us that while the Dutch Government used every means to foster the slave trade carried on in their Eastern possessions, they wisely and humanely provided for the protection of the slaves against many of the sufferings associated with slavery in some other countries: the slave was more of a man and less of a chattel. The Dutch scrupulously regarded family ties among their slaves, and never parted husband

and wife, nor separated a mother from her children. All sales of slaves were regulated by law, according to these conditions. Men who had learned trades, and women trained to domestic service, were often hired out or were allowed to hire themselves out, their owners punctually receiving part of their earnings.

Mrs. Vink lived thus with her children for three years, and then, on her death, the home was broken up. John Christopher, only eleven or twelve years of age, quarrelled with his eldest brother and made his way in an English ship to Amboyna, at that time in British possession, a speck of an island lying midway between North Borneo and Saigon. John never saw any of his brothers or sisters again. He was put ashore at Amboyna, and passed a day or two in destitution and great dejection. Then Dr. Babington, proprietor of the depôt, who had known his father, took charge of him for two years, employing him as an apprentice and assistant. After that young Fink went to Manila, and in 1810 to Batavia, where he studied medicine for another year under a Dr. Hodgson. Next year he obtained an appointment as assistant apothecary in the Dutch Hussars, a corps which had been retained in British service after the capture of Java from the French by an expedition sent by Lord Minto.* Not long after there occurred a conflict with the natives, less remembered than similar troubles in India, but not less exciting to those engaged in it. Mr. Robinson's account of the situation is as follows:—"Scarcely had Batavia been taken by the British than tidings reached them of an

* Lord Minto accompanied this expedition to Java, but returned to Calcutta in a few months. French frigates and privateers had been sweeping the Indian Ocean, and had inflicted losses on the East India Company amounting to half a million sterling in that year alone. Another expedition sent by the same Governor-General captured Mauritius, which was the French naval depôt. The English restored Java to the Dutch after Waterloo.

unprovoked and cold-blooded massacre of the Dutch merchants at Palimbang. Palimbang, with a chief town of the same name, was a nominally independent kingdom on the south-east side of the island of Sumatra, whose Sultan had for years been nothing better than a vassal of the Dutch. Attached to his dominions was the island of Banca, separated from the mainland by the straits of Banca. Consequent on the subjugation of Holland by Napoleon Bonaparte, the Dutch possessions and authority in the Eastern Archipelago were ceded to the French and held in the name of the French Government. But when the authority of the French was, in its turn, superseded by British rule, all the Dutch factories and interests in these islands naturally reverted to the latter. The Sultan of Palimbang, however, does not appear to have understood the true state of the relations between the British and Dutch merchants; and, now that Batavia had fallen, supposing the Dutch residents within his territory to be completely at his mercy, he wreaked on them an Eastern revenge for the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of their Government. The factory at Palimbang was burnt to the ground, and all the Dutch residents, with their families, were ruthlessly slain."

recovery, is said to have cured himself in a week by drinking copious draughts of water and sitting up to the neck in a cold stream. Hydropathists, take note!

In 1813, a few months after their return to Batavia, Mr. Fink and his regiment went under the same commanding officer, now become Brigadier-General Gillespie, to the rescue of a Native Chief whose son had raised a rebellion and usurped the Government. The father was reinstated, and the son conveyed as a prisoner to Batavia.

Next year young Fink made his first acquaintance with the English language, by the help of an English merchant living near Batavia, and began to attend a Sunday service for the soldiers conducted by the Rev. William Robinson, one of Carey's associates at Serampore, who, after six years' work in India, was obliged to seek a sphere in Java, being forbidden by the East India Company, till the end of the year 1813, to work as a missionary in Bengal. That was the father of the Robert Robinson mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Fink was profoundly stirred in his conscience by a sermon he heard: "now for the first time," says his biographer, "he felt crushed beneath an overwhelming conviction of personal responsibility to his Maker." His conversion followed: he became a religious man. Three results ensued: he was persecuted by his associates; he was frowned on by the authorities; and he released fourteen slaves whom he owned under his father's will. These slaves had remained in Ternate, but they were legally his property. Sorely against the representations of the Fiscal, who stigmatized the act as one of unmitigated folly, he signed the papers which gave them their

freedom. Realizing next that when the Dutch Government was established again in Java, the position of one who was anything except a profligate or a Lutheran would be insupportable, he resigned his appointment in the Hussars and sailed for Calcutta as medical assistant with a detachment of His Majesty King George IV's 78th Regiment. That was at the end of 1816. One could wish there were a word to tell of the excitement with which the tidings of the victory of Waterloo and the settlement of affairs throughout Europe must have been received, alike by English and by Dutch, in all the Straits and the Archipelago.

Meeting in Calcutta a friend whom he had known in Java, Fink was introduced to the famous missionary trio of Serampore, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, and in due course was "immersed" in the humble Baptist Chapel which still stands in Lall Bazar, and which contains memorials generally overlooked by tourists. He obtained employment in a merchant's office in Calcutta, and diligently improved his English. He also studied and practised Bengalee, with the view of helping his missionary friends. Small as was the English community at that time, and smaller still the Baptist body, the catching enthusiasm and marvellous energy of Dr. Carey diffused a strong missionary spirit in the Lall Bagh congregation, and seven young men formed themselves as a body of voluntary workers under the missionaries. One of these was Fink, and another was H. Ricketts, afterwards founder of the "Parental Academy" for the education of Indo-British children, which grew into the Doveton College through the munificence of Captain Doveton of the Madras Army. Those Baptists who could not thus work gave money liberally for the support of those who could; for it was

a fixed principle with Carey, as with William Taylor, the American Methodist, sixty years later, that "every Christian ought to be a missionary, and every church a missionary association." Young Fink displayed uncommon zeal, talking with the Baboos at every chance, superintending a Native school on the Howrah side of the river, and preaching in the villages round Calcutta.

One hundred rupees a month was more in that day than it is now, but it was all that Fink was earning when, within a year of his arrival in India, he married Miss Mary Cytano, of Calcutta, who proved an excellent wife and was spared to him all his life.

Four years were passed in the manner now described, when, stirred by a discourse on the dire need of the Mission at Chittagong, Fink offered to relinquish mercantile employment and go as a missionary. He was accepted, and sailed with his wife and family in January 1821.

Chittagong, at that time a three weeks' journey by boat from Calcutta, had been opened as a branch station by the Serampore missionaries in 1812, and the first agent was a Mr. D'Bruyn, who was murdered six years afterwards by a youth, son of an English skipper, who had grown up among the Natives. He was succeeded by a Mr. Peacock, who died of fever only a few weeks before Mr. Fink was hastily despatched to take the vacant place. Chittagong was then called a province of Bengal. It is now the chief town in a district and a division of the same name; and the place next most important in the district is Cox's Bazar, seventy miles south of Chittagong. Further down the coast is the newer and rival port of Akyab, in the district of Akyab and the division of Arakan, which is under the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

When the Baptists started their Mission in Chittagong, the place was chiefly known in Calcutta as the home of the Hugli boatmen and of the lascars on board our merchant ships, who still come from the Chittagong district. They call the town by its Muhammadan name of Islamabad. Besides its proper Native population, the town was inhabited by a great number of Portuguese like the Goanese of the Bombay coast, who have been settled there since the sixteenth century. These people had not the respectable origin of their Goanese fraternity, but were the descendants of pirates and lawless adventurers who used to be employed in turn by Hindoos, Burmese, and Muhammadans, in their incessant wars with each other. Mr. Robinson writes:—"Though they retain the appellation of Christians, the neglect and degeneracy of centuries has reduced them to the abject level of heathenism. In their style of living, their associations, their habits of thought, their ignorance, their gross superstitions, they resemble the surrounding idolators, and stand in equal need of the enlightening and elevating influences of the Gospel." Chittagong was also at that period a flourishing seaport, and attracted a large population by its trade, though now it has lost some of its importance owing to competition with the more convenient harbour of Akyab.

Mr. Robinson gives a pretty account of the port, somewhat grander than it must have appeared to the Dutchman as he approached it on a venture so different from his experiences in his own country and in Calcutta:—"On entering the river [the Karnafuli, full of shipping and small craft], we get sight of the town studded with low hills, each surmounted by a white house, the residence of some European, to which a winding pathway ascends through an avenue of firs,

whose cone-shaped heads rise in solemn greatness above the other leafy occupants of the hillside. From the tops of these hills, looking southward, may be seen the tumbling waters of the Bay, only separated from the river by a narrow neck of land; whilst the eastern view is bounded by a long line of blue hills, peopled by savage tribes, and clad, from base to summit, by impenetrable jungle. Passing into the district, we find the face of the country diversified by numerous ranges of hills reaching an average height of from 150 to 200 feet for the most part covered with a thick, low jungle, whose monotony is sometimes broken by a tall forest tree overshadowing the lesser growth. The extensive tracts of flat country lying between the ranges are liberally dotted with populous villages, and are under cultivation. The population, which is chiefly Muhammadan, has been estimated at 94,900 [it was given in 1905 as 1,350,000] and is generally more enterprising and self-helpful than that of some other provinces of Bengal. The Hindoos form but one-third of the population—a proportion which can only be accounted for by the frequent alternate annexations of the province by the Rajas of Arakan and Tippera in early times, and the Raja of Arakan and the Mughal Government at a more recent period." Arakan was finally subdued, and Chittagong was annexed to the Mughal Empire and remained so for ninety-six years, till, by a treaty signed on the 9th of September 1760, it was ceded to the East India Company.

To tell of the Mugh settlement in Chittagong is a separate story. In very early times Arakan, Tippera, and Kamrup were three Hindoo kingdoms, the first-named having, according to the tradition, received its

first king from Benares. The people of Arakan, however, were not Hindoos: they were mostly gathered from the hills and the interior, and were spirit-worshippers. Tippera, which included Chittagong, was separated from Arakan by the Naaf river, and Kamrup was a kingdom of great extent, reaching westward as far as Rungpoor, and having its capital at Gowhattee. When Booddhism spread eastward, the Arakanese adopted that faith; and in 1783 the country was conquered by the King of Burma, at the instance of a traitor named Nga-thande. This man, having a grievance against the Raja, or being ambitious of power, went to the Burmese Court and induced the King, nothing lothe, to send an army against Arakan. The Arakanese were defeated, and their country was made a province of the Burmese "empire." For his services Nga-thande was appointed *mroosoogree*, or head revenue officer, in Arakan—a position sufficiently lucrative to satisfy a less restless spirit. But this adventurer loved not a life of peace. He wanted to be a powerful and independent zamindar at the least. So after a while he organized a considerable force of men who were chafing under the oppressions of the Burmese, and raised a rebellion so formidable that it seemed likely to throw off the foreign yoke. But more Burman troops being sent against him, he was hunted across the border into British territory, where he found numbers of self-exiled Arakanese ready to join him in predatory excursions into their former country. He died at the frontier village of Ramoo, but his spirit descended to his son, Kheng-breng, whose name appears in the English annals as King Berring. This man aspired to set up a kingdom in Arakan, and twice invaded the country with a force large enough to be called an army. The

King of Burma more than once sent a very strong remonstrance to the Governor-General in Calcutta, with the result that a British force was sent against Kheng-breng, he was defeated, and passed out of notice.

But Burmese oppression only increased when the Government was freed from insurrectionary troubles, and the natives of Arakan continued to flee to the hills and dense forests that skirt the southern frontier of Chittagong; others, penetrating farther, took refuge in the districts of Chittagong and Tippera. These are the people commonly called "Mughs"—a word of uncertain origin and meaning, and not applied to the race in their own country. Thus there sprang up among the hills and valleys of that part of the district a population of 225,700 Mughs, occupying fourteen towns and villages, who were in diligent pursuit of various means of livelihood, as cutting wood, cultivating rice and jute, and fishing. To encourage their permanent settlement, our Government furnished them with agricultural implements and other industrial appliances, through a Captain Cox, who established a bazar for their special benefit—the Cox's Bazar already mentioned, which has grown to be the second town of the district. Being Booddhists, these immigrants were accompanied by their priests, or *poongyees*, who erected numerous *kyoungs*, that is, monasteries, throughout the settlements, and gave themselves to the education of the children. Mr. D'Bruyn, the missionary who was murdered, having had his attention directed to these strangers, found them far more accessible to the Gospel than the natives of Chittagong. So their settlements became the principal field of his work; and when Fink was sent to Chittagong, it was with a definite designation

to the Mughls, among whom there were already four stations with organized churches.

Fink entered on his work with his customary enthusiasm, and the Mughls, a warm-hearted and impulsive race, gave him a welcome that drew his heart at the outset. D'Bruyn and Peacock had been content to speak to the Mughls through an interpreter, for their tongue was a dialect of Burmese, and as they lived in their own settlements they did not acquire Bengalee. But Fink set to work to learn Burmese, and so gained a strong hold on the people. For a hundred years ago it was taken as a sign of special interest and goodwill for a foreigner to be at the trouble to learn a Native language. Those were palmy days for Burman pirates, and Mr. Robinson relates a story of Mr. Fink averting an armed attack on his own boat and inducing the robbers to listen to a discourse on the evil of their ways, and to accept some Burmese tracts.

Mr. Fink was very successful in his school work among the Christian Mughls. He not only gave the boys a superior education to what was imparted by the *poongyees*, but taught the girls to read and write—an unheard-of thing among the unconverted Natives. But he was obliged to proceed cautiously in attracting other boys to his schools, because there he met opposition from the priests, whose prerogative the instruction of the boys was, and with whom they lived during the period of their education, in accordance with Booddhist custom. Mr. Robinson thus describes the Native method:—"A little reading, writing, and account-keeping were the sum total of what they were taught. Both priest and pupils were supported by daily contributions made by the shop-owners and householders of the village, of rice, vegetables, and other articles of food.

Clad in a loose yellow mantle, and attended by a servant bearing a large, palm-leaf fan, which was scrupulously interposed between him and every woman that passed (for he was not allowed to look upon a woman), the priest made the circuit of the village or bazar every morning. He was followed by his pupils, who bore lacquered trays for the reception of the gifts of the people. No word was spoken during these perambulations. Stopping at each door, the priest struck a brass gong, which he carried for the purpose, to give intimation of his arrival Anything might be given on these occasions but money, which it was not lawful for a priest to have." In contrast with this voiceless transaction is the way of Hindoo religious mendicants, who not only exhort their donors with eloquence to give bountifully, but rate them soundly if their gifts be not liberal. A more important and notable difference is to be observed between the indigenous schools of Arakan and Burma and those of Bengal: it is that while the former support their pupils, the latter are supported by them. In Bengal, before our Government undertook universal education and Western ideas dried up Hindoo theology, the "Guru Mohashoy" was an institution. He settled down in a village and opened school, and the boys paid him four annas, two annas, or one anna, a month, according to their means. But, as has been shown above, in Booddhist schools the pupils live in the monastery and share with their teacher the gifts of the people.

Rudimentary as the instruction imparted to boys was, except in the case of candidates for the priesthood, it helped them in business, and so was an advantage. Hence the priest was always popular, and sure of a good livelihood. However, as the superior attainments of

boys educated by Fink became recognized, the teaching of the *kyoungs* fell off in public estimation, and the Christian schools grew in favour. Mr. Fink also made himself acquainted with Burmese mythology, and even gave attention to the ancient Pali language, which gained him the respect of the *poongyees*. In time he became a very effective speaker to the Arakanese, and did an immense deal of itinerating in the hills and marshes of Chittagong occupied by those people.

Mr. Fink seems to have had a full share of the troubles which most missionaries in India suffer from men professing Christianity with the hope, as Mr. Robinson has put it, "to be set up in business or get a comfortable pension for life." Mr. Robinson has a good deal to say about the difficulty of guarding against such hypocrisy; but he never suggests the apostolic method, and the only method which has ever succeeded, that is, to give converts nothing, directly or indirectly, but to leave them to battle with life like other people. It is not necessary to come to India to see the effect of encouraging people to make the best of both worlds: in England itself the membership of almost any church would be increased if men who professed conversion and became religious were assured of a living free from the principal anxiety of ordinary life.

An amusing illustration of the simplicity of the people eighty years ago is found in the fact that Mr. Fink was able to attract a crowd by holding up his watch till the people could see the minute hand move and hear the ticking; they supposed that it was a living thing. Similarly a Boeddhist priest from Ceylon, who opposed the missionary energetically and persistently, carried about a terrestrial globe and over-awed the people by discoursing on the outlines of countries

which were marked on it. Here it may be mentioned that between the death of Mr. Peacock and the arrival of Mr. Fink, Mr. Coleman, a colleague of Judson in Burma, came to Cox's Bazar, but died of fever within a year. This event had no deterring effect on Mr. Fink, who, on the contrary, became profoundly impressed with the uncertainty of life and the necessity of fulfilling his mission with diligence. He believed that his duty was to live in Cox's Bazar, the central gathering place of the Mughls; but he was immediately attacked with fever, which almost proved fatal, and thereafter retained his headquarters at Chittagong.

Those were days when a Hindoo could be disconcerted and silenced by a reminder of the immoralities of his gods and goddesses. It is different in our day, when English education has sophisticated the Hindoos and Swamees can flaunt their faith in America and England. As Mr. Robinson puts it, if a Hindoo were plied with the old argument now, "he would tell us that there need be no congruity between the character of the so-called deity that is worshipped and the God whom this deity is believed to reveal: that the obscenities of Hindoo worship, suggested, as they are, by the proclivities of universal human nature, are to be viewed only as the accidental symbol of the emotional transport excited by the contemplation of the Supreme Being; and that this transport, not its accidental expression, is the true index of the heart's adoration."

Mr. Fink had been three years in Chittagong when our first Burmese war broke out (1824), Lord Amherst being Governor-General of Bengal. It will be remembered that at the time Arakan was conquered by the Burmans, Chittagong was a British possession. Nevertheless, because it had once belonged to the Raja

of Arakan, the Burman "Emperor" thought he had a right to it: and began encroachments by directing or encouraging incursions into the southern parts of the district. Finding that these had no worse result than to draw diplomatic remonstrances from the Governor-General—for the Mughls also had been carrying dakaiti across the border into Arakan—the Lord of the White Elephant, the Golden Foot, made a regular military invasion of Assam and Cachar. Then we declared war, and the "Emperor" promptly despatched an army against Bengal, under General Maha Bandoola, who was given a pair of golden fetters to be placed on Lord Amherst, and he was to be brought a prisoner to Ava. But the war ended differently, and Arakan was ceded to the British by the treaty of Yandabo, in 1826.

Provisions can scarcely be had. No markets are open; all the Native shops are shut, from one end of Chittagong to the other. The shopkeepers, as well as every description of Natives, are employed in carrying military baggage to the field." He went with his family to Calcutta. All who possessed anything were ruined. But disease, brought on by want and exposure, began to tell among the fugitives, and there was an awful death-rate. It is pleasant to read that the Christians showed themselves worthy of their new faith, sharing what they had with one another, and doing all they could to help and cheer the crowd of Booddhists. These were much impressed by this exhibition of spirit, and expressed their conviction of the beneficent power of Christianity.

When peace was established, the British Government made a proclamation that the Mughls might now return in safety, not only to the settlements they had left, but to their native country of Arakan, which was now British territory, like Chittagong. A very large number of both Christians and Booddhists took advantage of the opportunity; and as they were both without the means of living and in want of work, Government made large concessions and put forth strenuous efforts to settle the immigrants. Even more arduous was the task of quieting the country; for Burmese and Arakanese were alike natural dakaites, and quite enjoyed the disorder accompanying and following the war.

At that time the town of Arakan, which had for ages been the capital of a line of Booddhist Rajas, presented the appearance of a huge irregular fortification. Though still recognized as the capital of the province, it had, since the Burman conquest, lost the little commercial importance it once enjoyed. "Abounding in rice, salt,

teak timber, iron-wood, and ivory, and possessing some of the most magnificent harbours of the world, and a seaboard extending from the river Naaf to Cape Negrais, the province had, nevertheless, no export trade. The islands alone, which stretch along the entire coast, had a soil whose capabilities promised rich success to any agricultural enterprise; but they lay neglected." All this became rapidly transformed after the British pursued and executed the leading dakaits and established order. Industries flourished and business developed, while Akyab, which was only a collection of rude Native dwellings, grew into a city, the outlet for a great export trade, and eventually surpassed the old capital. The river Naaf, named above, is the dividing line between Chittagong and Arakan, that is, between Bengal and Burma.

Mr. Fink, who had returned to Chittagong in January 1825, made extensive tours in the district, and baptized many converts. Then following the emigrants to Arakan, where he obtained permission from Serampore to transfer the Mugh Mission, he, after several experiments, founded a colony on an island near Akyab, which was called Fink's Bazar. That place grew from eleven houses to three hundred between the years 1826 and 1829. Mr. Fink also opened schools, and preached far and near, not without much harassment from dakaits, with whom the police were, for a time, unable to cope. Moreover, he became very useful to the Government officers, who were anxious to spread education, and who recognized his success and zeal in that work, as well as his knowledge of the vernacular and his personal influence which made the people trust him and cheerfully submit to him. A knowledge of English became a valuable acquisition under the British administration,

and Mr. Fink quickly met the demand by opening classes for English reading and writing. To check the depredations of the dakaits Government organized a river police, armed with muskets and swords, and furnished with "snake" boats similar to those in use among the dakaits; but the numbers of the latter, instead of lessening, only increased. A notorious robber-chieftain, named Ngamoukree, or Ngamouki, continued to defy the police and keep the country in terror for nearly a year after severe examples had been made of some of the ringleaders. He was, however, eventually attacked in his stronghold by a party of sepoy, aided by a thousand armed Arakanese, who succeeded in driving him into the mountains and insuring security in the province.

In Arakan Fink fell in with numbers of what he called "Mugh Musalmans." These were not converted Mugh, but *bonâ fide* Muhammadans, whose forefathers had been imported from Bengal, perhaps as slaves by the Arakan Rajas; for these, in the days of their power, made many marauding incursions into Bengal. Many of these Mugh Musalmans retained the language and habits of their former country: others had become undistinguishable from the Arakanese, except in wearing long beards. A large number of them followed the calling of fishermen. Their knowledge of their religion was almost nothing: many could not repeat their creed correctly.

Mr. Fink was planning the extension of his work to various interesting aboriginal tribes who occupied the mountains between the coast country and Burma, and owed allegiance to no Government, when disaster at Serampore broke up his work and changed the tenour of his life. The disaster was the failure of Messrs. Alexander and Co., and Messrs. Mackintosh and Co.,

of Calcutta, in which firms the Mission had thirty-one thousand rupees. At this time the Serampore Mission, with the branches belonging to it, was entirely dependent on its own resources, having, about 1827, become separated from the Society in London, and it remained in that state of severance for ten years. By degrees Mr. Fink's stipend fell into arrears and diminished in amount so much that he had difficulty to provide his family with food and clothing. The Government offered him a position as Fiscal Officer at Aeng on Rs. 400 a month, which he declined, although he had received nothing from Serampore for more than six months; but he accepted one hundred rupees a month as tax-collector in the town of Akyab, where he could continue his Mission work. The office was called by the characteristic Native name of *thoogyee*, or "great man," like *mahajan* in India. So conciliatory were Mr. Fink's methods, and so much confidence had the Government in his judgments, that disputes about the taxes were submitted to his arbitration, instead of being settled at law. Subsequently other disputes were left to him to settle, and he did it by assembling a sort of *panchayat* of respectable inhabitants. Mr. Robinson records it, that five years after he left Arakan the authorities were regretting his loss. About this time Mr. Fink's son Charles received an appointment in the Education Department in Bengal, and advanced so well that at the time of his death, in 1847, he held the office of Visitor-General of Schools in the North-West Provinces.

Mr. Fink continued without a salary from his Mission for several years, and lived with his family in painful poverty. But as the circumstances at Serampore became more straitened, the missionaries ceased to remit money even for current expenses, and

Mr. Fink, with many regrets, severed his twenty years' connection with the Mission. That was in 1837: but great events were to occur before that time.

The ninth chapter of our pamphlet is taken up with a curiously interesting account of a visit paid by Mr. Fink to one of the hill tribes mentioned before. The tribe was named Khoo-moing-mro, and its principal village, where the Chief lived in barbaric state, was Mounkhyong, three days' journey from Akyab. The Chief paid a visit first, having learned that he was no longer subject to the King of Burma, but to the Government of India. He came, with a number of retainers, to inquire about the new laws he would have to obey, and was directed to the "great man." Mr. Fink answered his inquiries, and then entered into religious conversation with the party. He learned that the tribe recognized no supernatural being except a demon, called, as in Burma, a *nat*, who was not worshipped, but was propitiated with offerings of fowls, kids, pigs, etc. and whose aid was invoked, or, shall we say? favour was besought, in sickness and calamity. The Chief told Mr. Fink that the Burmans had tried to persuade his people to adopt their religion, promising them happiness in the future birth if they would dig tanks, build monasteries for *poongyees*, and construct bridges over creeks for the convenience of travellers. The happiness "was to consist of an unlimited number of pretty wives, plenty of cattle, large houses, and an exhaustless supply of money." Students of Booddhism are aware that these extremely popular hopes are hateful to the very spirit of that faith. The tribesmen were, of course, ignorant of any alphabet, but they kept simple accounts by knots in string, and by marks made with charcoal on a board.

This interview took place in the autumn of 1833, and a month later Mr. Fink made a journey to the Chief's village, with two of his Native preachers. That was probably the first acquaintance made by a European with the dense jungle, precipitous hills, and steep paths which have recently become more familiar to us through our several military expeditions against the Chins and the Looshais. Mr. Fink and his two companions were received with much honour, the Chief's two sons coming out with spears to escort them into the village. The Chief had four wives in that place, and four others in another village on the top of the mountains. We are not told the Chief's age, but his senior wife was sixty years old, and he had a grandson with several wives. Mr. Fink was introduced to all the eight ladies without ado. A large party, armed with spears and *daos*, or billhooks, accompanied him up the mountain, and were with difficulty dissuaded from carrying him. Here the missionary first heard the loud alarm of the barking-deer. Having reached the higher village, the Chief and his following lost no time in making themselves drunk on a fermented liquor prepared from rice and certain drugs. A basin was filled with the drink and refilled as often as it was emptied, while the men sucked the liquor in rotation through a tube. It was their custom to continue drawing at the tube till all were intoxicated. Mr. Fink not only declined to take his turn at the tube, but, with the risk of giving offence, discoursed on the sinfulness of getting drunk. The Chief acknowledged it was wrong, but pleaded that his fathers had been drunkards before him.

After the drinking there was prolonged smoking, which was also done in common. The apparatus was on the principle of the Indian *hugga*, that is to say, the smoke was passed through water; but the vessel holding

the water was the hard shell of a pumpkin, which had a number of pipes or stems round it, and the men sat round, each to a pipe, and all drew the smoke at the same time. The tobacco was contained in a correspondingly large bowl fixed above the gourd-shell. We have heard that Looshai women smoke small pipes which are so contrived that the tobacco juice, concentrated nicotine, distils, drop by drop, into a little cup hanging under the bowl. This juice is then put into a cup of water and offered to be sipped by men only who are either honoured guests or specially favoured members of the family. Something of the same kind, but filthily offensive, was practised by these savages. For each smoker discharged his saliva into a little vessel connected with his own pipe, and when the smoking was over the saliva was collected in one vessel and passed round the company to be tasted. To refuse to join in this ceremony was a distinct breach of friendship, but Mr. Fink was let off on the plea that the custom was not observed in his country. He propitiated his hosts with gifts of glass beads and coloured cotton handkerchiefs, of which he had brought a supply. The tribe were head-hunters, like several other tribes on our north-east frontier, and the Chief's reception-hall, where Mr. Fink witnessed the drinking and smoking that have been described, was decorated with many human skulls, trophies of the Chief's prowess.

As the drunken group sat talking, sounds of barbaric music, with the beating of large gongs, were heard at the other end of the village. One of the wives of the Chief's eldest son was ill, and the ruling demon was to be propitiated in her interest. All the party rose and walked out to see the fun, for that was what it was to them. They found a large gathering in the temple,

and a pig was tied to a post in front of the entrance. Two small pots of intoxicating liquor stood near the pig. These and the pig were an offering to the demon. Inside the temple were two bowls of the same liquor, which both priest and people were imbibing liberally. There was great excitement, and everybody was more or less drunk. After a time the sick woman made her appearance, and a spear was put into her hand. She stabbed the pig, which was then clubbed to death. The woman seated herself, with the dead pig and the two pots of liquor in front of her, while gongs were beaten and the assembly danced wildly. When they were all tired, the pig was cooked and cut up. More liquor was brought, and a large quantity of boiled rice, a pot of grease, and some scraped green ginger. The people one by one advanced to the centre, put a little of the ginger into their mouths, took a mouthful of liquor and blew it out on the rice. Then a young man rubbed a little of the grease on the crown of the head of every person present. The meaning that lies behind each of these performances is probably lost in the dim past, and as the frontier tribes come under the influence of Booddhism, Hindooism, or Christianity, the ceremonies themselves will fall into disuse. When the demon was supposed to be restored to good humour, pieces of pork and portions of rice were distributed on strips of plantain leaf and eaten. An old priest, who looked very drunk, sat and beat a buffalo horn with a piece of green bamboo, and chanted an invocation to the demon. When that was over, he and the band of musicians danced round several times to the beating of a drum, and the company dispersed.

All this was not carried on far into the night, as the custom is in India, perhaps because of danger from

wild beasts, but was concluded early in the afternoon, and Mr. Fink had good daylight to descend the mountain, the seasoned old Chief retaining enough of his senses to conduct him down. The missionary was full of a desire to open a school and teach the children of the tribe the Burmese alphabet; but want of means, together with the growing insecurity of the country, prevented anything practical from being attempted. Whether the sick woman survived her cure, we are not told.

Mr. Fink had met parties of other hill tribes, who came to Akyab and looked in at his Mugh services. On one occasion an old savage listened closely and remained to the end, and then remarked:—"This is the first time I ever heard that there was a God in Heaven, and that men had immortal souls." When the Arakan rebellion, which will presently be noticed, broke out, the Chiefs of the Arrying tribe, living far beyond the Khoo-moing-mros, in the mountains, came to Akyab and assured our Commissioner of their fidelity, and offered the assistance of a large body of fighting men against the rebels. Mr. Robinson gives Mr. Fink's impression of these and other hill tribes as follows:—"With all their hideous usages and revolting orgies, they were simple in their manners, frank and trustful in their disposition, and far more impressionable than the sordid, trading population of the plain." From this it would appear that they might prove as susceptible of civilization as the Khassees of Assam have done; that marvellous people who, in two generations under the Welsh missionaries, have turned from unlettered savages to *kacheri* clerks and university graduates. Some years later than Mr. Fink's acquaintance with the hill tribes, when the American

Baptists from Burma had a mission at Akyab, some of their missionaries opened one or two schools in the hills, but the effort was shortly relinquished.

We may now turn to the Arakan rebellion of 1836, which gave Mr. Fink the opportunity of rendering his greatest service to the Government. While the British authorities were striving hard and persistently to suppress dakaiti, the dakaitis were organizing a conspiracy for the overthrow of the newly established British authority. The leaders of the conspiracy were three relatives of Kheng-breng and an outlaw of British justice who had found a refuge in Burma. These men conceived the idea of placing themselves, by either diplomacy or force, in the position of the old Rajas of Arakan; and they promoted dakaitis with the double purpose of having the dakaitis ready as an armed and warlike force, and of so distressing the British authorities that they would withdraw from the province as not worth the trouble of holding. The four men addressed a petition to the Supreme Council in Calcutta, proposing that all European and Native officers of Government should be recalled from Arakan, and the province be placed under one of themselves as a Native ruler. No notice was taken of that; so the conspirators proceeded to carry out their desire by force. They imported quantities of arms from Calcutta; they threw the country into disorder by dakaitis; they bribed more than fifty police officers to take an oath of allegiance to them; and they corrupted many of the local military levies, called the Arakan Battalion and the Mugh Corps. From papers which came to light afterwards, it appeared that if the rebellion should prove successful, each subahdar would receive Rs. 200 a month, each jamadar Rs. 100, and each private Rs. 30. Every man

who consented was required to record his oath on a strip of palm leaf or piece of paper, and read it aloud in the presence of the assembled conspirators. The document was then burned, and the ashes were mixed in a bowl of water in which spears and musket barrels had been washed; and the water was drunk by the man taking the oath. It was arranged that while the authorities and regular troops were quelling disorders in the interior, the great dakait Chief, Ngamouki, should attack Akyab by night. The traitors in the city were each told off to kill a particular officer or civilian when the attack took place; the treasury was to be plundered, and the jail opened. A slip in the handwriting of Kheng-breng's nephew was found, which contained the names of rebel leaders who were to be rewarded with the wives of the gentlemen murdered.

* These plans were being matured for more than a year without the suspicion of the authorities. Mr. Fink was the first to learn what was going on, but he had to report thrice, each time with additional evidence, before his representations were taken seriously. As soon as the heads of the conspiracy heard that their secret was getting out, they sent word to the chief dakaitis to start disturbances in the interior, with the view of drawing off officers and sepoy from Akyab. "Village after village was attacked and pillaged, the old town of Arakan was burned, the lives of peaceful inhabitants were taken, and the district was in a terrible state of anarchy and confusion." Still, the four leaders lived in Akyab like respectable and peaceful citizens. Mr. Fink was assured, however, that if they were arrested disturbances would cease, and all the evidence that could be desired would be found against them.

At length his advice was taken, and was more than justified. The next thing to be feared was Ngamouki's descent on the town before he could hear that the conspiracy was discovered. Mr. Fink was entrusted with the defence of the town, and took his measures with skill and energy. "Fearing lest the evil-disposed inhabitants should take advantage of some false alarm to plunder the town and murder the families of the European residents, these families were for the most part sent on board the ships or Chinese junks that lay in the harbour; strong pickets were placed at convenient distances along the entire river frontage of the town, it being well-known that Ngamouki and his band could come only by water; the police was strengthened all over the town; the people were not suffered to loiter about anywhere in groups; and the whole night was spent by Mr. Fink in visiting his guards and seeing that they did their duty. But Ngamouki had been informed of the discovery of the conspiracy, and declined to make his appearance. The night passed over quietly, and though, through many subsequent nights, the people were fearful and anxious, no attack was made, the town remained undisturbed, and the officers of the Mugh Corps were not shot down by their loyal sepoys." This happened in 1836. The four leaders were transported, after a trial lasting for three weeks. The dakait bands in the interior lost heart, and the Government troops had no more difficulty in establishing order.

As we have seen, Mr. Fink severed his connection with the Serampore Mission in 1837, and left Arakan. In 1839 the Baptist Missionary Society in London, which had in the meantime again adopted the Serampore Mission, assumed responsibility for the Chittagong

Mission, and Mr. Fink was reappointed in charge. Soon afterwards the Arakan Mission was transferred to the American Baptists, who were already strong in Burma and had agents in the southern part of the province. In sixteen or seventeen years, counting from the time of the transfer, the Americans sent fourteen men and women to Arakan, and lost five of them, besides some children, by cholera or fever, most of the remainder having to retire through broken health. Then, in 1857, the Mission was abandoned.

Mr. Fink continued at Chittagong till 1846, and then withdrew and took up his residence in Serampore, aged only fifty years, but tormented and crippled with gout, a disease from which his father had suffered. Ten years later, on the 10th of September 1856, he died in Intally, Calcutta, where he had removed some five years previously. Thus came to a peaceful termination a varied and venturous career, passed in Java, Bengal and Burma, as doctor, soldier, magistrate, and missionary.

During his last nine years in Chittagong Mr. Fink annually visited a great Hindoo fair at Seetakoond, in the hills about twenty-five miles north of his station. The road was all forest, and at a time when tigers howled in the precincts of Calcutta, it is not surprising to read that the missionary had at least one adventure with a tiger. The shrine was of great antiquity, and there was a tradition that both Ram and Shiva had visited it. Pilgrims and traders used to attend the fair from Lahore on the west and Rangoon on the east; and for a week or more the plain facing the double hill where the temples stood was crowded with the booths and sheds of shopkeepers and devotees. Mr. Robinson has given a graphic description of the endless bands of women conducted, as is the custom at Pooree and other

great places of Hindoo pilgrimage to this day, by religious guides who travel far and wide in search of pilgrims; and also of the repeated ceremonies to be performed and fees to be paid, by both men and women, before they can enjoy the privilege of admission to the successive shrines and sacred spots. One of the miraculous sights shown to the purified was a "burning well." This was an artificial reservoir into which water fell from a spring, and, in consequence of the production, or escape, of an inflammable gas, flames could be made to play on the falling water by the application of a lighted match.

Lucknow.

BENJAMIN AITKEN.

Art. II.—WITH TASHI LAMA IN INDIA.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE title, Tashi Lama, is a contraction of the fuller designation "The Grand Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo." Tashi-lhumpo is a grand monastery, vast in extent, over which the Tashi Lama presides as supreme, and is the home of 4,080 monks. It commands a conspicuous position in the province of Tsang in Western Tibet. The province of Tsang includes many flourishing towns and is cut up in two principal divisions. The capital of the upper part is Gyantse and that of the lower Shigatse, the latter being the residence of the Tashi Lama. Tashi-lhumpo and its neighbouring town, Shigatse, are situated in that portion of the Tibetan territory where the Tashi Lama is even at present universally recognised as the spiritual Lord and temporal Chieftain. The Tashi Lama is better known in Tibet under the name of Panchen-Rinpoche.*

In Tibet there is another very influential dignitary called the Dalai Lama, who is popularly known in Tibet as Gyatwa-Rinpoche, and resides in Lhasa in the province of Wu or Central Tibet exercising political authority over the whole country.

The name Dalai Lama was unknown up to the year 1642, when the Mongolian warrior, Kushi Khan, conquered Tibet. He made over the sovereignty of the central portion, namely the province of Wu, to the then head Lama of the monastery of Depung, and the sovereignty of Tsang, or Western Tibet, to the head

* Pan means scholar, chen means great and rinpoche signifies the most precious gem. The title is significant of his being the Chancellor of the University of Tashi-lhumpo.

Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo. Ngag-Wang-Lobzang-Gyantso, who was the head Lama of the monastery of Depung, received from Kushi Khan also the title of Dalai (ocean of learning), by which he and his successors have since then been uniformly known. He was confirmed in his title and sovereignty by the Emperor of China in 1645 A.D., when he built a palace for himself at Potala in Lhasa where he transferred his residence from Depung. In order to consolidate his rule, he also posed himself as an incarnation of the principal god, Avalokitesvara.

The head Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo, to whom Kushi Khan had presented the sovereignty of Tsang or Western Tibet, was named Lobzang-Chai-kyi Gyal-tshan. He initiated and ordained Ngag-Wang-Lobzang-Gyatso, who, as we have already seen, afterwards became the first Dalai Lama. The first Dalai Lama who called himself an incarnation of Avalokitesvara respected the first Tashi Lama (that is the Grand Lama of the monastery of Tashi-lhumpo) as his Spiritual Father. So the latter, *i.e.*, the first Tashi Lama, was regarded by the people as an incarnation of Amitabha, the Spiritual father of Avalokitesvara. The first Tashi Lama had also many lay pupils, of whom the conqueror Kushi Khan himself was one. In the year 1671 A.D. the second Tashi Lama, named Lobzang-ye-she-Palzung, was ordained to the priesthood by the first Dalai Lama, but in the years 1703 and 1728, respectively, the second Tashi Lama, in his turn, initiated the second and third Dalai Lamas, and also the Grand Imperial Lama of Peking.

In 1728 A.D. the Emperor of China was anxious to settle the boundary between the provinces of Wu (Central Tibet) and Tsang (Western Tibet), and at his

request, the second Tashi Lama assumed the sovereignty of the portion of Tibet lying to the west of Panam, including the districts of Lha-tse, Phun-tsho-ling Nyam-ring, Jong-kha, Ki-rong, Nyari-kar-sum, and relinquished the possession of Phari, Gyal-tshe, Tar-do-tsho and other places to the Government of Lhasa. In the year 1758, the third Tashi Lama, named Lobzang-pal-dan-ye-she, received ordination to the priesthood from the third Dalai Lama, but in the year 1777, the fourth Dalai Lama was ordained by him (the third Tashi Lama).

Regarding the territorial possession of the third Tashi Lama, it may be said that in the year 1766 the Emperor of China sent a deputation with a letter appointing him (*i.e.*, the third Tashi Lama) to be the sovereign, spiritual and temporal, of the great province of Tsang or Western Tibet. The fourth Tashi Lama, named Je-tan-Pahi-nyi-ma, lived between 1781 A.D. and 1854 A.D., and was seen by Samuel Turner. The fifth Tashi Lama (named Je-pal-dan-choi-kyigrag-pa-tan-pashi-wang-phang) died in August 1882.

The present Tashi Lama, whose tour in India will be described in the following pages, is named Lobzang-Choi-kyi-Nyi-ma, and is the sixth in descent from the first Tashi Lama. He was born in the year 1883 and was installed in the hierarchy of Tashi-lhumpo in February 1888.

Though gradually almost all the temporal power connected with the Government of Tibet has passed into the hands of the Dalai Lama, the Tashi Lama still retains possession of the greater part of Western Tibet, granted to him by Kushi Khan and the Emperor of China. At Shigatse, the Tashi Lama has got under him a Shâpe or Minister and several Jongpons or district officers. Though the ultimate authority rests with the

Dalai Lama, disputed cases in Western Tibet are decided by these officers in consultation with the Shâpe, and even with the Tashi Lama. In spiritual matters, the Tashi Lama is often regarded as superior to the Dalai Lama. The difference in the ecclesiastical rank between the Dalai Lama and Tashi Lama is not, however, very great, for between two Lamas, the one who happens to be older, generally holds the authority. The present Tashi Lama is now 23 years of age, being 7 years junior to his brother the Dalai Lama.

LIST OF DALAI LAMAS.

1.	Ngag-wang-lobzang-Gya-tsho	...	1617—1682
2.	Tshang-wang-Gya-tsho	...	1683—1706
3.	Kal-zan	...	1708—1758
4.	Jam-pal	...	1758—1805
5.	Lung-tog	...	1805—1816
6.	Tshul-Khrim	...	1817—1837
7.	Khe-dub	...	1837—1855
8.	Phrin-le	...	1856—1876
9.	Thub-dan-Gya-tcho	...	1876—1907

that year the great and mighty Mongolian warrior, Jenghis Khan, conquered Tibet, and soon afterwards also China. As Jenghis Khan's successors became Emperors of China, Tibet became a dependency of that country until in the year 1270 a Lama of the Sakya hierarchy was decorated with the title of Tisri or Viceroy by the Emperor of China. The Tibetan Lamas of the Sakya hierarchy ruled Tibet up to the year 1340 under nominal patents from the Emperor of China. From 1340 to 1641 A.D., kings of the Phag-modu dynasty and other native kings ruled Tibet, and owed a nominal allegiance to China. In 1642 A.D. the Mongolian warrior Kushi Khan conquered Tibet.

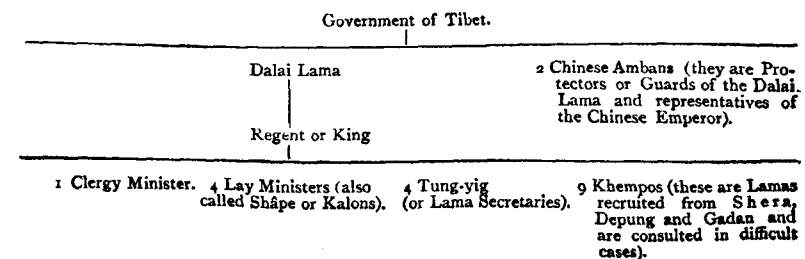
It has previously been observed that Kushi Khan in 1642 A.D. transferred the sovereignty of Central Tibet to the Dalai Lama, and that of Western Tibet to the Tashi Lama. But as a matter of fact the spiritual Government alone was placed in the hands of these two Lamas, and in all temporal affairs Kushi Khan himself continued to be the *de facto* sovereign of Tibet (appointing at Lhasa a Regent, also called King, Governor, or Viceroy) and at Tashi-lhumpo an Administrator for helping him in the government of the country. Engrossed with extending and consolidating his newly acquired kingdom, Kushi Khan had, little by little, to transfer to the Dalai Lama and the Regent most of his authority over Tibet. On the death of Kushi Khan in 1654 A.D. much of the temporal authority devolved on the Dalai Lama. During the reigns of the successors of Kushi Khan, the management of State affairs gradually passed into the hands of the Dalai Lama. The immediate successor of Kushi Khan did not arrive in Lhasa until 1660. So in the interval the Regent, under the advice of the Dalai Lama,

ruled the country. In 1658 the Regent also died. Consequently for one year (1658-1659) the Dalai Lama was the sole ruler of Tibet. In 1660 the successor of Kushi Khan arrived in Lhasa and appointed a regent. Successive regents were appointed by the successive successors of Kushi Khan until in 1680 the Dalai Lama appointed one of his own favourites named Sangye-Gyatsho as the regent and conferred on him absolute authority. This Regent, who completed the building of the nine-storeyed palace of Potala in Lhasa, was killed by the fourth successor of Kushi Khan in 1705 A.D.

Hearing the news of the Regent's violent death, the Khan of Zungaria, in intrigue with the Dalai Lama, sent a large army to invade Tibet. In 1716 they captured Lhasa and killed the last successor of Kushi Khan : thus in this year ended the short-lived kingdom founded by Kushi Khan in Tibet. In the meantime the Chinese Emperor despatched to Tibet a very large army consisting of innumerable Chinese soldiers, who in 1720 A.D. completely overthrew the Zungarians, re-occupied the metropolis of Lhasa and made themselves again the masters of the whole of Tibet. The successors of Kushi Khan being killed and the Zungarians defeated, the Chinese Emperor, at the close of 1720, appointed to the temporal and political rule of Tibet, as subordinate to the Dalai Lama, a king or regent named Telchin-Bathur. In 1727 this Telchin-Bathur was assassinated by order of the Dalai Lama and his men. In 1728 the Emperor of China sent a large army to Tibet, arrested the ringleaders implicated in the murder and imprisoned the Dalai Lama. In 1729 a man named Mi-Wang was appointed king or regent of Tibet in place of Telchin-Bathur. Subsequently

the Dalai Lama got one of his own men as the regent. In 1749 the Chinese put this Regent to death when the Tibetans flew to arms and massacred the Chinese. At this time the Emperor of China introduced two Ambans or Chinese Political Residents in Tibet, but gave up the right of appointing the Regent. About 1775 the office of the Regent was made elective by the most senior incarnate Lamas of the four great monasteries of Tangye-Ling, Kundu-Ling, Tse-Chong-Ling and Tsomo-Ling. The Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister select the Regent, and their selection is confirmed by oracles and ratified by the Emperor of China. As long as the Dalai Lama remains minor, all temporal powers are exercised by the Regent. When the Dalai Lama reaches his majority, fixed at 18 years, the Regent, in the presence of all high officials, presents him with the seals of office of both spiritual and temporal affairs. In the nineteenth century no Dalai Lama reached majority, so that Regency continued without interruption. The last Dalai Lama, who reached majority 13 years ago, was the only one who obtained the entire spiritual and temporal authority over Tibet and was the practical ruler of the country.

The present constitution of the Government of Tibet is as follows :—



II.—TASHI LAMA'S CONNECTION WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

During the administration of Warren Hastings, in the year 1774, George Bogle* was sent to Tashi-lhumpo and met with the then Tashi Lama Lobzang-pal-den-ye-she. In the year 1783 Samuel Turner,† who was sent by Warren Hastings to Tibet, saw the then Tashi Lama, Je-tan-Pahi-Nyi-ma. These two Tashi Lamas, *viz.*, the third and the fourth, did all in their power to promote friendly relations between the British Government of India and the Lamaic Government of Tibet. In 1774 the third Tashi Lama, with a view to make offerings to the image of Buddha at Budh-Gaya and to conduct religious services at Varanasi (Benares), despatched to India a Tibetan high official, 3 Senior Lamas and 9 novice Monks, who carried with them a letter of introduction to Chait Sing, the then Raja of Benares. Since that time no Tibetan has ever been officially sent to India by the Grand Lama of Lhasa or of Tashi-lhumpo.

III.—TASHI LAMA'S JOURNEY FROM SHIGATSE TO DARJEELING.

For the first time in the history of Tibet His Holiness Tashi Lama the Sixth, named Lobzang-Choi-kyi-Nyi-ma, accepted the invitation of the Indian Government to be present at the Royal Reception at Calcutta during their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales' visit to India in 1905-1906.

* See Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa (1811-1812). Edited with notes, an introduction and lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning by Mr. C. R. Markham, London, 1879.

† See an Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Thibet, containing a narrative of a journey through Bhutan, and part of Tibet. To which are added views taken on the spot by Lieutenant Samuel Davis; and observations botanical, mineralogical and medical by Mr. Robert Saunders. London, 1800.

The Tashi Lama left Shigatse on 8th November 1905 escorted by Captain O'Connor, Captain R. Steen, and all the nobles and officials of Shigatse, not to mention the whole populace who turned out—very sad at the prospect of their Lama being absent from them for some months.

The party came along in easy stages—halting only at Gyantse, Phari, Chumbi, and Gangtok. At every camp all the people for miles round collected to receive the Lama's blessing. At short intervals along the road to Phari incense was burnt and people prostrated themselves—in fact everywhere could be seen the signs of the sincerest worship and reverence.

At Gangtok the Tashi Lama and following were the guests of the Maharaja of Sikkim, who placed his palace at their disposal.

IV.—TASHI LAMA AT DARJEELING.

Darjeeling was in a state of great excitement when the Tashi Lama arrived there about noon on Wednesday, the 29th November 1905, from Gangtok *via* Pashok. Large crowds went out to meet him at Jala Pahar and Ghoom; the Bhutias prostrated themselves as he passed, touching his garments and even his baggage to receive a blessing. He was accompanied by Captain O'Connor, Captain R. Steen and the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, while the Inspector of Darjeeling with a few policemen was sent to escort the party. Mr. Garrett, the Deputy Commissioner, met the procession on the way to welcome the Lama to Darjeeling. At Drum-Druid Hotel, where special arrangements had been made for putting up the party, the Lama was received with Tibetan salutations. The entry of the Tashi Lama was extremely picturesque, the procession being headed by banners carried by the Lamas of the surrounding

monasteries, whose followers rent the air with deafening Tibetan music played on huge horns, trumpets, drums, etc. Incense was burnt all along the roadsides, and the quaintness of the scene reached its height on the Chowrasta, where the Bhutia community gathered in great number to worship the Tashi Lama as he rode into Drum-Druid Hotel. A goodly number of Europeans sat in the compound of the Hotel to see the arrival. The Tashi Lama is a young man of about 23, of middle size and wears spectacles. He was dressed in a rich yellow robe, wore a long peculiar gold coloured hat, and rode on a Tibetan pony with a decorated oriental saddle. Soon after his arrival at the hotel he retired to his rooms for the day. The next afternoon, and on Friday, he held a reception in the large drawing-room of the hotel, where hundreds of Bhutias were conducted in by the police to receive his blessings. Each pilgrim gave some money according to his or her circumstances, some giving pice, rupees, and others ten-rupee notes, and some even a hundred rupees. The collection on the first day was said to have amounted to over Rs. 2,000, and on the second day even more. On both days a number of Europeans were admitted to see the blessing bestowed. The Tashi Lama was seated on a temporary throne made on a gorgeously bedecked table, his priests hustling away the men and women after they had bowed themselves, and the Tashi Lama had touched their heads with a little stick which had a red piece of cloth tied to it.

The whole party left on Saturday (the 2nd December) morning at 10 by special train for Indian tour. The Tashi Lama was conveyed to the station in a rickshaw covered with bright yellow cloth and drawn by devout Bhutias. A great crowd again formed the procession.

V.—THE TASHI LAMA'S STAFF.

The Tashi Lama's party consisted chiefly of the following :—

- (1) His Holiness Panchen-Rinpoche or Tashi Lama the Sixth named Lobzang-Choi-kyi-Nyi-ma.
- (2) His uncle, Ku-sang-ku-shab-Thal-ji.
- (3) His younger brother, Gung-ku-shab.
- (4) His two principal tutors, named (1) Yonzin Rinpoche-Lho-pa and (2) Lo-chen-Rinpoche.
- (5) His Minister or Shápe, Dub-wang.
- (6) His Assistant Minister, Dronyer-De-Rab.
- (7) His Treasurer, Tse-chag-dzoi-chen-po.
- (8) His Steward, Nyer-tshan-chen-mo.
- (9) His Chief Cook, Tse-ma-chen chen-mo.
- (10) The Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, Sidkyong Tulku (who joined the party at Gungtok), and 60 other Lamas and laymen.

The undermentioned officers were deputed by the Government of India to accompany His Holiness during his Indian tour :—

- (1) Captain W. F. O'Connor, C.I.E., British Trade Agent, Gyantse (Tibet), Chief of the staff.
- (2) Captain R. Steen, I.M.S., Medical Officer, Gyantse (Tibet).
- (3) Professor Satis Chandra Acharyya, Vidya-bhusana, M.A., of the Presidency College, Calcutta (a Buddhist scholar who joined the party at Siliguri).
- (4) Mr. Laden La, Police Inspector, Kurseong (who joined the party at Darjeeling).

VI.—TASHI LAMA ON THE WAY TO THE PUNJAB.

His Holiness travelled by special train up to Kurseong and then came down by special trolley to Siliguri, where he passed the night in a suitable camp, and where hundreds of tents had been pitched by Bhutias, who, clad in motley dresses and riding on ponies, had been waiting to pay their respects to His Holiness. The next day at half-past eight he left Siliguri by special train, reaching Manihari Ghat at daybreak on the 4th December. After crossing the Ganges by a special steamer he started for Rawalpindi by a special train.

At all the important stations between Darjeeling and Siliguri, Buddhists of different nationalities, such as Tibetans, Bhutias, Sikkimese, Nepalese and others, assembled with long burning incense sticks, white silk scarfs, flowers, etc., to receive blessings from the Tashi Lama. Even the common people looked up to him with profound veneration and whispered to each other, Upar-ka-Raja, *i.e.*, "This is the King of the Higher Regions." At the stations down Siliguri, ladies and gentlemen assembled in crowds to have a look at the Holy Personage. He and his party successively passed through Dinajpur, Bhagulpur, Patna, Allahabad, Delhi, etc., most of which places had been known to the Tibetans only by name. It was apparent that the historical traditions of Buddhism had by no means been forgotten in Tibet.

At the same time it appeared that the Tibetans had almost wholly lost touch with modern Buddhism in India, for the Tashi Lama's retinue expressed their wonder at seeing some Buddhists in India and continually inquired whether under the British Government there were people who repeated the formula of

Three Protections, *viz.*, "I take refuge in Buddha," "I take refuge in Dharma," "I take refuge in Sangha." While touring through India on railways for days together they were struck with awe at beholding the vast magnitude of the Indian Empire, and felt deep gratitude to the British Government which afforded them such a splendid opportunity of visiting with ease places which they considered the most sacred on the face of the earth, sanctified as they were by the pious achievements of *Bhagavan* Buddha. The cool, soft, exhilarating breeze in the morning and the effulgent radiance of the golden sun filled them with exquisite delight as they witnessed with gleeful mirth and innocent surprise the playful movements of tortoises and the small sailing boats in the Ganges at Manihari Ghat. The Tashi Lama, however, fell ill just on arriving at the Indian plains. Through the skilful treatment of Captain Steen, His Holiness was soon restored to health. Though His Holiness' illness temporarily threw the party into dismay, the journey from Darjeeling towards up-country was, on the whole, a very pleasant one.

VII.—AT RAWALPINDI.

His Holiness and suite arrived at Rawalpindi on the 7th December at 2-30 P.M., and were accommodated in nice tents. On the same day His Holiness, accompanied by Captain O'Connor, interviewed Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales at about 4 P.M. The next day His Holiness witnessed the Review of nearly 70,000 British troops on the Maidan at Rawalpindi. On the 9th December His Holiness took a drive round the city of Rawalpindi, where he lived comfortably owing to the agreeable cold weather of the place.

VIII.—TASHI LAMA^{*} AT TAXILA.

On the 10th December at 9-30 A.M. His Holiness the Tashi Lama, accompanied by the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, Captain O'Connor, C.I.E., Captain Steen, I.M.S., Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, M.A., Mr. Laden La and others left Rawalpindi for Taxila.

Taxila was the famous capital of the Punjab when Asoka was the Viceroy of the Province. Taxila, called in Sanskrit Takshasila, and in Tibetan Do-Jog, is 26 miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi and two miles distant from the Seraikala Railway Station. The site is now occupied by the villages Sha-dheri, Sirkap and Kacchakat. At Sirkap the Tashi Lama held a religious service on the spot, where Buddha in one of his previous births, with a view to accomplish "Perfection of Charity," cut off his head and gave it to a hungry tiger and its seven cubs. Nearly one and a half mile to the east of Sirkap stand the ruins of a stupa where the eyes of Kunala, the eldest son of Asoka, were put out through the treachery of his step-mother. North-west of Sirkap is the tank of Elapatra Nag, the King of Snakes, which is now called Tabra Nala. Four miles off from Sirkap are the ruins of a great building, with a spacious quadrangle, surrounded by cells indicating the spot on which stood the once famous University of Taxila, where eighteen sciences were taught. Buddha in one of his previous births was educated here, and here Buddha's physician, Jivaka-Komarabhadra, studied the science of medicine from Attreya. In the vicinity, there are mounds of earth which are all remains of the place where Buddha, in one of his previous births, resided as king under the name of Chandrapradyota. According to the Buddhist Scripture here are four

gems hidden under the earth which will appear by themselves when Maitreya Buddha will be born.

All Taxila is marked with ruins of votive stupas and monasteries which were built by devotees on the fulfilment of their particular desires. Thousands of men and women are said to have been cured of leprosy and blindness by sweeping off the dust of the stupas and scattering flowers on them at Taxila.

After visiting the various sacred spots in Taxila the Tashi Lama and his suite were entertained in a garden party held in honour of His Holiness at the instance of the late generous Raja Jahandad Khan,* C.I.E., in his Cutcherry near Taxila.

The people of the place complained that there had been no rain during the preceding year. The Tibetans assured them that they would be blessed with sufficient rain in the present year, for there is a well-known tradition in which the Tibetans have implicit faith and which holds that wherever the Tashi Lama goes he is followed by copious rain. After visiting Taxila, the party returned to Rawalpindi in the evening.

On the 11th December at 9 A.M. the Tashi Lama and his party left Rawalpindi with a view to visit successively Agra, Benares, Budh-Gaya and Calcutta, and later on Puri and Bhuvanesvara.

IX.—TASHI LAMA AT AGRA.

On the 12th December at 6 P.M. the Tashi Lama and his party on their return journey from Rawalpindi arrived at Agra *via* Delhi and Cawnpur and put up in the Hotel Metropolis. On the 13th December at 10 A.M. His Holiness visited the beautiful mausoleum, the poem in stone and in marble, a lovely

* Chief of the Kiani Ga-Khars, Hazara, Panjab. Was made Khan Bahadur. Died 18th November 1906.

dream, Tajmahal, erected by Shah Jahan in 1630 A.D. over the earthly clay of his beloved Queen Mumtaz-mahal. The lover's lament is embodied in this magnificent edifice. The mausoleum, which is situated on the right bank of the river Jamuna, encloses also the remains of Shah Jahan. His Holiness next visited the Fort of Agra, which was built during the reign of Akbar in 1571 A.D. Many of the picturesque buildings now existing in the Fort were, however, subsequently built by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. On the next day His Holiness paid visits to various other architectural marvels :—for instance, Akbari Masjid in the Kinari Bazaar ; Masjid of Motamid Khan, Treasurer of Jahangir, in the Kasimiri Bazaar ; the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra ; the mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daulah on the left bank of the river Jamuna close to the pontoon bridge, etc., all of which bear eloquent testimony to the lasting glory of the Mahomedan Emperors, especially of the Great Moguls.

His Holiness next visited the Palace of Shah Jahan built of red coloured sandstone variegated here and there with plastered brickwork. Beyond this is the handsome white marble building inlaid inside with mosaic, and crowded with pillars and arches called the "Diwan-khas." A few yards to the north of the Diwan-khas is the black marble throne of Jahangir. Towards the northern side of the palace of Shah Jahan are the Hamams or Royal Baths. Immediately to the west of the palace of Shah Jahan is the Great Diwan-Am, or public hall of audience, which is now used as an armoury. Immediately to the north of this Diwan-Am is a little white-marble three-domed masjid called the "Nagina Masjid," which was built by Shah Jahan for the use of the ladies of his Court. Matimasjid, which

was completed in 1655 A.D., is situated to the north-west of the palace of Shah Jahan. The Tashi Lama and his retinue were enraptured with joy in visiting various other magnificent buildings of the time of Aurungzebe and other Mussulman monarchs. They were only sad to find that there was no Buddhistic shrine in the grand city of Agra, which so richly holds out the charms of storied and poetical associations.

On the 15th December at 9 A.M. the Tashi Lama and his party left Agra.

X.—VISIT TO BENARES AT SARNATH.

The Tashi Lama, accompanied by Captain O'Connor, C.I.E., Captain Steen, I.M.S., Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, M.A., Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim, Mr. Laden La, and others arrived at Benares on the 16th December 1905 at 6 A.M., and were accommodated in Hotel-de-Paris. The party visited the Buddhist ruins at Sarnath, four miles north of Benares, at 11 A.M. the same day. Sarnath is so-called because Buddha in one of his previous births was born here as King of Deer. Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana pointed out the tower now called Dhamek, which stands on the spot where Buddha established his *Dharma Chakra* (Tibetan : Choi-kyi-khorlo), that is, for the first time preached his religion to the five Brahmans who had formerly been his attendants. Around this tower, stupa or choi-ten, the Tashi Lama burnt three maunds of clarified butter, lighted nearly three hundred lamps, scattered flowers and torma-cakes in abundance and uttered prayers in adoration of Buddha for more than an hour. After circumambulating the tower several times, the Tashi Lama himself assumed the form of Buddha, while other Lamas and laymen worshipped him

instead of the tower. Then the party visited other sacred spots in the vicinity of the Dhamek tower. At the north-east stands the village of Varahi, so-called from the Buddhist goddess Vajra-varahi (Tibetan : Dorje-phagmo), whose incarnation is the abbess of the monastery of Samding in Central Tibet. To the west lies the village of Guronpur, which was the residence of numerous Buddhist priests and teachers. Nearly 520 feet to the west of Dhamek there is a stupa where Buddha's nail-bones were deposited by the Emperor Asoka. A little to the north of Dhamek there lie the ruins of a stupa, where Buddha Sakyamuni delivered his prediction concerning the coming Buddha called Maitreya (Tibetan : Byema-pa). A little beyond this there is a stupa where Elapatra Nag, the King of Snakes, listened to the sermon of Buddha and was emancipated from his dragon form. After visiting other sacred spots and bowing down before the Buddhist image in the new Buddhist Rest House, the Lama and his suite left Sarnath at 5 P.M. The Lama was presented by the Government of India with two mutilated stone images of Buddha, which, together with other things, have lately been excavated* there. Benares is a very sacred place to the Buddhists, for it was here that Buddha revealed the doctrine of sorrow, and pointed out the path leading to its cessation ; and it was here that he chanted for the first time the formula of Three Protections.

On the 17th December, between 8 A.M. and 11 A.M., the Lama and his party journeyed a few miles by boats down the Ganges and took a view of the whole town. At the mouth of the river Asi (Tibetan : Gnodpa-zan) the Lama looked at the spot where Buddha converted

* Regarding these excavations, the reader is asked to read an article on Sarnath, published in the *Pioneer* in February 1907.

to his religion the rich merchant named Yasa (Tibetan : Gragspa) and his four friends named respectively Purna (Gang-po), Vimala (Drimed), Gavampati (Balang-bdag) and Subahu (Lag-bzangs). His Holiness was particularly interested in looking at the Hindu burning ghats on the banks of the Ganges where some dead bodies were being burnt. He gave a gold coin to some Hindu sanyasis or houseless ascetics who were at that time performing their worship on the riverside. At 11 A.M. His Holiness returned from the riverside to the Hotel-de-Paris riding on an elephant. In the night at about 9 P.M. His Holiness witnessed a bioscopic exhibition in the Hotel.

On the 18th December 1905 at noon Captain O'Connor, accompanied by the tutor of the Tashi Lama, and Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, went to the Government College at Benares to make a preliminary examination of all the Brahminic-Sanskrit manuscripts, which had been translated into Tibetan at different times between 629 A.D. and 1,400 A.D. Punctually at 4 P.M. the Tashi Lama, together with his Minister, the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim and others, visited the College and examined various Sanskrit manuscripts such as those of Kali Das's Meghduta, Udayanacharya's Atmatattva Viveka, Dandi's Kabya-darsan, Amarkosha, etc., which had been laid on the table for him. Regarding the Tibetan version of Atmatattva Viveka His Holiness said that he understood every word of the book, but could not properly grasp a single sentence of it. Then there was some discussion about a certain verse of the Meghduta in which His Holiness the Tashi Lama, his tutor, Captain O'Connor, Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Mr. A. Venis, Principal of the Benares

College, Mahamahopadhyaya Gangadhar Sastri, C.I.E., Mahamahopadhyaya Kailash Chandra Siromani and others took part. After visiting the College His Holiness and suite attended the Garden Party arranged by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares in the College premises. The Maharaj-Kumar of Benares and the Maharaja's Aide-des-Camp, who had warmly received the Lama at the entrance of the College premises, were all attention to His Holiness during his stay there.

XI.—TASHI LAMA AT BUDH-GAYA.

The Tashi Lama and his suite left Benares at 10 P.M. on the 18th December and arrived at Budh-Gaya on the 19th December at 8 A.M., and became guests of the Mahanta, who entertained them right royally. From the railway station at Gaya to the Buddhist shrine at Budh-Gaya, a distance of some eight miles, the party travelled in procession with elephants and bands. On nearing Budh-Gaya the Lama was met by the merchants of Gaya and was conducted by him to the Mahanta's guest house, where he was lodged during his stay.

On the 20th December, Captain O'Connor, accompanied by Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, and the tutor and Minister of the Tashi Lama, made a preliminary inspection of the sacred sites in Budh-Gaya.

The Tashi Lama offered his worship to the Bodhi-tree and the image of Buddha on 21st December, which was a most auspicious day according to the Tibetan calendar. Punctually at 8 A.M., His Holiness, seated in a sedan-chair, came to the temple and getting down in a spirit of utmost reverence slowly entered the inmost sanctuary and bowing down before the great image took up his seat, while along with him numerous learned Lamas uttered prayers and repeated hymns in adoration

of the supremely enlightened One. The face of the image was decorated with gold, and spots of rice, fruits and flowers were placed in lines on the walls of the temple; *torma* and *shal-ga* cakes were scattered in abundance, innumerable incense sticks were burnt and twenty thousand lamps lighted.

After nearly an hour, the Tashi Lama came out of the temple, exchanged his dress for a tattered yellow garment and sat in meditation on the Vajrasana under the Bodhi-tree for 3 hours, from 9 A.M. to 12 A.M., while his numerous devotees stood round him in deep silence. Just at noon he opened his eyes and received from his followers valuable presents, consisting of silken scarfs and robes, jewels and precious stones, gold and silver, rice and fruits, and several other things. It was at the solicitation of the Maharaj-Kumar of Sikkim that His Holiness said prayers for the good of the world and specially for those who were standing round him.

Amongst those who were present on this unique occasion and to whom the Lama gave return presents of scarfs were Captain O'Connor, C.I.E., Captain R. Steen, I.M.S., Captain H. B. Steen, I.M.S., Mr. Perceval Landon, the historian of the Tibetan expedition, Professor Satis Chandra Acharyya Vidyabhusana, M.A., the Japanese Military Attaché, Major Hayashi, and a gentleman from Ceylon named Gunavardhana.

At 1 o'clock His Holiness went back to his quarters, followed by numerous Buddhists of Tibet, Sikkim, Bengal, Ceylon, Burma, Japan and Shan States, who had all been assembled together to catch a glimpse of this earthly incarnation of the celestial Amitabha.

Later in the day His Holiness ordained several candidates for priesthood, while other senior priests shaved their heads in token of re-ordination under the

sacred tree. Numerous Buddhists prostrated themselves on the ground around the temple, and licked the dust while others dyed their cloths on the stone that bears the footprint of the Buddha. The scene was sufficient to recall the India of Asoka.

On the 22nd December, the Tashi Lama visited the Burmese Rest House containing the images of a Burmese and a Japanese Buddha, and walked round the various sacred spots around the Bodhi-tree. Just in front of it on the eastern side lies the stupa where the siren daughters of Mara (Satan) endeavoured to practise their charms on the great Teacher, but were immediately changed by his spiritual powers into ugly and decrepid old hags.

On the southern side, there lies a stupa where Brahma solicited Buddha to preach his doctrine and open the gates of immortality. Still to the south is a tank which was created by Indra and where Buddha bathed immediately after acquiring enlightenment. On the north there is a spot where Buddha walked up and down and where lotus flowers sprang up under the consecrated touch of his feet. To the south of the tank lies the village of Mocharin, where Mochalinda, the King of Snakes seven times encircled the body of the Blessed One with his windings, and kept extending his large hood over the Blessed One's head, saying to himself, "May no coldness touch the Blessed One. May no heat touch the Blessed One. May no vexation by gadflies and gnats, by storms and sun heat and reptiles touch the Blessed One." To the north-west lies a village where Sujata prepared for Buddha a delicious milk soup which he took in a crystal vase adorned with jewels, which two gods of the Akanishtha heaven had brought for him.

On the west lies a great basement on the stones of which Buddha washed his robes. A little to the

south-east is a stupa where a tooth relic of Buddha was deposited by King Asoka. To the north-east lies the temple of the Buddhists' Tantrik goddess, Tara or Dolna, on the walls of which there are carved figures of Vaja-Chairava, the terrific guardian of Tantric Buddhism. There is also a temple of Manjughosha which now passes under the name of that of Vagisvari Devi. To the north-west lies Mount Gaya, on which Buddha delivered some of his important sermons. There are numerous other relics and votive stupas which adorn Budh-Gaya. In short the whole neighbourhood is full of wonderfully distinct and well preserved remains. The very atmosphere is surcharged with Buddhist associations.

XII.—AT PRAGBODHI.

On the 23rd (between 7 A.M. and 3 P.M.) the Tashi Lama and his suite visited the cave of Pragbodhi, six miles to the north-east of Budh-Gaya. When Buddha, after seeking enlightenment for six years, could not obtain supreme wisdom in Budh-Gaya, he went out in a depressed spirit to the north-east and passed a few days on Mount Pragbodhi. But he was told by the Devas that the earth would quake and gape there, and that it was not the fortunate spot for obtaining supreme wisdom. So he came back to the Bodhi-tree on the banks of the Niranjana in Budh-Gaya. Pragbodhi is a precipitous hill, in a cave of which is a Tantric Buddhist goddess of the mild type; and on the top of which there are remains of five stupas erected by Asoka to signalize the spots on which Buddha walked. Within a few miles round this hill there lived the three Kasyapas in whose fire-house Buddha subdued the snakes and performed various miracles.

At 1-30 P.M. the party left Pragbodhi and after visiting the Niranjana or Phalgu river came back to Budh-Gaya at 3 P.M.

On the 24th December His Holiness received offerings from four devotees named Charan Dass and others, who had come from Kulu in the Kashmir Frontier near Ladak.

XIII.—IN CALCUTTA AND DEPARTURE.

The Tashi Lama left Budh-Gaya at 10 A.M. on the 25th December and reached Howrah by special train on the 26th at 7-30 A.M. During his stay in Calcutta he lived at Hastings House and took part in all the public events in connection with the Prince of Wales's visit at the metropolis. On the 11th January 1906, His Holiness left Calcutta for Darjeeling whence he proceeded to Tashi-lhumpo. His plan of visiting Puri and Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa was not carried out.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Art. III.—KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.

WHEN the Britishers settled in Bengal, they were not anxious to impart to the sons of the soil. English education, or any education, we learn from the old files of the *Friend of India*, that when the question of affording general instruction to the Natives of India, for the first time, came before the Court of Directors, in 1792, it was received with marked disfavour. One of the Directors uttered the following remarkable sentences:—

"That one of the leading and most efficient causes of the separation of America from Great Britain, as the mother country, was the founding of colleges and establishing seminaries for education in the different provinces. . . . Sound policy dictated that we should in the case of India avoid and steer clear of the rock we had split upon in the case of America."

In those days, when the English people devoted themselves principally to commercial pursuits and the collection of revenue, they found occupation enough without interfering in the actual management of provinces. To the mass of the people the change of Government brought no foreign usages or customs. The Law Courts were left to the *Satraps* of Moorshidabad as before. Mahomedan law and Mahomedan lawyers still reigned supreme, and a knowledge of Persian literature remained an indispensable qualification for official distinction and success as it had ever been under the Subadars. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, after abolishing the *dual* system of government, founded in 1780, for keeping up a regular supply of learned Moulavis and Kazees, the

Calcutta Madrassah—the first educational institution on European model. The attention of the Government was at about this time drawn towards the improvement of Oriental languages. A college at Benares was founded four years later for Sanskrit education, which was followed by one in Calcutta. The desire of making money served as a great incentive to English education, as Persian education was sought for under the Mahomedan administration. Private schools were started for English education, but they were of little or no use for the development of mind. Men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Gopee Mohan Deb, Ram Komal Sen, etc., were confederated into a band, whose great intellects and energies, like the highest mountaintops, catching the first rays of the rising sun, grasped and realised at once the incalculable advantages which would ensue to their country and their countrymen from the introduction of Western literature, sciences, and arts. The great Raja, although himself a Sanskrit scholar, submitted an appeal to Lord Amherst “for a more liberal and enlightened system of education embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful knowledges.” In 1817 the Hindoo College was opened under the auspices of some Indian and European gentlemen, foremost of whom were Sir Hyde East, David Hare and H. H. Wilson. The light which had first illuminated the tops of the mountains descended on the plains and penetrated the deepest valleys and lowest rice fields. The youthful band of reformers, who had been educated in the Hindoo College, soon became leaders of the country, and all the social, political, religious, and literary reforms of Bengal are due to them. With the exception of a few famous men, such as Pundit Issur Chandra Vidyasagar,

Akhoy Coomar Dutt, Issur Chandra Gupta, and some others, *reformers* of Calcutta meant the students of the Hindoo College. Kissory Chand Mittra was one of the foremost among this band.

Kissory Chand Mittra was born on the 26th May 1822 at 20, Nimtola Ghat Street. In his boyhood he was placed under a *gooroo mohasaya* in a *patsala* held at his house. As then good vernacular books were scarce, he was brought up according to the old system. He was not very successful in mastering his mother tongue. Kissory Chand was afterwards placed in the charge of a *moonshee*, but he failed in picking up a knowledge of the Persian language.

Since the passing of Lord Macaulay's famous minutes (in March 1835) every opulent Hindoo thought it better to train his sons in English as an accomplishment. Kissory Chand's father, Ram Narian, therefore did not consider it worth his while to impart Oriental education to Kissory Chand. His brother, Peary Chand, had a morning free school at his house named the “Hindoo Benevolent Institution,” where Kissory Chand learnt the rudiments of English. In this institution, Peary Chand was headmaster, and Raj Kissen Mittra, Shib Chandra Deb, and Gobind Chunder Bysack were honorary teachers. David Hare, H. L. V. Derozio, and D'Ausdem used to take a lively interest in this school, frequently visiting and examining the boys and distributing prizes to the most meritorious among them. Kissory Chand was thus brought to the notice of Derozio and Hare, and the latter, a true friend of Native Education, pressed the father to send the young lad to his own school.

Kissory Chand was admitted in Mr. Hare's School in 1834. There within a brief period he made marked

progress and won prizes almost every year. David Hare was in the habit of enquiring into the character and progress of every boy in his school. Active intelligent, well disposed, and of retentive memory, Kissory Chand devoted himself most earnestly to his books, and benefited largely from the training he received from Mr Hare. He was then transferred to the Hindoo College, which was considered the highest institution in Bengal. Kissory Chand remained in the college for eight years. Among his class mates may be mentioned Peary Churn Sirkar, Michael Modhu Sooden Dutt, Raj Narian Bose, Roma Prosad Roy, Rajendra Dutt, Bhola Nath Chunder, Gnanendra Mohan Tagore, and others. He was deficient in Mathematics. He tried his best to make it up, but was not successful. This damped his spirit a little. Kissory successfully studied literature under Captain D. L. Richardson. His Essay at an annual examination held at Government House was read by Bishop Wilson, and he received prizes at several annual examinations which brought him to the notice of Sir Edwin Ryan, the then Chief Justice of Bengal. (He was also connected with a free school at Simla as one of its honorary teachers, which was patronised by Sir Edwin Ryan.) About this time he married the daughter of Gora Chand Ghose, by whom he left a daughter.

Kissory Chand left College in 1842. He was at this time full of noble aspirations, and was animated with the sincere desire of doing as much good as he could to his countrymen. As an illustration of this, we may mention that for some time he gratuitously taught for some hours every week in the newly formed Dr. Duff's school.

On 1st June 1842 David Hare, the Father of Native Education, died, deeply regretted by every

educated Indian. A memorial meeting was held on 17th June with Baboo Prosonno Coomar Tagore as chairman. Kissory Chand spoke in this meeting and was a member of the committee to further its objects.

The "Bengal Spectator" was started at about this time. It was a diglot paper and jointly edited by Tara Chand Chakrabatty and Peary Chand Mittra. Ram Gopal Ghose, Govind Chunder Bysack, Russic Krishna Mullick, Radha Nath Sikdar, K. M. Bannerjee and Kissory Chand Mittra were regular contributors to that paper. Kissory Chand had a happy knack of imitating the authors he read, and in the "Bengal Spectator" his articles showed that he had caught the spirit of Channing. Kissory Chand continued to make marked progress in English literature and composition. His association with Dr. Duff roused him to the study of Natural Theology, and he established at his house a society, called the "Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society." The Society was inaugurated on the 10th February 1843 by Kissory Chand and some educated Bengalees assembled for the purpose of considering the best means for promoting the moral and religious elevation of their countrymen. In the preface to the discourses read at the meetings of this Society, its object is thus enunciated: "The Society aims at the extermination of Hindoo idolatry, and the dissemination of sound and enlightened views of the Supreme Being, of the unseen and future world, of truth, of happiness, and final beatitude. It proposes to teach the Hindoos to worship God in *Spirit* and in *truth* and to enforce those moral and most sacred duties which they owe to their Maker, to their fellow beings, and to themselves." The Society used to hold monthly meetings, at which

discourses in English and Bengalee were delivered. The subjects embraced by the discourses related to the nature and attributes of the deity and to general principles in morals and religion. The other means adopted by the Society for the attainment of its objects, were the preparation and publication of Bengalee tracts on moral and religious subjects, and the reprinting of Sanskrit and Bengalee works illustrating the same. The monthly meetings* were attended and addressed by earnest and representative men of different classes, such as Dr. Duff, the Rev. K. M. Bannerjee, Baboos Ukhoy Coomar Dutt, Ram Gopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mitta, Issur Chunder Gupto and Kissory Chand, the Secretary. The nature and aims of the institution were thus explained at length in the inaugural discourse of the Secretary: "The Society aims at the extermination of Hindoo idolatry and the dissemination of sound and elevated views of God, Futurity, Truth and Happiness. Though it is established for the purpose of promoting moral and religious culture irrespective of any revealed form, and only by the study of the duties and destinies of man as *revealed* by his constitution and of the power, wisdom and goodness of God as manifested in nature, still its basis is broad and unexceptionable enough to admit the cordial co-operation of every good man, no matter to what creed he may belong. The existence of God is the first dogma of the Hindoo Philanthropist, and the immortality of the soul is the second. The dogmas of the Hindoo Theophilanthropist are those upon which all sects—Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Chinese,—are agreed, and the name they have taken expresses the

* The reader is recommended to read the admirable review of this Society in the "Calcutta Review," Nos. 3 and 5.

double end of all religionists, that of leading, namely, to love towards God and men."

The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was established in 1839, with David Hare as Honorary Visitor and Peary Chand Mittra and Ram Tonu Lahiri as Honorary Secretaries. The names of almost all the educated natives were on the roll of its members, among whom we find Kissory Chand taking an active part. Of his essays on *Truth* and *The Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Educated Natives* the Society in its Report remarked thus: While the Committee of papers on behalf of the Society beg to tender their best thanks to the authors of the discourses delivered during the last year, they deem it due to some of the papers enumerated above, especially those on Matter,* on Truth and on "The Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Educated Natives," to say that they exhibit much talent. At about this time his father, Ram Narian, died, on 26th October 1842.

