

Micro Filmed P 41

21-12-13

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXVII.

October 1903.

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

Micro Filmed on
Reel No.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.

AND TO BE HAD OF ALL RESPECTABLE BOOK-SELLERS IN CALCUTTA.

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.

LONDON: MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LD.,

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHANCERY CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W. C.

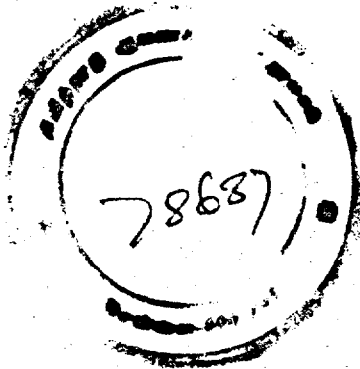
All Rights Reserved

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXXIV.

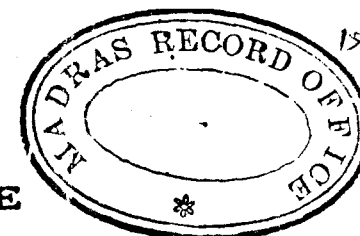
CONTENTS.

	Page.
ART. I.—A HISTORY OF THE BENGAL HIGH COURT ...	159
„ II.—HIS MAJESTY'S REGIMENT DE MEURON ...	192
„ III.—BIHARI LIFE IN BIHARI NURSERY-RHYMES..	235
„ IV.—THE FOLK-LORE OF THE PSALMS ...	252
„ V.—AN ANCIENT INDIAN DRAMA OF THE TENTH CENTURY A.D. ...	273
„ VI.—SHAKESPEARE AS PEDAGOGUE ...	283
„ VII.—INDIAN ART IN THE FAR EAST ...	287
„ VIII.—TYPES OF SOCIETY IN THE PUNJAB ...	314
SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS—	
1.—Census of India. Volume XVII. The Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. Part I. Report by H. A. Rose, I.C.S. ...	320
2.—Census of India, 1901. Volume XXVI, Travancore, by N. Subramanya Aiyar, M.A., M.B., C.M., Dewan Peishcar, Census Commissioner ...	326
3.—Census of India. North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Part III, Provincial Tables and Appendices. By R. Burn, I.C.S. ...	331
4.—International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.— Volume III, Part I. Physics, Part I ...	ib.
5.—Annual Progress Report, Archæological Survey Circle. United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, year ending 31st March 1902 ...	332
6.—Some Notes on the Geological Survey of India in the Shan States ...	334



CRITICAL NOTICES :—

1.—Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti) by J. R. Stoughton Holborn, Great Master in Painting and Sculpture Series ...	viii
2.—Cornet Strong of Ireton's Horse, by Dora Greenwell McChesney ...	x
3.—Barlasch of the Guard. By H. S. Merriman ...	xi
4.—Malabar and its Folk. By T. K. Gopal Panikkar, B.A. ...	xii
5.—Selections from English Literature for the use of Schools in India, edited by Cecil M. Barrow, M.A., Principal, Victoria College, Palghat ...	xiv
6.—Sand Buried Ruins of Khotan. Personal narrative of a Journey of Archæological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan by M. Amel Stein ...	xv
7.—The Method of Christ as traced in Chemistry, Physics, and Spectrum Analysis by John Coultts ...	xviii
8.—Tales of Mariada Raman by P. Ramachandra Rao ...	xix
9.—Tambil Vadik by Babu Durga Charan Rakshit ...	ib.
10.—Bharat Pradakshin ...	ib.
11.—The Indian Church Directory for 1903. Being a Book of Reference for facts connected with the Clergy and the work of the Church of England in India, Ceylon and Burma, with a Digest of Rules and Regulations for the Clergy ...	xx
12.—A Dream of Realms beyond us by Adair Welcker ...	ib.
13.—East and West, Vol. II, No. 23, September 1903 ...	xxi
14.—The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2, July and August 1903. Edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law ...	xxii
15.—The Indian Review, Vol. IV, No. 9, September ...	xxiv
16.—The Indian Antiquary : A Journal of Oriental Research. Edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army, Part CDVI, August 1903 ...	xxv
17.—The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Guzerat. Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. IX. The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Guzerat, Baroda Territories. By J. Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., and Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S. ...	xxvi
18.—India : Past and Present, by John Murduch, LL.D. ...	xxxiv
Acknowledgments ...	xxxviii



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 234—OCTOBER 1903.

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

(Continued from April 1903.)

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

CHAPTER V

NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES OF THE SADAR COURTS

ALTHOUGH the Supreme and the Sadar Courts* stood side by side, still they had very little in common between them. Not only did they differ in their origin, the systems which governed them were entirely different, and the Judges too who presided in them were of different character and qualifications. The Supreme Court was established by Royal Charter and was called the King's Court; it was, if one might say so, an offshoot from Westminster Hall planted in India. On the other hand, the Sadar Courts were the making of the Court of Directors and were justly styled the Company's Courts. This difference in their origin was only intensified by their difference in constitution. None but a barrister-at-law could ever become a Judge of the Supreme Court, but no such restriction was necessary for a Sadar Judge. Any Civil Servant who had by gradation of service risen sufficiently high in the ladder was entitled to a seat on the bench of the Sadar Court; but however high he might rise and however greatly he might distinguish himself, he could never expect to be made a Judge of the Supreme Court. Even the Governor-General himself, if he was not a member of the recognised Bar, could not claim a seat in the Supreme Court. But though a mere civilian could not become a Supreme Court Judge, there was nothing to prevent a barrister-at-law from becoming a Sadar Judge. This fact is incontestably proved by the case of Sir Elijah Impey who, while presiding at the

* These words, says Sir Henry Maine, have the same meaning, but they indicate very different tribunals. *Village Communities* (1890), *loc. cit.* p. 36.

Supreme Court as its Chief, was also appointed to take the lead in the Sadar Court, notwithstanding that he was not a civilian. True it is that such instances were few and far between, but their paucity did not at all affect the principle which underlay them. Indeed, the East India Company had no authority over the Supreme Court, and, as a matter of fact, some of its principal servants suffered much at the hands of that Court. But not only were the Judges of the two Courts different in their character and qualifications, they were also guided in the discharge of their respective duties by different laws and procedures. English law with all its subtleties and technicalities predominated in the Supreme Court,* but such foreign law had very little influence, if any, in the Sadar Courts. There the native laws as modified by the Company's Rules and Regulations reigned supreme, and where such laws and regulations were found to be wanting in any matter in dispute, the principle of justice, equity and good conscience was brought into play. This being so, it is no wonder that the Sadar Courts were more in touch with the people than the Supreme Court. In point of fact, the Supreme Court in its inception was looked upon with horror and its strange proceedings created quite a panic in the land, and it was long before it could gain the confidence of the people. The Supreme Court Judges were as a rule innocent of the manners and customs of the people whose disputes they were called upon to determine, and the result was that the justice which they administered, though it fulfilled the requirements of law, did not give satisfaction to the parties † concerned. The case was quite otherwise in the Sadar Courts where men who had long been in the country and had acquired considerable experience of the peculiar habits and usages of its inhabitants presided. Much better justice was expected of them, and in most cases such expectation was fulfilled. Generally, the Sadar Judges were taken from the Council, and, as a rule, they proved successful administrators of justice. As the learned

* This continued to be the case even to the very last, for, as Sir Henry Maine observes, "Although a series of statutes and charters provided securities for the application of native law and usage to the cases of their native suitors, and though some of the best treatises on Hindu Law which we possess were written by Supreme Court Judges, it would not be incorrect to say that on the eve of the enactment of the several Indian Codes, the bulk of the Jurisprudence administered by the Supreme Courts consisted of English Law, administered under English procedure." (See *Village Communities*, Lec. ii, p. 36.)

† They had also no hope of getting any relief from the Company's Courts which could not enter into circumstances, legal or equitable, which went to affect the justice of the judgment given by the Supreme Court or of the execution under it. (See *Nobin Kissen Halder vs. Bissumohar Seal*, *Sudder Dewani Reports*, Vol. VI, p. 187.) Every such question was for the cognizance of the Supreme Court only.

author whom we have quoted above, while speaking of the different ways in which native laws and usages were treated in the two Courts, says:—"The Judges of the (Sadar) Court were not lawyers but the most learned civilians in the service of the East India Company, some of whom have left names dear to oriental learning. They were strongly influenced by the Supreme Court which sat in their neighbourhood, but it is curious to watch the different effect which the methods of English law had on the two tribunals. At the touch of the Judge of the Supreme Court, who had been trained in the English School of special pleading, and had probably come to the East in the maturity of life, the rule of native law dissolved and, with or without his intention, was to a great extent replaced by rules having their origin in English law-books. Under the hand of the Judges of the Sudder Courts, who had lived since their boyhood among the people of the country, the native rules hardened, and contracted a rigidity which they never had in real native practice."* When the Sadar Courts were in 1801 established as distinct tribunals separate from the Supreme Council of which they had hitherto formed a part, almost all the Judges were taken from the Council Board. Mr. Peter Speke, as being the oldest civilian then in Council, was made the Chief Judge. But he soon retired, giving his place to Mr. (afterwards Sir George Hilario) Barlow. Thus, the latter was virtually the first Chief Judge of the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat† Adalat.

Sir George Hilario Barlow.—George H. Barlow was the fourth son of William Barlow, Esquire, of Bath. He was born in the year 1762 and was educated for the Indian Civil Service. He came out to this country as "Writer"‡ in the service of the East India Company in 1779, having been appointed to Bengal in the year preceding. Soon after his arrival at Calcutta, Barlow was attached as Assistant to Mr. Law, Collector of Gaya, and one of the ablest public servants in India. In 1788 Lord Cornwallis made him Sub-Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department. In this Department it was his duty to carry out the famous Permanent Settlement of Bengal,

* *Vide* Maine's *Village Communities*, Lec. ii, p. 45.

† The expression "Sadar Nizamat," however, has been objected to as not being strictly correct. The word *Sadar* means *Chief* and *Nizamat* is often used to signify *Government*. Hence, "Sadar Nizamat Adalat" is as absurd as it would be to say "Government Royal Court." See Ramaprasad Roy's *Comments on the Code of Civil Procedure*, 3rd Edition, p. 10 note.

‡ The Civil Servants of the East India Company were known as "Writers," and the big house in which they on their arrival in Bengal put up was called *The Writers' Buildings*, a name which has survived the fall of the great Company.

and he was thus brought closely in contact with Mr. John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), a Member of the Supreme Council, and Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General. This great measure was conceived by Cornwallis,* elaborated by Shore, and carried into execution by Barlow. In 1796, Sir John Shore, then Governor-General, made Barlow Chief Secretary to Government. Under Lord Wellesley, who succeeded Sir John, he continued to be Chief Secretary until he became a Member of the Supreme Council in 1801. Barlow was not only a good Revenue Officer, he was also a sound and well-read lawyer. He was Professor of British Law in the Fort William College at Calcutta, the foundation-stone whereof was laid on the 4th of May, 1800, the first anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo Sultan.

Before the year 1801, the Sadar Diwani Adalat † used to be presided over by the Governor-General, assisted by some of the Members of the Council. In that year it was formed into a regular Court having three paid Judges attached to it. The first Chief Judge, as we have already stated, was Peter Speke, who was one of the ablest covenanted servants of the Company and was for many years a Member of the Council. He was, however, Chief Judge only for a short time. On his retirement George Barlow succeeded him. Like his predecessor in office, Barlow was a distinguished Member of the Civil Service, and proved himself very useful to Lord Cornwallis when the latter in his First Administration was engaged in framing those wise and equitable Laws, better known as the Bengal Regulations. In fact, he had the chief hand in manipulating the Code which bore the honored name of that famous Governor-General. Barlow presided in the Sadar Diwani Adalat from 1802 to 1804, during which period he was created a Baronet. In the latter year a change of law taking place in the matter, he reverted to the Council, giving his place in the Court to Henry Thomas Colebrooke.

On the death of Lord Cornwallis at Gazipur on 5th October, 1805, Barlow was appointed Provisional Governor-General, which very high office, the very highest in the land, he held from the 10th October to the last day of July 1807. Again, when in the latter year the law relating to the appointment of Judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was placed in *statu quo ante*, he was restored to that Court. This time, too, he did not remain long in it, for on the 24th December he was appointed

* Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of Junius's Letters, also claimed the honour and fought hard for it, but Cornwallis's claim was found to be superior.

† The Sadar Diwani Adalat in its original form was opened on the 18th of March, 1773. See Preface to Shama Charan Sircar's *Vayvastha Darpana*.

Governor of Madras, which Presidency, very inaptly called the 'benighted' Presidency, he ruled till the 21st of May, 1813. But with all his ability and learning Barlow did not prove a successful ruler of men, and, as a matter of fact, fell considerably short of his famous predecessor, Lord William Bentinck, who afterwards became Governor General. During his rule an alarming Mutiny broke out in the Madras army, which it took some time, and exercised considerable efforts, to repress.

Barlow, although he failed as a ruler, acquitted himself well as a dispenser of justice. He was a thorough master of the laws of the land and his judgments showed a happy combination of sound legal knowledge with strong common sense. But however high his reputation was as a judicial officer, it grew dim before his reputation as a law-maker. Indeed, he was more known as a jurist than as a law administrator. He was one of the ornaments of the Indian Civil Service.