Tagore," of which the *Calcutta Review* justly observed in 1870 :—"Kissory Chand Mittra has done good service to his country by the memoirs which he has published from time to time (some of them in this *Review*) of the more prominent members of Bengal Society during the past few years. The last half century* has witnessed extraordinary progress in Bengal, and history demands that the exertions of the men to whom the present state of things is due, and the part which each took in bringing it about, shall be faithfully chronicled for the edification of future ages. And our chronicler is by no means unequal to the task before him. His labour is obviously a labour of love. Himself belonging to the most advanced section of Hindoo Society, and gifted with a marvellous command of the English language, he is well able to depict in glowing colours the obligations which the present generation lies under to those early pioneers in the cause of progress and enlightenment. His memoirs here and there (particularly in the description of Dwarka Nath's first voyage to England) smack of the Boswellian flavour."

Mr. John Clarke Marshman wrote of the book in his "Friend of India," as follows : ". . . . It is many days since we read a book more calculated to do good. It ought to be to India what the works of Smiles are to England. It is grandly catholic ; above all the hasty bickerings of sects and parties, and recognising the greater brotherhood of all mankind. It ought to be worth anything to India, and for our part, we give it the heartiest welcome we can give to anything, and wish for it the truest success."

After leaving College, Kissory Chand got an

* Meaning the first half of the 19th century.

appointment under Mr. Alexander, the Legal Remembrancer. Subsequently he became an assistant to Mr. Theobald, the Secretary to the East Indian Railway. This post was given up. He then began to accompany Babu Hara Chandra Ghose, the Principal Sudder Amin of 24-Parganas, to Alipur, to have an insight into the administration of Mofussil justice. Thus he acquired some judicial knowledge. Having leisure, he connected himself with the *Bengal Hurkaru*, as one of its paid contributors. While he was thus engaged, Mr. Henry Torrens asked Peary Chand Mittra to recommend him a competent man for the Assistant Secretaryship to the Asiatic Society. Peary Chand recommended his brother, Kissory Chand, who was accordingly appointed. Here he found work congenial to his tastes, and his services were appreciated by the Secretary and the Council of the Society.

Having a literary turn of mind he wrote an article on the life and character of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the *Calcutta Review*, which was then under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. Duff,—its projector and first editor, Captain (afterwards Sir John William) Kaye, having been obliged to leave the country after the publication of the first three numbers.

This article, the first biography in the English language of a Bengalee was so well written that its perusal completely edified Mr. Halliday, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (afterwards Sir Frederick Halliday) who sent for Kissory Chand's no less renowned brother, the then Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library and offered through him to Kissory Chand a Deputy Magistracy, an appointment which in those days was not as plentiful as blackberries and which carried with it the initial pay of Rs. 400 a month,

an emolument equal to that of a covenanted member of the Civil Service on his first entrance into official life. Kissory Chand resigned the Assistant Secretaryship and joined the appointment at Nattore in the district of Rajshahye.

The five years and odd months, during which Kissory Chand held the Deputy Magistracy of Nattore, we are disposed to consider as the most useful and the most brilliant period of his life. A highly educated Native gentleman, with liberal views, wide sympathies and lofty aspirations, was placed in charge of one of the most backward districts in the country. Here was an opportunity, not accorded to many, to show his abilities to the best advantage, and to promote the welfare of the people among whom his lot was cast. Kissory Chand did not miss the opportunity. From the beginning he threw himself, heart and soul, into the work of improving the district. As Subdivisional Officer he set a noble example for other and future generations of Deputy Magistrates to follow. He soon became the most influential man in the zillah; and he used his influence in doing good to the people. Here he came into intimate contact with the principal European and Native residents of the district. He had the good fortune of enlisting the confidence of both sections of the community. Although an official by position he became the virtual leader of the local community, and was chiefly instrumental in establishing both boys' and girls' schools, dispensaries and hospitals, and making roads and opening tanks, through the liberality principally of the munificent zemindar of Dighapatia, the late Raja Prosanna Nauth Roy, who was greatly indebted to him for the title which the Government was pleased to confer upon him. Prosanna Nauth, the

adopted son of Pran Nath Roy, infused new blood into the family and proved himself an extraordinary man, achieving for himself the most conspicuous position among the contemporaneous zemindars and Rajas, and standing out from them as a singularly liberal and benevolent representative of the nobility of Bengal.

This educated zemindar as well as the Commissioner, the Judge, the Magistrate, and the Civil Surgeon heartily supported Kissory Chand in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people and frequently visited him in his station.

The first act of Kissory Chand was a proposal to the Ferry Fund Committee for making a carriage road from Dighapatia to Boaleah. While the proposition was under consideration Prosanna Nauth came forward with an offer to Kissory Chand for defraying the entire expenses of the road.

In 1851 a school was established at Nattore by Kissory Chand. He used to pay all its costs. It was afterwards amalgamated with the Prosanna Nauth Academy, which was inaugurated on the 24th January 1852. There was a large gathering of the European and Native gentry of the District on the occasion. Kissory Chand having been voted to the chair, delivered a speech eulogising the charitable disposition of the young zemindar.

A Charitable Dispensary at Nattore was founded by Kissory Chand in 1849. At the first annual meeting, Dr. J. R. Bedford, who presided, pointed out the institutions founded by Kissory Chand and compared him to the "Man of Roses." At the second annual meeting Dr. Bedford, as Superintendent of the Dispensary, addressed a letter to Kissory Chand as Secretary to that institution. In the letter the learned Doctor wrote:—

"You have the proud satisfaction of feeling that you are in advance in that mighty social change which is now working in Hindoostan, and that the wheel of progress has received one of its earliest impulses from your hand." In Rajshahye his name is still remembered, and will be for a long time remembered, with gratitude and affection.

In 1852 he was transferred to the Subdivision of Jehanabad, which was considered a prize station. There, as at Nattore, he won the golden opinions of his official superiors. But although he distinguished himself as an intelligent and conscientious officer, he had not the same opportunity as in Rajshahye to carry out measures of reform and improvement, owing, chiefly, to the circumstance that in that subdivision of Hooghly district he did not obtain the co-operation of rich and influential zemindars.

The zeal and assiduity with which he had discharged his official duties both at Nattore and Jehanabad, and the intelligent interest he had shown in the welfare of the people, were so conspicuous as to attract the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday. Roy Hara Chunder Ghose Bahadur was appointed a Judge of the Small Cause Court, in consequence of the death of Rasamoy Dutt in 1854. Sir Frederick, considering the valuable services which Kissory Chand had rendered, not only as a Deputy Magistrate, but as a citizen, stimulating and inspiring every intelligent person to do good to the country by means of education, medicine, development of agriculture, and promotion of inter-communication, made up his mind to confer on Kissory Chand, an officer of only eight years standing, the appointment of junior Magistrate of Calcutta as a prize which he was richly entitled to. This appointment took the public some-

what by surprise, and many officers in the service were even dissatisfied as their claims were overlooked. But the abilities and talents which the Lieutenant-Governor had early discovered amply justified the selection. For, if there be any official, who by self-abnegation, disinterested love and fellow feeling, could create an abiding impression on the people, that official was Kissory Chand. We would turn away from the Police Court and would rather dwell a little on Kissory Chand as a literary man than on Kissory Chand as a Government officer.

Kissory Chand pursued literature with the earnestness of a professional man, though it was not the means of his livelihood. Literature was his passport to distinction, and his pastime throughout his life. He left no class of subjects untried. Biography, theology, law, politics, sociology, agriculture, all received his attention. As we have already said, Kissory Chand commenced his literary life with writing for the *Calcutta Review*. For that *Review*, which he regarded as his first literary love, he retained an ardent affection which lasted through the whole of his life. He contributed the following articles to the *Review* :—

1. Ram Mohan Roy,
Vol. IV.
2. do. (another article),
Vol. XLIV.
3. Hindoo Women,
Vol. X.
4. Phases of Hindooism,
Vol. XL, 1864.
5. Agriculture and Agricultural Exhibition in
Bengal,
Vol. XL, 1865.

6. Orissa, Past and Present,
Vol. XLIV.
7. Radha Kant Deb,
Vol. XLV.
8. Ram Gopal Ghose,
Vol. XLVI, 1868.
9. Burdwan Raj,
Vol. LIV, 1872.
10. Nadiya Raj,
Vol. LV, 1872.
11. Rajas of Rajshaye,
Vol. LVI, 1873.
12. Kassimbazar Raj,
Vol. LVII, 1873.
14. Kandy House,
Vol. LVIII, 1874.

As for his style of writing we cannot help quoting from an article which the Rev. Lal Behary De wrote in the Bengal Magazine in September 1873.

"Kissory Chand Mittra belonged to a class of educated Bengalees whose number is daily diminishing—pre-University men, who were, somehow, men of wider culture than the graduates of the Calcutta University, of a more refined taste, more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of English literature, and more addicted to literary pursuits. Strange that our colleges, which are now supplied with Honour-men from Oxford and Cambridge, should turn out inferior articles! The result is perhaps owing to the system of education in vogue, a system the chief object of which seems to be to cram young lads with grammatical niceties or rather puerilities, with sapless etymological roots, with 'notes' which are current only in the University market, with 'abstracts' from which the spirit of the author has evaporated, and we know not what 'paraphrases' and 'moderised versions.' The pre-University men enjoyed English literature; the young men of the present day endure it. Nothing is studied except what pays in the Examination Hall. No marvel that learning is not loved for its own sake.

Kissory Chand wrote correct and manly English,—a style which one insensibly acquires by a constant study of the works of Addison, Johnson, Macaulay, and other masters of English composition. His earlier compositions, like those of most young writers, were somewhat wordy; but age sobered his taste and made his style simple; and the last article he wrote on the 'Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal,' published in the current number of the *Calcutta Review*, is simple even to baldness. Among the hundreds of educated Bengalees who write in English for

the press, there are only a few who manage that difficult language with correctness and elegance. Of these few, Kissory Chand was one of the best."

Mr. Buckland in his *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors* wrote :—"Possessed of rich stores of knowledge of western literature and master of a good English style, he was reckoned as one of the best English writers among his countrymen. His addresses at various public meetings were noted for their ability and fearless independence of spirit."

We have already alluded to his life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The style of the article was so good that the *editor* in a subsequent issue assured his reader that the article was a *bonâ-fide* production from a native gentleman's pen.

He established the Social Reform Association about this time for discussing social questions like Widow marriage, Female education, Kulin Polygamy, etc. Men of the highest reputation in the city used to attend the Association and warmly joined in the discussions. Kissory Chand took a leading part in these discussions, in fact, he was the main stay and prop of the Association. The Venerable *pundit* Vidyasagar in his book *Polygamy* says, that Kissory Chand was the prime mover for the suppression of polygamy since as early as 1842 Kissory Chand petitioned the Government to pass an act to stop this system.

Kissory Chand was a man of independent spirit. Kowtowing to official superiors was foreign to his nature. Accustomed to do what was right he did not care to please his superiors, like the Baboos of olden times, by long salaaming, presentation, cringing servility, and adulation. Unlike the great-great-grandfather of old days who never approached an Englishman without bending his body at an angle of forty-five

degrees and without uttering a thousand agreeable falsehoods to please the Englishman's fancy, Kissory Chand disdained to stoop to such humiliation, and claimed for himself the equality that ought to exist between man and man. He performed his duties conscientiously with justice and discretion, no matter where he gave offence. For some years he filled the bench with great credit to himself, but in an unfortunate moment he quarrelled with Mr. S. Wauchope, B. C. S., then head of the Calcutta police. At about this time a meeting, most respectably and numerous attended, was held at the Town Hall on the 6th April 1857 for petitioning for the extension of the Criminal Jurisdiction of the Moffusil Courts. Kissory Chand (still in service!) in seconding the first Resolution vehemently attacked the European officials. It also transpired that Mr. George Thomson, M. P. the famous political agitator who came to India twice stayed at Kissory Chand's garden house at Paikpara. All this offended the officials much. At last a flaw was found, Kissory Chand was charged with having made interpolations in the deposition of witnesses examined by him. A Committee, consisting of Mr. Hinde, Baboo Hara Chandra Ghose and Mr. Ferguson, was appointed to enquire into his conduct. The result was, the earthen pot, as Kristo Dass Paul wrote in the *Hindoo Patriot*, shared the fate which usually attends a collision with the brass kettle.

Kissory Chand bore this misfortune resignedly. A career which was begun under such brilliant auspices, and which was so full of promise, was thus cut short. But Kissory Chand endured with a wonderful elasticity of mind. An ordinary man would have sunk under the weight of the grief caused by the sad termination of such a brilliant official career, but he had that in him

which admirably sustained him through the trials and vicissitudes of life. He lost his appointment but not his talents. Deprived of the official outlet for his high abilities and talents, he dedicated them to the service of his country in the fields of literature and politics. Freed from the cares and turmoils of Government service, he had enough time at his command, and connected himself with the *Indian Field*. When Mr. Hume, its editor, retired in 1859, Kissory Chand was chosen to fill the chair, and his wrath against the Government now found full vent in the columns of that paper. Under his able editorship, the circulation of the paper increased rapidly, containing, as it did, many of his telling articles, among which we find "Chaitaniya," "the Ryot and the Zemindar," "Moffusil Police (1860) "Mutinies, Government and the people" (1858), etc., etc. Kissory Chand conducted it for several years with considerable ability, when his failing health led him to give it up and incorporate it with the *Hindoo Patriot*.

Kissory Chand was one of the oldest members of the Bethune Society. Here also, as in every other institution, he took a leading part in the discussions, and was a valuable acquisition to this Society, as a member. At a meeting of the Society, held at the theatre of the Medical College on the 11th December 1862, under the presidency of Dr. Duff, Kissory Chand delivered an able lecture on "Hindoo Women and their connection with the improvement of their country." The then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, was present. He highly eulogised the lecture, and expressed a wish that it should be published for the benefit of the public. Besides the one mentioned above, he also read papers on (1) Agriculture, on 10th March 1864; (2) Lessons

of the Famine, on 13th December 1866. He also delivered a lecture at a meeting of the Society held on 8th November 1866 to express regret at the death of Dr. Cotton, the Bishop of Calcutta.

In 1866, Miss Carpenter came out to India, on a mission to reform the Prison Discipline, and to enquire into the progress of Female Education in India. In one of the meetings held to bid her welcome, Kissory Chand, an earnest worker in the cause of female education, highly spoke of the lady. Miss Carpenter entertained a high opinion of Kissory Chand for his learning and advanced ideas. She valued Kissory Chand's opinion highly, and inserted several passages from his "Progress of Education in Bengal" as corroborative evidence of her arguments, regarding the system of education in Bengal.

Kissory Chand was also one of the foundation members of the Bengal Social Science Association and held the office of Vice-President for some time. He enlivened the Association with the following discourses :—

(1) On the Progress of Education in Bengal. (24th July 1867).

(2) On the Festivals of the Hindoos. (30th January 1868).

He invariably rose up after the reading of papers for discussions which was invited by the President. The off-hand remarks made by him were always interesting and instructive.

In 1859 he was elected a Member of the British Indian Association. Having the power of speech, when called upon to move, second, or support any resolution, he took a conspicuous part. Whenever he spoke, he

commanded the attention and applause of the meeting. The following are some of his important discourses :—

(1) At a meeting in honor of Sir John Peter Grant on 16th April 1859.

(2) To address Sir Charles Wood, M. P., in 1863.

(3) To vote thanks to Mr. Fawcett, M. P., and the electors of Brighton on 26th November 1872.

(4) To do honor to the memory of Prosonno Kumar Tagore on 29th October 1868.

(5) Education and Roadcess Question 2nd September 1868.

(6) To do honor to the memory of Ram Gopal Ghose on 22nd February 1868.

(7) To do honor to the memory of Hurris Chandra Mukherjee on 12th January 1861.

(8) Permanent Settlement Question on 3rd April 1871.

(9) To do honor to the memory of Raja Sir Radha Kant Deb in 14th May 1867.

Kissory Chand was a fearless advocate of his country's interests. Whether in the newspaper columns or in the committee rooms of the British Indian Association or in the Town Hall he never shrunk from speaking out on any subject, however his sentiments and expressions might prove offensive to the powers that be.

Mr. James Routledge in his *English Rule in India* writes, "as a Hindoo he was one of the most fearless I ever met, and I could see, though I only met him twice, one of the most scornful of all unworthy cringing to Europeans. He belonged to a brave little band of native men in Calcutta whom no Government can well afford to neglect, and whom no wise Government would wish to neglect."

He had a ready wit and fine delivery and his speeches, though sometimes smelling of the lamp, were generally effective. The best speech he made was the one he delivered at the Non-Exemption Meeting at the Town Hall in 1857. To satisfy the reader we quote below a few lines from it :—

I further maintain, and my opinion is supported by ten years' experience, that the exemption of British subjects from the Mofussil Courts, operates most prejudicially on the interests of the great mass of natives, and is in fact, a gross and grievous wrong to them. It is tantamount to irresponsibility to law, and impunity to crime on the part of the privileged few, and to denial of justice to the subject many; will any man tell me that natives are under the same protection as British subjects, so long as the latter are amenable to another law, and triable by the Supreme Court only?

* * * * *

While I admit all the defects of the Judicial and Police establishments, I cannot acknowledge the justice of exempting from their operation a small section, consisting of persons who settle in the Mofussil for their own advantage, of their own free will, and not of compulsion. I repeat, I see no reason why those persons would be exempted any more than the Hindoos, and Mohamedans, Frenchmen, and Germans, Americans and Russians. If the courts are good enough for the millions of India, they should be good enough for a "small body of dominant men." "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," why, our British fellow-subjects are ready enough to invoke the protection of the courts when their indigo is damaged by trespassing cattle or other cause. Why should they then repudiate the same courts when they are charged with forcing the cultivation of indigo? They would work them freely and frequently against the rival zemindar, or the defaulting ryot. Why should they then ignore them when complained against by the zemindar and the ryot? I do not, Sir, for the life of me, understand why they should avail themselves of the courts when they have anything to gain, but should deny their authority and denounce their decision when they have anything to lose. The exemptionists fall into a serious error, when they suppose that under all circumstances, and at all times, and for their own exclusive advantage, they can import the institutions, laws and privileges of British subjects into the places to which they are attracted solely by the prospect of benefit to themselves. The thing is not only impracticable, but in many cases, were it to take place, it would lead to the practice of the grossest injustice and to the systematic oppression of the natives whose rights are equally entitled to respect. Englishmen sought India—India did not seek Englishmen. The laws of this country are made for tens of millions of the children of the soil, and not for a few hundreds, or a few thousands of the conquering race who may please to cast in their lot in the Mofussil for their advantage. It is for them to balance the probable gains of temporary expatriation against the evils and privations incident to their new sphere of enterprise. It is for them to accommodate themselves to the laws of the new country, and not to demand that Westminster Hall should be translated into every zillah and every pargana."

Mr. W. Cobb Harry wrote in the *Englishman* on the next day that four Mittras* have won the day.

In conversation he was a capital hand *at repartee* and he was so full of pleasing anecdotes and flowing wit that it was a pleasure to hear him at the table. He had a wonderful faculty for imitation, and he would imitate the mannerisms of public men so well that any one hearing him outside a room could hardly make out that the speaker was an imitator. Kissory Chand was an agreeable companion. Amiable, cheerful and communicative, he spread sunshine wherever he went. He was generous to a fault. He was more of a gentleman, in the English sense of that word, than most of his countrymen. In the general intellectual commotion which succeeded the torpor of the age which had gone by, he took a leading part. He had undoubtedly faults, but what man can say that he has no faults. His faults, which he had in common with other men, arose chiefly from his sociable disposition. The *Hindoo Patriot* of the 11th August 1873 said: "One thing, however, must be said of him that whatever his faults he injured only himself and nobody else. As an accomplished writer, a fearless advocate of his country's interests, and a zealous worker, he has left a void, which, we fear, cannot easily be filled up."

As for his charitable disposition and his dealings with his friends we quote the following reminiscences of Bholanath Chunder, the only class-mate of his still living. When Michael Modhoo Sudan Dutta returned from Madras, Kissory Chand was the Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. Michael returned like a true poet without a sixpence in his pocket. One Mr. Tucker,

* The four *Mittras* were Kissory Chand, Degumber, Rajendralala and Peary Chand. They took an active part in the meeting.

choosing to go away from the Police to the Small Cause Court, made room for Michael to be taken in as interpreter by Kissory Chand. Kissory Chand treated Michael in the spirit of a friend and not as a superior. In this Kissory Chand was an honorable exception to most Bengalees in power, who are generally tyrants over their nation.

Kissory Chand was not only well versed in literature, science and philosophy, but also read books concerning agriculture, horticulture and floriculture and made them his favourite studies, thus filling his mind with knowledge of every description. He used to attend the Medical College to hear lectures on botany, and many a medical man still recollects the fact of his sitting by them with a stick in his hand, listening patiently to the lectures which seemed a bore to the embryo-graduates.

Though not a registered Brahmo, he promulgated the teachings of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore. In a public meeting he once humorously declared we are all for the *Adis*, none for the Keshavites!

All these exertions began to tell seriously on his health. He fell sick, and was laid up with dropsy. Doctors were sent for and medicines administered but all proved of no avail. Doctor Rajendra Dutt, the renowned homeopath and a class-mate of Kissory Chand, by his uncommon dexterity, checked the progress of the disease for a short time. Although suffering much from the pains and pangs of disease for the last few months his pen was not idle, he used to dictate several articles for the *Calcutta Review*. The doctor forbade all exposure, but active minds are never at rest. Hearing that a meeting was going to be held at the Calcutta

Public Library, of which he was a proprietor, he attended it, despite the remonstrances of his brother Peary Chand. On his return home, he felt a shivering. Doctor Charles and other medical practitioners attended, but could not afford any relief. They therefore advised the removal of the patient to Calcutta for change, the air being noxious on account of the rainy season. The patient was accordingly removed to Shambazar in a precarious state. During the last stage of his illness, such was his repugnance to medicine that he would take it out of nobody's hands, except those of his brother's, who himself a *chevalier de la plume*, used to guide his tastes and studies. The love which the brothers bore to each other was exemplary. A blood vessel in the brain having been ruptured, the patient grew worse, and his soul was freed from its earthly coil, to hold union and communion with the Almighty Father, on Wednesday, the 6th August 1873, at 11-30 P. M.

After his death, the British Indian Association passed the following Resolution on the 8th September:—

“That the Committee of the British Indian Association desire to record their unfeigned and profound sorrow at the death of their colleague, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra. This mournful event has deprived the British Indian Association of a most able, energetic and devoted member, and the country of an accomplished public writer and speaker, a zealous champion of the people, and an enlightened and earnest advocate of all matters connected with their intellectual, social and political advancement.”

The story of his life has been briefly told. It will be seen that by sheer dint of his high intellectual attainments and force of character he rose to eminence and

distinction. As a man of letters, a lecturer, and a debater at literary and political gatherings the services rendered by him are varied and variable and deserve the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen. Endowed with some of the choicest qualities of the head and the heart, genial, independent and a devoted worker in the cause of his country, he was a man of whom any nation and any age would be proud. As an ardent worker in the cause of his country and as a promoter of every object calculated to ameliorate the condition of his countrymen his name will be remembered by his countrymen with feelings of deepest veneration. Such noble and disinterested services will give him a high place in the temple of fame and his countrymen will remember them with feelings of pride and will heartily echo the poet's lines :—

He was a man, take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again.

S. M.

Art. IV.—BRITISH PHILISTINISM AND INDIAN ART.

IN India when the struggle for political supremacy is over, and the dust of present day popular controversies laid, and impartial history sitting either at the heart or in the midst of the ruins of a vast empire will declare its verdicts the gravest charge that the British in India will have to answer will be the charge of destroying the exquisite arts of India. This we have heard asserted by dilettantes as well as by scholars, by amateurs as well as by experts. In this crusade against "British philistinism"—as at least one expert has called it—the van has been led by men like Forrest, Growse and Havell—men whose authority and competency to speak on the subject cannot well be gainsaid. Of course there is much difference between the sober sense of the ex-Director of Records to the Government of India, the calm but clear protest of the rebuilders of Bulandsahar, and the impassioned indictment of the artist. But in effect they all speak the same thing,—the British have, without the least shadow of necessity, imported things "out of character with the climate"* and wholly out of place in India, and thereby paved the way of Indian art to decay and destruction.

The British have been in India for a pretty long time, and the influence of the conquerors has considerably influenced the life of the conquered—the influence of England having filtered down to the masses. The time, we think, has come when an attempt should be made to see how far the British can be and should be held responsible for the decay of Indian art.

* Forrest—*Cities of India*.

The decay of the exquisite art industries of India has often been discussed. But attempts to revive the dead and preserve the dying have invariably ended in failure. It is unprofitable to deplore a decay which no amount of regret could have prevented or even arrested. "The old order changeth yielding place to new." As the unit of society the family has given way to the individual; the village community of India has only a historic importance now; with the introduction of the powerful energies of steam and electricity individual handwork is being supplanted by wholesale manufacture. The patronage of a community or the fashion of a caste cannot give an industry a permanent lease of life or even place it in a tolerable state of preservation. The want of the mass and not the demand of a class should be consulted, the laws of demand and supply must be satisfied—to make permanent industries thrive. Therefore no amount of vituperation shot down before the door step of the Government can revive the individual handwork for which India was once famous—until it can successfully compete with machinery.

India to-day is not what she was before. Her civilisation—ancient and hoary with age—has undergone a great change. The atrophied views of the East have been quickened with the life blood of the West. Her peoples have been inspired with new ideas, new aspirations, new ideals. A new era has dawned for her; and her place in the "federation of the world" is no longer what it was before. The clash of two diverse civilisations has shaken the foundations of society and washed away many cherished customs and popular prejudices to which time had lent the sanctity of religious ordinances. And it is only natural that to meet the ever-increasing demands of this age of an ever-widening circle of activity Indian

industries should undergo the necessary change. In the progress of a nation regrets should only help the onward march.

"We are witnessing in India only one aspect of a process that is going on throughout the world, that has long ago extinguished the old manual industries of England, and that is rapidly extinguishing those of China and Japan. Nothing can stop it. The power loom will drive out the hand loom and the factory will get the better of the workshop, just as surely as the steam car is advancing and the hand-pulled punka is being replaced by the electric fan."* Handicrafts grow into manufacture, trade expands into commerce.

"India" says Mr. Havell, "is intended both by the nature and by the genius of her inhabitants to be a hand-worker's paradise".† True the Indian handicraftsman has his peculiar advantages.—"He has his assured place, inherited from father to son for a hundred generations, in the national church and State organisation; while nature provides him with everything to his hand, but the little food and less clothing he needs, and the simple tools of the trade"‡

But these have not been able to stay the steady decay of Indian industries—to check the progress of great industrial revolution working wonders in the country.

It is now needless to dread the introduction of machinery into India. "Steam power has driven hand labour out of all the markets for ordinary (that is to say non-artistic) goods. Large factories for spinning and weaving have sprung into existence all over India and are year by year being multiplied. The outcry against them

* Lord Curzon—Opening of the Delhi Art Exhibition.

† *East and West*.

‡ Birdwood—*Industrial Arts of India*.

has been misguided and sentimental. To bolster up the effete methods and appliances of bygone times would of necessity involve the suppression of national progression and the exposure of India to an even fiercer foreign competition than that at present. However much Indian art may be injured or individuals suffer, progression, in line with the manufacturing enterprise of civilisation, must be allowed free course and the endeavour should be to aid rather than obstruct the progress of India's manufacturing enterprise" *.

"Already in Europe," says Mr. Havell, "there are signs that indicate that before many generations have passed we shall come to regard many phases of the last century's industrial development as a hideous nightmare. When electricity has taken the place it will eventually take in our industrial system, there can hardly be a doubt that many industries will return to the villages and many pestiferous rookeries in the great towns will be cleared off the face of the earth." †

But we cannot sit idle till that time comes and wait for an opportunity that may come in the distant future long after the lips of competition have blown out the industries of India, and when nothing can revive the vanished spark. Only let us hope the experience gained in Europe and America in these matters will not be lost upon us—that machinery should be made "the servant and not the master of men" and that we shall understand "what things may be done by machinery, and what must be done by handwork, if art is to be of the slightest consideration in the matter."

But if the decay of the art-industries of India is to a great extent natural, the decay of her arts cannot

* Watt—*Indian Art at Delhi*.

† *East and West*.

be said to be exactly so. And their decay can, perhaps, yet be arrested.

The history of art in every country is contained in the history of its architecture. This is true in all civilised countries where architecture has reached the dignity of an art. This is more than true in India. For, in India, the people "untrammelled by rules and gifted with a feeling for the beautiful" produced marvellous results in the department of decoration; and made sculpture and painting decorative. Here Architecture led the other arts and gave them their tone. "The sculpture of ancient India, originating as it did in religious tendencies and destined to serve religious purposes, could only follow its own immediate purpose in sacred representations; otherwise it was, and remained, simply decorative and always connected with architecture.....According to the view of life prevailing among the Hindus, purely artistic execution never found scope in the existence of schools, but only in sporadic instances. The sacred figures themselves even came to be employed again decoratively."* If the carved stones of Buddha-Gaya prove that in India sculpture was the handmaid of architecture, the paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta show that the case was the same with painting also. The triumphs of Indian art have been triumphs in architecture—sculpture and painting,—carved stones and brilliant colours only helping the work of architecture.

This triumph of ancient India in architecture was carried on in unending succession to the days of the Moghuls, who were great builders. The deserted capital of Akbar, the fairy hall of Shah-Jehan all testify to the ingenuity with which the hereditary art workman

* Gramwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.

of India could blend the traditions of the art of his conqueror with the traditions of his still more ancient art. The slowly elaborated processes by which Indian art progressed to perfection left an undying impress on the mind of the people which has endured to our own day. And that is the reason why in India art is still more a part of national life than it is elsewhere. "In India art is no luxury; it is the common property of the poorest and the richest. The art of the peasant is just as real and just as true as the art of the greatest maharaja."*

Years back Fergusson—perhaps the greatest authority on the subject—wrote: "Architecture in India is still a living art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action. In Europe, at the present day, architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system, and to see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of commonsense and that, when so practised, the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory. Those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant uneducated natives of India are now producing, will easily understand how success may be achieved; while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems can now be seen practised side by side—the educated

* E. B. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*

and intellectual European always failing because his principles are wrong; the feeble and uneducated native as inevitably succeeding because his principles are right. The Indian builders *think* only of what they are doing and how they can best produce the effect they desire. In the European system it is considered more essential that a building, especially in its details, should be a correct copy of something else, than good in itself or appropriate to its purpose; hence the difference in the result."*

A recent writer in the *Nineteenth Century* has written in the same vein:—"India is the only part of the British Empire where the æsthetic sense of the people, in spite of all that British philistinism has done to suppress it, strongly influences their everyday life. It is pitiful to find, even in semi-European cities like Bombay and Calcutta—where nine out of ten of the imposing public buildings built for the official administration flaunt before the native gaze the brutalities and vulgarities of the worst English nineteenth century architecture—that one may go into a back slum and see a modern Mahomedan mosque or Hindu temple, in which the native workman, in naive admiration, has borrowed the details from these Gothic or Classic atrocities, and continued by the unconscious exercise of his inner æsthetic consciousness to build something which defies all the musty cannons of scholastic architectural law, but yet reveals something of that essential spirit of beauty which all living art possesses. In places more remote from European influence the houses, mosques and temples built by native workmen of the present day, who have had no other education than the traditions of their fathers, are hardly less eloquent than

* *Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

the nobler monuments of the past in their silent protest against the stupid materialism and the false classicism with which the art of the West would instruct the art of the East."*

But however much all may deplore the fact that the British in India have not fully utilised the splendid skill of the hereditary art workman of India, and often overlooked the fact that the native mason, if he is allowed to work out his own ideas without too minute instructions, can consult the convenience of those for whom he builds and—assimilating what is suggestive of foreign culture shape the buildings according to the requirements—we cannot bring the charge of philistinism or vandalism against the British in India.

Elsewhere we have said that the early settlers of the Old John Company—who had no dream of a vast empire in the East with infinite power for good or for evil, paid little heed to the indigenous arts of India. With their characteristic insularity and the national prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon race that what is good for the Anglo-Saxon is good enough for the rest of the world, they disregarded their surroundings and, in architecture, imitated the models found in their island home. It satisfied their love of prestige, and reminded them of their home beyond the seas. And this was most unfortunate, for the formal and cold classicism then fashionable in England was hopelessly irreconcilable with oriental ideas of art. †

What is more unfortunate is that it takes a very long time and, perhaps, also great strength of mind to change the traditions of a Government in any department.

* Mr. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*.

† *Vide The Calcutta Review*, January 1903.

There is yet another reason why a much desired change in Government architecture in India has not been brought about. Every one interested in art will remember Ruskin's indictment that in Europe all the pleasure that the people of the nineteenth century take in art, is in pictures, sculpture, minor objects of virtue, or mediæval architecture, which they enjoy under the term "picturesque." They take no pleasure in modern buildings, the reason being that modern European architecture, working as it does, on known rules and from fixed models is more a manufacture than an art. "No true art, whether expressing itself in words, colours, or stones, says the same thing over and over again: the merit of architectural, as of every other art consists in its saying new and different things: to repeat itself is no more a characteristic of genius in brick and stone than it is of genius in verse or prose." When taste in England is defective and corrupt it is only natural that the training of engineers and architects there would be defective and corrupt. And it is this training which is responsible for those buildings which "offend the eye and haunt the imagination in every station of India from Simla, Calcutta and Bombay to the smallest mofussil town." The condemnation which the system has suffered must be admitted to be deserved. What little we can say in its favour we shall say afterwards.

Since the British in India have found themselves the masters of a vast empire in the East it has always been their earnest endeavour to do their duty by the people. And they have done it boldly and fully where their own interests have not suffered by it. Their acts of "vandalism" have always been accidental, and never intentional, i.e., the result of a fixed principle to

bring about the decay and ultimate destruction of the arts of the country.

Of these acts of "vandalism" Lord Curzon has spoken thus: "In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's Palace at Agra, which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV., but had somehow never been despatched. In the same *régime* a proposal was made to lease the garden at Sikandra to the Executive Engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was so solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the removal of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Mahomedan pillar, over 600 years old, which was demolished at Aligarh, to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some *bunniahs'* shops, which, when built, were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindu-Mussulman mosque at Ajmere were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the Viceroy of the day was to pass. James Fergusson's books sound one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder and the military engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners. Climb the hill top at Gwalior and see the barracks of the British soldier, and the relics, not yet entirely obliterated, of his occupation of the Palace in

the Fort. Read in the Delhi Guide-books of the horrors that have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks and messes and canteens in the fairy-like pavilions and courts and gardens of Shah Jehan. It is not yet 30 years since the Government of India were invited by a number of army doctors to cut off the battlements of the Fort at Delhi, in order to improve the health of the troops, and only desisted from doing so when a rival band of medical *doctrinaires* appeared upon the scene to urge the retention of the very same battlements, in order to prevent malarial fever from creeping in. At an earlier date when picnic-parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they wiled away the afternoon by chipping out fragments of agate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen." *

But if here and there stray cases of vandalism have been committed through the ignorance of administrators or the mistake of our zealous officials, have we not got English statesmen who have publicly deplored them and declared that the conservation of ancient monuments is "one of the primary obligations of Government;" English officials who have set examples by adopting the Indian style of architecture in buildings, English artists who, in a fit of generous indignation, have called their own countrymen "philistines" who "in the name of European culture and civilisation crush out the artistic feeling of the Indian peoples" † and who would fain declare like Byron—"the last, the worst, dull spoiler, who was he?" But we in India have seen acts of

* Ancient Indian buildings.

† E. B. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*.

vandalism perpetrated by people of alien faith which make us stagger when we hear of the charge of vandalism brought against the British Government of India which has done and is still doing much for the art relics of ancient, mediæval and Mahomedan India.

We agree with Mr. Havell when he says: "For the last fifty years at least we (the British) have had at hand a really effective instrument by which, without spending an extra rupee, without schools of art, without museums and without exhibitions, we could have stimulated the whole artistic intelligence of the people and brought prosperity to the principal art industries. This instrument we have deliberately thrown away. Let us examine this point carefully. In European architecture of the last few centuries there has gradually grown up a hard-and-fast distinction between architecture and building—the same false distinction which is commonly made between artistic work and useful work. The natural consequence was that the builder became less and less an architect, and the architect less and less a builder. Gradually the builder became an unintelligent tool in the hands of the architect, and the architect, instead of evolving artistic ideas from structural necessities, came to regard his art either as a screen for concealing the ugliness of construction or as a means of forcing construction into certain conventional modes which he wrongly called 'styles.' With the total loss of artistic expression in building which we reached in the middle of the nineteenth century, European architecture degenerated into a confused jumble of archæological ideas borrowed from the buildings of former times." *

* Vide the *Nineteenth Century*, February 1903.

We have said before that this corruption of taste in England is to a great extent responsible for the Public Works Buildings in India which must come in for their share of deserved condemnation from an artistic point of view, in spite of their being in very good company. And this is why the Indian Public Works engineers have seldom attempted to study the architecture of the country, and have "always worked on the blind assumption that the native architects have only built temples and mosques, forgetting that we (the British) ourselves have destroyed, or allowed to decay, most of the civil buildings which the Mogul and other Indian architects constructed."

Over and above the excuse of corruption of taste in England Indian Public Works Buildings have yet another excuse for their "standard plans." We deplore their uniformity, their "soulless and depressing monotony" which pays but little or no regard to local conditions as regards material, or the habits of the people, or the capacity of the workman, and which is not conducive to convenience of design, excellence of construction, or economy in expenditure." But we are ready to admit that this uniformity probably facilitates the orderly arrangement of records in the central bureau, and is therefore highly approved by departmental authorities.

And if the Government insists on uniformity for convenience why is it said that by doing so it crushes out the artistic feeling of the Indian peoples; and how is it that the charge of making architecture a Government monopoly is brought against the Government of India? In England nobody will think of following the lead of the Government in such matters, specially when the Government style is far from artistic. But in India the case is different—specially in the case of the

class which, in these matters, should take the lead, and set an example to the masses. A word of explanation is necessary here.

Says Mr. Havell : " The one conspicuous fact which must force itself upon the attention of anyone who seriously studies the artistic condition of India is that in the real India, which exists outside the semi-Europeanised society we have created, art belongs as much to the everyday life of the people as it did in ancient Greece. In Europe we play with art as a child plays with a toy, not knowing of its use except as a play-thing. The artist is a specialist who is called in by those who can afford to pay for the amusement ; but art is always more or less a frivolity which serious and sensible people dispense with as much as possible, except when it happens to be fashionable.* In the Hindu social organisation there are no schools of art, no art museums, but art lives and is felt as much by the ryot as by the maharaja.

" In the typical Hindu village every carpenter, mason, potter, blacksmith, and brass-smith, and weaver is an artist, and the making of cooking-pots is as much an artistic and religious work as the building of the village temple. So throughout our vast Indian empire there is a most marvellous store of artistic material available for educational and economic purposes, such as exists

* This reminds us of an incident connected with Carlyle.—" A bowed-down and world-weary old man stood at the foot of a stately marble staircase in a house at Palace Gate. He was quaintly dressed, and his rugged, thoughtful and time-worn features wore a curious expression as he gazed wonderingly upon the splendour of the entrance hall of the West-end mansion to which he had paid a visit. For himself this old man had been content during more than forty years with a cheap and unpretending dwelling in a modest street leading off the Thames Embankment at Chelsea. Still he gazed at the marble pavement, at the dado, and at the white marble columns, and still his wonder grew ; until turning at length to the handsome and picturesquely attired gentleman who stood at his side he blurted out a characteristic question :—' Has paint done all this ' Mr. Millais ? ' ' It has ' the artist replied with a laugh. ' Then,' rejoined the old man—who was none other than Thomas Carlyle—' Then all that I have to say is that there are more fools in the world than I thought there were '—*The Review of Reviews*, vol. xi., 1895.

nowhere in Europe."* This is to a great extent true. For, if the social system of India in which the position of individuals was fixed and the position of the artist was far from high—afforded but little encouragement to the genius of the artist outside the pale of a recognised caste, it served to preserve the art sentiment of the people, and encouraged art by giving the hereditary art workman a free hand in his own work. Thus the artist did his work unhampered by too minute and embarrassing instructions. And trained by steady practice his hands gained a cunning which produced, and even now produces, the domestic utensils " where beauty clings sadly to religion in the midst of an exquisite home life."† This is why in India a high general level of decorative excellence had obtained, and even the tools and objects of domestic utility had been made beautiful. And this is why in India—where building and architecture had always been one, the master mason being both builder and architect, just as he was in Europe in the middle ages—architecture has continued to be a living art down to the present day.

The un-Anglicised typical Indian still clings to his old habits and old traditions with a pertinacity which must command our admiration, and without which the destruction of Indian art would have been, by now, an accomplished fact. " In India almost the only class in the native community that still encourages indigenous art is the much abused trader and money-lender. No that he is moved to do so by any artistic bias, but simply by force of habit. If he decides upon building a new porch to his house, he calls in the mason of most reputation in the neighbourhood, shows him the site and explain

* Vide *The Nineteenth Century*.

† Okakura—*The Ideals of the East*.

what is wanted. Perhaps the materials in whole or in part are also supplied, but the workman is then left to his own device, on the presumption that he best understands his own business; in the same way as a tailor, after taking his customer's measure and being furnished with as much cloth as he wants would be trusted to turn out a garment properly stitched, of the desired description and of the same cut as other people wear. The result of this confidence is ordinarily most satisfactory to both parties; the workman's manual labour is relieved by the sense of independence, and elevated by the exercise of thought; while the paymaster attends to his ordinary affairs during the progress of the undertaking, and in the end gets his money's worth as in any ordinary mercantile transaction."*

This leaving the workman to his own device has its own peculiar advantages. It is a sound maxim, which holds good in small matters as in large, that it is well to trust the people you employ. If you cannot trust a man, do not employ him. Moreover the artist "if he is to do his best, must be the autocrat of his own work, having over it the same responsible independent command as a Commander-in-Chief has over his army in the field."†

But if the mercantile classes of Indian society are distinguished by their conservative adherence to ancestral usage, the landed gentry, the cultured classes, and the aristocracy who are on visiting terms with Europeans cherish equally strong aspirations in the opposite direction. They pretend to like everything English, and their chief ambition is to imitate the English taste. In architecture they adopt the style which is

* F. S. Growse in *The Calcutta Review*, 1884.

† Conway—*Domain of Art*.

stamped with official approval, though in rococo vulgarity scarcely anything could be found to surpass it. They never pause to consider the fact that the Government buildings are not good examples of art. Only considered as "temporary makeshifts for the deposit of departmental returns, or the casual shelter of distressed officials" they might pass uncriticised. But they think that if the Government chooses to lodge its servants in buildings of "shed and godown" pattern, they must go and do likewise. We do not know if this sickening show of loyalty raises them in the estimation of a people with whom manly self-respect is a great virtue. But before the world it demonstrates the depth of degradation to which the aristocracy and plutocracy of India have sunk.

In the matter of setting a bad example the Provincial Governments situated in the centres of Indian art, are worse offenders than the Supreme Government; and their influence is spread over a much wider area. The aristocracy and plutocracy of India—whose taste has been almost hopelessly vitiated—adopt in architecture the style stamped with official approval, and, to suit the buildings, bring foreign articles of furniture, etc. Thus bereft of patronage from the proper quarter the indigenous arts of India languish and decay.

Some people hold that in every age and every country the upper and monied classes—so repeatedly condemned by Carlyle—are "too materialised to have any intelligent appreciation of art. They understand the fashionable, and are ready to admire the magnificent; but the more delicate refinements of design, which constitute the special charm of the artist's conception, and which it is the student's greatest delight to trace and interpret, are mostly lost upon them." The magnificent

products of art in which their names live, and with which their names are handed down to posterity only satisfy their variety by being expensive, while the artistic charm is supplied entirely by the creative genius of the artist. But the art relics of ancient dynasties make us pause before we accept such an assertion. And it is a well-trying maxim that art must begin in the upper classes of society. But in modern India the aristocracy and the plutocracy are not *materialised*, but *degenerated*. They not only do not appreciate art, but affecting a taste for "Brummagen Art" decry the exquisite arts of their own country. This is due, partly to their training and partly to the system of education which makes them "rub each other's angles down," and lose all reverence for their ancient past, which gives them knowledge without character, makes them men without strong individuality—men minus backbone.

Thus the circumstances are different in India.

And that is our only excuse for saying that here the duties of the Government are different too. It is therefore that we ask the Government to adopt, as far as possible, indigenous styles of architecture in its buildings, and thereby set an example to the people who would easily follow the example of the Government. This must have been the excuse of the indignant artist who took the "white man's burden" rather too seriously and declared: "Even the Goths and Vandals in their most ferocious iconoclasm did less injury to art than that which we (the British in India) have done and continue to do in the name of European civilisation. If the Goths and Vandals destroyed, they brought with them the genius to reconstruct. But we, a nation whose æsthetic understanding has been deadened by generations of pedantry and false teaching, have done all that indifference

and active philistinism could do to suppress the lively inborn artistic sense of the Indian peoples. All that recent Indian administrations have done to support and encourage art is but a feather in the scale against the destructive counter influences, originating in times less sympathetic to Indian art, which have been allowed to continue under their authority." *

But in his indignation against his own countrymen and harassed by an exaggerated sense of responsibility he has lost sight of the fact that there is another thing which has done infinitely more to bring about the decay of Indian art than the bad example set by the Government. For after all *Indian philistinism* and not *British philistinism* is the chief cause of the decay of Indian art.

As the preservation of the arts of a country is a duty of Government, and in India, the vitiated taste of the aristocracy and the plutocracy cannot be improved unless the Government sets an example to undo the civil influence of a long standing bad example, the Government should adopt the policy of using, as far as possible, Indian styles of architecture in its buildings.† We say "as far as possible" purposely. For, it is only natural—and, to some extent, necessary that the influence of the English should leave its mark on Indian art, as the influence of the Moslems has already left clear traces on it.‡ "It must be expected that English fashions will be largely represented in the artistic development of the immediate future. The change is inevitable, and, in so far as it is a witness to historical facts its avoidance

* E. B. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century*.

† "The worst mischief is perhaps done by the architecture foisted on the country by the Government of India, which, because it is the architecture of the Government, is naturally thought to be worthy of all imitation."—Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*.

‡ "Mohammedan forms became modified by Hindu builders, and Hindu forms received an influence from the florid taste of the Mohammedans."—Manning—*Ancient and Medieval India*.

would not be absolutely desirable, even if it were possible; for all ultra-purism is unnatural, unhealthy and bad. When the assimilation of new matter ceases, decay must begin.* Only the amalgamation, to be complete, must be gradual—the necessary and inevitable changes being made in the indigenous style which should preserve as much of its characteristics as possible. The change, in other words, should be left to the tranquil operation of time, and careful guidance of correct taste.

In this connection we recall with pleasure the words of Lord Curzon uttered when opening the Art Exhibition in connection with the Delhi *durbâr*—words for which every Indian feels grateful to him—"The Exhibition is intended as an object lesson; it is meant to show what India can still imagine, and create, and do; it is meant to show that the artistic sense is not dead among its workmen, but all they want is a little stimulus and encouragement; it is meant to show that for the beautification of an Indian house or the furniture of an Indian house there is no need to rush to the European shows at Calcutta or Bombay, but in almost every Indian state and Province, in most Indian towns, and in many Indian villages there still survives the art and there still exist the artificers who can satisfy the artistic as well as the utilitarian taste of their countrymen, and who are competent to keep alive this precious inheritance that we have received from the past."

But to fulfil this "strictly patriotic purpose"—as Lord Curzon called it—it is necessary that in India the Government should set an example. For in every country—and specially in India—the public taste should be correctly guided, not so much by direct educational

institutions, such as schools of art, museums and exhibitions as by the persistent stimulus of practical example. So long as the necessity for the latter is ignored, the former tend rather to the "isolation of the artist" and the restriction of art influences to the connoisseur; instead of bringing them to bear upon society at large.

And in India the people on whom we have mainly to depend, members of the aristocracy and the plutocracy, may be unable to understand the true motive of the actions of the Government, and to imbibe its spirit, but are, alas, too ready to imitate its examples. They, too, should not forget that the responsibilities of wealth and culture are heavy on them, and they should discharge their duty by their own people.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

* F. S. Growse in the *Calcutta Review*.

Art. V.—THE BURDEN OF EMPIRE.

ONE of the imperial questions of the hour is naval defences, and the part which the Colonies should play therein. Rival schools of experts and writers advocate either that they should merge their individuality in a common scheme, or that the naval programme of each overseas territory should be primarily directed by itself; while it is admitted on all sides that the Mother Country is bearing an enormous burden which the Colonies should lighten as much as possible seeing that they benefit as fully from the Navy as she herself does.

The present financial assistance furnished by the Colonies towards the maintenance of the Imperial Navy is insignificant compared with the total expenditure of the United Kingdom and is valuable mainly as signs of their good will. India contributes £161,000 per annum, but as she also bears so great a share of the military burden of an imperial character, she does not come within the purview of this momentous question. Australasia's subscription amounts to £126,000 each year, the Cape Government pays annually £30,000, and Natal's donation takes the form of 12,000 tons of coal. It will be noticed that neither Canada nor Newfoundland give any aid, but it is only fair to admit that the latter colony is scarcely in a financial position to do so, but she can and is willing to supply men to form a Naval Reserve that could be utilised in the event of war.

It is therefore evident that the present naval contributions of the Colonies amounting to about 1 per cent. of Britain's naval expenditure do not cover the cost of

squadrons which could be more profitably employed if the contributions did not exist. This last condition has been fulfilled in the case of Canada, with the result that England is now enabled to withdraw ships from both sides of North America, and to reduce Halifax and Esquimalt to inexpensive cadres.

The Colonies owe their wonderful development, which in a few score of years has changed them from unexplored wildernesses to prosperous, wealthy, and self-governing States, to the prestige and acknowledged power and efficiency of the British Navy which is really and truly the navy of the United Kingdom, for its prestige is the precious heritage of its people. It was their daring which created it, and their sacrifices alone and unaided which have maintained and still maintain its acknowledged strength and power.

The essential condition of the existence of the whole fabric of Empire, the pride and boast of all its citizens is predominant sea-power, but the burden of maintaining it is left to those who live in the Mother Country to bear. For instance, any man who lives in the British Isles and pays taxes, bears his share of the cost of the Navy, but should he transfer his abode to Canada, he still continues of course to be a British citizen, and as such entitled to the same naval protection for his oversea trade and business as at home, but he at once ceases to pay a single penny towards the provision of the Navy, and thus gets for nothing all the advantages of a predominant sea-power.

Under these circumstances, the Colonies are really cities of refuge for those who desire to be members of a great empire free of the cost necessary to provide, not only for its security, but for the protection of their commerce on any and every sea in which they may desire

to do business. There is no other nation in the world where the resources of only a part bear the entire cost and responsibility of providing what is necessary to secure against attack the existence of the realm as a whole, or the retention of anyone of its several component parts.

That such a one-sided system can continue much longer is impossible. The United Kingdom will in the long run be unable to meet the ever-increasing demands of a costly navy. As an industrial unit England has long ago been outstripped by the United States. It is at this very moment being outstripped by Germany, and may even, in a future not so very remote, be outstripped by Japan and Russia. The burden of maintaining a two-Power standard at sea, and keeping up an army sufficient for the policing of the Empire has already proved heavy enough to the Mother Country, but the question then arises, "What will she do when the United States and Germany seriously begin to compete with her for naval supremacy?"

There are only two alternatives: either the Colonies must equitably share with the Mother Country the cost and responsibility of providing what is essential for general security; or the task of furnishing sufficient force and armaments to protect the whole empire in time of war must be left unfulfilled, or, in other words, attempt to continue its existence on sufferance. The latter alternative can only present itself after all hope is extinguished of the adoption of the former, so the immediate question is what, if any, are the prospects of the acceptance by the Colonies of any such proposition.

Will they recognise the debt that they owe to the Mother Country for the protection she has afforded

them during their years of infancy, by coming forward now to bear some of the grievous burden which must be borne in the interests of all, though it falls at present unequally on the various parts of the Empire. Surely it ought to be possible to arrive at some scheme whereby there may be established a really imperial Navy, a fleet that shall be invincible; the greatest instrument for peace in the world. In face of the growing rivalry of foreign Powers an arrangement of this character gives the best promise for the maintenance of the Navy at a requisite standard of safety. Efficiency demands that there should be some workable system of defence, and the task of finding a solution to the problem which the need presents should not be beyond the achievement of the Empire's statesmen.

The British Empire depends for its continuance on the continued command of the intervening seas by the British Navy, and the fact should be recognised in a practical manner, for unless the ocean tracks followed by the trade of the Mother Country and the Colonies are dominated by warships flying the white ensign, the imperial fabric cannot hold together.

G. GREENWOOD.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS. By Paul Denssen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. Authorised English Translation by Rev. A. S. Goden, M. A. Edinburgh : T. and. T. Clark.

To the students of Indian philosophy, Dr. Paul Denssen is no stranger, and, therefore, needs no recommendation. He is an Oriental scholar of great eminence and possesses the coolness, the impartiality, and the critical acumen of the philosophic mind. The readers of the *Calcutta Review* will remember that in 1896 the Proprietor of the *Review* secured for the benefit of its readers the sole right of publication of the only authorised English translation of Dr. Paul Denssen's great work on the System of Vedanta.

In the pages of the book before us the reader will miss the singularly unfavourable judgment which Mr. Archibald E. Gough pronounced in his *Philosophy of the Upanishads* published at first in the *Calcutta Review* (Vols. LXVI, LXIX and LXX.) The average Englishman moves in a narrow groove and thinks that whatever is peculiar to England is superior to everything else that exists in the world. This explains much of the attitude of Mr. Gough towards the religion and philosophy of the Upanishads. Lord Curzon spoke the truth when he said—"One of the defects of the Anglo-Saxon character is this, that it is apt to be a little loud both in self-praise and in self-condemnation. When we are contemplating our virtues we sometimes annoy other people by the almost pharisaical complacency of our transports. But equally, I think, when we are diagnosing our faults we are apt almost to revel in the superior quality of our transgressions." Dr. Denssen is free from the prejudices of the Englishman. He has taken pains to understand the real spirit of Hinduism and has made an earnest effort to present the religion and philosophy of the Upanishads in their true colours. The present work, though forming the second part of the author's *General History of Philosophy*, is complete in itself, and has for its subject the philosophy of Upanishads, the culminating point of the Indian doctrine

of the Universe. "The thoughts of the Vedanta," says Dr. Denssen, "became for India a permanent and characteristic spiritual atmosphere, which pervades all the products of the later literature. To every Indian Brahman to-day the Upanishads are what the New Testament is to the Christian." "So significant a phenomenon," continues the Doctor, "deserved and demanded a more comprehensive treatment than it had yet obtained. And my hope is to remove in some measure the cloud which hitherto has obscured this subject, and to exhibit order and consistency in place of the confused mass of contradictory conceptions which alone had been supposed to exist." It seems to us that this hope of the author has, to a very large extent, been realised. He has achieved an amount of success in this direction never before attained by any other scholar, European or Indian.

Dr. Denssen thinks that the Upanishads have a special and very remarkable inner relation to Christianity. "The Upanishads are for the Veda what the New Testament is for the Bible." "The primitive standpoint of righteousness by works is represented in the Bible by the Old Testament law, which corresponds in the Veda to that which the Indian theologians call the *Karmakanda*. Both the Old Testament and the *Karmakanda* of the Veda proclaim a law, and hold out the prospect of reward for its observance and of punishment for its transgression. And if the Indian theory has the advantage of being able to defer retribution in part to the future, and by that means to relieve the conflict with experience that raises so many difficulties for the Old Testament doctrine of a retribution limited to this world, it is, on the other hand, the distinguishing characteristic of the Biblical law of righteousness that it pays less regard than the Indian to ritual prescriptions, and, in their place, lays greater stress on a habitually blameless course of life. In itself, however, and as far as the moral value of an action is concerned it makes no difference whether a man exerts himself in the service of imaginary gods or in that of his fellowmen." Both the New Testament and the Upanishads recognise the worthlessness of all works, and make salvation dependant not on anything done or left undone, but on a complete transformation of the natural man as a whole. Both

regard this transformation as a release from the bonds of this all-embracing empirical reality, which has its roots in egotism. Why, then, do we need a release from this existence? Because it is the realm of sin, is the reply of the Bible. The Veda answers,—Because it is the realm of ignorance. The former sees depravity in the volitional, the latter in the intellectual side of human nature. The Bible demands a change of the will, the Veda of the understanding.

Professor Denssen divided the system into four fundamental divisions:—

(1) Theology: the doctrine of Brahman as the first principle of all things.

(2) Cosmology: the doctrine of the evolution of this principle to form the Universe.

(3) Psychology: the doctrine of the entrance of the Brahman as soul into the Universe evolved from him.

(4) Eschatology and ethics: the doctrine of the fate of the soul after death, and the manner of life which is therefore required.

What is the meaning of the word *Upanishad*? According to Sankara, the *Upanishad* were so named because they “destroy” inborn ignorance, or because they conduct to Brahman. A part from these interpretations, justifiable neither on grounds of philology nor of fact, the word *Upanishad* is usually explained by Indian writers by *rahasyam*, i.e., secret; the universal tendency of antiquity, and of the circle which produced the *Upanishads* was in the direction of keeping their contents secret from unfit persons. Another explanation has recently been put forward by Oldenberg according to which *Upanishad*, precisely as *upāsāna* would have originally meant “adoration,” i.e., reverential meditation on the Brahman or Atman. According to Denssen Oldenberg’s explanation is open to serious objection, and should be dismissed altogether, and that offered by the Indians (*rahasyam*=secret) should be accepted as the correct one.

What is the fundamental conception of the *Upanishads*? On this point Professor Denssen says: “All the thoughts of the *Upanishads* move around two fundamental ideas. These are (1) Brahman, (2) Atman. As a rule these terms are employed

synonymously. Where a difference reveals itself *Brahman* appears as the older and the less intelligible expression, *Atman* as the later and the more significant; *Brahman* as the unknown that needs to be explained; *Atman* as the known through which the other unknown finds its explanation; *Brahman* as the first principle so far as it is comprehended in the Universe, *Atman* so far as it is known in the inner self of man.” In the conception of unity as it is expressed in the words of the *Rig Veda* “*ekam sad viprā vahudhā vabanti*”—“the poets give many names to that which is one only”—the fundamental thought of the whole teaching of the *Upanishad* lay already hidden in the germ. For this verse really asserts that all plurality, consequently all proximity in space, all succession in time, all interdependence of subject and object, rests only upon words or, as was said later, is a mere matter of words, and that only unity is in the full sense real. The first to grasp the conception of the *ātman* in its complete subjective precision, who, therefore, laid the foundation of the *Upanishad* doctrine proper, is Yajñavalkya (himself mythical throughout) whose teaching is a daring, uncompromising, eccentric idealism, and may be summed up in three propositions:—

(1) The *ātman* is the knowing subject within us.

(2) The *ātman* is the knowing subject—itsself unknowable.

(3) The *ātman* is the sole reality (*satyam, satyasya, satyam*): for it is the metaphysical unity which is manifested in all empirical plurality.

“Metaphysical knowledge,” says Denssen, “impugns the existence of any reality outside of the *ātman*, i.e., the consciousness. The empirical view, on the contrary, teaches that a manifold universe exists external to us. From a combination of these antagonistic propositions originated the doctrine which in all the *Upanishad* occupies the largest space, and which may be conveniently described as heathenism—the universe is real, and yet the *ātman* remains the sole reality, for the *ātman* is the universe.”

“The one *ātman* and the manifold universe, often as they were brought together, always fell asunder again. A natural step was therefore taken, when more and more as

time went on instead of this unintelligible identity the familiar empirical category of causality made its appearance, by virtue of which the *âtman* was represented as the cause chronologically antecedent, and the universe its effect; and thus a connection with the ancient Vedic cosmogony became possible."

Theism is a further chronologically later stage of development which first arises at the period at which the supreme and individual souls appear contrasted with one another.

With the recognition of a real universe external to the *âtman*, and the division of the latter into the supreme soul and a multitude of individual souls the preliminary conditions of the later *sankhya* system were satisfied. When powers of creation and movement were assigned to matter itself God became superfluous, and there were left only *prakriti* and a multitude of individual *purushas*. A reconstruction of the theism was attempted in the *yoga* system which in harmony with its later origin builds upon the bases of the *sankhya* system a *yoga* practice which depends upon the teachings of the Upanishads.

As regards the fate of the soul after death the Upanishads propounded the doctrine of deliverance. "Deliverance is not effected by the knowledge of the *âtman*, but this knowledge itself is already deliverance. He who knows himself as the *âtman* has recognised thereby the world of plurality and the desire occasioned by the plurality to be an illusion which can no longer lead him astray." But the semblance of empirical knowledge persists, and it is a consequence of this that deliverance appears to be first attained in all its completeness after the dissolution of the body. The theory, therefore, was formed of the way of the gods, on which the emancipated were led after death through a series of bright stages to union with *Brahman*, "whence there is no return."

But what becomes of those that die without having known themselves as the *âtman*? For good or evil deeds there is recompense of joy or suffering in the other world. In contrast with the immortality of the perfected there remained for others the prospect of enduring in the other world, together with other misfortunes a renewed necessity of death." Thus arose the

Indian doctrine of transmigration, which really means,—“a man becomes good by good works, evil by evil,” or, in other words, “according to the work which he does so is he rewarded.”

Emancipation consisted on its external phenomenal side.—

(1) In the removal of the consciousness of plurality.

(2) In the removal of all desire, the necessary consequence and accompaniment of that consciousness.

To produce these two states was the aim of two characteristic manifestations of Indian culture—

(1) Of the *Yoga* which by withdrawing the organs from the objects of sense and concentrating them on the inner self endeavoured to shake itself free from the world of plurality and to secure union with the *âtman*.

(2) Of the *Sannyasâ*, which by the “casting off from oneself” of home, possessions, family and all that stimulates desire seeks laboriously to realise that freedom from all the ties of earth in which a deeper conception of life in other ages and countries also has recognised the supreme task of earthly existence, and will probably continue to recognise throughout all future time.

We have read this volume with great pleasure and profit, and we are quite confident that it will be welcomed by all students of philosophy as the most valuable exposition of the religion and philosophy of the Upanishads written by one of the most sympathetic and erudite of European scholars.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS OF HONORABLE JOHN COMPANY, BEING CURIOUS REMINISCENCES ILLUSTRATING MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA DURING THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM 1600 TO 1858 WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF PLACES AND PEOPLE OF THOSE TIMES, etc., etc., etc., compiled from newspapers and other publications by W. H. Carey. Calcutta: R. Cambray and Co. 1906-1907. 2 vols.

The old Greeks used to say, “A great book is a great evil and a lengthy preface is a greater one.” Fortunately, in bringing out a reprint of the book under notice, the publishers have not added to the “greatness of the evil” originally done by

Mr. William Henry Carey by introducing it to the public by a lengthy preface. In a very modest way, they inform us that the present edition is merely what it professes to be, a reprint, though "one or two obvious errors have been corrected by footnotes." The *raison d'être* of the present reprint is stated thus:—"The present valuable work had long been out of print and become exceedingly scarce, owing, no doubt, to the fact of the three volumes of the former edition not having been published simultaneously, a complete set was very difficult to obtain, and a reprint was in demand. Accordingly we have acquired from the heirs and executors of the late compiler their right, title and interest in the work, with the object of placing it within the reach of antiquarians, students of Indian history, book collectors and the general public." Thirty years ago, when the book was first published, its author or publisher or compiler never claimed that the book would be of much use either to the antiquarian or to the student of Indian history, for he plainly said in his own preface that it was first taken up as an amusement during the leisure hour. The late Mr. Carey never thought that his book possessed that amount of historical research and investigation which alone could entitle his work as an accurate historical work; on the other hand, he candidly said that he did not aspire to be a historian. From newspapers and other works of doubtful historical accuracy, he took merely paragraphs containing amusing events, and by the aid of paste and scissors, threw them into something like a narrative. This was all that he did. The work was never meant seriously for the student of Indian history, for no attempt was made by the compiler to verify his "paragraphs" before they were thrown into the narrative. As such, we do not quite find the justification of the present publishers' claiming the right of reprint for the object of placing it within the reach of antiquarians and students of Indian history. Thirty years ago when the early history of the Honourable John Company was concealed in the archives of the India Office from public knowledge, the antiquarians and students of Indian history might have found in Mr. Carey's work something new and auxiliary to their stock of knowledge, but thirty years after when a vast amount of information is available to the public on the early days of the East

India Company through the labours of antiquarians and students of Indian history, to advance a plea in the way in which it has been done by the publishers to justify the reprint, seems to be absurd. Every student of Indian history now knows fully well that all that the late Mr. Carey put in his work thirty years ago is now more or less incorrect. In spite of the present publishers' attempt to correct one or two obvious errors by footnotes, they should know that a vast deal of inaccurate matter still remains in the book, which can only be rectified by a thorough over-hauling of its contents. By reprinting them in their original form, the publishers have perpetuated those errors which have already been exploded and have unwittingly made themselves liable to the charge of being abettors in a wrong-doing which they should have avoided by allowing their "reprint" to be properly edited by a competent person.

Had Mr. Carey's *Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company* been an original work, there might have been some justification for its unpurged reprint, but when it was at first only a reprint of newspaper cuttings, of unverified selections and newspaper comments, it would have been well, had the publishers been good enough to check the errors which the late Mr. Carey in perfect good faith and for the sake of public amusement, made current by throwing them into his narrative. But now when the reprint is done and published most successfully, such comments are "too late;" they are like "cryings over spilt milk." Hence we think it would be better if we can point out as many errors as the present reprint contains, to warn the reader not to take them as facts. So far as the printing and the getting-up of the reprint are concerned, they have been excellently carried out by the firm of R. Cambray and Co. The paper on which the book is printed is excellent; the printing is fine and the portraits of Lord Minto added are excellently done. The credit of these entirely belong to the publishers.

The original edition appeared in three volumes, but the reprint is done in two. The first volume is divided into 32 chapters and the second into 37 with two chronological index tables at the end. Each one of these chapters can be rewritten now with greater accuracy and larger details. For instance, the

first chapter on "First European Settlers in the East" will be now regarded as obsolete as the information on the subject is plentiful and abundant. Sir William Hunter's "History of India" will enable every reader to get far more accurate knowledge on the subject than he can derive from Carey. Besides, what the author compiled thirty years ago requires now great modification. This remark equally holds good with the other chapters of the book. They are now more or less obsolete. A striking instance of this is to be found in page 34, Vol. I, where Carey merely reproduces a current *gup* about Job Charnock rescuing a beautiful young Hindoo widow from becoming a *suttee* and appropriating her as his wife. This is all nonsense. This ancient myth had been long ago exploded by the publication of the "Diary of William Hedges" by the Hakluyt Society. Hedges, who was a contemporary of Charnock thus says on Charnock's marriage: "When Charnock lived at Pattana (Patna) upon complaint being made to ye Nabab that he kept a Gentoo's wife (her husband being still living or but lately dead) who was run away from her husband and stolen all his money and jewels to a great extent, the said Nabab sent twelve soldiers to seize Mr. Charnock; but he escaping (or bribing ye men) they took his vakeel and kept him two months in prison, ye soldiers lying all this while at the Factory gate, till Mr. Charnock compromised the business for Rs. 3,000 in money, five pieces of broadcloth and some sword blades." It would thus appear to have been a simple case of elopement. Mrs. Charnock was a native of Behar, and the marriage had taken place long before Charnock was transferred to Hughli as the successor of Hedges.

But as such statements are very many in number in the book, it is impossible for us, within the limited space, to cull them out for the readers. We, therefore, point out here only the most prominent ones. In chapter 15 of Vol. I, the author jots down some notes on the Calcutta press. As the subject has never been written upon historically and as it concerns us most, we beg to review it at length. According to Carey the first newspaper was called the *India Gazette*, an organ of the Government and published in Calcutta anterior to 1774. This is not correct. Dr. H. E. Busteed, in his "Echoes

from Old Calcutta," has given a most satisfactory description of the life and death of the first Indian newspaper which was the *Bengal Gazette* published by James Augustus Hicky on Saturday, 29th January 1780 as a weekly paper. The *India Gazette* came after Hicky's *Gazette* in November 1780. When it was published, it was conducted by two private gentlemen and had no concern with the Government of the country, which only patronised it by allowing their advertisements to appear in the paper. Besides this privilege, the *India Gazette* never became "an organ of the Government" as Carey described it to be. For a full history of the *India Gazette*, the reader is referred to the articles on the "History of Calcutta Newspapers" that appeared in the *Englishman* (Calcutta) in February and March 1906. Similarly Carey was incorrect in stating that "in 1817 was published the *Friend of India* at Serampore." The first number of the quarterly *Friend of India* was published on the 30th April 1818, that of the monthly in 1820 and that of the weekly on the 1st January 1835. The history of the famous paper is told by the late J. C. Marshman in his "History of the Serampore Mission, Carey, Marshman, and Ward." But a fuller account appeared in the *Englishman* as referred to above. Further on, we are told that the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, under the editorial management of Captain D. L. Richardson, appeared in 1825. This account is not correct. When Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co. published the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* in 1826 Captain D. L. Richardson was not in India. He came back to Calcutta in 1829 and in the following year, began to edit the paper, which from January 1833, became his sole property.

In his account of the Vernacular Press of Bengal, Carey describes *Durpun* as the first Bengalee newspaper. But it appears from the Rev. Mr. Long's Return on the Native Press that before the publication of *Sumachar Durpun*, there appeared in 1816 a Bengalee newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette* edited by one Gangadhar Bhattacharya. *Sumachar Durpun* came out in May 1818, and even before that, a Bengalee monthly, called *Dig Dursun*, was published from the Serampore Press. As such, *Sumachar Durpun* was the third Bengalee newspaper. As Mr. Carey did not publish all the circumstance

under which *Sumachar Durpun* first appeared, we give below the account as it is very interesting. J. C. Marshman writes: "It appeared (in 1818) that the time was ripe for a native newspaper and I offered the missionaries to undertake the publication of it. The jealousy which the Government had always manifested of the periodical press appeared, however, to present a serious obstacle. The English journals in Calcutta were under the strictest surveillance, and many a column appeared resplendent with the stars which were substituted at the last moment for the editorial remarks, and through which the censor had drawn his fatal pen. In this state of things it was difficult to suppose that a native paper would be tolerated for a moment. It was resolved therefore to feel the official pulse by starting a monthly magazine in the first instance and the *Dig Dursun* appeared in April 1818. It was composed of historical and other notices, likely from their novelty to excite the attention of the natives and to sharpen their curiosity. In the last page, in smaller type, some few items of political intelligence were inserted. Two numbers were published, and copies sent to the principal members of Government and the fact of the publication was widely disseminated by advertisements in all the English papers. As no objection appeared to be taken to the publication of the magazine, though it contained news, it was resolved at once to launch the weekly paper and to call it by the name given to the earliest English news-letter, the *Mirror of News* or the *Sumachar Durpun*. But Dr. Carey, who had been labouring fifteen years in India during the period when the opposition to missionary efforts and to the enlightenment of the natives was in full vigour, was unfavourable to the publication of the journal, because he feared it would give umbrage in official circles and weaken the good understanding which had been gradually growing up between the missionaries and the Government. He strenuously advised that the idea of it should be dropped, but he was overruled by his two colleagues, Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward. When the proof sheets were brought up for final examination at the weekly meeting of the missionaries the evening before the day of publication, he renewed his objections to the undertaking on the grounds he had stated. Dr. Marshman then offered to proceed

to Calcutta the next morning and submit the first number of the new gazette, together with a rough English translation of the articles to Mr. Edmonstone, then vice-president and to the chief secretary, and he promised that it should be discontinued if they raised any objection to it. To his great delight he found both of them favourable to the undertaking. At the same time he transmitted a copy of the paper to Lord Hastings, then in the North-Western Provinces, and was happy to receive a reply in his own hand highly commending the project of endeavouring to excite and to gratify a spirit of inquiry in the native mind by means of a newspaper, and thus was the journal established. A copy of it was sent with a subscription book to all the great Baboos in Calcutta, and the first name entered on the list was that of Dwarka Nath Tagore. On the return of Lord Hastings to the Presidency, he endeavoured to encourage the undertaking by allowing the journal to circulate through the country at one-fourth the usual charge of postage which at that time was extravagantly high.

"A fortnight after the appearance of the *Durpun*, a native started another paper in Calcutta with the title of *Timirunasuk*, 'the destroyer of darkness,' but it did not continue long to shine. At a later period arose the *Sumachar Chandrika*, or the 'moon of intelligence.' It was projected and edited by a Brahmin, Bhobani Churn Banerjee, a man of extraordinary powers of intellect and humour, and of the greatest energy and master of a Bengalee style of surpassing ease and elegance. He was a Brahman of Brahmans, and his journal became the organ of the orthodox Hindoos, of which the late Raja Radha Kant Deb became the great champion, after the death of his father. For more than ten years, the *Durpun* and the *Chandrika* fought the battle of progress on the one side and of Hindoo conservatism on the other. At length came the great event of the abolition of suttees which agitated native society to its profoundest depths. The *Durpun* supported the abolition, the *Chandrika* denounced it in no measured language. In order, at this critical period, to increase the popularity and the influence of the *Durpun*, I gave it in Bengalee and English in parallel columns, and the circulation immediately rose beyond the level of its rival.

Both journals have left a numerous and flourishing progeny which is continually on the increase. I feel confident that this notice of the lineage of the family will not be devoid of interest in this the third generation of editors." This is the account given by J. C. Marshman of the origin of the *Samachar Durpan*, and certainly this is more interesting and authentic than the one given by Carey.

Regarding the early history of the Bengalee literature for which Carey used only an article from the *Bengal Magazine*, we have now so much information on the subject that most of what is reprinted seems to be quite obsolete and inaccurate. The masterly work of Baboo Dinesh Chandra Sen, for which he has been rewarded by the Government of India with a literary pension for life, has thrown everything hitherto known on the subject into useless matter. As such, no one would care to read now what is reprinted. In describing the working of the censorship on the Indian Press, Carey remarks that the press was first brought into use in India by the Portuguese, who established some presses at Goa. On this point the late Dr. Richard Garnett of the British Museum, has a very interesting paper on "*Introduction of European Printing into the East*," being the transactions of the second International Conference. From this paper, we learn that the first book printed by Europeans in any part of Asia was produced at Goa in 1556, two generations, be it noted, after Vasco da Gama reached Calicut by the Cape. This was the *Catechism of Doctrine* of St. Francis Xavier. The printing press, it will be seen, followed missionaries rather than merchants. There was another press worked by Portuguese missionaries in 1577, at Ambalacatta which produced books in Malayam. Colombo, though on the oldest Eastern trade route, had no press till 1737. Bombay got the printing press in 1674, when Mr. Harry Hills was sent out by the Court of Directors at a salary of £50 per annum with a printing press, types and considerable quantity of paper. Macfarlane states that printing was practised at Madras from 1772, and an official printing press was set up at Calcutta under the direction of Mr. Wilkins (or Sir Charles as he afterwards became.) But coming to the description given by Carey of the working of the Censorship, we do not find a satisfactory account. When the

East India Company ceased to exist in 1858, and the Crown succeeded them, a Parliamentary paper was published showing how the press of India worked in their *régime*. In that account a most detailed description was given regarding the working of the Censorship on the Indian press. It seems strange now why this paper was not utilised by Carey for his purpose as it is the most authentic state document on the subject. Even in the reprint, no mention has been made of this Parliamentary Return on the public press in India, which is more valuable and informing than what Carey snapped together from newspaper trifles. Similar is the case with the account given by him of the deportation of James Silk Buckingham, the redoubtable editor of the *Calcutta Journal*. In 1834 a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat to consider the case of his deportation, and in their report, we can now find the whole history of the *Calcutta Journal* from its beginning to end. Carey failed to use it, we know not why. Hence his account is not only inaccurate, but even misleading. The publishers should have corrected by footnotes some glaring mistakes in the account after consulting the Parliamentary Return on Buckingham's case. Besides, not a line is to be found in the book about the origin of the *Calcutta Review*, a periodical in which the problems of Indian life and administration received an amount of attention which they had not attracted before, unless in rare books like those of Shore and Sleeman. In May 1844, the late Sir John Kaye, assisted by Alexander Duff, John Clark Marshman, Henry Lawrence, Arthur Broome, B. N. Cust, Hippisley Marsh and others started the paper.

Carey's account of ancient Calcutta is equally unsatisfactory. Dr. C. R. Wilson's "*Early Annals of the English in Bengal*" and Mr. A. K. Roy's "*Short History of Calcutta*" (Census Report) have brought to light so many facts on the early history of Calcutta that it seems quite strange why Carey's account has not been supplemented by these authentic records at the time of reprint. Of the dates given by Carey of the movements of the English in Bengal, the majority are incorrect, and as they are most obvious, they should have been corrected by footnotes. The advance of the English from the Coromandel Coast up the Bay of Bengal was primarily due to

the enterprise of local officers. In March 1633, the Company's Agent at Maslipattam, meeting with a growing scarcity of cloth in that place, resolved to open up a trade with the fertile provinces at the mouth of the Ganges. A party of eight Englishmen set sail in a country boat, reached Harishpur at the mouth of the river Patna in Orissa and thence ascended the river some eight miles as far as Kosida. Here they took the high road to Cuttack and repaired thence to the court of Mukunda Dev in Fort Barabati where they were received by the reigning Nawab with great kindness. Aga Muhammed Zaman Tehrani, the Nawab, granted them permission to build factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in the same year 1633. This is the correct account of the initiation of the trade in Bengal by the English. Wilson thus corrects a popular blunder on the origin of English trade in Bengal:—"According to the legend, the English established factories at Pipli in 1634, at Hughli in 1640, and at Balasore in 1642. The truth is that the English never had any factory at Pipli except in the imagination of the historians. Sir Henry Yule, who has examined all the records extant relating to this period, has not been able to find any evidence whatever of any such thing. Bruton gives us the authentic account of the origin of the English factory at Balasore. It was established there by Ralph Cartwright in 1633 A. D. in response to an invitation from the Governor Mir Qasim (*sic*). Even without Bruton's circumstantial account of the origin of the English factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in 1633, I should have thought that Day's letter would have shown our historians that the Balasore factory was established some years before 1642. Day says:—'Do not abandon Balasore after all your trouble and expense.' This implies that the English had already come there, yet the historians perversely argue that the English came to Balasore in 1642." This criticism goes directly against Carey as against any other historian who supposed that the initiation of the trade in Bengal was due to a farman supposed to have been granted to the English by Shah Jahan on the 2nd February 1634 allowing them liberty to trade in Bengal, but confining them to Pipli. Wilson says:—"I have taken no notice of this story for the following reasons. The only evidence produced to prove that

there was such a farman is a letter from the Council of Surat dated the 21st February 1634, in which they state that on the 2nd of that month, they received a farman of this description, but they go on to say, somewhat incredulously, that they had received no English letter or syllable, private or public, directly or indirectly, concerning this or any other business. I may add that from that day to this, no one has ever heard or seen one English letter or syllable, private or public, directly or indirectly, concerning this farman, and that there is no evidence that the English in Bengal ever went to Pipli, or ever heard that they had been permitted to do so. I may also point out that if the farman was granted at Agra on the 2nd of February it could not have arrived at Surat on that same day. The farman, of course, originated in the imagination of the native interpreter, who was employed to translate the despatch from Agra and who did his best to please his masters according to his lights. Such farmans and rumours of farmans were common enough in those days, and we see that they did not put much faith in the story at Surat; yet it has been solemnly repeated as history ever since."