In view of the very strong feelings which raged against him in Madras, Barlow was recalled in 1814 after he had passed thirty-four stormy years in this country. He was made G. C. B., and lived till the 22nd of December 1846* when he died at Farnham.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke was born in London on the 15th of June, 1765. His grandfather, James Colebrooke, was the proprietor of a flourishing banking firm till his death which took place in 1752. Not long after, Colebrooke's father, Sir George Colebrooke, succeeded to the management of the firm. But trading concern did not engross his attention, he mixed in politics and obtained a seat in Parliament. He also did some good services to the East India Company, for which he was appointed its Chairman in 1769. This important office he held for a term of four years, during which he did some good turn to Warren Hastings who afterwards rose so very high. Colebrooke's mother was a remarkable lady who possessed talents of a high order and had considerable presence of mind not quite common in her sex. Like Sir William Jones, Colebrooke owed his strong love of reading more to his mother than to his father.

Young Henry was never at any school. He was educated at home by a tutor, and when only fifteen he had attained a considerable mastery over the classical languages, a great command of French, and some knowledge of German. At this age, too, he had laid the foundation of profound mathematical attainments. Sir George's former connection with the East India Company enabled him to procure the appoint-

* In the Dictionary of National Biography, however, it is stated that Barlow died in February 1847.

ment of his two youngest sons as 'writers' on the Bengal establishment. James Edward, who afterwards succeeded to the Baronetcy, preceded his younger brother to India by some years, and was soon after his arrival appointed to an office of confidence by Warren Hastings. Henry, the youngest, followed his brother in 1782. He arrived at Madras in April, 1783, and afterwards came to Calcutta where he put up with his brother, Edward. He remained unemployed in Calcutta for nearly a year, after which he was given a small situation in the Board of Accounts, which gave him only a scanty emolument, and which he held until he was appointed Assistant Collector of Revenue in Tirhoot, in 1786, where he pursued his studies in Eastern science and literature, which bore such good fruits.

From Tirhoot, Colebrooke was transferred to an office of the same grade in Purneah. This transfer, which took place in April, 1789, was made at the solicitation of the Collector of the latter place, who was anxious for the assistance of one whose reputation for official abilities was now well-known. While in Purneah, Colebrooke investigated the resources of that part of the country, and wrote his *Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal** in which he advocated free trade between Great Britain and India, thereby becoming obnoxious to most of the Directors of the East India Company.

From Purneah Colebrooke was sent to Nattore, where he arrived in the middle of August, 1793. He was charged with the collections of the villages dependent on this station. The judicial authority, from which the collections were now separated, was held by Mr. James Grant, who was lately Collector of Bhagulpore. While Colebrooke was at Nattore, the republic of letters suffered a great loss in the death of Sir William Jones which took place at Calcutta in June, 1794. In a letter to his father Colebrooke thus alluded to this melancholy event:—"Since I wrote to you, the world has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Sir William Jones. As a Judge, as a constitutional lawyer, and for his amiable qualities in private life, he must have been lost with heart-felt regret. But his loss as a literary character will be felt in a wider circle. . . . It must be long before he is replaced in the same career

* This book was printed for private circulation. Colebrooke remained a freetrader to the last day of his life. Mr. John Crawford, sometime Governor of Singapore, who was quite in accord with Colebrooke in his views, said that in the bad times the book was written, its publication would have cost the writer his position, and perhaps, even banishment from India. See Sir Thomas E. Colebrooke's *Life of Henry Thomas Colebrooke*, 1873, p. 70.

of literature, if he ever is so."• The death of Jones cast upon Colebrooke the task,—a very difficult one, no doubt,—of completing the Digest of Hindu Law, which, on the condemnation of Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws*, Sir William had taken in hand but which he had left unfinished. It was a translation of Pundit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan's "*Vivada Bhāṅgarnava*, or the Sea of the Solutions of Legal Disputes." The work is, like the Roman Digest, a rich repository of texts on Hindu Law, and is therefore not so useful to the Bench as to the Bar. Accordingly, it has been happily characterised as 'the best law-book for Counsel and the worst for a Judge.' "But in whatever degree," says Sir Thomas Strange, "Jagannath's Digest may have fallen in estimation, as a book to be used with advantage in our Courts, and especially to the southward, it remains a mine of judicial learning, throwing light upon every question on which it treats, whatever attention it may require in extracting it."† In the meantime Colebrooke had been transferred to Mirzapore as Judge-Magistrate. This opportune transfer was very gratifying to him as it gave him better opportunity of having recourse to the literary treasures and savants of the holy city of Benares which was not far from his head-quarters. Colebrooke entered upon his task with great zest and zeal. The translation was completed in two big volumes, of which the first was ready in 1797, and the second in the year following. It was the fruit of two years of incessant application, and it took two years more to place them before the public in printed form.

After Colebrooke had finished his translation of the Digest, he was sent on an embassy to Nagpur in 1803. Although diplomacy was quite uncongenial to his turn of mind and taste, he ungrudgingly responded to the call of duty and executed the trust, which was confided to him, in the best way he could. The object of his mission was to a certain extent gained, but he could not induce the Raja of Berar, Raghujee Bhonsla, to come to a treaty of defensive alliance expressly against the then very powerful Marhatta Chief, Scindia. Failing in that, he quitted Nagpur in May, 1801.‡

At this period of Indian administration Lord Wellesley, having found that the Supreme Council could not well cope with the Appeals from the Provincial Courts which then lay to them, established a Superior Court of Appeal, especially for that purpose, known as the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat. As a reward for the good services which Colebrooke had done he was

• See Colebrooke's *Life*, pp. 71, 72.

† See *Elements of Hindu Law*, vol. i, pp. xvii-xix.

‡ His Essay on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages appeared in this year.

given a seat in that Court. He was also appointed to the honorary professorship of Hindu Law and Sanskrit at the College, recently established at Fort William for the training of the young Civil Servants of the Company in Indian laws and languages. Colebrooke delivered no oral instruction; but he acted for some time as Examiner in the Persian, Hindustani, Bengali and Sanskrit languages.

Colebrooke acquitted himself very well on the Bench, as appears from the Reports of many important cases decided by him. This was not unknown to Government, and it is, therefore, no wonder that four years later, that is, in 1805,* he was placed at the head of the Court. This lift was attended with a small increase to his salary as a Puisne Judge, which led him to resign the personal allowance which he had received pretty long for his labours in the field of Hindu law. Though by taste and pursuits a man of science and letters, he bore unflinchingly the onerous duties of his high office. The sittings of the Court were heavy, and sometimes absorbed his whole time. But in truth he was as enthusiastic in his labours as a lawyer as in determining abstruse questions in Indian literature.

Colebrooke had hoped to find a seat in the Supreme Council; this hope was realised in 1807.† But though his duties thus became administrative, still in addition thereto he had to take a share in the judicial labours of the Court over which he continued to preside, one of the Members of the Council being, as the law then stood, *ex-officio* member of the Court. Some portion of his time was regularly devoted to sittings in Court and the fruits of his labours appear in its published Reports.

As the Digest of Hindu Law was defective and incomplete in some respects, Colebrooke thought of bringing out a supplement to it. This was no ordinary undertaking. He proposed to recast the whole title of Inheritance, so imperfectly treated in the Digest, and to supplement it with a series of compilations on the several heads of Criminal Law, Pleading, and Evidence, as treated by Indian Jurists. The Sanskrit text was complete, but he did not live to complete the translation. The translations of the Dayabhaga and the Inheritance portion of the Mitakshara appeared in 1810.‡ He also commenced a treatise on the whole Law of Obligations and Contracts; but unfortunately this work was never finished, and the preface and preliminary matter, promised by the author

* In this year appeared his Sanskrit Grammar (unfinished) and Essay on the *Vedas*.

† In this year he was also appointed President of the Asiatic Society in succession to Sir John Shore.

in the first and only published volume,* have never seen the light. Indeed, Colebrooke has done more for native Indian law than any other man, either native or foreigner, has ever been able to do. Sir Thomas Strange very properly observes that his learning in the abstruse science of Hindu law 'known directly from the original and the the most authentic sources, stands acknowledged in Europe as well as in India.'

As Mr. Colebrooke was well versed in law, both English and native, more especially the latter, it is only natural that he should prove an excellent Indian Judge. But erudition was not his only qualification, he was very painstaking, and always felt a strong desire to do justice. His good qualities earned for him that enviable popularity which was not tainted with selfishness or any such base motive. In fact, what Sir William Jones had been in the Supreme Court, Colebrooke was in the Sadar Court. Both of them did their duty conscientiously, both worked hard for the natives of the soil, and both were held in very great esteem. Mr. Henry Shakespear, an able Judge of the Calcutta Sadar Court, thus said of Colebrooke:—"Now, I imagine Mr. Henry Colebrooke to be the highest European authority on matters of Hindu law; but supposing others to be equally well read, no one can be placed in competition with him as to his qualifications,—a knowledge of the law and of the practice and observances of this Court, in which he was so many years the Chief Judge." Mr. William Morley observes: "No one will for a moment dispute that in any question of Hindu law the word of the illustrious Henry Colebrooke is worth the exposition of a thousand Pandits."†

In 1810 Colebrooke married Miss Elizabeth Wilkinson, whom he met at the house of his friend, Mr. Robert Smith, then Advocate-General of Bengal. The girl was of a retiring disposition and proved a good mate to such a literary character.

Colebrooke held his seat in the Council for the stated term of five years. On quitting the Council he reverted to his seat in the Sadar, which he held for only six months. He was then appointed a member of the Board of Revenue, an office which he occupied till the close of the year 1814. Three sons were born to him; but the loss of them told so very severely upon his wife that, when he was preparing for departure, she died in October 1814. Two months after, he sailed from India. In England‡ he kept up his studies in

* This appeared after his return to England, in the year following the appearance of his work on Indian Algebra (in 1817).

† *Administration of Justice in British India*, p. 333.

‡ He was away to Cape Colony from which he again returned to England in 1822.

Indian subjects and wrote many Papers* and Pamphlets thereupon. In his latter days he was bowed down by many family losses, and ultimately lost his eyesight. He died of influenza on the 10th of March 1837, in his seventy-second year.

Colebrooke led a life of literary activity and was sacredly devoted to the cause of science, literature and law. He adorned whatever subject he touched upon and won laurels in several departments of knowledge. But his fame in all other respects has been eclipsed by his fame as a Sanscritist. Truly has he said in one of his letters, "My literary fame must depend on my Sanskrit labours." Governor Crawford, in supporting the liberal views which Colebrooke had advocated in his unpublished *Remarks on the Husbandry and Commerce of Bengal*, wrote:—"It was an honour to be acquainted with such a man; for I hold him to be the greatest of our orientalists,—a riper Sanskrit scholar than Sir William Jones, the equal of my friend Horace Wilson. But he was besides this, what neither of these were, an enlightened political philosopher and political economist, a man of enlightened and comprehensive views." Indeed, the subject of this Memoir was a very remarkable man and his knowledge was cosmopolitan. His reputation was almost world-wide, as appears from the fact that at the time of his death he was a Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and of the Literary Society of Bombay; Fellow of the Astronomical, Geological, Linnæan and Zoological Societies; Foreign Member of the Royal Academy of Paris, of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, and of the Royal Academy of Munich†

John Herbert Harington.—John H. Harington‡ was a distinguished Civil Servant of the East India Company, whose service he entered as a "writer" on 1st August 1780. Shortly after his arrival in India he took to studying the laws of the land and mastered them in a few years. By this time he had seen minor service in different capacities, until in May, 1793, he was made Magistrate of Dinajpur. Three years after, he was appointed Sub-Secretary to the Secret Department

* Among others he contributed an Essay on Hindu Courts of Justice to the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1828.

† Colebrooke's *Life*, p. 383.

‡ This gentleman must not be confounded with Mr. Edward John Harington who after having studied in Haileybury in 1809-11, came out to India in the latter year. He was ultimately made a District Judge, and while substantively holding such appointment acted as a Sadar Judge from 10th March to 7th July 1835. While Judge of Hooghly he tried a case of the so-called *Jal Raja*, Protab Chand, in 1836, after which he retired on pension. He died on 5th October 1857.

and Examiner and Reporter to the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat. This latter appointment served as a stepping-stone to the Registership of the said Court to which he was promoted in May, 1799. In June following, he was appointed Fourth Member of the Board of Revenue in addition to his duties of Register. The post of Register he held for a little over two years, when on 1st August 1801 he was appointed a Puisne Judge of the said Court along with Mr. Henry Colebrooke. Mr. Harington made a virtue of industry, and although his judicial duties were onerous, still he found time to write a very important work on Indian law. This was his famous *Analysis* which bears the same relation to the Regulation Law as Colebrooke's Digest does to the Hindu Law. Although it was modestly styled 'An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor General at Fort William in Bengal for the Civil Government of the British Territories under that Presidency', still it is a rich mine of legal information, and plainly shows that its author was a thorough master of the Regulation Law which, besides the personal laws of the Hindus and the Mahomedans, was the only law by which the Company's Courts were guided. The *Analysis** was brought out in two volumes of which the first appeared in 1805 and the second in 1809.

On the retirement of Colebrooke from the Sadar Court, Harington was elevated to his place as Chief Judge on the 17th December, 1811. This high office he held for several years. In 1819 he went home on furlough, from which he did not return to India until 1822, when on 21st December he was chosen provisionally Third Member of the Supreme Council. This was followed by his being appointed Senior Member of the Board of Revenue for the Western Provinces and Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi on 1st August 1823. On 5th February 1824 he was again appointed Chief Judge of the Calcutta Sadar Diwani Adalat. This post he held on for this the second time till the 22nd April 1825, when he was made a Member of the Supreme Council and President of the Board of Trade. This was his last Indian appointment after which he retired on pension. Harington was also for some years honorary Professor of Laws and Regulations of the Bengal Government in India in the College of Fort William, and was subsequently President of the Council of that College.

Besides the *Analysis*, the only other work for which

* For Morley's estimate of this work, see his *Administration*, p. 170. A volume of extracts from the *Analysis* appeared in Calcutta in 1866. Before Act VIII of 1859 came into operation the Code of Procedure in use was that drawn up by Messrs. Harington and Mills.

Harington is best known is his edition of the Persian and Arabic works of Sadi which appeared at Calcutta in two volumes in 1791-95.

Harington possessed all the qualities of a good Judge and was unquestionably an ornament to the Bench. During the time he and Colebrooke were Judges, the Sadar Diwani Adalat earned a very high reputation for justice, and became, if one might say so, an eyesore to the King's Court at Calcutta.

Harington returned to England in 1828, and died at London on 9th April in the same year. A portrait of his hangs in the Library of the High Court.

John Fendall.—Fendall * was a distinguished Civil Servant. Like the majority of Civil Servants he began life as a "writer," as the factors of the East India Company were commonly called. This appointment he obtained on the 12th of November 1777, whereupon he came out to India. His rise in the service was not very rapid, and it was pretty long before he was made a member of the Supreme Council. From the Council Chamber he was exalted to a seat in the Sadar Diwani Adalat on the 9th of September, 1817, in the place of Mr. James Stuart who had retired. Fendall proved a good Judge and soon became very popular. He had barely served as a Puisne for two years, when on the retirement of John Herbert Harington he was appointed to take his place as Chief Judge on the 23rd of June 1819. But he was not allowed to lead the Court long, for we find that on the 20th of May 1821 he was taken back to the Council Board of which, as we have already said, he had been a member before his services were availed of in the judicial line. He stayed on at the Council Board and died in harness on the 10th of November 1825, at the supposed critical age of sixty-three.

We have come across only a few of the decisions of Mr. Fendall, but from the little that we have seen of him we are in a position to say that his judicial ability was above the average. There was this peculiarity in him that his judgments were pithy and never travelled out of the point. In fact, they united logical method with terseness of expression.

William Leycester.—W. Leycester† was a Haileybury man.

* A gentleman of the same name was in Haileybury from 1807 to 1809, during which time he obtained medal both in Sanskrit and Persian. He was Register to the Zillah of Nadia at the time of his untimely death which took place on the 5th of July in the Waterloo year. (See *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 332.)

† George Percival Leycester was also a Haileyburian. He arrived in India in 1832, where he remained till 1862. He was Magistrate of Hooghly from 1839 and afterwards rose to be Judge of Shahabad. He died on 3rd November 1877. *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 399.

He was appointed a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on 1st August 1790, and arrived in India on 7th August of the year following. He rose pretty rapidly in the service, and was appointed Third Judge of the Provincial Court at Benares on 6th February 1809. But he did not remain long in the Provincial Court, for in 1812 we find him holding the post of Judge and Magistrate of Dinajpur. After having won his spurs in the Mofussil, Leycester deservedly got a lift to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. This took place on the 26th of November, 1819,—the very year in which Fendall was made Chief Judge,—and when in the next year the latter was taken back to the Council Board he was appointed to take his place. He, however, took charge of the duties of Chief Judge from Sir R. J. Colebrooke who, it would seem, had acted as such from the 10th of May, when John Fendall vacated it, to the 8th December, when he, Mr. Leycester, took charge. He was also appointed a Member of the Sadar Special Commission under Regulation I of 1821 on 27th February 1821, and what was somewhat unusual, was given charge of the Botanical Garden on 18th May following. Mr. Leycester was Chief of the Sadar Diwani Adalat for more than a decade, and it was not till the 1st of April 1831, that he resigned his high office. In the meantime the title of "Chief Judge" had been abolished (in 1829), but in consideration of his having held it so long and so honourably from before, he was allowed to retain it till the last day of his service. Mr. Leycester had been ailing for some time from before, and he, therefore, went to the seaport of Pooree to recruit his health, but the object of his visit was not gained, and he died on the 24th of May, 1831.

Mr. Leycester was an able judicial officer, and the Sadar Court well maintained its reputation for justice and equity during his incumbency. His decisions were, as a rule, very sensible and were almost always received with satisfaction. He combined wide judicial experience with sound legal learning, and by virtue of this happy union made a name in the service which was long cherished with fond regard.

Alexander Ross.—A. Ross * was a very distinguished Civil Servant of the East India Company. On being appointed a "writer," as it was called, on the 27th of September, 1795,

* Another gentleman of this name was born in 1742, and died in 1827. He was one of the most intimate friends of Lord Cornwallis whose valuable correspondence in three volumes was edited by his son, Charles Ross, in 1859. A third of the same name was a Haileybury man, who in 1836 obtained several prizes besides one medal in that College. He came out to India in the following year, where he served till 1871. He was a Judge of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat and High Court, N.-W.P., and was an Annuitant.

he sailed for India, where he arrived on the 26th February following. He began his official life as an assistant and rose rapidly in the service until he was appointed Third Judge of the Provincial Court at Bareilly on the 12th of November, 1811. From the Court he was taken to the Board of Commissioners for the settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces as Senior Member, on the 25th of February, 1820. This office he vacated in the next year, when he was made Agent to the Governor-General at Bareilly; but in 1832 he again joined that Board as its First Commissioner. On the 26th of August 1825 he was appointed to officiate as a Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalat, and on 8th September following was also made to officiate as a Member of the Sadar Special Commission under Regulation I of 1821. On the 8th December 1825, he was made permanent Judge, and worked on as such until in April 1831 he was appointed First Judge on the retirement of Mr. Leycester. But, as a matter of fact, he led the Sadar Court only for a short time, for on the 8th January 1833, he was appointed Provisional Member of the Supreme Council, in which post he was confirmed on the 15th October following. Indeed, his genius lay more in the executive than in the judicial line. The next lift was Provisional Governorship of Agra on 11th November, 1835, which was followed by Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces on 29th February in the year following. As Mr. Ross proved a good ruler of men, he was transferred to Bengal and was appointed its Deputy Governor and President of the Council of India on 20th October 1837. While Mr. Ross held the reins of this important Province, the trial of the so-called *Jal Raja*, Protap Chand, of Burdwan, took place. When the unfortunate claimant was cast in Court, he petitioned the Local Government for relief, but Mr. Ross took no notice of it, his Secretary, Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Halliday, curtly replying that the Government could not interfere in the matter. In October 1838, Ross's *lustrum*, or cycle of five years in Council,—the "quinquennial period",—elapsed and he soon after resigned the service. Towards the close of the year he sailed for "merry England."

Mr. Ross was a good judicial officer, no doubt, but his fame as a Judge somewhat paled before his fame as a Ruler. In fact, he shone more brilliantly in the executive than in the judicial line. Bentham was his favourite author.

Like the late lamented Sir John Woodburn, Ross was very *hospitable* and often entertained friends and acquaintances at his house.

Robert Haldane Rattray.—Robert H. Rattray was nominated a "writer" on the staff of the East India Company on the

29th August 1799, but he did not arrive in India until the 9th December 1800. He soon made his mark and was appointed Judge and Magistrate somewhere in 1812. Before he had acted as such for half a dozen years, he was appointed a Judge of the Provincial Court at Benaras, which office he held from the 26th of December 1818 to 1825. In the following year he got a lift and was made Senior Judge of the Provincial Court at Bareilly. By a still higher lift he was exalted to a seat in the Sadar Diwani Adalat; this took place on the 20th December 1827. Rattray served as a Puisne till 1833, when on Alexander Ross's leaving the Court, he was elevated to his place as First Judge, either in January or in February. On the 4th September 1843 he was invested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828. Rattray occupied the Sadar Bench for a long period, and it was not till some part of 1850 that he retired from Indian service, leaving his place to Mr. Charles Tucker who was only second to him in point of seniority.

• Long as Mr. Rattray was on the Sadar Bench, he had earned enviable popularity by the able and conscientious discharge of the very important duties of his high office. He was well versed in the law of the land and had had very wide experience of the manners, customs and habits of the people. No wonder then that he proved an eminent Judge.

Charles Tucker.—Tucker was nominated to the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on the 16th January 1805; but he did not come to India until 10th March of the following year. He rose rapidly in the service and was within a few years appointed Judge and Magistrate. In this capacity he remained pretty long in the outlying district of Sylhet until in 1835 he was made Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit for the Patna Division. In August of the following year he was appointed Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828 for the Murshidabad Division. But this office he held only for a few months, after which he was appointed a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court on the 27th December. This appointment too he held for a short time, for we find that on the 28th of February 1837 he was taken over to the Sadar Board of Revenue as an officiating Member thereof. From the Sadar Board he was again taken over to the Sadar Court and was made a permanent Judge thereof on 25th September 1838; but he did not join his new office until the 18th February following. He did very well on the Bench, and in addition to the duties of a Sadar Judge was invested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828 on the 2nd of October 1843. Tucker worked on as a Puisne Judge till 1850, when on the

retirement of Mr. Rattray he was raised to his place as chief head of the Court. But it seemed that the tenure of his natural life had well-nigh expired, and he ended his earthly career at Calcutta, on the 19th of June 1851. Like his predecessor, Rattray, Tucker was pretty long on the Sadar Bench and like him had the reputation of a good Judge. He was well acquainted with the laws of the land, and as by long experience he had also gained a fair knowledge of the peculiar manners and customs of the people it was no wonder that he won public esteem and wide popularity. His death was felt as a serious loss to the country. Indeed, he proved a worthy successor of Mr. Rattray and was remembered long in the country.

John Russell Colvin.—Colvin was born in Calcutta on the 29th of May 1807. When quite young he was sent to Scotland where, in the University of St. Andrews, he prosecuted his studies till 1821. He entered Haileybury College in 1823, and passed out of it in the third year at the head of his term, carrying off the honours of his year in classics and mathematics, though in Persian, a language in which he became afterwards proficient, he seems to have met with no marked success. Among his contemporaries were Sir Frederick Halliday, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Henry Ricketts, and Martin Gubbins, all noted characters who distinguished themselves in their respective spheres of action.

Colvin started for India in October 1825, reaching it on 9th March 1826. Passing rapidly through the College of Fort William, he was attached before the close of the year as an Assistant to Mr. (later Sir William) Macnaghten, the Register of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. He then served for some time in Cuttack as an Assistant to the Judge of that district, and subsequently in the Haiderabad State as an Assistant to the Company's Resident at the Nizam's Court. He came back to Calcutta in 1830, and after filling several posts in the Secretariat Office, was made Secretary to the Bengal Board of Revenue in 1835. In March following, he was selected by Lord Auckland as his Private Secretary, which office he held for the whole term of that Governor-General's rule. About this time Colvin became acquainted with Macaulay, who valued his friendship. To have been in the course of his life one of those whose friendship that great man valued is, as his worthy son and biographer, Sir Auckland Colvin, says, no small title to respect. Colvin proved a very good Secretary. In fact, he was the right hand man of his noble master. On His Excellency's retirement in 1842, Colvin returned with him to England, where he remained till September 1845. On

his return he was appointed Resident at the Nepal Court in succession to Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Lawrence. In the end of 1846 he succeeded Captain (afterwards Sir Henry) Durand as Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces in Burma, from thence, in the close of the following year, he was summoned by Lord Dalhousie to Calcutta to take his seat on the Bench of the Company's Chief Court of Appeal, namely, the Sadar Diwani Adalat. The Bengal public were somewhat astounded to hear of his appointment. "The objections to the appointment were many. With some he had no experience. With others he had no temper. Again, he had no knowledge of legal matters. But the master who placed him there seldom made a mistake in the selection of his agent."* In point of fact, when Colvin took his seat in the Calcutta Court he brought with him little experience of law beyond what he had gained at Moulmein. Before he left it, less than five years later, he had become, said Sir Charles Trevelyan in his Memoirs of his friend, "*facile princeps* ; so much so that it was commonly said that the pleaders had to be sometimes reminded that they ought to address the Court and not Mr. Colvin." Though he joined the Court as one of its Puisnes, he rose to be its chief and head. This took place in 1851 on the death of Mr. Charles Tucker. The Sadar Diwani Adalat, when Colvin joined it, had a questionable reputation. He laboured successfully, not only to raise the Court to the level which a Chief Court of Appeal should occupy, but also to improve the quality of all Courts subordinate to it. He especially aimed at raising the general character of the native bar ; and it is to be noted that in 1857, after his death, the first meeting that was held at Calcutta to do honour to his memory was convened by the then leader of the native bar, Baboo Rama Prosad Roy. At that meeting the Baboo had said that Mr. Colvin had done more for the improvement of the East India Company's Courts, and for the administration of justice generally than any Judge who had gone before him. Mr. William Ritchie, then Advocate-General, bore most cordial and fitting testimony to what had been said by Rama Prosad ; and Sir James Colville, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, spoke very highly of his eminence in the Court, and also said that he gave up his life for his country as much as if he had fallen sword in hand on the battle-field.†

On the 27th September 1853, Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-

* See Sir A. Colvin's *John Russell Colvin* (in the *Rulers of India* Series), p. 155.

† See Sir A. Colvin's *John Russell Colvin*, pp. 156, 157.

Governor of the North-Western Provinces, died. Mr. Colvin was appointed, on the 14th October, by Lord Dalhousie, to fill his place. The new Governor took charge of his duties at Benares on the 3rd November 1853. The Provinces which were placed under his rule were not unfamiliar to him, and, as he excelled both in judicial and executive capacities, proved a very vigorous ruler. Though grave and rather stern in demeanour, his natural kindliness of disposition secured him the good will of his officers.

Colvin died on the 9th September 1857, when the Mutiny was in its hottest, and was buried in the Agra fort. A monument was raised over his remains by the pious care of a successor.