In page 16 of Vol. I we find again an account of the service which Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the *Hopewell* did to the English in securing trade privileges in Bengal. That the current account is false is proved by Wilson. He says:—"According to our historians, Boughton was sent for in consequence of a sad accident which had occurred at the Mogul Court. The Princess Jahan Ara was the eldest and best beloved daughter of Shah Jehan. 'Returning one night from visiting her father to her own apartments in the harem, she unfortunately brushed with her clothes one of the lamps which stood in the passage. Her clothes caught fire, and as her modesty, being within hearing of men, would not permit her to call for assistance, she rushed into the harem in flames; and there was no hope of her life.' It was to attend the poor burnt princess that Boughton was summoned to Agra, say our historians, and it was through his skill that she recovered. Sir Henry Yule has not been able to find any confirmation of this story on record. The accident happened in 1643-4 (not in 1636 as Carey writes) Boughton was sent, it appears, at the

beginning of 1645, in which case he must surely have arrived too late. Besides, the native historian who tells us of the accident, also tells us that a famous physician was brought expressly from Lahore to treat the case." Further on Wilson says:—"It is very doubtful, however, whether Boughton ever secured any grant at all for the English. In 1650 when we last hear of him he is still promising and not performing. In 1651-2 Bruce and Stuart tell us that the English in Bengal obtained a *nishan* from Shah Shuja. If it could be shown that they did get a *nishan* in this year, and that Boughton was then living, we might conjecture that his influence had something to do with it. But neither of these conditions can be established. There is nothing to show that Boughton was still living and influencing Shah Shuja in 1651-52 and there are considerable doubts as to whether any *nishan* was granted by the prince in that year, etc."

Thus the current blunder has been thoroughly exploded by Wilson in his monumental work on Bengal. But the publishers in bringing out a reprint of the book containing the current blunder did not think it worth their while to at least doubt the account by a footnote with some reference to Wilson's researches. Then again that time-honoured error which for want of information, all the English historians, Orme, Stuart, James Mill, Macaulay, and others committed, remains in the reprint of Carey's book without correction. It is an obvious error—Omichand. His name most frequently occurs in the history of the first supremacy of the East India Company in Bengal in the years 1756 and 1757. When Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah (not Suraj-ud-dowla as appears in Carey) attacked Calcutta, the short-sighted policy of the English merchants led to great loss of life and property to him. He was one of the leaders in the conspiracy against the Nawab, immediately before the battle of Plassey. And he was the first sacrificial offering when Clive won the victory at Plassey and the British Lion first stalked the Indian soil. Who was this Omichand, to what race did he belong and what was his religion?

Lord Macaulay following his previous historians has given a high place to Omichand by depicting him as the "artful Bengalee." It was certainly no fault of Carey when he merely

echoed that in his book for he was merely a compiler. But now the real information about Omichand's name, religion and birth-place has come to light. The Hon'ble Justice Saroda Charan Mitter has discovered a document from the records of the Calcutta High Court which is a facsimile of the original Will made by Omichand. From this we come to know that his real name was Amir Chand and not Omichand which is only a corruption of the real name; that he was a Sikh by religion—a Nanakpanthi or a follower of Nanak Guru Govind; that he was a Panjabi by birth. The Will is written in "Mahajani Nagri" and not in Bengalee. With the exception of a few legacies, he left the whole of his fortune to Shri Govindji Nanak. These real facts have proved the assertions of the historians to be all untrue. Hence in reprinting Carey's book the publishers ought to have stated all these new informations—if not all, at least the indubitable fact that a facsimile of the original Will made by "Omichand" has been preserved in the Record room of the Original side of the Calcutta High Court.

We have not space enough to pursue our critical notice to a greater length. To point out all the unverified statements in the book under review requires as many pages as the book contains. We have shown some of these incorrect statements, and if a favourable opportunity come, we might again take up the book for review. Suffice it to say here in concluding that the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced had the publishers appended to it a copious Index. A book of a thousand pages without an index cannot be useful to the general public; this fact, if not any other, should have attracted the publishers' attention more prominently. Nobody can say that their work of reprint is not excellently done. If they could allow "obvious errors" to be corrected by footnotes in bringing out an "unpurged" edition, they might with greater justification, have appended a copious index which was an obvious defect of the original edition. The chronological table cannot be useful to the readers in a practical way and hence an index copious and "crossing," is a great need.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Grihahārā (the Homeless)—By Narendra Nath Bhattāchārjya. [Mozoomdar Library, Calcutta.]

This tiny little book, which demands no more space than one can afford to spare for it in one's waistcoat pocket, is a rendering in Bengalee verse of Tennyson's "Enoch Arden." There are people who cannot stand a translation. But without translation no literature can be enriched and interchange of thoughts and ideas is retarded. Therefore we welcome translations of foreign works as healthy signs of the times. We remember having seen another Bengalee translation of "Enoch Arden" and that by a gifted Bengalee lady. That translation, though more faithful to the original, cannot approach the present work in sweetness of language and softness of melodious verse. Mr. Andrew Lang has somewhere said—Some arts have been lost; the art of translation has never been discovered. All translators labour after it; we seek it like hidden treasure; we never find it. You cannot pour the wine without spilling "from the golden cup to the silver." This is very true. That is exactly why FitzGerald's *Omar* is so surprisingly popular. It is, perhaps, the only translation that equals—if not surpasses—the original *Omar's* translator being—as some critics call him—himself a greater *Omar*. Considering the difficulties that a translator labours under the present rendering of one of Tennyson's masterpieces is a creditable performance. The translator's style is graceful and his command over language praiseworthy. He has, moreover, cultivated, and that with success, Tennyson's habit of collecting, hoarding, economising and utilising words. But how is it that the author has not told the reader anything about the original? He simply says—the book is an echo. That is not enough.

Pratāpāditya—By Aikhil Nāth Roy (Parishad Series, No. 2). [Gooroo Das Chatterjee, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.]

In this book the author has collected almost all extant works in Bengalee on *Pratāpāditya*, the Hindu King of Bengal, who attempted to establish an independent kingdom in Bengal during the sixteenth century. He has, moreover, furnished

these works with copious critical, historical, and explanatory notes. The originals have grown scarce and difficult to understand because of their quaint language, having been written at a time when Bengalee prose was just beginning to emerge out of the overshadowing influence of poetry. Valuable as these annotated books are the most valuable portion of the work is the exhaustive introduction supplied by the author. It is in itself a separate book of over 200 pages in which the author has given us pictures of Bengal during the sixteenth century and the hero of the book. It is a fascinating narrative in which the crumbling crennallated walls of *Pratāp's* deserted capital seem once more to ring with the clash of arms and the sound of trumpets calling the warriors to the field of battle. But kings and camps do not exhaust the purpose of history and, we are glad to note, the author has collected and arranged much information about the social condition of Bengal during the sixteenth century. The book is worthy of the author of *Murshidābāder Itihās* and *Murshidābād Kāhinee*.

Kālidās O Bhababhuti (Kalidas and Bhababhuti)—By Pandit Rājendra Nāth Vidyābhusan of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. [S. C. Basu and Company, 65, College Street, Calcutta.]

This pamphlet contains the reproduction of an essay read by the Pandit at a meeting of the Sanskrit College Club. The historic or antiquarian portion of the essay does not contain much indication of original research. But the critical portion is pleasant reading, and shows that the author is gifted with a strong critical faculty. He can, moreover, explain things without posing as a pedant, and hide the professor's dignity under the garb of a companion to the student.

Baibhārājikā (collections made in the Garden of Eden)—By Sm. Indupravā. [Sanyal and Company, 25, Roy Bagan Street, Calcutta.]

This is a collection of poems on various subjects by a Bengalee lady. The freshness of the ideas and the utter absence of artificiality about them are a pleasant surprise. The young authoress—for so she is we are informed—has the poetic vein in her. And we expect better and nobler things from her in the near future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS,

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Papers read at the Industrial Conference held at Calcutta, December 1906.
His Majesty's Rebels. By S. R. Lysaght.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXIV.

July 1907.

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

Calcutta :

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No. 249—JULY 1907.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following articles, written by the Count de Lesdain, describing the adventurous journey concluded in November 1905, by his wife and himself, should be of considerable interest to our readers. All rights of republication and translation are strictly reserved.

Art. I.—FROM PEKIN TO SIKHIM, THROUGH GOBI AND TIBET.

CHAPTER IX.

ACROSS THE ZAIDAM AND THE TIBETAN PLATEAU.

THE crossing of the dry salt lake, which forms the centre of the Zaidam depression, was most difficult, and I understand that it is not readily undertaken even with fresh animals. We started on the morning of July 25th, but under rather bad conditions, for, as I have said, our animals had not found good pasturage during the two preceding days, and the water that we had met with had been of worse than inferior quality. The men were expecting to encounter the most appalling disasters on the way, and they handled their driving whips without conviction. Evidently the great open space lying before us terrified them, and I was not entirely free from anxiety myself, for, according to the information I had gathered from the natives I had questioned at

our recent camps, there lay on the other side of the great salt crust stretches of softer mud, into which a carelessly conducted caravan might easily sink. I placed myself, therefore, at the head of the column, when, having accomplished the descent of the lake slope, which brought us to a level 600 feet lower than that which we had left, we reached the sand dunes immediately encircling the bed of the lake. After crossing these dunes we came upon a slough of mud and salt water, which, however, it was easy to cross by moving from one hardened spot to another. On all sides holes yawned in the mud. It was impossible to determine their depth but a sounding of 20 feet failed, in many cases, to reach the bottom. Some of these swamps, the most treacherous, are covered by a thin surface of dry mud, which gives way at once under the lightest weight. It is none the less easy to discover them, owing to the fact that they are always slightly lower than the really hard ground. They are usually one or two feet across at the top, and never more than three.

Having crossed the swamps we reached a stretch of dry mud with an even surface, on which the animals could proceed with perfect ease. After some time we came upon the tracks of a large flock of sheep, which had evidently crossed the lake but a short time before us, for the carcasses of the victims, left behind by the flock, were not yet decomposed. We were surprised to think that sheep should have accomplished this difficult crossing, which their slow habits must render still more dangerous, without any grass to sustain life, but the fact only proves once more what many explorers have maintained, namely that of all the beasts capable of enduring the terrible hardships of life in Tibet the sheep offers the greatest resistance and endurance. The

discovery of these tracks proved very useful to us, for I decided to follow them, thereby removing all doubts as to our course and avoiding all danger, as the animals, under the guidance of the Mongols as well as of their own instinct, had carefully avoided those places where the soft mud would have impeded their course. We were congratulating ourselves on the ease of the journey hitherto so much dreaded, when we suddenly noticed a change in the surface of the dry mud, which was now covered with flakes of hard crisp salt, lying edgewise and like the blades of a knife in many places, so that our progress suddenly became extremely laborious. The camels' feet were soon bleeding, and the mules and donkeys followed their example, for the depth of their hoofs could not protect them when they slipped on the smooth surface of the salt. In a very short time the camels could hardly drag themselves along. The poor creatures were a pitiable sight. They peered with terror into this new ground, sniffed at it, and refused to proceed further across country, which hurt them so cruelly.

Nevertheless, we were obliged to go on and reach the other side, so I gave the strictest orders that they were to be urged forward.

At night fall the caravan was divided into two parts, and of course the animals had only a meagre supply of peas to eat. We had a little water, but only for the men. A cold, moonless night fell upon the improvised camp, where man and beast strove to find rest among the broken blades of salt.

At four o'clock next morning all were astir, for none had closed their eyes a moment, and we began to sweep the horizon in hope of discovering the rest of the caravan. I was apprehensive about it, for I reflected

that if they had continued their journey during the night, in the hope of rejoining us, they must certainly have lost their way, as they had no landmark of any sort. Towards six o'clock, by the help of my field glasses I espied Hia and the camels following upon our tracks, and so soon as they had rejoined us and had, like the others, tried to appease their hunger with a little roasted millet, we continued our journey.

After a little while we noticed, on our right, a basin of pure salt which shone with dazzling whiteness. The Mongols have named it Dohoson nor, and it may be called the keystone of the great dome of the Zaidam lake. Its shape is irregular, and variable too, to judge by its borders. Its length and breadth would amount to five or six hundred yards at most. Almost immediately after leaving Dohoson nor we came upon the dry mud again, but this time without the blades of salt. But the mud was soon exchanged for a horrible mixture of earth, salt, and water, involving risk and danger to our progress, for it was impossible to avoid frequent falls into the quagmires among which we moved. Evidently this second part of the Zaidam Lake receives large quantities of water in the rainy season and when the snows melt. This opinion was still further confirmed when we reached river-beds hollowed out in the mud, and all sloping towards Dohoson nor. They were dry at this season, for the spongy soil absorbed what small amount of water they might have held.

At length, after struggling through the mud for some hours, we caught sight of a row of tall reeds in front of us. We knew that water could not be far away and that we should now be able to let our beasts rest. However, we had still to cover several miles southwards before we came upon the water in little rivers, where

we were able to pitch our tents on a favourable camping ground, to the great joy of the whole caravan. The name of the spot was Tassara, the rivers belong to a certain river and lake system which the Mongols call Tadjinar, whose waters flow towards the north, especially towards Dohoson nor which the water only reaches at certain seasons of the year.

Thus we had crossed Zaidam in two days and, on the whole, without very great difficulty. We had only had to leave two animals behind and the others would recover after a thorough rest. According to my calculations we had covered a distance of some 50 miles between Trsongin and Tassara, including certain zigzags in the course, without either water or grass. Considering that the animals had hardly had anything to eat since they left the king of Zaidam's camp, I think their endurance was indeed admirable.

After a day's rest we were able to resume our journey southward, on a flat clay soil which could easily bear the weight of the whole caravan. Here and there we caught sight of troops of ponies feeding in perfect freedom far from the tents. This would tend to prove that the country is not so infested with robbers as it is reputed to be. Our shelter that evening was a tent inhabited only by two old women, but we could hardly snatch a moment's rest, on account of the millions of mosquitoes which attacked us all night in famished hordes. Even the animals could hardly bear their bites and they had to be closely guarded to prevent their breaking away in all directions, maddened by the inflammation of the sting.

On July 29th we were on the march again, in the same direction as before, now skirting the banks of the River Tadjinar, now working away from it on the

left. There was quite a considerable quantity of water in this river, considerable for that part of the country, about two feet in depth by twenty or twenty-five in width. The effect of this precious stream is very evident in the vast green plains, capable of feeding many flocks and herds, which rejoice the eye and form a curious contrast to the desolate white and yellow of the salt desert only a few dozen miles to the North.

The number of tents was growing considerably, but the poverty seemed to increase with the population. We had not yet seen such abject poverty laid bare in the broad light of day, even among the Mongols of the North, who are ranked among the most wretchedly destitute races.

The Tadjinar people are as little hospitable as they are rich and we could not persuade them to sell us a single morsel of meat, though we begged earnestly and eloquently for it. We were in sore need of it, not having tasted meat for three days, and such was our disappointment, that for the first time in the course of our journey I decided to treat the caravan to a bullock without the preliminary of obtaining the owner's permission to dispose of his goods. Accordingly a bullet from a carbine gave us an excellent dinner and a provision against famine, without exciting the opposition of the Mongols, which I had half expected. The proprietor uttered a cry, pretended to shed a few crocodile tears, and then retired with a smile upon his lips and a small ingot of silver in his hand.

It is worthy of notice that the inhabitants of the Tadjinar district are not good customers for Russian manufactures. With the idea of reducing our expenditure I made an attempt to sell some materials brought into Mongolia by Bouriat merchants. But my advances

were energetically repulsed, and I was informed that Russian cotton materials are inferior in quality to Chinese products, which, indeed, is true.

This is in truth a curious country. The southern part of Zaidam is an almost exact reproduction of the North, as regards aridity and desolation. The fertile strip of the Tadjinar district alone breaks the desolate monotony of the desert. The mountains which we were now to attempt were rather higher than those from which we had come, but the difference in appearance went no further. The mountains which stretched indefinitely before us from East to West are called by some Tolai, by others Torai. As a matter of fact they bear the generic name of the Naitchi Mountains.

This is the name of the country which stretches southwards from these lofty peaks. The Naitchi gol flowing into the Tadjinar is an important factor in the river system of this oasis and issues from a mountain range opposite to which we had come through gorges described by the Mongols as extremely difficult to cross. Pre-valskey and Rockhill alone had attempted to follow their course for a certain distance, and they had both turned to the right and reached the populous valley where there are two encampments, Naitchi and Missuto, at a height of about 10,000 feet. My plan was to push on due south, following a tributary of the Naitchi, hitherto quite unexplored.

We had hardly entered the Naitchi Valley when our troubles began. Steep cliffs of loess rose on our right and left, the soil we trod was pure loess. There was no grass, not even roots for the animals, nor water, save in the river at the bottom of the ravine, and this river, which had cut its way deeply through a crumbling

soil, was not always easy of access. To crown all we were beset by positive clouds of mosquitoes, and in spite of all precautions, such as blocking the tent door with a mosquito net, it was impossible to enjoy a moment's rest. While taking the usual evening observations my hands were simply devoured in the space of five minutes. Mosquitoes at this height! The reader cannot be more surprised than we were, nor had we ever seen any creatures more desperate in their sanguinary work than the mosquitoes of Naitchi gol. The following day I noticed, for the first time, signs of disaffection among the caravan drivers. They had until then maintained perfect submission, or at least the appearance thereof, but, excited by stories of brigands, robbers, and cut throats, with which the Mongols had stored their minds, they suddenly changed their tone and assumed airs of mutiny. I first noticed it while on my usual rounds on the evening of August 1st. I was able to hear the men's conversation by standing close to their tent, though outside the shaft of light from their fire. They were more or less agreed upon the following points: firstly that I must be out of my mind to come to such atrocious countries when I might be living comfortably at Peking; secondly that the instruments I used for reconnoitering were nothing worth, and finally that their best plan would be to vanish during the night and let us go on alone if we were absolutely set upon an expedition which must come to a bad end. I decided that the moment for showing myself had come, and suddenly made my appearance, which disconcerted them not a little. I informed them that I had overheard their designs and should therefore take all necessary precautions; to begin with I should have all the provisions brought to my tent. I pointed

out to them how mad it would be to attempt to retrace the journey we had made from Leantchou without a European at their head. They would inevitably fall a prey to the rapacious Mongols, and would at length be frozen to death in the attempt to cross a snowy pass. On the contrary, if they would faithfully accompany us they would earn such remuneration as would raise them to the rank of important people in their respective villages. With the object of distracting their attention and to teach them a salutary lesson I made them work all night at mending the pack-saddles, and I myself was obliged to spend much time in superintendence, which I should have infinitely preferred to enjoy comfortably stretched upon my camp bed. Even had we wished to do so we could not have followed the Naitchi Valley for long. We should have been obliged to cross from the right to the left bank, and that at a point where the tributary we intended to follow joined the Naitchi, the speed and volume of water being such that we could not have accomplished a crossing.

We pushed on due south and entered a gorge, the appearance of which gave us but little encouragement. High cliffs, worn by the water's action into steep peaks and sharp angles, frequently forced us to descend to the level of the river, only to toil up again over steep, rocky and dangerous slopes. This was most exhausting, and we were making very little headway, so, after ascertaining that the depth of the torrent was not more than three feet, I sent the whole caravan into the water and men and beasts went up the rapid stream. All went well for some few miles, and if our progress was slow it was at any rate sure, but unfortunately we came to a point where the walls of loess were so close together that one could scarcely see the sky between their rocky summits,

and the torrent rapidly increased in depth and swiftness. Nevertheless I led steadily on, struggling against the water with more or less success, until my mule missed its footing and dragged me back to join the rest of the caravan. Thus we were forced back to our climbing, the perpendicular aspect of the walls of rock being, as is frequently the case, much exaggerated by the steep height of the mountains above the level of the loess. It is surpassingly wonderful to me how the creatures managed it at all, even the mules, but especially the camels with their ridiculously long legs. It is no less wonderful that after a day of such terrific effort we should find a little grassy spot whereon to rest.

Our night's rest was in no way interrupted and for the first and last time I dispensed with the watch, feeling quite sure that our best safeguard lay in the difficulty of access to our encampment.

On resuming our march on the morning of August 2nd our hopes rose somewhat at the prospect of the way before us. The surface of the loess, which the water had not touched, seemed to present a firmer and safer footing. But within a mile, we were again disappointed, for we were suddenly confronted by a perpendicular wall projecting from a mountain and falling sheer into the water 150 feet below us. I must confess that even I was a little disconcerted at this sight, especially as there seemed to be no other way. The rain which had fallen during the night had swelled the torrent, an effectual barrier even before the rain, so we were forced to face the crossing of this arête or give up the journey in this direction altogether.

I consequently undertook to make a sort of cliff path by means of our pickaxes, choosing a spot where there was already a kind of ledge in the rock. This

work, which lasted several hours, was followed by another, no less toilsome, namely the passing and carrying of all the baggage. Then came the critical moment when the animals had to be led over the path. They were pushed, held up, and hauled over with ropes, and we managed it pretty well on the whole, save for one camel which slipped over the edge and was left hanging over the abyss unable to find any foothold for its hind legs. After many and painful attempts we were able to haul it up again, but the poor creature's skin was badly torn and we could make no use of it for some time.

We encamped, exhausted, immediately after this dangerous crossing, and that night Hia, one of my best drivers, fell over a precipice while attempting to recapture a camel which had strayed in the darkness.

The poor fellow was carried back to the tents and I was glad to find that no bones were broken. Nevertheless he lay in a state of coma for some time, for his head had struck against a stone in his fall.

On August 3rd we came out upon a wide valley lying parallel with the Naitchi-gol valley, which runs from east to west. We came into it about half way down, and it stretched away in both directions, a vast and desolate waste of country. It lay about 600 feet higher than the Naitchi valley and was more desolate, though a trained eye could distinguish patches of different colours in the very far distance which were in all probability tracts of grass.

In spite of firm soil and a good foothold we crawled along very slowly that day, both men and animals being completely exhausted.

However as we slowly journeyed on eastwards I was able to make a general plan of the valley, especially of the streams. They all, without exception, rise on the

southern ridges and flow due north until their course is abruptly turned by the ridges on the northern side of the valley. There they combine and form a river, dashing down the defile through which we had come with so much difficulty.

Many of these streams flowed through deep layers of loess in which no vegetation was possible. In the very few spots where a little grass had struggled into life a few kyangs were peacefully grazing. Though it seemed a cruel and all too easy sport to kill these graceful creatures, I decided to victimise one of them, with the object of giving some meat to the men and of economising our store of rice and flour.

At a distance of about 27 miles from the spot at which we had entered the valley we came to a ridge, which divides the streams into two different water systems.

The rivers still flow from south to north, but, instead of turning off eastwards at right angles, they flow towards the west, and on the evening of August 4th we encamped opposite to a gorge very like that which had brought us into the valley, though seemingly easier of access, and evidently leading into the Naitchi valley.

The next day was somewhat sensational, for we encountered a herd of wild yaks for the first time.

The first detachment came out right in front of us as we were peacefully making our way southwards up a little stream, and I had barely time to hide the caravan behind some rising ground. I was not anxious for this meeting, for yaks have a reputation for attacking camels and baggage mules.

These superb creatures were really a grand sight, as they passed quietly before us, in number about two

hundred, calm and majestic, sweeping the sand with their long black hair, with something both of strength and pride in their bearing.

They took about half an hour to file past us, and when they had almost disappeared behind the southern chain I could not resist the temptation of a shot and fired on the last of the herd. I hit him full in the chest, but not in a vital spot; he did not fall, but, catching sight of us, came galloping towards us lashing his bushy black tail. A gulley in the loess checked his course for a moment and I lodged another bullet between his eyes which killed him instantaneously.

He was an immense creature. The thickness of the neck was perhaps the most remarkable point about him, the tough hide bore the marks of many blows from the horns of the other males in the herd. We cut off some of the meat and resumed our march. But we had not yet finished with the yaks, for a few miles farther on, in an absolutely exposed part of the country, we suddenly saw three enormous bulls, charging towards us with all the speed of their powerful, heavy gallop. I had often read in books of travel that a yak, if not mortally wounded, will sometimes charge its enemy furiously and with lowered head. But in this case the terrible creatures were attacking us even before we had seen them and our position was critical indeed. As I have said, there was no sheltering ridge to be seen, and we shuddered to think of the awful havoc the yaks would work among the heavily laden mules and the camels. Our only chance was to stop the brutes as soon as they should come within easy range. So I dismounted, and as our one chance of safety, shouldered my Mannlicher and rested the barrel on my wife's shoulder. She did not stir until the shot was fired, and to my great relief

I saw the leader fall on his knees and roll heavily over. I was about to fire on the two survivors when I saw them stop, sniff round the body of their dead comrade, and, turning back in the direction from which they had come, flee with all speed from the spot.

We soon found that the animal I had just killed was still huger than the yak I had shot in the morning. My bullet had caught him just between the eyes. We only cut off his tail as a trophy, and left him to the vultures of the desert.

By pushing steadily on we had reached what I may call a second story in this remarkable valley. We had climbed about 1,500 feet in one day, almost without noticing the rise, so easy was the gradient. I did not wish to continue the journey eastwards, for it would have led us too far away from our course, besides covering the track of other explorers; so I decided to bend to the south by a snow-covered pass, crossing the source of a glacier.

Though not in itself very alarming, this pass proved too much for two of the caravan men, who were unable to keep up with us, though they were both riding mules. We were thus obliged to encamp in a place without a blade of grass or a drop of water, for fear of losing these two men altogether. This was the more likely as a strong wind was blowing which would soon have covered the faint track which the caravan might have made in its passage over a hard soil.

Grass! grass, and rest! It was a crying need. Grass for the exhausted mules, and rest for the hard-worked men. But the question was where to find grass. All around us was a brown and sterile soil; as far as the eye could reach the great undulating waste

was barren and inhospitable. I was beginning to despair when, on the morning of August 7th as I was anxiously scanning the horizon through my field glasses, I saw several herds of antelopes, all making for a little dip on the southern mountain line a few miles away. This gave me the clue for which we yearned; the fact of so many animals all making for the same place pointed to there being water and pasturage to be found there.

We set out forthwith, but found we had to face a rocky climb of 900 feet before we could gain the pass, though, as I have said, it seemed but a mere dip in the chain when viewed from below. But we were repaid for our trouble by the superb view we now had of the mountains we had crossed the day before, on the southern side of the huge valley. The snowy peaks stood out dazzlingly bright in the sunshine and several of them now gave me an impression of much greater height than I had at first attributed to them. There was something grand and stupendous in the very desolation of the scene. We gazed upon it for a long time, in rapt admiration, yet there were still greater splendours awaiting us in the south.

I had been right in my judgment; for the descent from the pass brought us into a gently sloping valley, the sides of which were covered with grass. Judging from the enormous number of bones which lay strewn about, bones of yak, antelope, and ovis ammon, it was the *rendezvous* of all the dwellers in that desolate land, who evidently came there to find pasture when there was none elsewhere, often dying there from the hardships they had undergone. Considering what the winter must be at a level of 15,000 feet it is astonishing that any life survives.

It was an oasis indeed for people who had seen no grass, nor even a semblance of green, for days. The packmules did not even wait to be relieved of their burdens before they started grazing.

It was high time that they should find some nourishing food. We could not give them enough peas to make up for the want of grass, and five of these strong creatures were already stretched stark and stiff upon the road behind us.

We now gave ourselves up to the sheer delight of a thorough rest. I gave orders that the tents should be put up for a two days' halt among the pastures. Yaks and antelopes galloped past on every side and kyangs, full of curiosity, came to graze with our mules.

It was this very curiosity, I may say familiarity, on the part of these kyangs, or wild asses, which brought about the disappearance and subsequent loss of two of our best mules. I had given strict orders that the mules should be fettered to prevent any chance of escape, but the men, who were convinced that the creatures were too weary to dream of escaping, neglected my orders and allowed them to graze at large.

It was doubtless during the night that a company of kyangs came among our animals, and I suppose it was the sight of these fiery creatures in the joy of their liberty which decided two of our mules to join them in their life of risk and adventure.

I was obliged to send some of the caravan drivers in pursuit of the wanderers, and thus the punishment of working during a whole day of rest came upon the very men who had been guilty of such unpardonable negligence and disobedience. But this was not the end of the adventure. I had hoped to see the men back by mid-day, or, at the latest, by sundown, but I was to be

disappointed. As they had not returned by ten o'clock at night I decided to go out in search of them. My mule was saddled, I wrapped a thick cloak round me and set out, with our faithful dog Shi-Shi, whose keen scent had more than once been requisitioned for the caravan. But I had hardly started when a fearful storm broke over us, a storm of such hail and snow that every vestige of a trace was obliterated and search would have been futile. So I returned to the tents as best I could to await the following morning.

Next day, to our great relief, we could distinguish two dark figures coming towards us across the white field of freshly fallen snow. They were the two lost men, who had seen the camp from afar and were trying to rejoin us. The mules were lost for good and all. We were able to trace their shoe prints for about ten miles, intermixed with the tracks of the kyangs, but then they were lost upon a hard surface which had retained no impression. It was useless to make any further attempts. The only wise course was to push on.

From our comfortable camp we left the valley by an easy descent and reached the wide plain which lay to the south. From there I could see that the valley we had just left was only one among many others of the same shape. But while the others were barren ours was watered by a little stream which never ran dry.

As we advanced we began to realize the nature of the plain and its dangers. On all sides of us were bogs, pools of water and stretches of grass. For two or three hundred yards one could walk safely on firm soil, then suddenly one's feet would sink into soft, deep mud, out of which it was most difficult to struggle.

There were rivers flowing here and there, which would lose themselves in the sand and suddenly reappear

a little way off. This indicated the presence of many streams, some with a visible course and others subterranean.

There was no lack of game, from the little straight-horned antelope to the largest yak. But there was no trace of human habitation, no vestige even of human existence. This was a tract of country quite off the beaten caravan track, and the abundance of game proved that the foot of man never trod this inhospitable soil.

We spent several days crossing this great plain, travelling first south-south-west, then west by south. An abundance of water, of grass and of game rejoiced our hearts and we should have been quite happy had it not been for the quagmires from which we could not altogether escape. Some of them were so extraordinarily concealed that the most experienced eye could not detect them. They occasioned many a fall and indescribable confusion, especially when we had to cross two rivers, presumably tributaries of the Yangtse Kiang, judging by the direction in which they were flowing. Welby, the English explorer, often camped upon the banks of the second of these rivers when he was crossing North Tibet between Kashmir and China. The lake scenery here was often very charming. Grassy dunes framed the sheets of water and numbers of wild duck rested on the still surface. Of these I made a regular massacre, for a wild duck cooked in its own gravy, served with rice and fried potatoes is the Tibetan equivalent for a dainty supper at Paillard's! Unfortunately these sumptuous feasts are of rare occurrence, and the menu consists as a rule of boiled rice, potatoes, millet, and occasionally a slice of grilled yak. When it was very cold we used to take a glass of Chinese wine to warm us, and personally I have never experienced the ill-effects

which certain explorers attribute to brandy taken at high altitudes.

I recollect how one day, when I was on in front of the caravan, I suddenly came upon a grassy place, behind a sheltering bank of sand dunes, where two great yaks were peacefully feeding. The nearer of the two was but 30 yards away and I quickly shouldered my rifle without even dismounting. The bullet hit the spine of the first animal, and the second fled away. Approaching then with my revolver I fired at the beast's head, at which it merely shook its mane. It was wounded in six places before it expired: surely a proof of extraordinary vitality.

This journey of a few days' duration across an almost level country was one of the pleasantest parts of the expedition. But unfortunately it did not last long, and we were to face fresh difficulties only a few days later.

On August 12th we left a defile in which we had found plenty of grass, growing indeed two feet high in some parts, though of an extremely coarse fibre. We emerged, by a pass 900 feet above the plain we had just left, upon a plateau where a curious effect was produced by the heaps of sand which stood out in sharp contrast against the darker soil beneath.

We crossed this new plateau in three days, covering a distance of about fifty miles in a south-south-westerly direction. We were occasionally on good soil, but much oftener on quicksand or horrible bogs. The last day was the worst, and we were obliged to desert a camel which had sunk in so deeply that we could not save it, especially as it manifested a complete and obstinate inertia in the whole matter. We crossed many streams, all flowing towards the south-east, and the

reader has by this time realized what is involved in the crossing of a Tibetan river with a mud bed. All the baggage has to be carried across, the men helping the animals. It is killing work and in this case it was aggravated by torrents of rain which had poured upon the caravan unceasingly for days, varied only by occasional showers of hail.

One difference between this plateau and that which we had crossed three days before was the practically total want of game. This phenomenon, at first inexplicable considering the abundance of grass and water, ceased to puzzle me when on August 13th, in the evening, I found that we were reaching the obviously beaten track of the pilgrim caravans that pass to and fro between Lhasa and Sinning-fu. My suspicions were confirmed by remains of bivouacs, bits of cloth, an occasional old boot, and carcases of horses and donkeys. One caravan must have passed quite lately, for the traces of its fires were still fresh.

The mountains which close in this plateau are pronouncedly red in colour and very much cut up by many valleys, each of them the source of a small river. They are called Dungbura, and run from east to west, or rather to south-west. We struck them at about $34^{\circ} 35'$. They are well known, and have a high repute among Chinese and Mongol pilgrims for the excellence of their vegetation. Prejevalski crossed them in 1873, but much to the west of our route.

Here again I had to give the exhausted caravan a day's rest. The men were beginning to show unmistakable signs of fatigue. When a Chinaman throws himself on the ground and refuses to eat at the end of a march it means that he is fairly well tired out. I was sorry for the poor fellows, but I could do nothing to

assist them. Our only hope lay in pressing forward rapidly. We could only trust that the Tibetans of Lhasa and Shigatze would not block the way. If they did, very few of us would reach Kashmir, which would be our only alternative course.

Besides, my wife's plucky example might well enhearten them. She often shared my watch at night, and although by day she helped right and left she was still full of energy.

On one day of rest on the northern slopes of the Dungbura mountains the sun was kind, and we were able to dry the clothes and blankets which had been completely and continuously soaked during the previous week. We started again on August 15th at 6 A. M. The beasts set off at a good pace after their rest, but unfortunately did not keep it up long. We had to cross a lofty ridge whose summit consisted apparently of mud. Then to go round through defiles, climb steep points, struggle across swamps, and scale more muddy uplands, to reach at length another wide plain closed to the south by mountain chains similar to the one we had just negotiated.

The whole country seemed of the same pattern. A series of wide plains separated by mountains running in the same direction, each plain, as we moved southward, slightly more elevated than its predecessor. It was very monotonous.

We continued to follow the caravan road. I intended to leave it later, but so far we had seen no pilgrim caravan on the march and we did not want to miss the sight.

All along the road inscriptions in honour of Buddha were cut upon poor stones or upon projecting rocks. The fanatical superstition that has caused stupid

Mongols and Tibetans to set up these monuments is not unique. Is it not to be witnessed every day in some parts of Europe? There it has less excuse, since those who practise it live in the full sunshine of modern culture and civilisation.

August 16th was a great day for our little expedition, for we saw some human beings for the first time since we had left Zaidam and its Mongols.

We had scarcely begun one march, at about 8 A.M., when we suddenly perceived some riders cantering along over the sand of the great plain, carrying long sticks decked with flags of various colours.

They rode up to meet us, and alighted.

LESDAIN.

(To be continued.)

Art. II.—LAYS OF ANCIENT GREECE.

II.—THERMOPYLÆ.

TWIN Gods of the Eurotas, look on us as we bring
 Our great and holy burden, the ashes of our king;
 To lay them in our city in honour and in peace
 Amid the awestruck silence, the grateful tears, of Greece.
 Lo, our returning legions fulfil their sacred trust,
 High in a golden vessel they bear the hero's dust
 Who died a willing victim, obedient to the fates,
 And saved us by his sacrifice at the immortal Gates.
 Lift high the voice of wailing and shriek of women's woe,
 Not such our wont in Sparta save when our kings lie low,
 With clash of martial music and tramp of marching feet,
 For Lacedæmon's noblest the honour due and meet.
 Leonidas the lion, with heart and voice we sing,
 Our champion and defender, our leader and our king,
 Who wrote the name of Sparta high on the roll of fame,
 Calling on endless ages to keep it free from shame.
 The summits of Taygetus glow in the fading light,
 Fast o'er Messene's upland steals on the purple night,
 As he comes home in triumph who kept our Spartan laws
 And fell in foremost battle in freedom's holy cause.
 Bright as the Spartan helmet, true as the Spartan blade,
 His soul went down to Hades erect and undismayed,
 Straight from the din of battle and shock of crossing spears
 To rest in peaceful majesty a prince among his peers.
 O for our own Tyrtæus, to praise and praise aright
 The wonder and the glory of that stupendous fight,
 When fifteen score of Spartans held all the world at bay
 Till they all died together on that most glorious day.

The Great King called his legions from Scythia's icy snows,
 From where through lands of magic the ancient Indus flows,
 From the wide plains sun-smitten where Tigris' waters roll,
 From where strange stars lean earthward to light the southern pole:
 From Lebanon's dark forests, from Ethiop's furthest sands,
 From Parthia's rolling prairies, from the Hyrcanian strands,

From Sidon's swarming harbours, from the Arabian coast,
 He marshalled at Abydos that all-subduing host.
 They came with fierce hot faces, with hearts as cold as steel,
 With shield and spear and quiver, with shaft and sword and keel,
 To rase the name of Athens from off the scroll of fame,
 To scatter Sparta's ashes in dust and blood and flame.
 They bridged the foaming Hellespont across from shore to shore,
 They clove the solid Athos to make a way for war,
 As over leagues of pasture the flying locusts sweep,
 They covered all the mainland and darkened all the deep.
 Down through the plains of Thessaly they passed, none saying nay,
 The terror of their coming in every heart held sway ;
 The faint and feeble hearted were overcome with fear,
 Nor launched a flying arrow nor raised a single spear.

All Hellas met at Corinth, resolved to make a stand,
 The fleet at Artemisium, one slender force on land,
 Where the hot streams flow gushing from Oeta to the sea,
 The northern gates of Hellas, far famed Thermopylæ.
 The lion king of Sparta led forth three hundred men
 Of Lacedæmon's noblest, with allies thousands ten ;
 Callidromos above him, the Malian plain below,
 He perfected his rampart and waited for the foe.
 The ridge of Anopæa, lest danger came that way,
 He trusted to the Phocians to hold by night and day ;
 Himself with his three hundred would guard the sacred sod
 Loved by his own forefather, the great and human god.
 The broken wall they strengthened, and built it firm and true,
 To help them to accomplish the work they had to do ;
 Then girt them for their emprise, to conquer or to fall
 Holding at bay two millions across their single wall.
 So when the Persian army, one blaze of steel and gold,
 Came circling round the Malian gulf, they saw those champions bold
 Some hurling spears in practice to strike the target fair,
 Some seated on the rampart combing their flowing hair.

A mighty shout of laughter burst from the Asian van,
 Forth from the ranks of horsemen rode out a single man,
 Who gazed on that strange vision, then lightly turned his rein
 And urged his fiery courser back to the host again.
 The Great King heard the tidings and curled a lip of scorn,

Then called for Demaratus, the exile Spartan-born,
 And asked what foolish madness lay on that little band
 To linger thus in peril in his almighty hand.
 Then answered Demaratus : " O king, for ever reign,
 Such is the wont of Spartans in peril or in pain,
 To deck the body seemly and dress the hair aright
 When they have sworn to conquer or perish in the fight.
 For so Lycurgus charged us, making the body fair
 Thus in the hour of danger to tune the soul to dare ;
 Prepare thy host, great monarch, to render blow for blow,
 These men will all die striking, as I who know them know."

Four days and nights he waited, then ordered forth his van
 To fall upon those madmen, and bring them man by man
 To kneel to him for mercy, his branded sign to bear,
 Since they were thus determined the slave's device to wear.
 As rise the flames to heaven from Ossa's ancient trees,
 When fired by Zeus' thunderbolt they stagger in the breeze,
 While o'er the crashing forest Hephaestus lifts his hand,
 So fell the Median onslaught on that devoted band.
 From morn to eve the battle resounded through the pass,
 The lithe and fearless warriors resisting all the mass
 Of horse and foot and archers, exchanging blow for blow,
 Nor yielding for an instant a foot before the foe.
 With light and careless laughter the Spartan hoplites thrust
 And cut and stabbed together, till prostrate in the dust
 Lay every gallant foeman who reached upon that day
 The slender line of spear-points that blocked the narrow way.
 And when the night fell darkling over the Malian sea,
 The Hellenes held their vantage for all the world to see,
 Before them rose a trophy their own right hands had felled,
 A ghastly heap of corpses, and still the pass was held.

With the first flush of morning the battle woke again,
 The fight was stern and eager, the arrows fell like rain :
 Still mid the shock and struggle stood firm the Spartan spears,
 And still the mocking laughter rang in the Great King's ears.
 Thrice in his rage and fury he started from his throne,
 Careless of all the carnage, heedless of shriek and moan,
 And urged his legions onward, with axe and spear and targe
 To sweep away the Hellenes in one o'erwhelming charge.

In vain from earliest morning until the close of day
 That mighty host endeavoured to force the narrow way,
 While from the slopes of Oeta rang back the battle's roar
 For many a league to landward and all along the shore.
 But when the shades of evening amid the valleys slept
 The traitor Ephialtes on his foul errand crept,
 And sold the Medes for money the secret of the hills,
 The path that wound to westward o'er Anopaea's rills.
 Round through the silent forests Hydarnes with his band
 Of resolute Immortals marched at the King's command ;
 All night they scaled the mountain, he and his vengeful host,
 And fell at earliest twilight upon the Phocian post.
 The Phocians woke in terror, and reeled before the flight
 Of arrows and of javelins that clove the dying night :
 The fallen leaves had muffled the footsteps of the foe,
 Till on the startled sentinels they rose in endless row.
 They locked their shields, resolving to hold the mountain side,
 The scornful Persians followed behind the traitor guide,
 Sparing the lesser quarry to net the nobler prey,
 And overhung Alpenus when broke the golden day.

And so the king of Sparta saw in the morning light
 The torrent beds behind him aglow with armour bright ;
 The sheen of gilded helmets, of silvered spears the gleam,
 Not such the foam and glitter of any mountain stream.
 Small time was his to ponder, since all was then to do,
 He sent his allies southward with counsel wise and true ; [host,
 With slow and lingering footsteps south marched that mourning
 Leaving their king behind them to perish at his post.
 Around him his three hundred, with seven hundreds more,
 The noble sons of Thespiæ who marched with him to war :
 " No Thebans we," they shouted, " to bow before the Mede ;
 We claim our right to share with thee the soreness of thy need."

The hero looked upon them, and smiled his splendid smile :
 " Brothers in arms I greet you, hearts free from fear or guile,
 Be yours to stay and witness how with his latest breath
 A king of Sparta welcomes the form and face of Death.
 Yet ere we fall, as surely we all shall fall this day,
 Take ye the thanks of Sparta to nerve ye for the fray,
 No thought be ours save honour, no pride of post or place,

We all shall rest together when we have run the race.
 First, as Lycurgus charged us, make we the body whole,
 Then call upon the Thunderer to fill with fire the soul ;
 Now sit we down together our latest bread to break,
 This night we sup with Pluto beside the sunless lake."
 So, as the sun rose higher, they broke their bread and drank, [rank
 Then prayed their prayers, and formed them in column rank by
 Led by the lion-hearted they rushed upon the foe,
 Their heads erect and haughty, their spears all levelled low.
 Leaving the pass unguarded that they had held so well,
 Upon the Persian leaguer, careless of life, they fell ;
 The war-cries ringing round them, the very heavens dark
 With dust and flying weapons, they drove towards their mark.
 As breaks the storm in winter, with scuds of sweeping rain
 And peals of echoing thunder, across the Argolic plain,
 While shepherds vainly listen, stunned by the roar and shock,
 To hear amid the tumult the bleating of the flock,
 So on that mighty army the Hellene column broke ;
 And vanished for a moment amid the battle smoke ;
 Straight to the King's pavilion cleaving their desperate way,
 Where all of Persia's bravest were ranked in close array.
 There, in the foremost battle, prone fell the Lion King,
 With many a Median warrior stretched round him in a ring.
 Over his fallen body full fiercely raged the fight ;
 There died two Persian princes before their brother's sight,
 And lesser chiefs and nobles swelled high the heap of slain
 That marked the hero's resting-place upon the battle plain.
 Four times the Spartan hoplites drove back the swarming foe,
 Four times they heaved the dead aside and reached their king below,
 Till from the pass behind them they heard the exulting cries
 Of those who scaled the mountain, closing upon their prize.
 Then back they drew together, where, girt with many a tree,
 The slopes of storied Oeta slide down to meet the sea ;
 Here in a compact circle they made their final stand,
 Where now the sculptured lion looks out across the land.
 So, till each sword was broken and shivered every spear,
 O'erwhelmed by countless myriads they sold their lives full dear,
 And man by man they perished, each as he sank beneath
 The rising pile of corpses fighting with hands and teeth.
 Dieneces the fearless, Megistias the sage,
 The sons of Orsiphantus, and with them on the page

Of Fame's undying record shall stand for evermore
 Ther Thespian Dithyrambus, who died with them in war.
 Cry shame upon the traitors, the perjured Theban band,
 Who bore upon their bodies the haughty Persian's brand,
 The victor's shameful mercy, the scutcheon of the slave,
 Shrinking before the slaughter their sullied lives to save.

When that great fight was ended the Persian King was led,
 Surrounded by his satraps, to gaze upon the dead;
 He saw his fallen warriors lying in endless rows,
 And, still in death unconquered, that little band of foes.
 They searched with eager malice amid the ghastly ring
 Until they found the body of Saparta's soldier-king,
 They hewed the head from off it, and hung the trunk on high
 Upon a mighty gibbet, in sign of victory.
 But vain, proud King, thy triumph, for he who there had died
 Had stemmed thy further conquest and shattered all thy pride;
 No shafts of after insult or shame of later scorn
 Could dim the crown of glory those gallant brows had worn.

Now, forty summers later, across the steaming rills
 The Spartan trumpets waken the echoes of the hills,
 And tenderly we gather the ashes of the great,
 Still lying as he left them, the guardian of the gate.
 Lo, homeward now we bear them, to lay them in our earth,
 Amid the mouldering relics of those who gave him birth;
 And yearly through all ages we hymn the deathless names,
 While smoke the laden alters, and Spartans hold their games,
 High stands the sculptured lion, bright gleam the graven lines,
 The record of that slaughter that fair for ever shines:
 "Go, tell to Lacedæmon, O thou that passest by,
 That, loyal to the latest to Sparta, here we lie."

Raise high your heads ye warriors who bear the sacred bier,
 Ye daughters of Laconia spare not the wail and tear,
 So weep we but for monarchs, so mourn for those alone
 In whose veins runs the valiant blood a god has deigned to own.
 Fling open wide the portals that guard the holy dust
 Of Lacedæmon's noblest in everlasting trust,
 Since first Aristodemus in the dim mist of years
 Along the swift Eurotas led down his Dorian spears.
 This day the name of Sparta is famed from sea to sea,

And feared as that of Ares wherever Hellenes be;
 No foe but bows before us, no force on earth but yields
 Before the line of helmets, the serried row of shields.
 Leave to the sons of Athens the chisel and the pen,
 The arts of peace and plenty fit not the nurse of men,
 Let Corinth's merchants value their wealth of costly bales
 Brought through the waves of Myrto by their returning sails;
 Let the soft Chian revel amid his wines, and sing
 The praise of Aphrodite, the joys that she may bring;
 Let Siphnos, Lesbos, Samos, seek pleasure peace and pelf;
 She needs no outward splendours who glories in herself.
 Not ours the thirst for empire, who hold our Spartan lands
 By virtue of past victory, by title of strong hands;
 Iron our very money, iron our strength and will,
 Resistless might our only right, a right that serves us still.
 Now to the Great Twin Brethren bend we the knee in pride,
 To thank them for the memory of those who fought and died
 That we our wives and children might hold the foremost place
 Amid the sons of Hellas, the birthright of our race.
 Long as the work of Ares on earth remains to do,
 Long as the weak and wavering need leaders brave and true,
 Long as the rich and idle bow to the stronger hand,
 Shall Spartans order victory alike by sea and land.

EUMOLPOS.

Art. III.—SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS IN TRANSITION.

IN New Zealand, Feejee, and the Sandwich Islands, or Hawaii, are to be seen three savage races of superior character and energy who have been entirely converted to Christianity almost within living memory. I spent more than two months among the three peoples in 1904, and was less struck by the natural differences between them than by the differences resulting from their Christianization. The Hawaiians were the earliest converted, and no individual now survives either of those who once were heathen or of the missionaries who were instrumental in their conversion. Among the Maoris and Feejeeans, however, not a few remain who were themselves warriors and murderers. Regarding their cannibalism, an amount of misapprehension seems to exist. I have been assured by a man who might pass for being educated, but who knew nothing of the matter he was talking about, that the accounts of Feejeean cannibalism are much exaggerated, and that the people only at times ate the bodies of notable men killed in battle as a savage completion of their triumph over them. He might as well have said that Muhammadans never ate beef unless they wanted to provoke Hindoos. The fact is not only notorious in a general way that the Feejeeans used human flesh as ordinary diet; but it is certified by many cases, of which full particulars are recorded, where men went out to catch men, women, and children to be cooked and eaten at an ordinary feast, and where presents of food made to a Chief included one or more human victims bound hand and foot and thrown down on the ground till the time came to kill them. Old

people still live who remember these things as commonplace occurrences, and who have taken part in them. There are also recorded in print circumstantial accounts by travellers and official reports by naval officers to the same effect. Of the Maoris the truth seems to be that they only occasionally, as an act of revenge, devoured parts of the bodies of enemies; and the same thing is affirmed of the inhabitants of other islands in the South Seas, in some of which the horrible practice still prevails. How it was in the case of the Hawaiians I do not know, but there are authentic accounts of the time a hundred years ago, from which the truth can be ascertained. I have read a denial of the common statement that Captain Cook was eaten as well as killed, in a guide-book; but the authority for the denial was not given.

The condition of Christianity is curiously different among the three peoples. The natives of Hawaii have been virtually independent of missionaries for between thirty and forty years, providing their own churches and ministers, and ranking with the other Christian countries of the world. And as there are in all Christian nations religious and irreligious people, so there are in Hawaii people who go to church and keep the commandments and people who do what they like. The Natives, as distinguished from the Japanese and Chinese, who outnumber them three times, are all American citizens, and they are keen politicians, not only contending as Republicans and Democrats, but having a strong "home rule" party besides, composed of those who opposed the annexation to America and who wanted, some an independent Republic, and some the restoration of the deposed Royal family. They have their own newspapers in their own language, which was reduced to writing by the first missionaries. But the Americans,

with their illiberal policy, have forbidden the study of the native language; so the next generation will do their political raging, not as Hawaiians, but as Americans.

The intellectual level of these islanders is seen to be good by comparing them with the Negroes in all parts of the Western Hemisphere, who are all Christians but who have been slower than the Sandwich Islanders in improving their educational opportunities and in taking part in politics with real intelligence. The American Indians, even of the best tribes, are hopelessly behind, whatever their opportunities. In Honolulu, as I saw, and throughout the islands, as I believe, every trace of the old signs seems to have disappeared, except the taste of both men and women for decorating themselves with fresh flowers. Tourists put on such garlands when they stop at Honolulu, as they buy and wear a fez at Suez; so a crowd of women, girls and old men, dirty, dishevelled, and uninviting, line the wharf when a steamer comes in, and quietly and composedly offer for sale garlands, wreaths, chaplets, bouquets, and other strings and bunches of flowers. Strings of shells, which are sold in shops throughout the South Seas and in New Zealand, are displayed along with the flowers in Honolulu, although this is by no means a land of shells like Feejee. The complexions of the people are dark, and many of the worst dressed men and women go bare footed. In other respects the islands are quite European. Old arts, old fashions, old pursuits, and even old things, articles of use, have passed away in the miserable, world-wide rage to have all men of one look and one way, while practically denying that they are of one blood. The magnificent and healthful sport of surf-riding, which was one of the modern wonders of the world, instead of being introduced into America,

is being allowed to die out in Hawaii; and whereas every man, woman, and child used to ride on horseback, they now prefer carts and carriages. Successful Chinamen have fine, large shops in Honolulu, but they all dress as Europeans and require a close look to distinguish them from the other coloured races. A group of bare-footed and straw-hatted newsboys includes a slant-eyed Chinese as well as strips of other nationalities from pure white to deep brown, but the Chinese is as alert and sharp-voiced as any of the rest, and quicker at counting change.

After the Sandwich Islanders come the Maoris of New Zealand, among whom Christianity was ruined by the devastating nine years' war of the sixties, in which, as all parties now acknowledge, the British were wrong and the Maoris were right. The Governor of the day wilfully decided for war when documentary evidence, yet open to inspection, was forthcoming to prove that he had no cause. The only cheerful memory of that most lamentable war against a brave and heroic people is that their courage won the admiration of their enemy, and that to-day many survivors of those who fought on the British side have nothing but good to say of the cause for which the Maoris fought and the fairness and chivalry with which they conducted the struggle. These Maoris had been ruthless savages less than a generation before. For twenty years they had been professing and practising the Christian religion. And it broke them up when the country which had sent them missionaries made war on them about a matter which might have been settled by arbitration several times over. For, as I have said, there seems not to be the smallest doubt in anybody's mind now that the Natives were exactly in the right, and that they were calm and consistent in stating how the case stood.

In the early stages of the war the Maoris fought as Christians should fight if they must fight; and over and over their Chiefs interfered to allow the enemy every fair right. But the British did not understand bush-fighting. Ceaseless dissensions occurred between the imported troops from England and the armed Colonists in whose interest they had come. So the war dragged on thrice as long as the late Boer war; religion declined as the stress of war increased; disputes became more perplexing; the young Maoris broke away from the influence of their Christian Chiefs; the Chiefs themselves lost heart; and a large number of Maoris who kept out of the war were pressed till they were distracted to prove their loyalty by taking up arms in the just cause of their countrymen.

The end of the war is not remembered by people out of the country who have not read up the history. The British troops were withdrawn, and the Colonial Government was left to carry on the struggle with its own farmer soldiers. These men could fight in the bush, and they and the Maoris harried each other till the latter were reduced to starvation. One of the old Colonists has told me how he got a hundred canoe-loads of potatoes from the Maoris for his own troops, paying handsomely for them, by representing that he was a schoolmaster in the neighbourhood. At length hostilities gradually died away; a large tract of land was confiscated, a crushing "national debt" remained on the Colony, and the Maoris were left in possession of some millions of acres, which land is theirs, by law, inalienably to this day, and is still colloquially called "the King country," because the Maoris, previously to the war, had made a supreme effort to settle their difficulties by setting up a king of their own; for at that time they were not under the British Government.

People in Europe and India do not hear of what goes on in New Zealand, unless it relates to international interests. But on the spot one soon learns that during the thirty odd years that have passed since the war some thousands of the Maoris, embracing the tribes about whose territory the war was waged, have held aloof from the Colonial Government and the white people. Especially they have laid a toll on white persons entering their territory for whatever purpose; and they have made it practically impossible to serve a writ on any of their people. Governor after Governor has made overtures to them, with the view of establishing relations, but these have been scornfully rejected. Only in recent years, as the old Maoris have died out, and a new generation, born since the war, have risen in their place, has there appeared a disposition to mingle with the Europeans and regard them as neighbours. The Government has quickly responded to this feeling by appointing the present king, grandson, I believe, of the first king, a member of the Legislative Council. There is probably not a raja in all India, who, in consequence of his retaining the ways of a hundred years ago, would be more out of place in the Viceregal Council than is this Chief in his new position. But he dons a suit of European clothes, and, hat on head, betakes him to the Legislative Chamber on all proper occasions.

I twice went to the "King country," and called to see the personage; but he was away on both occasions, without any word when he might return, just roaming in the usual Maori fashion. I saw his magnificent reed house, with great, grotesque figures adorning the entrance, and met some ladies of his family, who with marvellous expedition prepared

a Native feast for me. I believe it would have been the correct thing for me to rub noses with them—a token of politeness which occupies eight or ten seconds—but I did not do it. I also met, in the house, two ancient Chiefs, who had been among the early converts to Christianity and were middle-aged when the war broke out. Their shrivelled faces were covered with tattoo marks, and their eyes glistened with unusual brilliance. They were stiff and slow, but very sinewy, their minds were clear, and I felt sure that with either an axe or a rifle in their hands to bring back the old fire, they could easily have directed a battle and enjoyed it.

These persons live in the "King country" and are very conservative, but the greater part of the Maoris are being Europeanized. Some are professional men, and use English with facility; many more are learning English, but not doing much with it; a few are really successful farmers. Not a few are being taught trades, but the iniquitous and insane labour laws, which have begun already to check the advancement of New Zealand, render it almost impossible for them to get work—a perfect shame on people who have been dispossessed of their own country and deprived of their own means of earning a livelihood. As a rule, the Maori is a victim of indolence and thriftlessness. Grand as he was as a warrior, and hard as he had to work to keep himself in weapons and canoes when he had no tools except stones, he never had an object to accumulate property or to live otherwise than from hand to mouth. So now, with no need to live in readiness for war, and getting everything he wants readymade in shops, he has no inducement to exert himself, but earns a little money as he requires it by odd jobs and casual exertions, and lives on in listless idleness, with occasional bouts of merry-making.

I visited these people in four of their settlements, and was vexed to see them for the most part living in miserable huts and hovels, in the midst of dirt and disorder. Most of them seemed to be always shabby; a few had the means to dress well when they went out to show themselves. I am writing of the bulk of them, where they live in settlements of their own, in half-Native, half-European fashion: those who have energy and purpose, and are doing all they can for themselves, live in English style in English houses. I saw them living on their own land, but not thinking of making the most of it, or even half they might make out of it. Broken fences and rank weeds marked the portions only of their fields which they thought it sufficient to cultivate. Even their horses and cattle were cheap, ill-kept specimens. On every hand I was told of efforts to employ Maoris on regular wages having failed through the men or women simply discontinuing their work after a few weeks or months. I could not hear of a single instance of a Maori keeping a shop, which, from its requiring constant attention, would be entirely distasteful to him, if not actually impossible.

As for their Christianity, it has largely disappeared: they have never recovered from the disruption of the war. Hawaiians and Negroes, however inconsistent in their lives, maintain churches and keep up the form of religion—with a fair proportion of the genuine article. But the Maoris will not do this: and what religious observances are carried on among them are in the form of Missions by the Church of England and, in a smaller measure, by the Wesleyans.

Strange to tell, Mormon missionaries from America have been at work among the Maoris for many years, and have won over numbers of them, by what means or

with what object I cannot surmise. Perhaps they flatter them in their political views and in their dislike to those who have taken their land. I have not heard of their introducing polygamy among the Maoris, but unlicensed and unregulated polygamy, without Mormon connivance, must be very common : for the proportion of children of Native mothers and European fathers is larger than among any other dark race I have seen. The total number of Maoris is under fifty thousand, and I fear they will decrease and the mixed race will increase, till the former become extinct and the latter sink in the European population.

The third recently Christianized race is the people of Feejee, who are still under the domination of the missionaries, and living in peace and order except at the four or five places where foreign commerce has begun to demoralize them. It is almost an ideal existence for an uncivilized people without ambition and with little capacity to rise ; and in my opinion the explanation of their stability and prosperity is that the people themselves pay every penny of the cost of their religion—churches, schools, Native ministers' salaries and houses, books, furniture, etc.,—and are so liberal with their contributions that there is a balance every year toward the general expenses of the Society in Sydney. It is a rule the world over that people value what they pay for, and despise what costs them nothing—a principle which our Government in India does not take to heart—and the Feejeeans jealously hold by their Christianity because it is their own, possessed and paid for by themselves.

But as in New Zealand, so in Feejee, there seems to be trouble in store for the Natives. The danger is averted at present, thanks to the independent spirit

of the new Governor, appointed as I was leaving Feejee. But under his two or three predecessors the interests and wishes of the people, who cost the Government nothing and who ask only to be let alone, were subordinated to the profit of the sugar-planters and other European capitalists, who are not necessary in the islands and ought to be suffered there only at their own risk. At the time I write of, that is, the time of my visit, the evil threatened in two forms. First, there was a hateful scheme to deprive the people of their land, nearly the whole of which, throughout the islands, belongs to the Natives in inviolable possession. This land is lusted for by European capitalists, who possess means to bring heavy and steady pressure to bear on the Government to let them get it, first on one pretext then on another, first on conditional terms and later without conditions. This may be done with miraculous fairness. For the people are still very strongly under control of their tribal Chiefs, some of whom are unhappily susceptible to flattery. It would not be difficult to induce several of these to persuade their people to surrender, first only a portion of their land, for a most liberal return. Nothing could seem more reasonable and proper : but the end would inevitably be what it has been in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

The other prospective danger is annexation to New Zealand, a measure which would involve the expropriation of the land, and its redistribution to Feejeeans and others on a principle to be devised by that sapient power the Labour Party in New Zealand. The annexation would take place at the earnest solicitation of the Feejeeans themselves, supported by all the legal and political talent of New Zealand. Of course the people would not

do the solicitation of their own accord: but agents are always ready to persuade them that the true remedy for their grievances lies in honourable incorporation with the Colony. And the Feejeeans have grievances, which are imperfectly listened to and considered by Government. Taxes are unequally imposed and are made to fall heavily on the Natives who are, moreover, harassed and interfered with by Government to a degree of which the people of India, a conquered country, have no dream, and which is almost incredible.

The Feejeeans impressed me as a most interesting people, generous, manly, unsophisticated, and not aping European manners except where they frequent the centres of European life and fall into the snare of fashion. They have no fear, and all classes can swim and row and fish and climb and use their hands. They are on the average darker than the people of upper and western India, and are not as good-looking, unless one can see beauty in frank and sturdy faces. They have no sneaking ways, and are liked by the Europeans in spite of their Polynesian unwillingness to work steadily. It would be difficult to find another people so free from crime—a feature which is of course entirely due to the genuineness of their Christianity. When they get into trouble, it is nearly always for a breach of tribal laws, which are, and have to be, enforceable by Government.

Lucknow.

BENJAMIN AITKEN.

Art. IV.—THE “LITTLE PORT” OF BENGAL.

ECHOES FROM OLD SAPTAGRAM.

“And many a shatter’d step, and stone
Where lights the foot with faltering tread,
But sadly speak of what is gone,
As relics whisper of the dead.”—*Derosio.*

THE Hindu kingdom in India came down from the darkest and remotest antiquity, and, towards the beginning of the Christian era, was troubled with internal discord. Following in the wake of other provinces, Bengal started up into an independent kingdom and was governed by successive dynasties of Rājās. Before its conquest by Bakhtiyār Khilji in 1203 A.D., Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts, “Banga” (“first mentioned in the *Tārīkī Barānī* as the residence of an independent Rāi”) being the country to the east of and beyond the delta of the Ganges. In 1323 A.D. the seats of the Mahomedan governors were Sāt-gāon and Sōnārgāon and the term “Bāngālā” was applied to the united provinces of Lakhnāuti, Sāt-gāon and Sōnārgāon. It was during the reign of Sultan Ghīās-ud-din Tughlāk (who invaded Bengal to chastise Bāhādur Shāh, king of Sōnārgāon) that Sāt-gāon is first mentioned in Mahomedan history. At this time, too, it was placed under a military governor Izz-ud-din Azimal Mulk (1323—1339 A.D.) by name, and Behar was separated from Bengal.

EARLY ANNALS.

Saptagrām (Sāt-gāon, Sātāgong, Sāt-gānw, Sātīgān literally “seven villages”) owes its name to a Paurānic legend. Prayābasta, king of Kanauj, had seven sons named Agnidra, Rōmanaka, Bhōpisanta, Saurabanana, Barā, Sabana and Dyutimanta. The princes were of a

religious turn of mind and lived in seven villages, which were named after them and formed Sātgāon. This city, (Lat. 22°38'20"N., Long. 88°25'10"E.) situated on the bank of the once mighty river Saraswatī, is admitted on all hands to have been the ancient mercantile capital of Bengal. It was the recognised port of West Bengal, to which nearly all the sea-borne trade was brought, and the Divisional Governor had his headquarters here. Merchants from all important places came to trade in it and the Saraswatī swarmed with ships and sails of almost all nations. It was the royal emporium of Bengal from the time of Pliny down to the arrival of the Portuguese about the year 1530 A.D. They were the first European nation to visit India and built factories here. They called it the Porto Piqueno ("little haven") as opposed to the Porto Grande ("great haven") by which name Chittagong was known on account of its harbour being more convenient for the entrance and departure of ships. "Sarkār Sātgāon" was one of the administrative divisions of the Mogul Empire and, as Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford states, included the Twenty-four Pergunāhs, Nadiā as well as the present Hugli district. Professor Blochmann adds that to this Sarkār belonged Mahall Kalkāttā (Calcutta) which, together with two other mauzās paid in 1582, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905. In all, it consisted of 53 mahalls the total revenue being Rs. 418,118. Purchas describes Sātgāon as "a fair citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull." About the same view is taken by other

WESTERN VISITORS.

Cæsar Fredericke, the Venetian traveller, who came here about 1570, states that in it "the merchants gather themselves together for trade. . . . In the port . . . every year they lade 30 or 35 ships, great and small, with

rice, cloth of bombast of diverse sort, lac, great abundance of sugar, paper, oil of Zerzeline and other sorts of merchandise." He adds that there was much commerce in silver between Pegu and Sātgāon. His account is borne out by the description given in the *Kavikankan Chandi* written about the same time. Rennell in his *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan* (1793) describes Sātgāon to have been in 1566 and probably later, a large commercial city in which the European traders had their factories in Bengal. Van Linschoten speaks of it as the chief town of Bengal, and goes on to observe that "the Portingalles deale and traffique thither and some places are inhabited by them. . . . Besides their ryce, much cotton linnen is made there which is much esteemed in India." M. Thevenot describes Bengal as "full of castles and townes," of which latter "Sātīgān, Pātāne, Casānbāzār and Chātīgān are very rich." So also says M. Du Jarric in his *Histoires des Indes Orientales* (1610): "Or Chātīgān est une ville & port de mer en un des Royaumes de Bengala, qu'on appelle des Mogos." Caesare dei Fedrici calls it a fine city: "La citta di Sātīgān è honestamente bella per citta di Mori, & è molto abundante." By both DeLaet in his *India Vera* (1631) and Mandelslo in his *Voyages* (1727) Sātgāon is spoken of as one of the principal cities in the province of Bengal. De Barros calls it a "great and noble city." Mention is made of "quiltes of Sutgonge wrought with yellowe silke" in the *Factory Records*, as quoted by Mr. Foster in his recent work on the English Factories in India. Ralph Fitch, the English traveller, visited Sātgāon about 1586 and speaks of it as a port about a league from Hugli. A city of great antiquity, Sātgāon is by some supposed to be the "Gangé Regia" of Ptolemy, while

there are others who would ascribe that name to Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal. Merchants from all parts of the world came to sell their wares at Sāt-gāon, which, at the time, is said to have attained to an immense size, having "swallowed a hundred villages." It was one of the five "mint cities" of Sikandar Shāh, and became the residence of kings, and the bāzārs are said to have been filled with the busy hum of men and the river crowded with boats. Indeed, foreign trade so sharpened the wits of the townsmen that a Bengali proverb still makes 'a man of Sāt-gāon' synonymous with a shrewd fellow.

ANOTHER VISITOR.

A poem in praise of the serpent-goddess, written by Bipradās, a Bengali author, in 1495 (when Hossain Shāh was the reigning Sultan of Bengal) gives a description of the voyage of Chāndsadāgar. Dr. Wilson takes this poem as giving the first authentic picture of Calcutta and other places. "Chāndsadāgar's small fleet of seven ships after passing Rājghāt and Indraghāt, Nadiā and Ambua, comes at last to Trivenī. Here Chānd landed on the bank to see the great city of Saptagrām. This is the home of the seven saints . . . the abode of bliss . . . Here are found the Gungā and the Jumnā and the wideflowing Saraswatī and Umā Maheswarī presides over all. Overjoyed at the sight of the Ganges at Trivenī, Prince Chānd stayed his boat by the bank. Glad at heart, the king performed the ceremonies befitting a place of pilgrimage and devotion and worshipped Maheshwarī. Then having finished his devotions, the king with joyful heart repaired to the city and compassed it round about. After staying there for two days he returned to his fleet."

"TRIPLE TRESS."

Trivenī (literally "three-plaited locks") called Tropina by Pliny and Trippina by the Portuguese, is the confluence of the Ganges, the Jumnā and the Saraswatī. It is about a mile from Sāt-gāon and is so named by the Paurānics because the three rivers are supposed to meet there. "Their waters" says Lieutenant-Colonel Wilford, "do not mix, but keep distinct all the way. The waters of the Jamnā are blue, those of the Saraswatī white and the Ganges of a muddy yellowish colour." Trivenī is considered a sacred spot and is a resort of thousands of pilgrims eager to bathe in the all-cleansing stream. It is famous as one of the four "*Samājes*" or seats of Sanskrit learning. It was here that the famous embassy sent by the East India Company to Emperor Farakshiyār—in which William Hamilton, by curing the Emperor, is said to have obtained for his countrymen liberty to trade in Bengal free of duty—was received in great state in 1717. It boasts of a *ghāt* and temple founded by Telinga Mukunda Dev, the last independent king of Orissa, and formed the northern boundary of his dominions. The renowned Pandit Jagannāth Tarkapanchānan, the Sanskrit tutor of Sir William Jones and compiler of a Digest of Hindu Law, was born at Trivenī. The Pandit had an extraordinary memory, and an anecdote is related of him that one morning when he was returning home from a bath in the Ganges, he met two persons—a "Kāffir" and a Chinaman—abusing each other. On being summoned as a witness he stated that he did not understand the language used by the parties, but remembered the words each had uttered and repeated them verbatim from memory to the astonishment of all! Stavorinus, the Dutch Admiral, who visited Bengal about 1769,

thus testifies to the sanctity of the Ganges at Trivenī: "The waters of the Ganges are esteemed holy and the river sacred by all the Indians. . . . The Gentoos worship the Ganges as a divinity and an annual festival is held in its honour. . . . The number of people whom I saw arrive in the latter end of March, at Hughli and Terbonee, for the above purpose, was incredible. The concourse continued for three days together. All of them whether men, women or children, when they had washed themselves, and set off on their return home, carried with them some of the river water in vessels which they had brought for that purpose for the use of such of their relatives and friends as were left behind, and who, by age or infirmity were incapacitated for performing the journey."

THE PREY OF TIME.

Owing no doubt to its wealth and magnificence Sātgāon had never been free from depredations. These were due also perhaps to its distance from the Imperial Capital and the tendency of the local Governors to revolt against authority. About 1340, the rebellion of Fakruddin broke out in Bengal. With his Bengali forces he killed Qādr Khān, Governor of Lakhnāuti, and after plundering the treasury, secured possession of that place and of Sātgāon and Sōnārgāon. In 1535 Diogo Rabello arrived at Sātgāon and caused two vessels of Cambaya which had come there with merchandise, to quit the port and go down the river, forbidding them to carry on any trade. The Afghans from Orissa plundered Sātgāon in 1592. Even in Akbar's time it was known as Bālghāk Khānā (house of revolt). The silting up of the Saraswatī appears to have begun about the commencement of the sixteenth century. The great stream of the Ganges which formerly flowed southwards from

Sātgāon by way of the Saraswatī, gradually diverted its waters into the Hugli then a comparatively small river. By the middle of the century Sātgāon was getting difficult of access. The kingdom of Orissa sank into decay about the same time. The Portuguese Fort of Hugli was captured in 1632 by Qāsim Khān, Governor of Bengal, under orders of Emperor Shāh Jehān, one of the reasons assigned being that the Portuguese were in league with pirates and had "drawn away all trade from Sātgāon." It was in this year that, after 1500 years of commercial splendour, Sātgāon was abandoned and Hugli became the royal port, all public offices being transferred there from Sātgāon. But Warwicke, a Dutch Admiral (quoted by Mr. J. C. Marshman—and not the Rev. J. Long, as is generally supposed—in the *Calcutta Review* for 1846) states that Sātgāon continued to be a great place of trade for some years to come. At this time the river was navigable by sea-going ships up to Garden Reach which became the anchoring place of the Portuguese. Beyond this point the river was considered too shallow for any but country boats. "At Betor, on the western bank, near Sibpur, every year, when the ships arrived from Goa, innumerable thatched houses were erected, markets were opened, and all sorts of provisions and stores brought to the waterside. An immense number of galliases lay at anchor in the deep water waiting, while the small budgerows made their way up the river past Barānagore, Dakshineswar, and Agarpārā, to the Porto Piqueno at Sātgāon, and returned filled with silks and muslin, lac, sugar and rice. During these months the banks on both sides of the river were alive with people and a brisk trade was carried on. But no sooner was the last boat come from Sātgāon, and her cargo safely shipped

aboard the galliases, than they set fire to the temporary houses and improvised markets of bamboo and straw and the places vanished like Alāddin's Palace when carried off by the Jinnee. Away sailed the Portuguese back to Goa, leaving apparently no traces of their coming except burnt straw and ruined huts." Sātgāon was plundered many a time during the Māhrāttā raids in the eighteenth century. About a mile off, at Bānsberiā, may be seen a broad and deep moat, covering about 400 bighās of land, constructed to serve as a strong place of refuge for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood against the incursions of the Māhrāttās. Here is the famous temple of Haneswari, by far the handsomest building in Bengal, constructed in 1814 at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. When Dāud Shāh, the last independent king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was defeated and killed at the battle of Rājmehal, Khān Jehān proceeded to Sātgāon where Dāud's family lived at the time, defeated the remnants of Dāud's followers and re-annexed Sātgāon to the Mōgūl Empire. The last mention that is made of Sātgāon in Mahomedan history is that the rebel Shōvā Sing took refuge here when he was pursued by the Dutch in 1697. Sunk though it was into a shadow of its former self, Sātgāon continued none the less to attract people who resorted to it, if not for anything else at any rate for personal comfort. Even in the eighteenth century, the Dutch merchants of Chinsurā are said to have had their country seats at Sātgāon, and Eastwick states that they *walked* thither (a distance of six miles!) in the middle of the day for dinner. The village was the residence of some paper manufacturers in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Mr. Marshman states that in 1845 an inundation tore up the soil in the bed of the river near Sātgāon and exposed to view the masts of a ship.

OLD LANDMARKS.

Nothing now remains to indicate the former grandeur of old Saptagrām, except a ruined mosque situated on the south and west of the Grand Trunk Road just before it crosses the bridge. This mosque, with three tombs near it, was built by Sāyyid Jāmāl-ud-din, son of Sāyyid Fakir-ud-din, who, according to inscriptions on the mosque, had come from Amul, a town on the Caspian Sea. A description of the mosque is given by Professor H. Blochmann in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1870. He observes that the ground between Sātgāon and the Saraswatī is uneven and looks as if it had been the site of an extensive settlement. At one place, not far from the road, the capital of a large pillar emerges from the ground. "The Grand Trunk Road passes through the ruins and crosses the river just after passing the thirty-first milestone. On the east of the road is a large quadrangular mass of high ground, the soil of which seems to consist almost entirely of broken bricks worn away to powder. This is the fort built, it is said, by Hussain Shāh, Sultan of Bengal; and one can imagine that sea-going ships were once able to lie alongside its river-wall and discharge their cargoes. Further east are a number of tanks, one of which, known as Jehāngir's Tank, being of considerable size." Sātgāon is an inconsiderable village now, but true to its name, it is still said to consist of seven villages contiguous to each other, which go by the names of Bāsubpur, Bansabāti, Krisnapur, Nityānandapur, Sibpur, Sankhanagar and Sātgāon proper. The Saraswatī is now a small stream having a "belt of low land on each side about a quarter of a mile in total breadth, which is sometimes filled in the rains." Apart from its commercial

greatness Sātgaon was pre-eminently a place of religion and consisted of a number of temples which were frequented by Sādhus. Even now it claims

A HISTORIC TEMPLE

of which a short account may not be uninteresting. About the twelfth century A. D. when Vallāla Sen was king of Bengal, the Suvarnavanikas (banker caste) were among the most influential of his subjects. They were the Rothschilds of their day and many a time obliged the king with loans of money. They incurred the displeasure of the ruler of the land owing to Vallavānanda, one of their caste-men, refusing him a fresh loan while his former debts were unpaid, and the angry fiat of that irresponsible king drove them away from the capital. Attracted by the mercantile splendour of Sātgaon which was at the time in the hey-day of its glory, some of them came and resided there. Among them was one Nilāmbar Dutt. A descendant of his, Uddhāran Dutt, was a saint and an associate of Lord Gaurānga when he preached his Gospel of Love in the fourteenth century. The temple referred to above was dedicated to saint Uddhāran and is considered as of great importance owing to its being one of the twelve seats of religion of the Vaisnavas. Besides an image of the God, the temple holds the remains of Uddhāran Dutt and a *Mādhavī* tree hoary with age. Tradition has it that when Lord Nityānanda visited Sātgaon, Uddhāran cooked his food for him, and the twig used for this purpose was planted at the spot by Nītāi himself. This has now developed into a mighty *Mādhavī* tree, the diameter of its trunk measuring six feet. The temple, with its adjuncts, has been renovated only recently and some wealthy gentlemen of the Suvarnavanik community contemplate acquiring

land in the vicinity and making Sātgaon their country-seat. A representation has also been made to the authorities of the East Indian Railway Company to have the name of the Trisbiga station changed into the historic one of Saptagrām. A festival is held in December every year at this place as well as in the neighbouring villages of Trivenī and Krisnapur, when there is a large concourse of people. The places

ROUND AND ABOUT SATGAON

are more or less of historic interest. The church at Bandel—about a mile to the south of Sātgaon, was founded in 1599 and is regarded as the oldest Christian building in Bengal. M. Grandpré writing in 1803, speaks of the excellence of the cheese prepared at Bandel. Hard by upstands Hugli which was built on the ruins of old Sātgaon and remained the chief seat of the maritime trade of Bengal until the founding of Calcutta half a century later. It has now dwindled back into the almost insignificant town that it was formerly. It was at Hugli that the first press in Bengal was set up, and there in 1778, the first book in Bengali—Halhed's Grammar—was printed. Warren Hastings often came to visit his "elegant Marian" when she was putting up with the Mottes at Hugli House. About a couple of miles from this place was the house of Major Phil Baggs at Hugli where the celebrated Madame Grand used to stay. She will be remembered here, on the banks of the Ganges, as the *chère amie* of Sir Philip Francis, the reputed "Junius." It was as the wife of Talleyrand that she reappeared on the banks of the Seine.

KIRAN NATH DHAR, B.A.

Art. V.—THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

I.—BENGAL.

THE present extraordinary development of the Press is apt to confound us as to its origin and early history. Journalism in its origin was only a regular system of communication of news by means of written signs. Journalism as an agency for supplying opinions is a very modern innovation—a recent improvement so to say. Newspapers were originally very humble things and small, and they supplied news pure and simple. Such primitive journalism was independent not only of printing but writing itself. Accordingly the origin of journalism can be traced to the ancient Postal System of Europe and Western Asia and to the ancient spy system of India.*

* It may not be generally known that the development of the *Roman Journal* was due to a decree of Cæsar that the reports of the sittings of the Senate as well as those of the people should "be daily written out and published." Publication then meant posting on a wall. The facts may be familiar to readers of Tacitus, Suetonius, Livy and Pliny. But all who were interested could not read the reports themselves. It accordingly grew customary to apply to one of the people who made a business of collecting news to transmit to those who wanted them. These were the ancestors of the reporters of to-day; but then as the profession was not overesteemed, they were simply called workmen—*operarii*. The name of Chrestos borne by one permits the supposition that they were Greeks, that is to say, those pliant, dexterous and intelligent people who insinuated themselves everywhere, and were to do aught than die of hunger. In prowling the streets, in listening to what was said in the Forum, they picked up certain stories, which they strung together and made into a farrago to which serious persons sometimes gave a derogatory name—*compilatio*, but which did not fail to give the Roman lost in some corner of Germany or Africa a moment's diversion. When Augustus forbade the further publication of the reports of the proceedings in the Senate, the news of Rome, formerly an accessory, became the main feature of the *Journal*—the *Acta senatus et populi* was henceforth called the *Acta diurna populi romani*. As there was no printing then, slave copyists were numerous at Rome, they wrote rapidly, they were cheap, and their work was sufficient for the circulation of the manuscript *Journal*. When Cicero felt the need of rousing public opinion in his favour in the affair of Catiline, he found a large enough number of copyists to transcribe and circulate, through all Italy and in provinces, the depositions of the witnesses against the conspirators. But the ancient Romans, while

India under her ancient Hindu rulers maintained a vigorous Intelligence Department with agents at home and abroad. It consisted of employees both avowed and unavowed. To the category of the avowed belonged the ambassadors and envoys accredited to Foreign States and the members of their missions. These ancient Hindu ambassadors depended upon secret emissaries in their pay for procuring information to send home as well as to enable them to act with effect in the interest of their own sovereign. These emissaries and intelligencers of the ancient Hindu Sovereigns can be regarded as the earliest journalists of India—the humble precursors of modern journalism—the rude forefathers of the colossus of the Press of our day.*

When the Mahomedans conquered India, they adopted the Indian system of governing with the assistance of emissaries and news-agents and improved it considerably. They introduced into it a distinct sense of responsibility and made it a truly workmanlike organisation. During the Mogul Period in especial it took shape as a Press in the sense of the present day as a re-organisable journalism before the use of printing.

availing themselves of the journals, felt at bottom small esteem for them. They found them useful for circulating official documents and communicating news, but they did not think their province capable of further extension. In fact, the old Romans had no experience of journalism.