Abercrombie Dick.—A. Dick was a Haileyburian. He studied in that College for about three years (1810-12), during which he gained a mathematical prize. He sailed for India just after leaving Haileybury, arriving in it on 6th November of the year following. He rose pretty rapidly in the Company's Civil Service and was made Judge and Magistrate in 1821. This office he held till he was appointed Commissioner of Circuit at Midnapur in 1831. This was followed by his being appointed Civil and Sessions Judge of that district on 1st January following. Mr. Dick had served as District Judge for a considerable time, until on the 8th June 1839 he was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as a Temporary Judge. In the early part of the same year he had served as Special Commissioner of the Calcutta Division and also as Post Master General. Mr. Dick acted as a Temporary Judge for some years, and it was not till June 1847 that he was confirmed in his appointment. His reputation as a judicial officer stood high, and the decisions which he passed were, as a rule, marked by good sense and sound knowledge of law. No wonder then that when Colvin left the Court in view of occupying the *masnad* of the Governor of the North-Western Provinces, he was elevated to his place on the bench of the Sadar Court.

In the first quarter of the year 1855, Dick, it would seem, had somewhat broken down in health. He took leave and went to Madras to recruit his health. The change did him some good, and he came back to Calcutta and resumed his duties in the Sadar Court in March.* Two years after, that is, in the memorable Mutiny year, in which his predecessor in office, Mr. Colvin, died at Agra, he resigned Indian service and returned to his native land to enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. He passed his last days in peace until death took him away from this world unto the next in the year 1880.

* See *The Friend of India*, dated 15th March 1855.

Dick was a very distinguished Judge. Thoroughly honest and independent, he made free use of his judicial ability which was of a high order, and thus earned a name which is still held in esteem. He commanded general respect and was liked both by the profession and the public. He also encouraged real merit wherever it was found; and we know it as a fact that it was by his wise advice that Baboo Onoocool Mookerjee, who afterwards so highly distinguished himself both at the bar and on the bench, commenced to study law. Dick was a pro-native civilian and had the good of India at heart.

Sir Robert Barlow, Baronet.—Barlow* was one of the most distinguished Civil Servants of the East India Company. He was in Haileybury College for a couple of years, where he obtained a prize in classics. He came out to India in 1818, arriving in it on the 16th July. He joined the Civil Service and soon made his mark. He and Sir George Tucker, a famous Indian financier, had assisted Mr. Law in improving the state of the district of Gaya. Barlow was appointed Magistrate in 1826 and Civil Judge in 1837. While serving as Civil and Sessions Judge of Hooghly he was appointed to officiate as a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court on 14th January 1841, in which office he was confirmed a short time after. In 1843 he was vested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828. Barlow proved a very good Judge and deservedly earned popularity. On the retirement of Mr. Dick in the year 1857, he took his place as First Judge, but this seat he had to vacate only a few months after. Ill health soon compelled him to resign and he returned to England where he died a few months after.

Henry Thomas Raikes.—Raikes joined the Haileybury College with a view to entering the Civil Service of the East India Company. He remained in that Institution for three years, leaving it in 1826. He sailed for India in the year following, arriving in it on the 14th August. He served in several capacities until he was made District Judge somewhere in 1839. In course of time Raikes rose still higher in the service and was at last raised to the Sadar Court in November 1853. He had joined that Court as a Puisne, but in 1852, on the retirement of Sir Robert Barlow under painful circumstances he was appointed to fill his place as its chief and leader.

After the terrible storm of the Mutiny had subsided into a permanent calm, a change took place in the administration of the country. The rule of the East India Company came to

* Robert Barlow (Senior) arrived in India in 1806 and retired from service in 1836.

an end and the direct rule of the Crown began. As a consequence of this radical change, the Supreme and Sadar Courts were fused into one, namely, the High Court, which still exists in full bloom. To this new Court, Mr. Raikes along with some of his colleagues were transferred as its Judges. In his new capacity under the presidency of Sir Barnes Peacock, Mr. Raikes worked on till the 13th April 1864, when he retired on annuity. This annuity he enjoyed till the year 1880.*

Mr. Raikes was certainly not a brilliant Judge, but there is no doubt that he is entitled to a place among the eminent Judges of the Sadar, in the sense in which we understand that word. He was a sound man and had also large experience of the manners, customs and usages of the people among whom he passed the best part of his life. No wonder then that he was held in considerable esteem which he had so well earned by the able and conscientious discharge of his duties.

John Fombelle.—Fombelle was a pre-Haileybury man, he having come out to India some years before that College, otherwise called the East India College, was established † in England. He had served the East India Company in various capacities and had gained a good name in the administration of justice before the last century began. When the Sadar Diwani Adalat was established at Calcutta in the year 1801, only three Judges, including the Chief Judge, were appointed to it, but before five years elapsed it was found that the small Judiciary were not able to cope with the work which fell to them. Accordingly, in 1806, a Fourth Judge was added to the number, and this additional post was given to Mr. Fombelle, than whom a better man there was none in the Civil Service as it then stood. The new Judge entered upon his duties with his usual zeal and diligence, and as he brought with him considerable experience in civil work soon became popular. He occupied his seat on the Sadar Court for a pretty long period, not retiring from it until 1816. Though not a brilliant Judge, Mr. Fombelle discharged his duties with credit to himself and advantage to the public. He possessed, what is now-a-days very uncommon, strong common sense and his decisions generally gave satisfaction to the parties concerned. He commanded high respect, and in consideration of his grey hairs and wide experience was regarded as a venerable fixture of the Court. His long tenure of office fully entitled him to take the lead, and it was only by a pure accident that he did

* See *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 376.

† The Haileybury College was established in 1806 and lasted till 1858, when with the death of the East India Company it was abolished. It was to serve as an ancillary and preparatory Institution to the Fort William College at Calcutta. (See *Memorials of Haileybury College*.)

not get to the top of the profession. But though not actually the Chief, he received honour not a whit less.

Henry Shakespear.—Like Mr. Fombelle, Henry Shakespear* was also a pre-Haileybury man, he having been nominated a "writer" in the service of the East India Company on the 21st of August 1801. He arrived in India on the 3rd of July following. Shakespear rose pretty rapidly in the service, and before he had been in it for eleven years was made Judge of Jessore. In 1816 we find him Judge and Magistrate of Allahabad, and three years later, acting Superintendent of Police in the Division of Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, and First Magistrate of the Metropolis. In 1825 he was appointed an Acting Judge of the Sadar Court, but this time he did not remain there for long. In fact, only a few months after, he was appointed to officiate as Chief Secretary to Government, and he served in that capacity until on 4th January 1831 he was made a permanent Judge of the Sadar Court. This high post he held till the 25th of October 1835, after which he was taken over to the Council Board as its Third Ordinary Member. While occupying his seat in Council, he presided at the Committee for inquiring into the state of the Indian Jails. Both at Court and in Council Mr. Shakespear discharged his duties quite satisfactorily and gained the esteem of the profession and the general public. He was in reality an able Judge and an equally able Councillor, and when at last he retired from the Bench he was missed there for a long time, and, again, when death which overtook him in Calcutta on the 20th March 1838, snatched him away from the Council, he was equally missed there too.

Nathaniel John Halhed.—This gentleman was the nephew of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, † author of the first Bengali Grammar and 'A Code of Gentoo Laws.' He arrived in India on the 27th of September 1804 and entered the much-coveted service of the Honourable East India Company. Halhed's was a successful career. He rose rapidly in the service and became Judge and Magistrate of Agra in the memorable Waterloo year. Years after, that is, on 24th July 1832, he was appointed a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court at Calcutta along with Mr. C. R. Barwell. ‡ In 1833-34 he was Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828 for

* John Talbot Shakespear, probably a relation of this gentleman, arrived in India in the same year with the latter and rose to be a Sadar Judge on the 27th February 1821. He retired in 1824 and died in the year following.

† The uncle was a much greater man than the nephew and a voluminous author. He was a warm friend of Richard Brindley Sheridan and Sir William Jones.

‡ Mr. Barwell was on the Sadar Bench till the end of October 1836.

Calcutta, after which he was again appointed a Temporary Judge of the Sadar Court on the 13th December 1835, in which post he was confirmed just a year later. Sometime after, he resigned but was reappointed on the 18th December 1837. Halhed died at Calcutta on the first day of August 1838,* deeply mourned by a large circle of friends and relations. Mr. Halhed was a good judicial officer as appears from the many important decisions which he pronounced while holding his seat in the Sadar Court. He was held in considerable esteem and his untimely death was felt as a public calamity.

David Carmichael Smyth.—Mr. Smyth† was a Haileybury man. He was nominated a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on the 30th April 1812, but he did not reach India until the 11th October 1815. On his arrival, he was posted to Hooghly as Assistant to the Magistrate of that district, and he acted in that capacity until 1817 when he was appointed Register of the District Judge's Court. In 1824 he was appointed Magistrate of Hooghly when Mr. Oakley was Judge. In the meantime he had acted as Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department. In Hooghly Mr. Smyth passed the best part of his life: From Magistrate he became both Judge and Magistrate in 1826. This dual post he held for nearly a decade, during which he did yeoman's service for the good of the district and its inhabitants. Many very useful and important acts testify to the remarkable success of his administration. The town owes its initial improvement to him. Many of the roads which we now see are of his making. The fine ghât‡ which graces the river-side on the east side of Bali was built in his time and bears his honored name,—a name which has justly become a household term in the district. The Chuck Bazar§ with its double row of shops was established at his instance, and under his guidance and supervision. And not only did he beautify the town, he also made it safe from the raids and ravages of the dacoits and other bad characters. The subject of education too attracted his attention, the beneficial result whereof was the establishment of the Branch School in 1834, which still exists, though not in a very flourishing state, as

* See Ram Chunder Doss's *Register of Civil Servants*.

† Smyth, Smith and Smijth are different forms of the same name, only that the one is 'smoothed,' the other 'crisped,' and the third 'smidged.'

‡ Owing to the recession of the river towards the north east, much of the beauty of the ghât is lost, but still it attracts considerable attention as a noble piece of masonry which stands almost untouched by the cruel hand of Time. This ghât was built by subscription in the year 1829.

§ Since the removal of the Courts to Chinsura,—a move in the wrong direction,—it has lost much of its importance and drives only a dull traffic.

an offshoot of the College of Mohammad Mohsin at Chinsura, which too appears to be on the decline. Thus, the town owes an immense debt of gratitude to Mr. Smyth.

As a fitting reward for his services in the Mofussil, Mr. Smyth was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. His first appointment* which was an officiating one was in June 1834. A little more than two years later he was made a Temporary Judge, in which capacity he worked on till January 1838, when he proceeded to Europe on furlough. On his return just two years after, he joined the Sadar Court as one of its permanent Judges. This time Mr. Smyth acted only for a year and a few months, for on the 2nd September 1832 he died at Calcutta much to the regret of his numerous friends and relations. His death was regarded as a public calamity. Though his tenure of office in the Sadar Diwani Adalat was not long, Mr. Smyth proved himself quite worthy of it. Indeed, his reputation as an able judicial officer had preceded him, and, be it said to his credit, the high expectation which the profession and the public had begun to entertain of his judicial ability and independence was fully realized. Verily, he was an eminent Judge, and it is, therefore, no wonder that his sacred memory is still cherished in Bengal with fond regard.

John Ross Hutchinson.—J. R. Hutchinson† was born in the year 1792, and was educated at Haileybury College for the Indian Civil Service. He was nominated a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company on the 8th May 1808, but he did not come out to India until 1810, arriving in it on 7th December. Mr. Hutchinson's rise in the service was pretty rapid. He was appointed Register of the Civil Court of Mirzapur on 17th June 1814. Some seven years after, he was appointed Acting Judge and Magistrate of Burdwan. This was followed by his being made permanent Judge of Goruckpur in 1832. Five years later we find him Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, Agra Division. On 10th December 1836 Mr. Hutchinson was gazetted to act as a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta. In that capacity he worked on till the 30th January 1838, when he was made a Temporary Judge‡ of that Court. But it

* Mr. C. W. Smith was also appointed in the same year; but his judicial reputation was not so high as that of Mr. Smyth: he was only an average man, if that even. Mr. F. C. Smith was also another Judge of the Sadar Court, but he too could not distinguish himself. He was appointed to officiate in 1837, and was not made permanent.

† This gentleman should not be confounded with his namesake who, like him, having received a training at Haileybury, came out to India in 1841. Here he served the East India Company in various capacities and died in harness, having been killed at Delhi on 11th May, 1857.

‡ While holding such high position Mr. Hutchinson gave his deposition in the Great Burdwan Case at the Hooghly Magistrate's Court.

seemed that the lease of his natural life had only a few months more to run, and he, accordingly, expired at Calcutta on the 17th September,* 1838.

Mr. Hutchinson, it is true, did not remain long in the Sadar Court, but he had earned the reputation of a good Judge. Though not a brilliant officer in the best sense of the term, his judicial ability was certainly above the ordinary run. He was a patient, persevering and painstaking Judge, and was justly held in esteem by the profession and the public. His death in the prime of life was regarded as a serious loss to the country where his lot was cast.

John Fleming Martin Reid was also a Haileybury man; and he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company on the 28th August 1815. He began life as an Assistant Magistrate and gradually rose to be Register of the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta in the year 1829. This post he held till 1836 when he was appointed to officiate as a Temporary Judge of that Court. On the 10th January, 1838, he was made Post Master General; but this office he held for a few months only, for, as a matter of fact, he was re-appointed to officiate in the same capacity, in which he was before, at the Sadar Court. This officiating appointment was followed by *pucca* Temporary Judgeship on 21st May 1839; and this, again, by Permanent Judgeship on 20th October 1841. On 9th September 1843, Mr. Reid was invested with the powers of Special Commissioner under Regulation III of 1828. This was the utmost point to which he rose, and in this height he held his pride of place until the year 1849, after which he retired from Indian service and returned to England. There he enjoyed his *otium cum dignitate* for about ten years and then died in peace on the 3rd March, 1859,† the year in which England lost two of her best sons, Macaulay and Elphinstone, whose memory is equally revered in India. As Reid in his capacity of Register had acquired considerable experience in the affairs of the Sadar Court before he was elevated to its Bench, it was no wonder that he proved a good Judge. Not only was his mind well stored with the rules and practice of the Court, he had also a fair knowledge of the law of the land and possessed a judicial turn of mind, so very essential to the success of a Judge. He had a penetrating eye and could see through cases at a glance. Reid was pretty long

But unfortunately for the claimant, he was not called as a witness in the Sessions Court, where his fate was practically sealed for ever.

* According to another account the date of his demise was the 2nd September.

† See *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*.

on the Bench, and while there wicked people had very little chance of imposing upon the Court and seeing their misdeeds go unpunished. He was an excellent type of a judicial officer, able and intelligent, patient and independent, and proved an ornament to the Bench. After he retired, he was long missed in the Court, whose fame he had laboured hard to heighten.

* *Edward Lee Warner*.—Lee Warner was a Haileybury man. He came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company on 13th May 1816. Like the majority of Civilians, Warner began his official life as an Assistant and gradually rose in the ladder of service. In 1825 we find him Judge and Magistrate of Ghazipur, whence in the year following he was sent to Beneras as Judge of the Provincial Court. He served in that capacity till the first quarter of the year 1829, when he was appointed a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat at Calcutta. Warner held his seat in that high Tribunal for fourteen years, except for one single month in 1842 in which he was absent on special duty at Tirhoot. He was Judge of the Sadar Court till the end of February 1843, after which he returned to England. He retired from service on 1st May 1843.

Lee Warner was an able Judge, and long as his tenure of office was in the Sadar he left a name which was held in grateful remembrance for years after his retirement.

Evelyn Meadows Gordon.—Mr. Gordon was also a Haileybury man. Having studied for a couple of years in that Training Institution in which he obtained a medal for History and Political Economy, and also gained a prize for Essay, he came out to India as a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company in the year 1820. Gordon rose rapidly in their service and was ultimately appointed a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1845. He did very well on the Bench, and in recognition of his judicial success was made a Member of the Board of Revenue three years later. His usual success also attended him at the Board, whence he retired for good and returned to England. This took place in the year 1853. At home Gordon had enjoyed ease with dignity for near five years, when on 29th June 1868 he breathed his last much to the regret of his friends and relations.

Welby Brown Jackson was a distinguished Civil Servant. Having prosecuted his studies at Haileybury for a little more than two years he started for India in the year 1821, arriving in it on 7th January following. Jackson began his career as a "writer" under the East India Company, having been nominated to the Bengal Civil Service on 30th April 1821. He rose rapidly in the Company's service, as is evident

from the fact that before half a dozen years elapsed he was made Judge and Magistrate of Behar. He ruled that important district from 1826 to 1831, when he was appointed Register of the Sadar Diwani Adalat on the 13th December of the latter year. Jackson's next lift in the service was the appointment of Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, Murshidabad Division, on 13th April 1838. In this capacity he had served for several years when he was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as an Acting Temporary Judge on 10th September 1845, in which post he was confirmed in the course of a year and some odd months. He continued to serve in that Court till the year 1853. He * retired on annuity in the following year and returned to England, where he lived to a ripe old age, dying on 17th November 1890.

Mr. Jackson was all along hostile to the interests of the Zamindars whose practice of rack-renting, where they could have recourse to it, was far from conducive to the material prosperity of the country. Like Mr. Andrew John Moffat Mills and many other great men he denied the Zamindars having any right to the land. He thus wrote on 21st November 1849:—"There are but two parties having a right in the soil in India,—the state and the cultivator. Each has a fixed share in the produce. . . . The Zamindars being mere farmers of the revenue do nothing for the improvement of the country. It is to the resident cultivators and to them alone the country owes its improvement and extension of tillage, and it is by their energy and toil that the Government is supported: They are the most valuable and respectable class in the country." The point dealt with by the eminent Judge, at least so far as it relates to state of things previous to the passing of the Cornwallis Regulations, is, however, not free from doubt and difficulty, and, as Sir Roger de Coverley has long since observed, much might be said on both sides of the question.

It seems that in 1853 Mr. Jackson made a tour of inspection in Bengal, and in the Report which he wrote in October on the subject he strongly condemned the practice, which was then very common among Zamindars, of keeping hired *lathials* (clubmen) whose chief business was to make affray, break heads and commit *loot*. The number of such desperate characters was very great in the country, and the

* Mr. W. B. Jackson's son, Mr. Elphinstone Jackson, proved worthy of such a father. He became a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta and worked in it till 1873 when he retired; but he died a few days after reaching England. In this case, as in that of Edmund Burke, the natural order of events was reversed, the child dying long before the parent.

late Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee of Utterpara, than whom a more public-spirited man could not be found in all Bengal, once thought of forming a regiment out of them and enlisting them in the regular army.

But public-spirited as he was in an eminent degree, Mr. Jackson was better known to the public as a Judge. Verily he was an ornament to the Court in which he administered justice for nearly a decade. His decisions were, as a rule, very sensible, and in nine cases out of ten, gave general satisfaction. He did not seek popularity, but, such was his merit as a Judge, it came upon him of its own accord. He was held in very high esteem and his retirement was looked upon as a great loss to the country.

Andrew John Moffat Mills was, like most of the servants of the East India Company, a Haileybury man. Having studied in that institution for about three years he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the Company in 1826. He served in various capacities and ultimately reached the height of his ambition by being appointed a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat somewhere in the year 1852. While serving in that capacity the miserable state of the Bengal peasantry which he had come to know during his pretty long residence in this country moved his kind heart and he recorded an important minute giving expression to his feelings. On the 31st August 1852 he wrote:—"The condition of the ryot in Bengal is most wretched, he has no means of obtaining redress against a powerful landlord."*

Mr. Mills retired on annuity in the year 1856, just when the formidable thunderbolt of the Sepoy Mutiny was about to burst on India. He returned to his native land, where after enjoying his dignified ease for nearly a score of years he died in peace on the 9th May 1876.

Mr. Mills considerably resembled Mr. W. B. Jackson in his taste and pursuits and was like him known as a very able judicial officer. Brief as his tenure of office was in the Sadar, he proved himself quite worthy of it. His early retirement from the Bench was felt very much in the country.

Binny James Colvin was a distinguished Civil Servant. Having studied for nearly two years at Haileybury, where he obtained a medal for History and Political Economy, he came out to India as a "writer" on the Bengal establishment of the East India Company. Colvin began his Indian career, in 1828, as an Assistant, and, after having served in several other capacities, rose to be Register of the Sadar Diwani

* Vide *The Zemindary Settlement of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 77.

Adalat. This office, which was generally a stepping-stone to a seat on the Bench, he held for many long years, and when it appeared quite clear that he was able to do also the judicial functions of the Court whose ministerial duties he had performed so long with credit, he was elevated to the Bench. This took place in the year of grace 1855. Colvin held his seat in the Sadar Court for a little over two years and then retired in the memorable Mutiny year.

As Mr. Colvin was Register for a considerable period, it was expected that he would prove a good Judge, and, be it said to his credit, this expectation was fulfilled. Though his tenure of the judicial office was not long, still he showed enough which established beyond doubt that he possessed judicial ability of a high order. He was held in great esteem by the profession and the public, and his early retirement was looked upon as a serious loss to the country.

James Hardwicke Patton was also a Haileyburian. He had studied in that College for nearly three years, during which period he obtained a prize for Bengali writing, and then came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company in 1822. He served that great Company in different capacities and ultimately rose to be a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat in 1855. This post he held for about five years, retiring on annuity in 1861. He died in England on 1st September 1870.

Mr. Patton was not only a good judicial officer, he was also a good writer and an authority on Indian subjects. His "Principles of Asiatic Monarchies" is a work of considerable merit. He is one of those who deny proprietary right to Zamindars, deeming them as mere collectors of revenue. In the said work he writes as follows:—"The truth is that between the sovereign and the *rubb-ool-arz* * (who is properly the cultivator) no one intervenes who is not a servant of the sovereign; and this servant recovers his hire, not out of the produce of the lands over which he is placed, but from the public treasury, as is specially mentioned by every lawyer."†

Archibald Sconce was, like most of the servants of the East India Company, a Haileybury man. Having studied at that College for about two years, during which he obtained many prizes and medals, he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the great Company, arriving in it on 2nd May 1829. He rose very rapidly in the ladder, and before even a decade had elapsed was appointed Magistrate and

Collector. In this capacity he ruled the outlying district of Chittagong till 1841, when he was placed in charge of the Salt Agency of Bhullooah and Chittagong. He was then appointed Commissioner of Chittagong, in which capacity he had served Government, until on the 6th November 1856 he was raised to the Sadar Diwani Adalat as a Puisne Judge. His usual success attended Mr. Sconce in his new sphere and he proved a worthy Judge. Not long after, his services were availed of in the Legislative Council of which he was made a Member. Both at Court and in Council Mr. Sconce did very well and obtained public esteem and regard.

Having achieved fame in this distant land Mr. Sconce thought that he had done his duty, and, accordingly, left India for good in the year 1861 on receiving an annuity.*

John Samuel Torrens † was also a Haileybury man, but he remained in that College for only a year. In 1830 he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the Honourable East India Company, arriving in it on 11th September. He began his official life as an Assistant, and, as good luck would have it, soon made his mark. On the 30th November 1837, he was appointed Special Deputy Collector of 24-Pargannas, Nadia and Murshidabad; but as he wielded a powerful pen he was ere long taken over to the Bengal Secretariat where he was appointed to officiate as Deputy Secretary in the Revenue and Judicial Department on the 5th May 1842. This important post he held till the year 1844, when he was again appointed Special Deputy Collector of Alipur. Some years after, he rose to be District Judge, which office he held for a pretty long period. In 1852-53 he was Judge of Hooghly, where his name is still remembered with honour by the old folks. Mr. Torrens was a man of combative spirit, and the occasions were not few on which he, as it were, "kicked against authority." One of these occasions arose in 1855 when Mr. C. T. Buckland was Register of the Sadar Courts. Mr. Torrens was asked by the Sadar to correct himself in a matter relating to stamp duty, but, confident as he was of his own worth, he made no hesitation in disobeying the orders of his official superiors, saying that there nothing in law to warrant that he was wrong and the

* See *Memorials of the Old Haileybury College*, p. 389.

† There were two other eminent men in India of the same name. One was Robert Torrens, a Haileyburian, who was Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General at Murshidabad. He retired in 1852 after a service of nearly twenty eight years, and died in England on 3rd December 1874. The other was Henry Whitelock Torrens (1806-1852), an Indian Civil Servant, who was the eldest son of Sir Henry Torrens. He wrote many works of which his 'Unfinished Translation of the Arabian Nights' is the best.

* This word literally means *lord of the land*.

† Quoted in *The Zemindary Settlement of Bengal*, Vol. i, pp. 91, 92.

Sadar Court right.* From being District Judge Mr. Torrens was elevated in 1856 to the very Court with whose Judges he had had a passage-at-arms in the year preceding. At first he acted as an Extra Judge, but was made permanent in the course of a year or so. Mr. Torrens did very well on the Bench, adorning it till 1860, when he resigned Indian service and returned to England to spend the last days of his life in that blessed land of freedom, where he had first seen the light of heaven.

David Inglis Money.—Mr. Money was, like the generality of the Civilians of the time, a Haileybury man. Having prosecuted his studies in that College for a little over two years he came out to India as a "writer" in the service of the East India Company. He was a painstaking officer, and it is, therefore, no wonder that he soon made his mark. After Mr. Money had seen service for over a decade he was sent to Hooghly as its Collector. This office he held for years together, during which period by the able and conscientious discharge of his duties he gained the regard and affection of the people. Like that of Mr. D. C. Smyth, Mr. Money's name has also become a household term in the district. He was a warm friend of the natives and took considerable interest in their education and general improvement. He used to award medals to deserving students of the local College. Dwarka Nath Mitter who afterwards so highly distinguished himself, bore away these medals for some years and thus a friendship sprang up between the veteran Collector and the young student, which ripened into intimacy when both of them were in the Sadar Diwani Adalat, the one as a Judge and the other as a Pleader. Dwarka Nath having very successfully passed the Committee Examination, as it was called, joined the Sadar Court in 1856, and, as good fortune would have it, Mr. Money was elevated to that Court only a couple of years after. The old Judge who had known Dwarka Nath from before was very glad to see his protégé at the bar, and judging from his antecedents as well as from the way in which, young as he was, Dwarka Nath was doing his professional business, he verily believed that he would rise very high in forensic practice. Mr. Money did all he could to advance the interest of his protégé, but before he had been barely three years in that Tribunal, ill health compelled him to retire from it. This was in 1860. The day on which he sat for the last time on the Bench, he took Dwarka Nath into his private chamber and prefigured in glowing colours the brilliant future which awaited him, if God only spared his life. He then got hold of the hands of his

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

favourite and shook them warmly. It is very gratifying to remark that Mr. Money's predictions were fulfilled beyond his most sanguine expectations, and Dwarka Nath lived long enough to leave a name which posterity would not willingly let die.