* The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has the following on the origin of English newspapers: "The first English journalists were the writers of 'news-letters' originally the dependants of great men, each employed in keeping his own master or patron well informed during his absence from court of all that transpired there. The duty grew at length into a calling. The writer had his periodical subscription list, and instead of writing a single letter wrote as many letters as he had customers. Then one more enterprising than the rest established an 'intelligence office' with a staff of clerks. The manuscript news-letters—some of them proceeding from writers of marked ability who had access to official information and were able to write with greater freedom and independence of tone than the compilers of the printed news—held their ground, although within narrowing limits, until the middle of the eighteenth century."

Waqānegaur or news-agent or intelligencer became a regular department of the State to supply news, descriptions of events and ceremonies, complaints, etc., to the Court at regular intervals in the form of *waqās* or news-letters. They were regularly written by *waqāyā nevis* or news-writers in the Newsbooks of the State which were kept at all centres of the Government. The head of the Department was called *Waqānegaur* or State Intelligencer. In the early annals of the English in Bengal during the first half of the eighteenth century, the English factors frequently availed of these News-agents at Hooghly, then a centre of the Mogul Government in Bengal, to bring their grievances to the notice of the Court. The following are taken from the Bengal Public Consultations.

March 27th 1704—70.—RAMCHANDRA'S INSTRUCTIONS. It is ordered that Rámachandra, the *Vakil*, be sent at once to Hugli. He is to write down in his own language the following directions :—"He is to declare to the Governor, the *Buxie* (*Bakhshi*), and *Wacca Nevis* (*Waqāyānevis*), that we have appointed him vacqueel in Hugli for the affairs of the English."

Thus it is clear that *waqāyānevis* was an important functionary of the Governor of Hooghly, so much so that the appointment of a vakeel was thought necessary to be brought to his notice so that he might enter that fact in his Newsbooks—*waqas*—for the information of the Court. On the 1st June 1714 the following occurs in the Consultations :—

853—PRESENT TO THE ROYAL MESSENGERS.—June 1st the two Gursburs, the Swanagur, the Buxey Naib, the Mufty and the Botard being come from Hugli to be Witnesses of the public show and Rejoicing we made for the Honour of the King's Seerpaw, which that they may notifie in their *Vacca's* (*Waqas*) to Court. Its necessary on that occasion to make them a small Present in Goods, etc."

On the 28th April and 5th May 1715, the following two remarkable entries occur :—

916—COMPLAINTS OF EXTORTION AT CASSIMBAZAR.—

April 28th—"The Duan conniving att the Custome Officers at Cassimbuzar, or encouraging them to seize several of our Merchants Factors, who provided goods for us on pretence of Custome, which the King excuses us from the payment of, and Wee having wrote severall addresses to the Duan complaining of the grievance which his Officers have not suffered our Vacqueel to deliver, Ordered Therefore now Wee are sending the customary yearly present to the Governour and officers in Hugli that Messrs. Samuella and Browne and William Spencer go to Hugli and in the Governor's Durbarr request the Vaccanagur [*Waqānegaur*] and News Writers to note the cause of our Complaint in the Vacca's [*waqās*] and public Newspapers, by which means it will of necessity come to the Duan's knowledge and possibly induce him to Order the money extorted from our people may be returned to them, or att least those under confinement be released and no more extorted from them."

919.—THE ENGLISH PROTEST RECORDED IN THE NEWS-BOOK—May 5th—"Messrs. Browne and Spencer being returned from Hugli the 2nd Instant delivered in a copy of an Article in the News Books entered at their Desire by the Vaccanagur (*Waqānegaur*) the Translate of which is entered after this Consultation.

A Copy of an Article in the News Books (entered in it) att the desire of Messrs. Browne and Spencer by the Wackanagur (or Intelligencer).

Messrs. Browne and Spencer who are Members in the Government of Calcutta whom the Governour Mr. Hedges hath sent hither They on the Day of Adaulatt (or Justice) declared that by the Order of his Imperiall Majestie whatever they bought or sold was exempted from Custome that the Nabab conformable to that order had given his Parwana for our free trade since which the Droga of the Custome house att Muxsoosavad took from their Factors (who had bought Silk and Sugar on their Account) Custome by force upon this they

writ a letter of request to the Nabab but his Officers throwing Obstacles in the way their Vackeil had not an opportunity to present itt for which reason all their Factors refuse to receive Impress money for goods for their expected Ships whose arrivall approaches that they were in hope this affaire being entered in the news Book, a Request will be made to the Nabob to exempt us (according to ancient usage) from Custome and that an Order will be issued forth for the restoreing what hath been taken from their Factors by force.

Upon this the Wackanagur entered in the News Book according to Information given, that if for the future the Droga of the Cuttchurray did not refraine from exacting Custome from the English (conformable to the Imperiall order, and the Duans Perwanna) and restore what he has hitherto violently exacted by obstructing the English affaires, great numbers of Merchants will suffer for in Stopping the English trade, all the trade of Bengall is stopt.

Theres likewise entered by the Sanwannagr* and Eckbarnavis† in their News Books, an article of the same intent and meaning with the above written."

1025—THREE ROYAL RESCRIPTS—June 10th, 1717.—"Mr. Feake delivered a letter from Coja Surhaud in which He received three of the Kings Royall Phirmauns attested by the Cozzee of Dilly of Which He now gives us Two, One for Madrass, and One for Surat, the other for Bengall. He left att Cossimbuzar, He likewise delivered an Attestation under the Seals of the Swannagur Wackernagur, and the Herrcoradroga, Concerning the Cullundan Stoten from Contoo the Cassimbuzar Broker, in which were several Bills of Debt on the Company.

1061—PRESENTS FOR THE IMPERIAL OFFICERS—November 25th.—The Vaccanagur Swannagur Herrcora also the Cozzee's Naib, Mufties Naib, and the Botard being come from Hugli to take Notice of the Ceremony's and Respect. We mett and received the Kings favours with It is necessary we give each

* "Sanwannagur" or more correctly "Sawannehnegaur" means A special correspondent or Reporter as distinguished from "Waqayanegaur" or general Reporter or Intelligencer. "Waqayanegauri" or "Waqayanevisi" was a different department from "Sawannehnegauri" or "Sawannehnevisi."

† Eckbarnavis is a subordinate post to *Waqayanegaur*.

of them a present on this Occasion to influence their giving a handsome account of it (to the Court).

All these authentic details clearly show that the Imperial News-agent or Reporter or Intelligencer was a powerful functionary in the Mogul *régime*.

The earliest distinct mention of ante-typographic newspapers is to be found in the *Muntakhabât-Al-Lubâb* of Khafi Khan where we find the death news of Raja Ram, of the House of Sivaji, brought to the Imperial Camp by the newspapers. The great historian also gives us clearly to understand that the common soldiers in Aurangzeb's time were supplied with their newspapers. We are told by the historian that Aurangzeb allowed great liberty to the Press in the matter of news. As an example he cites a case of a Bengal newspaper commenting rather severely on the matter of the Emperor's relation with his grandson Mirza Azim Oshan. In *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, there is a mention made of Kaem Khan, son of Jafer Khan, head of the Post and Gazette Office. The Indu-French translator in a note* writes on the difference between the

* The note runs thus :—"The Vacca-nuvis or Remembrancer, or Gazetteer, and the Savana-nuvis, or Historiographer, and the Harcara or Spy, were appointed for writing down the events that might happen in the respective provinces, territories, and districts of their residence. Their duty was to inhabit such cities and towns as were the seats of command and Government, to the end that they might have it in their power to write down at daybreak such events as should have happened the whole day and night before, and to send the paper to the Emperor. There were posts established, that carried the dispatches, with all speed, and in all weathers, to Court, where a Daroga or Inspector examined the same ; after which he reduced to a concise exposition the substance of such as deserved the Imperial notice, presenting at the same time, the whole detail as forwarded by the provincial intelligencers. Nevertheless whatever amongst those papers was addressed personally to the Emperor, was sacred, and could not be set open by any other than his own. It was perused by the Monarch himself, who alone could break the seal, and he alone ordered what he thought proper about the contents. By these means the Emperor was informed of every private man's affairs. He knew what one had done to his neighbours at four hundred leagues from Court and what the latter had done to others ; and what such an one wanted from such. Another, and what this other pretended

two offices, which demonstrates the development of an institution as near our present Press. During the declining period of the Mogul Empire the manuscript Press continued their circulation. Thus we find British popular historians noticing that in the summer of 1792 the public newspapers of Delhi stated that the Emperor had expressed to Madhaji Sindhia and the Peshwa his hope that they would enable him to recover the imperial tribute from the Bengal Provinces.

Coming to the nineteenth century we find in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 15th April 1813—"the late Lahore *Ukhbars* are principally filled with details of the progress of the united army of Runjeet Singh and of Futteh Khan, Vizier of Kabul in the conquest of Cashmere." The same *Gazette* of 22nd April opens thus:—"The Hindustan newspapers received since our last publication remove all doubt as to the occupation of Attock by the forces of Runjeet Singh." These Panjabi newspapers show that in Mogul time the Press had struck root sufficiently and was so appreciated as an important agency for the supply of news that on the decay and destruction of the Mogul Empire, the journalists continued it on their own

from this antagonist; he knew all that, and gave directions accordingly. Nor was it uncommon for him to be informed by such a channel of the request and wishes of the concerned ones; nor at all extraordinary to see directions arrive at the cities of their residence long before their private petitions could have reached the Court. So that the petitioners often had gained their cause in the middle of a distant province, sometime before they had agreed upon the wording of their petitions. But all this correspondence was for the Emperor's personal inspection only; for if at any time it came to appear, that the secret Gazetteer, or the Remembrancer, or any other public officer, had himself found means to acquire the least interest with the Imperial Princes or with the Grandees of the Court, or with the men in eminent station, or was in any connection with them; such a man was forthwith dismissed, and another appointed in his stead; and to this purpose there are yet extant notes written by the Emperor Aoreng-Zib's hand, to his own Vezir, Assed-ghan; and here is a copy of one: COPY OF A NOTE OF AORENG-ZIB AALEM-GHIR TO HIS VEZIR—"My grandson, Mahmed-muez-eddin (he that reigned afterwards under the name of Djehandar-Shah)

account.* In this connection I wish to mention two famous men who were connected with journalism in the eighteenth century. One was Asaf Jah's minister,

has been writing to me to recommend N. N. Remembrancer, of such a province. Of course something must be done for him; but yet, the man is to be dismissed from that office directly, that the Gazetteer may remember to write Gazettes no more.

As interest has taken place,
Abilities have been absconded;
And a hundred sorts of films
Have covered his eyeballs.

But the answer he sent to that grandson himself, is still more curious. Here it is:—

"Dutiful sons, that are acquainted with their father's temper, do not write recommendations in behalf of Gazetteers, and such sort of people. Your request is granted, and the man has been promoted accordingly; but yet he has been dismissed from that office. Do not commit the like offence again."

"In short, as amongst the arts of Government, information and knowledge of the state of the land and of its inhabitants hold a principal rank; and the interest of the Legislators in gathering knowledge, is always to tranquillise and quiet the people of God, by whose providence the Princes and Rulers have come to have the command and power over them; and as the happiness and ease of the subject is their main concern; so to obtain the above end, no less than four persons have been appointed to discharge the duties of this one office of intelligence, *to wit*, the Vacaay-nugar or Remembrancer, the Sevanah-nugar or Gazetteer, the Qhofiah-neviss or Secret-writer, and the Harcara or Spy, to the end, that should any one or any two of them attempt to send in writing an unfaithful account, still the truth and real state of things might soon be investigated by comparing their information with the accounts by the two or three others is a discovery always followed by the disgrace of the faithless or uninformed writer, who never failed to be dismissed from a post of honour and affluence, and to be consigned to shame and distress. Now all those offices being suppressed it comes to pass that, not only in villages, but in towns, and in renowned cities, the servants, the favourites, the dependants, nay very often, the very spies and emissaries of a zemindar, having wriggled themselves into the service of Government, commit upon the inhabitants a variety of oppressions and exactions, and always with the utmost safety; nor is there found a single man to ask them what they are doing; so far from there being anyone to inflict a condign chastisement upon them. It is then worth an observer's while to examine what kind of Government existed thus and how matters stand now; and what were the circumstances of the subject then and what they are to-day." *Seir-Mutagherin*, Vol. III, pp. 173-175.

* On the surrender of the fortress of Agra to the British Army under the command of Lord Lake in the year 1803, among a good deal of treasure and much valuable property was a *printing press* with the types ready set for some Oriental production. Major William Yule of the Bengal Army, through his friend Lieutenant Arnold Nisbett Mathews of the Bengal Artillery got a proof-sheet of it containing six pages of the *Qoran*. The type was an excellent one and "none as far as I can judge," says Major Yule, "none exists in Europe or elsewhere equal to it." *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, May 1861.

Azim-ul-Omrah. He was originally a gentleman of the Press but rose in time to be prime minister of Asaf Jah. The other was Mirza Ali Beg—the Imperial Gazetteer (*Waqānegaur*)—the *Doyen* of journalists throughout the empire. This officer was in constant attendance upon His Majesty. In his time the official intelligencer in Guzerat was Abdul Jaleel, a Syed of Belgram, who was also paymaster of the forces in that important province.*

The Press, as we now find it in India, is an essentially European institution. It followed missionaries rather than merchants. The first book printed by Europeans in any part of Asia, was produced at Goa in 1556, two generations before it noted, after Vasco da Gama reached Calicut by the Cape. This was the *Catechism of Doctrine* of St. Francis Xavier. There was another press worked by Portuguese missionaries in 1577 at Ambalacatta which produced books in Malayam. Colombo, though on the oldest Eastern trade route, had no press till 1737. Bombay got the printing press in 1674† when Mr. Henry Hills was sent

* The foregoing paragraphs are the barest summary of a long note on Indian journalism in Hindu and Mahomedan times, which I hope to publish in full on a future occasion.

† On the 9th January 1690 the following letter was addressed by the Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay to the Court of Directors in London: "Bhimjee Parrack (Parakh) makes his humble request to you that you would please to send out an able printer to Bombay, for that he hath a curiosity and earnest inclination to have some of the Brahmini writings in print: and for the said Printer's encouragement he is willing to allow him £50 sterling a year for three years and also to be at the charges of tools and instruments necessary for him. And in case that will not be sufficient he humbly refers it to your Prudence to agree with the said Printer according as you shall see good and promises to allow what you shall consider. 'Tis not improbable that this curiosity of his may tend to a common good and by the industry of some searching spirits produce discoveries out of those or other ancient manuscripts of these parts which may be useful or at least grateful to Posterity." The letter of a request for the printer who was to save "the Brahmini writting" from oblivion, reaching London after many months, was warmly welcomed by the Directors who replied on the 3rd April 1674, that they had "engaged Mr. Henry Hills a Printer for the Island of Bombay at a salary of £50 per annum and had despatched

out by the Court of Directors at a salary of £50 per annum with a printing press, types and considerable quantity of paper. Printing was practised at Madras in 1772, and an official printing press was established at Calcutta in 1779 under the direction of Mr. Wilkins* (or Sir Charles as he afterwards became). In the previous year, 1778, Mr. Wilkins printed at Hooghli in Bengali character, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengal Language* † For convenience of treatment, the history of the Press of Bengal is taken up first, after which will follow that of Bombay, Madras

him in one of their ships with a printing press, type and considerable quantity of paper." The whole cost of the business was, they added, to be charged to Bhimjee. But whereas the Bania's sole object was the publication and conservation of the ancient scriptures of the East, the Directors who were deeply imbued with the religious sentiments of Puritan England, desired to make use of the press to "propagate our religion whereby souls may be gained as well as estates." On Mr. Hills' arrival Bhimjee suffered some disappointment, for the type which the former brought with him was, like himself, purely Western; and apparently, though a skilled printer, he was far from being a type founder. It was not until eight years later that the Directors realised that the religious love of the Gentoos or Gentiles might possess an antiquarian if not a spiritual value; and decided to send out a type founder "to cut the Bania letters."

* Sir Charles Wilkins was the father of native typography in Bengal. When he commenced the study of Eastern Languages, the means of printing in any Oriental character did not exist. He determined to create them. He could not have been much beyond the age of twenty-five when he set to work, and with his own hands fabricated the first fount of types in the Bengalee character, and it was with these types that Halhed's Bengalee Grammar was printed at Hugli in the year 1778. He at the same time instructed a native blacksmith of the name of Panchanun, in this difficult art. Panchanun on the arrival of the Missionaries at Serampore in 1799 hearing that they proposed to commence printing in the native languages came and offered his services, and executed for them the fount of Bengalee in which the first edition of the Bengalee New Testament was printed, and the Devanagree types used in printing Dr. Carey's Sanskrit Grammar. There is a remarkable similarity in the shape of Panchanun's Bengalee type, and that cut by Sir Charles Wilkins. Panchanun died about the year 1802, but not before he had fully instructed in this useful art, a native of the name of Manohar, who, during his life, executed more than twenty-thousand punches for the Serampur Press in the various characters prevalent in Asia. The punch-cutters who now labour in Calcutta are all Manohar's disciples.

† For further information, the reader is asked to read the late Dr. Richard Garnett's "Introduction of European Printing into the East," a paper of the transactions of the Second International Library Conference.

and the North-Western Provinces including the Panjab.

The introduction of the Press in Bengal was not effected by those who had built slowly the magnificent empire which we now admire as a miracle, but by a band of adventurous men who were allured to this country in the expectation of shaking the "Pagoda Tree." When the great Corporation were still insecure in their territorial possessions, Mr. Bolts* affixed to the door of the Council House and other public places the following notice for advertisements in Calcutta in September 1768†:—

"TO THE PUBLIC

Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public that the want of a printing press in this city being of

* Mr. William Bolts was born about 1740; was a merchant of Dutch extraction; being in Calcutta in 1759 was taken into the E. I. Co.'s service: engaged in private trade like other civil servants: became an Alderman or Judge of the Mayor's Court in Calcutta: was second in Council at Benares in 1764: being censured by the Court of Directors for his private trading under the Company's authority and recalled, resigned in 1766: then practised as a Counsel in the Mayor's Court: quarrelled with the Bengal Authorities, was arrested in 1768 as an interloper and deported to England; published an important work called *Considerations on Indian Affairs* about 1770: in 1772 brought out its second edition in which he bitterly attacked the Bengal Authorities in the Preface for his deportation and sufferings: Governor Verelst replied, and Bolts published another edition of his book as a reply in 1775: made a large fortune in India by private trade, but could not take it away: spent much in his defence of the law suits brought against him by the E. I. Co. for some years: entered Austrian service: became a Colonel and founded stations in India for an Austrian Company: these came to nothing: died in Paris in 1808.

† This date (1768) seems to me to be incorrect, as Mr. Bolts was ordered to be deported from Calcutta in 1767. Though he could not be actually deported to be India he was forced to fly to Chinsurah, then a Dutch Settlement, whence he defied the Company's orders for deportation. In the Rev. Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government*, there are two selections from the Records of 1767—915 [Proceedings, November 5th, 1767]—938—[Letter to Court of Directors, December 10th 1767, para. 75] in which we find Bolts still at Chinsurah defying the orders of the Bengal Authorities. It may be 1766. Mr. Beveridge in No. CLXIII. of the *Calcutta Review*, p. 129, says that Mr. Bolts was deported in September 1876.

great disadvantage in business and making it extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community, as is of the utmost importance to every British subject, he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing to manage a press, the types and utensils of which he can produce. In the meantime, he begs leave to inform the public that having in manuscript many things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual, any person who may be induced by curiosity or other more laudable motives, will be permitted at Mr. Bolts's house to read or take copies of the same. A person will give due attendance at the hours of from ten to twelve any morning."

But Mr. Bolts's idea of setting up a printing press in Calcutta for publishing a newspaper was not carried out as he had to leave the country very soon under penalty, as the following extract, from the *Proceedings* of the Select Committee of the Council at Fort William, dated 18th April 1767, will show:—

"That Mr. Bolts having on this and many other occasions endeavoured to draw an odium upon the administration and to promote faction and discontent in the settlement, has rendered himself unworthy of any further indulgence from the Committee and of the Company's protection. That therefore he be directed to quit Bengal and proceed to Madras on the first ship that shall sail from that Presidency in the month of July next in order to take his passage from thence to Europe in September."

This forcible deportation shelved Mr. Bolts's idea of publishing a newspaper in Calcutta for at least twelve years more when it found a redoubtable champion again in a Mr. James Augustus Hicky, about whose personality

we know almost nothing.* He started on Saturday, 29th January, 1780, the *Bengal Gazette*, the first Indian newspaper, which announced itself as "A weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none." It consisted of two sheets about twelve inches by eight, three columns of printed matter on each side, much of which was devoted to advertisements: the

* Dr. Busted in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* thus writes about James Augustus Hicky:—The proprietor was a Mr. James Augustus Hicky who was probably a printer by trade and had come out from England possibly under engagement from the India House as in one of his early addresses to the public (a form of communication in which he was fond of indulging) he describes himself as the "first and the late printer to the Honourable Company" and in another as "free of the Printers and Stationers Company in London." Judging from his editorial notices which affect a high moral aim and are variegated with lofty maxims and saucy roughness, he was a very illiterate man. At one critical period of his newspaper, he informs the public how he took such an enterprise in hand, but his explanation does not go back to his European antecedents, but starts with his being locally engaged in a trading and ship-owning venture. He then states that in the years 1775-76 he met with many very heavy losses by sea—that in the latter year his vessel returned to Calcutta with her cargo damaged, while a bond of his became due for some four thousand rupees. To meet this he offered his all, two thousand rupees, but "the black Bengal merchants proved inflexible." Finally he gave up his vessel, cargo, and all his household effects to his creditors and in October, 1776, "delivered up his person at the jail of Calcutta to free his bail, and for the first time in all his life entered the walls of a prison." How he got out again he does not say, but he next appears "striking out a plan of industry to maintain his family and work for his creditors instead of giving himself up to melancholy reflections and indulgence. At this he laboriously continued with fair encouragement from several gentlemen of the Settlement for two years and then ventured further in the same direction "although" he explained, "I have no particular passion for printing of newspapers, I have no propensity; I was not bred to a slavish life of hard work, yet I take a pleasure in enslaving my body in order to purchase freedom for my mind and soul." The result of this magnanimity was the publication of *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*. There is a mutilated file of this newspaper in the Calcutta Imperial Library (formerly Calcutta Public Library) from its commencement down to 102nd No., dated January 5th, 1782, and there is still a better copy, though also incomplete, in the British Museum, which bears this entry on the fly-leaf, "from March, 1780, to March, 1782, The Day the Types were seized by Order," but which really begins from April 1st, 1780 and ends on March 23rd 1782. Professor H. Morse Stephens of California University has secured a set of *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* from No. 1 of January 29th 1780 to No. 102 of January 5th 1782. For the information given about the *Bengal Gazette*, I am greatly indebted to Mr. H. E. Busted and his valuable book, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 3rd edition.

greater portion of the small budget was made up of correspondence from local and distant contributors and occasional extracts from the news last received from Europe. The paper and printing were very poor. It was the first newspaper printed or published in India.

When permission was sought from the Governor-General and his Council, it was generously accorded to Mr. Hicky in the belief that the publication of a newspaper in Calcutta would materially contribute to the conveniences of its population. And if the conductor of the paper continued it as he began it, the *Bengal Gazette* might have grown in time into an indispensable factor of Calcutta public life, but all these pleasant expectations were shattered when Mr. Hicky took to catering for the lowest tastes. Not only in Calcutta, but even in distant provinces, the people grew impatient at Hicky's abuse as the following extract from a letter, written by Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse,* and dated the 21st April 1781, to the Governor-General from the Ganjam District of Madras, shows:—

"But I really wonder at your patience in suffering such a man as Hicky to publish loads of abuse every Saturday: we did not get the paper here nor have we for these six weeks, but we hear of his abuse from other quarters with the same expression of astonishment. It is true the man himself is not the author, but some pitiful fellow who dares not avow his insolence and wishes to stab in the dark. Yet still such a thing as that Gazette in such a place as this is not allowable: and such, good Sir, was my opinion when you too readily agreed to the first publication of a newspaper. I then told you

* This extract is taken from Colonel Pearse's life in the *Military Repository*. Colonel Pearse was Warren Hastings' second in the Famous Duel with Sir Philip Francis. For an account of the Colonel's life, see Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography.

that the year would not pass before it became the channel of personal and public abuse and so it is."

Long before this letter was received by the Governor-General, he himself became indignant at the scurrility hurled against Mrs. Hastings and promulgated the following order of Government:—

Fort William, 14th November 1780.—"Public notice is hereby given that as a weekly newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*, printed by J. A. Hicky, has lately been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the settlement, it is no longer permitted to be circulated through the channel of the General Post Office."

This order, of course, stopped the circulation of the "unscrupulous" journal to places beyond Calcutta, but allowed its full and unrestricted despatch within the town. Nothing daunted at the action of the Government which caused him an immediate loss of four hundred rupees, Hicky made his paper all the more abusive. Through hired peons* he arranged to circulate his paper to the neighbouring places of Calcutta, such as Burdwan, Hooghly, Olubaria, etc., etc. Persons of official and social position were assailed in terms of malicious hostility, and even ladies in society were not spared. But Hastings and Impey were, above all others, the target for Hicky's boisterous mockery. And bitterly did they pay him out when the time came to strike. In various ways Hicky abused the Governor-General and insulted Mrs. Hastings. Mr. Hastings, of whose few faults one of the most prominent was that he never for gave, at last came down upon the scandal-monger and

* Rev. J. Long, in his "*Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a Century ago*," says "Hickey (*sic*) employed 20 hurkarras (peons) to distribute his paper."

smashed both the paper and the publisher. In June 1781 an armed band, consisting of several Europeans, some sepoys, and between three or four hundred peons, came to arrest Hicky under an order from the Chief Justice at the suit of the Governor. His gate having been battered in with a sledge hammer, he sallied out on them with his arms, and refusing to be forcibly taken away, undertook to attend the Judge in Court on being shown a legal authority for his arrest. The Court having adjourned before he got there, that same day he was lodged in jail and the next morning before the Supreme Court "two indictments were read out to him on the prosecution of Warren Hastings, Esq." Bail for forty thousand rupees for his appearance to each of them was demanded; he offered all that he could muster, namely, five thousand, which was refused, and he was accordingly remanded to jail to prepare his defence as best as he could.

The object of sending Hicky to jail and confining him there was, no doubt, to extinguish his paper, but in this it failed, for Hicky continued to edit his *Bengal Gazette* in jail with no falling off in the punctuality of its appearance and no change in the style of its matter. The same abusive tone was vigorously maintained. In January 1782 the plaintiff, Warren Hastings, returned to Calcutta after some months' absence in the North-Western Provinces, and the *Bengal Gazette* was found to make the following announcement:—

"In January 1782 was tried before Sir E. Impey an action brought by Warren Hastings, Esq., against J. A. Hicky on the same indictment on which the said Warren Hastings had the said J. A. Hicky tried and found guilty at the Assizes last June, and for which the said J. A. Hicky was sentenced to remain one year in prison and pay a fine of 2,000 rupees to the said Warren Hastings

who has on Wednesday last had damages given him by Sir E. Impey to the very heavy sum of 5,000 sicca rupees which with the fine of June amount to 7,000 rupees, with a long confinement of one year in jail in this dangerous and scorching climate."

But even this did not discourage Hicky from continuing his paper, but made him more bold in attacking his wrong-doer. Hastings too was relentless in his persecutions of Hicky whom we see, early in March 1782, making the following announcement:—

"Mr. Hicky addresses his citizens and fellow subjects with heartfelt joy, and tells them that on 7th March (1782) the King's judges inclined to admit him to plead *in forma pauperis* in defending four fresh actions brought him this term by Warren Hastings, Esq.; and that Mr. Counsellor Davis (for plaintiff) did make a motion and plea in bar of Mr. Hicky's types being exempted from seizure, setting forth that the said printing types did constitute and form a great part of Mr. Hicky's property and hoped their Lordships would not protect the said types from being seized upon should judgment be obtained against him. This motion the honourable the King's judges strongly opposed as repugnant to the British Legislature and constitution and treated it with the contempt it so very justly merited. Thus by protecting the types, they have protected the liberty of the subject and the liberty of the press."

In the next number he makes the following appeal to the public:—

"A scene of continued tyranny and oppression for two years having reduced Mr. Hicky very much in his circumstances, involved him more in debt and injured his business very considerably, though he is still immured in a jail where he has been these nine long months

separated from his family and friends, at the suit of Warren Hastings, Esq., and where he still expects to remain, as the said Warren Hastings has brought no less than six fresh actions against him this term, etc."

But the types and the press were seized soon after by the order of the Supreme Court, and the first Indian newspaper was strangled.*

When Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* was scarcely two months' old, a rival paper, the *India Gazette* † by name

* The ill-fated proprietor and editor remained in jail whence he appealed to the Judges of the Supreme Court for mercy. On 17th January 1783, he addressed the Chief Justice as follows:—

"I have now been confined in this jail upwards of nineteen long months and nine long months of that time have been deprived of the means of earning one rupee for the support of my family, entirely owing to the seizure of the implements and tools of my profession, and not being able to pay the rent of a small brickhouse for my children to live in, they have been, until the Christmas holidays, immured in jail with myself. You, Sir, who have many fine children of your own (God bless them) cannot be at a loss in forming an idea what the feelings of a tender father must be who daily beholds his little innocent children pining away under the contaminated air of a filthy jail, *who has the inclination but not power* to relieve them. Yet great and afflicting as those hardships really have been and still will continue to be, I have never complained of them, nor do I complain of them now; my only motive for this short description being to prove to your Lordship that these afflictions are full sufficient for me to bear without having them wantonly aggravated by a man to whom I never gave the least offence."

In the following August (1783) he writes from the Birjee Jail and says that he had been "already two years in jail, during sixteen months of which he had been deprived of the means of earning a rupee for the support of his family, twelve in number, whose only subsistence was derived from the production of a few bills which happily he had by him." But all his 'peals for mercy from jail were of no avail. Most probably he served the full term of his imprisonment and was released. In the miscellaneous correspondence of Warren Hastings as preserved in the British Museum, there are two letters dated 1793 and 1800 respectively from James Augustus Hicky from which we learn that the father of the First Indian Newspaper was still at Calcutta in 1800, his family still too young to work and with no prospect but that of begging their bread in the streets. In 1800 Hicky invited Warren Hastings to do something for him and his family preferably by getting him the post of Deputy to the Clerk of the Calcutta Market. The curious reader should go through Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* for the Life and Death of the First Indian Newspaper, Chapter VIII.

† This paper was nicknamed by Hicky the *Monitorial Gazette* in allusion to a weekly contribution in it addressed, as all letters were, to "Mr. Monitor" which

(a well printed paper of four pages, each about sixteen inches long, divided into three columns), was started in November, 1780, by Mr. Peter Reed (a salt agent) and Mr. B. Messinck, who was connected with theatrical speculation or proprietorship. It was a weekly paper set up with the object of counteracting the evils Hicky was sowing in society. The type for its production was got by purchase from the venerable missionary Kiernander; within two years, *i.e.*, in 1782, Mr. Peter Reed withdrew from the joint undertaking of the *India Gazette*, whose place was filled up by Mr. Charles Johnston.* After the *India Gazette*, the following papers slowly cropped up in the Settlement:—The *Calcutta Gazette*† (under the avowed patronage of Government, and as such, exempted from postage) 4th March 1784; the *Bengal Journal*,

went on for sometime. Rev. J. Long, in his *Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a Century Ago*, describes the *Monitorial Gazette* as a separate paper from the *India Gazette*. This is an error. Dr. Buteed, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* has not contradicted Rev. Long.

Mr. Thomas, the first Baptist missionary in Bengal, finding no religious people in Calcutta in 1783, advertised for a Christian thus on 1st November 1783 in the *India Gazette*:—

Religious Society. "A plan is now forming for the more effectually spreading the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and his glorious Gospel in and about Bengal: any serious persons of any denomination, rich or poor, high or low, who would heartily approve of, join in or gladly forward such an undertaking are hereby invited to give a small testimony of their inclination, that they may enjoy the satisfaction of giving a communion, the most useful, the most comfortable and the most exalted, in the world. Direct for A. B. C. to be left with the Editor."

* Author of the novel *Chrysal; or, the Adventures of a Guinea*. In 1782 he set out for India and after being shipwrecked on the way, arrived in Calcutta where he acquired a fortune by private trade. He was a regular writer to the Press under the nom-de-plume, "Onciropolos." He died in Calcutta in 1800.

† In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th March 1784, the following appears:—Official, Thursday, 11th March, 1784. The Honorable the Governor-General and Council having permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a Gazette under their sanction and authority, the Heads of Offices are hereby required to issue all such Advertisements or Publications as may be ordered on the part of the Honorable Company, through the channel of this paper.

Fort William
9th February 1784, } W. Bruare, Secretary.

February 1785; the *Oriental Magazine* or *Calcutta Amusement*, 6th April 1785, a monthly paper, in the first number of which is given an elegant engraving of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings with some account of his life and transactions; the *Calcutta Chronicle* January 1786. But I shall deal separately with each of these newspapers after finishing the general survey. In this introductory portion I wish to set forth in detail the relation of the Press with the ruling authorities.

It does not appear that, previously to 1799, there were uniform and consistent rules established in the three Presidencies (Bengal, Madras and Bombay) for guiding the conduct of the editors of newspapers or for restraining and punishing their excesses. Taking a retrospect of the measures, whether penal or precautionary, which the successive local governments took with the sanction of the authorities at home, it seems that before the year 1799 it was deemed expedient to resort to precautionary measures as particular cases arose without promulgating general rules for the conductors of newspapers. I have shown what measures were resorted to by Warren Hastings for bringing Hicky to punishment. Hicky's incarceration in jail and his complete discomfiture were enough to bring his other contemporaries to their senses. From 1780 to 1790 I have not been able to find the Government taking any measures, either penal or precautionary, to check any excesses on the part of newspaper editors or proprietors. From 1791 to 1799 several excesses occurred in the Calcutta Press, and I enumerate below the various measures the Government took to punish them.

In 1791, an American named William Duane was arrested by the Bengal Government and ordered

to be sent to Europe in consequence of an offensive paragraph which appeared in the *Bengal Journal* (established in February 1785) reflecting upon Colonel De Canaple, Commandant of the affairs of the French Nation (as he was styled) and his countrymen then residing in Calcutta. Mr. Duane, on that occasion, applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* which was granted. The writ having been served upon the acting town-major of Calcutta it was stated, in the return annexed thereto, that the Governor-General in Council* had ordered the arrest of Mr. Duane, with a view to his being sent to Europe; that the Governor-General in Council possessed the legal right to issue and enforce such orders and that in obedience thereto, Mr. Duane had been seized and was then detained in legal custody of the acting town-major. After a long and elaborate argument upon the validity of this return, the judges of the Supreme Court came to a solemn and unanimous decision recognising the right asserted by the Government; and Mr. Duane, who had been brought to Court, was remanded to the custody of the town-major. In consequence of the intercession of Mr. Fumeron, the French Agent, Government was induced to revoke its order for the embarkation of Mr. Duane; but that person having afterwards published in a paper called the *Indian World*, of which he was editor, a number of improper and intemperate articles and particularly an inflammatory address to the army, he was again arrested and sent to Europe in the end of 1794 †.

* Lord Cornwallis.

† The late Mr. William Digby writing in the *Calcutta Review*, No. cxxiv, Vol. lxii (1876) thus refers to Dr. Duane and his deportation:—

“The history of the *Indian World*, a newspaper started in 1794 by an Irish-American named William Duane, showed the contempt with which newspaper editors were treated in those days. Mr. Duane had made all arrangements to sell his paper

Two years after, in 1796, the editor of a Calcutta paper called *The Telegraph*, incurred the displeasure of Government, by inserting in his journal an article imputing to a gentleman in office, the extortion of the enormous *batta*,* taken by the Shroffs of Calcutta on the exchange of gold mohurs for silver. The editor, Mr. Holt M'Kenly, having been called upon to explain on what grounds the assertion contained in the paragraph had been made, replied that the paragraph had been

on 1st January 1795; and though he was not assailing the Government at that period, opportunity was taken to show him how heavily the hand of the ruler could smite. On the 27th December 1794, he was requested by the Private Secretary of Sir John Shore (then acting as Governor-General of India) Captain Collins, to call at Government House. Duane, conscious of no particular offence, thought this was an invitation to breakfast at the Governor-General's table, given because he was about to leave the country and was prompt in answering the summons. The following discussion ensued at Captain Collins meeting Mr. Duane in the room:—

Captain Collins—I am glad you are so punctual, Mr. Duane.

Mr. Duane—I generally am, Sir. I hope the Governor-General is well.

Captain Collins—He is not to be seen and—

Mr. Duane—I understood I was invited by him.

Captain Collins—Yes, Sir, I am directed by the Governor-General to inform you that you are to consider yourself a State prisoner.

A number of soldiers at a given signal, burst upon the scene and with drawn bayonets surrounded Mr. Duane who saw through an open door the Governor-General and two members of the Supreme Council sitting on a sofa.

Mr. Duane—I did not think, Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) or you, Sir, (turning to Captain Collins) could be so base and treacherous as to proceed, or even to think as you do.

Captain Collins—Silence, Sir. (To the soldiers): Drag him along.

Mr. Duane—(to the soldiers), Softly, my friends, I shall go along with you. (To Collins): What is to follow next, Collins, the bowstring or the scimitar?

Captain Collins—You are insolent, Sir, (To the soldiers): Drag him along, you pig-eating scoundrels.

Mr. Duane—You are performing the part of Grand Vizier now, my little gentleman, and those are your mates. Calcutta is become Constantinople and the Governor-General the Grand Turk.

Under strict guard, strongly armed, Mr. Duane was kept in Fort William for three days and then taken on board an armed Indiaman and conveyed to England where he was set free without a single word of information and explanation. His property in India, of which he never received a pice, was worth about fifty thousand dollars. He afterwards went to Philadelphia, became editor of *Aurora*, and made that paper intensely anti-British.”

* A kind of discount levied on exchange.

inserted on the authority of Mr. Hair. Mr. Hair on being required to furnish explanations and also to name the gentleman alluded to, denied being the author of the offensive paragraph and there the matter seemed to have been allowed to rest.

In the same year, 1796, a paragraph having appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* relative to certain communications which had been passed between the Court of Directors and the French Republic, the editor was admonished of the impropriety of inserting such observation in a paper published under the sanction of Government; but, on Mr. Horseley, the then editor, asking pardon and promising to abstain in future from inserting such articles, no further proceeding was adopted.

In 1798 in consequence of a letter which appeared in *The Telegraph* under the signature of "Mentor," tending to excite discontent and disaffection in the Indian Army, the Bengal Government, was induced to take measures for discovering the author of the letter; and it having been found to have been written by Captain Williamson, he was suspended the Company's Service and the Court of Directors subsequently refused to comply with his request for leave to return to India, though they permitted him to retire with the half-pay of his rank.

In the same year, 1798, a letter having appeared in the *The Telegraph* signed "Charles M'Lean"* animadverting on the official conduct of Mr. Rider, the

* Charles Maclean; born about 1768; studied medicine; entered the E. I. Co.'s service; made several voyages to India in East Indiamen; was in medical practice in Calcutta in 1792; in 1798 ordered by the Governor-General Marquess of Wellesley to leave India for the above offence; resigned the service of Government; in 1806, bitterly attacked Lord Wellesley; became a lecturer on the diseases of hot climates to the E. I. Co.; opposed the Government project of opening trade to India; attacked quarantine laws; wrote on medical subjects; died about 1824.

Magistrate of Gazeepur, both the editor and Mr. M'Lean were called upon by the Government to apologize for publishing the article in question. The editor complied, but Mr. M'Lean refused. The latter was, for this act of contumacy and his previous misconduct in quitting the ship to which he had been attached and remaining in India without permission, sent to Europe.

In 1799, the editor of *The Telegraph* was called upon by the Government publicly to apologize for some very indecent reflection which had appeared in his paper on the Clerk of the Post Office. The above instances make it clear now what was the attitude of the Government towards the Calcutta Press a century ago and what amount of liberty it enjoyed in those early days.

In this year, 1799, partly in consequence of the number of improper paragraphs which had appeared in the newspapers, and partly owing to the outbreak of the third Mysore War, for which Lord Wellesley was obliged to come down in Viceregal State to Madras to organise the expedition in person and to watch over the course of events, the Bengal Government, for the first time, laid down the following regulations for the public press on the 13th May 1799:—

1st.—Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.

2nd.—Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary to the Government.

3rd.—No paper to be published on Sunday.

4th.—No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose.

5th.—The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

By the fourth regulation Lord Wellesley established for the first time, a censorship over the Press.

These regulations were officially communicated to the proprietors and editors of the then existing papers, namely, (1) *Hirkarrah**, (2) *Morning Post*, (3) *Calcutta Courier*, (4) *Telegraph*, (5) *Oriental Star*, (6) *India Gazette*, (7) *Asiatic Mirror*, who severally addressed the Government, promising strict compliance therewith. The regulations were extended to other papers as they started.

John Clark Marshman, in his *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*† thus graphically describes the relation of the Calcutta Press with Lord Wellesley:—

“Lord Wellesley was at this time‡ exasperated beyond measure against the press of Calcutta, and had adopted measures of restraint of such extreme harshness as even the difficulties of his political position were scarcely sufficient to palliate. On the coast he was engaged in the final struggle with Tippoo Sultan, while the other country powers were in comparative vigour and wavering in their sentiment regarding the British Government. He therefore regarded, with extreme sensitiveness, any remarks in the public

* When the *Bengal Hurkaru* was started as a weekly paper in 1794 by Hugh Boyd, one of the supposed authors of the *Letters of Junius*, a supposition which he never positively contradicted, it was spelt as *Hircarrah*. In the beginning of 1794 he Master Attendant at Madras paid a flying visit to Calcutta and laid the foundation of the paper which under his successors, became the most powerful public organ in India. In the appendix, I shall give a full and complete history of this paper. In 1819 when it became a daily it was called the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

† *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*. Embracing the history of the Serampur Mission. 2 vols. 859.

‡ About 1801.

journals, which appeared in any degree likely to compromise the stability of our rule in the East. Mr. Bruce,* the editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, a Calcutta newspaper, and one of the ablest public writers who has ever appeared in India, had indulged in some speculative opinions on the comparative strength of the European and native population, written in all simplicity and good faith, and without any factious design. But Lord Wellesley considered the article ‘mischievous,’ and in his anxiety that the ‘public security’ as he said ‘might not be exposed to constant hazard,’ he directed Sir Alured Clarke,† whom he had left in charge of the Government of Calcutta during his absence at Madras, to embark the editor of that paper for Europe in the first ship which might sail from Calcutta; adding, ‘if you cannot tranquillise the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe.’ At the same time he established a very rigid censorship of the Press, and directed that no paper should be allowed to appear until it had been revised by the Secretary to Government, who was desired to expunge whatever appeared to him likely ‘to endanger the public tranquillity.’ The penalty of any offence against these stern regulations (given above) was immediate deportation to England. These rules, on reaching Leadenhall Street, received the cordial approbation of the Court of Directors, and a despatch was drafted without any loss of time for transmission to India. But it had to pass the ordeal of the Board of Control, and the President‡ drew his fatal red

* John Bruce, author of the *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*. 3 vols. 1810.

† Commander-in-Chief.

‡ The Right Hon’ble H. Dundas.

mark across the sentences which expressed approval of Lord Wellesley's rules, and reserved the question for further consideration. At a subsequent period, after his return to England, and when the rust of Oriental despotism had been rubbed off by the friction of constitutional associations, he fixed his own condemnation on these arbitrary regulations, by directing them to be excluded from the collection of his official despatches, * published under his own superintendence. But the period to which we refer—November 1799—these feelings of exasperation and dread regarding the press were in full force, and it was at this inauspicious juncture that the missionaries (Carey, Thomas, Brunsdon, and Ward) sought permission to establish a press in the interior of the country, † two hundred miles from Calcutta. To this proposal the Governor-General gave the most decided and peremptory refusal."

At the height of his exasperation with the Calcutta Press, Lord Wellesley prepared a plan in 1801 on behalf of the Bengal Government for the establishment of a Government printing press to print an official gazette accompanied with a newspaper, containing articles of intelligence and private advertisements, the latter to be published under the inspection of Government, but not to be considered, like the Gazette, as an official communication. His Lordship, in a despatch, alleged the following as the grounds for his proposition:—

"In a political view, a powerful motive arises in favour of the proposed establishment. The increase of

* In 1837 when Messrs. W. Allen and Company brought out an edition of Lord Wellesley's Official Despatches in 5 volumes under the authority of the Court of Directors, the great Marquess directed the editor of his despatches to exclude his despatch on the Indian Press from the collection as it was done under irritation and without judgment.

† At Malda, where Carey first settled with other missionaries in the estate of George Udny the Indigo planter.

private printing presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the first magnitude in its consequences; of this, sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year 1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and to the public and dubiously profitable to the speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence, a few European adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence. The establishment of a Press by the Supreme Government would effectually silence those who now exist and would as certainly prevent the establishment of such in future."

This was the special pleading of Lord Wellesley for the establishment of a Government organ like the French *Moniteur*, but the plan was not carried out into execution on account of the expense with which it was supposed that it would be attended.* During Lord Wellesley's administration, several Calcutta newspapers received rebuffs of which the following are known from authentic records.

In 1801, the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* was prohibited from publishing any military orders, Army List, book or pamphlet, relative to the numbers or situation of the army, without the immediate sanction of Government: and the editors of the other papers were prohibited from publishing any military order except such as had previously appeared in the *Gazette* (Calcutta) and from publishing Army List, etc., without the permission of Government. In the next year, 1802, the editors

* For a similar reason Lord Wellesley's plan of establishing the Fort William College, for educating the young civilians did not meet with the approval of the Court of Directors. Wellesley was highly irritated by this refusal of his masters, but was obliged to submit quietly to the controlling authority of the Court of Directors as a testimony of the obedience due to the superior power placed by law in the Government at home.

of all newspapers were prohibited, during the second Mahratta War (1802-1804) from publishing any articles of intelligence respecting the departure of ships. In 1804, the editor of the *India Gazette* was directed not to publish, during the war, any naval or shipping intelligence whatever, excepting such as had appeared in the first instance, in the *Calcutta Gazette* under the sanction of Government.

In June, 1807, the editors of the newspapers were censured for having published, without authority, intelligence respecting His Majesty's fleet in India, the same being contrary to the orders of Government. The editors were again directed not to insert articles of this kind, unless they had previously appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* or had been otherwise duly authorised by the Naval Commander-in-Chief in India. Any deviation from these orders in future it was signified to them, would incur the displeasure of Government. The Governors of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales' Island, were requested to issue similar orders to the editors of the several newspapers at those places respectively. In this year, the editor* of the *India Gazette* was desired to state why he had issued a number of his papers without having previously submitted the proof-sheets for the inspection of Government and directed not to send it out of Calcutta.

Lord Minto, who succeeded Lord Wellesley as Governor-General of India in 1807, was as sensitive to newspaper criticisms as his great predecessor. During his administration the Calcutta editors were frequently warned. In 1808, the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* was censured for having omitted during several weeks to submit proof-sheets of his paper for inspection

* Mr. Herbert Compton (afterwards knighted) of the Bombay High Court.

previously to publication. Various articles having been inserted during that period which were deemed particularly improper and objectionable in a paper published under the express authority of Government, the editor was directed, for the future, invariably to send his proof-sheets for revision and to include therein every article, as well of intelligence as of other matter intended for publication. The editor expressed his regret at having inadvertently omitted to send the proof-sheets for inspection and promised greater regularity in future.

In 1811, the proprietors of all the presses in Calcutta and its dependencies were directed to cause the names of the printers to be affixed to all works, papers, advertisements, etc., printed at or issued from those presses, on pain of incurring the displeasure of Government. In the year 1811, Lord Minto called upon the missionaries of Serampur who had a printing press there, to use more caution in their proceedings and utterances, inviting them to remove their printing works from Serampur and establish themselves in Calcutta. The object was to bring them directly under the control of the British Government as Serampur then was a Danish settlement. Lord Minto was greatly alarmed at the publication of their religious pamphlets in which attacks were made on the belief of Hindus and Moslems. The Vellore Mutiny partly caused by the circulation of indiscreet publications rendered Lord Minto very sensitive, and his Lordship pronounced one of these missionary publications of Serampur "extremely scurrilous." But the good Missionaries of Serampur replied by pointing out to his Lordship that the proposed transfer of their business and plants would cause them great inconvenience and expense, which they represented as unnecessary promising that no further publications should be issued

before being submitted for the approval of Government. Lord Minto, however, generously accepted the compromise.

In 1812, the editor of the *Calcutta Daily Advertiser* was censured, at the instance of the Adjutant-General for having inserted an advertisement, "having for its object to expose to public ridicule, a respectable officer in the Company's service." The re-insertion of the advertisement, and of the correspondence to which it referred, was prohibited; and this opportunity was taken for directing all advertisements to be submitted for the inspection of Government previously to publication, in like manner with other articles. The editor apologised for the insertion of the objectionable advertisement, but remarked on the great inconvenience which would be occasioned if all advertisements were to be submitted for the previous inspection of Government, suggesting the limitation of the orders of Government to such advertisements as were of a doubtful nature and the exemption from their operation of those which had clearly for their objects, sale, purchase, hire and notices in general. Government acknowledged the justice of this representation and agreed to modify their orders accordingly.

In 1813, the last year of Lord Minto's administration in India, Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Tytler* complained to Government of a libel having been published against him in the *Bengal Hivkarrak*.† The offensive article was in consequence represented to the proprietors as highly improper, and they were desired to explain why the publication had not been submitted to Government prior to the circulation of 150 copies. The proprietors‡

* Afterwards became the Principal Professor of the Calcutta Hindu College. For an account of his life, see *India Review*, Vol. III.

† See note *ante*.

‡ Messrs. Samuel Greenway and Company.

stated, in reply, that they were not aware that Government required papers of a private nature (where parties took the responsibility on themselves) to be submitted for previous inspection, but promised more strict attention to the injunction in future.

In October 1813, Lord Minto was succeeded by Lord Hastings. The new Governor-General, soon after his landing in Calcutta, enforced new rules in addition to old ones instituted by Lord Wellesley for the controlling of printing offices in Calcutta. On the 16th October of the same year, 1813, the following rules were established for the control of the printing offices in Calcutta:—

I. That the proof-sheets of all newspapers, including supplements and all extra publications, be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision.

II. That all notices, handbills, and other ephemeral publications, be in like manner, previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision.

III. That the titles of all original works, proposed to be published, be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information, who will thereupon either sanction the publication of them, or require the work itself for inspection, as may appear proper.

IV. The rules established on the 13th May 1799 and the 6th August 1801 to be in full force and effect except in so far as the same may be modified by the preceding instructions.

The Charter of 1813 empowered the Home Government to license a certain number of Christian teachers to set sail for and dwell in the territories of the Hon'ble East India Company. This was a God-send to Calcutta journalism. The same ship which conveyed the first Bishop of the Indian Episcopate, carried also the senior Scotch Chaplain. Dr. James Bryce, the great Scotch

controversialist, on arrival in Calcutta on the 28th November 1814, became the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, then the only paper in Calcutta remarkable for its independence. With a first-class European reputation for scholarship and a strong Scotch party behind his back, he commenced his operation in Calcutta journalism, vigorously attacking the censor for his repressive policy and setting his authority at defiance. If Lord Hastings' Administration marked a new era in the affairs of British India, Dr. Bryce's advent might be said to have been accompanied by a radical change in the powers and attributes of the Indian Press. The new Governor-General was naturally inclined towards the liberty of the Press, and privately encouraged the Scotch Chaplain to be independent of the ignoble manner by which the great Company sought to disregard the legitimate uses of the Press.

Within a very short time of his assuming the editorial charge of the *Asiatic Mirror*, Dr. Bryce had to fight with the censor. On the 4th April, 1815, the editor* of the *Asiatic Mirror* at the recommendation of the Adjutant-General, was censured for having inserted in that paper a statement of the formation of three new regiments, with their allotment of officers, such a measure being at that time only under the consideration of Government. The editor begged to decline naming the mercantile firm from which he had obtained the information, stating

* Dr. James Bryce succeeded Mr. John Fullarton as editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*. Fullarton's articles in the *Asiatic Mirror* have seldom been surpassed and to him was confided the honour—for in a literary point of view it was an honour—of combating the Reform Bill and its progeny in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*. He became a partner of Messrs. Alexander and Co., the great Agency House of Calcutta from the 30th April 1813 and ceased to be so on the 30th April 1819, when he went home. The great Agency House had some share in the proprietorship of the *Asiatic Mirror*. Fullarton was succeeded by Dr. James Bryce in the editorial management of the *Asiatic Mirror* in 1815.

"that all forthcoming civil and military appointments are generally known before their publication in the *Calcutta Gazette* or the public official communication of them by Government." He also remarked on the rigour exercised by the present censor when compared with the conduct of his predecessor. On the 11th April (1815) within a week the same editor was again taken to task for his very irregular conduct in having inserted an account of the route from Janickpur to Catmandhoo (Nepal), after the same had been struck out by the Secretary to Government. In this year, partly in consequence of the Nepal war and partly to guard Official Secrets more carefully, Lord Hastings withdrew "Official authority" from the *Calcutta Gazette* and directed the publication of "*The Government Gazette*." The Government order runs thus:—"Fort William, Public Department, May 2nd, 1815, orders having been issued directing that the printing business of Government shall be transferred from the *Calcutta Gazette Press* to the Press established at the *Military Orphan Society*: Notice is hereby given that a weekly paper will be published at the *Society's Press*, from the commencement of the ensuing month, to be styled *The Government Gazette*. The officers of Government are accordingly directed to send all advertisements and other papers connected with the Public Service, which require to be printed, from the date abovementioned to the Orphan Society Press. By order of the Honourable the Vice-President in Council, A. Trotter, Acting Secretary to Government."

In 1817 Dr. Bryce* the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, complained to Government

* Tradition says that he placed the gilt cock on the steeple of St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, to crow for all time over Bishop Middleton. In December

of the Chief Secretary (Mr. John Adam)* for having "overstepped the powers of his office" as censor of the press in striking out of the proof-sheets a critique on a historical, political and metaphysical work, by Lieutenant Young† which critique Lieutenant Young had perused and approved. Mr. Adam stated that he considered the critique "to be written in a tone of sarcasm and bantering, likely to produce irritation and to have occasioned an angry discussion in the newspapers;" and he deemed the prevention of such disputes to be strictly within the limits of his duty and authority as connected with the control of the press, but that on hearing from Dr. Bryce that Lieutenant Young had approved of the critique, he should have allowed its publication, had not Dr. Bryce accompanied the intimation with a threat of complaining of him to Government for an undue exercise of his power as censor in having expunged it from the proof-sheets. Dr. Bryce, at the same time, submitted to Mr. Adam a notice to his readers, accounting for the hiatus which would appear in that day's *Mirror* in the event of his (Mr. Adam's) persisting in his refusal to allow the appearance of the critique. The notice, strongly reflected on the conduct of the censor of the press in prohibiting the appearance of a criticism on a work purely literary, was cut down by Mr. Adam to a mere apology "for a blank in this day's *Mirror*." It was intimated to Dr. Bryce, in answer to his complaint, that, under the explanation given by Mr. Adam, the latter was not considered to have

1823, he first attracted the attention of the Church of Scotland towards India "as a promising field for spiritual warfare." This ultimately led to the India Mission of the Church of Scotland of which Dr. Alexander Duff was the first missionary.

* Afterwards Provisional Governor-General.

† Lieutenant James Young became a Member of Committee of Public Instruction in 1835. He was for some time in 1833 editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

unduly exercised his powers as censor in the instance specified by Dr. Bryce, whose conduct with respect to the intended notice to his readers was deemed highly disrespectful. He was, therefore, informed that in his "editorial capacity,"* he stood under the unfavourable sentiment of Government. The Governor-General† also remarked on the incompatibility of the avocations of an editor and managing proprietor of a newspaper with the clerical character, even "supposing the paper conducted without inviting controversy." Dr. Bryce, on receiving the abovementioned communication, again addressed the Government and submitted certain explanations relative to his conduct as editor of the *Mirror*, with a view of inducing a revocation of the censure passed on him by Government. He also defended the propriety of his conduct in having undertaken the office of editor of a newspaper, which he did not consider to be incompatible with the clerical character. In the course of his observations, Dr. Bryce commented severely on the conduct of Mr. Adam as censor, when compared with that of former censors of the press. The Governor-General in Council, after a perusal of Dr. Bryce's defence, declared that he could see no reason, in his present explanation, to withdraw the public censure passed upon him in his editorial capacity, and that his Lordship had observed with sincere regret the whole strain and tenor of Dr. Bryce's letter; but that his Lordship in Council deemed it unnecessary to continue a discussion with him on the subject, adding that it was "almost superfluous to observe, that the character of Mr. Adam stood too high in the estimation of Government and of the public to be in any

* Dr. James Bryce, it should be remembered, was the Scotch chaplain at the time.

† The Marquess of Hastings.

way affected by the insinuations stated in Dr. Bryce's letter."

In June 1817, Mr. Adam complained of the insertion of matter in the *Mirror* not sanctioned by him. Dr. Bryce in reply vindicated his general conduct as editor of the paper and stated that in the instance specified the fault did not rest with him. He then proceeded to enquire whether he might not be allowed, after the proof-sheets had received the censor's initials, to correct typographical errors, or grammatical inaccuracies, or to withdraw from the paper anything once submitted or even to insert births, deaths and marriages and advertisements, or a summary of intelligence of importance that might happen to be received after the proof-sheets had been sent to the censor; if not, he declared his intention to apply for a relaxation of the rules, which he requested to be furnished with, as he was only acquainted with them in the mode of conducting the department of censor by Mr. Ricketts,* and as Mr. Adam had departed materially from what he understood to be the established practice. Mr. Adam answered affirmatively all the above inquiries and stated that he only desired the observance of the rules already established by former practice and by the letters which he had addressed to him on the subject.

But the strong attitude taken by Dr. Bryce against the censorship of the Press eventually brought out its abolition. The year 1818 is a memorable year in the history of the Press in India, as in that year Lord Hastings abolished the censorship over the Press and practically freed its operation. Let us see now how the censorship worked and came to an end. From the time of Lord Wellesley up to that of Lord Hastings, the practice had

The Hon'ble Charles Milner Ricketts.

been for the Chief Secretary to the Government to act as a censor of the Press, when every editor of a newspaper was obliged to send his proof-sheets to the Secretary's office to be read through before they could be printed, and he was compelled to omit everything which the Secretary might strike out, without any reason being assigned. This censorship was never established by law, but the manner in which it was made binding on English editors was this that if they should refuse to comply with it, their licenses* to reside in India would be taken away and they might then be sent out of the country. The dread of this punishment was more powerful than any law could be; and, therefore, no English editors resisted it. It came soon to be discovered, however, during the administration of Lord Hastings especially, that no such threats could be applied to an Indian-born† editor, because as no license of residence was necessary for him he could not be banished for not possessing it, and there was no other way in which an evasion of the censorship could be punished. Accordingly, an Indian-born gentleman †† having set up a paper of his own, he refused to submit to the censorship, and there was no remedy for the evil. Lord Hastings perceiving this, thought it, of course, extremely unjust, not to say absurd, that "the ill-educated Hindu British or half-caste population" as they were called (being the mixed race of half-British and half-Indian blood and generally the progeny of English fathers and Hindu mothers) should possess an exemption from the censorship, while the well educated English gentlemen should be subject to that restriction. His Lordship accordingly took off the censor-

* For a facsimile of a license, the reader is referred to Bolts' *Considerations on Indian Affairs*.

† Nowadays called Eurasian or Anglo-Indian.

†† Mr. Peter Stone De Rozario who founded the *Columbian Press Gazette*.

ship entirely from both and proclaimed the Indian Press to be free. But as the members of his Council were elderly gentlemen, brought up in all the prejudices of the despotic system and thought very differently from Lord Hastings, and as the Indian Directors at home would be likely also to think very differently about the safety of a free press in India, so for the joint sakes and to satisfy the scruples of those two antagonistic parties, it was thought necessary to calm their apprehensions, by the following new regulations superseding the censorship, which were passed by the Governor-General in Council for the conduct of the editors of newspaper on the 19th August 1818.

"The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, viz. :—

"I. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the Council, of the judges of the Supreme Court or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"II. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances.

"III. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

"IV. Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals to excite dissension in society."

COUNCIL CHAMBER, }
19th August 1818. }

J. ADAM,
Chief Secy. to the Govt.

The above rules prescribed for the guidance of the editors of the Calcutta Press were reported by Lord Hastings to the Court of Directors in the public letter from Bengal, dated 1st October 1818 (paragraph 78), but no reasons were assigned by the Governor-General for the change of system, either in the Consultations of Government or in the despatch to the Court. The Court having been desirous of replying separately to such part of the communication from the Bengal Government of the 1st October 1818, as related to the Press, prepared the draft of a despatch which was sent up officially to the India Office for the sanction of the Board of Commissioners on the 17th April 1820; but the draft was never returned by the Board, nor did the Court receive any official communication respecting it. But the following extract from the suppressed despatch will explain the sentiments and objects of the Court in framing it :—

“It is clear from the tenor of these new regulations, and from the nature and extent of the restrictions, imposed by them, that you have not intended to liberate the Press of Calcutta, from all control on the part of Government, although an inference even to that latitude, might have been drawn from an article* in the *Madras Government Gazette* of the 12th August

*At a meeting of the inhabitants of Madras held on the 26th May 1819 for the purpose of congratulating Lord Hastings on the successful issue of the Pindarry and Mahratta war, it was resolved to present an address to his Lordship in which there was the following passage:—“While contemplating this important subject, it must have occurred that to the attainment of truth, freedom of inquiry was essentially necessary; that public opinion was the strongest support of just government; and that liberty of discussion served but to strengthen the hands of the Executive. Such freedom of discussion was the gift of a liberal and enlightened mind, an invaluable and unequivocal expression of those sentiments evinced by the whole tenor of your Lordship’s administration.” Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, adverting to this portion of the address, in his reply, was represented in the *Madras Government Gazette* to have expressed himself as follows :—“One topic remains. My removal of restrictions from the Press has been mentioned in laudatory language; I might easily have adopted that precedent without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit o

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last purporting to be an answer of the Governor-General to an address from the inhabitants of Madras. The only question, therefore, is, whether the new system of control is likely to prove at once equally efficient with that which it supplanted, and less inconvenient to individuals. After the fullest consideration which we have been able to give to the subject, it is our decided conviction that neither the Government nor the public, nor the editors, will benefit from the change.

With this conviction we positively direct that, on the receipt of this despatch, you do revert to the practice which had prevailed for near 20 years previous to 1818, and continue the same in force until you shall have submitted to us, and we shall have approved and sanctioned, some other system of responsibility or control, adapted alike to all our presidencies in India.

The inconvenience and public scandal which have resulted from the sudden liberation of the Press in Calcutta, while that at Madras continued under control, are too notorious to require particularising here, and could not but be the consequence of so hasty and partial a measure.

We do not by any means intend that the direction now conveyed to you should be understood as implying a determination on our part to maintain in perpetuity the system of previous inspection, as established for the last 20 years; but we mean distinctly to show, that we cannot consent to have great changes made in any part of our existing system, without a

regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no direct necessity for those invidious shackles, might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in this step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion. Further, it is salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment; on the contrary, it acquires an incalculable addition of force. That Government which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed; and let the triumph of our beloved country, in its awful contest with tyrant-ridden France, speak the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments."

previous communication to us, and a previous signification of our approval, and especially without some efficient substitution in the room of the Regulations proposed to be rescinded."

It is not known why the Board of Commissioners suppressed the angry Despatch from the Court of Directors to their Governor-General in India, Lord Hastings. Suffice it to say that the Regulations promulgated by Lord Hastings remained in operation till 1823 when they were supplanted by other Regulations about which I shall speak fully later on.

In the present year, 1818, the Baptist missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, of Serampur, then a Danish Settlement, first founded a Bengalee weekly paper, and Mr. John Clark Marshman thus narrates the event in all its circumstances:—

"It appeared (in 1818) that the time was ripe for a native newspaper and I offered the missionaries to undertake the publication of it. The jealousy which the Government had always manifested of the periodical press appeared, however, to present a serious obstacle. The English journals in Calcutta were under the strictest surveillance, and many a column appeared resplendent with the stars which were substituted at the last moment for the editorial remarks and through which the censor had drawn his fatal pen. In this state of things it was difficult to suppose that a native paper would be tolerated for a moment. It was resolved, therefore, to feel the official pulse by starting a monthly magazine in the first instance, and the *Dig-Dursun* appeared in April 1818. It was composed of historical and other notices, likely from their novelty to excite the attention of the natives, and to sharpen their curiosity. In the last page, in a smaller type, some few items of political intelligence were inserted. Two numbers were published.

and copies were sent to the principal members of Government (including the Censor), and the fact of the publication was widely circulated by advertisements in all the English papers of Calcutta. As no objection appeared to be taken to the publication of the magazine by the Censor, though it contained news, it was resolved at once to launch the weekly paper, and to call it by the name given to the earliest English news-letter, the *Mirror of News* or the *Sumachar Durpun*. But Dr. Carey, who had been labouring fifteen years in India during the period when the opposition to missionary efforts and to the enlightenment of the natives was in full vigour, was unfavourable to the publication of the journal because he feared it would give umbrage in official circles and weaken the good understanding which had been gradually growing up between the missionaries and the Government. He strenuously advised that the idea of it should be dropped, but he was overruled by his two colleagues, Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward. When the proof-sheets were brought up for final examination at the weekly meeting of the missionaries the evening before the day* of publication, he renewed his objection to the undertaking on the grounds he had stated. Dr. Marshman then offered to proceed to Calcutta the next morning and submit the first number of the new gazette, together with a rough translation of the articles, to Mr. Edmonstone,† then Vice-President, and to the Chief Secretary,‡ and he promised that it should be discontinued if they raised any objection to it. To his great delight he found both of them favourable to the undertaking. At the same time he transmitted a copy of the paper to Lord Hastings.

* Friday, Saturday being the day of publication.

† The Honourable Neil Benjamin Edmonstone.

‡ Mr. John Adam.

then in the North-Western Provinces, and was happy to receive a reply in his own hand highly commending the project of endeavouring to excite and gratify a spirit of inquiry in the native mind by means of a newspaper. And thus was the journal established.*

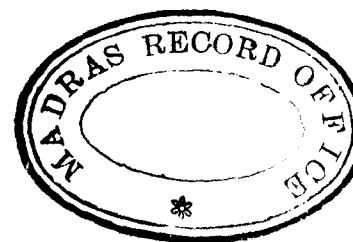
A copy of it was sent with a subscription book to all the great Baboos in Calcutta, and the first name entered on the list was that of Dwarkanath Tagore. On the return of Lord Hastings to the Presidency, he endeavoured to encourage the undertaking by allowing the journal to circulate through the country at one-fourth the usual charge of postage which at that time was extravagantly high.†

S. C. SANIAL.

(To be continued.)

* J. C. Marshman in his *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (popular edition, London, 1864) says that "on the 31st of May 1818, the first newspaper ever printed in any Eastern language was issued from the Serampur press." This is evidently an error. The first number of the *Sumachar Durpun* is dated Saturday, the 23rd May 1818. For corroboration see also *Calcutta Review*, No. XXV, Vol. XIII, 1850, p. 145. I have seen the first number with date, 23rd May 1818. Besides, *Sumachar Durpun* is not the first Bengalee newspaper. In 1816 was published the *Bengal Gazette* in Bengalee by Gangadhar Bhattacharya. It lived not more than a year. This is the first Bengalee newspaper.

† This extract is taken from a letter written by J. C. Marshman to Dr. George Smith and published in the latter's *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, pp. 230—233, 2nd edition, London, 1898. This information is also to be found in Marshman's *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward* in a different form.



Art. VI.—DECAY OF VILLAGES IN BENGAL.

IN these days of tall talk and imperial ideas it is positively refreshing to turn from party politics and puerile polemics to the "modest" question of the decay of villages in Bengal. The heroes of a nation live in its hamlets—unknown, unhonoured, and, often, uncared for. There they work for others,—

" ——— cleave the soil,
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,
Storing yearly little dues of wheat and wine, and oil;
Till they perish"

and leave others to reap renown—

" To mould a mighty state's decrees,
And shape the whispers of the throne."

From them come the energy and the character of the people. Still it is not infrequently that they are held in contempt by the so-called upper classes. They are proverbially called "the common" —"as if those who work are not a hundred times more noble than those who do nothing" or next to nothing! The more civilised a Government the more care it should take of the masses—the backbone of the people.

Not unjustly has India been called "the Peasant Empire" for the majority of her peoples depend on the uncertain industry of agriculture. And her scattered villages require more care than her congested towns.

"In no country," wrote Dr. Hunter in his brilliant book on Orissa, "does the public health more urgently demand the aid of that science (sanitation). But the ignorance, prejudices, and suspicions of the people on the one hand, and the vast demands on the revenue for more visibly and perhaps more urgently needed public works on the other, do not leave sanitation a chance. Medical men

are driven from one project to another, as each is found to be either too costly to Government, or too superstitious for the natives." What was true then is equally true to-day. And this state of affairs does not reflect credit either on the Government or on the people.

The sanitary condition of our villages is almost despairing and nothing if not beyond the power of individual effort to improve perceptibly.

Our villages suffer because of—

- (1) Bad Drainage,
- (2) Bad Ventilation,
- (3) Bad Surroundings,
- (4) Bad Water,
- (5) Bad Food.

It was, we believe, Sir John Woodburn, who once said that the ultimate destiny of Bengal rivers seems to be to form deltas and get silted up. On the plains rivers lose the force and impetuosity which they gain in their descent from the hills. As the sluggish waters approach the sea they allow the alluvia to settle on the bed which soon impede the course of the stream. Witness, for instance, the cases of the Hooghly and the Bhāgirathi. Instead of guarding against this danger promiscuous building of bridges without leaving sufficient waterway, and indiscriminate erection of *bunds* without consulting the course of the water are allowed. A network of railroads has done much to impede the force of the flow of rivers in Bengal. Blocks of stone are thrown in the river bed to protect the pillars. When a river "choked with sedges" loses its free flow the canals and *beels* connected with it can no longer pour their surplus water into it. Their beds grow high on account of the mud settling on them instead of being carried on to the sea after falling into the rivers. Into these canals and *beels* flows the

water from the villages. When these canals and *beels* can no longer pour out their surplus water—the water from the villages can no longer flow out and consequently makes the soil water-logged. The result is apparent. Villages where some twenty years back jungle undergrowth was scarce and the mosquito was a stranger have now become full of jungle undergrowth and a fertile breeding ground of the mosquito—declared by experts to be the agent and propagandist of malaria.

In many places the village drains have disappeared. Where they have not actually disappeared they have, owing to their level becoming high, become useless. On the fields they have, in many cases, been encroached upon by the cultivators. Now the rain water accumulates where it can in the village, and in all low places the stagnant waters become a source of danger to public health.

Malaria is a recent thing in Bengal. Though cholera is 'fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell'—the great killer in Lower Bengal is fever. More or less a constant enemy, it is properly an annual visitant. Each season it comes as an endemic with 'the first fall of rain in May,' when severe cases have been noticed; but they are too few in number to cause much alarm.* "Increasing with the increase of the wet weather, the disease reaches its height in the steamy months of August and September causing heavy mortality." When this fever first broke out it broke out as an epidemic. It was called the "Nutan Jwar" (New Fever) and then became known under the name of "Burdwan Fever."

The first instance of the fever showing itself occurs as far back as 1804—when it claimed victims at Berhampore. The second instance (1824-25) occurred in the

Vide, Report of the Epidemic Fever Commission, dated 31st March 1864.

district of Jessore where the outbreak was "very fatal at the village of Mahmudpur." From Mahmudpur it travelled on to Dalga, Naldanga, Chanchra and Kasba. About 1856 it depopulated Gadghat and entered Jessore. About 1832 it entered the Nadia district attacking Gadkhali, Guateli, Kanddeela and Sukpukhuria (these villages are now included within the district of Jessore). In 1840 it appeared again at Gadkhali, "a large and populous village on the swampy banks of a nullah, and surrounded by low marshy ground." The fever entered Krishnagar in 1864 and stayed till 1867, clearing the place of about a third of its population.

In 1864 the Government of Bengal appointed a Commission to enquire into the causes of the fever and to report on the best remedial measures for the prevention of its recurrence. The Commission reported:—"We have been led to ascribe the prevailing sickness to—(1) Miasm; (2) Polluted drinking waters; (3) Vitiated air and deficient ventilation; (4) The excessive use of farinaceous food; and (5) Contagion to a slight extent."

In the report we read—"Our first object must be to reduce, as much as possible, the generation of miasm, or malarious exhalations rising principally from moisture in the soil during the drying process after the rains; and any means by which this drying process can be accelerated and shortened will produce *pro tanto* diminishing effect on the total amount of miasm generated. To effect this course the obvious course is to improve the drainage of the country obstructed by the silting up of rivers and *khals*, and the general assimilation of levels which have gradually taken place of late years. Remembering that the direction of the natural drainage of the villages situated along the river banks is inland, we have no difficulty in believing that it

is impeded by the railway embankments on both sides. . . . With a view to improve the internal drainage of the villages, we would strongly recommend the construction of open water-ways to carry off the surface water directly to any neighbouring river, *khal* or *beel* that may be available, or failing such to some one or more low pools or tanks outside the village."

Raja Digambar Mitra, one of the members of the Commission, after citing specific instances, went on to say: "Taking into consideration the number of roads that have sprung up of late as also others in course of construction, and bearing in mind likewise the manner in which the drainage of the country is effected, and the difficulty thereby entailed of providing those roads with a sufficient number of outlets, it is not improbable that in the cases of those villages which have not yet been examined, obstructions to their drainage would, upon enquiry, appear to have proceeded chiefly from roads having been made without reference to the water-shed of the country, and without being provided with a sufficient number of water-courses."

The truth of this statement must be admitted. Culverts are generally not constructed save in places where the pressure of the water is likely to wash away the earth-work.

"Marshes," says Dr. Maclean, "are not, as a rule, dangerous when abundantly covered with water: it is when the water level is lowered, and the saturated soil is exposed to the drying influence of a high temperature and the direct rays of the sun that this poison (noxious emanations) is evolved in abundance." *Commenting on the above Dr. Gregg remarks: "The production of

* Quain's *Dictionary of Medicine*.

malaria on a great scale in this way was seen in the district of Burdwan not many years ago. The soil is alluvial, but dry; and until within the last few years Burdwan was more salubrious than the central or eastern districts of the Lower Gangetic Delta. The drainage of the district became obstructed by the silting up of its natural and artificial outlets, the result being a water-logged condition of the soil, the development of malaria and an alarming increase in the death-rate."*

In course of a lecture delivered by him in 1885 at the Bethune Society Dr. K. D. Ghose remarked: "The cause of fever in Bengal is the want of proper drainage of the soil." "Drain the land," wrote Dr. J. M. Coates Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, in 1874, "so that the rain runs quickly off, or keep the subsoil water so far from the surface soil that the supersoil does not retain damp, decomposing, and evaporating, and healthy people are the result." We must not lose sight of the fact that paddy crop requires water standing on the field for some time. And that as we have already shown, is not dangerous to public health—the fields being then completely covered with water. It is after that, that the supersoil should be kept dry by a system of drainage appropriate to the needs of the country. The appearance of malaria in Bengal is a recent thing, and before its appearance the public health, in spite of the paddy fields, was good. Moreover, malaria, says Dr. Maclean, is "an earth born poison, generated in soils, the energies of which are not expended in the growth and sustenance of healthy vegetation." So defective drainage due to the silting up of rivers and the obstruction of waterways must be held responsible for the appearance of malaria in Bengal.

* *The Calcutta Review*, 1889.

"In England fen districts of the eastern counties, Romney marsh in Kent, and the Marsh district of Somerset have in great part ceased to be malarious within recent memory, and there has been a proportionate improvement, through drainage, in most parts of Holland, in some of the malarious districts of France and Italy, and in Algiers."*

"If surface and subsoil drainage accomplished nothing else, it would be worth all the money expended on it, as marking an era in the history of Indian sanitation. But there can be no doubt whatever that improved health and better physique would follow its introduction. Where now are to be seen wretched beings of sallow and ghastly countenance looking twice their real age, with attenuated frames, shrunken limbs, muscles thin and powerless, tongues of silvery whiteness (certain index of deadly marsh fever), pulses feeble and irregular, spleens and livers enormously enlarged, and pitiable languid gait, would be found men well-knit, with their muscles developed and their vital organs sound—altogether powerful, vigorous, healthy and happy.

"In many towns great difficulties—other than monetary, will no doubt be met with before the desired result can be attained, but these should not be allowed to overbalance the advantages to be derived from a thorough and systematic drainage system. Great difficulties were at first experienced in England, but they gradually disappeared as improvement advanced. Not many years ago drainage improvements were as little known in many parts of England as they are at present in India, and much controversy and opposition preceded their introduction, yet populous and now flourishing districts have been

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. XV.

drained in the face of great difficulties. There is no reason why similar results should not be obtained in India."*

Mention must here be made of the attempt made by Sir Charles Elliott to introduce proper drainage in the mofussil. But people have been slow to take advantage of the provisions of the Sanitary Drainage Act (Act VIII of 1895) and the Act is but a dead letter.

Bad ventilation in the village may seem a paradox. But it is so. Houses are built closely together and built without any regard to ventilation. In an Indian village huts grow in clusters and the smallest space available is utilised—the arable area being, as a rule, never encroached upon. The houses, moreover, are never constructed carefully as regards ventilation and within a very limited space huts grow up and multiply with a rapidity that is really astonishing. One of the reasons of this overcrowding must be found in the fact that the cultivator has to pay more for his homestead land than for the field which yields him corn—the rate of rent for the former being in many cases more than double the rate for the latter. Ignorant of the elementary rules of sanitation the villagers build their huts within a very limited space without an eye to ventilation. The advantages of the thatched roof, as ordinarily found in Bengal, is that some space is left between the walls and the roof. But for this advantage, which is an accident, we would often hear of cases of asphyxia happening in closed rooms during the winter months.

Next we come to bad surroundings. The dangers of a faulty construction of the huts are considerably enhanced by bad surroundings. Mention has already been made of the crowding together of huts. Generally a yard is kept in each cluster of huts. It is surrounded by

*Doctor Gregg in *The Calcutta Review*, 1889.

the sleeping room, the store room and the cook-shed, the shed for the husking implement, and the cow-shed. In a corner is to be found the hollow whence earth had been taken for building the huts. And as bamboos are required for the annual repairs a bamboo clump is planted on the brink of the hollow. During the rains the water accumulates in this hollow; and the bamboo clump prevents the rays of the sun from reaching the water in which it drops its leaves to decompose. The water smells horribly and is but another name for poison. In this cesspool the cooking utensils are washed; and the children delight to play in it like frog. The bamboo clump, moreover, makes the entire space damp.

Then there is the dungheap. The scanty droppings of the underfed cattle, when not used as fuel, are left to accumulate in a corner of the yard to be used as manure in the fields. The stinking ordure is always unpleasant. And though Herbert Spencer pronounces dogmatically that the decomposing matter is not injurious to health there are others who hold the opposite opinion. "In every village," says Herbert Spencer, "throughout the Kingdom (Great Britain), each of the half dozen farms, by its yard full of manure, by its cow-sheds, and by its stables, severally reeking with the gases from the decomposing matter, furnished a contradiction to the belief that ordinary unpleasant odours are pernicious. Places which, according to current sanitary doctrines, ought to be centres of disease, prove to be quite healthful—so healthful, indeed, that invalids frequently take lodgings in farm-houses where they are exposed to these products of decaying excreta."* But the great philosopher forgot to calculate the purifying influences which often counteract the evil effects of the gases rising from

* Facts and Comments.

decomposing matter. The smell itself is highly disagreeable. Insects grow and thrive in the dirt. And when the tropical rains come pouring the liquid decomposing matter is spread over the whole of the yard—in which the children play naked and a portion of it finds its way into the pool mentioned above. The yard is converted into a "magazine of mortality," and the wretched inmates eat and sleep around this "perennial fountain of death." This condition adds to the danger of living in over-crowded houses in congested areas.

In some houses occupied by Mahomedans the dead are buried in the yard, and the house converted into a cemetery. The refuse matter is as a matter of course, thrown behind the cook-shed where "ancestral filth" has its place by right of occupancy.

Come we now to the subject of water. The importance of the question of water-scarcity in Bengal cannot be overestimated. It is now admitted by all careful observers that "in both the rural and urban areas of Bengal the deficient quantity and unsatisfactory quality of water-supply are a disgrace and a menace." It is fortunate that the Government has, after all, warmed to its task; and we have every reason to hope that the Government which has—so often and so prominently declared its policy to be to—

"Fill full the mouth of famine,

And bid the sickness cease,"

which strains every nerve to mitigate human suffering will do all that it can to remedy this state of affairs. We have already referred to the drying up of old river-beds. The tanks that used to supply drinking water to the villages are drying up too, and new tanks are seldom excavated now-a-days. The reasons are manifold. In days gone by the zemindars used to take the lead in

such matters and the rayats often worked without remuneration for the common good. This *begar* may seem cruel. But—as Mr. Steen puts it—“are not all great engineering feats in the East due to this agency?”* And then they had not to pay the cesses regularly every year while they served without remuneration only at long intervals and reaped the benefits of their own labour.

When the Road Cess was levied, in violation of the conditions of the Permanent Settlement, the Duke of Argyll—the then Secretary of State for India—wrote:—“It is above all things requisite that the benefits to be derived from the rates should be brought home to the door of the cess-payers, and that these benefits should be palpable, direct and immediate.”†

To make this still more clear Sir George Campbell, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, declared in his Proclamation: “All persons assessed to the Road Cess are informed and assured by the Government that every pice levied under the Act will be spent in the district in which it is raised to improve the local roads, canals and rivers in the district for the benefit of the inhabitants. Nothing will be diverted to any other purpose than that which the law directs.” Then again: “Every tax-payer is encouraged and invited to claim that the tax shall be fairly applied to the village roads and local paths and water channels in which he is interested.”

It is exactly for purposes enumerated in the extracts quoted above that, in the past, the zemindars spent their money and the labourers had to contribute labour free. We do not grudge the introduction of the new system of levying cesses. But the new system—foreign to Oriental ideas—has not yet worked smoothly, because a hard and

* Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan.

† Para. 22 of the Despatch.

fast rule is, in many cases, repugnant to the Oriental mind. The zemindars are, moreover, fast becoming impoverished. Some of the causes of the decay of villages in Bengal have thus been summarised by a writer in the *Statesman*: “Among causes other than the process of subinfeudation which have contributed to the decay of the villages is the progressive subdivision of proprietary interests by inheritance which has proceeded so far that in a large proportion of estates there are no longer any individual sharers with either the desire or the means to devote money to works of utility for the benefit of the rural population, such as the construction and maintenance of tanks, bathing ghats, village roads and paths and the like. Another cause is the decay of the old influence of the landholders as a class, owing partly to the above cause coupled with sub-infeudation, and partly to the landlord and tenant legislation of the last half century. Those whose memories go back far enough will doubtless bear us out when we say that but for this influence whether exercised in the mustering of *begar* labour, or in enlisting the voluntary combined efforts of the tenantry, a large portion of such works would never have been constructed in the past, whereas now-a-days there are very few of the class who still possess this power or influence. Yet another cause of the decay complained of is the change in the habits and feelings of the upper and middle classes in the country which has resulted in their having less money to spend, and less inclination to spend it on works of utility for the benefit of their neighbours.”

Unfortunately for the country the absentee landlord is the order of the day.

The tanks which supply villages with drinking water are fast getting dried up and the water becoming a

fruitful source of disease and death. While asking the Government to help the people we must not forget to ask the people to help themselves, especially in preserving the purity of the water in tanks and rivers. Dead bodies are often thrown into the rivers in times of epidemics. Jute plants are steeped in rivers and tanks. The sides of the tanks from which rain water descends into the tanks are used by the people to ease themselves. Dirty clothes are washed in the tanks from which drinking water is drawn. And they are, as a rule, used for bathing. Speaking of the Indian peoples Lord Dufferin once said : "Where is there a more crying need for sanitary reform than amongst those who insist upon bathing in the tanks from which they obtain their drinking water?"

We quote the following from the Government Circular dated the 20th May 1904 with approbation : "The contamination of tanks which should be reserved for drinking purposes, when it is not due to the failure of those interested to clean them out and deepen them, is principally owing to their use as places of bathing, for washing clothes and utensils, or for watering cattle. When such neglect of the most elementary rules of health is due to the backwardness of the sanitary education of the people, who prefer to use the nearest water available rather than be put to the inconvenience of going a short distance to satisfy some of their requirements little immediate result can be hoped for from the occasional visits of officials. In such cases the Government must look to the influence of educated native gentlemen in the mofussil by precept and example gradually to lead their fellow-countrymen into a more excellent way. At the same time, although the exhortations and advice of officials may for the time being appear to be thrown away,

they can scarcely fail to have an educative influence which may bear fruit at a later date." *

We now come to the last head—bad food. It is useless to talk of the common food of the people. But we must speak a word or two about the food that must be held directly responsible for periodic outbreaks of epidemics. Little attention is, as a rule, paid to the quality of the food taken by the people. In winter when rotten fish is added to a superabundance of onion and radish cholera comes to lay its leprous touch on victims weakened by malaria. It claims its quota from almost every house and often gets its full share of *chowth*. The weak victims succumb to the first touch. And in the ill-constructed and ill-ventilated houses in congested areas the infection travels apace. Then the dead bodies are thrown into the river to decompose, the dirty linens are washed in the stream or in the tank from which drinking water is drawn. People are so ignorant of the elementary rules of sanitation!

Such are the principal causes of the decay of Bengal villages. The outlook is gloomy. And—at first sight, it may seem to be a hopeless task to remedy the prevailing state of affairs. But the vital interests of the country are connected with the improvement of the sanitary condition of the villages. The work must be done. The Government is, as a matter of course,

* Hindu law-givers were not ignorant of the importance of safeguarding drinking water against contamination. We read in Manu : "One may not discharge into water either urine, or ordure, or spittle, or anything smeared with (what is) unclean, or blood, or poison" (Burnell's translation). Then again Apastamba, whose date cannot be placed later than the third century B. C., ordains : "He (*the Śnātaka*) shall not void excrements with his shoes on nor on a ploughed field, nor on a path nor in water.

"He shall also avoid to spit into . . . water.

"He shall not void excrements facing the fire, the sun, water, a Brāhmana, a cow, (images of) gods" (Bühler in the Sacred Books of the East series, Vol. II).

But these rules are now "more honoured in the breach than the observance."

held responsible by the people. But the people, especially those who have received the advantages of education, must not forget that they have a duty to discharge by their countrymen. In matters like these the local Government, the local bodies, and the local public must work in the same direction. And then, and then only can we hope to gain the desired result.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

Art. VII.—BAHAISM.

SINCE the awakening of the Renaissance we have passed in succession through a period of religious reaction and an age of economic revolution, and now find that a new era is at hand. Religion is gradually losing its hold over the mind of the people who can no longer reconcile themselves with the popular theories of the "nature of creator, the design of creation and the future destiny of man." On the other hand it is observed that the economic problem of the re-arrangement of society on the basis of perfect equality remains yet unsolved. Communism, with all its promise of turning our planet into an Eden and of establishing society on the basis of pure love of humanity, has but proved itself the "Satan of Political Economy" and has been the cause of spreading rancour and discord among men.

The future of man is thus fraught with danger and in the darkness in which humanity is now enveloped there is but one visible ray of hope. Socialistic Communism will either become religious or will cease to be. "In order to achieve enduring results it will have to borrow from religion its best elements of altruism and abnegation, together with the idea of a superhuman power making for the material and moral progress of humanity."*

Asia up to now has been the cradle of nearly all the well-known religious systems of the world and it will not be surprising if this new change also finds an asylum here. It is for this reason that the student of comparative theology and contemporary history cannot silently pass over the change that has of late been visible in Persia and

* Hibbert Lectures, 1891. Count Goblet d'Alvulla.

its neighbouring lands through the influence of Bahaism. This "peaceful revolution," which is spreading very slowly, but most surely, is but a new phase of the human evolution, and is perhaps the message of the progressive twentieth century to man. The old order is changing and is yielding place to new, and Asia is showing unmistakable signs of awakening. "If pessimism dominates Eastern society we must not believe that it is because the lot of man is intolerable here, but it is only because centuries of political despotism and moral relaxation have robbed the Orientals of elasticity of will." Bahaism is a religion as well as a movement—as a religion it is peaceful, as a movement it is progressive, and the principles upon which it is based are the old well-known principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity of men. The recent change of government that has so unexpectedly come over Persia is but one of the earliest results of this movement. "Inequality," says Aristotle, "is the source of all revolution, for no sort of compensation can atone for inequality." The French Revolution, which is one of the greatest political events of the world, was such a revolution. It was a struggle between the Government and the people in which millions of human life were destroyed, and the king, the symbol of despotism, was publicly slain. But in the "peaceful revolution" of our time there was no such struggle, because the Bahai wielded a stronger instrument against those who refused to accept the message of his prophet. His method of work was indirect. He never opposed his opponent, but submitted himself to the will of his oppressor. He was averse to violent measures, practised no public preaching, and instead of shouting aloud for reform and change peacefully directed the thoughts of the people to what was meant for their good and thus brought to bear upon them a passive

influence the force of which was irresistible. He preferred to suffer in silence than to terrorize, and believing in the words of his master, that "a life lost in the service of humanity was a life gained," willingly laid down his life in spreading the cause of liberty. And thus whatever he lost was his gain and looking at the success that has so far been achieved it can be said that Bahaism which is now a universal religion in quality will become so also in fact.

Such is Bahaism, the universal religion of the human race, and by the student of religious thought it can no longer be ignored. This great religious and social movement known by the name of Bahaism, or more commonly Babism, had its birth in the land of Zoroaster which was already associated with the traditions and history of the Parsi faith and which has been the cradle of Shiaite and Aliite ideas in Islam. The Bahai religion, which announces itself as a new manifestation of divine truth, is a new religion and is not, as has sometimes been understood, a new sect of Islam. The founder of it lived only in the first quarter of the last century and first presented himself to the people in 1843. He was the son of a cloth merchant of Shiraz and his early life is so simple and usual that there is nothing particularly noticeable in him. He was a youth known for his purity of life and good manners which attracted all those whom he had occasion to meet. He was sent to school at the usual age, but did not remain a student very long. Professor Browne thinks that he was a pupil of Haji Syed Kazim of Resht and that he was a member of the sect founded by the Haji, who was one of the greatest mujtahids of his time and a man of great learning. But as far as we learn from the Bahai accounts the old Haji of Resht had

are of inestimable value. They often fail to procure the special cartridges necessary for these arms, but the very fact of possessing a foreign made rifle gives its owner an assured position of respect and impunity. One gentleman caught my eye particularly. He wore, under the usual red Chinese button, a forage cap which must have belonged to one of the English soldiers who fell in the Tibetan expedition to Lhasa. The sight of this trophy set me thinking. We had heard hardly anything of this little war, and I wondered for a moment what reception was awaiting us in the south, and whether our arrival might excite a desire for vengeance to which we should fall easy victims.

All the members of this caravan, however, seemed well disposed towards us. As we passed them many greeted us with the words "rao ma," which mean "good horse," a formula which is a customary compliment interchanged by those who meet by chance in the deserts.

The passage of this large caravan lasted nearly an hour, a stream of peaceful life amid the surrounding sterility. We were far from the out runners and their flags when we saluted the rear-guard, and after they had all disappeared behind a hillock the desert looked emptier than ever, and the sense of isolation weighed the more upon us from having been momentarily dissipated by the passing of this great band of pilgrims.

For they are true pilgrims, these men who go to Lhasa in piety and true faith through all the many dangers that beset them in such regions. They face the cold, the brigands, and the heights that prove fatal to many. Mingled among the devout are found merchants and practical people, whose desire to receive the Dalai Lama's blessing is accompanied by a desire to fill their

pockets. This year moreover they had to do without the holy man's benediction, for he had fled at full speed northwards from the khaki clad soldiers of England to seek shelter among his Russian friends who were also being hardly dealt with by the Fates. For some time the exact point on the Russian frontier to which the chief of the Tibetan Church had guided his mule was uncertain. A Zaidam Mongol had told us as we came through that country that the Dalai Lama had crossed the Naitchi a little to the west of the point at which I desired to cross it, and that he was proceeding by forced marches to Ouliousoutrai, with only three attendants, levying food and mounts from the scanty population on his way. These poor folk thought nothing of losing their horses in return for a few minutes sight of the features of him who is God to them. From Ouliousoutrai the Grand Lama was going on to Ourga, and as we rode slowly on along the track marked by the pilgrims I could not help reflecting on the extent to which history repeats itself. Etiquette changes, and morals vary but religions flourish everywhere. They all reach the same result. A small class of the self-styled elect is maintained by the credulity of the public. As elect they claim the right to distribute at their will the blessing of heaven. All pilgrimages, whether to Lhasa, Mecca, the great temples of China, the Mosques in Africa, or the churches in Rome, spring from the same fundamental principles, and produce the same golden results.

After this eventful day we found the next especially monotonous, the more so owing to rain, which fell unceasingly throughout it. This was the beginning of the real rainy season, very like that of India during the monsoon, the only difference being that the monsoon breaks about three weeks later in Tibet, and that more rain falls.

allow the meeting to take place because as they said the Bab was a dangerous person and was likely to have an undesirable influence on the king. It was consequently decided that he should be tried by a commission of Mujtahids which was to be presided over by the Heir-Apparent, Nasiruddin Mirza. Haji Mirza Mahmud and Haji Mirza Quli were the chief spokesmen,* and the first question put to him was "Are the books Bayan another epistles composed by you or do men wrongly attribute them to you" to which the Bab made answer that they were from God. He was then asked the meaning of his title "Bab" to which he replied that he used it in the same sense as the prophet Mohommed had said about himself *إمام نبيته العلم علي بابها* "I am the city of learning and Ali is its gate." They then proceeded thus.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Then you are the gate of the city of knowledge and the knowledge consisteth of *العلم العلمان العلم الإبدان العلم الأديان* I ask then in medicine what occurs in the stomach when a person suffers from indigestion and what is the proper treatment of hypochondriasis.

Bab: I have not studied medicine.

Prince: This is incompatible with your claim.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Say, then, are the divine attributes of knowledge, hearing, seeing, and power, identical with the divine essence or otherwise?

Bab: Identical with the essence.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Then God is multiple and composite, but God is not so.

Bab remains silent and being pressed for an answer says "I have not studied philosophy."

Haji Mirza Quli: In how many ways is nine divisible?

The Bab gives no answer.

* Episode of the Bab. Professor E. G. Browne.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: Show me a miracle suitable to your claim!

Bab: What miracle do you desire?

Haji Mulla Mahmud: The king is sick. Restore him to health.

Bab: It is not in my power.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: What can you then do?

Bab: I can utter eloquent words. I can write two thousand verses in one day. None else can do this.

Haji Mulla Mahmud: You must certainly give up this occupation or you will become blind.

But the above cannot be said to be a true account of the proceedings of the commission, which sat within closed doors and from which the Bahais were rigidly excluded, and as the Bahais and even some of the Mohomedans are not inclined to look upon this version with any favour we cannot give much credit to it. The commission then broke up and the verdict of guilty was returned unanimously. It was resolved that the Bab should die, and the sentence was ratified by the civil court.

Of the death of the Bab, as to how it happened, there are two versions. Professor Browne, Count Gibnone, Lady Sheil, as well as other European writers state that the Bab when fired at first fell uninjured on the ground and having lost his presence of mind ran away and took refuge in a house near by where he was despatched by a soldier, but the Bahais think it to be an imputation as the Bab never moved an inch from the place where he stood and fell riddled with bullets at the same spot when fired at a second time and gave up the ghost. To show this difference in detail I would write down the European account in the pathetic words of Lady Shiel and the Bahai version in the words of

Mr. Sydney Sprague, an American Bahai. Lady Shiel writes thus: "A company of soldiers was ordered to despatch Bab by a volley. When the smoke had cleared away Bab had disappeared from sight. It had so happened that none of the balls had touched him and prompted by an impulse to preserve his life he rushed from the spot. Had Bab possessed sufficient presence of mind to have fled to the Bazaar he would in all probability have succeeded in effecting his escape. A miracle palpable to all Tabriz would have been performed, and a new creed would have been established. But he turned in the opposite direction and hid himself in the guard room, where he was immediately discovered, brought out and shot." After this Lady Shiel continues, "His body was thrown into the ditch of the town where it was devoured by the half wild dogs which abound in Persia." "The manner of his death," writes Mr. Sydney Sprague, "was as follows:—The Bab together with one of his disciples was hung up by a rope against the side of a wall and the order given to a regiment of Armenian soldiers to fire. This they did in three successive volleys, but when the smoke cleared it was found that the Bab was uninjured, the bullets having simply cut the ropes which bound him. He uttered some words to the crowd which for the great uproar were not heard. Again he was hung up, but this time the regiment of Armenians refused to fire, so another one, of Mohommedans, was called. They fired, and the Bab's body fell riddled with bullets and thus ended his short mission." The latter part of Lady Shiel's statement has been contradicted by Professor Browne himself. He writes: "The two bodies were dragged through the streets and cast out of the gate to feed the dogs and jackals, but by night came Sulaiman

with gold in one hand and a sword in the other offering the choice between the two to the guards appointed to prevent the burial of the bodies. The guards took the gold and surrendered the bodies which were wrapped in fine silk, placed in a coffin and conveyed secretly to Teheran." Besides this statement there exists other documentary evidence of a snapshot taken by a Russian photographer of the two bodies wrapped in fine silk, a copy of which is generally kept by every follower of the religion as a relic of their master.

"It was the body and not the spirit of Cæsar that was destroyed, for Cæsar mightier and stronger still walked the streets of Rome." The anticipations of the government and the people were by no means realised, and in spite of increased persecution the triumphal course of Bahaism could not be checked. Then began a series of the most terrible and heroic martyrdoms in which thousands of Bahais laid down their lives in the hope "that perchance the people may be warned and may escape from uncertainty and error, that they may fall to making enquiry, that they may recognise the truth as it meet and that they may no longer be veiled therefrom."

Mirza Kurban Ali, a well-known Derwish, who had embraced the new religion, when asked to deny his faith, said: "Were I possessed of the lordship of the world and had I a thousand such lives I would freely cast them at the feet of his friends." Thereupon the sentence was pronounced and the blow of the headman instead of falling on his victim's neck cast only the turban of the old man on the ground. He smiled and raising his head exclaimed:—

اسے خوش آن عاشق سر مست کہ دریائے حبیب
سر دستار ندانہ کہ کدام اندازد

"O happy that intoxicated lover who at the feet of a friend
Knoweth not whether it is his head or turban which he casteth."

Another incident was that of Mirza Syed Ali, the
uncle of the Bab, who, when asked for recantation, said :

اے صبا ازمن به اسماعیل قربانی بگو
زنده برگشتن زکوئے دوست شرط عشق نیست

"O zephyr say from me to Ishmail meant for sacrifice
That it is not the condition of good faith to return alive from
the street of the friend."

Hazrat-i-Tahira, who had abandoned everything
for the sake of her religion, and who had gone from
place to place preaching the gospel of Bahaism, was also
at last brought for trial before the king. Nasiruddin
Shah and all others present suggested to her that she
might deny her faith only temporarily as they did not
desire that she should die. To this she made answer
that it could not be so as her death might perchance
reveal the truth unto them. But Nasiruddin was so
struck by the singular beauty of her person that he said
to those present

از هیئت خوشم می آید بگزار باشد

"I like her looks, leave her and let her be."

After this many efforts were made that she might
be brought back to her old faith, but when she persis-
tently refused she was at last presented with the cup of
martyrdom, and thus the life of a great poetess, philo-
sopher, linguist and theologian was brought to a close.
At this point it is still more painful to call to mind that
her fine collection of poems, having fallen into the hands
of her persecutors also perished with her and all that
remains with us now is no more than four or five ghazals.
Professor Browne has published three of these in his
book on the Bab and we here take the liberty of

publishing another which has not as yet seen the light
of day.

غزل

1. جوانی چه آورد پیری چه برد بست خورد سایه مئے سالخورد
2. مئے سالخوردی که یک قطره اش نخورد آنکه مرد و نمرود آنکه خورد
3. بست خورد سایه که رفته درخش نمرود آنکه دید و نه دید آنکه مرد
4. درایام وصل رخس بار غم نبرد آنکه بود و نبود آنکه برود
5. زیل خم دهد ساقی روزگار یک صاف صاف و یک درد درد
6. نه باز نیست رفتن بمیدان عشق که از صد هزاران یک پانصد

غم عشق آموز از طاهره

که هم دل را گشت وهم دل سپرد

1. What did youth bring and old age take away?
This brought the young beloved one and that took
away the old wine.

2. A wine of such efficacy that no drop of it was
tasted by him who died, but he who tasted it died not.

3. Such a young beloved one that her radiant face
was not seen by him who died, but he who saw became
immortal.

4. In the time of her *was* the burden of grief was
not borne by him who was present but by him who was
not.

5. From the same vessel the cup-bearer of the
world gives pure wine to one and dregs to another.

6. It is no matter of play to enter the arena of love,
for out of a hundred thousand only one remained firm.

7. Learn of the pathos of love from Tahira, for she
became heart captivating and parted with her heart too.

Suleman Khan, who had brought the body of Bab
to Teheran, when brought to the court of inquisition, was
marked out by his rank for tortures more horrible.

His persecution reminds one of the fate of Latimer, in the time of Mary, who, when the fire was lighted at his feet said to his companion : " We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as shall never be put out " Lighted wicks were inserted in gashes inflicted on the body of this companion of the Bab, who was led through the city led by a procession of a frantic mob. When asked to explain his conduct Suleman Khan said :

د ی شیخ با چراغ همین گشت گرد شهر
 کز دیور ددملوم وانسانم آرزوست
 گفتم که یانست می نه شود گشته ایم ما
 گفت آنکه یانست می نه شود آنم آرزوست

Last night the Sheikh, with light in hand, was seen going round the city in search of some *man* as he was tired of the company of beasts.

" You cannot find," said one, " we have already searched in vain."

But he said " No. But I search that which you cannot find." Thereupon some one of the mob tauntingly asked why did he not dance, and he began singing at the same time.

یک دست جام باده و یک دست زلف یار
 رقص چنین میانه مید آنم آرزوست

The cup of wine in one hand and the tresses of the beloved one in the other,

Such a dance it is my desire to have in this field.

The persecutions of the Bahais, though they have very greatly diminished, have not as yet altogether ceased, as only twelve years ago about 300 were put to death at Yezd. There is another incident of recent occurrence which will show that the courage and heroism of Bahai women is no less than that of men. The bridegroom of

a certain newly-wedded wife was torn from her arms by a frantic mob of persecutors and was hacked to pieces. His body was thrown back to his wife by the pitiless crowd who were making a ghastly feast out of his death.

Close to her feet she gazed at it in dread,
 Saw in that shapeless mass her loved one's head ;
 Then by God's help she took that head so dear,
 A prayer breathed over it kissed it with a tear.
 Back to the blood hounds threw it with her might,
 Aye, even their base souls were troubled at that sight,
 Triumphant rang her voice, though from the rack,
 " That which to God we give we take not back."

Now before we proceed any further it is necessary that for the comprehension of what is to follow we come to know the principal teachings of the Bab. The doctrines of the Bab are contained in a treatise called the Bayan (The Exposition) which is a revealed book like the Bible or the Quran, as the Bayan itself says :—

" خداوند سوا فرمود بلسان خرد که آیا قرآن کتاب کیست کل مر
 منین باو گفتند کتاب الله هست - بعد سوال کرده شد که فرق درمیان
 بیان و فرقان دیده می شود - گفتند لا والله بعد خداوند
 عالم نازل فرمود که آن کلام محمد رسول الله است و این بلسان من
 بلسان ذات حروف السبع باب الله است "

" God demanded in his own speech ' Whose book is the Quran.' All the believers said to him ' It is the book of God.' ' Is there any difference between the Furqan (Quran) and the Bayan ' : The spiritually minded answered ' No. By God none.' . . . Then the Lord of the world thus revealed : ' That word is by the tongue of Mahommed the apostle of God and this my word by the tongue of the person of seven letters the gate of God.' " In the Bayan the Bab announces himself to be the forerunner of a great manifestation of God which is to

follow him. He has appeared to announce the advent of Bahauallah just as John the Baptist had come to announce the approaching manifestation of Christ. As the Sun is greater than the dawn so is this manifestation of God than its forerunner, as is said in the Bayan :—

”قسم جذبات اقدس الهی که در یوم ظهور من بظهور اله اگر کسی یک آیه از شغود و تلاوت کند بهتر است از آنکه عفرار مرتبه بیان را تلاوت کند“

“ I swear by the most holy essence of God that in the day of manifestation of him ‘ whom God shall manifest, if one should hear a single verse from him and recite it, it is better than that he should recite the whole Bayan a thousand times.”

The time of the manifestation of Bahauallah was not definitely announced, but it has been asserted by some that the Bab had predicted the year 1852 and exactly in the same year the light of God became manifest. It is with the advent of Bahauallah the prophet that the real history of the Bahai faith begins as it was he who established the religion for which the way was prepared by his forerunner. Bahauallah was one of the earliest companions of the Bab, and had held a conspicuous place among the nineteen gifted persons called the “ Letters.” He belonged to a very rich and noble family which was looked upon with general esteem by all in Persia, as many of the government officials of the time belonged to it. His father was a man of great erudition and learning but Bahauallah having left the house in his early youth was deprived of the advantage of a good education at home or school. He had joined the Bab when still a young man and though deprived of a good education in his early life was possessed of an extraordinary gift of eloquence

After the death of the Bab among many of his other followers Bahauallah was also captured by order of the government and the story of his miraculous escape is very strange. Of the captives one man was taken out of the jail every day to be beheaded in public before a crowd of spectators, of whom many were forthcoming every day. It so happened that all of them, except Bahauallah, were beheaded. On that evening his jailor came to him and said “ To-morrow thou shalt also die,” to which he calmly returned answer “ My God knows better.” And so it turned out to be, as on the same evening the English and the Russian ambassadors at the court of the Shah made a very strong protest on behalf of the Bahais and obliged the Shah to issue immediate orders for the release of all the prisoners, of whom there was only one left. Bahauallah, with his family and some followers, was exiled to Baghdad, where a great number of pilgrims learning of his wisdom and holiness gathered round him and became his followers. So it was that in Asia, the well-known land of prophets, there arose another greater light known to-day under the name of Bahauallah, meaning the glory of God. So rapid was the increase in the number of the converts of this new faith that the Turkish Government became alarmed and decided to transfer Bahauallah the source of this new light to Constantinople. What had taken place in Baghdad took place in Constantinople and Bahauallah was removed also from there and sent to Adrianople. It was here that the *الواح* or the epistles of Bahauallah were written. These were letters addressed to the kings of Europe as well as to other people containing the message of the new faith and inviting them to assist in the promotion of the brotherhood and the establishment of unity. Mahommed had also written such letters to the kings of Egypt, Roum

and Persia. The late Queen of England like the Qaiser of Roum replied to the epistle with these words: "If it is from God it will stand, if not it will soon pass away," but Napoleon III, the Emperor of France, like the Kai-khusro of Persia replied by an insulting oath, and soon after lost his throne and died miserably in exile.

The Turkish Government wishing to restrict entirely the influence of Bahauallah sent him to the Syrian fortress of Acre or Aaka, where it was hoped that he would succumb to the rigours of the climate. But such was not the will of the Lord. In that arid desert the prophet and his followers were able to discover fountains of fresh water and like the people of Moses inhabited and turned that tract of desert into a garden of roses. The sanitary condition of the city began to change and to-day the holy shrine of Baha, which is surrounded by beautiful orange groves and rose gardens, is one of the loveliest places in Syria. The Bahais in spite of all efforts of the Turkish authorities to the contrary soon learnt the whereabouts of their prophet and hundreds of them came there on foot only to get a glimpse of the master from the window of the prison house. It was here that Professor Browne, the well-known Orientalist, had the great and unique honour of being presented before the master of the faithful with whom he had many conferences. Professor Browne gives a very interesting account of these visits in his book and about Bahauallah he writes thus: "The face of him on whom I gazed I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. The piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul, power and authority sat on that ample brow while the deep lines on forehead and face implied an age which the jet black hair and beard flowing down in indistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist seemed to belie. No need to ask in whose presence I stood as I

bowed myself before one who is the object of a devotion and love which kings might envy and emperors sigh for in vain." At Acre the divine revelation was made complete and the basis of religion setting forth laws and doctrines was established, and the word of God was delivered unto man for his guidance in the form of "Ahd" or "Testament." Before his departure from this world Bahauallah had announced this event in the Book of Covenant in which he had ordered the Bahais to look upon his son Abbas Effendi as the next source of light who would interpret the teachings of Bahauallah to the world after him. Abbas Effendi, who calls himself Abdul Baha (The Slave of Baha), is still living in the prison town of Acre, where a great number of pilgrims from Persia, Turkey, Egypt, India, America, England, France, and Russia, come to sit at the feet of the master and listen to his wise and holy words.

The first law of the Bahai religion is the acquiring of knowledge which is equally necessary for both men and women, for it is only through knowledge that any progress can be made. Bahauallah says: "Whoever provided for the education of a single human child did the most righteous act, as if he had provided for the education of the son of Bahauallah himself."

The position of women has been ameliorated to a greater degree by the mission of Bahauallah than might have been expected from the dispensations of all reformers and prophets prior to him. The seclusion of women has been forbidden, and men are enjoined to treat the fair sex with deference and perfect reverence is prescribed to be observed in speaking to them. It has been said that out of every nineteen gifted persons one is always a woman and thus the general tenor of the teachings of Bahauallah is to

establish a perfect equality between the sexes in their legal, social, and spiritual positions. Women are the companions of men and the teachers of their children.

Strife and contest, which are the result of base instincts and propensities men have inherited from the animals below, cannot be regarded as seemly in men and must now cease for ever. Bahauallah says : "O people of the world, you are the fruit of one tree and the bearers of one branch. Walk with perfect charity, concord and affection. I swear by the sun of truth the light of agreement shall brighten and illumine the horizons. Endeavour to attain to this high supreme station of protection and preservation of mankind. This is the intent of the king of intentions and this the hope of the Lord of hopes. In night and day the cry of the pen ariseth and the tongue speaketh, that against fierceness may arise patience, and in place of oppression submission, and at the time of martyrdom resignation."

Bahauallah says that every people that inhabits this earth will be ruled according as it deserves, but the efforts of men should be directed towards the establishment of democracy which is the only natural form of government, as is said in the Epistles. Bahauallah says : "We hope that God will assist the people of this world to illuminate the earth with the light of justice. At one time we spoke in the language of law, at another time in the language of the truth and the way, the ultimate object, the remote aim was the showing forth of this high supreme station. Communicate it and show it in the language of affection and kindness ; if it be received and be effective the object is attained, if not leave it to him and with regard to him deal not harshly but pray."

In short, as a well-known barrister of New York has written, the social measures which Bahaism advocates

are certainly more enlightened than those which have generally been put forward in the name of religion.

The history of Bahaism covers a period of sixty years and the total number of Bahais, according to the Bahai statistics, has been [calculated at seven millions and looking at its rapid growth it can be said that Bahaism has a very bright future before it. Besides the accepted Bahais there is a vast number of close sympathizers between whom and the declared members of the sect there is but one step. The seed which has been cast will be cultivated by God and will bear fruit through the abundance of the clouds of His mercy. The love of humanity will suppress the revolt of individual interest and man will obey the laws that are written on his heart.

ABDURRAHMAN SEOHARVI

LUCKNOW, *15th March 1907.*

Art. VIII.—CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

AN event of importance and far-reaching influence was the establishment, on 27th April, 1907, of the Calcutta Historical Society on lines that promise permanence, if the present enthusiasm of the members abides. Nearly one hundred people—all men and mostly Anglo-Indians—attended the inaugural meeting in the Town Hall at which Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal, presided. It was an agreeable surprise to find that the historical associations of one of the famous centres of modern civilisation and progress had a sufficient fascination for some of the most prominent residents to draw them together, at an awkward time of the year, to promote the cult of the antiquary, which has been sadly neglected in this great city of trade and barter. The end of April is perhaps the most depressing time of the year to launch in Calcutta any enterprise, save company promotion. This is especially true of undertakings connected with arts and *belles lettres*. The Court and Society have by then flown to the hills. The remaining population is for the most part absorbed in commerce, with no chance of escaping from its hard materialism. In the circumstances the achievement of the promoters of the new society was a notable one, big with the promise of future success and usefulness. It is heartening to find in the list of those who were present at the inaugural meeting so many Judges of the High Court. We decline to believe that their presence was a mere compliment to their chief. On the other hand, the keen interest they took in the proceedings, and the alacrity with which they allowed themselves to

be elected to the Provisional Committee, proved the sincerity of their zeal, and afforded a good earnest of their intention to nurture a plant, which at its very birth gave signs of a sturdy growth. The Society was also fortunate in its first list of patrons. They are important enough to be enumerated here:—H.E. the Earl of Minto, Governor-General of India; Lord Kitchener of Khartoum; Lord Curzon of Kedleston; Lord Reay; Lord Avebury; H.H. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; The Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal; The Most Rev. Dr. Copleston, Metropolitan of India; The Very Rev. Dr. Brice Meuleman, Archbishop of Calcutta; Dr. H. E. Busteed, C.I.E.; Sir Ernest Cable; H.H. The Maharajah of Cooch Behar; H.H. The Maharajah of Durbhanga. They are all men who are proud of being citizens of the second city of the British Empire, and to all of them, it may be said with truth, the epicene rôle of figurehead is abhorrent. The greatest stroke of luck to which the Society can point is the capture of Mr. Robert Dunbar as Secretary, and the Rev. W. K. Firminger as editor of the quarterly magazine which is to shed light on the historical obscurity of Job Charnock's "Ditch." The former is a working journalist of tried ability, generous outlook, and a robust energy that is infectious. His *forte* is organisation rather than research, and he supplies the indispensable leaven to kindle a lump of *litterati* into a living organisation of the work-a-day world. The Rev. W. K. Firminger is the worthy son of a worthy father. Calcutta is the city of his adoption, but it would be unsafe to say that it is second in his affections to the home of his forefathers. No better selection could have been made for the editorship of *Bengal Past and Present*, the first

number of which has been issued as we are going to press. A perusal of its delightful pages, more especially those given up to the "Leaves from the Editor's Note Book" recalls quaint old Isaac D'Israeli's description of a literary antiquary, "fervent in sagacious diligence, instinct with the enthusiasm of curious enquiry, critical as well as erudite." Mr. Firminger is all this and more, for he possesses an amount of journalistic flair, uncommon in a man whose life is passed in a perpetual *voyage autour de ma chambre*. Mayhap he owes it to Mr. Dunbar, his chief of the staff. We shall not presume to apportion the merit of a quality indispensable to the success of any periodical in these piping times of up-to-dateness. The journal is a credit to the Society. Its literary promise is alluring, and will undoubtedly attract the attention and enlist the co-operation of men of culture, to whom the object of the Society must appeal with the crooning note of a much-loved parent. The format of the book is agreeable and convenient, showing the high level to which artistic publication can attain in Calcutta when undertaken by a well-equipped establishment like the Edinburgh Press. We have said enough in this brief notice to justify our opening proposition, that the establishment of the Calcutta Historical Society is an event of importance and far-reaching influence. It but remains for us to wish it godspeed. *Der Historiker ist ein rückwärts gekehrter Prophet*, and as such we honour the Society.

P. L.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

CALCUTTA OLD AND NEW. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City. By H. E. A. Cotton. W. Newman and Co., Calcutta. 1907. Rs. 7-8.

THE work before us, which is really the fourth edition of Messrs. Newman and Co.'s Handbook to Calcutta, has been entirely rewritten by Mr. Cotton, and divided into two parts. Of these the former is intended to give the reader an idea of the historical associations of Calcutta with special reference to buildings that have disappeared and places that have seen changes. The second part is designed to serve as a guide-book to whatever may be worthy of note in the capital and its environs as they exist to-day.

Mr. William Foster, Record-keeper at the India Office, who has seen the proofs, describes the book as an "excellent piece of work"—an opinion which no fair-minded critic will feel inclined to dispute. Dr. H. E. Busteed also—and can there be any better judge?—considers that nobody in this generation is so well qualified by his special knowledge, aptitude and lightness of touch, to undertake the work, as Mr. Cotton is. With these opinions before us it would be presumption on our part—even supposing for a moment it were our intention to do so—to decry the book. Let us, however, judge for ourselves as we go along.

The Introduction, to begin with, is pleasingly written. Old celebrities are recalled to the reader's imagination: Hicky, the father of the Calcutta Press; "Padra" Johnson and his Begum; the aged missionary, Kiernander; the beautiful Miss Sanderson; Tiretta of Bazar fame; Charles Weston, the country-born philanthropist; the great Pro-Consul and his "elegant Marian;" the Monsons, Clavering, and Francis, and Madame Grand, the goddess of beauty. These and a hundred other shadows seem to beckon to us across the bridge of a century. We have neither the time nor the space at our disposal to follow the author through the sixteen chapters in which the history of Calcutta is told, from the 24th August 1690 when, on the final British occupation of the deserted village of Suttanuttee, it was

founded by Job Charnock, to the Metropolis as we see it to-day. The historical part has of course been told before, but the amount of labour and research bestowed upon it by Mr. Cotton himself has been prodigious, and deserves to be recognised accordingly.

Among the chapters that would seem to call for special notice are those describing the pictures in the Town Hall and in Government House, as well as the Victoria Memorial Collection regarding the dispersal of which, however, a decision has recently been announced. To some at least the snow-white Taj of the twentieth century would seem almost as much a problem of the future as Lady Curzon's Fountain which "will (it is understood) be shortly placed upon the grass plot which immediately faces the new Military Secretariat Buildings." Here the author strikes, unconsciously enough, a chord of the tenderest pathos which will find an echo in the heart of every reader. Other particularly interesting chapters are those headed "Historical Houses and Famous Localities," "The Park Street Cemeteries," and "Up and Down the River," the last two being the work of the author's brother, Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., whose articles in the *Calcutta Review* are already well known and greatly admired. Although not professing to be exhaustive, the Bibliography given in the Appendix will be found helpful.

It was pointed out quite recently in the pages of this *Review* that the old tradition of Surgeon Gabriel Boughton's having obtained certain trading concessions for the English owing to his curing the Emperor's daughter, had been exploded by Dr. C. R. Wilson. Similarly the legend of Job Charnock's rescuing a comely young Hindu widow from the funeral-pyre and making her his wife—first narrated by Captain Alexander Hamilton—had also been dissipated in the Diary of Sir William Hedges. According to the latter's account which is somewhat less romantic, Job was residing at Patna with a Gentoo female, whose husband was still living or but lately deceased. The woman had absconded with her former lord's money and valuables, so the nabob, to whom a complaint was made, sent a dozen sepoy to seize Mr. Charnock.

But on the latter's escaping (or bribing the men) they got hold of his *vakil* instead and imprisoned him for a couple of months, the soldiers continuing to watch the Factory gate all that time until Charnock compromised the matter for Rs. 3,000, besides some broadcloth and sword-blades. Now it is probable the true story was known to Mr. Cotton who refers more than once to Hedges' Diary; in that case it would seem a pity that while reproducing the old legend he did not trouble to make the corrective entry. This is, however, one of the few spots on the sun.

It might have been stated at the outset that the volume appears a bit too bulky for an ordinary handbook. Its *errata* too is rather a lengthy one. This last may, however, be a fault on the right side, tending as it does to disarm criticism, especially when it is borne in mind that the book contains more than a thousand pages. But what seems to us to call for some notice is the repetition in respect of the admirable biographical notices interspersed through the volume. For instance, in the chapter on "Hastings and Francis" there is a long foot-note on Madame Grand while several pages are again devoted to her in the chapter on "Belvedere and Alipore." Under "The Park Street Cemeteries" Rose Aylmer has half a page to herself, besides four other references elsewhere, saying almost the same things. There is an account of Sir Benjamin Malkin at pages 510-511, followed by a second account of him after an interval of only eleven pages. All that can be gathered about Tiretta is practically repeated in different parts of the book. Martyn's Pagoda at Serampore, also, is described in two places. Several other instances of this nature could be cited. Perhaps no great harm is done by these repetitions, but it is just the need of a little judicious pruning in this direction that has swelled the book out to its present dimensions.

Who, by the way, was "Asiaticus?" Mr. Cotton, as others before him, assigns the pseudonym to Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope. Whereas from the British Museum Catalogue, Cushing's *Initials and Pseudonyms, a Dictionary of Literary Disguises*, and Sydney Grier's collection of the *Letters of Warren*

Hastings to his Wife, "Asiaticus" would appear to be a Major John Scott Waring. Like the authorship of "Junius" this point has never been settled.

Is it quite correct to say, as stated in the Introduction, that "not a vestige remains of the Old Fort," when we are told, at page 433, "the sunken arches immediately in front, where the Post Office wagons are now kept, constitute all that survives of the Old Fort?" In the chapter "Citizens of no mean City," an interesting description is given of the *Kintals*. The word is not traceable in *Hobson-Jobson*, but it may be noted that our author applies the term not to the *bastis* or dwellings where persons of that class reside, but to the inhabitants themselves who are popularly known as *Kintalis*.

Messrs. Steuart and Co. have vacated their old place of business behind St. Andrew's Kirk, referred to in "Calcutta a hundred years ago," so recently that the change has not been noted. This is also the case in regard to the Opera House which has but lately been levelled to make room for the new Theatre that Messrs. Mackintosh Burn and Company are erecting in Madge's Lane.

Unfortunately the Handbook is not illustrated, beyond the two plans of the Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection. It would doubtless have added to the importance of an already good book if, apart from pictures, any of the old maps of Calcutta, such as those of Upjohn, Wills and Wood, which are so frequently referred to in the text, had been reproduced.

We propose now to give two or three extracts as instances of the style in which the book is written, and with this object have selected, almost at random, a few on different subjects.

The first is from the chapter headed

"Calcutta a hundred years ago."

"Nor was the climate the only obstacle to enjoyment. The mosquito, like the poor, is still with us, but somehow or other age (or shall we say sanitation?) has improved his manners, and he does not torment us as much as he did our forefathers. Time was

when his ravages earned for him the respectful tribute of the poet:

"With many a drowsy nod
I paid dull homage to the sleepy god:
But nought the sofa's easy length availed,
A ceaseless hum my listening ears regaled:
Mosquitoes swarmed around, a thirsty throng,
Raised the red bump, and tuned the hollow song."

But that was in 1811, and the reign of the petty tyrant is all but over to-day. We no longer resort for immunity to the singular expedient, of which Grandpré tells us, of wrapping pasteboard round our legs, if we have to stay indoors for any length of time. Nor was this the only subterfuge of suffering Anglo-Indian humanity. "You should always contrive to have some blooming youth fresh from England to sit next to you; they are sure to go to him:" was the advice given to Lord Minto by "Bobus" Smith, his Advocate-General, who combined with that office the higher distinction of being the brother of the famous Sydney. As for the ladies, poor souls, they thought nothing of three weeks' confinement as the result of mosquito-bites. Miss Eden, in her entertaining *Letters from India*, speaks of such an event as quite an ordinary occurrence. "Nobody can guess what these animals are till they have lived among them," she writes in March, 1836, a few days after Lord Auckland had been sworn in as Governor-General, "many people have been laid up for many weeks by their bites on their first arrival." A week later there is another entry in her diary: "Sir Charles Metcalfe, who has been here for thirty years, says they bite him now as much as they did the first day; and many people seem to be confined for months after they first arrive, from the inflammation of the bites." Nor less a scourge was the prickly heat, if we are to credit Lord Minto. "To give you a notion of its intensity," he writes from Madras, where he stayed with the Bentincks on his outward journey to Calcutta in 1807, "the placid Lord William has been found sprawling on a table on his back: and Sir Henry Gwillion, one of the Madras Judges, who is a Welshman, and a fiery Briton in all senses, was discovered by a visitor rolling on his own floor roaring like a baited bull." We have only to compare the recital of these agonies with the boast of many a tough old *qui-hye* of to-day who will tell you that mosquito-curtains are an unknown luxury to him, and that prickly heat is never suffered to disturb his equanimity; and we shall find ourselves beginning to wonder how people ever lived in Calcutta at all a hundred years ago."

The next extract is taken from

"The Park Street Cemeteries."

"It is not easy to exhaust the interest of these old Calcutta graveyards. They are something more than mere fields

where the dead are stored away unknown. They are a touching and instructive history, written in family burial plots, in mounded graves, in sculptured and inscribed monuments. They tell us of the past, its individual lives, of its men and women, of its children, of its households. We find no such record elsewhere of the price paid for Calcutta by generations of by-gone Englishmen, who lived and died at their work. To the reader who desires to study still further these mortuary memorials there is a comprehensive Directory of the Dead to hand in the "Bengal Obituary" published in 1848 by a firm of Cossitollah undertakers. This volume preserves not only the epitaphs of the multitude that have disappeared, but summarises in thumbnail sketches the careers of the many notabilities whose deaths are monumentally recorded in the now closed-up graveyards of the past." The last is from

The Metcalfe Hall and Imperial Library.

"The conditions under which literary research and study were perforce carried on before the establishment of the Imperial Library can be faintly realized by supplementing by a few concrete examples the words of Lord Curzon which we have just been quoting. A certain Mr. Andrews, who had a circulating library in Calcutta in 1780, complains in an advertisement of the loss he has sustained "owing to gentlemen going away, and in their hurry not recollecting their being subscribers to the Library, or having any books belonging thereto." He adds that "books are kept too long, and in many cases cut, or leaves are torn out." We fancy if the truth were known, that the experience of the Calcutta Public Library during its life of sixty-five years, would not be found to differ greatly from that of Mr. Andrews. It is heartrending to take copies of the original first edition of "Waverley" or "David Copperfield" or "Pride and Prejudice," and to find page after page disfigured by an unsightly stamp which gives the book the appearance of a branded sheep or waler horse. But even such heroic precautions would seem to have been futile. While the British Museum copy of Hicky's Gazette, the earliest newspaper in India, is page-perfect though incomplete, its fellow in Calcutta, which was once the property of the Public Library, has been in places mutilated, and the unique page containing the account of the duel between Hastings and Francis has been cut out by some literary miscreant. The Government Departments had no better part to play. When the Imperial Parliament took over the business of governing India from John Company in 1858, Sir George Birdwood tells us that one of the first acts of the new masters of the Indian House was to order a general sweep to be made of the old records that

from 1726 had been preserved there with scrupulous solicitude. No less than three hundred tons of priceless manuscripts and volumes were sold to a firm of paper-makers to be boiled, bleached and basked into low-class paper pulp. In India similar and even greater follies have been consistently perpetrated. As early as 1756, we read in a despatch from the Court of Directors that a leaf torn out of the original diary of Surman's embassy to the great Mogul in 1717 "was picked up in a public house * * *, and is now in our hands." The briefest enquiry will show that more than one volume of the secret correspondence of Clive and Watson is missing from the series of Government records in Calcutta, and the whereabouts are totally unknown of the original deeds of St. John's Church which in the time of Lord Cornwallis were certainly in the possession of Government. Even more glaring perhaps than the sins of commission have been those of omission. Much of Sir Thomas Munro's original correspondence lay long unheeded in the dingy cupboard of a mofussil Collector's office in the Madras Presidency. So too at Chittagong, there were to be seen twenty years ago quite a number of official documents, a few entirely in the handwriting of Warren Hastings, and all bearing his signature and those of Francis, Barwell, Clavering and Monson. It is impossible to say what has been their fate; but it is more than probable that an iconoclastic record-keeper can account for the disappearance of many that the white-ants have spared. And there are illustrations as melancholy to be found among the records in Calcutta itself. It is positively distressing to send for the files of the *Times* or of the local newspapers in the endeavour to elucidate some knotty point in the history of the city. The Government officials in whose custody they formerly reposed, have neither troubled to keep them up-to-date nor scrupled to use the scissors when some particularly interesting paragraph chanced to meet their eye."

The book is well printed on excellent paper and is bound in cloth in either coral or olive-green: which of the two colours is the more agreeable it would perhaps be difficult to decide. It should not take long to exhaust the first edition, and then it might become possible to bring out a second, say, in ten or twelve monthly parts, revised, and illustrated with plans, portraits and views.

Even as matters stand, there is little doubt that Mr. Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New* will immediately take rank as the best book of its kind. Its value as a work of reference is

fairly and squarely in the face of all events ; judge dispassionately and unprejudicially all public events and suspend his judgment on heated political questions till the effervescence of controversy die out in time, allowing all sediments of party fanaticism to fall to the bottom. Then and not till then could the historian be able to judge a political event from many points of view with that impartiality and dispassionateness which are the primary attributes of great historians. Partition of Bengal is still a debatable question ; controversy regarding its utility is still furiously raging ; even the Mahomedans of the new province are not unanimous on the point ; most of the high Government officials are at variance in their opinion on the high feasibility of the measure. When the case is such, is it wise and judicious on the part of the historian of Dacca to express his opinion on the great controversy as a controversialist and wrangler ? Certainly not. When his work is meant as a history, it must be impartial. Hence by introducing the question of Partition in his book as one of its partisans, he has slightly spoiled the value of his book, which but for this defect would have gone down to posterity as an immortal work on Dacca. Well-conceived, well-written and well-executed, the book is an excellent reading minus the author's misdirected special pleading for the Partition of Bengal.

The second chapter begins with an account of the kingdom of Vikrampur on the left bank of the Ganges locally called the Padma. According to legend Raja Vikramaditya made the place his home. But when and how we do not know. Nothing is known of the place after its founder till the eighth century A.D., when the Buddhist kings of the Pala dynasty made it one of their headquarters. By that time Buddhism spread all over western, northern and eastern portions of what we now understand by Bengal proper. Southern Bengal, or that portion of the country now triangular in shape which is bounded on the north and east by the Ganges, on the west by the chain of hillocks which run from Balasore coast to Monghyr through Santhal Parganas and on the south by the Bay of Bengal, was then only a shallow portion of the sea and was slowly emerging from the bosom of the deep. This portion of the country is essentially a tertiary strata which was slowly recovered from

the sea by some natural causes. Tamralipta, Satgaon, Vikrampur and Sonargaon were only ports on the border of this watery region. At Vikrampur the Pala kings must have made one of their principal residences, for here for some time Buddhism flourished greatly. We learn from Thibetan literature that in the eighth century A.D. Shanta Rakshit, who was high priest of Odantapuri (in modern Bihar sub-division and who visited Thibet in that century) was born at Vikrampur. In 1048 A.D. Dipánkura Sriyana, the celebrated Atisha of Thibet, went there from Vikramshila of which he was the high priest. He was born in Vikrampur. The university of Vikramshila and the royal monastery, Deva Vihara, attached to it, which was founded by King Dharma Pala in the eighth century A.D., must have been situated in Vikrampur. The description of Vikramshila that has come down to us tells that it was situated on the top of a hill on the left bank of the Ganges. Vikrampur was, and still is, on the left bank of the Ganges. The fact that Vikrampur is an ancient place of Sanskrit learning leads one to infer that under the Buddhist kings of the Pal dynasty it acquired that character as the university of Vikramshila. The following account of the famous Buddhist university is an additional reason for holding that Vikramshila was situated at Vikrampur. All around the central building of the Vikramshila, but at short distances from the Deva Vihara, there were erected 107 temples and a wall surrounded them all. The King, Dharma Pala, furnished it with fifty religious establishments and founded a university with six colleges and employed one hundred and eight professors to teach the pupils. In the central building called "The House of Science," the monks of the monastery studied *Prajñá Páramita* scriptures. It was during the reign of King Bhaya Pala that the university was placed under the supervision of six Dwára*(door) pandits and that the sage Jetari had established a *chatra* or hostel for supplying food gratis to the pupils at Vikramshila. There were four colleges at the four gates of the monastery, where pupils had free access for the purpose of study and which were presided over by the Dwára pandits. The two pandits who taught theology in the central college were called the first and second pillars of the university. For

the support of the resident pupils of the four colleges at the four gates but inside the monastery, four *chatra* (free board hostels) were established for the maintenance of the scholars. They were endowed by the princes and nobles of the country. In the beginning of the tenth century A. D. a *chatra* was added to the *vihara* by one of the sons of King Sanatan of Varendra (modern Rajshaye). That prince had entered the Buddhist holy order and became known by the name of Jetari (the senior). The university successfully worked for four centuries, being managed under royal patronage by a board of six members presided over by the High Priest. Their decisions were honoured by the Governor of the *vihara* who was responsible for its moral discipline.

The above account is gathered from Thibetan sources. In the seventh century A. D., the noted Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tshang (or more correctly Yuan Chuang) came to India, lived for five years at Nalanda (near Gaya) and then started eastwards. During this journey he came to a country or kingdom called Samatata at the junction of three great rivers, the Karatoya, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. This coincides with the site of the ancient kingdom of Vikrampur, which rose in power and fame during the eighth century, when the Pala kings made it a seat of their government. Samatata might have been the early name of Vikrampur. When Hiuen Tshang went to Samatata, he found Buddhism there in a declining state, having had only 30 sangharamas with 2,000 priests, who belonged to the Sthavira school, *i. e.*, the school prevalent in Ceylon. Nigranthas or Jains were numerous. Brahmanism was also flourishing, having 100 deva temples. The Thibetan account quoted above and which was of a later period confirms the fact mentioned by Hiuen Tshang that there were 100 temples in Vikrampur, which was no other than the capital of the kingdom of Samatata. Inspired with religious zeal, the Pala kings of Bengal greatly revived the religion of Buddha in Eastern India, and most probably it was under that enthusiasm they helped the spread of Buddhism, not only in Thibet, but also in Burma, Chittagong, and other places of the further East. It was from Vikramshila that the great Buddhist

missionary Shanta Rakshit went to Thibet to preach the revived religion under the patronage of Dharma Pala, and it was from that place that Buddhism went to Burma and Chittagong. In the eighth century Vikrampur became the centre of the Buddhist propaganda. For two centuries (not a thousand years as our author in his romantic mood tells us) the Buddhist kings of Pala Dynasty ruled in Eastern India. Towards the middle of the tenth century, a king, by name Adisur, wrested the supremacy from them and founded a line of kings in Eastern India known in history as the Sen kings of Bengal. Under their rule, Buddhism totally collapsed in Bengal proper, and Brahmanism regained its lost position.

The revival of Hinduism in Bengal under the Sen kings forms a grand chapter of Indian history. For nearly a thousand years, the great Indian schism of Buddhism, driving before it or suppressing the older Hinduism, had reigned almost without interruption and in all glory. The Reformation of Sakya may be said to be a Bengali movement. Springing from Gaya, Buddhism counted these provinces for its earliest as well as last home—the land where it flourished longest and best. The empire of Magadha may at its zenith have embraced a large part of Upper India, but the Magadha kingdom nearly always included Behar and Bengal. The whole of the latter was dotted with Buddhist principalities—fiefs of Pataliputra. Fah Hian embarked for Ceylon in a Bengali vessel at Tamralipta, a port of the Magadha kingdom. But Hinduism had not been rooted out, only suppressed. It was the more zealously cherished in secret—in out-of-the-way places, in forests and mountain retreat, or simply in the recesses of the heart, the more that it was sought to be stamped out by main force instead of the people being quite convinced out of it. As both were indigenous faiths—indeed, phases of the same worship, arising out of philosophy common to them—and not differentiated by differing peculiarities of costume and ways in every particular of life, not to say embittered by antagonism of race or by sense of foreign subjection, it was easy enough to believe in and even to practise Hinduism without attracting notice of the followers of the dominant heterodoxy. So when in the course of centuries, the force

of the new Creed spent itself, and it lapsed from its pristine purity into the old Hindu corruption of Tantrikism against which it had been a pest, the sturdy and obstinate professors of Hinduism issued forth from their hiding places again into the light of the day. Hindu authorities again commenced to jostle Buddhist monks in the street and the *ghat*, Hindu *grihasthas* (householders) again jostled Buddhist merchants in the busy mart. A few opportune conversions of princes and ministers and leading men once more turned the tide in favour of the hitherto persecuted Religion.

It was thus that Bengal, long Buddhist under the sway of the Magadha Empire or, in later times, under the reign of her own Pal kings, gradually veered toward the ancient Faith, even during the latter years of the last mentioned dynasty. It was not, however, till the suppression of that line by the Sura royal race that the reclamation began in right earnest and progressed on a large scale. The new epoch commenced with Raja Adisur. He was the Constantine of Hinduism (as it were) for Bengal. He established Hinduism as the State church. Buddhism is comparatively a barren philosophical creed which could hardly make much popular impression anywhere save among races so given to speculation as the Asiatics. Still, were it not for a great reaction in the national mind, it is hard to suppose it would displace so essentially human and popular like a creed as Hinduism. But now another reaction had taken place. At least there was little to choose between the two religions on the score of moral vitality, and the time was come when the pomp and circumstance of Hinduism could again appeal with full force to the longing hearts and starved imaginations of the people. The materialism of Sakya Muni had lost its charms for them, and they were ready to confess themselves human and weak. At this juncture came the revival of the eleventh century. Adisur took advantage of a temporary period of great alarm and anxiety from a threatened famine to inaugurate it formally. No more convenient moment of national weakness could have been selected for securing to the multitudinous rites and imposing ceremonial of Hinduism its full effect on the multitude. We may at least be certain that at any other time and on any

other occasion, it might have been difficult for the Government to take a successful census of the two religions and the principal tribes and castes.

The country was suffering from a great and long drought. No rain had fallen for months. One year, or perhaps two, had apparently passed away without water from the heavens, and the first showers of the next season had also been withheld. Much distress had in consequence been felt throughout the country, but a continuance of the drought through the present year would be almost universal ruin. The king bethought of taking his measures in time. The usual administrative steps were not forgotten, but he knew that a great famine was a visitation of God most hard to deal with. He remembered that there was no strength like divine strength, but he knew also that the orthodox and pious might borrow that strength of Heaven for their own purposes. Whether it was under the influence of a Brahman minister or confessor or not, we do not know, he thought of performing a fiery Vedic sacrifice for the good of his kingdom and his subjects. With this view he called for qualified Brahmans and Pandits. But neither fiery Brahmans nor learned doctors were to be found in all his dominions. Enquiry brought out the fact that Brahmans worthy of the name there were none. There were Brahmans to be sure, but only in name. They had all degenerated into citizens and chiefly agriculturists who knew not the *Gayatri* not to say the other parts of religion, and hardly retained, their very holy thread. So far from being able to officiate at the ceremony, they were hardly proper objects of ceremonial charity. In this stress, the king resolved upon renovating the lost creed in his kingdom, fitted out a great embassy to the then great Hindu Kingdom in the North-West—Kanouj—to ask of its King a present of five fiery Brahmans well versed in all the intricacies of Vedic ritual and enlightened by knowledge in general, for not only officiating at the intended *yagna*, but also permanently settling in Bengal. The Lord of Kanouj was, no doubt, highly flattered by such a message. He perhaps the more readily acceded to the proposal, as it was of the utmost importance to spread the

Hindu influence, Buddhism still being a bugbear in the imagination of the people. But his influence could hardly succeed in inducing five such men among the best of his citizens to undertake in that age—not to say, accept—such an exile. The proclamation, however, of the terms of His Majesty of Bengal and the hope of reigning as the aristocracy of a great Kingdom, called forth one after another five volunteers of the desired qualifications. Thus they came—Sriharsa, the poet of the renowned *Ratnavali*, Vedagarva, Chandar, Daksha and Batta Narayan called the Bard—accompanied by the families and dependants and servants and settled in Bengal at the respective villages of their choice, of which they acquired the freehold. And a true aristocracy they became. Of high reputation and consideration in their native Kanouj, here they were as the lords of human kind. They walked the earth in contempt on the poor degraded Brahmans of Bengal. The other castes were of course of no account after that. To prevent a possible confounding of their dignities with the other Brahmans, an elaborate census of the latter was taken throughout the King's dominion when they were found to number seven hundred families in all, and these were separated and hedged in from the illustrious new-comers and left to pine away and rot in bitterness of soul. Their descendants are to this day known as the "Saptasatis."

In the course of time, the five multiplied into, we know not, how many thousands and degenerated amidst the baser surrounding influences of Bengali society and under inevitable demoralisation of a privileged order, until it became necessary for Ballal Sen, one of the successors of Adisur, to purify it. He, therefore, instituted the famous Order of Nobility known to this day as Kulinism, which was but a selection of the best of the descendants of the five progenitors into a hereditary peerage, on the basis of the possession by each of nine virtues and accomplishments. All the favours of the King and the honours of the State were lavished upon those who succeeded in passing the dread ordeal of establishing their possession of so many titles to respect. Not only the first prize men, but their sons and

grandsons enjoyed them and their descendants to the remotest generation were to do likewise. It was a peerage, in fact as such, hereditary with its privileges. Yet, unlike feudal peerages, it is not limited by primogeniture, its privileges being heritable by sons and even daughters alike. After the first *competition*, it was a matter of blood relationship, until in another generation another examination of claims to respect and with it another weeding of the unworthy and re-adjustment of precedence among the passed peers, took place. It was only in happy times—at least in periods of quiet at home and peace abroad—that such a thing could be. It was only by a powerful prince commanding the ready allegiance of his powerful priesthood and spiritual peerage who could undertake such a reform. It was a wise, pious prince who would care about it. During the remaining Hindu period—from the institution of the Order under Ballal the Great to the last Lakshman or Lakshmaniya, who fled before the Tartars of Bakhtiyar Khiliji—there does not appear to have been any necessity for re-examination. The Kulins deserved their social pre-eminence. The descendants were not unworthy of their ancestors. From generation to generation, the fathers carefully brought up their children, and inheriting the fathers' disposition and, generally, qualities, and profiting by their instruction and example, the sons trod in the ways of their sires. The consideration and dignity of the houses were maintained. As the sires so were the sons, poets and philosophers, statesmen and lawgivers. With such an overwhelming majority and the tone which so many good and intellectual characters gave to the upper classes of society, we may well suppose the possible exceptions few and far between of stray recreants to have fled the country in shame and for ever disappeared. Yet the thing could not, in its nature, endure without occasional revision. Even if the exceptions did not actually multiply, if abuses did not arise, at least accidents could not, during a long course of time, be prevented. Under any circumstances it would have been extremely difficult to maintain the purity of a nobility consisting of a comparatively limited number of families, limited in their intercourse by the inexorable rules of Hindu exclusion. The marriage institutions of the Hindus are so sacred, and among the superior classes

they are so strictly followed, that even to this day the Brahmans can trace their lineage to half a dozen or so of the early forefathers of mankind, yet the same tribe or *gotra* does not marry within it. Given the members of one tribe, however numerous in one country, they must die out, or marriage being out of the question, degenerate into a degraded incestuous breed of pariahs. It was in view of this difficulty that the colonists invited from Kanouj were of the five different original stocks; for then no more than now could a Mookerjee marry a Mookerjee, and if some of the colonists or some of the stocks had proved barren, the sphere of marital alliance would have been very inconveniently circumscribed.

Kulinism among Brahmans, in equalising all sons irrespective of precedence follows the equitable principle of the Hindu law of inheritance. As the holding and estate of the first colonists were divided between the sons so were the privileges and honours enjoyed by them equally inherited. It is mere feudal prejudice that objects to the principle of equal division. Against the undoubted practical evils of sub-division on ancestral estate, the Hindus have a remedy in the practice of undivided Joint families. The custom of many great families of Bengal has grown into a common law which has modified the original Hindu law. The numerous trusts and attempts to create perpetuities are attempts in the impossibility of fresh legislation on Hindu law under a foreign *régime*, to prevent the effects of sub-division which may follow from a literal carrying out of the law. Two causes seem to have influenced the attempts. The one, encouragement of accumulation and enhancement of value of land under the British rule which have multiplied *ad infinitum* the number of large estates. Formerly only a few zemindaries were large and valuable; even their tenure was uncertain. But they were regarded as principalities or officers and were rarely divided. The insecurity of wealth encouraged imprudence and extravagance. The knowledge of feudal tenures and inheritance of testators and the advice of English lawyers have induced in some zemindars the ambition of founding families. Or rather the ambition was dormant and natural, but political causes hitherto repressed it as impossible of fulfilment.

In the above rather long account of the revival of Hinduism under King Adisur and the origin of Kulinism among Bengal Brahmans under his successor Ballal Sen, the author will surely find something new and original to his acquired knowledge on the subject. The minutiae of regenerate existence are always a stumbling block to European intelligence, and hence it is not surprising to find the author despising Kulinism as a means to polygamy. Like him, those who have indulged in this diatribe against the Order of Nobility founded by Ballal Sen show a lamentable ignorance of history, of even contemporary history, by supposing that polygamy flourishes only among the Kulins or that Ballal's Kulinism introduced it for the first time into Bengal or even gave it a new impetus (*vide* the author's remarks in p. 38). The fact is well known that polygamy prevailed among all the four orders of the Aryan settlers in India. In the age of the *Mahabharata* this was undoubtedly the case. The Sanskrit equivalent for *wife* has no singular form. It is always a plural substantive. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar in his celebrated second pamphlet on polygamy, made a heroic attempt to prove from the Hindu Scriptures that a Brahman cannot lawfully take more than one Brahmani wife. A verse of Manu, describing a fanciful *state* of society, was the foundation of the Pandit's argument. Kshatriya chiefs, who were certainly included by Manu in his *Dwijatinam* of verse 12, chapter III, took as many wives as they liked from their own order. No doubt, among the Kulins of Bengal, exceptional individuals here and there might have been seen with more than dozens of wives. But the rule was otherwise. For every 99 Kulins having each a single wife, only one might be seen with a plurality of spouses. Among the earlier Çrotriyas themselves, plural marriages were not rare. In a country where marriage is looked upon as an obligatory ceremony, where grown-up maidenhood, instead of being an honour, is looked upon as a social disgrace, where perpetuation of lineage is regarded as a sacred duty, where the population consists of more women than men, polygamy will become a necessary institution. Total husbandlessness, besides, is a greater evil than the position of a co-wife. Mormonism was the necessary development of the glut of

marriageable women in the matrimonial market of the West. The rapid growth of Utah under both Smith and Brigham Young proved that polygamy is not that rotten excrescence on the social body which demands instant amputation. The sentimental is not the only consideration involved in the question. Social reformers are always carried away by their zeal in a particular direction with eyes blindfolded. Like the Spanish philanthropist, Las Casas, they can take away the fetters of the American Indian for binding therewith the African Negro, quoting Scriptures as their authority. Sexual misery forms an infinitesimal portion of the sum total of human misery on this earth. Millions in Bengal live upon only one meal a day and own wretched huts for sheltering themselves against a burning sun, drenching showers and the cold night dew. They are shoeless and wear rags from year's end to year's end. Only philanthropy that is microscopic can select sexual misery for treatment and cure from among the vast mass of misery that sits on this land. What would these persons have? Hindu girls growing up in single blessedness all round them and remaining maidens to their death day? If such a prospect cannot hurt their feeling, consistency should dictate a suspension of gush at the sight of neglected co-wives even if the latter were numerically ten times larger than they really are. Hence all sober and knowing men must hold that the institution of Kulinism as first devised by Ballal Sen had nothing of evil in it.

In the third chapter we are given the history of Sonargaon—the Subarnagram of Buddhist Sanskrit works. There are several mentions of this town in the ancient Pali works, which show that Buddhism once flourished here with great vigour. The celebrated Subarna Vihara was situated in Subarnagram. Even in Thibetan history there are several mentions of Subarnagram—the modern Sonargaon. It is true that at present the place yields nothing in respect of proving that Buddhism once flourished there, but that must not go to convince us that it was not a Buddhist city at one time. Revived Brahmanism under the Sen Kings and then Mahomedanism have obliterated all traces of Buddhism in Subarnagram in much the

same way in which the latter has destroyed all traces of Zoroastrianism in Azerbaijan—a region in North-Western Persia which was historically connected with Zoroaster's name. From the very beginning of the fourteenth century Sonargaon became the seat of Mussalman Power in Bengal. The rise of Dacca as capital of Bengal dates from 1608, when Islam Khan, the Mogul Viceroy, transferred the centre of Government to Dacca to ward off the piratical incursions of the Portuguese navigators. Under Mogul *régime*, Dacca became a chief commercial and manufacturing centre of India. To almost every country in the world Dacca sent her produce. Her muslins, the true romance of the Eastern Capital for its fineness and exquisite delicacy, received a great impetus from imperial patronage. It is a pity that the author has not written more largely upon the manner in which these true "romances" were manufactured. No illustration of the loom is to be found in the book in which the muslins were manufactured. No description of the cotton is to be found from which the threads were spun. Of the present state of the famous industry we have not been favoured with an account. But we have been favoured with an account of how it declined under British rule. To crush Dacca's famous industry the English Government put a prohibitive duty of 75 per cent. on Dacca manufactures. This gave a deathblow to the famous industry. The Dacca spinners and weavers losing their lucrative profession were obliged to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water"—a fact which may go to convince those who hold that India is prospering that at least the Dacca weavers did not prosper under the British domain.

Altogether Mr. Bradley-Birt's present work is a creditable performance. Before him nobody seriously wrote the history of Dacca nor even attempted to do so. To collate the materials of its early history and to put them into the pleasant narrative form are all his work. And he has done his work very satisfactorily. We have read his book with great pleasure. His style of narrative is well calculated to please his readers. In reading the history one does not feel the heaviness of such literature—it is delightful, readable and informing. To write history in the

popular form is not an easy task ; before Macaulay no one tried to handle this manner of writing history. With his extraordinary power, Macaulay wrote the history of England in a peculiarly pleasing style which greatly made history popular. Our author follows the great historian's method of treatment, and we sincerely believe that he has really told the Romance of an Eastern Capital most popularly.

Report of the Administration of the Excise Department in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the years 1905-1906.

THIS is a very interesting report and even to "the man in the street" the subject is one of vital interest. To make people sober by administrative act is, of course, an impossibility and a serious improvement can only come through educating the people. We see in paragraph 28 of the report that "Drinking is largely indulged in by Hindi-speaking races, aborigines and mixed tribes, and to a much less extent by Bengalis while Uriyas are almost total abstainers ; consumption also varies inversely with the proportion of Muhammadans in the population. This is, of course, what we should expect to find, that the more civilized races are the more temperate races.

In the case of opium-smoking it is very difficult on any grounds to defend the practice and though it may be a source of profit to the Government every effort should be made to keep the trade within bounds. Of course it does not follow by any means that the increased revenue is due to an increase in the habit and it may be largely due to better supervision. Nevertheless we must look to it that the revenue shall be a diminishing one, but this is hardly in the province of the Excise Department, whose duty it is to see that the trade in illicit opium is reduced to a minimum. The difficulty of dealing with the so-called clubs in Calcutta is self-evident, but our administrators have the remedy, and this is a case where their acts can make people temperate and sober.

General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1906.

NEARLY every report on Education in India as in England always contains the statement that education is starved and

it is peculiarly the duty of the Reviewer to see to what extent this statement is true. We have seen the outcry at home on the ever-increasing education rates and constantly see the assertion that we are over-educating. Now it may be that both these views are right and that it is perhaps due to the standpoint from which people view the question that we get such diverse opinions. One observer sees the deadly ignorance of the mass of the public and wishes to clear away the mist from before its eyes, to improve, to elevate and finally to produce the perfect citizen. The other sees the half educated specimens, the product of our present-day education, and blames education generally for the dismal failure. As in all things we achieve success by many and costly failures and it cannot be otherwise when we are educating, as we are, in large quantities. A little progress must then satisfy us so long as that progress is continuous and here in this report we fancy we see such progress as we are looking for. If the profession of teaching has such improved prospects as to attract a better and more highly qualified class, if the attendance roll of scholars has increased, and if, though the grant from Government has been almost doubled in twelve years, it is still possible to ask for more without creating an outcry of over-educating the mass, then this is progress indeed. After all it is so simple to the mere critic. First produce your teacher, pay him well and the rest will follow. The finest buildings in the world with an underpaid staff will always prove a bad investment of the public money.

Monograph on Stone-carving in Bengal, by. E. B. Havell.

A VERY well got up little *brochure* on the fast disappearing art of Stone-carving. We are very apt to blame the age in which we live as a materialistic one and deadening to all true art. The reason of the decadence of art is not entirely due to this. No doubt the rush and struggle to be wealthy, or in many cases even to earn a living, has deadened the artistic taste, but is not all this again a question of education ? The strenuous life is not necessarily dead to artistic influence and it is due to the want of knowing better that our homes are not furnished

with artistic furniture and that our buildings are eyesores rather than things of beauty. Gradually there has been a slight improvement in the last twenty or thirty years in England, and may we not hope to see it opened to India? We may take it as a maxim that any city deserves the buildings it has, and not till it can educate itself to higher things will it attain them. Pampered Art is of little practical value, and at the best may serve to keep alight the knowledge of "how to do it?"

Indian art can only be kept alive if there is a public that can appreciate it, and it is impossible to introduce it into the modern European building, which is as a rule purely utilitarian in spirit.

Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the years 1905-1906.

ONE paragraph of this report is most interesting to the general public, namely, the one which deals with the efforts of the Excise administration to prevent unauthorised production of liquor in Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Amritsar and Jullundur, which, up to 1905, had totally failed to make any impression on the evil. The experiment consisted in the granting vend licenses to sell at lower rates country liquor 25 per cent. below proof on low fixed fees.

Naturally a considerable increase in the consumption of licit liquor amounting to over 98,000 gallons, and this is attributed to the substitution of licit for illicit drinking. The idea underlying the experiment seems to be that if the Government can get hold of the total supply even at a sacrifice of revenue for some time it will be the more difficult when we begin to tighten the reins for the trade to go back into its old illicit channels. This is a more than usually interesting experiment and should be watched with the keenest interest. It is, perhaps, a little too early to judge from the results the success or failure of the experiment up to this point and *a priori* reasoning is always apt to be defective. We can say that it is a serious effort to combat a serious evil undertaken after much thought and it is to be hoped that it may prove successful when, having got the trade into its own hands, the Government puts on the screw.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN INDIA, by A. Yusuf Ali (Mr. John Murray.)

THE nucleus of this volume is formed by lectures delivered by the author at the Passmore Edwards Institute and elsewhere. It aims at giving a comprehensive picture of the life of the people of India and an estimate of their social tendencies. Mr. Yusuf Ali has an easy cultured style, and a decided gift of graphic description and here and there in his book there are evidences that he possesses also the rarer gifts of the seeing eye and the sympathetic touch. The book is a decided acquisition, as is every carefully executed literary work written by a native of India who has enjoyed the advantages of a good Western education. It is to such writers as this author that we must look to produce that good understanding between Englishmen and Indians which will weather all storms of party politics. The book is well illustrated and excellently printed. The pictures of the village wall and the village school are works of art in themselves.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1618-1621, by William Foster. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.)

THIS story of the early difficulties and struggles of the five English factories in the dominion of the great Mogul is very interesting reading. After a full and well-written introduction the compiler has wisely left the documents to speak for themselves. They bear record of arduous and devoted effort on the part of the early traders to do their duty alike by their employers and their country. Among the technicalities of merchandise there are many human touches, and an occasional flash of humour or indignation diversifies the narrative. The spelling would in many instances rejoice the heart of President Roosevelt.

THE ANCIENT WORLD, by C. W. Whish. (Luzac & Co.)

THIS second volume of Mr. Whish's reflections on some leading facts and ideas of history: their meaning and interest is stimulating and brightly written. In so comprehensive a survey as the author has attempted of course only the merest outlines can be drawn of the giant forms of the empires and

nations of the past. But the book should be valuable as a guide to students of history, and as calling attention to regions which as yet have been insufficiently explored.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, by Sir Courteney Ilbert, K. C. S. I. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.)

THIS book is a revised edition of a book published in 1898. It is a digest of the statute law, which, in the author's opinion, needs revision and consolidation. The historical introduction which introduces the purely legal portion of the book is luminous and suggestive.

HER MAJESTY'S REBELS, by S. R. Lysaght. (Macmillan & Co.)

THOSE of us who are old enough to remember all the political history of the last stage of the Victorian Era may be inclined to question the right of this novelist to model his plot so closely along the lines of actual historical happenings. But that is the only word of criticism that can fairly be passed upon a work of fiction which is otherwise striking and full of interest.

JOHN GLYN, by Arthur Paterson. (Macmillan & Co.)

MR. PATERSON'S book is evidence that the study of social work has lost some of its importance and necessity in these days. But this story rather records the strenuous endeavours of the workers than presents any practical solutions of the conditions that make the work so necessary. We are all familiar with the problem. What we need is a solution.

A short account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India; with a sketch of the Land Tenures, by B. H. Baden-Powell, C. I. E. (Clarendon Press, Oxford). Second edition, revised by T. W. Holderness, C. S. I.

THE reviser states in a prefatory note that he has confined his alterations and additions to administrative and legal details which necessarily in process of time undergo change. Otherwise this well-known work is re-issued unaltered.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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

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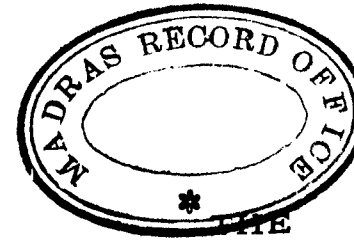
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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

THE quarter just ended was more than ordinarily fruitful of events of the greatest political importance. Foremost in the list was the publication in the last week of August of the letter of the Government of India to the Provincial Governments regarding the scheme devised by Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, and Mr. John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, to give the people of India a larger share in the government of the country. It embraced the formation of an Imperial Advisory Council and Provincial Advisory Councils; the enlargement of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils; and a reform in the procedure of discussing the Provincial and Imperial Budgets. It was received with a chorus of praise in England, the Press of every shade of political opinion declaring it to be an effort of the highest statesmanship. In India on the other hand its reception was very mixed. The whole Hindu Press, which since the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, the introduction of coercion in the Punjab and Ebassam, and the prosecution of several Hindu papers for sedition, is in a condition of open revolt, ridiculed it unmeasuredly. "We asked for bread, they give us a stone." The special solicitude shown in the scheme for Mahomedans, whose interests are to be safeguarded in a marked degree,

Legislative
Reform.

excited the hostility and scorn, of Hindu publicists, infuriated by a tactless insinuation that a predominance of lawyers in a Legislative Council did not help efficiency and progress. Nearly all the Hindu papers of note are edited by legal luminaries and this bold reflection on their class was unbearable. The Anglo-Indian papers welcomed the measure with moderation and insight, acknowledging that it was a great step forward in the direction of representative government. They praised the formation of the Advisory Councils, just the point where the Hindu publicists aforesaid joined issue.

By the enlargement of the Legislative Councils the number of members of the Viceroy's Council, will, if the proposed scheme is generally approved by the Provincial Governments, be increased to 54 including the Viceroy. Besides the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province in which the meetings of the Council are held for the time being, the Commander-in-Chief, and the members of the Executive Council, there will be twenty additional officials to be nominated by the Viceroy; a Ruling Chief also nominated by the Viceroy; elected members by the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, and by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Ebassam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma; a new class of representatives to be chosen from the landed aristocracy of these provinces; members elected by Mahomedans; non-officials nominated by the Viceroy to represent minorities or special interests, not less than two to be Mahomedans; and lastly experts to be nominated by the Viceroy, when necessary, for special purposes. The bid for Mahomedan support in the troublous times that loom ahead is open and unabashed, and has naturally

The Enlarged
Councils.

provoked the Hindu resentment. Some Anglo-Indian writers complain, with a great show of reason, that the non-official European community, especially the great planting interest in Bengal and Ebassam, has been entirely overlooked in the scheme as it stands at present. The Government of India, however, invite suggestion and criticism and advertise a readiness to remove glaring flaws. The one part of the scheme which is universally commended is the proposed reform of the procedure at the budget debates. The old symposium of what Lord Curzon sarcastically called "manuscript eloquence" was a ponderous farce, and it is hoped that something approaching the common sense method of the House of Commons will be adopted.