Although Mr. Money was in the Sadar Courts only for a few years, still he showed enough of his judicial ability from which the profession and the public were in a position to entertain favourable opinion of him as a Judge. Indeed, his decisions were marked by sound good sense, and they seldom failed to give satisfaction to the public. His early retirement, which circumstances over which he had no control made it necessary, was regarded as a serious loss to the 'heaven-born' service as it was called, of which he was one of the most prominent exponents.

Here ends our account of the eminent Judges of the Sadar Courts. There were, it is true, a few other such Judges who are deserving of notice, but as they were longer in the High Court than in the Sadar, we have purposely reserved their account till we come to deal with the eminent Judges of the present High Court. In the meantime, following the course we have adopted in the case of the Judges of the Supreme Court we annex hereto a complete list of the Judges of the Sadar Courts, distinguishing the Puisnes from the Chief and First Judges, with dates of their appointments:—

CHIEF JUDGES.

Peter Speke, Esq.	...	...	1801
Sir George Hilary Barlow, Bart.	...	...	1802
Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.	...	...	1805
John Herbert Harington, Esq.	...	...	1811
John Fendall, Esq.	...	...	1819
William Leycester, Esq.	...	...	1820

FIRST JUDGES.

Alexander Ross, Esq.	...	...	1831
Robert Haldane Rattray, Esq.	...	...	1833
Charles Tucker, Esq.	...	...	1850
John Russell Colvin, Esq.	...	...	1851
Abercrombie Dick, Esq.	...	...	1853
Sir Robert Barlow, Bart.	...	...	1857
Henry Thomas Raikes, Esq.	...	...	1858

PUISNES.

John Lumsden, Esq.	...	...	1801
* Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.	...	...	1801
* John Herbert Harington, Esq.	...	...	1801
John Fombelle, Esq.	...	...	1806

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became Chief Judge.

Burroughs Crisp, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1803
James Stuart, Esq.	—	...	1803
William Edward Rees, Esq.	...	...	1812
Ynyr Burges, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1812
Henry Herbert Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1812
Robert Ker, Esq.	...	...	1814
George Oswald, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1816
* John Fendall, Esq.	...	...	1817
William Blunt, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1818
Samuel Thomas Goad, Esq.	...	...	1819
** William Leycester, Esq.	...	...	1819
Courteney Smith, Esq.	...	...	1820
William Dorin, Esq.	...	...	1820
John Talbot Shakespear, Esq.	...	...	1821
Charles Elliott, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1822
William Byam Martin, Esq.	...	...	1823
John Ahmuty, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1824
Cuthbert Thornhill Sealy, Esq.	...	...	1824
Henry Shakespear, Esq.	...	...	1825
** Alexander Ross, Esq.	...	...	1825
Sir James Edward Colebrooke, † Bart.	...	...	1827
** Robert Haldane Rattray, Esq.	...	...	1828
William Bunt, Esq.	...	...	1828
M. H. Turnbull, Esq.	...	...	1828
Richard Walpole, Esq.	...	...	1832
C. R. Barwell, Esq.	...	...	1832
Nathaniel John Halhed, Esq.	...	...	1832
William Braddon, Esq.	...	...	1833
T. C. Robertson, Esq.	...	...	1834
David Carmichael Smyth, Esq.	...	...	1834
Christopher Webb Smith, Esq.	...	...	1834
George Stockwell, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1834
Edward John Harington, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1835
John Master, Esq.	...	...	1835
Wigram Money, Esq.	...	...	1836
John Ross Hutchinson, Esq.	...	...	1837
F. C. Smith, Esq.	...	...	1837
Charles Harding, Esq.	...	...	1837
John Fleming Martin Reid, Esq.	...	...	1837
Edward Lee Warner, Esq.	...	...	1839
* Abercrombie Dick, Esq.	...	...	1840
* Charles Tucker, Esq.	...	...	1840
T. P. B. Briscoe, Esq.	...	...	1840
* Robert Barlow, Esq. †	...	...	1841
James Shaw, Esq. (Temry.)	...	...	1842

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became First Judge.

** Those marked with two asterisks afterwards became Chief Judge or First Judge as the case might be.

† This gentleman had acted as Chief Judge for a short time in 1824.

† Created Baronet in 1847.

Evelyn Meadows Gordon, Esq.	...	...	1845
Welby Brown Jackson, Esq.	...	...	1845
John Abraham Francis Hawkins, Esq.	...	...	1847
Edward Currie, Esq. §	...	...	1847
* John Russell Colvin, Esq.	...	...	1850
John Dunbar, Esq.	...	...	1850
Richard Herbert Mytton, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1853
Andrew John Moffat Mills, Esq. (offg.)	...	...	1853
Binny James Colvin, Esq.	...	...	1855
* Henry Thomas Raikes, Esq.	...	...	1855
James Hardwicke Patton, Esq.	...	...	1855
Archibald Sconce, Esq.	...	...	1856
John Samuel Torrens, Esq.	...	...	1856
Charles Binny Trevor, Esq.	...	...	1856
George Loch, Esq.	...	...	1857
Henry Vincent Bayley, Esq.	...	...	1857
David Inglis Money, Esq.	...	...	1858
Edward Alexander Samuells, Esq.	...	...	1859
Charles Steer, Esq.	...	...	1860

SHUBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

§ Appointed Officiating Special Commissioner with powers of a Judge, May 7th, 1847.

* Those marked with an asterisk afterwards became First Judge.

VOL. CXVII.]

ART. II.—HIS MAJESTY'S REGIMENT DE MEURON.

THE recent war in South Africa must always remain remarkable as the first serious contest carried on by Great Britain in modern times solely with her own national forces. The smallness of her standing army—invariably out of all proportion to the number of her population—obliged her (it is true) to invoke the aid of auxiliaries from her colonies: but whereas in former wars necessity had compelled her to enlist the services of foreign mercenaries, the contingents who came to her assistance against the Boers were composed of men of British speech and blood, owing allegiance to the same sovereign and forming units of the same Empire. The days are gone of the Captains Courageous whose swords were always at the disposal of the highest bidder, and who did not scruple upon occasion to fight against the land that gave them birth. But it is good to remember how large a part has been played by men of alien race in the history of our islands. It was with Irish, and not with English, troops that Ireland was conquered. We find recorded in "Drake and the Tudor Navy" the regret of an officer who had distinguished himself in the suppression of the Irish clans that he had not Irish kernes with him in Spain. Marlborough's ever-victorious army was as composite a body as can well be imagined and was made up of English, Dutch and Germans, many of the latter being in British pay. Both William the Third and Anne paid the expenses of Swiss regiments which served against the French under the Grand Duke of Savoy. When the House of Hanover came to the throne of England, Hanoverian troops naturally acted as auxiliaries to the British flag. The armies which fought at Dettingen and Minden were as largely made up of Germans as of English, though the former were for the most part paid with English gold. When England was threatened with invasion, we borrowed Dutchmen to resist the Highlanders in their march upon Derby. We employed hordes of Germans in the American War of Independence; and we hired Hessians and Germans in the Irish insurrection of 1798. Even as late as the Crimean War, we recruited a Swiss and a German Legion. After the peace, many of the soldiers re-engaged with the East India Company, and the third Regiment of Bombay Europeans was largely composed of them. Others were encouraged to emigrate to the Cape, where they were granted lands, and many of their sons took up arms in the late war, on the side of the Transvaal burghers.

But it was during the long struggle with Napoleon that our

Army List showed the most extraordinary patch work of military odds and ends. We had a very serviceable force of all arms in the King's German Legion; we had three double-battalion regiments of Swiss infantry, Corsican Rangers, Greek light infantry, and many corps of French émigrés. Most of the latter were destroyed in vain expeditions to the coasts of Brittany and La Vendée, and none of them survived the peace of Amiens, except the battalion of Chasseurs Britanniques, which was raised from the *débris* of Condé's brigades, disbanded at the signing of the same peace.

So again, it was with Indian and not British soldiery that India was chiefly won. Even the leaven of white troops was stiffened by a considerable non-British element. This was the case with every European nation that maintained troops in India. Paradis, the bravest of Dupleix's general and commander of Madras during its French occupation, was a Swiss born in London: and many of his countrymen served in his ranks. La Bourdonnais brought Caffres over from Madagascar, and it was a shot from a French Caffre that killed Anwarooddeen, Nabob of the Carnatic. Similarly the garrisons in the pay of the Dutch were rarely above one quarter or a third Dutch; the remainder being composed of English and French deserters and renegade continental adventurers who came for the purpose of making or mending their fortunes. Of the Company's forces at Plassey, the Madras Infantry which formed the largest contingent, was commanded by Gaupp, a Swiss and a large proportion of the rank and file were foreigners. One of Clive's best officers was Adolphus Gingen, "a Swiss gentleman and as brave a one as any of his nation;" and among his lieutenants was the Huguenot de Vismes.

Even in the days before Plassey foreign corps were entertained in John Company's service. Orme speaks in 1752 of the ships from England bringing out a reinforcement of two Swiss companies, each 100 strong, and commanded by Swiss officers. One of these companies, while proceeding to Fort St. David by boat, was taken by a French ship and carried into Pondichery: where it remained till it was sent back by Godeheu at the beginning of the negotiations. The other commanded by Captain Polier took part in the battles of the Carnatic under Lawrence. In 1757 there was Swiss soldiers at Calcutta, part of the two battalions of Colonel Prevost's regiment taken over by the Company the previous year.¹ The notorious Walter

¹ Thirty-two Swiss soldiers died at Madras between 1752 and 1758 according to the Registers of St. Mary's Church, edited by Rev. H. Malden. Colonel Prevost's two battalions do not appear to have formed a separate regiment, but were incorporated with the Company's European regiments. This may account for the appellation "European" instead of

Reinhardt, husband of the Begum Sumroo, and the murderer of defenceless Englishmen at Patna, made his first acquaintance with India as a sergeant in Captain Ziegler's company, attached to the Bombay European Regiment. As early as 1757 Ives mentions a prisoner named Alexander Sansawre, "who first came from Europe to Bombay in a Swiss company of soldiers," and was recaptured after deserting to Law. Another corps was Doxat's Chasseurs (referred to by the painter Hodges in his *Indian Travels*), and a third a body of French dragoons, which Claude Martine, when a prisoner of war and a simple warrant officer, raised for the service of the Company from the French captives at Madras.

The Neuchâtel Regiment de Meuron is of later enlistment. Its existence is overlooked by the British historians of India and passed over in a couple of pages by military writers such as Wilson. Its name has been so long absent from the pages of the Army List that its mention, in these days of short-lived memories, can hardly be expected to arouse enthusiasm. The manuscript of its services lies somewhere among the lumber of the War Office, unread and forgotten. One of the many corps of mercenaries which the Swiss nation furnished to fight the battles of other Powers in the eighteenth century, the Regiment de Meuron has fallen into oblivion as thorough as that which has overtaken Dillon's Royal Regiment of Ireland or the Gendarmes Ecosais. Its story none the less offers much that is curious to the burrower in literary bye-ways. For the last twenty years of the eighteenth century and the first fifteen of the nineteenth, wherever fighting was to be done in Ceylon, India and Canada, the Regiment de Meuron was in the thick of it. Like the Israelites of old under Moses, it was for nearly forty years on the move, the distances it traversed and the hardships it endured being far in excess of those recorded in the itinerary of the children of Jacob. In its ranks men of every nationality rubbed shoulders—Swiss, Poles, Russians, Italians, Germans, inhabitants of towns as far removed as Basel and Pondicherry. Originally raised in the interests of the Dutch East India Company, the Regiment after fourteen years of warfare against the British, transferred its services to King George of England and served its new master with the same degree of intrepidity as it had once been happy to display against him. It was the fashion in those days for professional fire-eaters to shift their allegiance much after the manner of the Princess, who varied her religion "comme on changea sa

English given to those regiments. Among the troops on the Coromandel Coast the "Swiss Infantry Company" is definitely so named. One company of Artillery, which came out to Madras on the *Montfort* in August 1753 was entirely composed of foreigners, principally Swiss.

chemise." Yet once in the British service his Majesty's Regiment de Meuron was true to its salt. Besides minor laurels, it can claim the proud distinction of having carried its colonel's colours triumphantly through the breach at Seringapatam.

But the real interest of the career of this gallant band of Switzers lies less in the alarms and excursions it can record than in the many sidelights which it accidentally casts upon the social and military details of a stirring period. The account of de Meuron's negotiations with the British War Office reads like the columns of a modern newspaper. The deeds in many lands of his life of derring-do recall the adventures of a mediæval soldier of fortune.

In a corner of the museum in the old Swiss town of Neuchâtel there stands a case of shells and natural history specimens labelled "collection de Meuron." Brought from the Coromandel coast more than a century ago, these curios became the nucleus of the natural history museum of Neuchâtel which, enriched by such men as Agassiz and Coulon, is to-day as much a glory of the town as her chocolat Suchard or her timepieces. It is characteristic of the ingratitude of posterity that, if de Meuron be remembered by his fellow-citizens, it should be by virtue of a conchological assortment concealed in a dark corner of the Neuchâtel museum. As a British general once of some importance, he is deserving of a wider mention in history.

Charles Daniel de Meuron was born at Saint Sulpice on the 6th of May, 1738, the eldest son of Theodore de Meuron, at that time "Justicier" at Vals de Travers.² His boyhood was not eventful, yet his military ardour must have asserted itself early, for we find him, while still in his teens, enrolled in the Regiment de Hallwyl, formerly de Karrer, a body of Swiss marines in French employ. The English fleet was then blockading Rochefort at the mouth of the Charente, and here Charles de Meuron, who ended his career at seventy as a British General, commenced it as an ensign at seventeen by fighting against his future honourable masters. After the defence of the Isle of Aix, his promotion to the rank of lieutenant seems to have definitely marked his adoption of the military life.