In the beginning of August, Mr. John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, introduced in the House of Commons a bill to amend the India Council Act, his chief object being to make room for two natives of India, whom he had decided to appoint. The chief features of the new bill were that it altered the constitution of the Council by fixing the number of members at a maximum of fourteen and a minimum of ten: reduced the period of absence from India, which does not disqualify for membership, from ten years to five, and the term of office from ten to seven years; assigned a salary of £1,000 for future members, instead of £1,200; and repealed the Acts of 1876 and 1889. The number of members was originally fifteen, in accordance with the Act of 1858, but under the Act of 1889 was reduced to the minimum of ten, which Mr. Morley has retained. The bill met with no opposition in either House of Parliament and was passed into law before the prorogation three weeks later. Mr. Morley immediately made the appointments

The India Council
Bill.

he long had in mind. His choice created general surprise in this country and also a good deal of irritation among educated Hindus. They fully expected that Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt would be selected; but Mr. K. G. Gupta, one of the Senior Bengal Civilians, received the honour of being the first Hindu member of the India Council. But for the prevailing political discontent we believe that Mr. Gupta's well merited preferment would have been acclaimed by his own countrymen, who not long ago complained bitterly that his legitimate claim to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal had been ruthlessly overridden. The Mahomedan representative chosen by the Secretary of State, was Syed Hosein Bilgrami, the famous Minister for Education to the Nizam. There was not a dissentient voice against his selection. The introduction of natives of India in the India Council is a reform for which the people of this country have much reason to be grateful. We believe that the consequences will be far-reaching, and India will soon have cause to bless the enlightened statesmanship and broad sympathy of the biographer of Voltaire.

The cry against over-centralisation in the administration of India had become so clamant that
 Decentralisation. in his speech on the Indian budget in the House of Commons before Easter, Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State for India, promised to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the evil and report as to its best remedy. The announcement gave universal satisfaction which rose to something like enthusiasm when Mr. Morley redeemed his promise towards the end of August. The following gentlemen were appointed to form the Commission:—Sir Henry Primrose, K. C. B., C.S.I (chairman); Sir F. S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C. S. I.; the Hon'ble Sir S. W. Edgerley, K. C. V. O

C. I. E., I. C. S.; R. C. Dutt, Esq., C. I. E.; W. S. Meyer, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S.; W. L. Hichens, Esq. (members); H. Wheeler, Esq., I. C. S. (secretary). Nobody will complain that there is any lack of talent or experience in the constitution of this Commission, which will arrive in India in November to open one of the most important enquiries of modern times. Sir Henry Primrose is the present Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue in London. He was Private Secretary to Lord Ripon when Viceroy of India, and later to Mr. Gladstone. The Indian Civilian are too well known to require description. It is to be devoutly hoped that the report of the Commission will be submitted before age compels Mr. Morley to divest himself of an harness he wears with such advantage for India.

Although sedition and discontent are only skin deep in India yet the surface affected is
 Sedition. wide-spread. There were prosecutions during the quarter in the Punjab, Bengal, Ebassam, Madras, and Bombay. The United Provinces alone escaped the epidemic, a circumstance chiefly due to the great tact and sympathy of Sir John Hewett, the Lieutenant-Governor. In the Punjab the editors of *India* published at Gujranwalla, and of *Hindusthan* published at Lahore, were convicted and sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment. The political rioters at Lahore and Rawalpindi were also severely dealt with. At Calcutta the editor of the *Yugantar* was sent to gaol for twelve months for seditious writing; and Bepin Chunder Pal, the notorious agitator, was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment for contempt of court in refusing to give evidence for the prosecution in the case of *The Crown vs. Bande Mataram*. It did not improve the condition of things in Ebassam that the rioters of

Commilla were released on appeal to the Calcutta High Court by Justices Mitter and Fletcher, who reversed the sentences of the lower court. Students grown desperate by the diminishing prospect of employment in the public service are the chief factors in the prevailing agitation, which for the most part is grossly seditious, and the difficulty of dealing with them adequately yet humanely is seriously embarrassing the authorities. It is significant of the times that the Indian National Congress is being daily more discredited even by the men who were among its founders, but who now espouse the extreme policy of boycott and racial hatred. This phenomenon is most pronounced in Bengal and bodes ill for a restoration of tranquillity.

The whole of the Bombay Presidency was thrown into profound grief by the resignation of Lord Lamington. In July of Lord Lamington, the Governor, owing to the serious illness of his wife. Few Governors have left India amid such manifestations of regret and esteem. It is a striking illustration of the old truism that in India it is the ordinary and not the superior person who becomes popular. The late Governor was not too intellectual to be unsympathetic, and was sensible enough to avoid even the appearance of aloofness and detachment. This bonhomie charmed the quick-witted inhabitants of the West, who are extremely resentful of supercilious superiority. To show their appreciation of his work a Parsee of wealth and a Jewish millionaire placed in Lord Lamington's hands a lakh each to be applied to any purpose he should approve. He greatly increased his reputation and hold on the affection of his late subjects by giving the money to the Nursing Fund. Mr. Morley is always springing surprises by his excursions out of the beaten track.

Such was the emotion excited by the report that Sir George Sydenham Clarke, the well-known writer on military affairs, who relinquished the Governorship of Victoria in 1901 to become a member of the War Office Reconstitution Committee, had been selected to succeed Lord Lamington as Governor of Bombay. It would be difficult to name two public men so different in outlook and experience. Yet the publicists at home aver that Bombay will not lose by the change.

Sir John Hewett, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, has been aptly called the Apostle of the Industrial Regeneration of India. We are all acquainted with his work in this direction when he occupied the position of Member for Commerce and Industry during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. The great event, however, of his evangel was the summoning of an industrial conference at Naini Tal on 19th August. The summons was answered from all parts of India by officials and non-officials who have given their whole life to the cause Sir John has at heart. It was the most representative gathering hitherto held to grapple with the weighty problem of industrial and technical education for India. His Honour opened the conference with a speech of great eloquence and interest. It was a comprehensive survey of the efforts of Government for over twenty years and a summary of the practical results. His prayer was the weaning of a portion of the population from purely agricultural pursuits in order to recognise the great advantages of industrialism. "We must," he said "educate skilled labour for all our industries. We must develop among our workmen an interest in their work to replace the feeling that the day's work is only done for the day's wage; and we must bring up educated foremen,

Industrial Conference at Naini Tal.

supervisors and managers. We must encourage research into the potential value of our raw produce. Secondly, we must endeavour to overcome the shyness of capital, and success in this respect cannot be achieved unless the leaders of the people throw themselves enthusiastically into the work." Encouraged by the enthusiastic applause of the whole Indian Press, European and Native, the conference sat until 31st August, and projected a scheme for the United Provinces, which Sir John accepted as thoroughly practical and promising. He has since gone to Simla to convert His Excellency Lord Minto, the Viceroy, to his views. "If he succeeds," says a fervid admirer in a Calcutta weekly journal, "it will be well not only for the United Provinces but for the whole of India; for in the parochial scheme he takes with him lies the germ of a great imperial enterprise such as Lord Curzon would have revelled in." We cordially endorse the sentiment, and congratulate the people of the United Provinces, that instead of having the nights made sleepless by the bogey of unrest, their satrap is able to employ his exhaustless energy and remarkable talent in the exploitation of the economic resources of his dominions.

Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament it was announced in London that an agreement had been entered into with Russia to define the spheres of influence of England and Russia in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. The agreement was ratified on 23rd September and was hailed by the whole European press as a splendid guarantee of the peace of the world. It lays the bogey of a Russian invasion of India through Afghanistan, and removes all chance of friction in the commercial exploitation of Persia by the high contracting parties. Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister, has certainly acted *dextro tempore*.

Anglo-Russian
Agreement.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following articles, written by the Count de Lesdain, describing the adventurous journey concluded in November 1905, by his wife and himself, should be of considerable interest to our readers. All rights of republication and translation are strictly reserved.

Art. II.—ALONG THE YANG-TZE KIANG.

CHAPTER X.

OUR first thought was that they wished to stop our march, or at least to ply us with questions. But this was not their object. Having hardly looked at us they proceeded to set up their flags in different spots and to unsaddle their horses.

They were obviously only the outrunners of a larger band, whose advance guard soon appeared. It consisted of about fifty men, practically all armed and riding small Tibetan ponies like those in the neighbourhood of Sinning-fu. Some hundred yards behind them came a second corps, containing personages of greater importance evidently, for they were not armed, and for the most part rode haughtily on caparisoned mules. Great herds of tame yaks followed, loaded with provisions and driven by men in rags. A small troop of armed men closed this imposing procession.

We counted two hundred and twenty men altogether, rich merchants, lamas in red and yellow robes soldiers, and yak drivers. About sixty were armed with rifles of Chinese manufacture, and some ten carried carbines slung across them which seemed to me to be either Mausers or Winchesters, of an old fashioned type, In the eyes of their fortunate possessors such weapons

are of inestimable value. They often fail to procure the special cartridges necessary for these arms, but the very fact of possessing a foreign made rifle gives its owner an assured position of respect and impunity. One gentleman caught my eye particularly. He wore, under the usual red Chinese button, a forage cap which must have belonged to one of the English soldiers who fell in the Tibetan expedition to Lhasa. The sight of this trophy set me thinking. We had heard hardly anything of this little war, and I wondered for a moment what reception was awaiting us in the south, and whether our arrival might excite a desire for vengeance to which we should fall easy victims.

All the members of this caravan, however, seemed well disposed towards us. As we passed them many greeted us with the words "rao ma," which mean "good horse," a formula which is a customary compliment interchanged by those who meet by chance in the deserts.

The passage of this large caravan lasted nearly an hour, a stream of peaceful life amid the surrounding sterility. We were far from the out runners and their flags when we saluted the rear-guard, and after they had all disappeared behind a hillock the desert looked emptier than ever, and the sense of isolation weighed the more upon us from having been momentarily dissipated by the passing of this great band of pilgrims.

For they are true pilgrims, these men who go to Lhasa in piety and true faith through all the many dangers that beset them in such regions. They face the cold, the brigands, and the heights that prove fatal to many. Mingled among the devout are found merchants and practical people, whose desire to receive the Dalai Lama's blessing is accompanied by a desire to fill their

pockets. This year moreover they had to do without the holy man's benediction, for he had fled at full speed northwards from the khaki clad soldiers of England to seek shelter among his Russian friends who were also being hardly dealt with by the Fates. For some time the exact point on the Russian frontier to which the chief of the Tibetan Church had guided his mule was uncertain. A Zaidam Mongol had told us as we came through that country that the Dalai Lama had crossed the Naitchi a little to the west of the point at which I desired to cross it, and that he was proceeding by forced marches to Ouliousoutrai, with only three attendants, levying food and mounts from the scanty population on his way. These poor folk thought nothing of losing their horses in return for a few minutes sight of the features of him who is God to them. From Ouliousoutrai the Grand Lama was going on to Ourga, and as we rode slowly on along the track marked by the pilgrims I could not help reflecting on the extent to which history repeats itself. Etiquette changes, and morals vary but religions flourish everywhere. They all reach the same result. A small class of the self-styled elect is maintained by the credulity of the public. As elect they claim the right to distribute at their will the blessing of heaven. All pilgrimages, whether to Lhasa, Mecca, the great temples of China, the Mosques in Africa, or the churches in Rome, spring from the same fundamental principles, and produce the same golden results.

After this eventful day we found the next especially monotonous, the more so owing to rain, which fell unceasingly throughout it. This was the beginning of the real rainy season, very like that of India during the monsoon, the only difference being that the monsoon breaks about three weeks later in Tibet, and that more rain falls.

We encamped that evening on the banks of the Oulang Muren, a great river which flows into the Yang-tze Kiang. Judging from its breadth the crossing bid fair to be very difficult, and as I sat up for an hour's vigil, I did not look forward to it. The river ran silent and mighty, swollen by the rain and occasionally sweeping down a portion of ground which its resistless waters had carried away.

I shall never really understand how we got across the Oulang Muren. Never during our whole journey was our little caravan so nearly lost and yet on August the 19th we were all safe and sound on the other bank, having only lost a few of our beasts.

We began the crossing on the 18th early in the morning. I rode the strongest mule we had and ventured into the water to try and find the shallowest place. The river was divided at this point into eight streams, separated from one another by what appeared to be small islands of pebbles and loes, and I hoped to give my beast a rest on each island. But I had hardly reached the middle of the first stream when my mule lost its footing and began swimming valiantly. We went down stream about two hundred yards before its hoofs touched ground again, and I did my best to guide it to what I believed to be a haven of refuge. To my despair, and indeed terror, it had scarcely set foot on the first island when it sank up to the body. It was a quicksand! I realized at once that if I stayed in the saddle I was lost, and, helped by the instinct of self-preservation, I threw myself off and rolled on the sand-bank. I felt it give way under me, but lying on my back and opening my fur cloak I extended myself sufficiently to prevent being drawn into the dreadful abyss. Instead of trying to escape at once I took some minutes

to consider the situation, for the slightest wrong movement would have been fatal. I saw my mule, poor beast, disappear inch by inch, and in less than three minutes the sand had closed again over its head. This spectacle aided my decision and after a few minutes I made up my mind to roll sideways towards the river bed, which was only three or four yards distant. Little by little I executed this manœuvre, and reached the water. Once there my task was simple. I left my fur cloak and swam. The water was so cold that I could hardly breathe or strike out, but at length I reached the shore and soon after the camp, from which my wife had been following the various stages of my adventure with great anxiety.

It was madness, therefore, to attempt a crossing here, but it was not easy to find a better spot. For some furlongs both up and down the river looked just the same, streams of water intercepted by sandbanks.

Suddenly a ray of hope dawned on me. A troop of wild yaks were preparing to cross the river in the distance and where these huge and heavy animals could pass we could doubtless follow. When I had seen them manage it safely I ordered the camp to be struck at once and the whole caravan made for the point which seemed to promise an easy crossing. The yaks' instinct had led them right, for where they had crossed the waters of the Oulang Muren were narrower, and enclosed between banks of earth and gravel, not shifting sand. Unfortunately the current was swifter and the water deeper. Only the camels could keep their heads above the level, and so all the baggage had to be sent over on them, while the horses and mules swam over as best they could. We set to work hard, and, the rain having ceased, the start of our operations was easier than I had dared to hope. We were con-

gratulating ourselves on our success when a fearful storm burst suddenly and oceans of rain descended upon us. I have never seen heavier rain, and we soon noticed that the water level was rising and the current becoming perceptibly swifter. The camels could hardly keep their balance, and the mules were carried down some five furlongs before reaching the opposite shore. However as there was very little baggage left to transport I decided to get it all across before night. It was an unlucky decision, for owing to a sudden swirl in the current the last camel which was carrying 400lbs. of rice lost its footing and disappeared with its valuable load. This was a great loss to us. We could have lived for several days on 400lbs. of rice, and the other provisions were nearly finished, thanks to the voracious appetites of the caravan drivers. Moreover that was not our only loss during this lugubrious crossing of the Oulang Muren. Three mules, which had been left behind by negligence browsing peacefully, when they saw the caravan established on the other bank, tried to cross on their own account. All were carried away beyond reach of help by the waters which had now grown angry and much swollen. For four days we continued our march across country made up of small hollows and bluffs of friable rock, having reached the banks, of the Yang-tze Kiang the day after crossing the Oulang Muren. This huge river was, where we struck it, confined in a narrow bed, and the water was obviously deep. It flowed over gravel, and the high water mark, many yards above its level then, proved the size of it after the melting of the snow. Pasturage was richer and more frequent here. Large herds of wild yaks evidently came to feed upon it, and I had the luck to kill one of them, which afforded juicy beef-steaks to all. We had had no

meat for five days, and Europeans do not live contentedly on rice and millet, whatever the Chinese may do. Occasionally we had to cross little tributaries of the Yang-tze Kiang, but they gave us no difficulty, the only inconvenience attached to them being the icy baths they forced us to take. During these few days of quiet travelling, I observed that many of my men found it hard to drag themselves along. Lao Tchang, a Leantchoü man, seemed the most afflicted. He appeared to be overcome with somnolence which he could not shake off. At night he threw himself on the ground and never stirred till next morning. He could not be relied on to watch the beasts at night, but as he retained an excellent appetite I did not know what to make of him. The moral condition of the men was also far from satisfactory. The grumbling and discontent of early days had been replaced by a kind of hopelessness much more disquieting and difficult to deal with. Their easily depressed imaginations had been powerfully affected by the sight of the snowy mountains in endless range behind the long plains, and by living in a country where no human being had apparently ever penetrated. Encountering a large caravan armed with rifles and yet seemingly afraid of brigands had done nothing to raise their spirits, and I began to have great difficulty in ruling my little army.

On August 23rd we could see in front of us the white peaks of the Dangla Mountains. To the south they seemed to erect a barrier difficult to traverse which yet had to be overcome if we wished to trace the Yang-tze to its source.

The aspect of the country had changed. We had to keep close to the river to avoid the rocky spurs which ran out from small overhanging bluffs, and our march

became more difficult. The river had evidently forced its way through narrow gorges, and I doubted much whether we should be able to go far under these conditions. Towards evening a huge perpendicular cliff came straight down to the water in front of us, and we had to make a circuit round it which took us three hours and brought us an interesting acquaintance. As we went down again towards the Yang-tze along a narrow and precipitous little valley, we came upon an encampment of Thibetan hunters of wild yaks. It lay behind a mass of fallen rock.

We were very surprised to see them, clothed in their sheep skins, but our surprise was nothing to theirs. They gazed at us for some minutes, and then one by one they began to escape towards the neighbouring heights. They were evidently very much afraid of us, and our magazine rifles, which they thought boded certain death, did not help to restore their confidence. However we managed to catch one of them, and by fair words and the gift of a few pieces of sugar, of which Thibetans are very fond, we convinced him that our intentions were peaceable. Then he collected the dispersed members of his family and did us the honour of his dwelling. I hardly knew how to describe it. It was not a hut, nor a cabin, but a heap of rags in the shape of a tent, open to wind, rain, and inspection from without. I have never seen a more miserable concern and hope I never may. In a space of about ten square feet a family of eight enjoyed the sweets of existence together. Their dress suited their environment. Shreds of sheep skin partially covered them, and the cold wind blew on their bare skins without appearing to inconvenience them. The women looked still more wretched than the

men. They were as nearly bestial as human beings can be.

Their method of life hardly tends to civilise them. They spend their time hunting wild yaks with guns of a primitive type, like the old matchlocks preserved in museums, and when they have succeeded in bringing down their quarry, they quarter it and cut the flesh into strips to make the dried meat, which they sell in the winter at Lhasa or Shigatze. With the few taels which they get in this way they buy a little more powder, and go off on a fresh expedition into the most desolate regions of Thibet.

These half savage hunters and the brigands who are always lying in wait for the pilgrim caravans are the only people who live for a few consecutive months in the zone of the high central plateau. They are seldom met with, for they conceal themselves carefully. Having spent a quiet night close to the yak hunters we went on along the Yang-tze with more hope and perseverance than success. In fact we had hardly covered two miles before the road became absolutely impracticable for the mules and camels. The rocks descended precipitously into the strong stream, and our only chance of progress lay in climbing the promontories, five or six hundred feet high, which blocked the way. In spite of the fatigue caused by this I had decided to go on till we were stopped by some really insuperable natural obstacles. We came upon them before very long. One promontory which we tried to surmount ended in a rocky *arête* about a hundred feet high, which nothing but an *ovis ammon* could have negotiated. I was therefore compelled to turn off into a valley which left the river at an angle of fifty degrees to the west and seemed to debouch into a wide plain in the direction of the Dangla Mountains.

This valley and its continuation nearly proved to be the conclusion of our journey and the grave of our caravan. During the three days that we spent in it we suffered more and worked harder than in all the rest of our crossing of Thibet taken together.

Here we fell in with the worst enemy, the irresistible, clinging, ubiquitous, insidious, enemy—mud!

My readers probably cannot realise what mud means in Thibet, accustomed as they are to be annoyed at a few inches of it, for which they indignantly blame some negligent Municipality. In Thibet the mud after a thaw in some valleys and hollows which have no outlet extends for miles and miles at a stretch, and is occasionally so deep that it cannot be fathomed. Animals disappear in it as if in a quicksand, though more slowly. And when one realises that throughout a whole day's march one does not come across one square foot of ground that will bear one's weight, one can understand that a day's journey under such conditions is fearfully trying and that the nights are even worse.

For three days we had to struggle incessantly to keep our balance, and the difficulties of our own progress were less than those experienced in getting the beasts forward, in raising them when they fell, which they did at every other step, in reloading them, coaxing them along, and rescuing the more valuable portions of their loads when they at last fell exhausted to rise no more.

Our attempts to find firmer ground nearer the mountains were all in vain. The soil appeared moister than ever, and we soon gave up trying it. What we had to do was to reach the Dangla Mountains as soon as possible. Their rocky and frozen sides afforded a haven of refuge. Of the fifty mules that we had with us when

we began crossing this sea of mud only six remained when we reached a wide and long valley with a gentle slope which led to one of the snowy passes lying to the south-east of the great semi-circle formed by the Dangla Mountains to the north.

For two days hail had been falling incessantly, but a few minutes after our weary feet rested once more on solid ground, the sky cleared suddenly and there was even a ray of sunshine.

We were more like a ship-wrecked crew than an exploring caravan. Nearly all our provisions had vanished, and the caravan had altogether about four days' nourishment, consisting of flour, rice and millet. We had not a scrap of meat, and the few peas intended for the surviving mules had perished with the animal that carried them. Many of our cases containing Mongol and Thibetan curiosities were buried deep in the mud, and I must admit that at first this loss distressed me more than that of the provisions. I soon altered my opinion, but at the time I hoped to be able to shoot enough game to satisfy our needs.

One by one we had been compelled to leave our poor mules to the dismal fate of burial in the mud. One by one they had formed for a time a black patch on the red mud, for an hour or more staring straight in front of them, their large eyes full of terror, and one by one they had wholly disappeared. The sight was most distressing, and our distress was aggravated by the thought of our own fate if all our beasts of burden were destined to die in this way.

On August 27th we began the ascent of the Dangla Mountains from the East and not by the Western passes. I wished to make sure of striking the Yang-tze again after crossing the great intervening glaciers. We

met with no great trouble to begin with, and the valley along which we went, though sloping steeply upward, seemed a real velvet carpet after the dreadful road of the past few days. The rocky ground bore no trace of our passage, and it was a pleasure to step out without our feet sinking in mud.

For seven hours we marched between the mountain chains, whose peaks grew hourly nearer and whiter, and after a last hard climb of some half hour's duration since the loose stones slipped from our feet, we reached a glacier at the top of the pass. Just at first I thought we could not cross it, for we could not expect our beasts to scale a precipitous glacier, but I luckily found on careful examination a small path to the side of it between an old moraine and the mass of ice. I directed the caravan along this, and we reached the top of the glacier. The view was magnificent. To the north we could detect in the far distance the lines of the plain, and of the mud that had cost us so much. To east and west were the innumerable snow peaks, and lastly to the south the glacier we had climbed ran down from valley to valley in waves of ice to several hundred yards below the level on which we stood. A blazing sun, such as we were not to see again for weeks, shone on the crest of glaciers, and the wild and fantastic *coup d'œil* partly repaid us for the troubles we had undergone.

Going down along the dangerously steep bed of a torrent formed under the glacier by the melting snow we reached its southern base and encamped there, near a small growth of grass which though scanty enough could meet the needs of our sorely reduced number of animals. I calculated with my instruments the height of the pass and of our camp. The height of the top

of the glacier was 20,600 feet and that of the camp 19,300. In spite of this altitude and of our famine-stricken state we were not uncomfortable, and should have enjoyed a well-earned rest had not several men at nightfall reported the absence of Lao Tchang. I had last seen him slowly climbing the last stage of the glacier, and, as he was evidently exhausted, had unloaded a mule and sent it to him to bring him in safety. Since then no one had seen him. He could not have lost his way, for our tracks on the snow were easy to follow, and his disappearance was inexplicable. It was the more surprising since in spite of his constant fatigue he had an excellent appetite and no one had ever known him to be a minute late for a meal. I hoped that he would turn up in the morning with his mule, having simply slept out all night, but by 8 o'clock he had given no sign of life, and I sent a search party to the spot where I had seen him last, consisting of two men, two mules, and some food. I deplored the necessity of losing a day at such a height and in such an inhospitable locality. There were no traces of game, and we had only two days' provisions. To complete the situation the rain had begun again and was only interrupted by hail. We waited all day for the return of the men. They came in the evening but Lao Tchang was not with them.

It was a long and difficult business to extract from them their story. They kept interjecting lugubrious expressions peculiar to the Chinese. I concluded at last that Lao Tchang had committed suicide by throwing himself down a sheer precipice of some fifty feet at the top of the glacier. The mule had been found nearly dead from cold and hunger, and shivering under the rain and hail, and some traces left by the unfortunate man's fur

boots had led the investigators to the brink of the precipice.

This tragic death shocked us greatly. Not only was it sad to lose a member of the caravan while still so far from our journey's end, but the moral effect on the survivors was incalculable. The men, already sufficiently out of hand, would become more so, and I dreaded an epidemic of suicide. The situation was certainly a wretched one for them. They had lost all hope of ever seeing their country again, and when I promised them a return voyage in a steamer from India to China, they shook their heads doubtfully and said to one another that they would never see India. I spent over an hour that night in their tent trying to encourage them, but I felt when I left them that I had wasted my time.

The next day, after going down a valley running from south-east to north-west, in the evening we reached the banks of the Yang-tze. But it was a very different river. Instead of the imposing channel of water we had not been able to keep close to, we found here a river split up sometimes into two, sometimes into three streams, in the middle of a vast plain stretching from east to west, and easy to cross. The Dangla Mountains obviously send down large tributaries into that portion of the river's course which we had not been able to follow up. Exactly east of this site of our tent a great break in the circle of mountains showed where the Yang-tze clove its way through. There was pasturage here and there on its banks and our beasts derived some nourishment. In spite of the steady rain we felt sufficiently cheerful to light a fire and by burning two of our cases we procured a fine blaze, before which we strove to dry our soaked rags. I say rags, for our Chinese sheep skin clothes had lost both shape and colour.

Some yaks were feeding about a mile away, and though very tired I went out after them for we had literally nothing to eat. Unfortunately there was no chance of stalking them on the huge open plain, and they cantered off before I could get within range, thus depriving us of our hopes of a much needed dinner. During the next two days we covered about thirty miles to the south-west. The view was bounded on all sides by glaciers, and after the firm ground of the plain in which we had rejoined the great river we came upon fresh stretches of mud. But these we were able to escape by marching in the river bed itself some two or three yards from the bank. The water was shallow, and in spite of the rain the small tributaries that flowed constantly into it contributed very little volume to the stream.

Towards evening on the second day we reached a strangely formed and unique country. Hills of red mud rose on all sides, some very large and lofty, others no bigger than dunes in Europe. I made an attempt to scale one of them, and sank in up to the knees. We went on therefore in the river bed, and as evening closed in and dark clouds were gathering ominously overhead I hastily ordered our tents to be pitched on a small platform of rock which lay very handy some hundred yards from the river. The storm did not burst immediately. The night fell thick and heavy. Not a breath of wind relieved the electric tension, and at midnight a loud clap of thunder resounded very near us. It was the herald of the most violent storm I have ever seen. I hope I may never see another like it. The claps of thunder followed on one another like the reports of artillery in action. The lightning was so bright and vivid that it might have been daylight. The sky and earth seemed about to

unite at this height of 19,000 feet, and as if in protest against our audacity in profaning these virgin altitudes the brass spikes on our tents threw off tongues of fire several inches in length, with a terrifying crackling. The soaked canvas acted as a conductor between the spikes and the ground and made the position inside the tent untenable. So we had to move out under the rain and snow which fell for the greater part of this alarming night. The animals, half buried in snow, made no movement. Huddled together some paces from the tents they watched the falling flakes cover the few tufts of grass on which they might have fed.

As for ourselves we had only half a pound of flour which we soaked in water and made into a kind of cake. We had not even any salt, the cook having stolen the last of it while we slept. On the next morning, September 1st, we left the glacier from which the Yang-tze rises on our right, two hours after breaking up the camp, and crossed a water parting on the crest of a side *arête* of the Dangla mountains. The Yang-tze's source is about in the middle of this *arête*, and the saddle shaped pass that we surmounted stretched from the glaciers that feed the great river to another group rather less important.

We had therefore accomplished one of my main objects in visiting Thibet. We now had to reach India, and the opposition of the Thibetans would perhaps intensify the natural difficulties of the task. Above all we had at any cost to get food. Our last handful of flour had been used up.

LESDAIN.

(To be continued.)

Art. III.—FURTHER EXPANSION OF THE THEORY OF THE PRECESSION CLIMATIC AND DECLINATION CYCLES, SHOWING HOW THE EQUATOR BECOMES TEMPERATE AND THE POLES TROPICAL.

I HAVE on two previous occasions contributed papers on the above subject to the CALCUTTA REVIEW, my last appearing in January 1904. These papers are treated from the astronomical standpoint, and their purpose is to show that astronomical causes alone are sufficient to explain the increased cold manifest in the enlarged ice-cap which now practically fills up the whole Arctic sea, in addition to the ice-cap also covering the continent of Greenland. The change in the seasons commenced in A.D. 1248, when, counting from equinox to equinox there were eight more summer days and eight fewer winter days, being a difference of sixteen days in favour of increased warmth and minimum ice-cap in the Northern hemisphere. Any one who takes the trouble to count from equinox to equinox in any good almanac will ascertain that the number of excess summer days is now reduced to seven and a half, being a total difference in favour of the Northern climate of fifteen excess summer days. This is only one sixteenth or six per cent less difference in days. If the temperature of India were based upon this percentage, our average shade temperature of 80° F., would show a reduction of 5° F. But as the absolute temperature of stellar space is minus 461° F., this added to 80° F. amounts to 541° F., one sixteenth of which is 33° F. reduction in temperature. This of course is not the correct method of calculating the reduction, no one knows the correct method, all we can do

is to proceed on comparative lines of reasoning. For instance in Queen Elizabeth's time the Arctic sea was fairly open to her sailing merchant-brigs, the captains of which made many attempts to find a North-West passage to India, and almost succeeded. Now steamers, proceeding with caution, have found the greatest difficulty in avoiding the pack ice of the Paleocrystic sea. Only one steamer has succeeded in passing through Behring Strait, all others have failed. One captain has discovered the route from Archangel in Russia to up the river Yenesei in Siberia, and makes one trip there and back yearly. But this captain has found it impossible to steam 4° further North to latitude 77° N so that by rounding the North-East cape he might reach and trade at the mouths of the river Lena. If then so slight a reduction as half an excess summer day in eight has so greatly increased the mass of ice at the North Pole in the short period of 350 years, counting from Queen Elizabeth's time, what will be the effect when, in a further 5,000 years, the number of summer and winter days in the two hemispheres becomes equal? and what the effect when in a further 6,000 years the excess of winter days in the Northern hemisphere becomes eight more than the number of summer days?

As however astronomers discredited this theory as insufficient of itself to explain the fact adduced by geologists that in former times the climate of the North Pole was tropical, the late Dr. Croll published his theory that, owing to conjunctions of the planets, the orbit of our earth was, 250,000 and again 850,000 years ago, so elongated, that the difference between the summer and winter days was increased in those two cycles to thirty excess summer days in the Northern and thirty excess winter days in the Southern hemisphere, while as each

precessional cycle went round, in 12,000 years the conditions were reversed, becoming thirty excess winter days in the Northern hemisphere and thirty excess summer days in the Southern, and that these excess conditions operated for several cycles before and after the principal cycle. Dr. Croll also showed that the same glacial conditions as were produced at the poles by the eight excess summer days, were proportionately intensified when the winter days were increased to thirty, and that the heat in the Northern hemisphere was made excessive by each corresponding half cycle of thirty excess summer days.

Still astronomers were not convinced that Croll's theory, great advance as it was, was a sufficient explanation of the tropical seasons at the poles insisted upon by geologists.

At a later date General Drayson, at one time on the Trigonometrical Surveys of India and England, and later Professor of Surveying at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, who apparently had no knowledge of Croll's theory, took up the question from a new point of view, *viz.*, that of the varying declination of the sun. La Place, a celebrated astronomer of the first French empire, published the results of his calculations, that this declination had been in former times at least 3° greater than at present. Sir John Herschel accepted the results of La Place but does not appear to have checked them. Astronomers seem to have had no conception that the varying declination of the sun had anything to do with the varying climates of the earth exemplified in geologic researches, and they therefore one and all have neglected the subject as a matter with which they had no concern. The position of the sun's declination in respect of the Invariable Plane

of the Solar System is shewn in Fig. 1. (See p. 436.) The poles of the earth are known to have a conical motion, the base of which is believed to make a complete circular revolution among the starry heavens once in each 24,000 years, and that this revolution is a component part of the precession of the equinoxes, which is a retrograde movement of the points where the plane of the equator cuts the plane of the ecliptic or orbit of the earth at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. The equinoxes occur from year to year at about the same date, save and except the slight difference in time represented by the slow shortening of the excess summer days in the Northern hemisphere; but the retrograde movement or precession of the equinoxes where the plane of the equator cuts the ecliptic is a regular movement of about 50 seconds of one degree every year. It is difficult to state in words how this movement of our North Pole takes place. It is round the pole of the Invariable Plane. This plane is the average plane of the orbits of all the planets, and was calculated by La Place to make an angle of one and a half degrees with the orbit of our earth. The sun's declination is calculated from the ecliptic, *i.e.*, the orbit of our earth.

To find the pole of the Ecliptic:—draw a line in the heavens from the pointers of the Great Bear to the North Pole Star. Draw a line from the Pole Star about 100° degrees from the former line, in the direction of and in a line parallel to the tail of the Great Bear; measure on this second line from the Pole Star an angle of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees. This further point gives the position of the pole of our ecliptic or orbit. To find the pole of the Invariable Plane:—measure from the pole of the ecliptic on the base of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees an angle of 74° degrees, pointing in the direction of the tail of the Great

Bear. Mark off $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees on this last line of the angle. This further point gives the position of the pole of the Invariable Plane. For convenience of calculation, the angle 24° degrees is taken, as it was in about 1,000 A.D., instead of the present declination of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees. A circle with the pole of the Invariable Plane as a centre, (the pole of the ecliptic is sufficiently accurate), and the Pole Star as a radius of 24° degrees, gives a circle of 48° degrees diameter, which is the base of the conical path upon which our North pole is now travelling in the heavens. The direction of the movement is away from the tail of the Great Bear and through the Pole Star. If a watch face is held up with its back towards the North pole or that of the ecliptic pole, the movement of our pole along the circle is in the direction opposite to the movement of the hands of the watch.

La Place appears to have based his difference of declination upon double the difference between the orbit of the earth and that of the invariable plane, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2 = 3$ degrees difference. He took no account of the known diminution of the declination between the single observation of Hipparchus about 2,000 years ago and which now amounts to 34' minutes of one degree. When General Drayson took this observation into his spherical trigonometry calculations, and combined it with those recorded for the past 150 years in the Nautical Almanack, he found that 13,000 years ago the difference in declination was 12° degrees, that 13,000 years ago the tropical zone reached up to the latitude of Gibraltar, or 36 degrees North latitude, and the arctic zone extended down to the latitude of Manchester, *i. e.* the temperate zone was then almost non existent, being only of the width of 18 degrees. Had the declination of that time increased to 45° degrees, the tropical and arctic

zones would have coincided. General Drayson was enthusiastic about his discovery, upon which he wrote several books, showing how greatly different the climate of the earth was when the sun's declination was increased to 36° degrees. There was one fatal defect in his theory. Astronomers would not look at it, because it failed to explain a former tropical climate at the North Pole. It showed rightly enough the existence of former tropical conditions in what is now the South temperate zone, and a much warmer summer climate than now in the North temperate zone and in the outer half of the Arctic zone, but nothing approaching to tropical conditions near the North Pole.

Astronomical theories are all, like mechanical inventions, subject to the evolution of ideas. Croll got to a certain point in his two books "Climate and Time" and "Climate and Cosmology", Sir Robert Ball, the late Astronomer Royal of Ireland, improved on Croll's theory by showing in his "Cause of an Ice Age" how a low winter declination made the cold much more intense, and a high summer declination the heat much greater than the respective measurements of the sun would presuppose.

But he got no further. Drayson, in his "Untrodden Ground in Astronomy and Geology" and "The Earth's Past History" made a grand step in advance, by ascertaining through rigid calculations in Spherical Trigonometry that the sun's declination was, on the further side of the cycle 13,000 years ago, 12° degrees more than now. In my previous paper I showed that when allowance was made for the revolution of the earth's orbit (not the earth but the earth's orbit) round the sun, the cycle became reduced to the Hindu Pauranik measure of 12,000 years. Drayson made one mistake in his conclusion. He had no knowledge of the invariable

plane, and therefore made his radii revolve round the pole of the ecliptic. He ought to have made them revolve round the pole of the invariable plane, the approximate position of which I have just described. Had he done this he would have discovered that the conical movement of the path of the earth's poles in the heavens was not an ellipse but a never ending spiral (see Fig 1); that our poles by virtue of this spiral motion first coincide with the pole of the invariable plane, and as the movement goes on, the present poles make a quarter revolution of 90° degrees, or seven and a half spirals of 12° degrees each, coinciding with the invariable plane, and with a further revolution of 90° degrees or 7½ spirals of 12° degrees each the North Pole takes the place of the present South Pole, a reversal which occurs gently, quietly, without sudden shock or cataclysm, but in an immensely slow geologic cycle, a Pauranik Mahayuga in fact. The honour of this discovery I give to my friend Mr. G. E. Sutcliffe, of "Sopari Bag Road, Parel, Bombay." Mr Sutcliffe is a mathematical astronomer, a member of the Leeds Astronomical Society, and versed in the logarithmic calculations of the spherical trigonometry of the heavens. I lent him my two above books of General Drayson. He found Drayson's calculations to be correct. He fortunately had with him Mrs. Mary Somerville's translation of La Place's "Mechanism of the Heavens" (*Mecanique Celeste*), published in 1830. He recalculated the elements of the invariable plane from La Place's formulae and found that the difference in inclination between our ecliptic and that of the invariable plane is very nearly 1½° degrees, thus agreeing with La Place. He then found that by calculating the conical radii at the base of the earth's pole as revolving round the pole of the invariable

plane and not round the pole of the ecliptic, a never-ending uniform spiral motion was evolved, the elements of which I will give later on in this paper. Why did Drayson make this vital mistake? Because Astronomers have for many years past ignored the existence of the invariable plane, and therefore he was helpless. In my copy of Chambers' Encyclopedia, (Art. Mary Somerville) it is stated that "she was a celebrated mathematical astronomer, who in 1823 was commissioned by Lord Brougham to translate La Place's above work. She published it in 1830, when it was received with the greatest admiration, and in 1835 she was awarded the royal pension of £ 300, which she continued to receive till her death in 1872." I have a shelf-full of astronomical works, not one of which has a word to say about the invariable plane. My copy of Sir John Herschel's "Outlines of Astronomy," published in 1851, has four pages on the Precession of the Equinoxes. He there states that "the pole of the earth revolves round the pole of the ecliptic," which is incorrect; he makes no reference to the invariable plane nor to its pole. It appears as though he had not read Mary Somerville's translation of the *Mecanique Celeste*. All the Astronomers obediently follow their great master, *e. g.* my four publications of Sir R. S. Ball, one of Astronomer Royal Airy, three of Lockyer, and many others. La Place published his *Mecanique Celeste* 1799-1825, six volumes with supplements.

Mr. Sutcliffe shows in his recent pamphlet, "The Gigantic Hoax of La Place" that the spiral makes one revolution every 24,000 years at the rate of 12° degrees of diminishing declination per spiral.

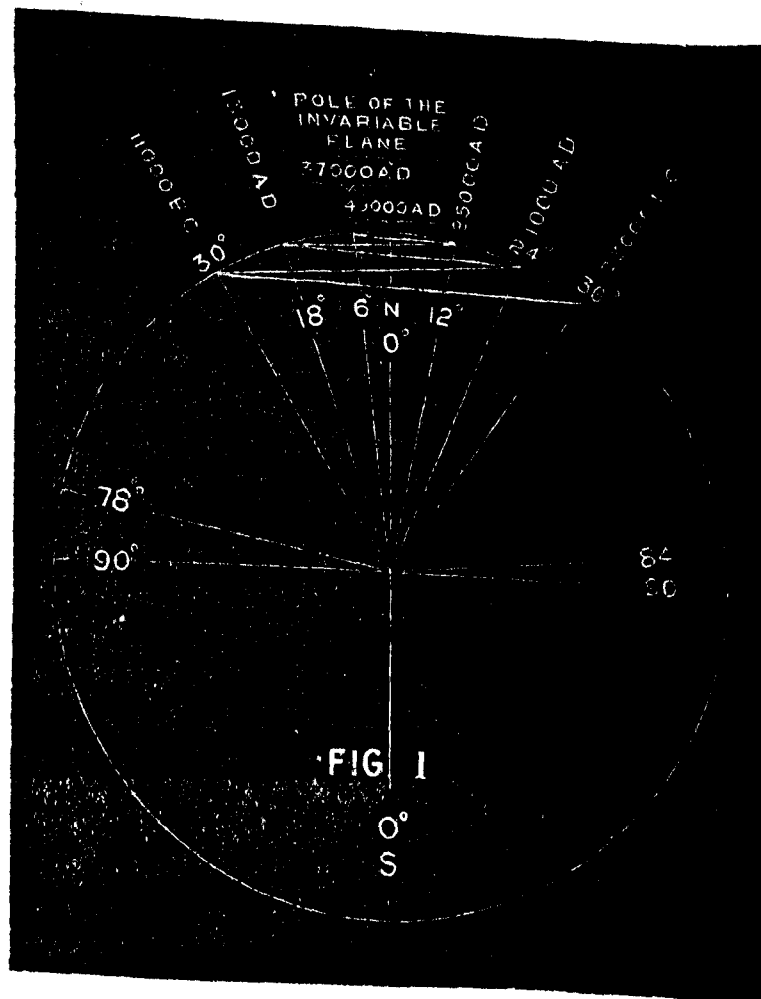
I perhaps should give the explanation of La Place's "Gigantic Hoax" as described by Mr. Sutcliffe. Every

one is liable to make mistakes and La Place was no exception to the rule, though as a mathematician he was head and shoulders above his contemporaries. The labour of calculating the complicated formulae of spherical trigonometry is great, in time spent and mental weariness. The discoverer of a formula has no outside experience to check him in his work, he has to depend entirely on himself. Hence in the formula which La Place gives for calculating the sun's declination, the angle of which is equal to the earth's obliquity, or the angle which the earth's equator makes with the earth's orbit or ecliptic at any position of the cycle of precession of the equinoxes, he used the wrong sign for this precession. As this has a retrograde movement in the heavens the reverse of the orbital motion of the planets, La Place in his formula should have given the precession movement a minus sign, while he has used a plus sign, and therefore his results are unreliable. The conclusion to which he comes is that, in the whole cycle of precession, there is no difference in the sun's declination other than the 3 degrees due to the invariable plane. The Astronomical and Geologic world went to sleep for a century on this dictum, until Drayson woke them in 1890, and showed by new formulae, the result of his experience as a trigonometrical surveyor in India and England, that the difference in declination was 12 degrees.

Mr. Sutcliffe appears to think that La Place made the mistake for the purpose of hoaxing his contemporaries, and so encouraging them to find it out. I think it more likely that he made a simple error, and failed to discover it.

Our poles revolve round the pole of the invariable plane, but our sun's declination is measured from the pole

of our ecliptic, there being thus a difference of one and a half degrees minus and one and a half degrees minus, or a total difference of 3 degrees. This has to be added to and subtracted from the declinations of the spirals in Figs 1 & 2 to get accurate results.



Thus see Fig. 1. Take the spiral 36, 30, 24 degrees. The complete spiral as measured from the

pole of the invariable plane is 36, 33, 30, 27, 24 degrees. But when the adjustments due to the ecliptic are taken into account the real spiral of declination becomes 36, 34½, 30, 25½, 24 degrees. Even such slight differences of declination help to add infinite variety to the resulting climates. Mr. Sutcliffe gives the method of ascertaining the positions of the greatest and least difference of declination, but it is highly technical, and need not be produced in this paper.

The deductions I draw in respect of geologic climatology are Mr. Sutcliffe's, the details only being my own. He makes three short references to the occurrence of the glacial and tropical periods, which are at once explained, and the problem which has puzzled the brains of Astronomers and Geologists for a century or more has found a solution. The two explanatory Diagrams also are my own, their idea of course being Mr. Sutcliffe's. I publish this paper with the approval of Mr. Sutcliffe.

Mr. Sutcliffe makes no reference to the remarkable variations of climate which will take place when the poles of the earth coincide with the plane of the ecliptic, and which I describe later on. Nor does he refer to the great increase of summer and diminution of winter days and *vice versa* which will take place as the eccentricity of the earth's orbit increases, and which will largely increase the effect of the sun's heat at the tropical poles, and the chill caused by his absence during the reverse conditions of fewer summer days and more winter days in the North; climates further modified to an infinite degree by the varying position of the apses in the earth's orbit as the precession of the equinoxes rhythmically circles round. See Fig. 1. In a quarter spiral from 1,000 A. D. *i. e.* in 7,000 A. D. there will be an equal number of summer and winter days in the Northern

hemisphere. If the reduction of half a summer day has caused so great an increase of winter temperature, the reduction of a further half day, of one, two and more summer days will make winter conditions in the Northern hemisphere excessive. The Arctic Sea is shallow. When its inlet in Behring Strait is frozen to near the bottom, the flow of the current will cease, which will cause the whole sea to freeze hard. The ice-cap will extend from Greenland over the Arctic Sea, the increased mass of ice will form an immense glacier, which will attract the sea to a higher level, causing it to rise and flow over European Russia, Turkestan, and the low tundras of Siberia. As a result of this rise in sea level, it is probable that these countries will be joined up by a chain of inland navigable salt lakes via the Mediterranean, Black, Caspian and Aral Seas, up to the Arctic Ocean in Siberia, and that the great lakes in Northern Russia will connect the Baltic with the White Sea in the Arctic Ocean, and with North West Siberia, which will become covered with a great navigable extension of the Arctic Ocean southward. St. Petersburg of course will disappear. It is likely that the slight rise of sea level will be sufficient to overflow the present Delta of Egypt, causing a new Delta to silt up in its place at a higher level, and overflow the Isthmus of Suez and the Bitter Lakes.

In North America the islands North of Hudson's Bay will be overwhelmed down to latitude 65° degrees. The remaining high lands North and West of the great Lakes forming the new wheat fields of Canada, and the high lands of Labrador up to the greatly enlarged Hudson's Bay will become again covered with glaciers.

In the summer the sun's heat will be concentrated on the new Baltic-Russian-Siberian-Turkestan Sea, and on the corresponding new sea North of Hudson's Bay, the

adjoining lands, as now, will in summer experience tropical heat, and the damp air of the enlarged seas will rise as clouds and deposit as snow-glaciers on the Arctic ice-cap, and on the surrounding high lands. Concurrently with the enlarged polar ice-cap, permanent glaciers fed from the adjoining inland seas will form on the high lands of Europe, Asia and America. At present these glaciers melt every summer. I have travelled over the Splügen pass North of lake Como. In August the glacier on this pass was melted down to isolated patches of ice only a few inches thick. Under the new conditions the clouds from the warm seas will deposit on the high lands as snow, and these glaciers will be of sufficient magnitude by gravitation to cause a rise of the sea level in their vicinity. The tendency will be for these glaciers to become too massive to melt in the summer, they will just flow down to the sea as do the glaciers down the valleys from Greenland at the present time. Glaciers also are known to radiate great heat each summer day. The proximity of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans may not to any material extent increase the size of the ice-cap, because if cold, no damp air will rise from them, and if the Gulf streams are still acting, these streams will melt out great gaps in the ice-cap.

On the other hand it may be that the Atlantic Gulf stream, no longer able to flow on to the North coast of Norway, may become so deflected from England as to cause the English climate seriously to suffer. It is certain that continuous North East winds already induce a temporary stoppage of the Gulf Stream, South West winds strengthen it, and strong Westerly winds produce the blizzards which so greatly affect the English climate in the late spring months, by causing the Labrador and Newfoundland icebergs to blow across the Atlantic, and

chill the air with unseasonable snow storms. Corn no longer grows in Labrador, and these variations will seriously change the climate of Canada. These are the climatic conditions which may reasonably be expected in the Northern hemisphere 5,000 years hence, and to a modified extent in a proportionately less period. A recent United States Geologic text book "Man and the Glacial Period" by G.F. Wright, Assistant of the United States Geological Survey published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. London 1892, states p. 339 that "seven thousand years is the earliest date that can be assigned for the disappearance of the permanent glacier at the Niagara Falls." He says p. 340 that "precisely the same geologic conditions are to be found in the falls of the Mississippi river at Minneapolis near its junction with the Minnesota River one hundred miles South of Lake Superior, and that the same maximum limit of time, seven thousand years must be given for the disappearance of that glacier." In both quotations I have for the sake of brevity paraphrased his wording.

These then were the conditions in full force at the quarter period of the last current spiral from 5,000 to 17,000 years ago, and which were attributable to Croll's theory of equal summer and winter days in the Northern hemisphere. His theory depended largely upon the lessened number of summer days and increased number of winter days causing a diversion of the North Atlantic Gulf stream to the South Atlantic. I am sure that this process is going on at the present time. I know my English and Indian climates well. When I was a young man there were no blizzards in England, nor did snow storms on the Himalayan passes continue into the month of May, and sometimes into June. To

put it briefly I would say that the winters in England and India are longer and the summers shorter, the latter in England not so hot owing to stormy weather. In India the summers are hot enough when they come, owing to the rains arriving later than formerly. If then glacial action will be so increased at the quarters of the spiral, what will be the effect 11,000 years hence when present conditions will be reversed, and there will be eight fewer summer days and eight more winter days in the Northern hemisphere? And the cold in temperate regions will be greatly increased from the concentration of the sun's heat in the tropics due to the reduced declination of 24° degrees to 18° degrees, as I show in my next paragraphs.

As I stated in a previous paper, Noah's flood took place within the limit of 7,000 years ago, the limit now assigned by the United States Geologists for the break up of the last existing ice-cap. It is in that same ice-cap that we should I think place Mr. Tilak's "Arctic Home in the Vedas." The ancient Aryans of course did not live on the ice-cap, but they lived within the polar zone when the declination and the radius of the zone was 3 degrees more than at present, in warm secluded valleys, which experienced the sun's continuous presence in summer, and in winter felt his continuous absence and the rigours of intense cold.

Still referring to Fig. 1, when the declination has become diminished too° degrees, when the North Pole coincides with that of the invariable plane, the sun will remain always on the then earth's equator. The sun's heat being there concentrated, there will be no movement of the sun from South to North and *vice versa* and the heat on and near the equator will become intolerable, making it impossible to live there, and the

nations will migrate to the North and South. The whole world, distant, say 10 degrees from the equator will become temperate in character, summer and winter will be non-existent, every place on the earth in respect of summer and winter will always experience the same quantity of heat and cold.

The three zones, tropical, temperate and Arctic will cease to exist, the sun continuing always on the equator will always shine up to the poles, which will be in perpetual dawn. The sun however down to the latitude of 60° degrees will never be more than 30° degrees above the horizon, and will give insufficient heat during the day to melt the polar ice-cap, which will continue increasing in size while these conditions last. The ice-caps may extend perhaps down to the latitude of 60° degrees in Europe and 50° in North America. For here Sir R. S. Ball's theory of a low declination will come into play. At the same time the difference in the number of excess summer and winter days in each hemisphere will practically cease, with the exception of the small spiral of 3° degrees made up of the difference of 1½° degrees between the pole of the ecliptic and the pole of the invariable plane.

Glaciers of great size will accumulate upon all mountain ranges within reasonable distance of the polar ice-cap, and in proximity to the warm sea:—for damp clouds will condense their snow upon chilly heights. Increased heat at the equator means increased cold at the poles.

One would like to think that the saltiness of the Dead Sea is due to the valley of the Jordan once having had direct communication with the Red Sea. But the water parting between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, 100 miles in length, is at its highest point 525 feet above the level of the Red Sea. It is improbable

that in the latitude of 30 degrees, near the tropics, the glaciers on the mountains of Mesopotamia could have raised the sea level to so great a height. We must be content with the fact that all inland lakes at a distance from glacial mountains are salt. Plants will find a way

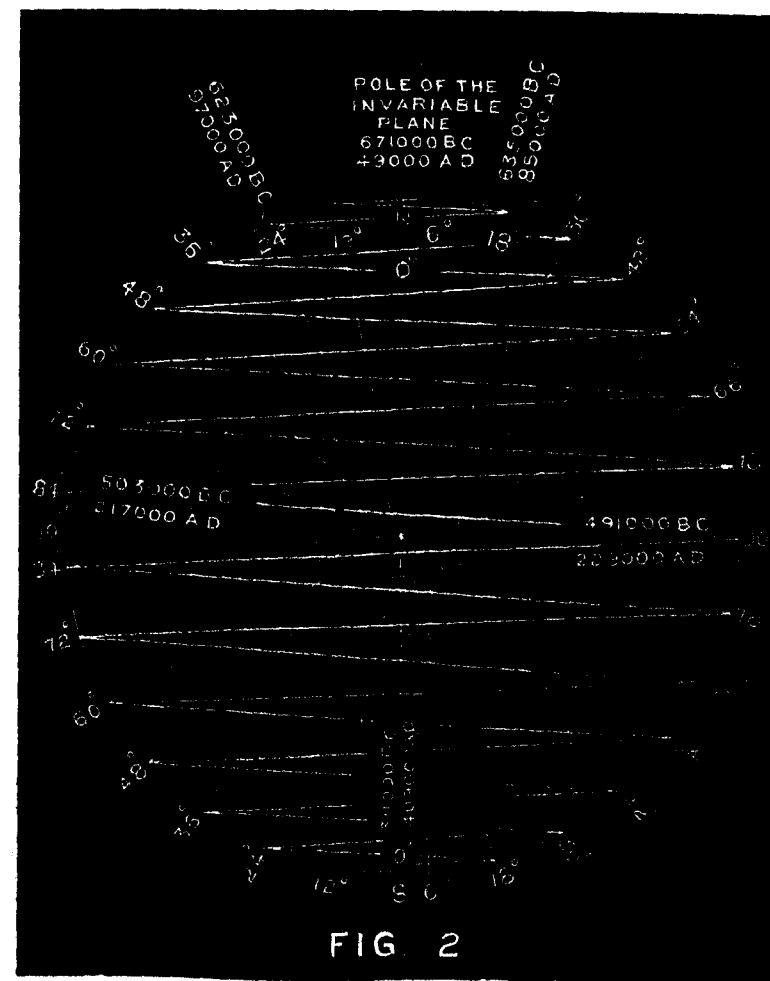


FIG. 2

of accommodating their life to the new conditions, because the sun will be permanently on the equator only for an

instant of time, and there will always be a modified very slight summer and winter, approaching to *nil* when the equator coincides with the ecliptic.

After the North Pole of the Earth has coincided with the North Pole of the invariable plane the spirals will commence to increase as shown in Fig. 2, until the present North Pole becomes reversed and coincides with the present South Pole of the invariable plane. Each quarter circle contains $7\frac{1}{2}$ spirals equal to 180,000 years, when the poles will coincide with the invariable plane; a complete reversal of fifteen spirals takes 360,000 years, when the North Pole will occupy the position of the present South Pole, and *vice versa*; and the full cycle or Mahayuga of thirty spirals, when the North Pole of the earth will get back to the present North Pole of the invariable plane, occupies 720,000 years.

Let us now consider what the effect will be on the climates of the Northern hemisphere when the sun's declination (a) has become 45, (b) 66 and (c) 90 degrees. In the first case the tropical zone will extend to Bordeaux in France, including the whole of Portugal and Spain, to Turin and Venice in Italy, Trieste in Austria, Belgrade in Servia, Sevastopol in the Crimea, nearly the whole of the Black Sea, of the Caspian and Aral seas in Turkestan, the Gobi Desert, Mongolia and Manchuria in China, including all the countries to the South of this line now in the temperate zone, *viz.*, Turkey in Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, China and Japan. In America the tropics will include Oregon, Wyoming, Dakota, the four lower Great Lakes excluding Superior, also Montreal and Nova Scotia. The temperate zone will be wiped out, and the Arctic zone will extend to the just described tropical zone. The tropics will no longer be tropical as we now understand

it. The present North tropic is nearly 24 degrees wide, the measure of the sun's declination. The sun now travels this distance every quarter of the year in ninety days, equal to a journey of 1° degree every four days. Then, the sun will travel one degree every two days, *viz.*, at double the speed he now travels, and his vertical rays, spread over double the distance, will give on each point of the new tropics considerably less heat than the sun now gives on the present tropics. Thus the tropics will become temperate in character, and the lessened heat now received by the tropics will be given to the poles. At present the sun on the equator at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes sends his rays 90 degrees to the poles, where the sun's altitude is *nil*, *i.e.*, the sun is on the horizon the whole 24 hours. On the Arctic circle at the equinoxes, the sun's altitude is 24 degrees at midday, and on the horizon at 6.00 A.M. and P.M. At the summer solstice, the sun is 24 degrees North, and sends his rays 24 degrees beyond the North Pole to the further limit of the Arctic zone, where the sun is on the horizon at midnight, and the midday altitude is 48 degrees. Thus during the six summer months, the altitude varies at the poles from the horizon to the maximum of 24 degrees continuously night and day. At the Arctic circle the midday altitude varies from 24 to 48 degrees during the same period and the horizon sun varies from 12.00 P.M. at the summer solstice, to 6.00 A.M. and P.M. at the equinoxes.

When the sun's declination has increased to 45 degrees, the altitude at the poles will vary during the six summer months from the horizon at the equinoxes to the maximum of 45 degrees at the summer solstice. At the Arctic circle the midday altitude will vary from 45 to 90 degrees during the same period: while the horizon sun

always varies from 12.00 P.M. at the summer solstice to 6.00 A.M. and P.M. at the equinoxes.

Under the new conditions when the declination is 45 degrees the sun will at the summer solstice be vertical over the Arctic circle at midday, and on the horizon at 12.00 P.M. The heat concentrated on the Arctic circle at that period will thus be much greater than present tropical heat. For six months this heat will continue, till at the equinoxes the sun's altitude at midday will be 45 degrees. Similarly at the poles the altitude will be 45 degrees at the summer solstice and on the horizon at the equinoxes, the sun thus always above the horizon for six months. The heat concentrated by this means will much exceed that now received at 69 degrees North latitude,—that of Tromsøe in North Norway,—where the sun's altitude at the midday summer solstice is 45 and at the equinoxes 21 degrees. The effect of this tropical heat in the Arctic zone will be that the polar ice-caps will gradually be melted in the six summer months, and will not have time to collect again during the winter, for winter conditions will in fact have ceased to exist. When the sun has reached its extreme Southern limit in lat. 45, it will, owing to the effect of refraction, be well above the horizon on the Arctic circle at midday, so that there will be several hours of daylight and twilight at midwinter. Owing to the great extension of tropical heat in and outside the Arctic zone up to the equator, there will be a belt of warm air, warm land and sea round this zone which will keep it warm and genial until the sun's return to the North. The Northern and Southern ice-caps being melted, there will be an appreciable rise of the sea level all over the world, which will help in improving genial conditions, for the winter sea is always warmer than that of adjoining land.

During the equinoxes there is always light at the poles, and twilight for about one sixth of the Arctic zone on either side of the Pole, while on the Arctic circle at the summer solstice there is continuous day from noon to 12.00 P.M. Twilight ceases and night begins on this circle for an instant at 12.00 P.M. about one month on either side of the solstice. Night prevails on this circle at the equinoxes from 8.00 P.M. to 4.00 A.M., the remaining four hours being taken up by the morning and evening twilights. At the summer solstice there is full light on this circle, giving an average of four hours of night, or an average of less than two hours night on the whole Arctic zone, as against more than twenty two hours of day.

When the sun's declination has reached 66 degrees there will be an overlapping of the tropical and Arctic zones. The North tropical zone will reach to 66 degrees North latitude, up to the line of the present Arctic circle. The Arctic circle will reach down to 24 degrees North latitude, the line of the present North tropical zone. The sun will travel 66 degrees in ninety days, being about three degrees every four days in the place of the present one degree, making the climate near the equator still more temperate than when the declination had reached 45 degrees, and the Arctic zone still more tropical than then. The tropical sun will extend to 42 degrees within the Arctic zone, up to within 24 degrees of the poles, and it will remain within this zone in its Northern and return journey for 134 days out of the six summer months.

When the sun's declination has reached 90 degrees the poles will be in line with the ecliptic, and the present equator in line with the present poles, the sun will travel 90 degrees from the equator to the poles, in about ninety

days, being four times the speed at which it now travels. As, when the declination was 45 degrees the temperate zone was wiped out, so now the tropical zone also becomes non-existent, and nothing remains but the Arctic zone, which extends from the poles to the equator. Of course the word "Arctic" implying excessively cold conditions is here a misnomer, because this zone will now have become tropical, most so at the poles, least so at the equator. But it is needful to retain the same name, for the sake of accurate nomenclature of the Astronomical and Geological conditions.

The previous paragraphs relating to the tropical conditions of the Arctic zone during the summer, the continuous warmth, light, twilight and small proportion of actual darkness during the winter months described in declination 45, applying equally to declinations 66 and 90 degrees. Thus when at the commencement of the Mahayuga the poles will coincide with the poles of the invariable plane, the heat at the equator and the cold at the poles will be at their greatest; this will be the Kali-mahāyuga of intense heat and cold the ice-caps and the glaciers on mountain ranges will be of their largest extent; in 180,000 years the poles will coincide with the ecliptic, ice will disappear from the earth except on high mountains near and on the equator, a temperate climate will prevail at the equator, and tropical at the poles. The equator will then be situate where the poles now are, and be perpendicular to the ecliptic, while the poles will be on the ecliptic. This will be the Satya-mahāyuga.

Each spiral of Figs. 1 and 2 consists of a circle, or nearly so, and represents the movement of the poles of the earth as seen travelling among the stars of the celestial hemisphere in a circle round the poles of the

invariable plane. Each point of this circle moves ever in one direction, as measured on its great circle of the celestial hemisphere. Each point travels 3 minutes of one degree per century, one degree every 2,000 years, and 12 degrees in each complete spiral every 24,000 years. The resultant movement is a closing of the North spiral, see Fig. 1, up to the North Pole of the invariable plane. From this point, see Fig. 2, the spiral opens out till the North Pole in 180,000 years reaches the ecliptic, and then recommences to close up till this pole in 360,000 years reaches the South Pole of the invariable plane. Our present North Pole having reached the present South Pole the spiral reopens out at its same steady rhythmic movement of one degree each two thousand years, thus moving from the North to the South Pole in 360,000 years, and back again to the North Pole in another 360,000 years. There is thus an in-breathing and out-breathing movement of the poles, corresponding to that of the spiral movement of the atom, and thus the vibrations of the macrocosm and microcosm are in essence one. This spiral movement is divinely ordained in order that the succession of climates may be infinite in their variety and character.

Mr. Sutcliffe's theory is that the circumference of the spiral moves on the great circle one degree every 2,000 years, or 12 degrees in each complete spiral every 24,000 years. This agrees with facts as they now are. But assume that the period in years of the spiral is proportional to the distance travelled by the spiral, *i.e.*, to its circumference or diameter. In such case, see Figs. 1 and 2, the diameter of the spiral at 90 degrees is rather more than double that at 24 degrees, which is approximately the present position. Thus at 90 degrees the period of the spiral will be 60,000 years, at 36 to 24 degrees its period

is 30,000 years, at 24 to 12 degrees it is 18,000 years and from 12 to nil degrees it is 6,000 years. The significance of this variation of the theory is that when the North Pole of our earth coincides with the North Pole of the invariable plane, our equator is intensely hot, the poles are intensely cold, this period of the Kali-mahāyuga of distressful conditions of existence will be passed over with comparative rapidity, while, when the poles coincide with the ecliptic, represented in the two Figures as 90 degrees, the Satyā-mahāyuga of the Golden Age will be prolonged to 60,000 years of each spiral.

In my previous paper I gave Sir Robert Ball's figures showing how the action of the revolution of the earth's orbit (not the earth but its orbit) reduces the period of the cycle from 26,000 to 21,000 years. This action is still more effective or speedy with spirals of small diameter than with large spirals, and thus reduces still more quickly the length of the period of the Kali-mahāyuga, and shows the beneficence of Providence in adapting the earth's climate to the best conditions of existence.

Mr. Sutcliffe shows that "the great circle containing the poles of the invariable plane passes exactly through the Stars Sirius and Vega, and that one of the poles of this great circle is just at the beginning of the Asterism Chitra on the Ancient Zodiac, as it is still called in India. When the full moon is in this Asterism, it determines the commencement of the Solar year according to the ancient system and modern Hindu practice. The position of Chitra fixed all the other points of the Ancient Zodiac, and makes the longitude of the First Point of Aries," where it has remained fixed for the past 6,000 years. See "Great Hoax," p. 12.

In modern Astronomical practice, the First Point of Aries is a figure of speech only. "It is the vernal equinox, or that point where the vernal passage of the sun takes place across the equator; i.e., the First Point of Aries is constantly changing its position among the fixed stars corresponding with the Precession of the Equinoxes. It no longer corresponds with the sign Aries as it did about two thousand years ago. The First Point of Aries is now in the constellation Pisces, about 30 degrees West of the Original sign." See Chamber's Encyclopedia "Aries". This is one twelfth part of the complete circle or spiral of 24,000 years.

DAVID GOSTLING, F. R. I. B. A.

Art. IV.—SYMPATHY AND DECENTRALISATION.

“THAT BLESSED WORD MESOPOTAMIA.”

OF late thanks to the malignant eloquence of Bengali orators and others anxious to earn fame by acquiring notoriety, the affairs of the Indian body politic and more especially of District Administration have received more than their usual consideration in Europe as well as in the East. The prattling of students has been answered by the counterblast of Government resolutions: the plaint of the discontented Bengali has been echoed by disappointed Civilians in the House of Commons, a masterly exposition of Indian policy by the Secretary of State has been followed by reviews and articles in ever-increasing volume. Out of this medley of opinions, preconceived or otherwise, hostile or appreciative, it appears to be accepted that for Indian administration two essentials are required. The doctors may differ as to their diagnosis of the disease: some call it poverty: others higher education: others employ less pleasing names, but the majority prescribe as a political nostrum two ingredients, one of which is apparently to be taken in large quantities, the other to a modified extent, and the names of these two remedies, which have often been prescribed before but never compounded or swallowed, are “sympathy” and “decentralisation.”

That blessed word sympathy. It will be remembered of the late Sir John Woodburn that two disappointed gentlemen were heard to summarise their interview thus: “Affability bahout” said one: “*kintu* true sympathy *kichu na*,” said the other, whose nephew had been deemed unfit for a particular post. The same, Lieutenant-Governor was on tour on board the *Rhotas*,

and anchored off Rampur Boalia. It was a stormy night and the Ganges was in flood. The local police had commandeered a boat to carry the mails, and the boat was overturned and lost. The mails were saved, but the manjhi stated that on the occasion of this ill-fated trip he had the savings of his lifetime on board, in cash. His Honour paid him the two hundred rupees, and that fisherman's son is now qualifying for a post on the High Court Bench. It is well, therefore, before talking glibly of sympathy or decentralisation to realise what these terms of blessed import really mean.

To the Oriental sympathy connotes a quality which will display itself in overt acts entirely different to those expected by the Western mind. The Eastern cannot or will not grasp the idea that a prosecution can be sympathetic, or that the refusal of an appointment may be accompanied by real sympathy. The results of true sympathy should, he thinks, resemble those which in the West we regard as the offspring of “nepotism” or “favouritism.” For him sympathy is not expected to be patient or long-suffering: it should be prompt in the matter of a “job:” it should confine itself to the individual with an Oriental disregard of the community in its application it may well be limited to the family.

Such are the views which under existing circumstances the Western mind may be pardoned for crediting to the Indian. His universe of ideas is created by his office clerks, his servants and durwans. He may therefore fail to realise that the Indian is sentimental, he is utilitarian, and has perchance bad *data* on which to base his deductions. The spirit of genuine Hindu philosophy breathes a very different note. We quote from the *Hitopadesa*: “Betraying secrets, begging favours.....these are serious faults in

a friend." "What is given from a sense of duty (simply because it ought to be given), to one who has done no benefit to the giver, and with due consideration of the circumstances (place and time) and the desserts of the person receiving, this is the only gift which may be called good and pure." And still stronger is the contrast the moral maxim, propounded by Kali Dasa in the 6th century A.D., offers to the views with which the Anglo-Indian credits his Indian visitors of to-day. "Better a fruitless prayer to a noble heart than the fruition of one's desires from the mean-minded." These are quotations from the household ethics of India even as it is to-day : every little boy learns them, every Pundit teaches them, albeit no Government Resolution has yet blessed them with the prominence of official advertisement.

Are they displayed in practice? We may be pardoned for the doubt. The European detached as he is bound to be from the social customs of the Hindu has a different meaning for the word. He displays the attribute in a general kindness for those with whom he has to deal, and more especially with those whom he may rightly or wrongly consider as "deserving," those whom he regards as down-trodden and handicapped in the struggle for life.

In his view sympathy is subservient to justice : it can recognise that a man must be held responsible and pay for his own actions. Sympathy should be divorced from sentiment. Our Indian friends who love to quote their Mill must be sorely perplexed by the mental attitude of that philosopher, when he asserted it to be a scandal that the presence of a large family should be regarded as the best advertisement of a subject for charity. They very naturally expect, so it seems to us, some *immediate*

practical result to flow from a benevolent spirit, and such result should confer some personal advantage.

And such a view appeals to the official sojourner, who would like to see the results of his own handiwork, but is denied the view. He would welcome the opportunity, whether by himself or as the head of a committee that permitted the present betterment of the individual. Only when engaged on plague or famine duty is he given a glimpse of the active results of active sympathy.

The question we would ask is this. Can the District Officer, who is the unit of administration, be he ever so full of the milk of human kindness, practise the sympathy that those committed to his care demand? The answer must be that under our present system he can be a power for evil : his opportunities for doing good are sadly curtailed. He can punish the vicious : he will find it hard to reward the virtuous. His "power" (and it is sad that such should be the case) is largely confined to making things uncomfortable. He cannot, like his predecessor of even twenty years ago, make things comfortable. His personal means are limited. He has barely a four-anna piece from the public purse wherewith to oil the wheels of the administration. The District Officer may have the raiyat's interest at heart. He voices but cannot remedy the sufferings of the poor. To give effect to his wishes he must ride roughshod over many other vested interests, and in the end may only condemn his *protégé* to protracted litigation. He can himself only spill ink in his efforts to remedy his suffering. A rack-rented raiyat met with "sympathy" from his Collector : as a result though he kept his land, his cattle were attached and sold ; this done, the land could be of little use to him. The Collector in this instance gave him a pair of bullocks a

his own expense. It is not everyone who can afford such timely generosity even though he has the inclination. This was very properly regarded as true sympathy. Nor did it require the intervention of the High Court.

A girl was bitten by a mad dog. Her parents were poor. To get the girl sent to Kasauli for treatment meant a reference to Government or to the District Board which entailed impossible delay. The answer would be that the girl might go alone. Were it in the Collector's power to send her and a relative, pay their way and their expenses at Kasauli, his or the Sircar's reputation for "sympathy" would have been won.

Most Collectors are anxious to improve the agricultural methods of the people. They would like to prove that jute and potatoes or jute and rice can be grown on the same piece of land in one year. There are in certain districts experimental farms. But it is not in the power of the officials to arrange that the party most interested, the cultivator, can acquire information. Let Ram Baksh be sent twice in the year to spend two days, as a guest of Government costing six or even eight annas per diem, to see with his own eyes the crops that are grown, to talk to the men who have grown them, and improvement might result. Printed pamphlets detailing the virtues of a special plough will not be as suggestive as the gift of the plough itself.

One of the problems of Indian agriculture is the supply of manure. Artificial fertilisers should play an important part in the near future. If the Collector could distribute small quantities to selected peasants the problem might be solved. There would be no harm in trying. The cultivation of the potato in Nepal and in the Darjeeling district is due to the enterprise of a sub-divisional officer of Kurseong, who, some thirty years

ago, distributed twenty maunds of seed potatoes at his own expense.

A ticket for an indigent loafer is, we believe, the extreme concession Government makes to the sympathetic tendencies of its most important employé. Funds may be forthcoming after prolonged correspondence for a charitable object of a general nature: rarely can they be obtained for an individual case, and when they can the old adage of *bis dat qui cito dat* is entirely overlooked. Genuine loyalty is not for sale, real affection may not be purchased, but the absence of any means to give practical effect to sympathy is, we maintain, largely the reason why our officers are held to lack that virtue. They cannot if they would display it; and the frequent compulsory refusal of assistance has discouraged all requests.

Our officer inspects a school—he cannot be expected at his own expense to give the boys a football. He visits a village where an old temple is in disrepair. Had he the funds he might please the religious susceptibilities of the villages as well as allow them to make their little percentage on the cost of the repairs, and this they would esteem "true sympathy," which is not niggardly in calling to account the utmost farthing. He can now write letters touting for appointments for deserving candidates, give non-committing *chits* to others, acts of sympathy, these may be, according to the native idea, but which are often barren of result. He cannot himself dismiss the unworthy and appoint the worthy. He can reward an Excise officer or a chowkidar. He can pay a reward for the slaughter of a wild animal. If an Assistant Surgeon dies of plague he will find it hard to assist the widow. The very honesty of our rigid system of finance debars the practice of sympathy

as interpreted in the East. Machine-made sympathy is of little count.

The Indian is wonderfully responsive to an act of kindness. The education of a Brahmin orphan is handed down in the district as an instance of the sympathy of a predecessor. Those fortunate officers possessed the means. Living was cheap, visits to Europe were rare, families and transfers were not so common.

Let us take an illustration dealing with a larger field. It is the fashion nowadays to condemn the Bengali student as an ingrate who has bitten the hand that fed him. How many regard him and his relatives as most deserving objects of sympathy? Yet such is indeed the case. The so-called famine of last year in Eastern Bengal was the famine of the *badralog*, and it has come to stay. It is a fact that hundreds of ill paid Babus, the creation of our rule, now have one meal a day instead of two—they, their wives, relatives and children know what hunger, physical hunger, means. *Quis comoediar*, says Juvenal, *plorante gula*? The element of comedy is sadly lacking in this present situation. It has long ago been replaced by serious tragedy. It is small wonder that our agitators find inflammable material. It is hard to explain away an empty stomach. Tell your clerk that the demonetisation of silver has made living more costly. This will not cure the dyspepsia resultant on eating Rangoon rice. Mere verbal expressions of sympathy will not appease hunger. The post office clerk who sees twenty years ahead of him before he can pass through "the thirty rupee grade" may be excused for failing to appreciate the manifest advantages of the institution he is privileged to serve. In many places boys are willing and eager to come forward for technical education: they want to learn a

trade. Can the district officer help them to do so? Can he *at once* spend a pice in an endeavour to develop any indigenous industry or to assist a local enterprise? Can he at once arrange to teach an intelligent boy shorthand or let him practise on a typewriter? Eventually he may obtain a grant from Government. His arduous labours with pen and ink to do so do not appeal to those he fain would benefit, as "sympathy." The demi-official touts for subscriptions no matter how deserving the institution, must long ago have been discredited, and the most nicely worded appeal for a Ranchi College scheme or a local hospital are not appreciated or regarded as earnest sympathetic endeavours to do good. The contingent benefit is too remote: the generosity too centralised. If instead the District Officer can promise immediate payment of a third of the cost of a new village school, or of a college hostel we venture to think the remaining two-thirds would soon be forthcoming. Instances of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely, but sufficient has been said to support our next contention that decentralisation must, to be effective, mean decentralisation of finance. Let each District Officer have Rs. 5,000, each Municipality, each District Board the same to spend as may seem best without any reference to other authority, the criterion of such expenditure to be that at the time of framing the annual budget such expenditure was unforeseen and did not entail recurring expenditure. Is it too much to expect the Government to regrant a thousand pounds of the public money received from each district? Or is it an essential feature of our efficient administration that we must prove each claim for charity, and submit for scrutiny and criticism by the clerks in the Secretariat each practical effort after sympathy?

May not the District Officer be something better than the passive exponent of the Government of India's attitude to the economic problems of the day?

The fact that such money can be spent by and for the people would in itself lead to a more intimate association between the District Officer and those whose interests he gets his pay to serve. And even if some of it, as in an instance set forth above, goes astray is that of sufficient importance to condemn the system? Rules would, of course, have to be prescribed defining certain objects on which such money could not be spent, but the audit should be generous not niggardly and the utmost latitude should be allowed. For it needs a man who has spent money wisely to detect unwise expenditure. We notice with pleasure the recognition of the principle advocated above in the recent resolution of the Government of India on "Plague administration." One passage runs: "Whatever form of aid it is decided to give should be given promptly with the minimum of preliminary formalities, and without undue detail of subsequent audit." Could not the principle thus enunciated be made the rule, rather than the exception? Our Imperial Motor Car is a fine vehicle. It has six cylinders, five speeds forward and a powerful reverse. Its horse power is irresistible. The various parts are nicely adapted, and the machine is under perfect control. It is meant to be singularly "efficient." Each part quivers in response to the slightest touch of the chauffeur. But it is not self-lubricating. It has in fact no lubricator at all, a deficiency that cannot be remedied by an automatic clutch. Small wonder if the friction is considerable, the engine noisy and the progress slow. Better a leaky oil tank than no oil at all. If we assume that half the expenditure would be without

result, beyond that possibly of charity, even so we maintain that under the present system half the time and therefore half the pay of the District Officer is wasted in obtaining leave to carry out some project, in proving the necessity of some small action, in defending some petty expenditure. He is bound hand and foot by rule, "giving his reasons in writing"—an odious phase to be found at frequent intervals in our codified law. "Whichever of the two is least" occurs as frequently in our account codes. The one denotes the maximum of work: the other the minimum of means. Both ensue the minimum result. Each year of district life carries with it a long series of missed opportunities. This is one of the few returns not annually submitted to Government.

"Associate the people with you in the administration of your district. A few acts of sympathy will carry a deal of weight." So runs year by year the advice of the Secretariat to the man on the spot. As well tell a pauper to drink champagne or start a wine club at the workhouse as insist on sympathy with the present facilities afforded. As for the association we see but little reason why the people in any condition of life should wish to have much to do with the "protector of the poor." He can only protect them by punishing others. They may wait on him if a relative wishes to join the subordinate service; they may come for a *chit*, but there is little else they can carry away. They will not sit on the verandah in the hope of an ultimate interchange of ideas. It should be in the power of the District Officer to do something more than "recommend"—he should be able to grant. Politeness and commiseration he can dispense: he can give but little practical demonstration of sympathy.

To sum up. We maintain that where sympathy exists it cannot under present circumstances be exercised. It is desirable, we are told, not only "to refrain from evil" but "to do good" and any scheme of decentralisation should provide the means for doing so. It is surely far better that ruler and ruled should be associated in an endeavour to leave the district happier than they found it, than that their main connecting link should be the police. And the means for so doing should be placed ungrudgingly at their disposal. For the practical expression of sympathy cannot be stereotyped nor its manifestation centralised.

Ego.

Art V.—THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT UNREST IN INDIA.

THE unrest that is now prevalent in the Punjab and Bengal has at last compelled the responsible authorities in India to take vigorous measures to guard the public peace and safety which have been gravely menaced. The deportation of Lala Lajput Rai, who was long known to the authorities as the chief person who held the threads of a dangerous conspiracy against the British Government in the Punjab in his hands, and as the most influential promoter of sedition and treason, has struck terror among his subordinates, many of whom have now come forward to disown him and avow themselves the loyal subjects of the British Raj which till the other day they openly reviled and secretly plotted to overthrow. The most active and hostile of his Lieutenants, Ajit Singh, has also been captured, and the conspiracy has been almost entirely dissolved before it had time to lay its roots deep in the soil. How congenial was the soil for the purposes of these enemies of the English, can only be known to those who know the people of the Punjab and their frame of mind for some time past. The Sikhs are the most warlike of the Indian races. They were the last of the Indian peoples to pass under the British sway not quite sixty years ago. They gave the greatest trouble before they were conquered, and fought some of the most hard contested battles with their conquerors. During the Mutiny, though but recently subjected, they remained loyal to the English rulers chiefly owing to the firmness and tact of Lawrence. It is clear that with the Sikhs also against them, the task of subduing that military

revolt and of pacifying the country, would have been much more difficult than it in reality was. The Sikhs have ever after the destruction of the Sepoy Army of Bengal been the flower of the native Army of India. Under British training and leadership they have become the finest soldiers, and have extorted praise from foreign and sometimes unfriendly critics of the English who have observed them.

It is a wise remark of Bacon that sedition flourishes at a time when people are cast down by great physical suffering, like famine and plague. The Panjabis have been in this plight for some time past. Famine, or severe scarcity owing to scanty rains, has been in the province for several years. Plague, a scourge that has devastated nearly every province of India during the last eleven years, has been most severe in its ravages there, till of late it claimed more than fifty thousand victims every week. The sturdy people were already in a sullen mood, when they were taken in hand by designing persons as the fit objects of their intrigues. The present unrest manifested in the Punjab is the direct consequence of the agitation in Bengal about what is called Partition. That agitation carried on by the educated class of Bengalis, was allowed to proceed too far. But still, as will be seen presently, it did no serious harm to the authorities, as the people of Bengal are unwarlike and mild. The agitators were emboldened by the allowance of their tactics in the past by the rulers, and have now sought higher game among the military people of the Punjab.

When the late Sir Charles Aitchison was ruler of the Punjab, he firmly protected his province against attacks by the Congress movement, and quietly refused leave to its promoters to hold one of the sessions of the Congress

in Lahore, saying that the Sikhs are not like the other people of India and that the agitators had better leave them alone. How wise it would have been had the successors of Aitchison followed in his footsteps and had kept that province intact. But other counsels prevailed, and the authorities allowed the Congress movement to spread and strengthen there of late years even more than in the other provinces. The Congress movement is not dangerous in itself, and if kept within due bounds under proper guidance it is harmless and may possibly do some good. But it is rarely kept within due bounds, and it easily proceeds very far indeed in its criticism of the Government and its utterances against it. Constant and carping criticism of the officials who carry on the Government in a country like India, which, till recent years, was accustomed to yield unquestioning obedience to the authorities, tends to lower unduly their prestige, and whatever may be said to the contrary, the English rule in India essentially depends upon its prestige, upon the opinion which the natives of the country have of its strength to hold it. Weaken this opinion, and you *ipso facto* weaken your hold upon the country. A tenth of a million here hold three hundred millions of an alien race and religion in subjection. Surely it cannot be by merely their strength; it must be by the opinion which the natives have of that strength and also of their own weakness. Now this opinion on both its sides is being deliberately sapped in recent years.

The natives of India are being taught to underrate the English and to exaggerate their own strength. The Congress party is insidiously doing its best to lower the English in the eyes of the people of this country, who have no longer that respect for their

rulers which they had until the present generation. This is obvious to all who silently watch the people and know their ways, and the Congress movement has been one of the causes of this weakening. The work of the English officials under these circumstances has become increasingly difficult of late years. Most of the educated class of which the Congress Party is made up bear no goodwill whatever to these officials, and to the English race generally, because they have come to think that but for these officials they would be the administrators of the country. They everywhere try to put a spoke into the wheels of the administration as carried on at present, and complicate the already highly complex work of ruling the masses. The fact must be fully realised by the people of England that the hopes with which they tried to create the class of educated Indians are being well nigh shattered. This class was intended to help England in its work of reconciling the masses to her rule, and to render that rule popular. It is not only not doing it, but oftentimes it is doing just the opposite. Much of the present unpopularity of British rule is owing to this class. They misinterpret the actions of the Government to the masses through the native press which has become the source of discord between the rulers and the ruled far and wide in the land. They magnify the inevitable defects of a foreign government so much, that they are beginning to appear as crimes in the eyes of the ignorant people. They gloss over the many good qualities and effects of that rule to the country, and nothing is said about them. Some of these are even twisted and made to appear as not boons but calamities. The material advancement of India in several directions which is patent to all candid observers,

they altogether blink, and accuse the present rule of hopelessly impoverishing the country and draining it of its wealth. "Poverty of India" is the main text on which they have been preaching for years together, and they perversely hold English rule responsible for this poverty.

This continuous arraignment of British rule by the educated class before the ignorant people was dangerous enough in ordinary times. But during the last decade, when the country has been passing through terrible times, when nearly every physical calamity has befallen them and their patience is being tried by cruel sufferings, the mischief of this licensed criticism of the present rule is incalculable. When in the midst of their woes the people are told in so many words that British rule is the cause of all their woes, that it causes famines and connives at the ravages of plague if it also does not actually cause them, one can well imagine the effect. The generality of the people of India are mild and long-suffering; they can put up with much. But they are also extremely ignorant and gullible. They render themselves an easy prey to the designing persons among them, who purposely mislead them and try to set them against their rulers. The educated class are bitter against the officials first and against the English people generally, for not allowing the administration to pass into their hands. They know very well that they cannot do much harm to the English by this hostility of theirs. The English themselves blame them for idle talk. They are now beginning to show that they are not all idle talkers, and developing an unwonted activity against the rulers. They are trying to stir up the masses against them, and secretly take measures to organise serious mischief for the British. If they have time and

opportunity enough, they will succeed in raising such troubles for the rulers as the latter have never yet experienced in the past, and beside which the troubles of the Mutiny of 1857 will pale. The Mutiny was a mere rising of sepoys, and was a military revolt. But if the educated and discontented class is allowed to have its own way unchecked for long, it means to have an agrarian rising throughout the various provinces in addition if possible to a military revolt. Some ten years ago when the present cycle of physical suffering was just beginning, some of this class were stirring up the ignorant peasantry of the Deccan, which was then sorely tried by famine and other calamities. The deportation of the Natu brothers, the imprisonment of Tilak and other like preachers of sedition through the press, and other strong measures checked the movement then and prevented it from getting really dangerous.

But the lesson taught then seems not to have been learnt by the authorities. They have become of late very lax. In the face of unmistakeable signs and portents of discontent and disaffection, worse than those manifested in 1897, they have shown themselves unusually forbearing. This forbearance has been characteristically mistaken for weakness by the educated class who interpreted this attitude to the ignorant masses as showing that the rulers were really afraid of them. They made use of the Partition of Bengal as an instrument of agitation in the most unscrupulous manner, and succeeded in inflaming the minds of the people of that province towards their rulers. Partition of the unwieldy province of Bengal was long a crying administrative necessity admitted by all those who knew anything about the difficulty of the officials. It has done the people affected by it real good, and

given them a better, because more efficient, administration to look after their affairs. It in reality decentralised a highly centralised Government and decentralization is always popular with the native politicians. The people of the new province created by Partition, that of Eastern Bengal, were at first disposed to welcome the change, and the majority welcome it still. But for some reasons the educated class of Bengal determined to oppose Partition. It was brought about by Lord Curzon a *persona ingratisissima* with them, and they wanted to show that none of his acts could have been right and wise. It afforded them just the opportunity which they wanted and they seized it eagerly. What they have made of it and how well they have succeeded in sowing bitter discord between the rulers and the ruled, and amongst the ruled themselves by inciting the Hindus against the Mahomedans, we all know well enough by this time. For the past twenty months they have carried on a campaign of bitter reviling not only against Partition, but against British rule and the English race, of whose fruits the full crop has yet to be reaped hereafter. They have raked up old sores, reminded the people of Bengal about the Mutiny and why it failed, with an eye to teach them indirectly how another rising may succeed in the future. They drew pointed attention of the people to their present defenceless state in which they have no arms,—they call such state emasculation.

The people of Bengal being naturally very mild, these agitators, who all belong to the educated class, failed in their object of creating any immediate and serious mischief against their rulers. They have rendered the task of peaceful administration difficult, it is true, and have lowered the Government in the eyes of the people. But

beyond this they have not done much harm, though the wish to do it has been all along very keen. But in the province of the Five Rivers, they found they could do very serious mischief and revenge themselves for their failure in their own province. I firmly believe, and others have good grounds for believing with me, that the recent plot in the Punjab which has just been nipped in the bud most fortunately, was hatched in Bengal in Bengali minds. Lajpat Rai, however influential a leader in the Punjab, was really, it will be found, under the thumb of still greater agitators in Bengal. If the Sikhs could really be turned against the English, the main support of the latter would be gone they thought. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas, they know very well, are the parts of the native army on which the English rely most. The Gurkhas they found incorruptible; and for their loyal service in quelling the local disorders in East Bengal when employed by the authorities there, they incurred the special hatred of the Bengali agitators. These brave little men, who had remained true as steel to the British and laboured hard to maintain law and order whenever they were called upon, were abused and reviled in the Babu press as slaves and minions of the English, and as mercenary barbarians devoid of any patriotism. Among the Sikhs these agitators hoped for better success.

The brave people of the Punjab are really not less loyal than the Gurkhas. But they have been severely tried by adversity of late, and their greatest suffering has been from the plague. The Bengali agitator knew that their distress was intense, and he also was shrewd enough to know that their temperament was different from his own people's. Moreover continuous and severe scarcity during recent years which has become

chronic, had made that people sullen, and not very well inclined to the authorities, who must get their revenue in bad years as well as good, with occasional remissions it is true. When the crops yielded them a poor return they naturally thought the Government demand too heavy. Indeed Government demand on land not only in the Punjab but in all the other provinces, is considered too heavy by the people, and is the standing subject of complaint and grievance against the authorities. The educated class make the fullest possible use of this grievance of the people to render British rule still more unpopular. In the Punjab the Bengali agitators found fruitful soil for their nefarious schemes, and worked on the mind of the people who had already lost their balance by much physical suffering. The educated class is not very strong in the Punjab where it is of recent growth. But it is strongly reinforced from the older province of Bengal, whose people mainly work the Punjabi press, and help in various other ways to create there a state of affairs similar to that in their own province. The Punjab Government recently sent all the Bengalis in its service back to their homes in Bengal as they were supposed to fan the flames secretly in that province. The wisdom and foresight of this step cannot be doubted.

The agrarian discontent in the Punjab is not of sudden growth; it is of pretty long duration. But it was used as a means of stirring up disaffection only recently on the advent of the Bengalis on the scene. The recent Canal Colonization Bill, a false step on the part of the Punjab Government as, however well meant, it afforded another handle to these agitators to stir up the populace and as it went far to alienate a very useful and loyal class of cultivators at a time when everything should have

been done to conciliate them, has little to do with the dangerous unrest, except that it was seized upon as another pretext to run down the Government and to influence adversely the minds of the Sikhs. In a recent pamphlet, which was so widely distributed among the Sikhs that a copy was found with one of that people in London, and of which there is much reason to suppose that it was inspired if not written by these Bengali agitators in the Punjab, that military people were tried to be incited to rebellion by reminding them of their present distress and suffering, which they were told was owing to the judgment of Providence on them for helping the English during the Mutiny and for not making common cause with the other Indian peoples in their troubles since. It is easy to see that the writer means that the Sikhs should join the Bengalis, who really are the Indians in trouble alluded to, or else they would be visited with still greater suffering by Providence. Plague is cleverly used by the Bengali writer to favour his people and smite those who do not make common cause with them!

Terrorism of this religious or rather superstitious kind is not the only weapon used by these clever people. They do not forego flattery. That proud race is flattered by being told that it was their aid alone which saved the English from destruction in the crisis of 1857, and but for these brave faithful Sikhs, the rulers would have been driven from this country into the sea. This gross caricature of history, which exalts the Sikhs from being the helpmates of the English to their saviours, and of whose untruth the supple Bengalee is well aware, is cunningly calculated to puff these gallant people up with an exaggerated notion of their own importance, and to bring them into the same frame of mind in

which the Poorbeah Brahmin sepoys of the old Bengal army were before the Mutiny. These sepoys were incited to mutiny by similar exaggerated and absurd ideas of their strength, which were put into their heads by the emissaries of Nana Sahib and the kings of Delhi and Oudh. These sepoys were then told that they had really conquered the enemies of the English everywhere even in distant Afghanistan and China and Burma, and had presented them with an Empire in India. And how did the English treat their benefactors, they then asked? They exaggerated all the defects of the English and their faults through ignorance and egligence, and fabricated others of which they were innocent, and succeeded in making a mountain of the Mutiny of 1857 out of the molehill of greased cartridges and the like childish things. Similar tactics were imitated by the agitators in the Punjab and the seditious seducers and corruptors of the Sikh soldiery. The latter were exalted into the real props of English rule in India in their own eyes, and then tried to be inflamed against the English by depicting the conduct of the latter as rank ingratitude to a people to whom they owe so much. They are said to be punished by the gods for remaining faithful to the English, and for standing up with them for law and order, and for not making common cause with Bengalis and others, who would destroy if they could the *Pax Britannica* which, it is proved over and over again, is the only salvation of India and stands between it and anarchy of the worst type!

Such a conspiracy so well and deep laid by cunning heads and hands, inspired by an inveterate hatred of the English officials and the whole English race, has been not indeed fully exposed to public view—it is not politic that it should be—but has been arrested in time in its dangerous course. It is a matter of sincere rejoicing to all lovers

of the British rule and of law and order, that it should have been dissolved thus ere it could develop further complications. The authorities in India are doubtless wide awake. Indeed they have been usually so and are very rarely caught napping on such occasions. Then it may be asked, why they did not take measures even earlier and allowed sedition to proceed even thus far. This is a question which it is not easy to answer. The Government of India has of late shown itself weak when it should have shown itself strong. Its policy towards the Partition agitation in Bengal has been inexplicably weak, and has created a very bad impression among the natives everywhere. They can explain the unusual forbearance shown by it in this matter in only one way, and that by assuming it to mean that it is afraid of the agitation in some way or other. This impression is disastrous. Of late years, the notions of the natives of India about England's strength and her position among the Great Powers of the world have undergone a slow but marked change. The Boer War has been the chief cause of this change. The unprepared state in which England found herself at the beginning of that war has made a profound impression about England's weakness, which her splendid conduct during the latter part of that struggle, has not altogether removed, and many unfriendly critics of England in India openly said at the time that peace with the Boers had been bought by the weak and wearied English.

Here, too, we see the hand of disaffected agitators against British rule. While the Boer War was going on, their remarks on England's difficulties were very mischievous. Through the native papers they pointed out the weak points of England undisguisedly to the people under pretence of criticising the course and

conduct of the war. They delighted in taking note of and magnifying every little circumstance that could be twisted so as to appear against the English. They noticed Continental politics and affairs in these native papers mainly to show to the people of this country how England was belittled by the other powers, and they took a malicious pleasure in keeping their readers well informed of the wild course of Anglo-phobia which ran riot on the Continent, chiefly France and Germany, during the war.

The late great struggle in the Far East between Russia and Japan has also had considerable effect in weakening the native's impression of the strength of England. Russia had always been magnified by these disaffected Indian critics as the great rival of which England was always afraid. So when Russia was thoroughly defeated and her power broken, one would have supposed that these critics would be silent, as their one great pretext of belittling England by comparing her with mighty Russia was gone. But in Japan they forthwith saw another formidable rival of whom England was afraid, and in the English alliance with Japan they could perceive nothing but another sign of England's weakness. Proud England could not ally herself with an Asiatic power unless she were forced to do so by circumstances. The success of Japan has indeed turned the heads of many of our people. They forget the peculiar circumstances of Japan, the immense sacrifices she has made, the splendid qualities of character that her people have shown, and only remember that she is Asiatic. Are they not Asiatic also, and why cannot they go and do likewise? One would think some of the Indian peoples are suffering, since the recent phenomenal success of Japan, from a "swelled head." No wonder

that the English find it increasingly hard to rule people with these absurd notions.

Whilst circumstances like these have made the natives somewhat bumptious and giddy, events have happened both in England and India which tend to confirm in a certain degree the native's impression that the rulers are not so strong as heretofore. The unfortunate difference between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener disclosed to the natives that civil authority is under the military, and that the rulers are not united. But the party system in England has done much more harm to the opinion which the natives have of the power of England. This party system causes a breach of continuity in English policy towards India and by this dislocation causes much mischief, of which the present unrest is an instance. The present troubles were owing in some degree to the change of ministry eighteen months ago. The Radicals when in opposition had shown themselves so sympathetic towards Indian agitators that the latter thought that, now they had come into power, they would undo the work of their predecessors. In this hope they kept up the agitation against Partition. They have tried to frighten the Radical party by their dangerous and highly objectionable tactics just frustrated, thinking it would yield as being less firm than the Conservative party. Misled by some Radical members of Parliament, who gave them the foolish advice of bringing Mr. Morley to surrender to their persistence, against his will and strong common sense, the extreme party of these agitators has been led into criminal folly. Mr. Morley has shown on the present critical occasion that there is nothing to choose so far as India and the continuance of British rule here are concerned, between a

Radical and a Conservative Secretary of State. Would that the educated class here took this lesson to heart once for all! Thirteen years ago Sir Henry Fowler taught them a similar lesson under far less grave circumstances. They have forgotten it. Will they forget the present lesson too? It remains to be seen. But it is absolutely incumbent on them, now that influential members of their party—Lajput Rai, it must be remembered went to England last year with Mr. Gokale as the chosen spokesman of that party—have been caught in seditious intrigues by the authorities, to disown them and purge their ranks of all such firebrands and plotters against the State and the public peace. Until this is done English statesmen should show them no countenance and would be justified in postponing the granting of even their reasonable demands. Mr. Morley in his Budget speech the other evening strangely said that it would be showing weakness if he did not grant their reasonable demands, and proceeded to announce some great concessions to the educated class in India. I think it a great mistake to do this, when we are yet treading on the hot embers of a dangerous conspiracy against the State formed by some of the most influential persons in the very party which is to be the gainer by these concessions. It would certainly be taken in the light of weakness by the people of India, who will think that Mr. Morley and the Radical party or indeed the English people, have yielded to the threat of conspiracy what they would not yield to a quiet demand. Already a member of his own party, Mr. Keir Hardy, has sounded the note that these concessions should have been granted five years ago in which case he said there would have been no troubles like the present. This is tantamount to saying that these

concessions are ungraciously granted, they are almost extorted, owing to the dangerous threats of the educated party, some of whom had to turn conspirators for the sake of putting the screw on to the thumb of "Honest John." This is a dangerous impression to get about among the natives, for there is sure to be a repetition of such tactics on the next occasion of getting still further concessions.

However this may be, and whether it is considered a sign of weakness in the Englishman or not, to yield to the demands, this much is certain that the educated class will not be pacified by this concession. Very soon there will come the inevitable demand for more and yet more. It is hardly sixteen years since the Legislative Councils were enlarged by Lord Cross' Act of 1891, and during these sixteen years the educated party has shown itself no better but certainly worse, as late events have proved, than what it was before 1891. It has confessedly grown more bitterly hostile to the English and now wants to drag the poor illiterate masses into the struggle, and makes them miserable by inflaming their minds against the British rule. It gives little help to the English in their hard task of ruling three hundred millions, but on the contrary it obstructs smooth administration and is delighted to put a spoke in its wheels whenever it can get a chance. The English have very little to gain by conciliating this class if it ever can be conciliated. Their object is, to put it undisguisedly, to take the whole work of administration into their hands, to fill all the posts which are at present filled by Englishmen, with the exception, as Mr. Dadabhai Noroji was pleased to say before the Welby Commission, of five or six of the highest posts like the Viceroy's and Governors. Of course the English will have to keep their army in India.

otherwise it is doubtful whether these educated natives would remain at their high and lucrative posts long enough to draw their first month's salary.

Instead of trying vainly to conciliate such people by political concessions which do not touch the real people, the English would be much better advised in looking into the condition of these poor people, and in trying to find out what it really is that makes their rule with all its undoubted benefits unpopular with them. They will find it in the ever-increasing expenditure, and consequently to keep pace with it, ever-increasing taxation. Not that the native does not get his tax's worth. But, it may be asked, is it really worth while getting so much from him and giving him in return so much of a highly efficient government, at the risk of making British rule highly unpopular? The wiser course would seem to be to take less by way of taxation, and of course to give in return a less efficient government than now obtains. India is a poor country, and it is not wise to give such a poor country such a highly efficient and therefore costly government as the English are giving at present. However that may be, the English should always in this country quietly keep their powder dry and their rifles ready. Let them go on governing this dependency as their conscience dictates, without much heed to the criticism of any particular class. And let them above all not depend on such political reforms and concessions as do no good to the people at large but only benefit the selfish few who are far from feeling grateful for the boon.

R. P. KARKARIA.

Art. VI.—MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN CALCUTTA.

No. 1.

THE administration of the city of Calcutta has passed through various phases. And in its many vicissitudes it has suffered the common lot of municipal governments in the dissatisfaction of its inhabitants. Among the later changes, perhaps the most eventful incident occurred in the year 1875. A bill had been introduced, in the local Legislature, to consolidate the 14 Acts in force relating to the Calcutta Municipality, leaving the existing constitution unchanged. On the 27th November 1875, at the stage when the Council was considering the report of the Select Committee, Sir Richard Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in response to an appeal from the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal in that behalf, declared in favour of the principle of election, suggesting that "a large portion—at least a large portion—of the municipal commissioners should be elected." In the result, self-government in a modified form as embodied in Act IV. of 1876, was conferred on Calcutta.

This, however, was not the first grant of the elective system, the principle having been admitted in 1840. It may be of interest to trace the development of municipal government in Calcutta from its earliest beginnings.

The first legislative enactment, directly affecting Calcutta, is to be found in 33 George III c.52. Under that Act of Parliament, a further number of Justices of the Peace was appointed (the original number having comprised the Governor-General, members of the Supreme Council, and the Judges of the Supreme Court) and ta

their charge was entrusted the "cleansing, repairing and watching" the streets of Calcutta. They were empowered, in order to provide funds for the purposes mentioned, to levy an assessment at a rate not exceeding 5 *per cent.* on the gross annual value of houses, buildings and grounds, and in case of "urgent occasion" the Governor-General was authorised, at his discretion, to impose a further rate of 2½ *per cent.*

If the functions of the Justices were limited and their funds circumscribed, the enterprise of a Governor-General, in days of old, enjoyed a wide scope for raising funds for public purposes. Lotteries, which in England had become a recognised source of supply for charitable and public objects, were introduced into Calcutta at the close of the eighteenth century. They already had provided funds for the construction of the Town Hall when, under the first Lord Minto, by an order in Council, an official organisation was established to provide funds for the improvement of Calcutta. In the interval, before 1817, this organisation had expended, it has been calculated, about seven-and-a-half lakhs of rupees for public purposes. In 1817, again by an order in Council, a fresh Committee was constituted, and the objects for which the proceeds of the Lotteries might be applied, were more clearly defined: they were to be used for "the construction of works of a permanent nature" and anticipated the position now taken by "Loans" raised by the Corporation. Conservancy, and the maintenance of roads and other works executed by the Committee, were paid for out of the assessments collected by the Justices, the latter fund constituting what in the present day would be termed "Revenue Expenditure." The Lotteries continued under Government auspices for many years. But the public conscience was awakened

and the popularity of the Lotteries waned. In 1833 they were regarded as extinct for all purposes of improvement in Calcutta, and in 1834 they showed a loss of over Rs. 9,000. Before their organisation was dissolved, in about 1841, they had become heavily indebted to the Government. But they have left lasting memorials of the beneficent effect of their working. Wellington Street, College Street, Cornwallis Street, Wellesley Street, and the squares and tanks of the same names are entirely due to the Lottery organisation, as also Amherst Street, Mirzapore Street and Free School Street. There are many other improvements, too numerous to find place here, made from the same source; among others the Secretary's Walk, better known as the Red Road, with its balustrade, the Children's Walk alongside Chowringhee Road, Chandpal Ghât pumping station for supplying water for the streets, also Strand Road, lands for which were obtained from neighbouring zemindars under express conditions, on which, later, large claims were based on behalf of the city. These claims led to a warm controversy in Council, when the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1863 was before the local Legislature.

The Lotteries played so important a part in the structural improvement of Calcutta, that reference to them could not have been omitted. But of course they formed only a parallel organisation to the subject of this review. The Justices continued to collect and administer the municipal funds under the English statute during the operations of the successive Lottery Committees.

In 1833 an experiment at representative municipal government was first made. A scheme suggested by the Chief Magistrate (Mr. Thomas McFarlane) was sanctioned by the Government for a small area of the town, but legislative authority was not given to it. After a

trial of two years, its author admitted it had been an utter failure. In 1836, Lord Auckland appointed the famous Fever Hospital Committee, the outcome of the representations of Surgeon (later Sir Ronald) Martin: to the objects of that Committee, Lord Auckland expressly added an enquiry into local management and taxation.

In the year 1840 the Committee presented their first report. It is a most interesting document to which the exigencies of space will permit only brief reference. It exposed the appalling conditions under which the residents in those early days existed. After an exhaustive enquiry the Committee came to the following conclusions: (1) that they found no natural impediment which application of science and capital could not readily overcome, for thoroughly draining, cleansing and ventilating the city and suburbs, and supplying with wholesome water the whole city and suburbs; (2) that the native quarters in all these respects were in a condition of such total neglect as to render them naturally the seat of disease, and inconsistent with moral improvement and political prosperity; and that the still imperfect, though improved parts inhabited by the British, and the noxious inhalations produced by the state of the native quarters and the marshes called the Salt Water Lakes produced in these parts effects inconsistent with health; and (3) that the removal of the causes which generated disease to so "frightful a degree" would be effected by thoroughly draining, cleansing, and ventilating the city and suburbs, and draining the Salt Water Lakes, and that an ample supply of good and wholesome water, for domestic purposes, would be afforded to every part of the city and suburbs, by the formation of a sufficient head of water within it, and excavating tanks, and thus the city rendered a

healthy residence for the natives, and not otherwise injurious to the European constitution than through the effect of the climate. And yet, on the question of municipal government only two plans were received: one from C K. Robinson, Esq., Magistrate, and the other from the Trades Association; the Chamber of Commerce "declining to enter upon the subject, as being beyond their province." Again, want of space curtails notice of the Report in this connection. The Trades Association had advocated a plan based on election by inhabitant householders, and the Committee expressed their opinion that while they had every reason to believe that the members of that Association would perform their duties laboriously and zealously, but considering that the European inhabitants were an insignificant part of the whole population of Calcutta, and that, as by far the greater part of them could only be regarded as temporary residents, they could not recommend what they considered to be unsuitable to the great majority of the inhabitants: and they proceeded as follows:—

"Your Committee are, however, of opinion that considering the rapid progress now making in education, many years will not elapse before a class of natives will be found in Calcutta able and willing to aid their European townsmen in performing those municipal duties usually entrusted to the inhabitants of cities in Europe, and your Committee therefore feel anxious that some preparation should, if possible, be made for so training the inhabitants of Calcutta that they may in time relieve the Government entirely from the attention which it is now compelled to give to these minute local details."

At this period, the sources of revenue for Municipal purposes were the house rate (Sa. Rs. 1,97,000) and the abkari tax (Sa. Rs. 1,46,000) producing a total sum of Rs. 3,43,000.*

* Mr. Beverley's Census Report, 1876.

Act XXIV of 1840, which was the first enactment by an Indian Legislature relating to municipal government, was contemporaneous with the Report. It was intended to establish a voluntary system of self-government. The town was divided into four divisions, and on the application of two-thirds of the ratepayers of any division, who came prepared with a scheme, to undertake themselves, the assessment collection and management of the rates of their own division, the Governor of Bengal was empowered, if the scheme obtained his "full approbation," to "authorise the same accordingly." The appropriation of municipal funds was extended: lighting and watering, hitherto provided by the Government, and also "drains" were added to the existing items "cleansing and repairing the roads and streets." On the other hand, the Government undertook the burthen of "watching," and they continued to bear the expenses connected with that service, until a police rate was imposed on Calcutta in 1867. The apathy of the general body of the Europeans from the outset, and the admittedly backward condition of the Indians, were not a happy augury of success. The first legislative effort to introduce self-government proved abortive. Not a single application was made to Government under the Act from any division.

Act XVI of 1847 was the second attempt made. Its preamble shows the influence of the Fever Hospital Committee:

"And whereas it is apparent that the sewerage and drainage of the town of Calcutta and the supply of water for the domestic use of the inhabitants thereof, and the due cleansing of drains therein, and the means of providing for the due ventilation of the town, and the repairing, cleansing and lighting the roads and streets, and the making convenient lines of

communication by spacious streets, and the preventing and removing of nuisances."

It repealed the previous Act, and transferred the powers and duties of the collection and disbursement of the Municipal Fund to a Board of seven Commissioners: three to be appointed by the Government, and one to be elected by each of the four divisions of the town. The Commissioners were to be elected annually, and they were to receive such salaries as the Government might from time to time fix: five formed a quorum.

The appropriation of the Municipal Funds was further extended (in addition to the purposes mentioned in the Act repealed) to include the formation of tanks and aqueducts, opening out of streets and squares in congested parts of the town, filling up stagnant pools, etc., and improving and embellishing the town. And for the first time, a tax on horses, vehicles and draught animals was authorised, ranging from Rs. 32 for a four-wheeled carriage with springs, for two horses, to 8 annas for a draught bullock. By another Act, passed in the same year (Act XXII of 1847), authority was first given to the Commissioners to borrow money on the security of their assets.

A scheme for elections under Act XVI of 1847 was duly agreed to by the rate-payers. It was accepted by the Government and came into operation. It, however, proved "inconvenient and ineffectual," according to the preamble of the repealing Act: yet, not altogether ineffectual. It is on record that, while the conservancy was in the hands of the Justices the remissions for "empty" premises had amounted to nearly Rs. 50,000, under the Commissioners it had not exceeded Rs. 14,000; and notwithstanding the increased establishment, without

any material increase to the fund, the repairs and cleansing were far more satisfactory than the Justices were able to effect."

It is the fact, however, that the operation of the Act, relating to elections, was stopped, by Act XXXIX of 1850, before the repeal of the Act itself. "The elected representatives had sought the office not from motives of ambition or zeal for the duty, but for the emoluments attached to it," was the Chief Magistrate's scathing criticism. Act XVI of 1847 was eventually repealed by Act X of 1852.

The changes in the law which it was expected would make the system of election more effective, were: the number of Commissioners was reduced to four: two to be appointed by the Government, and two to be elected annually, one Commissioner by each of the two divisions into which the town was divided for the purpose, two were to form a quorum; the qualifications of the electors were raised; each Commissioner was required to be a voter himself; the system of voting was amended, and elaborate rules therefor were included in the Act; the President, who was to be a nominated Commissioner, was given a casting vote, and the salary, for nominated and elected Commissioners alike, was fixed at Rs. 250 a month. The rates were raised to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., or one anna in the rupee, as a *maximum*. The appropriation of the funds was extended to include construction of new drains and sewers, cleansing, repairing or filling up or abolishing old drains and sewers.

Again we find that, before the repeal of the Act (Act X of 1852) its operation relating to elections was stopped by Act XXVIII of 1854. The elective system had now been tried under two distinct Acts and

had failed, gravely, under each of them. But it could not be said that the system had been given a proper trial. Before any experience had been gained in the subject the Government had thrown the burden of devising the scheme with regard to elections on the rate-payers, to be agreed to at a general meeting of not less than 100 rate-payers. This was hardly the best method of arriving at a proper conclusion on the first introduction of a complicated subject. The scheme was, after all, only a tentative effort, in a venture which, to some engaged in formulating it, was strange in every aspect. It would be ungenerous to hold those made responsible for it, also solely accountable for any failure when we find that the Legislature, with opportunity for full consideration, enacted a law which was defective in respect of the very points with regard to which certain difficulties had been revealed by actual experience. By a strange oversight the Act, although it provided for the registration of voters, did not make registration an indispensable qualification, with the consequence that the provision was altogether neglected and paper votes and other modes of trickery that were resorted to, were made easy. And, further, the better class of citizens, who would not have resorted to corrupt devices, were deterred from offering themselves as candidates, owing to the disregard by the Government of the warnings of competent advisers who were in touch with public opinion and sentiment.

The Chief Magistrate of Calcutta (Mr. Mills) did not believe that an elective system would be a success, and boldly said so, "with the European community" the main thought is to return to England as speedily "as possible and there is no public spirit;" this description did not apply to the Trades' Association, whose members consistently supported, in the past, as contemporary

records show, the more popular forms of self-government; "added to these causes" the Chief Magistrate proceeded "is the impossible clause in the new "Act, of giving the President a casting vote, the community looking upon the clause as giving the inhabitants merely the semblance of local self-government.* * * "The native community take little or no interest in "municipal improvement and the removal of local nuisances:" men of rank and opulence, among them, he asserted, would never offer themselves as candidates. In this the Chief Magistrate was answered, as will presently be seen. He would have preferred a Board of wholly nominated members, but he frankly admitted there would be objections if all were Government nominees, nevertheless he suggested a Board of five members: the Chief Magistrate as President (owing to the intimate connexion then existing between the Board and the Police) an engineer, a medical officer, together with two elected members: "without a casting vote to the President "which is so much objected to by the public."

In 1840, as we have seen, the native inhabitants of the city were characterised as unprepared for self-government and were deemed unequal even to give voice to any opinion on the question. Ten years later, we find Rajah Radha Kant, Bahadur, in prompt response to the invitation of the Government for opinions on the Municipal Bill then before the Legislature, on behalf of the native inhabitants, submitting a largely and influentially signed memorial. It expressed very decided views on the subject. Presumably the memorialists were competent to speak on behalf of their community and they represented that "those who were land-holders and "householders have the deepest stake in the salubrity of "the town, would more readily canvas on that account:"

but they objected to a salary being attached to the office. "What was emphatically required was a Board of officials without stipends. With an honorary Commission there would be no question as to the character of the voting, no doubt as to the manner in which suffrages were secured." If the office had been made honorary, the objection of the Chief Magistrate that "those who seek office seek it for the salary and not for the honor it confers" might have been met.

In agreement with the Chief Magistrate, the memorialists objected to a casting vote being allowed to the President. The elected Commissioners, they said, would be reduced to "cyphers in the account." "If the rate-payers are to have a voice at all in the disbursement of monies levied from themselves, that voice should be more than nominal if not actually permanent." *Sic* these criticisms were unheeded, with unhappy results.

Both parties, the Chief Magistrate and the memorialists, strongly protested against one of the Government Commissioners being also appointed Secretary. "He is the executive of the Board" the Magistrate said, "and could not be controlled if he also has a seat on the Board." "We cannot conceive," protested the memorialists "upon what principle it has been decided to give a commissionership to this officer, who has to prepare the remission accounts and under whose superintendence large sums of money are disbursed, for which he becomes responsible to the Board. We earnestly entreat that this consideration may be held in remembrance, and that your Honour will reflect whether an anomaly be not involved in the double capacity of master and servant, which must be injurious to the public interest, and a fatal impediment to the free working of the Board." In the result the appointment

of the Secretary was left to the Board, and it was the only objection on behalf of the public that prevailed. The Government conceded the point to the public in 1852. In the present day, the head of the executive is maintained as Chairman of the Corporation. He is also by law, President of the General Committee and President of every Committee or Sub-Committee of which he may be a member. He, however, under the law, is not accounted a "Municipal Officer:" possibly it may be said that in this is the difference: that he has been made a master, without being a servant of the Commissioners, or of the public.

These proceedings are attractive, because they reveal certain conditions that can be traced down to the present day. And they disclose how early, pronounced views were formed on certain issues that still remain with us and consistently are pressed on behalf of that portion of the public that takes an active interest in the municipal government of Calcutta.

The horse and carriage tax, introduced in 1847, found no place in Act X of 1852. Some difficulty had been experienced on its first introduction. The law was extremely defective on the point, and generally: a characteristic, it must be admitted, to be found in Calcutta Municipal law to the present day. In a judgment of the Supreme Court, in the case of *Biddle v. Tarraney Charn Bonnerjee* it was commented on in the following terms:—

"In looking into this Act, which is replete with uncertainty of every kind, it is difficult to say what constitutes liability for carriages and horses: or rather where the liability attaches."

The Council had forgotten their Spenser: "what doe statutes avail without penaltyes." One of the practical difficulties of the Act was that it imposed no

penalty on persons who neglected or refused to fill up their schedule : but this, and other defects, might have been remedied by an amended Act. That course was strongly recommended by the Municipal Commissioners and the Bengal Government. No trace can be found of the reason for the abolition of the tax. But the house rate was raised from 5 to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

A supplementary Act (XII of 1852) was also passed. It discloses the advance in the views of the Government regarding municipal administration, and a further development of the policy, which had been foreshadowed earlier, of the Government being relieved of local details. The Commissioners were vested with the control of the streets, and of public tanks and other means of providing a water-supply, existing and to be made; they were empowered to make, widen, or "stop up" streets; make canals and aqueducts, to execute work by contract, with a penalty of Rs. 500, on a Commissioner or Municipal officer, if interested in one; to purchase or take on lease, with the consent of the Governor, lands for Municipal purposes; to sell lands, to improve and cleanse drains, with power of entry, where necessary, into houses and lands; to intervene in cases of dangerous houses; and prefer indictments in certain cases; to inspect bazaars and slaughter houses; slaughter houses were to be registered, and no new ones to be used without sanction; the Commissioners were authorised to place boards and plates for names of streets on private walls, owners were to affix numbers to their houses, occupiers were to keep lighted lamps on their gates, at their own expense. The Commissioners were required to cause the streets and footpaths to be kept clean, and the refuse to be removed. Certain conservancy regulations—which survive to this day in Police and Municipal Acts—were

formulated. Supervision, in many other matters, was transferred to the Commissioners, and detailed directions were embodied in the Act to give effect to their control.

Compulsory gate lamps, imposed by Act XII of 1852, provided a crude and arbitrary method of lighting streets. They constituted an unequal and, in many instances, a very heavy tax upon occupiers, thus: while the occupier of a house letting at Rs. 60 was free, his neighbour, who might be the occupier of house letting at Rs. 70, was burdened with an obligation which was equal to a tax of 5 *per cent.* on the rental; whereas to the occupier of a house letting at Rs. 350, the obligation was equal to only 1 *per cent.* And contemporary reports show that the gate lamps, owing to their position within or between the pillars of the gateways, and at uneven distances, gave very little aid to the general lighting of the town, while, in the year 1854, for the purpose of lighting public roads, there were only 418 lamps maintained out of Municipal funds, at a total annual cost of Rs. 16,000.

It was in these circumstances that in the year 1855, in order to introduce gas and improve the lighting of Calcutta generally, the "Member for Bengal," Mr. E. Currie, brought in a Bill in Council, to impose, on houses assessed at Rs. 5 a month and upwards, a lighting rate not exceeding 4 *per cent.*, on occupiers of houses in streets lighted with gas, and not exceeding 2 *per cent.* if they were in streets lighted with oil. This tax was calculated to produce Rs. 1,50,000 annually.

That the conditions relating to gate lamps were onerous and lighting inefficient may freely be admitted. But better lighting could hardly be regarded as the most urgent need while the terribly insanitary state of the town, disclosed by the Fever Hospital Committee,

remained unameliorated. The Government had recognised the seriousness of the evil, as can be gathered from the preamble to the Act of 1847, already quoted, but their desire for improvement had not been realised. Individual sufferers in the Northern part of the town had paid the whole or a moiety of the cost for mending drains, here and there, in the vicinity of their dwelling houses. Europeans subscribed together—a list showing a collection amounting to Rs. 1,865 is extant—to secure attention in their quarter. If Rs. 16,000 had been contributed out of public funds for lighting, only Rs. 18,000 had been disbursed in the previous year for repairing drains and bridges, and conditions continued practically the same as when the report of the Fever Hospital Committee was published. The discussion on the motion for the second reading of the Bill is of special interest on account of the lively interest discernable in matters affecting local administration.

The constitution of the legislature was still purely official. It is refreshing to find a reality in the debates that took place in those days, and the advantage to the public, consequent upon the freedom enjoyed by the able men who composed the Council, untrammelled by any consideration other than what might be their individual opinions with regard to the questions in issue.

The opposition to the measure, which had been brought in with the approval and support of the Government of Bengal, was led by Mr. Peacock, Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council. He afterwards became Sir Barnes Peacock, Chief Justice of Bengal, and his memory still is held in high esteem in legal circles in Calcutta, for the attributes that win respect for a Judge. He was supported in his opposition by Mr. C. Allen, Member for the North-Western Provinces and

Mr. J. A. Dorin, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Council. Mr. Peacock was in favour of a moderate general tax, to remove from private individuals the burden on account of gate lamps, but he desired to forgo the luxury of gas for a few years that they first might have the town properly drained and supplied with wholesome water. He vigorously maintained that the tax proposed for lighting was higher than was necessary, and to levy it would be fatal to the far more important object of efficient ventilation and drainage, and supply of wholesome water.

He read, with great effect, statements, made before the Fever Hospital Committee, of competent authorities: of these extracts from three are reproduced:—

Dr. Graham said:—

“It is impossible for the drains to be in a worse situation than they are at present, rudely constructed, without any knowledge of the principle of draining, the centre of the conduit being in very many places below the level of the extremities—that, even at the Chitpore Road, the drains are so useless after a heavy fall of rain as to render a canoe the preferable mode of transit—that he has observed the road impassable after a fall of rain of less than an hour's duration. *He considers these drains the hot-beds of disease*—that the consequence of their state and the want of ventilation is, of course, disease, often to an alarming extent—that the suburbs—nay, indeed, the entire native town must be considered unhealthy from inefficient or rather no drainage, tainted tanks, and an external mass of animal and vegetable matter in a state of decomposition surrounding them.”

He spoke of them as the element in perpetual operation for the destruction of animal life in all parts of the native town and suburbs: he said

“tainted tanks, want of water, and poisonous drains and imperfect ventilation were the circumstances presenting themselves in the state of the town, and the situation of the

inhabitants as in his opinion affecting injuriously the general health and comforts of the population. *Improve these, widen and water the roads, and Calcutta will be as healthy as any city in the world.*"

Mr Phipps said :—

"In many parts of this City, and more especially in the most densely-populated parts of it, not intersected by streets which can be traversed by the scavenger's carts, the drains, many of them merely irregular furrows in the soil, without any brick-work, are continually left in a most filthy, uncleaned state, emitting the most noisome effuvia, doubtless highly pernicious to the health of the inhabitants dwelling in such situations.

Mr. Martin said :—

"It is surprising how much the condition of the Native portion of the Town has been neglected in this great city and its suburbs, in which are to be found all the faults of all the cities in India."

Mr. Peacock drew attention to the Petition signed by 3,600 inhabitants of the city, which had been presented to the Council: an extract from the Petition is given below:—

"That the drainage of the town of Calcutta is so bad as to occasion great sickness and mortality, and many parts of the town are not drained at all.

"That, for want of proper tanks and reservoirs of water, the great part of the inhabitants of the town, especially of the poorer classes, seldom or never taste pure water, and such as they drink has a tendency to produce many and grievous diseases.

"That your Memorialists are unable to remedy these evils and they can only be remedied under legislative enactment, providing how the necessary means shall be raised and expended and by whom the work shall be planned and executed :"

and he continued :—

"He could not throw that Petition aside, and give his vote for raising a tax of a lakh and a half for the purpose of lighting the streets with gas. He asked the Honorable Member to point out how a tax was to be raised for ventilation and drainage if this Bill should pass ?

Mr. Peacock concluded a long and carefully prepared speech, described by Sir Lawrence Peel, Chief Justice, who followed in the debate, as having been "spoken with great fervour and argued with his (Mr. Peacock's) accustomed force of reasoning," thus :—

"When malaria and pestilential vapours were sowing broad cast around us the seeds of disease and death was it a time to be talking of spending a lakh and a half a year for the purpose of gas lighting? If fever and cholera should rage throughout the city and carry off its inhabitants by hundreds and thousands as their victims, would it be any consolation to us to know that instead of endeavouring to avert these evils from them, we had compelled them to contribute to the splendour and magnificence of the city, and to add something to her title to be called the 'City of Palaces?' He entreated every Honourable Member, and in particular, the Honourable Mover of the Bill, to ask himself this question before he pronounced his vote, and to answer it in the spirit of candour and of truth."

Sir Lawrence Peel supported the motion for the second reading: "he wished for information: inquiry would give it, and he would vote for the second reading that he might obtain through the Select Committee the information which he needed." The second reading was carried by a majority of one vote: and the Bill was referred to a Select Committee. But the debate had not been without influence. The effect of the Report of the Select Committee, which was presented the following year, was the defeat of the Bill. The motion that followed the presentation of the Report was, in effect, that the lighting be referred to the Select Committee appointed to consider the Conservancy and Police of Calcutta: and continued, "and to prepare such Bills as may be necessary "with reference thereto: and that that Committee "be instructed to so frame the Bill to be substituted for "Act X of 1852 as to provide means of carrying out an

"improved system of drainage in accordance with the suggestions contained in the Report."

Mr. Allen moved to omit the words after "thereto" being the last clause of the motion. "He certainly did think," he said, "that they ought not to be bound to prepare a Bill just as the other Select Committee wished it should be prepared." Mr. Peacock was still unappeased. He highly approved of the recommendation to raise a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs for the construction of sewers and surface drains. He would support the proposal to raise that sum or even more. But he objected to a further recommendation of an expenditure of Rs. 1,70,000 for lighting. He therefore opposed the instructions to the Committee to prepare a Bill in accordance with the Select Committee's recommendations. In the result, an amendment, to the effect suggested by Mr. Peacock, which was formulated and proposed by Sir James Colville (who had succeeded Sir Lawrence Peel as Chief Justice, in the interval since the matter was last before the Council) was carried. It is interesting to analyse the division list :—

AYES.

Sir Arthur Buller.*
Mr. Allen.†
Mr. Peacock.‡
General Low.¶
The Commander-in-Chief.||
Sir James Covile.§
The President.

NOES.

Mr. Currie.**
Mr. Legeyt,††
Mr. Elliott.‡‡
Mr. J. P. Grant.§§

* Puisne Judge of the High Court. | † Member for the North-Western Provinces.
‡ Legal Member of Governor-General's Council.
¶ Military Member of Governor-General's Council.
|| General Anson. | § Chief Justice of Bengal. | ** Member for Bengal.
†† Member for Bombay. | ‡‡ Member for Madras.
§§ Ordinary Member of Governor-General's Council; and later Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The questions which had been under discussion then became merged in the general subject of Municipal Administration and were included in the Act which was substituted for Act X of 1852.

The last matter has been treated with some minuteness of detail. Labour will not have been expended in vain if it serves to bring into relief the circumstance that, because a measure has been proposed with the sanction and support of Government, that circumstance need not be accepted in Council as a determining and conclusive factor; that opposition to such a measure is not necessarily fractious; and the incalculable benefit to public interests in dealing with questions before a Council, on their merits, on the part of all members, unhampered by official restrictions. The instance here given was by no means an insulated one where the course of legislation was diverted owing to objection taken in Council on many occasions—more than one of which will find mention later—in past years, opposition, as well by non-official as official members of Council, to the principle or important details of a Bill, influenced legislation.

J. G. APCAR.

Art VII.—THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

I.—BENGAL II.

THOUGH chronologically *Sumachar Durpun* was not the first vernacular newspaper in Bengal, yet practically it laid the foundation of the vernacular journalism in Bengal by directing the attention and energy of the Bengalee people to a neglected literary field which now so much engages their activity and affords such excellent opportunities for benefiting the country. The Serampur journal has left a numerous and flourishing progeny which is now continually on the increase and whose complete lineage I shall describe in a subsequent chapter. Simultaneously with the publication of *Sumachar Durpun*, the missionaries, Carey, Marshman (senior) and Ward, commenced the publication of a monthly journal in English to which Dr. Joshua Marshman gave the title of the *Friend of India*. It was intended to include original essays on questions connected with the progress of improvement in India—a repository of reports of the various societies which were springing up under the genial influence of Lord Hastings* and notices of Bible, missionaries and educational societies in other parts of the world. The first number of the monthly *Friend of India* appeared on the 30th April 1818.†

* Under the régime of the Marquis, the first impulse was given to the vernacular newspaper Press. He was a man that did not shrink in 1816 when the first vernacular paper was published at Calcutta, from dwelling on the utility of the same. Addressing the students of the Fort William College, he said:—"It is humane, it is generous to protect the feeble; it is meritorious to redress the injured; but it is a god-like bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue and waken it into a man."

† In June 1820 Dr. Joshua Marshman commenced the publication of the quarterly *Friend of India*. It was found that the discussion of questions bearing

The third great event in the history of journalism in Bengal during the memorable year 1818 was the foundation of the *Calcutta Journal* by James Silk Buckingham. As the story of its origin, growth and suppression has not been told once with any degree of completeness in the pages of the periodical press, I make no apology for the length of the following account of the *Calcutta Journal* which cannot be devoid of interest in this the tenth generation of Anglo-Indian editors. Almost from the beginning of his journalistic career in Bengal, James Silk Buckingham came into violent collision with the Government of Lord Hastings, and it may be seen that from these quarrels and fightings entailing great sufferings and losses on the redoubtable journalist, the Indian Press had received an abiding influence for the better and got an impetus to assume slowly and steadily the character which has made it the most powerful medium to sound trumpet notes of political struggles at the present day.

James Silk Buckingham thus describes the circumstances under which the *Calcutta Journal* was founded by him on the 2nd October 1818:—"It was in the month of June 1818 that I reached Calcutta when I found orders waiting me, directing the ship (of which he was the Captain) to proceed to the coast of Madagascar, for

on the interests of the country in the little monthly miscellany, the original *Friend of India*, swelled its bulk and interfered with its punctual appearance. He determined, therefore, to confine that work to the publication of intelligence relative to the progress of religion and education and to establish a quarterly periodical for "Essays on subjects connected with India and a review of such works published either in Europe or in India as might in any way affect the interests of the country." Fifteen numbers were altogether published of the quarterly series, and in 1827 the publication was stopped for want of adequate support as well as for the failing health of Dr. Joshua Marshman. Besides, financial difficulties arose. All these combined in 1827 led to the discontinuance of the monthly and the quarterly series of the *Friend of India*. The weekly *Friend of India* was started on the 1st January 1835, but its history is reserved for treatment in the second volume.

the purpose of giving convoy to some vessels conveying slaves to some part of the territories of the Imaum of Muscat to whom the frigate belonged ; but such was my hostility in principle to slavery in every shape, that though my predecessor had made a fortune of £30,000 in three voyages, and though my command was then yielding me an income of £4,000 a year, I resigned the command without a moment's hesitation, rather than even indirectly give my countenance to a traffic which I abhorred. This circumstance being known, made a great impression in my favour among the mercantile inhabitants of Calcutta, and accordingly soon afterwards, I was applied to by Mr. John Palmer, * then one of the wealthiest as he is † still one of the most highly respected, of all merchants of India, to know whether I should be willing to undertake the editorship and management of a public journal. My first reply was in the negative, as I did not conceive that my previous occupation of a traveller by land and a voyager by sea, had sufficiently prepared me for such an undertaking. When the object of establishing such a journal came, however, to be explained to me, I was less reluctant to enter on the task. The state of the case was represented to me in these terms : there were then existing at Calcutta five or six different newspapers ‡ each of

* John Palmer, head partner of the firm of Palmer and Co., the great Agency House of Calcutta which came to grief in the great financial crash of 1830. Died in 1836.

† This account was drawn up by Buckingham in 1834 when a Select Committee of the House of Commons sat to consider his case of forcible deportation by the East India Company and the loss suffered by him for the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*.

‡ There were in Calcutta then —1818—actually nine newspapers : (1) *The India Gazette* ; (2) *The Times* ; (3) *The Asiatic Mirror* ; (4) *The Government Gazette* ; (5) *The Bengal Hurkaru* (6) *The Oriental Star* ; (7) *The Columbian Press Gazette* ; (8) *The Morning Post* (9). *The Calcutta Gazette*. The last two were amalgamated with *The Calcutta Journal*.

which was conducted by an editor in the service of Government and wholly subject to its control: but while the Government interests were thus well protected and taken care of, there was no journal among all the number in which the merchants of the city could find admission for any communications calculated to call in question either the wisdom or the justice of any regulation, order or law affecting their own peculiar interests. It was believed, therefore, that a public journal conducted by an independent gentleman, neither in the service of Government nor under any party control, would afford that medium of free discussion and be greatly advantageous to the mercantile community in particular and salutary even to the Government itself. Accordingly, perceiving it was rather independence than ability that was wanted and believing myself to possess a fair portion of this, I ventured to undertake the task. The capital necessary for the purchase of the copyright of two existing papers * of very low circulation, out of which this new journal was to spring was Rs. 30,000 (£3,000) and this was advanced by 30 gentlemen in sums of Rs. 1,000 each to effect the purchase."

After the above arrangements had been completed, Buckingham drew up a prospectus † of the new paper and applied to the Government for the privilege of circulating it throughout India free of postal charge thus:

To JOHN ADAM, Esq., *Chief Secretary to Government.*

SIR,—Being about to establish a new journal, the extensive circulation of which, will, I presume to hope, be productive

* *The Calcutta Gazette* and the *Morning Post*. The former ceased to exist on 29th September 1818 (No. 1805, Vol. LXIX) for a time.

† The prospectus was published in the last issue of the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated 29th September 1818.

of public convenience and utility, and being desirous of submitting a prospectus of the same to the heads of the different departments in the principal stations throughout India, I have to beg that you will solicit for me from the Governor-General in Council, the privilege of being allowed to transmit this prospectus, free of postage, to such stations.

My claim is made on no other foundation than the known disposition of the Government to afford every facility to useful undertakings, and the belief that this will deserve to be so classed, I indulge the hope that an exemption from postage will be granted to me for the first number only, which being to be submitted as a specimen will be distributed gratis.

26th September 1818.

I have, etc.,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

To MR. BUCKINGHAM.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, and to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to comply with your application that the first number of the new journal which you are about to establish at this presidency, may be passed to the principal stations throughout India, subject to the Honourable Company's authority, free of postage.

The necessary orders will accordingly be issued to the Postmaster-General.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
26th September 1818.

I have, etc.,

C. LUSHINGTON.

Secretary to the Government.

On the 2nd October 1818, the *Calcutta Journal* came out first as a bi-weekly paper.* In the first editorial staff, we find the name of J. C. C. Sutherland,† a nephew of the great Orientalist, H. T. Colebrooke.

* Twice a week—on Tuesday and Friday mornings—that is—it used to appear on the days on which the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Morning Post* used to appear separately.

† James Charles Colebrooke Sutherland, who had come round from Bombay to Calcutta in a ship commanded by Buckingham, and they then formed a friendship for each other which remained unbroken for life. In 1818 when the *Calcutta*

From the beginning the financial success of the journal became assured as the whole of the mercantile houses* of Calcutta became its patrons. Besides, it possessed so much attraction for the Indian community that in the short space of three months, its returns of profit were sufficient to enable Buckingham to repay the whole of Rs. 30,000 advanced to him to start his journal and leave a surplus beyond that in his possession. Emboldened by the financial success, Buckingham soon arranged to publish his paper four times a week. This arrangement came into operation on the 1st May 1819 from which date the paper used to appear on all week days except Monday and Thursday, at a charge of Rupees eight † a month. Besides, arrangements were made to illustrate the paper. The engravings did not exceed four a month which were charged for separately at 8 annas each.

On the 26th May 1819, an article appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* which became an object of censure from the Government, and the sum and substance of which

Journal was started by Buckingham, Sutherland remained connected with it only for a short time. This was his first connection with the Indian Press, of which afterwards he became a foremost leader. Before 1820 he left the *Calcutta Journal* and became engaged in a different walk of life. But in the beginning of 1823 when Buckingham was deported, Sutherland, waiving all objections, joined the *Calcutta Journal* as reporter and contributor. In November following, when the paper was suppressed, Sutherland was again thrown upon his own resources with the loss of a comfortable salary. He remained for some time in charge of the property of the *Calcutta Journal* establishment, of the sale of which by public auction, he published a very interesting account full of sentiment and feeling. He also helped Dr. William Pitt Muston to get up the *Scotsman in the East* over the ashes of the *Calcutta Journal*.

* There were then many Agency Houses in Calcutta, of them, Messrs. Alexander and Co., Colvins Bazett and Co., Cruttenden and McKillop, Fairlie, Fergusson and Co., Mackintosh and Co., Palmer and Co., were the foremost.

† The price of the *Calcutta Journal* at the outset was a rupee for each copy. To quarterly subscribers paying in advance six rupees a month were charged. The size was large quarto, containing eight pages.

was that the continuance of Mr. Elliot* in office as Governor of Madras was regarded in that presidency as a public calamity. The article having excited the displeasure of the Governor of Madras, where the Press was under a severe censorship, Mr. Elliot complained of it to the Governor-General of Bengal (Lord Hastings) who then, for the first time, made it the subject of remonstrance. The Advocate-General (Mr. Robert Spankie) having been called upon for his opinion as to the advisableness of instituting legal proceedings against Mr. Buckingham, rather discouraged the adoption of this course. The Government of Lord Hastings felt strong objections to exercise its extreme powers by depriving Mr. Buckingham of his licence to remain in India, considering that it was the first offence which had occurred since the removal of the censorship. It was, therefore, deemed sufficient severity to reprove Mr. Buckingham and to warn him of the inevitable consequence of violating the restrictions which had been imposed when the censorship was taken off. Mr. Buckingham expressed contrition for his offence and pledged himself to avoid inserting in his paper objectionable matter in future.

Notwithstanding this slight hitch, the paper prospered exceedingly, and such was the intense desire to possess it, even at the most distant stations, that the largest sacrifices were made by individuals to obtain it. At the time we are speaking of, Indian newspapers were published without being stamped, but all copies sent by the Post Office into the interior were charged with a postage proportionate to the weight and the distance they had to travel. In some instances they were so heavy on the *Calcutta Journal* as to make it cost five or six rupees for a single copy of the

* Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras, 1814—1820.

paper, the first cost and postage to a very great distance being included. It having occurred to Mr. Buckingham that this expense must materially contribute to check its circulation at the distant stations, he resolved, if possible, to equalise this charge over all India, by offering the Government a good round sum in lieu of postage and having his papers stamped to go post free. He accordingly had an estimate made of the postage paid by him on the covers despatched from Calcutta (where the postage had always to be paid in advance) and found it amounted to Rs. 30,000 per annum. He accordingly offered the Government an advance upon this sum of about one-fourth, making it about Rs. 40,000 a year, on condition of his papers being franked to all parts of India by the Post-office stamp as "full paid." The offer was accepted by the Government, and this arrangement commenced on the 27th August 1819 and continued till January 1820, when some articles appearing in the *Calcutta Journal* were not agreeable to the Government of Madras, they for the first time, ordered the paper to be stopped at Ganjam, the frontier town or station where the Madras jurisdiction commenced, though the copies were all marked "full paid" at Calcutta. Yet every cover was again charged from Ganjam to all the territories beyond it, and sometimes they reached the distant subscribers charged with four or five rupees per cover, and sometimes they were sent back to Calcutta bearing double postage all the way, thus producing the double injury to Buckingham of cutting off all his subscribers beyond a certain distance, to secure whom was the great object of the large sum of money (Rs. 40,000), and accumulating upon him by every post a large number of papers which either were obliged to be

taken back or their postage charged against him in account. In the bitterness of this disappointment, Buckingham published a notice in his paper addressed "To subscribers under the Madras Presidency," in January 1820, clearly intending to convey the impression that the Government of Fort St. George had taken measures unjust in themselves and originating in improper motives to impede the circulation of that journal. Mr. Buckingham was admonished of the impropriety of his conduct in violating the rules which Government had laid down for the conduct of the Press, particularly after having so lately experienced its indulgence and was warned of the certain consequences of his again incurring its displeasure. He was at the same time required to publish in the *Calcutta Journal* a distinct acknowledgment of the impropriety of his conduct, and a full and sufficient apology to the Government of Fort St. George. On receiving a notification to this effect, Mr. Buckingham submitted two letters to Government, containing a justification of his conduct. In one of these letters, alluding to the answer of the Governor-General to the address of the inhabitants of Madras, he says:—"I conceived that by this solemn and public declaration, the letter of the restrictions of 1818 was virtually abrogated, as it appeared to my erring judgment, in common with many others, that sentiments there expressed, and the prohibitions formerly in force were wholly incompatible and could not simultaneously exist." Mr. Buckingham's explanation appearing to a majority in Council* (Mr. John Adam only dissenting) to afford a considerable ground of exculpation, a more modified acknowledgment than what had been before prescribed, was accepted. In concluding the correspondence on this

* Mr. James Stuart, Sir James E. Colebrooke, Bart, and Mr. John Adam.

matter, it was observed in the letter of the Government Secretary to Mr. Buckingham:—"The rules framed for the guidance of the editors of newspapers when they were relieved from the necessity of submitting the papers to the revision of an officer of Government, were in themselves so reasonable and obviously suitable to the circumstances of this Government and to the state of society here, as to warrant the expectation of their general spirit being observed even if they had not been officially prescribed. Independently of other injurious consequences to which an injudiciously or perverted use of the discretion vested in the editors of newspapers may lead, it has a manifest tendency to raise a question as to the expediency of the liberal measures sanctioned by the Government with regard to the Press and to lead to the revival of those restrictions which common prudence on the part of the editors would render altogether unnecessary."

In February 1820, a letter was published in the *Calcutta Journal* complaining of the rate of exchange at which the troops in the Nizam's country were paid. Mr. Buckingham having been called upon for the name of the author, he gave that of Lieutenant J. Smith of the 22nd Madras Light Cavalry, stationed at Jaulnah. This information was communicated to the Resident at Hyderabad, who had drawn the attention of Government to the letter, but it does not appear that any steps were taken in consequence of the communication by the Resident. In November 1820, a letter under the signature of "Emulus" having appeared in the paper, headed "Merit and Interest," and the Government having regarded it as a production of a very offensive and mischievous tendency, desired the opinion of the Advocate-General as to the probable issue of a legal

prosecution if instituted against Mr. Buckingham. The Advocate-General stated his opinion that the letter in question was a libel on the Government and administration of the country, not highly offensive in its terms, but mischievous in its tendency, and encouraged the measure of prosecution. A prosecution was accordingly resolved on. Mr. Buckingham, on hearing of this determination, implored the compassion of Government; but he was informed that Government saw no reason for staying the proceedings which had been commenced against him. Mr. Buckingham having subsequently, however, addressed a letter to Lord Hastings disavowing the opinions expressed in the offensive letter and praying that the prosecution might be abandoned, and this letter having been communicated by his Lordship to the Council of the Government, Mr. Buckingham was informed that the prosecution would be waived, on condition that no opposition should be made by his counsel to the motion for a criminal information against him, and that he should address a letter to the Government comprehending in unequivocal and distinct terms, the professions contained in his letter to Lord Hastings. These conditions having been complied with, the prosecution dropped. In the same month, November 1820, there appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* a letter headed "Military Monopoly" and signed "A Young Officer" the tenor of which was considered highly objectionable. Mr. Buckingham on being applied to, gave up the name of the writer, viz., Lieutenant Edward Fell, 2nd battalion, 10th Regiment of Native Infantry, who was severely reprimanded by the Commander-in-Chief.

In July 1821 there appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* on two days consecutively paragraphs respecting the

circulation, post free, by Government, of the prospectus of a newspaper called *John Bull in the East*.* These paragraphs having attracted the attention of Government, were referred to the Advocate-General for his opinion, whether they contained fit matter for prosecution. But Mr. Spankie did not think it a case in which it would be advisable to institute legal proceedings. In the same month, the Bishop of Calcutta † preferred a complaint to Government founded on an article ‡ which had appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* containing a charge against him of encouraging and upholding the clergy in the neglect of their most solemn duties. Mr. Buckingham having been called upon to state the name of the author replied that the author was unknown to him and that he had been induced to publish the article by a conviction that a temperate and most moderate discussion of the inconveniences likely to result from a want of proper control over military chaplains might be productive of public benefit. He was severely reprimanded for this fresh offence and informed that the commission of any new misdemeanor affecting either the authority of Government or tending to disturb the tranquillity and comfort of the community, would be followed, without any previous discussion, by the annulment of his licence to reside in India, and by an order for his immediately leaving the country. In the letter addressed to Mr.

* *John Bull in the East*, named after Theodore Hook's truculent organ, began to appear as a daily paper from the 1st July 1821. In its introductory address, the new paper proclaimed itself "the supporter of Church and King, the counterpoise of private scandals the counterpoise of the pernicious influence of other journals." The proprietor was Dr. James Bryce, the Scotch Chaplain, and the first editor was Mr. James Mackenzie. A full history of this paper will be given in the second volume.

† Right Rev. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, 1769-1822.

‡ A letter under the signature of "A Churchman, and the Friend of a Lady on her Death-bed" published on the 10th July 1821.

Buckingham on this occasion is the following remarkable passage: "When certain irksome restraints which had long existed on the Press in Bengal were withdrawn, the prospect was indulged that the diffusion of various information, with the able comments which it would call forth, might be extremely useful to all classes of our countrymen in public employment. The just expectations of Government have not been answered. Whatever advantages have been attained, they have been overbalanced by the mischief of acrimonious discussions spread through the medium of your journal. Complaint upon complaint is constantly harassing Government regarding the impeachment which your loose publications cause to be inferred against individuals." Buckingham sought to defend, in a long letter, the mode in which his journal was conducted with reference to the doctrine laid down in the Governor-General's answer to the Madras address, and setting forth the ruin to which he was exposed, and against which it was utterly impossible for him effectually to guard, by the threatened determination of the Government to send him out of the country, should he again incur its displeasure. But this letter did not produce any change in the sentiments and resolutions of the Government.

In October 1821 Colonel Robinson of His Majesty's 24th Regiment, a gallant and dashing officer, then in Calcutta, wrote a letter in the *Calcutta Journal* under the appropriate title of "Sam-Sobersides" and raised a controversy as to whether the dinners, concerts, balls and other entertainments of Calcutta were well or ill conducted. A writer in a rival paper, under the signature of "Parenthesis," very strongly contended that Colonel Robinson was guilty of great disrespect to Govern-

ment. To this Colonel Robinson made a long reply upon which the Government* started a case of libel against Buckingham. In the course of this trial, there appeared a series of articles in the *Calcutta Journal* which in the opinion of Government, displayed a deliberate design to obstruct the course of justice in the above indictment for libel. The Advocate-General having been applied to for his opinion, pronounced the articles in the highest degree illegal and mischievous, and advised an application to the Supreme Court for a criminal information against the editor of the paper. The criminal information was applied for and refused, one of the judges, Sir Francis Macnaghten, doubting the power of the court to grant an information, and the other two judges being of opinion that it was a case in which it would be more proper to proceed by indictment.† The application of the Advocate-General to the Supreme Court for the criminal information, produced a violent article in the *Calcutta Journal* headed "Freedom of the Indian Press", of which the following is an extract:—

Such is the boon of a free Press in Asia, with which the world has rung for the last three years; and the praise of those who know not what awaited it, is not even yet at an end. Such is the salutary control of public opinion on Supreme Authority and the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments.

The words in the latter part of the extract are taken from the Governor-General's answer to the address

* This libel case was started by six Secretaries of the Government, among whom Charles Laughton was one.

† In the course of his remarks on this case, the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East said that they (the Judges) had nothing to do with the liberty of the Press abstractedly. The Government of the country, with the advice and sanction of the authorities at home, had established that liberty, and he considered that a free Press or the liberty of publication without a previous censorship, was calculated to produce much good.

of the inhabitants of Madras in 1819. Mr. John Adam drew attention of his colleagues in Council to this passage as a grossly offensive and personal attack upon the head of the Government, and as tending consequently to weaken his authority and bring his administration into contempt. On this occasion the several members* of Council recorded minutes declaratory of their sentiments; and those of Mr. John Adam, who opened the discussion, and of the Governor-General are particularly deserving of attention. "That the seeds of much mischief," says Mr. Adam, "have been already sown by the writings of the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* and those also who, to their own disgrace and to the signal failure of their duty to the Government and the Company, have combined to support him in his career of insolence and audacity is, I fear, the case; and though I trust the evil has not spread so wide as to be beyond correction, I cannot contemplate its continued progress without serious alarm, and the strongest conviction that it is the duty of Government to interfere to check it, by the application of the powers which the law has placed in its hands for its own security, and the welfare of the community over which it presides." Mr. Adam, however, did not advise resorting to the exercise of this power until the result of certain other proceedings against Mr. Buckingham in the Supreme Court should be known, adding, however, that he "never had any confidence in the appeals to a court of law as a means of checking the excesses of the Press." Mr. Adam also described Mr. Buckingham in the same minute as "merely the ostensible organ of a party which was arrayed against the Government, and the peace of the community." "That such a party exists"

* Messrs. John Fendall, James Stuart and John Adam.

he proceeds, "is undoubted, though it is difficult to conceive the motives by which its members are influenced. Little will be effected if that combination is not broken, nor is it tolerable that the servants of the Government and men living here under its licence and protection, should band themselves against it and act in declared and systematic defiance of its authority. A more direct reference to the known leaders of this faction is not called for at the present moment; but should it become necessary hereafter, I will not shrink from the duty imposed on me." Further on, he observes: "We must carefully discriminate the effects of such a procedure in England, and in a society and under a Government so peculiarly constituted as that of India. It is too trite and obvious to require remark that what may be wisely and safely treated with neglect there, may produce the most deplorable consequences here." The Governor-General declared in his minute that "he saw as distinctly as Mr. Adam did, the seriously hurtful effects which must be produced among the young officers of the Honourable Company's army and even among many inexperienced Civil Servants, by continued instigation, calculated to excite in them the notion that they, and not the legitimately established members of Government, are the competent and proper judges of what is expedient for the maintenance of the British interests in India. The regulations of the European society in a country peculiarly circumstanced as this is, must be acknowledged by every one as of primary importance towards the security of our tenure; and I fully subscribe to the observation of Mr. Adam, that a class of observations, which, though censurable, are attended with little inconvenience in England, may here cause most dangerous impressions." He did not, therefore, differ from Mr.

Adam in principle, although he was averse to the exercise of the authority with which the Government was entrusted by law, of sending a person like Mr. Buckingham out of the country, unless the infliction of such a penalty was not only rigidly demanded but necessity for it broadly visible." He also admitted the existence of a knot of persons at Calcutta, constituting a little confederacy, of which Mr. Buckingham was the tool, and alluded, in terms of incredulity, to information which he had received that a subscription had been entered into for the purpose of supporting Mr. Buckingham under the pending prosecutions. "Were the fact substantiated," Lord Hastings adds, "I could not but hold such an avowed prejudication of the case in the light of a highly culpable attain to the administration of justice, and an indefensible disrespect to this Government. With that sentiment regarding the measure, I should certainly feel myself bound to concur in visiting it with the most decisive castigation." Mr. Fendall in his minute observed, that "the general tenour of Mr. Buckingham's publications must have a very baneful effect upon the minds of the dissatisfied and younger part of the service, and which, sooner or later, must be met by its proper punishment." Mr. Stuart, having only lately returned from the Cape, and being imperfectly acquainted with the transaction under discussion, reserved his sentiments until the question might be revived in a more definite shape.

In January 1822, a verdict of acquittal was given by the Judges of the Supreme Court in the above libel case instituted by the Government against Mr. Buckingham. In April following Mr. Buckingham was publishing section by section Sir John Malcolm's "Report
* Mess. State of Malwa" which the Government not

wishing to be proceeded with, wrote to express their wish for its being discontinued, and it was discontinued accordingly. On May 17th, 1822, a letter signed "A MILITARY FRIEND" was published in the *Calcutta Journal*, which the Government thought, could not be passed over with any regard to its own dignity or authority or the interests of the public. Mr. John Adam, who was ever watchful on the Press, having brought it to the notice of the Council, Mr. Buckingham was called up to state, for the information of Government, the name, designation and address of the writer. He declared Lieutenant-Colonel W. Robinson,* commanding His Majesty's 24th Regiment of Foot to be the author of the offensive letter. This information having been obtained, Mr. Adam recorded a minute in which, after animadverting on the mischievous tendency of this and some other articles which had lately appeared in the *Calcutta Journal*, submitted the following for the adoption of the Council Board:—

"That Mr. Buckingham's licence to reside in India be withdrawn, and that he be desired to embark for Europe within a time to be limited."

* Under the power vested in the Governor-General by the provisions of the 33rd Geo. 3 c., 52 s. 47 the following two propositions relating to Lieutenant Colonel Robinson were adopted by the Council:—(1) Resolved that a letter under the signature of "A Military Friend" published in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 17th instant, is a gross insult to the Honourable Company's Government, falsely and slanderously asserting that divers abuses and oppressions were permitted by that Government, until they were exposed in the above newspaper, and encouraging the thoughtless to represent grievances through that channel, with all the distortions which inexperience, misapprehension or malignity may prompt, instead of resorting to the legitimate sources of redress where the ground of the complaint would be justly measured; (2) Resolved, that as the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* has acknowledged Lieutenant-Colonel W. Robinson, of His Majesty's 24th Regiment, to have written the letter in question and to have sent it to him (the editor) for publication, the Governor-General in Council must deem it inexpedient for the interests of the Honourable Company, that the said Lieutenant-Colonel W. Robinson unless he can disprove the charge so made against him by the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*,

In this proposition Messrs. Fendall and Bayley* expressed their entire and cordial concurrence, the Governor-General, however, conceiving the punishment proposed to be inflicted on Mr. Buckingham to be too severe for his offence, seeing that he had given up the author of the obnoxious letter and addressed two letters to his Lordship which his Lordship considered to give satisfactory assurance of his better behaviour in future, negatived Mr. Adam's proposition by his single dissentient vote. In August 1822, there appeared in the *India Gazette*, then conducted by Dr. Grant,† a Government servant, a letter, which "appearing to the Governor-General to be of a description highly offensive to his Majesty the King of Candy (Ceylon), Mr. Buckingham was desired not to repeat it with which Mr. Buckingham cheerfully complied.

should be placed in any situation where an important trust may devolve upon him. Resolved that the above opinion be communicated to the Commander-in-Chief and his Excellency be requested to act in consonance to it. The Commander-in-Chief caused the Resolution of Government to be communicated to Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, but wishing to observe as much delicacy as possible towards him, sent him a leave of absence for 18 months with the intention that he should precede his regiment to England. He was, however, apprised that the Commander-in-Chief would not permit any hesitation or delay in the fulfilment of what Government have prescribed. Instructions were at the same time sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, his commanding officer, directing him to question Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson upon honour whether he was or was not the author of the obnoxious letter. In the event of Colonel Robinson's declaring that he was not the author, all further proceedings were to be suspended, and the denial was to be reported to head-quarters. On his admitting himself to be the author or declining to answer, he was to be asked whether he meant to act on his leave of absence. In the case of his availing himself of it, he was to be allowed two or three days to prepare for his departure; but in case of evasion or hesitation, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams was directed to order him to quit the cantonment forthwith and to proceed straight to Calcutta, and in case of non-compliance, to arrest him for disobedience. On receiving the communication of the resolution of Government, Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson addressed a violent letter to the Chief Secretary, which determined the Commander-in-Chief to bring the Lieutenant-Colonel to a Court Martial at Bombay whither he had proceeded. From Bombay Colonel Robinson was ordered home when he was dangerously ill. He died on board the ship almost within sight of the Land of Freedom.

* William Butterworth Bayley, Acting Member of the Supreme Council.
† Dr. John Grant, of the E. I. Co's Bengal Medical Service.

The last occasion of complaint and the last warning that Buckingham received arose out of the following circumstance. A discussion had existed for a long time between the editors of the Indian newspapers as to whether the Regulations for the Press contained in the Government Circular were or were not binding in law. Buckingham's opinion always was that they were not; the best proof of that was that there had never been, and all lawyers admitted there never could be, a legal proceeding against any party for infringing them. They had not been registered in the King's Courts, a formality without which they could no more become law than a Bill carried through both Houses can become an Act of Parliament without receiving the Royal Assent. The only way in which they could be enforced was this: an editor was told, "there are certain rules which we choose to lay down; if you do not conform to them, we will deprive you of your licence of residence; and when we have taken this from you, we can send you out of the country, not for breaking any of our rules, but for not having the licence which we have taken away." But Indian-born editors could not be so dealt with; and when they broke the rules, which they often did, there was no legal process which could be had against them, because the rules themselves had no legal existence. This was the doctrine maintained by Buckingham in opposition to other writers in India, and subsequent events proved that he was right, as those very rules, in the time of Mr. John Adam as Governor-General, were registered in the Supreme Court of Calcutta (King's Court) to give them that power in law which they never possessed in the time of Lord Hastings. Yet for so writing in his paper, he received a severe reproof from the Government in their letter of

the 5th September 1822 in which he was again told that "if you shall again venture to impeach the validity of the Statute quoted, and the legitimacy of the power vested by it in the chief authority here, or shall treat with disregard any official injunction, past or future, from Government, whether communicated in terms of command or in the gentle language of intimation, your licence will be immediately cancelled, and you will be ordered to depart forthwith from India." To this, Buckingham sent a long reply in defence.

Thus it is clear that so long as Lord Hastings remained as Governor-General, Buckingham, though censured frequently, did not lose his licence to reside in India and enjoyed perfect immunity from deportation. But that state of security for him soon came to a close on the resignation* of the Marquess of Hastings on the first day of 1823. Mr. John Adam as Senior Councillor, became Acting Governor-General. Invested with supreme power, he eagerly sought an opportunity, to send Buckingham out of India. And one soon presented itself in the shape of an appointment worth about £600 or 800 a year conferred on Dr. James Bryce, the Scotch Chaplain and proprietor of the *John Bull in the East*, of Clerk of the Committee for supplying the Government offices with stationery. So much importance was attached by the Government of Mr. Adam to this appointment that it was made the subject of a special announcement in the shape of an "Extraordinary Gazette." Thereupon an article bantering in tone appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 8th February 1823. This is the last straw that broke the camel's

* Marquess of Hastings tendered his resignation of the Governor-Generalship smarting under the censures pronounced upon him by the Court of Directors for his ever-memorable act of rescuing the Nizam of Hyderabad from the clutches of Messrs. W. Palmer & Co., Bankers of Hyderabad.

back. Four days after, Mr. Buckingham got the following order from the Government :—

To

MR. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

SIR,—Referring to the editorial remarks contained in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 8th instant and to the communications officially made to you on former occasions, I am directed to apprise you that in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council you have forfeited your claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government.

2. I am further directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an order passed by Government on the present day by which the licence of the Court of Directors authorising you to proceed to the East Indies is declared to be void from and after the fifteenth (15th) day of April next.

3. You will be pleased to notice that if you should be found in the East Indies from and after that date, you will be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the East Indies without licence or authority for that purpose and will be sent forthwith to the United Kingdom.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. B. BAYLEY,

FORT WILLIAM,

12th February 1823.

Chief Secretary to the Government.

Against this order, there was no appeal. So leaving his paper in the charge of Mr. John Francis Sandys, an Eurasian, as Editor and Messrs. Sandford Arnot and J. C. C. Sutherland as his Assistants and appointing Messrs. John Palmer and George Ballard* his co-partners in the property of the *Calcutta Journal* as his agents, Buckingham embarked from Calcutta on the 1st March 1823†. The paper continued under the new arrangement.

* Chief Partner of Messrs. Alexander and Co., the famous Agency House.