In March 1757, a larger sphere of activity overseas for the first time opened out before him. Together with a company of the Regiment de Hallwyl, de Meuron embarked upon the *Florissant*, a vessel of seventy-four guns which had been equipped by the French Government with a view of lending

² The father is also described as "captain in one of the companies." He had two younger sons, Theodore Abraham and Pierre Frédéric (of whom later) and three daughters.

assistance to the American colonists in their struggle against England. But the vessel was fated never to reach her destination for, while in Martinique waters, she fell in with the *Buckingham*, a British 74, and was so severely handled that she was within an ace of striking her flag.³ It was fortunate that the approach of darkness enabled her captain, de Maureville, to effect an escape in spite of his losses and to bring his disabled vessel into the neighbouring haven of Port Royal. Here the arrival of the Swiss marines proved nothing if not opportune, for the Regiment de Hallwyl was in time to take an active part in repelling the invading squadron of Admiral Moore: a land engagement in which de Meuron added a third and severe wound to two which he had already received in the preceding sea-fights.

The return journey of the *Florissant*, if less eventful, cannot have been without its dangers. The ship, indeed, had suffered so much as to be hardly seaworthy, and her detachment of marines must have felt it no hardship to be transhipped at Cadiz into the *Triton*. In this vessel, they finally reached

³ There is a graphic account of the fight in "The Memoirs and Adventures of Mark Moore, late an officer in the British Navy," a book published in 1795, which merits rescue from oblivion if only on account of its fantastic title-page. For not only is it declared to be "interspersed with a variety of original anecdotes selected from his journals when in the Tuscan, Portuguese, Swedish, Imperial, American and British services, in each of which he bore a commission," but "as the author has been at intervals the Manager of a respectable Company of Comedians, in several of the principal towns of England, France and Flanders, he has also added some original sketches of several theatrical characters, who now rank high in the Thespian Corps, with descriptions of the various scenes in which he has been lately involved through the machinations of petty fogging attorneys, in which the arts of those Terriers of the law are fully exposed for the benefit of Society." At the time of the encounter between the *Florissant* and the *Buckingham*, Moore was a midshipman on board the latter. On the 3rd of November, when in company with the *Wessel* sloop and the *Bristol* of 50 guns, she fell in with the French fleet. "Captain Tyrrell of the Marines took his faithful stand by the colours, with a cocked pistol in his hand, declaring that the contents of it should be lodged in the first man that would attempt to strike them to the enemy, and, if carried away by a shot, there was another to supply its place." The *Florissant* poured in a broadside, wounding Captain Tyrrell of the *Buckingham* "when command devolved upon Mr. Marshall, first Lieutenant, who, whilst he dropped on his knees abast the binnacle to pray, had his head shot off by a ball that happened to pass that way." Nothing daunted, the *Buckingham*, answering with a star-board broadside, sent one of the opposing frigates to "visit the secrets of the hoary deep. Captain Tyrrell's wound being dressed, he immediately resumed the command. "We fought the *Florissant* so close that our bowsprit got foul of her fore rigging: we engaged her five glasses, at the end of which, night coming on, she thought fit to sheer off: we were such a wreck that we could scarce work our way into St. John's Antigua, with both hand and chain pumps going."

Marseilles after an absence of nearly three years' continuous sea-service. The company was at once ordered to its regimental dépôt, and the young lieutenant—certainly no loser by his sufferings—returned to Switzerland the proud possessor of a wound pension of eight hundred livres and bearing upon his breast the Croix de Mérite Militaire. In the interval of leisure which was now vouchsafed him, de Meuron was not idle. On the 3rd of December, 1762, he married a French lady, one Marie Fillon, of Morveaux in the parish of Segousac near Cognac in Angoumois; and a few months later, on the Regiment de Hallwyl being broken up, he applied for and obtained a commission in the Swiss guards of Louis Quinze, being posted to the Regiment d'Erlach. It is to be presumed that the next few years were devoted by de Meuron to the enjoyment of connubial happiness, for we do not again meet with his name until the 22nd of June, 1768, on which day he received his appointment to the grade of captain, with the rank of colonel in the French army: a sufficiently rapid advancement for a young married officer of but thirteen years' service.

When war broke out afresh between France and England during the revolt of our American colonists, Holland joined France and applied to the French Government for the services of a Swiss officer for the purpose of raising a Swiss regiment to assist in the defence of the Dutch East India Company's possessions. The Duc de Choiseul, Colonel General of Switzerland and the Grisons, was then Minister for War and Marine. After several ineffectual attempts to prevail on Swiss officers in French employ to undertake the task, he accepted an offer of assistance from de Meuron, who immediately applied for the formal permission of the Neuchâtel authorities to levy recruits in his old canton. In reply to a letter addressed to them by Major de Sandol Roy, the Quatre Ministres granted the Sieur Meuron de Morveaux full power to enroll the inhabitants and burgesses of Neuchâtel and its banlieue. The permission was, however, conditional on what in these days seems a curious stipulation; namely that for the better administration of justice, the noble company would not fail to provide the regiment with "deux officers grandjuges jurisconsults."⁴

The "capitulation" or engagement between the chevalier de Meuron, "colonel d'infanterie et capitaine-lieutenant des gardes suisses de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne," and P. E. Vandepierre, seigneur of the four bans of Duyreland, a Director of

⁴ François Raymond, grand juge, died at Colombo on the 19th of July 1790. Another, Albert Fivaz, captain lieutenant, left India on pension on the 1st of January 1800, and afterwards served in the English army. He died at Paris in June 1815.

the Netherlands East India Company, was drawn up in triplicate and attested by F. G. Boers, the legal adviser of the Company, at Paris on the 28th of May, 1781. By the terms of the agreement the colonel stood pledged to furnish before the 1st of November a fully armed and equipped regiment of one thousand and twenty units, no one of whom was to be less than five Holland feet in height. The corps was to be "suisse neuchâtelois," and to bear the name de Meuron; its members must be Protestant, and at least two-thirds of them must be drawn from the cantons of the Swiss confederacy. The appointment of the officers was vested in the proprietary colonel with the exception of that of the officers of two companies, the nomination of whom was to lie with the Directors of the Honourable Company: a precaution which suggests that the Dutch authorities were alive to the advantage of some permanent espionage over de Meuron's nominees.

The twenty-five articles of the "capitulation" amply illustrate with what minute and business-like precautions against future contingencies the Dutch East India Company was accustomed to safeguard its interests. It would be difficult to find a single detail of importance, whether relating to equipment, numbers, or finance, which is not clearly laid down in black and white in the model document which gave birth to the Regiment de Meuron. The strength of the regiment is fixed at ten companies of one hundred and two men, with twelve gunners, four sergeants and four corporals attached to every company; the establishment of officers is to consist of a commander with the rank of colonel proprietary, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, ten captains, ten lieutenants, a lieutenant paymaster, three ensigns, a head surgeon with ten assistants, and a sergeant-major. All staff officers are to be of at least six years' service, captains and lieutenants four, and sergeants three. The Swiss military code is to be observed, and neither officers nor men are to be subject to the Dutch tribunals except for the offences of malversation and high treason: the latter especially being, as the "capitulation" quaintly adds, a crime "*ce que ne plaise à Dieu*." All ranks are to engage themselves for a definite period of five years; in the event of the disbandment of the corps, officers are to receive half pay for the remainder of their lives so long as they are not employed by other powers. Meanwhile the colonel is expressly exhorted to a proper performance of his duties. "*Il leur rendra bonne et brave justice*," and, with a sudden lapse into the concrete, the contract stipulates, "*et leur paiera leur prête tous les huit jours*."

The rate of payment, per annum, must have been sufficiently satisfactory to those immediately concerned. While the salary

of the colonel commandant was fixed at three thousand florins annually, that of the private soldier amounted to one hundred and eight florins; the chief surgeon was to receive the pay of a lieutenant, six hundred florins; the major eighteen hundred, an ensign four hundred and eighty, a sergeant two hundred and forty, and a captain twelve hundred. To obviate any future difficulty as to the vexed question of exchange, the florin is stated to be equivalent to vingt sols courant.

On the regiment being mustered and approved, the Company binds itself to pay over to the colonel three hundred pounds French per man for the initial raising of the regiment and its transport to the Ile de Ré, de Meuron, in his turn, undertaking to forfeit ten thousand pounds French, should the establishment on the day appointed for the final muster be more than one hundred men short of the required number. Fifty supernumeraries are allowed to fill up vacancies on the strength before the regiment arrives in the Dutch colonies. A sum of twenty-five thousand florins will be paid over annually by the Company for the renewal of armament and clothing and for recruiting: the condition is attached that whereas future equipment may, in time of war, be purchased in France or elsewhere at the will of the proprietary colonel, in time of peace it shall be only of Dutch make and bought in Holland.⁵

Every detail of dress and equipment is, as might be expected, minutely set forth in the "capitulation." The customary uniform of a Swiss regiment was scarlet, but as de Meuron's troops were to be employed against English red-coats, blue with yellow facings was in this case decreed to take the place of the familiar "*couleur sang de boeuf*." With this, in accordance with the fashion of the time, were worn gaiters and white knee-breeches. The helmet is defined as "*un casque à crinière flottante avec plumet houppe*" bearing the arms of Neuchâtel. It is laid down that privates are to be armed with a "good" musket, a bayonet and, with what seems a superfluity of detail, "a belt to hold that bayonet." Sergeants are to carry a sword, corporals and drummers a sabre. Each unit is to be provided with two pairs of stockings, shoes and gaiters, a knapsack, a working dress, and a nightcap; during the voyage to the East these luxuries are not to be unpacked, but the uniform will be confined to a woollen shirt and trousers, a surtout and a "*bonnet de police*." It is interesting to note that the officer charged with the purchase in Paris of this regimental outfit was Captain Yorck, afterwards to become celebrated in

⁵ The old perquisites of proprietary colonels exist to this day in the emoluments known as "*Colonel's off reckonings*," still drawn by officers of the Indian army.

the Napoleonic campaigns of 1814 as the Prussian Marshal Yorck.

The Regiment de Meuron was granted, by the "capitulation," the use of four standards, to be borne by the companies of the field officers. The principal flag displayed upon a white ground the monogram V.O.C., of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostendische Compagnie) together with the mottoes "Terra et Mare, Fidelitas et Honor," borrowed from the Swiss regiment de Hallwyl, in which de Meuron had served his apprenticeship to arms. The remaining standards carried the colonel's livery colours, black, green, and yellow, with a broad yellow cross upon which the same mottoes were inscribed. The regimental seal bore in its centre the arms of the de Meuron family, around which were grouped the shields of the thirteen Swiss cantons: *accolé* with the colonel's armorial bearings being those of the Dutch East India Company. The proprietary character of the regiment was still further emphasized in the costume of the twenty drummers, two of whom were attached to each company, these, after the usage of the day, being clad in the livery colours of their colonel.

By the end of July, 1781, Charles Daniel de Meuron had carried out his contract, and the regiment of which he was proprietary colonel stood assembled at its appointed rendezvous, the island of Oleron in Brittany. Owing to a series of gales, more than a month elapsed before its embarkation for the Cape. Eight companies alone could find accommodation in the *Fier*, the transport which had been placed at the disposal of de Meuron, and the remainder of the regiment was compelled to proceed to its destination in a smaller vessel. The two ships formed part of an unwieldy convoy of three hundred merchantmen, under the escort of nine French warships commanded by Admiral La Motte Piquet. Harassed at every turn by the English privateers which swarmed the seas like sharks, the huge convoy quickly fell into disorder and the smaller of de Meuron's transports early became detached from her companions. By a happy combination of circumstances, she succeeded in reaching the Cape six weeks earlier than did the *Fier*. Her contingent of troops can hardly be described as the most promising material for a new regiment. During the voyage, indeed, insubordination gradually rose to an extent which must have sorely perplexed the officers on board. The climax was only reached when a plot was hatched to overcome the vessel and turn pirates: an ambition which was discovered in the nick of time by Major de Sandol Roy and not repressed without the greatest difficulty.

The *Fier* meanwhile held by her course with the remainder of the squadron. Her captain, by name d'Alberade, was eager

to push on ahead; de Meuron, with characteristic caution, was as firm in his intention of abiding with the escort. In the light of later events, it was fortunate for the regiment that the colonel successfully opposed the blandishments of d'Alberade. For a chapter of disasters, the progress of the *Fier* merits comparison with the missionary journeys of Saint Paul. Had she proceeded alone upon her voyage, it is hardly open to doubt that the two companies of would-be pirates upon the smaller transport would have represented the entire Regiment de Meuron on their arrival at the Cape.

As things were, the disappearance of the English frigates brought little relief to the tormented flotilla. A succession of equinoctial gales arose which fell with terrible force upon the convoy, and orders were finally given for the vessels to separate. While the admiral with the bulk of the squadron made for the West Indies, seventeen of the ships under escort of the *Hermione* put in at the Canaries in order to refit and water. Among these latter was the *Fier*, which met with so hearty a reception at the hands of the good folk of Santa Cruz that the misfortunes of the voyage were quickly blotted out from the memories of de Meuron and his men. Eight days of November were spent in "feasting and dancing" before the convoy had sufficiently recuperated to pursue its journey to the Cape.

In spite of this refreshment, fresh disasters were none the less in store for the new regiment. Hardly had the squadron left the Canaries on the horizon than it became becalmed. At this inauspicious moment, d'Alberade, who had once been so insistent in his desire to navigate alone, made the alarming announcement that his provisions would not last him till the Cape. The regiment was immediately put on half rations, but to little purpose. Scurvy broke out and in a few days prostrated two hundred and thirty of the eight hundred men on board. There was nothing left but to invoke the aid of the other ships which at a council held on board the *Hermione* consented to provision the *Fier* from their joint store.