† The day Buckingham was leaving India, a meeting attended by Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Mr. Wynn, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the

Within a fortnight after Buckingham's deportation, Mr. Adam published in the *Government Gazette* of the 20th March 1823 the following draft of a Rule framed by the Honourable Governor-General in Council to regulate the future publication of newspapers, etc., within the Settlement of Fort William. On the 15th March it was laid before the Supreme Court of Calcutta by Mr. George Money, the Standing Counsel to the Company to be registered when it was publicly read. The Rule is as follows:—

A Rule, Ordinance and Regulation, for the Good Order and Civil Government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, made and framed by the Honourable the Governor-General in Council of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the fourteenth of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

Whereas matters tending to bring the Government of this country as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers published in Calcutta for the prevention whereof it is deemed expedient to regulate by law the printing and publication within the settlement of Fort William in Bengal, of Newspapers, and of all Magazines, Registers, Pamphlets and other printed books and papers, in any language or character

East India Company and Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet their solicitor, was held at Five House to confer on what should be done to put down the freedom of the Press in India, and the issue of it was, that the parties named drew up a Minute, in which they declared that they did not think it necessary to apply to Parliament for any new powers to restrain the Indian Press. Lord Amherst, who was just going out as the new Governor-General in succession to Lord Hastings, was encouraged to proceed to the removal from the country of any offending editor, without any particular degree of delinquency being assigned; this being left entirely to his discretion, and he being assured of the fullest support from the Government at home, as well as of the East India Directors in any measure he might find necessary for the purpose. In the minute of the Secret Committee of the India House on this document, which minute is dated the 4th March 1823, only three days afterwards, the Court concur in thinking that Lord Amherst should have all the support which Government at home could give him to restrain the liberty of the Press in India.

published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government or any political events or transactions whatsoever.

1. Be it therefore Ordained by the Authority of the Governor-General in Council of and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, at and within the said settlement or factory of Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, by and in virtue of and under the authority of a certain Act of Parliament, made and passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, entitled "An Act for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe," and by a certain other Act of Parliament made and passed in the fortieth year of the reign of his said Majesty King George the Third entitled "An Act for establishing further regulations for the Government of the British territories in India, and the better administration of justice within the same," that fourteen days after the Registry and Publication of this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, with the consent and approbation of the said Supreme Court if the said Supreme Court shall in its discretion approve of and consent to the Registry and Publication of the same, no person or persons shall within the said settlement of Fort William, print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, any Newspaper or Magazine, Register, Pamphlet, or other printed book or paper whatsoever in any language or character whatsoever, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government, or any political event or transactions whatsoever, without having obtained a licence for that purpose from the Governor-General in Council, signed by the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being, or other person officiating and acting as such Chief Secretary.

2. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that every person applying to the Governor-General in Council for such licence as aforesaid, shall deliver to the Chief Secretary of Government for the time being, or other person acting and

officiating as such, an affidavit specifying and setting forth the real and true names, additions, descriptions and places of abode of all and every person or persons, who is or are, intended to be the printer and printers, publisher and publishers, of the Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet, or other printed book or paper in the said affidavit named, and of all the proprietors of the same, if the number of such proprietors, exclusive of the printers and publishers, does not exceed two, and in case the same shall exceed such number, then of two of the proprietors resident within the Presidency of Fort William, or places thereto subordinate, who hold the largest shares therein, and the true description of the house or building, wherein any such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, is intended to be printed, and likewise the title of such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper.

3. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid that every such affidavit shall be in writing, and signed by the person or persons making the same, and shall be taken without any cost or charge by any Justice of the Peace, acting in and for the town of Calcutta.

4. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that where the persons concerned as printers and publishers of any such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, as aforesaid, together with such number of Proprietors as are hereinbefore required to be named in such affidavit as aforesaid, shall not altogether exceed the number of four persons, the Affidavit hereby required shall be sworn and signed by all the said persons who are resident in and within twenty miles of Calcutta; and when the number of such persons shall exceed four the same shall be signed and sworn by four of such persons if resident in or within twenty miles of Calcutta, or by so many of them as are so resident.

5. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that an affidavit or affidavits of the like nature and import shall be made, signed and delivered in like manner, as often as any of the Printers, Publishers or Proprietors, named in such affidavit or affidavits shall be changed, or shall change their respective places of abode or their printing house, place, or

office, and as often as the title of such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, shall be changed, and as often as the Governor-General in Council shall deem it expedient to require the same, and that when such further and new affidavit as last aforesaid, shall be so required by the Governor-General in Council, notice thereof, signed by the said Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such shall be given to the persons named in the affidavit, to which the said notice relates, as the printers, publishers, or proprietors of the Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper in such affidavit named, such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the affidavit last delivered as the place at which the Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper to which such notice shall relate is printed; and in failure of making such affidavit, in the said several cases aforesaid required, that such Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, shall be deemed, and taken to be printed and published without licence.

6. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that every licence which shall and may be granted in manner and form aforesaid shall and may be resumed and recalled by the Governor-General in Council, and from and immediately after notice in writing of such recall signed by the said Chief Secretary or other person acting and officiating as such shall have been given to the person or persons to whom the said licence or licences shall have been granted; such notice to be left at such place as is mentioned in the Affidavit last delivered, as the place at which the Newspaper, Magazine, Register, Pamphlet or other printed book or paper, to which such notice shall relate is printed, the said licence or licences shall be considered null and void, and the Newspapers, Magazines, Registers, Pamphlets, printed books or papers to which such licence or licences relate shall be taken and considered as printed and published without licence; and whenever any such licence as aforesaid shall be revoked and recalled notice of such revocation and recall shall be forthwith given in the *Government Gazette* for the time being published in Calcutta

7. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that if any person within the said settlement of Fort William, shall knowingly and willfully print or publish, or cause to be printed or published, or shall knowing and willfully, either as a proprietor thereof, or as agent or servant of such proprietor or otherwise, sell, vend, or deliver out, distribute or dispose of, or if any bookseller or proprietor, or keeper of any reading room, library, shop, or place of public resort, shall knowingly and willfully, receive, lend, give or supply, for the purpose of perusal or otherwise to any person whatsoever, any such Newspaper, Magazine, Register or Pamphlet or other printed book or paper as aforesaid, such licence as is required by this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation not having been first obtained, or after such licence, if previously obtained, shall have been recalled as aforesaid, such persons shall forfeit for every such offence a sum not exceeding Sicca Rupees four hundred.

8. And be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that all offences committed and all pecuniary Forfeitures and Penalties incurred under or against this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation, shall and may be heard and adjudged and determined by two or more of the aforesaid Justices of the Peace, who are hereby empowered and authorised to hear and determine the same, and to issue their Summons or Warrant for bringing the Party or Parties complained of before them, and upon his or their appearance or contempt and default, to hear the parties, examine Witnesses, and to give judgment or sentence according as in and by this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation is ordained and directed, and to award and issue out warrants under their hands and seals for the paying of such forfeitures and penalties as may be imposed upon the goods and chattels of the Offender, and to cause sale to be made of the goods and chattels if they shall not be redeemed within six days rendering to the party the overplus if any be, after deducting the amount of such forfeiture or penalty, and the costs and charges attending the levying thereof; and in case sufficient distress shall not be found, and such forfeitures and penalties shall not be forthwith paid, it shall and may be lawful for such Justices of the Peace, and they are hereby authorised and

required by warrant or warrants under their hands and seals to cause such offender or offenders to be committed to the common Gaol of Calcutta, there to remain for any time not exceeding four months, unless such forfeitures and penalties and all reasonable charges shall be sooner paid and satisfied and all the said forfeitures when paid or levied shall be from time to time, paid into the Treasury of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and be employed and disposed of according to the order and directions of His Majesty's said Justices of the Peace at their General Quarter or other Sessions.

9. Provided always and be it further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid that nothing in this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation contained shall be deemed or taken to extend or apply to any Printed Book or Paper containing only Shipping Intelligence, Advertisements of Sales, Current Prices of commodities, rates of exchange or other intelligence solely of a commercial nature.

J. ADAM,
EDWARD PAGET,
JOHN FENDALL,
JOHN HERBERT HARINGTON,
W. B. BAYLEY,

Chief Secretary to the Government.

On Monday, the 17th March, Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson and Mr. Thomas Turton * made a motion before Sir Francis Macnaghten, then a puisne Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court. The former in addressing the Court said: "I am instructed to state by the principal proprietor † of the *Calcutta Journal*, that he considers that he will be aggrieved if the proposed regulation is registered in this Court, and thereby becomes a law and I have to solicit that he be permitted to be heard by Counsel. I consider that the Court have

* For an account of his life, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*,

p. 432.

† Of course Mr. Buckingham through his Agents.

full power to grant such application from any subject and will frame my motion accordingly to any suggestions your Lordship may kindly offer." Sir Francis Macnaghten in reply said: "The Court have certainly a right to any such application and I think they ought—I should wish it to be made in open Court, for the public should know the decision as any of them have a right to ask this Court for interpretations of any ordinance. I have not the least objection that the public should know what is my decision on the subject and I shall state it most openly." Accordingly 31st March was fixed for the hearing of the motion against Adam's "Rule, Ordinance and Regulation."

On Monday, 31st March 1823, Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson reminded the Court that this was the day fixed by His Lordship, Sir Francis Macnaghten, for a further hearing of the objections against the Rule of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council and said that in furtherance of his instructions he had to enter a protest against the Rule on the part of Mr. Scott* and Mr. Reed and to present a petition on the subject from certain native inhabitants† of Calcutta. This petition was then put in and read. It was signed by Ram Mohan Roy and six others of the most respectable native inhabitants of Calcutta. Mr. Fergusson then proceeded to argue against the Rule of the Governor-General in a speech replete with eloquence. The learned Counsel began by stating that so convinced were the people of Calcutta of the injurious tendency of this Rule, that he was satisfied had they been aware of it, they would one and all have come forward to petition against it. The learned Counsel insisted upon the

* Most probably printer of the *India Gazette*, of Messrs. Scott & Co.

† See further on for the petition and names of the inhabitants.

right of every individual to petition against everything affecting his right and interests, and observed that there could be no use in that part of the Act which required that twenty days' notice should be given previous to the registry of any Act if that right did not exist. He then contended that this was the most important measure that for the last century, or ever since British law had existed here, that had been brought before the Court. It professed to be for the purpose of regulating the periodical press, but if once a power were granted, for this purpose, no one knows with what it may be followed up. It may afterwards affect works not published periodically, and in the end entirely suppress every kind of publication that did not coincide with the precise views of the Government. The learned Counsel here referred to the preamble of the Rule, after which he continued nearly as follows: If the liberty of freely publishing his sentiments, be the right of every individual, the Government must satisfy everyone of the necessity of an infringement of that liberty. But is it necessary for the Government in this case to do as it has done? It is incumbent on them to show that the ordinary means are inefficient for the purpose of maintaining tranquillity, before they have recourse to extraordinary ones, of this they ought to have satisfied the Court before they required the registry of an Act so seriously affecting the liberty of the subject as the present.

If a Libel were published in a newspaper, those who brought it before a Jury, deserved the public applause. It has been said that publications have found their way into the papers tending to bring dissatisfaction among the army, but if the public prosecutor had brought this matter before a Jury, he had no doubt but that the Jury would have done their duty according to

the law established in the country. But transmission had been resolved on. Every means ought to have been tried before that dire one. Every man has brought with him from England the right of trial by Jury, and a right to publish without any restraint, his sentiments upon any public question.

The learned Counsel observed that it was not sufficient that it should be expedient to impose restrictions upon the Liberty of the Press; it was necessary also that they should be legal. In the present instance the power attempted to be exercised, was repugnant to the British Constitution, for the modesty and the moderation of the Indian Press had been exemplary. Nothing had been done by anyone connected with it to bring down upon it this visitation. It was impossible to travel through the country without seeing the native population everywhere satisfied with the Government of the country and indeed they ought to be so, for no doubt could be entertained that the Government did everything to promote their happiness that laid in their power. It was repugnant to the law of the land and the 13th George 3rd only authorised acts according to the law of England and the 17th only confirmed that power. The Governor-General can make such laws as are not repugnant to the law of England. If this Regulation passes this Court he could see no reason why any offence not definable should not be punished. The authority exercised by the Governor-General on this occasion is no new authority, for by the Charter of George 1st, power was granted to the Governor-General to pass bye-laws and regulations for the Government of the country, but it was necessary that these should not be contrary to the law of England and those passed by the Governor-General in Council were not to have effect until approved of by the Supreme Court

who were to be the judges of the legality of the Rules in question. The Charter of George 2nd gives similar powers to the Company and authorises them to pass laws for the good government of Fort William. Where the law has not provided, they were authorised to institute laws, but even in doing this, nothing must be contrary to the law of England. The law of England abhors the restriction of the Press. Here the learned Counsel read an extract from Blackstone which he observed said that all could be said on the subject: "My Lord," he continued, "I require no more than the words of this great author, for if the words which I have quoted be correct, I contend that the restraint on the Press is most odious to the British law, and I have no hesitation in saying that a censorship would be far preferable for the preservation of good government than the Rule now attempted to be established. Let us only see the extent of the power rested in the hands of the Governor-General by the Rule. This is unlimited. And what does it publish to the people of Europe and of India? Why that two or three papers published here had the effect of bringing the Government into contempt? This was not the only consequence, for it went the length of saying to every person connected with the periodical press—"you shall not write against Government without its permission." This is certainly the meaning of it or it has no meaning at all. Let us suppose the effect of such an act at home. What would it be entitled there? What would be the effect of it? If it were to be established there, no *Morning Chronicle* would have existed, and the life of Mr. Perry, one of the most useful in the world, would have gone by without anything beneficial or interesting. But such a law could not exist at home. It was the periodical press which had made the British

Constitution what it is. It was unnecessary to say anything on the good effects of free discussion, when confined within proper bounds, showing proper respect to Government, but not going the length of servility. Nothing can be more absurd than the idea of vesting a power in one individual of saying to another, "You shall say nothing against me." The effect of such a rule must be that nothing will be said of Government except by one side of the question, and papers like the ministerial ones in England alone will exist. What merit can it be to a Government to be spoken well of by papers under its own lash and with that before them which forces them to write in its favour? If this power is to be vested in the Government, we are to be favoured with nothing but Shipping Intelligence, Bills of Sale, Kedgerree Reports, etc. The Government turn round and say, take care, we do not intend to infringe upon you so far as to say that you shall not publish that the Sir David Scott is come from England or the Anne and Mary from the eastward; you may also publish the prices of indigo, rice, dhal, tobacco and Kedgerree, aye kedgerrec, my Lord, Kedgerree—but you must not publish public news. Not publish public news! Oh, then we may publish private news I suppose, tittle tattle! which must be very refreshing after the fatigues of the day. You must not publish the victories of the Greeks over the Turks without a licence, lest the Government shall take the part of the Turks. Suppose I publish a work—if I publish the first number—well and good—I may do so, but if I publish a second, I must get a licence. Is this the law of England? No. It is the law of Constantinople or St. Petersburg, but even of France! What has formerly been the course of English law upon such an occasion? Everything but the course pursued upon this occasion. When England

was engaged in the revolutionary war with France, what measures were adopted? They were very salutary ones. The 38th George 3rd enacted that no paper should be published without the name of the publisher and printer and obliging securities to be given for the payment of any fines to the King in case of a prosecution. Every man who put pen to paper is answerable for what he writes, and the public has a right to know who is the author of anything that comes before them. No attempt has been made for a century to impose anything like a censorship upon the British Press or to licence it. By the 39th George 3rd, it was enacted that anyone establishing a Printing Press shall give notice of his having done so to the Clerk of the Peace, and he is then obliged to grant such an individual a licence. He is only amenable to the law for what he publishes. The Court is not prepared to go beyond the law of England. No man has ever yet been found either in the House of Commons or of Peers who recommended to place the Press under such restrictions at home, as this Regulation, if registered, will subject it to here. Even at home, so many attempts have been made to impose restrictions upon the Press that it cannot be supposed that if this Bill were in unison with the law of England, it would not have been thought of there. Everyone exclaims against the inquisitorial power of a Court which in England would have established the licensing system and which did so for a short time, but which was condemned by all our constitutional writers. Against this the voice of the immortal Milton was raised who implored the Parliament not to pass that Act which would be a disgrace to the cause for which they had done so much. The learned Counsel contended that even this inquisitorial Act did not

infringe so much upon the liberty of the Press as the Rule which it was attempted to pass to-day. When Europe was agitated by the works of Voltaire—priests, monks, the profligate courtiers, all entered into a crusade against them, but the short way would have been to have said that they should not have been published without the licence of the King of France, but this was never thought of. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was limited to one year, and if not then renewed, it returned to its old course again. But here was a Rule, endeavoured to be established for an indefinite time, which most materially affected the rights of the public. With the exception of the Rule which was now attempted to be registered, nothing had ever been attempted to prevent a man from publishing what the Constitution had given him a right to do, for the last century. Having examined all the Acts of Parliament which had passed for the last 120 years, connected with the Press, the learned Counsel observed that he had found nothing similar to the present proceeding. Something like it had been attempted in France, which was the origin of this, but that was nothing like this in severity. The learned Counsel trusted that those who executed the law would not suffer the Constitution to be thus infringed upon. But the Act in France did not refer to journals, published before the 1st January 1822, the date of the Act. But after this period all others were obliged to be licensed by the King. The editors of the journals of France, that devoted country, may be suspended or suppressed. The effects of the present Rule served only to destroy the publication of any paper; for if the proprietors were to be obliged to procure a fresh Editor and a fresh Printer every day, what else would be the effect of it? What? Shall the Government have it in its power to say that

no paper shall be circulated without its licence. But this is not the utmost extent to which this power may be stretched, they may grant a licence to one paper and withhold it from another; and thus have it in their power to ruin the parties engaged in periodical publication and entirely to destroy their hopes. Mr. Buckingham had been an instance of this. When he had by the utmost perseverance, and the most splendid talents, established himself in this country, the Government exercised the power with which they were vested and sent him away obliging him to leave his property behind him. The Rule in question put the property of the subject too much at the mercy of the Government, and although I am convinced from my personal knowledge of the members of it, that the present Government is very unlikely to abuse the power, yet no one can answer for the acts of a future Government. By the 13th of George 3rd, power is given to the Company to make regulations for the administration of justice, but these are all referred to the 33rd of the same reign which does not give power to them to make laws or create misdemeanours. If this power existed, the power also exists in the hands of the Government to transfer the power of this Court to the Justices of the Peace. By the 53rd of George 3rd, persons selling arrack and spirituous liquors are obliged to take out a licence, and if like this, the Government has a power to licence newspapers, they have also a right to licence the houses of agency. A person landing in this country with permission to trade, has a right to carry on a fair, free and unincumbered trade. The Governor-General has it not in his power to make that crime which is not crime nor to change the English law in any particular. In England, it is quite sufficient that an affidavit should

be made as to the proprietor of a newspaper, and if such affidavit be found to be false, the person making it might be persecuted for perjury. But here it was not so, because the Governor-General in Council had no right to make such a regulation. If there be licensed journals here, there will be unlicensed ones in Serampur, and what will the Government do then? Will they establish a *cordon sanitaire* here to prevent their introduction into Calcutta, as France has done to prevent the introduction of moral poison from Spain. These papers will be purchased with more avidity on the very account of their prohibition. It was true that a power did exist that rendered British subjects responsible to the Mofussil Courts, but there was none that could prevent them from publishing newspapers on the other side of the Mahratta ditch. In Bhobanipur, for instance, anyone could publish a Newspaper, and introduce it into Calcutta in defiance of any existing law. The learned Counsel then observed that this rule was inexpedient, because unnecessary. The only unpleasant feeling introduced into society by the newspapers of Calcutta was not so much occasioned by the attacks they made upon Government, as by those which the editors made upon each other, but let them tear each other to pieces, said the learned Counsel, this has only the happy effect of sending me to sleep. The loyalty of the native population was undoubted, but it could not be answered for, if regulation were to succeed regulation until every vestige of the British Constitution were lost. Mr. Fergusson then concluded a most eloquent and animated speech, by observing that he could not quit the subject without expressing his gratitude to Mr. Turton for the able assistance he had received from him. That gentleman, he observed, had been an honour to the bar

since his arrival in this country, and he trusted that he would continue to be so, and he entreated the attention of the Court to the observations which he would offer.

A burst of applause followed the speech of Mr. Fergusson upon which Sir Francis Macnaghten said that he would commit any man to jail who should repeat it, until he knew how to behave better in a Court of Justice.

MR. FERGUSSON: My Lord, I am sure that no friend to the liberty of the Press would have committed himself in that manner.

SIR F. MACNAGHTEN: Certainly not, certainly not.

MR. TURTON then commenced by observing that he had no pretensions to be so eloquent or so entertaining as his learned friend who had just concluded; but it was his duty to enquire as a dry matter of law, whether the Government had a right to pass such a decree, and whether such a decree were repugnant to the law of England. He was speaking in favour of a right which was the pride of a free country, and which was calculated to consolidate every class of the natives of this.

The first power granted to the Company was given to them to be exercised in the island of Bombay according to the forms and customs established "in our realm of England." The 13th George 3rd invests this power in the Company, and authorises them to make such laws as are not repugnant to the law of the realm and states that certain abuses in the administration of justice required correction. The object of this was to take care that all ranks should have the same rights, immunities and liberties as the people of England, and among others the liberty of the Press. It may not be out of the way to advert here to the first introduction of printing into England, which took place during the wars of York and

Lancaster at the expense of the King. From that time to this no one has dared to utter a word in favour of the application of printing to the furtherance of any particular views of the Sovereign. During the arbitrary reign of Henry VIII, the power was claimed of licensing the Press which will not be wondered at, when the imperious character of that Sovereign is considered. This claim was occasionally urged down to the time of the Commonwealth. In the reign of Charles II an Act of Parliament first found its way into the records for this purpose. This was not then considered as a prerogative of the King but as an object of public care. Even when troubled with the long civil war, it appears that it was not claimed as a prerogative. The effect of this Act was that everything was to be submitted to the licenser, but it did not prevent a printer from carrying on his business but prevented dangerous subjects from getting abroad. In this case, the punishment was not in the hands of the licenser, but in those of a Jury, and was suspension for three months, and when again convicted, then only was the full power of this Act to be exercised. This Act was continued by James II, the veriest tyrant who ever reigned in England and who although beloved in private life, was expelled from the throne on account of his tyranny. Even he only continued it for four years. It was removed again in 1692 for one year, at the time when the expedition from La Hague was preparing to invade the country. The learned Counsel here referred to the opinion of De Lolme on a free Press. The power of the Chief Secretary is to control those actions which cannot be tied down by any precise rule of law. What! Is there no constitutional check for the abuse of the liberty of the Press, but are the Government to say "No: I insist upon the power of crushing you and

destroying your property." I believe the Government are anxious to secure a power which they could not secure at home, and that too, from this motive that when anything comes home to our own bosoms, we feel ourselves very deeply interested. Sir Thomas More, in his description of Utopia seems to have entertained a notion of the same kind with the Government of this country, for he makes it, by the laws of his imaginary country, a crime worthy of death even to speak of the Government. Every man at home has a right to present a petition to the King or Parliament, and not only that, but to bring his grievances before the public in any way he likes.

I do not believe that the natives of this country have any desire to return to their old form of Government, because I believe that the interests and feelings of men alway go hand in hand. Arbitrary power may keep the people quiet, but it is not the quiet of composure, but of the charnel house, and the object of stopping the pens and presses of individuals is to prevent their enquiring into those corruptions which ought to be exposed to public scrutiny. Government may be as pure as unsullied snow, but its ministers may not be so, and can it be supposed that in this extensive country, there is no corruption, no abuse, which ought to be laid before the public? Let every man be answerable for what he writes and publishes. I have no objection to this; but I have an objection to that being introduced here which is in utter violation of the rights of British subjects. I hope that it is not because they fear examination, that the Government have enforced this regulation, and this is the very reason why they should not press the Court to register it. I believe that they have been misled, and that they have been taught to believe that a state of things exists in this country which does not exist.

Is it the recommendation of the British Parliament that the natives of this country should be kept without the means of obtaining knowledge? No! That very Parliament in the Act of 53rd George 3rd says differently. Look at the conduct of the Government of any of those countries where despotic power has lately been overthrown and their restrictions on the Press have been done away with. Another authority I will quote and that too, of a man whom I know and who is not very nice in his principles of liberty any more than De Lolme and who is indeed called in the part of the country from which I came, a rank Tory. But let us hear what a rank Tory says upon the subject. Here the learned Counsel read a quotation from the works of Mr. Holt connected with the liberty of the Press. If this Rule has been published for the purpose pretended, I would ask, has the Government been sleeping that it did not enact it before? I cannot think that the executive part of the Government has been so careless, and they are now anxious to bring this matter about that they may prevent their own conduct from being brought before the public—a right which I hope will exist wherever I draw breath. I sincerely believe that every Government which is administered properly is more likely to gain than lose by free discussion. It is a Rule of the Constitution that the liberty of the subject shall not be abridged, repealed or infringed, without sufficient cause being shown for it. The inquisition has no longer the power to control the Press in Spain or Portugal, and shall it be received into a colony or province, I think I may call it, of the British Empire, after being expelled from these countries? It is pretended that the executive power here shall be independent of this Court. If they can do this in one case, why can they not do so in another? Why did they not

institute the Acts of the 53rd George 3rd? Why not pass the Acts for the better regulation of Calcutta with regard to the dealers in spirituous liquors? On the 24th December 1783 a Rule for restricting the sale of arrack and other spirituous liquors were refused to be registered. This was because it was wished to restrict the sale of these articles to a certain number of shops, which, no doubt all of them, supplied the Government. So it is with us, the Government do not come to our shops, but to the one that is on the opposite side of the way. Mr. Turton then concluded a speech highly distinguished for legal knowledge and deep research.

SIR FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN in delivering judgment said that when application had been made to him to hear Counsel against registering the Rule, Ordinance and Regulation in question, he had not hesitated for a moment in complying with the request. He allowed that it certainly was a new proceeding, but for himself he was anxious that every part of his conduct respecting the measure should be publicly known and he would feel ashamed of having done any act if he had not been ever desirous that all the world should know of his having listened to every thing that could be urged against it. He had nothing to conceal and now rejoiced at having all parties concerned or all who thought themselves concerned, a full opportunity of coming forward and of having everything advanced that could be urged against the Regulation proposed. It was a great satisfaction to him that the question had been so fully and so ably argued that he felt certain that every argument had been brought forward that could possibly be furnished by ingenuity or research. He observed that he should be acting the part of an impostor—and he hoped inconsistently with his own character—if he

intimated that because the parties might still have an appeal from his decision that they could not therefore be injured by it. He fully admitted, if the Regulation was one which ought not to pass, that the parties to be affected by it would have much to complain of by this Act, inasmuch as he was to make it immediately operate—that the parties would be subject to it in the meantime and that their chance of redress must at all events be distant.

There was no one, his Lordship declared, more desirous than he was that every thing he had to do with the present measure should be thoroughly known and understood. Formerly the Government and the Supreme Court had been in the habit of communicating with each other on the subject of proposed Regulations. That upon this occasion he had declined holding any such communication. That he had been twice applied to and has as often declared that he would not be a party to it or even looked at it, before it had passed the Council. He was again asked to peruse it after it had actually got the signatures of the Members of Government. That reasons had been urged, which convinced him he ought not to refuse his assent. That he therefore did see the document after it had been finally settled, but before it had gone through the form of being passed by the Council. That it appeared to him as if there had been an unintentional omission, and as if it left persons open to penalties which they might not have wilfully incurred—that he had suggested this, stating at the same time that in doing so he did not conceive he was violating the resolution he had entered into—that his suggestion was adopted, and the objection removed by an introduction of six words—that he then declared it should have his sanction and

that he would do it because he did not think it repugnant to the laws of England. At this time he of course could not foresee that any cause was to be shown against it, and when it came to his knowledge that it was to be opposed he held himself at perfect liberty to act according to the judgment he might form after he had heard the argument. His Lordship here stated that he had spoken more of himself than he wished to do, but that he had not done so with a view of getting any share of praise. He disclaimed all right to it. He had no claim to any share of the credit which perhaps some persons might think belonged to the Regulation, and those who are disposed to disapprove of it had him alone to blame. He might if he pleased prevent its passing into a Law, and he declared himself to be the only person who ought to be blamed for giving it effect. *Qui non prohibet cum prohibere possit jubet.*

Thus, on the one hand, he was not entitled to any degree of credit, and on the other, he desired and deserved to have all the animadversions which the Regulation might produce, cast upon him and upon him alone. He said he believed (and it was a great gratification to him to believe it) that there was not upon the face of the earth a place in which there was more real and practical Liberty than was at this moment existing in the city of Calcutta. He believed there was no place in which industry was more free in its exercise or better secured in the enjoyment of its acquisitions. That there was no place where it was likely to be so effectually aided, if it had any thing like a claim to assistance. He said it was many years since he had first come here, and not a few since he had last arrived. That he had never heard of any individual who could justly complain of the conduct of the Government. That he

believed a more mild, lenient, or indulgent one never existed; and for himself he ventured to say if any act of tyranny or oppression was brought to his notice in any way, that he would most earnestly join in resistance to it by all the means that were not forbidden by law—that he would remonstrate and petition, and could not believe that redress would be denied or that checks would not be applied which might effectually prevent a recurrence of the evils complained of. He avowed his belief, however, that no benefit would be derived and thought no benefit ought to be derived from disrespect to Government; and as no grievance in reality existed, he thought the stability of a Government under which such advantages were enjoyed, never ought to be endangered by mere speculative discussions, which certainly very few of the community could derive benefit from—and those few, perhaps, not most worthy of consideration. Where, he would ask, are the people more substantially independent to be found? There is no place where men can declare and assert their rights with more fearlessness and security. Everything which it is of importance to maintain may be maintained and asserted without any fear of the consequences; and a Government under which so much is enjoyed, would not, he hoped, be endangered for the gratification of a few who very possibly wish to signalise themselves by the discussion of theories that no man has any real interest in and which cannot be supported consistently with the authority we live under, and by which we are so effectually protected.

His Lordship continued: The fallacy consisted in affirming that this was a free country, and he wondered how men could be so deceived or could have so deceived themselves. He had never seen or heard of either text or

comment that could lead him to believe the rights of Englishmen here, were at all like the rights of Englishmen in their own country. He would, he said, speak his sentiments in the defiance of any man's resentment, and he knew it was idiocy to talk of men having a control over Government in a country in which they lived merely by sufferance; in which they had no right to be at all; and from which they might by law be removed at pleasure. He declared that friend as he was to Liberty, he, like every other Briton, had come here by choice, knowing or having been supposed to know that it is not a free country. He was happy, he said, in enjoying and seeing every one in enjoyment of practical freedom in its fullest extent. For such benefits it was no great sacrifice to refrain from assaults upon the Government; we should make but a bad exchange if we gave up solid advantages for the indulgence of a few in their gains or caprices; and if we cannot have all, he hoped we should make a judicious selection. He hoped that the Government would not, on account of the misconduct of a few, be compelled to adopt measures of severity by which all might be affected. We have all in possession that can be desired, and he hoped the loss of it would not be hazarded for something of which we have no distinct idea—or if we brought ourselves to have a just one, we must confess that it existed in enriching the necessitous who had nothing but their own gains in view, or in gratifying the vanity of system-mongers or the malignancy of some, even of a worse description. He said, however, that if the happy state of this country was to be altered, he hoped it would be effected by constitutional means and that we should not be forced into a change by the efforts of the Press. Let the Legislature give us a Free Press,

—to that he had no objection. He declared that he never would, because he never could, object to the extension of freedom, but that with respect to the extension of it to this country, there had been many objections by many wise men. Sir William Jones, who was as enthusiastic as any man ever was in the cause of liberty, declared that he would not preach his doctrines to the Indians and in a letter which appears to have been strictly confidential, talking of his own well-known dialogue, he says “I perfectly agree,—(and no man of sound intellect can disagree) that such a system is wholly inapplicable to this country; and if liberty could be forced upon them by Britain, it would make them as miserable as the cruelest despotism. His Lordship declared that he did not give those as his own sentiments or profess to concur in them. In fact he had not formed any opinion upon the subject, and he would content himself as every man must do, with the laws as they are. He would repeat, however, that it was no less than absurd to talk of the existence of a Free Press, where there is no Constitution. If the Legislature pleased to extend the Constitution of England to India it might do so. Hitherto such a measure had not been deemed expedient, and at present a Free Press was certainly out of its place. It might follow, but it could not precede a Free Constitution. Whatever form of Government it might please the Legislature to give us, he said it was his most ardent wish that we might be left to as much practical liberty as we at present enjoyed. Again he declared himself the decided enemy of tyranny and oppression in all their shapes, and if any one could show him that he had either to complain of, he would go as far along with him as any other man would dare to go towards redress. But he would contend against the soundness

of that principle which went to the abolition of power or denied the propriety of its existence because it might possibly be abused. All power, he said, was liable to abuse; but every man who possessed it was interested even for his own sake, in using it with moderation. Besides no man could act in disregard to the interests of others with impunity. In our Governments, there was no power conferred without responsibility; and it was not too much to say, if those who possessed it did not act justly and humanely for the sake of others, that it was their interest to do so for the sake of themselves. His Lordship declared he believed there were few men that heard him who had less intercourse with the Government or with any of its members than himself. With most of them he had long been acquainted, and from his own knowledge as well as the characters which they were known to bear, he believed them to be incapable of abusing any authority with which they might be invested. The Government had full powers not only by one Act of Parliament, but that one confirmed and enlarged as to its sanction to frame Rules, Ordinances and Regulations for the good order and civil government of the town of Calcutta. That if this was not a case in which the enactment of a Regulation was proper, he was at a loss to conceive how any Regulation could be justified by its propriety. He went further and declared some such one to be in his opinion absolutely necessary. It could not be a Law until it should be registered in that Court with that Court's approbation. He could not say that this was a Regulation of which he approved in the largest sense of the word, for it is not such a one as he himself would have dictated. He thought it inartificially framed, and he much doubted if it would be found to answer the

purpose which its framers had in view. It might, however, if proved to be defective, be amended; but it was his wish, and he was not without hope, that the Press would be so conducted in future as to render anything further unnecessary. This Regulation went merely to one point—to secure the Government against insult from the Press—to prevent those who might have the means of establishing a printing office, from bringing the Government into hatred and contempt. In such a Government he believed such a protection to be absolutely indispensable, and it was therefore that he approved of the Regulation, which purports to be calculated for the attainment of that end. He declared that he cared not where his conduct was to be canvassed, that he might be desirous of deprecating misrepresentation, but that he would not be deterred from speaking his mind by an apprehension even of that. He felt that he was doing his duty to this country and to his own and if he was to be frightened out of his course, he must be subject to some sensations of fear with which he had hitherto been unacquainted.

Where, he asked, is the law of England to which this Regulation is repugnant? He knew many to which it is conformable, but none to which it is repugnant. The very restraints upon our own countrymen here, are sufficient to prove that such a Regulation as the present, is one which might have been established by the Legislature when it empowered us to enact Regulations; unless indeed it is to be presumed that the Legislature, well seeing the necessity of protecting this Government with power to be exercised in the most summary manner over British subjects, was willing to lay it open to the assaults of every other description of people. To what purpose, he asked, should the

Legislature have empowered this Government to send every British subject out of the country who might be supposed to have misconducted himself, if those who were certainly not higher in the contemplation of Parliament, might resist and insult the authorities with comparative impunity; it never could have been intended to compliment men who are not British subjects with distinctions and privileges which are denied to those who are. His Lordship knew many gentlemen of the description to which he alluded, that they were highly meritorious and respectable, but he thought they might be contented with standing on the footing of British subjects, and that he did not think it their interest to lay claim to superior immunities. He had not, he said, the pleasure of being personally known to the present Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, but had heard his character from men who knew him well, and men who were qualified to judge of his merits, and that everything he had heard of him was in his favour; but it was his opinion that the name of that gentleman had been used in such a manner, as a Government like this could not possibly endure. If he had been a British subject, and committed an offence against the British Government to-day, he might be ordered to depart from the country to-morrow. Yet what is the insolent boast? That he is free from all control of the Government and amenable to this Court alone. That is, that he may print and publish anything however seditious, and destructive of this Government's authority; that he may continue such publications at pleasure, and that they cannot even be questioned until the next Sessions which will be in June. And although a Bill of Indictment may be found against him, he may perhaps traverse over until October, giving him all the intermediate time

to bring the Government into hatred and contempt, and to hold it at open defiance. There is no man in the use of his reason who can believe that the Legislature intended to secure the Government against assaults from British subjects and lay it open at the same time to the outrages of men who cannot be supposed to have the interests of England so much at heart as British subjects have. What, he asked, have we witnessed? The Government had thought proper to order Mr. Buckingham (the late Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*) to be transported to his own country. He (Sir Francis) did not think himself at liberty to enter at all into the merits of that proceeding. Sitting where he sat, it would be highly improper in him to give an opinion of any sort upon the question. It may be at least assumed that the order, in the opinion of Government, was proper. And what was the consequence? An immediate proclamation of defiance;—a proclamation that the paper should be continued upon its former plan and in its former principles, because the Editor to be appointed would not be within reach of the Government's immediate authority. Nay—they went further and announced the folly and weakness of the Government, in having removed Mr. Buckingham from his office and in not having so much sagacity as to discover that another editor might be appointed who would be free from their control. That they had aggravated the evil of which they complained, by subjecting themselves to a greater annoyance in this country and by sending Mr. Buckingham to another, where he could be a more formidable opponent; and they had thus, instead of being exposed to one battery, placed themselves between two fires. This, he believed, was the phrase which the *Calcutta Journal* was pleased to adopt, and he

believed, he had fairly given the sense of the Manifest. He asked if any Government ought to submit to such insolence and outrage, or if such a one as this could be co-existent with such a press? He declared if the Government had been in his hands that he would have thought himself justified in disregarding forms and considered it his duty to subdue such audacity, if he had power sufficient to effect it. He believed, he said, that many had thought the passiveness of Government before this occasion culpable. For his own part he could hardly bring himself to think leniency culpable; but he wondered that a single *Calcutta Journal*, published as many of them were, with a seeming desire of subverting this Government's authority, had ever been suffered to pass the precincts of Calcutta by the Government dawk.

He declared that he considered this insult to Government sufficient in itself to justify some Regulation and to prove that the Law as it stood was not sufficient to protect authority from insult. His Lordship would again ask if any man could believe that the Legislature meant to secure the Government against any attempt which could be made upon it by our own countrymen and to lay it open to the assaults of every one who happened to be born in India—everyone circumstanced as the present Editor of the *Calcutta Journal* is? He believed, he said, that none who maintained such a principle ever could have looked forward to its extent. He said he spoke advisedly and with great deliberation, but he protested most solemnly against intending offence. He again admitted the respectability of those who formed so large a class of this Community (the more respectable they were they might become the more dangerous), but he said their claim depended upon the locality of their birth under particular circumstances and upon nothing else. This he was

confident no man could deny and he asserted in the most distinct terms, well knowing he could not be contradicted that there was not a sircar or a bearer, a coolie or *methur* in the streets of Calcutta who might not claim similar exemptions upon the very same principle; and yet he believed if such persons set themselves forward in hostility to Government few would be found to say that they ought not to be restrained by Regulation if the laws in existence were inadequate to the purpose of restraint. As to depriving men of their property his Lordship declared himself unable to discover how this Regulation could have any such effect. He believed it was the intention of Government to license every press at present established; that he would think it unjust and unreasonable not to do so. If this was not done, he could not but consider this as an *ex post facto* law, and upon that ground he would withhold his concurrence, that he desired to have it understood he would sanction it, believing it was not to have a retrospective operation. That he believed the Government neither wished or intended it to operate retrospectively; yet if any alarm was felt upon that account, he had said enough to show that it was groundless. He desired if any persons concerned in an established press had any fears upon the subject, that they might apply to him and that he would suspend the registry of their Regulation until their licenses were granted. How long they were to continue would depend upon their own conduct. He did not feel the declaration he had now made to be necessary, but he wished to quiet or to prevent all apprehensions on the subject.

As to the property of those who may have speculated upon profits to be derived from an abuse of the Government, it stood upon a very different footing.

The Government is no guarantee to such an adventure. It may truly say:—

Nōn hæc in fœdera veni.

The Government is free to act as it may think proper; but he hoped if there is anybody concerned in such a fund, that he will not be suffered to benefit by his speculation. If, like other funds, it is to rise as the state in hostility is reduced, and to advance upon every defeat of the enemy,—the Government being that enemy—he trusted it would not be long before we saw an end of such a stock and of such a stock jobbing. Is this Rule, Ordinance and Regulation repugnant to the Laws of the Realm? He protested once more that he did not know the Law to which it was repugnant. The Law by which this country is governed may be said by some to be repugnant to the Laws of the Realm. He held that the Law by which this country is governed, is the law of England; and he did not very clearly see how a Regulation, absolutely necessary to the maintenance of a Government so constituted, could be said to be repugnant to the Laws of England, provided it kept within the penalties which this Government and this Court are empowered by Act of Parliament to impose. Being authorised to make Regulations for the good order and civil government of the town of Calcutta, the authority, he said, may well be presumed to have been given with reference to that species of Government which had been established by Law. But he did not intend to rely upon any such distinction. He would ask if it was repugnant to the laws of England to prevent the Government from being brought into contempt and hatred? Or is there anything in a newspaper press which protects it against restraint? There are many Acts of Parliament tending to keep it under special control. Indeed what

is called the fettering of the English Press is a topic of popular clamour. A few instances only out of many need be mentioned. If any man shall have a press not registered and not having received a certificate of registry, a Magistrate may issue his warrant, ordering the house of the suspected unregistered printer to be broken into in the day time; and the constable or other person authorised by the warrant, may seize and carry away all presses, types, and printed papers found in the premises. By another Act, no man shall establish a periodical publication until he shall have given a bond, with two or more sufficient sureties for £300 if within twenty miles of London, and £200 elsewhere in the United Kingdom, conditioned for the payment of such fine as may be adjudged against him by reason of conviction. There are numberless other anecdotes and restrictions, which he would not say directly amounted to licensing, although perhaps there was no great difference in licensing terms and excluding a great majority from a privilege. In England there is not perhaps one man in a thousand who can comply with the terms prescribed—the remainder have the privilege upon compliance and certainly without the form of a license. In answer to what has been said relating to the Magistrate's jurisdiction, it may be observed that the penalties imposed by the English Acts are recoverable by the authority of Magistrates.

But is there any Law of England to which the Regulation is repugnant? There is not any (Sir Francis said) that he knew of exempting the trade of the printers from such enactments as many other trades and professions are subject to. He said, he thought, barristers were licensed—that they were at last admitted by authority to practise at the Bar, although their admission might be refused. The clergy were licensed

—attorneys were licensed and he might mention many other cases of those who cannot practise without license, whose stations in life and rank in society are at least on a footing with printers. How many trades are there which cannot be carried on without a license and a revocable license? Ale-house keepers, tavern-keepers, post-horse keepers, hackney-coach keepers, vendors of various articles which it would be tiresome and to no purpose to mention. If it appeared, indeed, that newspaper printers were declared to be exempted from license under every circumstance, it might then become a question (if such exemption was not declared to be operative in this country) how far the nature of this Government and an emergent case, might justify it here. If this Regulation is not justified, none ever was or ever can be, justified by the Act of Parliament. He again declared his belief and his perfect assurance that the authority given to the Government by this Regulation, would not be abused, and he considered it to be absolutely necessary. He should be sorry, indeed, if authority could be abused with impunity. It behoves those who are entrusted with it to act circumspectly, and with moderation. He would, he said, order this Regulation to be registered, with the reservation he had already particularly mentioned. He said he had perhaps better be silent than mention what he was about to state. He trusted there would be no occasion for a further Regulation, but he thought nobody could complain of the severity of this. He did not give an opinion; but from the spirit in which penal enactments are construed in Courts of Justice, he conceived it might be a matter of doubt, whether or not more than one penalty could be recovered, although there were repeated offences under this Regulation. With that,

however, he had no concern at present. He then desired that the Regulation might be registered in due time, unless he gave future directions to the contrary."

The petition presented to the Supreme Court against the registering of Adam's Regulation by the native inhabitants of Calcutta runs as follows :—

To The Honourable SIR FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN, sole Acting Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

MY LORD,—In consequence of the late Rule and Ordinance passed by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council regarding the publication of periodical works, your memorialists consider themselves called upon, with due submission, to represent to you their feelings and sentiments on the subject.

Your memorialists beg leave, in the first place, to bring to the notice of your Lordship, various proofs given by the Natives of this country of their unshaken loyalty to and unlimited confidence in the British Government of India, which may remove from your mind any apprehension of the Government being brought into hatred and contempt, or of the peace, harmony, and good order of society in this country, being liable to be interrupted and destroyed, as implied in the preamble of the above Rule and Ordinance.

First, your Lordship is well aware, that the Natives of Calcutta and its vicinity, have voluntarily entrusted Government with millions of their wealth, without indicating the least suspicion of its stability and good faith, and reposing in the sanguine hope that their property being so secured, their interests will be as permanent as the British power itself; while, on the contrary, their fathers were invariably compelled to conceal their treasures in the bowels of the earth, in order to preserve them from the insatiable rapacity of their oppressive rulers.

Secondly, placing entire reliance on the promises made by the British Government at the time of the perpetual settlement of the landed property in this part of India, in 1793, the landholders have since, by constantly improving their estates, been able to increase their produce in general very considerably; whereas,

prior to that period and under former Governments, their forefathers were obliged to lay waste the greater part of their estates, in order to make them appear of inferior value, that they might not excite the cupidity of Government, and thus cause their rents to be increased or themselves to be dispossessed of their lands,—a pernicious practice which often incapacitated the landholders from discharging even their stipulated revenue to Government and reduced their families to poverty.

Thirdly.—During the last wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against neighbouring Powers, it is well known, that the great body of Natives of wealth and respectability as well as the Landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers to the objects of their worship for the success of the British arms from a deep conviction that under the sway of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject, they voluntarily came forward with a large portion of their property to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence, considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success their own happiness and prosperity depended.

Fourthly.—It is manifest as the light of the day, that the general subjects of observation and the constant and the familiar topic of discourse among the Hindu Community of Bengal are the literary and political improvements which are continually going on in the state of the country under the present system of Government, and a comparison between their present auspicious prospects and their hopeless condition under their former Rulers.

Under these circumstances, your Lordship cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction that whoever charges the Natives of this country with disloyalty or insinuates ought to the prejudice of their fidelity and attachment to the British Government, must either be totally ignorant of the affairs of this country and the feelings and sentiments of its inhabitants as above stated, or, on the contrary, be desirous of misrepresenting

Your Memorialists must confess, that these feelings of loyalty and attachment of which the most unequivocal proofs stand on record, have been produced by the wisdom and liberality displayed by the British Government in the means adopted for the gradual improvement of their social and domestic condition by the establishment of Colleges, Schools and other beneficial institutions in this city, among which the erection of a British Court of Judicature for the more effectual administration of Justice, deserves to be gratefully remembered.

Hence the population of Calcutta as well as the value of land in this City, have rapidly increased of late years, notwithstanding the high rents of houses and the dearness of all the necessaries of life compared with other parts of the country as well as the inhabitants being subjected to additional taxes and also liable to the heavy costs necessarily incurred in case of suits before the Supreme Court.

chiefly promoted by the establishment of four Native Newspapers, two in the Bengalee and two in the Persian Languages published for the purpose of communicating to those residing in the interior of the country, accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country, and also the interesting and valuable intelligence of what is passing in England and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English Newspapers or other channels.

through the English Press, to discover any disturbance of the peace, harmony and good order of society that has arisen from the English Press, the influence of which must necessarily be confined to that part of the community who understand the language thoroughly ; but they are quite confident, that the publications in the Native Languages, whether in the shape of a Newspaper or any other work, have none of them been calculated to bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt, and that they have not proved, as far as can be ascertained by the strictest enquiry, in the slightest degree injurious, which has very lately been acknowledged in one of the most respectable English Missionary works. So far from obtruding upon the Government groundless representations, Native Authors and Editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the judicial proceedings in the interior of the country as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government.

While Your Memorialists were indulging the hope that Government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and impartial information regarding what is passing in all parts of the country, would encourage the establishment of Newspapers in the cities and districts under special patronage and protection of Government that they might furnish the Supreme Authorities in Calcutta with an accurate account of local occurrences and reports of Judicial proceedings,—they have the misfortune to observe, that on the contrary, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has lately promulgated a Rule and Ordinance imposing severe restraints on the Press and prohibiting all Periodical Publications even at the Presidency and in the

Native Languages, unless sanctioned by a License from Government, which is to be revocable at pleasure whenever it shall appear to Government that a publication has contained anything of an unsuitable character.

Those natives who are in more favourable circumstances and of respectable character have such an invincible prejudice against making a voluntary affidavit, or undergoing the solemnities of an oath, that they will never think of establishing a publication which can only be supported by a series of oaths and affidavits, abhorrent to their feelings and derogatory to their reputation amongst their countrymen.

After this Rule and Ordinance shall have been carried into execution, Your Memorialists are therefore extremely sorry to observe, that a complete stop will be put to the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translations into the popular dialect of this country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications. And the same cause will also prevent those natives who are better versed in the laws and customs of the British nation, from communicating to their fellow-subjects a knowledge of the admirable system of Government established by the British, and the peculiar excellencies of the means they have adopted for the strict and impartial administration of justice. Another evil of equal importance in the eyes of a just Ruler is that it will also preclude the natives from making the Government readily acquainted with the errors and injustice that may be committed by its executive officers in the various parts of their extensive country, and it will also preclude the Natives from communicating frankly and honestly to their Gracious Sovereign in England and his Council, the real condition of His Majesty's faithful subjects in this distant part of his dominions and the treatment they experience from the local Government. Since such information cannot in future be conveyed to England, as it has heretofore been, either by the translation from the Native publications inserted in the English newspapers printed here and sent to Europe or by the English publications which the

Natives themselves had in contemplation to establish before this Rule and Ordinance was proposed.

After this sudden deprivation of one of the most precious of their rights, which has been freely allowed them since the establishment of the British Power, a right which they are not and cannot be, charged with having ever abused, the inhabitants of Calcutta would be no longer justified in boasting, that they are fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British nation, or that the King of England and his Lords and Commons are their legislators and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England.

Your Memorialists are persuaded, that the British Government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim so often acted upon by Asiatic Princes, that the more a people are kept in darkness, their Rulers will derive the greater advantages from them, since, by reference to History, it is found that was but a shortsighted policy, which did not ultimately answer the purposes of its authors. On the contrary, it rather proved disadvantageous to them; for we find that as often as an ignorant people when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their Rulers, all sorts of barbarous excesses and cruelties have been the consequence; whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under good government from which they experience just and liberal treatment must become the more attached to it in proportion as they become enlightened and the great body of the people are taught to appreciate the value of the blessing they enjoy under its Rule.

Every good Ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford to every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established Law of the Land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found

guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of Government which are effectually guarded by the same Law to which individuals must look for protection of their reputation and good name.

Your Memorialists conclude by humbly entreating your Lordship to take this memorial into Your gracious consideration; and that you will be pleased by not registering the above Rule and Ordinance, to permit the Natives of this country to continue in possession of the civil rights and privileges which they and their fathers have so long enjoyed under the auspices of the British nation, whose kindness and confidence, they are not aware of having done any thing to forfeit.

CHANDER COOMAR TAGORE, DWARKA NAUTH TAGORE,
RAM MOHAN ROY, HUR CHUNDER GHOSE, GOWREE CHURN
BONNERJEE, PROSUNNU COOMAR TAGORE.

S. C. SANIAL.

[*To be continued.*]

CRITICAL NOTICES.

PERSIA PAST AND PRESENT. A book of travel and research with more than two hundred illustrations and a map by A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages, and some time Adjunct Professor of the English Language and Literature in Columbia University. New York: the Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1906.

PERSIA, the land of the Lion and the Sun and familiarly known throughout Asia as Iran, is at the present moment attracting a great deal of public attention owing to the awakening which has taken place among its people and in pursuance of which the Government of the country has been changed from monarchical absolutism to one of a representative character. The Shahan Shah of Persia is no longer the absolute monarch as he once was; the Parliamentary form of government has put written checks upon his prerogatives. The Council of Wise Men of Artaxerxes in the unlimited history of ancient Persia naturally comes to mind when we think of the present epoch-making change in Persia. But that is a far-off cry—too distant from the modern times to be regarded as a precedent of the present movement. In the whole history of Persia, both ancient and modern, there cannot be found any other example approaching the present one except the one cited above. The step taken by the late Shah Mozufferuddin to revive the depressed condition of the land which gave birth to Sadi, Hafiz, Firdausi, Omar Khayyam and others of immortal fame, seems now to be the most suitable to the present condition of Persia especially as it is a satisfactory supply to a great demand of the Persian people. Persia is a source of perennial information to archæologists and scholars as it was the scene and site of many ancient kingdoms whose mention can be found in the Bible as well as in Herodotus and other ancient writers. Hence if under a representative form of government, the land be made better communicable and accessible to the world, there cannot be any doubt about the gratefulness which the scholars and antiquarians would feel to those who have wrested the new form of government from the last absolute monarch of Persia.

In 1903 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson went to Persia to study on the spot the archæological remains that still exist there with regard to Zoroaster and the ancient faith of Magi. Passing through Moscow, Tiflis and Trans-Caucasia, he reached Julfa on the Persian frontier. From this place really commenced his journey to Northern Persia. While staying at Tiflis, he gathered some additional information regarding the Yezidis or Devil-worshippers, a people whose reference can be found in Zoroastrian literature as well as in the books on the religion of Ancient Persia. These Devil-worshippers are chiefly to be found in the Caucasus, Armenia and Kurdistan, although they are scattered over a considerably wider territory, their head-quarters being in the province of Mosul and Mesopotamia. Owing to persecutions which they have suffered throughout their history, their number is not large; nevertheless they are said to number twelve thousand in the region of the Caucasus alone, and there are at least several hundred Yezidis living in the immediate vicinity of Tiflis. They do not speak of themselves ordinarily as Yezidis, but employ the names of their respective tribes or adopt by preference the term *Dasni*, a tribal designation in the neighbourhood of Mosul, close to the site of ancient Nineveh, which was one of the original homes of the religion. Various explanations have been proposed for the name *Yezidi*; among them one associates it with *yazdan*, the Persian word for God, as the Yezidis undeniably believe in a God, although they do not ordinarily speak of him. A second suggestion is to connect it with the town of Yezd. A third seeks to derive the name from Yezid, the detested Mahomedan Caliph who slew Hossein, the grandson of the Prophet at the field of Kerbala, for Yezid is fabled to have been a champion of their faith. But none of these suggestions seem very satisfactory to the author. According to the belief of the Yezidis, God, the creator of earth and heaven, first made from his own essence six other divinities, the sun, the moon, and the principal stars and these joined with him in creating the angels. The devil who was God's creation, rebelled against his Lord and was cast into hell. He afterwards repented for his sin, did penance for seven thousand years and shed tears of contrition which fill seven

vessels that will be used at the Day of Judgment to quench the fires of the seven hells. God in his mercy pardoned the recreant, restored him to heavenly rank, made him one with himself and forbade the angels to look with scorn upon their reinstated brother. Inasmuch as God's grace thus forgave and exalted even Satan himself, man should not look with contempt upon this so-called representative of evil. On this account the Yezidis never allow the name of Satan to pass their lips, avoiding even a syllable that suggests the word and shrinking with horror from any mention of the devil by others. They venerate his sacred majesty under the name of Malik Taus, "King Peacock" a title which they apply to the holy standard (*sanjak*) or symbol of their religion, which is a peacock conventionalised in their art so as almost to resemble a cock. Malik Taus revealed himself in the form of a handsome youth with a peacock's tail when he appeared in a faith before Sheik Aadi, the prophet of the faith. The reverence shown by the Yezidis to the power of evil may have some similarity in character to the propitiatory sacrifice offered in ancient times to the divinity below the earth by Amestris, wife of Xerxes, according to Herodotus and other authorities. It seems possible also that the *daeua-yasna*, or devil worshippers, anathematised in the Avesta may have entertained kindred ideas about venerating the realm of darkness, and that the Yezidis and their strange beliefs preserve traces of the devil worship in the Mazandran which Zoroaster so bitterly denounced. In many respects the Yezidi doctrines have been influenced by Manichæism and its doctrines of purity, by Nestorian Christianity and especially by Mahomedanism. With each of these religions the Yezidis have come into contact. They recognise Mahomed as a prophet of equal rank with Abraham and the patriarchs, and they believe that Christ was an angel in human form. They have a book of divine revelation, which they call *Al-Yalvah*, and they name as its great expounder their sainted head Sheikh Aadi who lived about A.D. 1200.

From Tiflis, the author reached the ancient town of Erivan and caught his first view of Mount Ararat. Erivan is the capital of Russian Armenia and has a population of 30,000 souls.

From this place he went to Julfa on the Persian border. Chapter IV is devoted mainly to an outline of Persia's history, ancient and modern, to make the reader familiar with what has been stated in the following chapters. From Julfa he proceeded to Tabriz, the residence of the Crown Prince or *valiaka*, Mohammad Ali Mirza now Mohammad Ali Shah. This place has got an additional interest for the students of Persian history, as here has sprung up a new religious movement eclectic in character and now known as Babism. Already the new cult has assumed such proportions as to menace the universal supremacy of Mahomedanism in Iran and even to attract attention and some followers in the Occident. On July 9, 1850, the Persian Reformer, Bab, whose real name was Mirza Ali Mohammad, was executed at the public square of Tabriz. He was born at Shiraz about the year 1820 and was early trained for commercial life, but a pilgrimage to Kerbala and Najaf and afterwards to Mecca, awakened in his heart the religious enthusiasm which made him devote his life henceforth to developing the tenets he held. Upon his return to his native city, about 1844, he assumed the title of *bab* or "gate" leading to spiritual life. His religious views were somewhat eclectic; his doctrines leaned towards a mystic pantheism with elements of agnosticism and were of a highly moral order and so liberal as to include steps towards the emancipation of woman. In the eyes of the strict Mahomedan, however, the doctrines upheld by the Bab were rank heresy. Nevertheless, they spread rapidly and awakened such intense sympathy among those who were dissatisfied with the *regime* maintained by the Persian Mollahs on the one hand, and raised such bitter opposition on the other, among those who were pronouncedly conservative, that they led finally to bloody conflicts which resulted in the imprisonment of the Bab. He was ultimately taken to Tabriz and was shot dead. It has still many followers despite the persecution to which the sect has been subjected. Babism now is not confined to Persia, but has adherents in Mesopotamia, Syria, India and even in America.

Though Tabriz or the province Azerbaidjan, is historically connected with Zoroaster's name, yet the author found little there for his researches in that respect. Winter prevented him from

ascending Mounts Sahand and Savalan, the former of which may be identical with Asnavand of the Avesta and the latter with the "Mount of the two Holy Communicants" in the Avesta where Zoroaster communed with Ormazd. Chapter VIII is given to the life and career of Zoroaster. From Tabriz the author went to Lake Urumiah, where he examined some Sasanian bas-reliefs. As Urumiah is supposed to be the early home of Zoroaster, he took considerable pains to find some clue to justify the general supposition. Here he found a small colony of Nestorian Christians. They are not of Persian blood, but originally Syrians or, rather, Assyrians, a term which they themselves prefer, or Chaldeans as the French call them. They are descendants of the ancient followers of the Christian Bishop Nestorius who was ex-communicated in the fifth century for holding unorthodox views concerning the Divinity of Christ, not regarding him as the God-man, but separating his human personality from his divine nature. The adherents of Nestorius spread first into Persia, then far and wide through Asia carrying their sectarian doctrines with them. From Urumiah the author proceeded to Hamadan, ancient Ecbatana, which was once the home of kings. The modern city does not contain any trace of that solemn grandeur which is still to be found in the ruins at Persepolis and Pasargadae. He carefully examined all that can yield to him information on its ancient history. The Behistan rock inscriptions which record in rock the deeds of the Persian monarchs Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, covering a period of two centuries (B.C. 541-340) were carefully read by him. Chapter XIII and XIV are given to the narrative of these cuneiform records. Thence he went to Kermanshah and the beautiful villa of Taki-i-Bostan in its neighbourhood. Commercially the city of Kermanshah is favourably situated as it lies on the main caravan route between Persia and Mesopotamia, being nearly equi-distant from Teheran and Baghdad. The town enjoys the advantage of a busy trade. From Kermanshah he again retraced his steps towards Hamadan by way of Kangavar, a town of great antiquity, which contains the great ruined temple of the Persian Diana. From Hamadan he proceeded to Ispahan, the former capital of Persia under Shah Abbas the

Great. For two centuries, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Ispahan ranked as the metropolis of Persia. Hence to the traveller the city offers more objects of interest than any other city of Iran. It is true that the city has lost much of the splendour that distinguished it three hundred years ago as the capital of Shah Abbas the Great, whose lavish hospitality to the foreigners that visited his court is described by the early European travellers Tavernier, Chardin, Sanson, Fryer and Kaempfer. It is equally true that the city never fully recovered from the blow that it suffered in the eighteenth century from the Afghan invasion which lost for it its prestige as capital and resulted in the transfer of the imperial seat to Teheran. Nevertheless, enough of the old lustre remains to make Ispahan a Persian Delhi and a worthy rival to its modern successor on the Caspian littoral.

The heart of the city and central point of interest is the magnificent *Maidan-i-Shah* (Imperial Square), which is mentioned even in the *Shah Namah* and is one of the most imposing places of the world. Its length from north to south is more than a quarter of a mile, and its breadth from east to west is nearly an eighth of a mile. It is as level as a parade-ground and as we canter over its smooth surface we are reminded of the days, three hundred years ago, when the ruler of the capital used to have exhibitions of the traditional horsemanship of the Persians. A prize, sometimes a golden goblet, was set on the top of a pole in the midst of the vast arena and shot at as the marksmen galloped by; or sides were taken by the princes and nobles in the ancient game of polo, *gui-u-chugan*, and a large marble goal post is still standing at each end of the *maidan* to mark the terminus towards which they drove the ball that, in the words of Omar Khayyam,

No question makes of Ayes and Noes
But here and there as strikes the Player goes.

But polo is no longer played here; only occasional parades and processions are held, and the caravans wend their slow way across it to unload their burden in the bazar. The four sides of the *Maidan* are bordered by low galleried buildings, the uniform outline of whose roofs is broken at various points by stately

edifices that have real architectural merit. All these have been fully and excellently described by various writers from Tavernier and Chardin to Curzon and Browne.

From Ispahan, the author went south to Meshed-i-Murghab, the nearest halting-place to the Tomb of Cyrus and the scenes of the past glory of the Achæminians. Chapters XIX and XX are devoted to the descriptions of Pasargadæ, the royal seat of Cyrus and Cambyzes and those of Persepolis, the ancient metropolis of Darius and his successors on the Achæmenian throne. The tomb of Cyrus the Great and the platform overlooking Pasargadæ are still remaining to testify to the greatness of ancient Persia. The author most religiously examined all these ruins, the result of which has been recorded by him in the two chapters of his book. From Persepolis the author went to Shiraz, the home of the Persian poets.

Although the city is the capital of the historic province of Fars and by right of inheritance, the successor to the glory of Persepolis, the claim which Shiraz can make to eminence by reason of antiquity is not comparable with that of either Hamadan or Rei in Media of old. The general location of the city, it is true, is probably an ancient one, as shown by the vestiges of Achæmenian and Sasanian ruins in its vicinity, and Iranian legend and Mahomedan fable are even ready to ascribe the founding of the city to a son of Tahumars or to a great-grandson of Noah, but the more sober Moslem authors say that Shiraz was founded or rebuilt by Mohammad ibn Yusuf Takali after the rise of Islam in the seventh century A. D. Shiraz owes most of its architectural beauty to-day to Karim Khan (1751-1779), who governed it as regent under the Safavid dynasty in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Many of the effects of his refining influence were nullified by the eunuch ruler, Agha Mohammad Khan, who razed its stone ramparts to the ground, replaced them by mud walls and reduced the city to a rank unworthy of its traditional prestige. But the true renown of Shiraz rests not upon the beauties of nature, but upon the fame of her poets and the distinguished men she has given to Iran. Hafiz, one of the world's greatest lyricist, and Saadi, Persia's great moralist and poet, were born

and bred at Shiraz. Hafiz, whose birth occurred sometime in the first half of the fourteenth century, is known almost as well by name at least in the West as he is in the East, where every Persian is familiar with his odes, which have made Shiraz a synonym for poetic inspiration. The beauty of his language, the charm of his style, the rhythmic flow of his sweet verses, and the passionate outpouring of his soul, whether it be in the lyrical expression of his own love or in the mystic ecstasy of a spiritual devotion veiled under the guise of material images, entitle Hafiz to rank even in the Occident as a poet's poet and to hold a conspicuous place in the best literature of the world. His youth may have been Anacreontic, but he must have been a faithful student as he won by his memory and learning the title *Hafiz*, "mindful," a distinction bestowed only upon those who knew the entire *Koran* and its interpretation by heart, and he received also an appointment as instructor to the family of the ruling House of Muzaffar as well as a position in the royal Madrassah, which was founded expressly for him. Even a prince of India, Mahmud Shah Bahmani of the Deccan, invited him to his court as a permanent guest. Hafiz accepted the invitation and started on the journey, but proved unequal to facing the dangers of a journey by sea and abandoned his plan, excusing himself by writing a handsome panegyric of his would-be patron and delicately urging his preference for a life amid the enchantments of his birthplace.

The sepulchre of the poet lies about two miles north-east of the city. The area in which the tomb of Hafiz stands is shaded by poplars, cypresses and maples, and beneath their shadows a small reservoir is seen. The tomb stands in the middle of the garden and is surrounded by a number of graves, since burial near the poet's dust is now a special privilege. The place is well kept up. A handsome oblong block of marble covers the grave and takes the place of the original slab which Karim Khan is said to have placed in the Jahan Namah Garden when he replaced the stone by the present sarcophagus. The present Governor of Shiraz has taken pains to have the sepulchre protected by a large iron grating which is more imposing than the

old metal cage that formerly enclosed it, and the scroll-work and design show artistic taste. The stanchions and corner posts, however, are iron telegraph poles, received from the Indo-European Telegraph Company, and the Shirazis seemed to be almost as proud of these and of the little metal flags that decorate the top as of the inscribed slab over the poet's dust. The tomb of Saadi lies about a mile farther northward in a slight hollow of the plain and is called the Saadiyah. Like the tomb of Hafiz, it is in an enclosed garden, and a grove of poplars, cypresses, fragrant shrubs and rose bushes, surrounds the building which contains the remains of Persia's great moralist and poet. It is a fitting resting-place for one who gave the titles of "Rose Garden" and "Garden of Perfume" to his two chief works. From Shiraz the author went to Yezd, an ancient stronghold of Zoroastrian faith.

Yezd is a city of considerable antiquity. According to legend, it was used by Alexander the Great as a place of confinement for his prisoners of war. During the early years of Mahomedan rule, Yezd became a place of refuge and stronghold for the Zoroastrian Gabars, probably because of its remote situation in the desert. Situated amid a sea of sand which threatens to engulf it, Yezd is a symbolic home for the isolated band of Zoroastrians that still survives the surging waves of Islam that swept over Persia with the Mahomedan conquest twelve hundred years ago. Although exposed to persecution and often in danger from storms of fanaticism, this isolated religious community encouraged by the buoyant hope characteristic of its faith, has been able to keep the sacred flame of Ormazd alive and to preserve the ancient doctrines and religious rites of its creed. When the Arab hosts unfurled the green banner with the crescent and swept over the land of Iran with the cry of Allah-o-Akber, shout of Mohammad, proclamation of Koran, fire, sword, slaughter, enforced conversion or compulsory banishment, a mighty change came over Persia. The battle-fields of Khadisia and Nihavand decided not Iran's fate alone, but Iran's faith. Ahura Mazda, Zarathushtra and the Avesta ceased almost to be known, the temple conserved to fire became a sacrifice to its own flame, and the gasp of the dying

Magian's voice was drowned by the call of the Muezzin to prayer on the top of the minaretted mosque. In a way Moslem creed was easy of acceptance for Persia, since Mohammad himself had adopted elements from Zoroastrianism to unite with Jewish and Christian tenets in making his religion. The Persian, therefore, under show of reason or exercise of force, could be led to exchange Ormazd for Allah, to acknowledge Mohammad, instead of Zoroaster, as the true prophet of later days, and to accept the Koran as the inspired word of God that supplanted the Avesta. The conqueror's sword, inscribed with holy texts in arabesques, contributed its share, no doubt to making all this possible, but many a Gabar stubbornly refused to give up his belief, and consequently sealed his faith with his blood. The few that sought religions, liberty by accepting exile in India, became the ancestors of the modern Parsis of Bombay; but the rest of the scanty handful that escaped the perils of the Mahomedan conquest found a desert home at Yezd and in the remote city of Kerman, not to mention the straggling few that are found elsewhere in Persia, to prove the exception to the now universal rule of Islam in Iran.

Chapters XXIII and XXIV are devoted to the description of the social life of the Zoroastrians at Yezd. From Yezd, the author went to Teheran, the present capital of Persia, visiting on the way Kashan, the birth-place of the great editor of the living Persian paper, *Habehl Matin*, which is published weekly at Calcutta. From Kashan, Kum was reached. This is a sacred place containing the sanctuary of Fatima, sister of Imam Riza, the eighth Imam or Caliph. Kings have chosen the city as a final resting place for their bones, and the great Kajjar Monarch Fath Ali Shah, is among the Persian Monarchs buried here. Burial near Fatima's shrine is, in fact, almost equivalent to a passport for heaven, although Kum cannot quite rival Karbala and Meshad in this respect. A year ago when through misgovernment, the people were greatly exasperated, their leaders, the Mollahs, retired in a body to this place to compell the Shah to change the form of Government. This had a very good effect, as it eventually brought about a change in the Ministry, as well as the promulgation of the National Assembly of Persia.

In Chapter XXVI, Teheran is described. The Zoroastrians of Teheran, are, taken as a whole, in better circumstances than those in any other city of Persia, because of the more liberal conditions that prevail in general at the capital. One of the richest bankers of Teheran is a Zoroastrian. From Teheran, the author visited the ruins of Rei, the ancient Ragha, now noted for the shrine of Shah Abdul Azim which is visited annually by thousands of pilgrims and within whose precincts the Shah Nasiruddin was assassinated by Mirza Reza in 1896. This place is connected with Teheran by railway. From Teheran he went to the Caspian Sea through Kazvin and Mazandran to continue his journey to Central Asia, which will form the subject of other volume supplemented by a historic account of Susa and of Eastern Persia.

As the author's travel in Persia is chiefly meant for collecting information on Zoroaster and his religion, his book naturally contains a vast amount of information on the ancient religion of Persia. His researches are very scrutinising and throw a flood of new light on the ancient history of Persia. The illustrations are particularly informing on the points discussed in the book, and their number shows that the traveller took considerable pains to copy them from the originals. The way in which the book is compiled is very creditable to the author; it is as much intended for the general reader as for the scholar and antiquarian. In many respects, it is an excellent guide to future travellers. If under her new *régime*, Persia be able to possess a network of railways and other means of communication such as roads, canals, etc., it is sure to be visited by a large number of foreign travellers.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Sabda-Kalpadruma (published by the *Basumati* Press). The proprietor of the *Basumati* Press has rendered a distinct service by publishing a cheap reprint of the late Rājā Rādhā Kānta Dev's *magnum opus*, and thereby placing it within the reach of litterateurs. In the history of the literature of every country a period of patronage precedes a period of free and fair competition. Just as protection is necessary for the up-building of a country's industries so patronage is necessary for the development of a people's literature. The reading public grow slowly,—and then literature conforms to the taste of those who pay for it. In England the period of patronage came to an end with Johnson's letter declining to dedicate his dictionary to Chesterfield. The general plan of the book was formed in 1747. It was too great a venture for any one bookseller, and a combination undertook to finance it. Johnson was asked to address the plan to Lord Chesterfield, then Secretary of State, and considered the chief patron of letters in his day. Chesterfield replied graciously, and the work was begun. Johnson estimated that the work would be completed in three years. But it took him eight years to complete it. During the protracted period of his struggle Johnson had heard nothing of his patron—Chesterfield. When, however, the work was approaching completion Chesterfield wished for the honour of the dedication. He tried to propitiate the author by writing two articles in *The World*, praising the dictionary and the writer with delicate flattery. Chesterfield's notice was so valuable that a man of less independent character would have been glad to receive it even then, but Johnson acknowledged it in a letter ranking among the finest things in the English literature as a masterpiece of independence, of dignity, and of restrained but tremendous invective. This letter was, as Carlyle says, "the far-famed blast of doom, proclaiming into the ear of Lord Chesterfield, and through him to the listening world, that patronage should be no more." Thus ended the period of patronage—a period which had produced many works of lasting interest in English literature.

In the case of Bengalee literature that period has but recently been over; and there are people who entertain pleasant memories of the gracious patrons of Bengalee literature—of Rājā Sir Rādhā Kānta, Mahārājā Mahātāb Chānd, Kumārs Iswar Chandra and Pratāp Chandra, Babu Kālī Prasanna Sinha and many another *clarum et venerabile nomen*. The high fame and celebrity of Rādhā Kānta rest upon his compilation and publication of the voluminous Sanskrit encyclopædic lexicon—the *Sabda-Kalpadruma* to which work he devoted nearly forty years of his life and a considerable portion of his fortune. The following account of the inception and growth of the work given in a short sketch of his life (published in 1859) may prove interesting:—

"In his youthful days, when he studied Sanscrit, he attended the recitation of the *Puranas* and other *Shastras*, by learned Panditas at his house, and used to note down difficult words with their meanings in his memorandum book; subsequently he collected them with vocables from the principal *Koshas* (Sanskrit dictionaries in metrical forms), and arranged them in an alphabetical order for his private use: shortly after, as they formed ample materials for a lexicon, he was induced at the desire of some of his friends to publish it, as the want of it was most severely felt by all Sanscrit students; he accordingly set himself to the task; but he contemplated to make it at once a *Worterbuch*, a Book of Synonyms, a Cyclopædia, and an Index to all the departments of Sanscrit Literature and Science.

"This was indeed an Herculean labour, requiring a Job-like patience, extensive erudition, and immense outlay. He was not, however, appalled; he was resolved, and on he went with his work, toiling from day to day, procuring copies or transcripts of Sanscrit manuscripts poring upon the contents of his rich library, and discussing knotty points with the Panditas who often frequented his house, or attended his *sabha*: he established a press at his own house, and caused a set of types to be prepared which have since passed under the designation of Raja's types. The first volume appeared in 1822, and as his studies increased and researches extended, the subsequent volumes were more and more enriched. The seventh or last volume

was published in 1852, and the Appendix, which constitutes a separate volume, in 1858. As each volume issued from the press, he took pleasure in distributing it gratis among those who expressed a desire to make use of it. He has lived long enough to reap the reward of his toil, in finding his work become the theme of universal admiration; it has been eulogized in philological journals in unmeasured terms, and is eagerly sought after by the Panditas of India and the *savants* of Europe and America. The principal societies of Europe and America have been eager to enrol the name of its author in the list of their Honorary Members, and Princes have taken delight in honouring him with the most distinguished marks of their approbation."

Such is the great work which has now become available at a very cheap price. And we are sure its publication in this popular form will have the desired effect on Bengalee literature which is daily growing in volume and vigour.

Benu-o-Bina (the Lute and the Lyre) by Satyendra Nath Dutt.

We owe the young author an apology for delay in noticing his book. He has approached the reading public with a volume of lyrics—a department of literature which has grown almost unmanageable. The ordinary reader now fights shy of a volume of lyrics; and only the most gifted of lyric poets have a chance of being heard. Though containing a promise of lovely productions the lyrics contained in this volume are not striking—nor are they original. "A great writer," said Taine, "is a man who, having passions, knows his dictionary and grammar." This holds good even to-day; the dictionary and the grammar still play a prominent part in making poetry palatable. But our taste has been transformed. With the prospect the perspective has changed. We must take this displacement into account. Nowadays we demand new ideas and bare sentiments; we do not care much for the clothing; we want the thing. We do not trouble ourselves much about adornment, but about truth. We demand ideas more than arrangement of ideas. And the poems of Walt Whitman could be appreciated only in a society where this transformation of taste has taken place.

Unfortunately it is an absence of dominant ideas that strikes one as one reads the poems of this young poet. They are readable—but never admirable. They do not strike one as brilliant or original. But we must admit they stand a little above the average level of poems that flood the market, annoy the critic and exasperate the reader. And we may not be disappointed in hoping that in the near future we shall have better things from the author.

Sondar Banglâ (Golden Bengal) by Nikhil Nath Roy (published by Gooroodas Chatterjee, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta).

The name of this book need not frighten us—even now when Bengal has become prolific in mare's nests. It is a work of history—a narrative of the ruin of Bengal's industries brought about by the unequal competition of foreign capital. English historians and English travellers have left us accounts of the steps taken by Englishmen to profit by the ruin of Bengal's trade with foreign countries. In some cases they killed the goose that used to lay golden eggs in the hope of getting a plathora of eggs at once,—in others Englishmen killed Indian industries to give English industries a start. The dream of a vast Asiatic Empire had not then become an accomplished fact, and England sought to profit by her temporary connection with India. The writer has quoted Bolts to show how oppression was resorted to by English merchants: "With every species of monopoly every kind of oppression to manufacturers, of all denominations throughout the whole country has daily increased; in so much that weavers, for daring to sell their goods, and *dallâls* and *pykârs*, for having contributed to or connived at such sales, have, by the Company's agents, been frequently seized and imprisoned, confined in irons, fined considerable sums of money, flogged, and deprived, in the most ignominious manner, of what they esteem most valuable, their castes. Weavers also, upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced from them by the Company's agents, universally known in Bengal by the name of *Mutchulcahs*, have had their goods seized, and sold on the spot, to make good the deficiency; and the winders of raw silk, called *Nagaads*, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known

of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk."

He has quoted Mill to show how Paisly and Manchester rose on the ruins of Bengal: "The cotton and silk goods of India up to the period (1813 A. D.) could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 to 80 per cent. on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed the mills of Paisly and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufacture. Had India been independent she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her. She was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arms of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competition with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

He could have quoted Birdwood to show how cotton piece-goods trade began to flourish in England: "Cotton manufacture did not obtain a real footing in Europe until last century (the 18th.) At a date before history the art was carried from India to Assyria and Egypt; but it was not until the thirteenth century that the cotton plant was introduced into Southern Europe where its wool was at first used to make paper. The manufacture of it into cloth in imitation of the fabrics of Egypt and India was first attempted by the Italian States in the thirteenth century; from which it was carried into the low countries, and thence passed over to England in the seventeenth century. In 1641 'Manchester cottons,' made up in imitation of Indian cottons, were still made of wool. But in vain did Manchester attempt to compete on fair free-trade principles with the printed calicoes of India; and gradually Indian chintzes became so generally worn in England, to the detriment of the woollen and

flaxen manufactures of the country, as to excite popular feeling against them; and the Government, yielding to the clamour, passed the law, in 1721, which disgraced the statute book for a generation, prohibiting the wear of all printed calicoes whatever. It was modified in 1736 so far that calicoes were allowed to be worn, 'provided the warp thereof was entirely of linen yarn.' Previous to this, in 1700, a law had been passed by which all wrought silks, mixed stuffs, and figured calicoes 'the manufacture of Persia, China, or the East Indies, were forbidden to be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain.'"

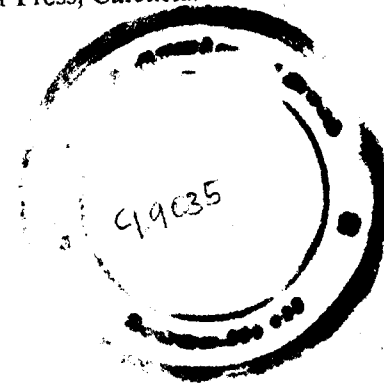
The narrative is well written—and a rich store-house of information. But there is a point where the historian finishes his work and the labours of the economist begin. Babu Nikhil Nath has carried the narrative to that point. Now it is for the economist to begin his work—to realise the situation, and recommend the course to be adopted by Indians. The old handicrafts of India have been destroyed. And the time for handicrafts is, perhaps, gone. We must have manufacture now—the cottage must make room for the factory,—trade must expand into commerce—and guilds must develop into corporations.

The new state of affairs has brought with it new and intricate problems. The centralisation of capital, the question of over-production, the advisability of adopting free-trade principles—these have to be considered. With the establishment of mills and factories other questions will crop up—the most important being the question of the unemployed. Mr. Carol D. Wright calculated that whilst during the past forty years hours have been reduced 20 per cent., production, owing to the improvement of machinery and the high pressure at which work is carried on is 500 per cent. greater; that is to say, one man aided by machinery will now do the work of 500 men ten years ago. The first effect of labour-saving contrivances would be that to make the same quantity of manufactures less workmen would be required; wages will fall, and some of the employed shall have ultimately to be discharged. As we go on improving we recruit the ranks of the enforced idlers. These are problems new to India. India cries aloud for the advent of the economist who will solve them. Will she cry in vain?

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