All hands must have been thankful when on the 6th of January 1782 Table Mountain hove in sight. Next day, the regiment landed at Cape Town, and its colonel lost no time in forwarding to the Governor, Baron Plettenberg, a detailed letter of complaint against the captain of the *Fier*.⁶ In this document—justly described in its concluding paragraph as "une

⁶ It is interesting to note the officers who signed this document, as it contains the earliest record of their names; de Meuron Motiers, de Gerbolles, Lardy-Bessardon, Jequier, Duvois, Gradcourt, Bailly, Touchon, Ried, Gradmann, Dubois, Chevalier de La Raitrie, Dauphin, Muriel, Bernard, Boysser and Garnier.

longue épître"—de Meuron declaimed with indignation against the sieur d'Alberade who, intent solely on securing a good market at the Cape, had filled the hold with merchandise. To so great an extent was the vessel encumbered with "pacotilles," that it had been found necessary to relegate not merely the soldiers' effects but the ammunition itself to an exposed quarter of the deck, where the combined action of sun and rain had quickly conspired to render them useless. As a result of insufficient food and water, one hundred and three men had died of scurvy; several had fallen overboard for want of proper fittings to the ship's side; while some forty had been impressed to do the work of the ship's crew. Nor had the officers fared better. The supplies of the mess had been ruthlessly pillaged by the captain's servant. This individual, who had already acquired an unenviable notoriety by detection in the act of diluting the soldiers' eau de vie with eau de mer, yet further succeeded in establishing a "corner" in so indispensable a necessity of life as drinking water. This he was able to retail to the officers from his master's private store at the monopoly rate of a crown a bottle, with no greater punishment, when complaint rose too high to be stifled, than condemnation for twenty-four hours to sailors' fare. Even if we cannot justify every item in de Meuron's bill of damages for two hundred and seventy thousand florins—a sum which included an indemnity of three hundred florins for every soldier on the ground of the permanent injury to his health caused by privation—it is clear that the treatment accorded to the officers and men, for whose maritime conveyance the Dutch Company had paid as much as twelve hundred florins per head, was anything but desirable or satisfactory.⁷ Protest, unfortunately, proved of no avail. The Governor was not unnaturally reluctant to enter into the merits of a controversy which bid fair to swell into a bulky volume, and contented himself with referring de Meuron to his principals in Europe; a mode of obtaining redress which would no doubt have required a larger expenditure of patience than the colonel was now able to bestow upon the matter.

Hardly, in fact, had the regiment recovered from the effects of the voyage than it was re-embarked upon the *Hermione* and despatched to Ceylon to re-inforce the fleet of that "amiral diable," the Bailli de Suffren. After having taken part in the expulsion of the English from Trincomalee, it was ordered to Cuddalore, then sorely beset by the English under General Stuart. Here the regiment was in time to join in the sortie of the 25th of June 1783: a sortie rendered memorable by the

⁷ That this was an excessive charge is shown by the fact that the King of France paid only 600 florins a head for the transport of his men to the le de France on board these very ships.

British capture of a young French sergeant in the regiment of Aquitaine of the name of Bernadotte, the future General of the Empire and King of Sweden and Norway. Previous to this the corps had been afloat and engaged in the two sea-fights between Suffren and Sir Edward Hughes; when we read that an English broadside was so successfully directed as to bring down the mainmast of the *Héros* and at one stroke annihilate some forty of the regiment who were serving as marines.⁸

On the conclusion of peace, de Meuron and his men were ordered to Ceylon, whence, after a short stay, they returned to the Cape. Here they shared garrison duty with the French Regiment de Pondicherry, then under the command of Colonel Gordon. Difficulties soon arose between the two regiments, for the French soldiers displayed a noticeable reluctance in saluting the de Meuron colours. Naturally enough, in consequence, wounded honour sought satisfaction in the customary manner and the officers indulged themselves in a lengthy succession of duels, from which the colonels do not appear to have been exempted. Other troubles were in store, moreover. Not a few men of the Regiment de Meuron deserted about this time, being enticed up-country by the Dutch Boers to serve as farm-hands. Those of the fugitives who could be captured were shot, but there can be no doubt that the regiment suffered a considerable diminution in its ranks, and its relief in 1786 by the Regiment de Wurtemberg was only just in time to prevent complete disorganisation.

Barras, the Revolutionary Director and protector of Josephine, who was soldiering at the Cape in 1781, gives a curious picture of the place in his memoirs. "At the time of my arrival at the Cape of Good Hope," he writes, "its governor was a fat Dutchman, M. Pletinberg, a member of the Netherlands East India Company. His wife was of opinion that her personal fatness conferred on her the right of being as insolent as her husband. These two vain creatures, who lived isolated

⁸ Innes Munro in his "Narrative of Military Opérations on the Comandiel Coast" states that on the 15th of February 1782 Admiral Hughes "recaptured five vessels which had been taken from us to the northward of Madras. The sixth was the *Lauriston*, a transport captured by the *Isis*, Captain Lumley, which contained many officers and 300 men of the Regiment of Lausanne. "Lausanne seems a mistake for Neuchâtel; and if the vessel was captured, she must have been retaken," for the French account shows that all the troops of Suffren's *corps d'armée* were subsequently landed at Porto Novo. The action in which the French flagship *Héros* lost her main mast was fought on the 20th of September 1782. "The hurrahs of the English first showed Suffren that they thought he had struck his flag. Not for long did they remain under this delusion. Rushing on the poop, Suffren cried with a voice which sounded above the roar of the combat: 'Bring flags, bring up all the white flags that are below and cover my ship with them!'"

in their palace, were the terror of the inhabitants." Barras was at the time a cadet in the regiment of Pondicherry, which Suffren's squadron had landed at Table Bay on the 21st of June 1781, after a severe brush *en route* with Admiral Hughes off San Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands. Under orders of the Count de Conway, Suffren had disembarked both the Pondicherry regiment and a part of the regiment of Austrasia. "These joined to a Dutch battalion under Colonel Gordon, a man of military talent, were to form the garrison which the Court of Versailles, convinced that the existence of our squadrons and the retention of the Ile de France and of India depended on our retaining possession of the Cape, had sent thither to defend them against British attacks." Barras served abroad till March 1783, when a quarrel with de Conway happily ended in his being sent home with despatches. Shortly afterwards he resigned his commission and settled in Paris.

From the Cape, the regiment de Meuron was sent back to Ceylon, leaving behind it a depôt of thirty-three men commanded by Captain Zorn and Lieutenants Bore and Kibourg. Arrived at Ceylon, Colonel Charles Daniel de Meuron seized the opportunity to leave the regiment, making over the command to Pierre Frédéric, his younger brother. The reason of this sudden determination reveals the astuteness of the colonel. Some years before, the precaution had been taken to obtain the consent of the States General to declare the regiment hereditary property. Colonel de Meuron's union with Mademoiselle Fillon had not been blessed with offspring. On the other hand, Pierre Frédéric was not only the father of children but his presumptive heir. It needed no great gift of political prophecy on the part of Charles Daniel de Meuron to perceive that, while the regiment might safely be left in the hands of his successor, the presence of its proprietor in Europe and a proper exercise of influence at headquarters could not fail to add to its value as a family commercial asset. The actual transfer of command, unfortunately, was not effected without considerable opposition on the part of the officers, who were less alive to the motives which were actuating their colonel. The duelling epidemic which had been so prevalent at the Cape revived, and Pierre Frédéric was twice "called out," happily without injury to his life or character. To make matters worse, several of the most promising officers resigned their commissions. Included among these, it is of interest to note in passing, were the brothers de Sandol Roy, of whom one was at that time lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, while the other held the rank of captain. Both had previously served with distinction in the Swiss Regiment de Bocard in French employ, and both had successful careers after leaving the Regiment de Meuron. The elder, François,

had at the Cape struck up a friendship both with the future Marshals Yorck and with Barras, who was then, as we have seen, a cadet in the Regiment de Pondicherry. The acquaintance proved a useful one in later years, for in 1815 Barras was enabled to obtain for him a post on the staff of General Bachmann. He died at Neuchâtel in 1827. The younger brother, Simon, after a short apprenticeship to arms in the Regiment de Bocard, had seen service, before joining the colours of de Meuron, under Frederic the Great in Prussia and in Poland. On resigning his commission in the Regiment de Meuron, he passed into the Dutch military service and was appointed Governor of Malacca and subsequently Captain-General of all the Company's European troops in the Dutch Indies. It has been recorded to his credit that, so long as he retained command, the English were foiled in their attempts to conquer Java.

During its sojourn in Ceylon, the Regiment de Meuron—perhaps by way of putting an end to further dissensions in its rank—was employed in two expeditions against the King of Kandy. In these, however, greater difficulties appear to have been encountered from nature than from the natives.⁹ The soldiers, none the less, we read, "conservèrent leur belle humeur." The regiment had at this period a battery of eight guns, but their services were little requisitioned. Several detachments of men were scattered among the various garrisons of the Island, and others stationed in India. The next few years were spent, indeed, in comparative inactivity, and Charles Daniel de Meuron had small reason to regret the relinquishment of his command.

A trifling interlude was afforded in 1793 when two companies under Captain Pierre Lardy of Auvernier (the same who afterwards led the grenadier company at the storming of Seringapatam) escorted Governor Van Angelbeck from Cochin to Colombo. It was this Cochin contingent of which we read in Grandpré's "Voyage to the Indian Ocean and Bengal, undertaken in 1789-90." "I found," he writes, "the Regiment de Meuron in garrison at Cochin. This Swiss Regiment levied in France was composed of Frenchmen, several of whom offered me their services; including one who had been bred a butcher, and undertook to supply me with all the meat and livestock I

⁹ Percival in his Account of the Island of Ceylon gives a different picture. "About twenty years ago the Dutch again penetrated into the King of Kandy's country, but were attacked by the natives with so much spirit that the present General de Meuron, then a Colonel in the Dutch service, narrowly escaped being taken with a large detachment near Sittivacca, and by accidentally taking a different road from that which the Candians expected he would, he got safe to Colombo."

might require to take away with me. The wish to benefit a fellow countryman induced me to accept his offer."

Pierre Lardy was again singled out for special duty in 1794, when the Dutch Government placed four companies of the regiment under his command at Negapatam. The regiment, indeed, must have been considerably scattered about this time, whether in garrison or for the purpose of affording travelling protection to the Dutch officials. In the same year, Governor Van Graaf, who had been appointed Director-General at Batavia,¹⁰ took with him from Colombo an escort of sixty-two men of the regiment under Captain Samuel Gigaud and Lieutenant J. B. Vautier. Captain Gigaud, a close personal friend of the Governor, was selected to command the troops on board the four men-of-war composing the squadron; but neither he nor Vautier lived long to enjoy their honours. Both succumbed within the year to the effects of the climate, which also carried off two-thirds of the soldiers, and, as a result of this disastrous expedition, there returned to Colombo no more than thirteen men under charge of a "fourrier," who had gone out a simple corporal and thus unexpectedly came back as senior officer of the remnant of the company.

The inaction of the regiment was not to endure much longer. In 1795, the French Revolution was destined to throw the affairs of the Dutch East India Company into complete confusion. The French under Pichegru overran Holland, entered Amsterdam, and proclaimed the Batavian Republic. The Prince of Orange, the hereditary stadtholder, fled with his family to England, and placed the Dutch colonies abroad under the protection of the British. It followed as a matter of course that his orders were at once countermanded by the republican authorities in Holland, and the colonial governments quickly became the victims of disorganisation. Suddenly came the news of the battle of Camperdown and the destruction of Dutch trade. The Vereenigde Oostendische Compagnie was bankrupt.

On the 1st of August 1795 followed the English invasion of Ceylon. The bulk of the Regiment de Meuron—its pay fallen into arrears and discontent manifest in its ranks—lay with its Colonel at Colombo. Three detachments, each

¹⁰ At his departure Van Graaf delivered a long memorandum to his successor Van Angelbeck dated Colombo, 15th July 1794, on which he writes: "Our military force now consists as follows—11 companies National Europeans, 10 companies of the Regiment de Meuron, 5 companies of the Regiment de Wurtemberg, 5 companies Malays, 9 companies Sepoys, 9 companies of Artillery, not including the invalids and a few old Europeans and the natives detached to the small out-posts." Colonel D. C. Von Driberg (who died at Negapatam, 22nd June 1804) commanded the forces, and Colonel Elias Paravicini the Artillery.

of two companies, held Trincomalee, Fort Ostenburg, and Point de Galle.¹¹ The little army to defend the coast did not in all exceed three thousand men and fell an easy prey to the organised invader. The English under Colonel Stuart and Admiral Rainier began operations by landing at Trincomalee in the face of a tremendous surf. After a stubborn resistance, the place surrendered to them on the 27th of August, and the detachment of the Regiment de Meuron—one company under H. D. de Meuron-Motiers having lost as many as thirty men out of the eighty who composed it—was taken prisoner and deported to Madras. The defenders of Port Ostenburg capitulated four days later. Point de Galle had its communications cut off. Fort Batticaloa surrendered on the 18th of September. Punto Pedro, Jaffnapatam, and Manaar followed suit in quick succession.

Colombo alone continued to hold out through the untiring energy of the Regiment de Meuron. Owing to the indisposition of the Dutch commander, the supreme authority rested in the hands of Pierre Frédéric de Meuron who was the heart and soul of the defence. A vigorous resistance was being offered by the beleaguered garrison when their efforts were rendered unavailing by an unexpected thunderbolt.

The investment of Colombo was at its height when word arrived that Charles Daniel de Meuron had ceded his regiment to England and was then on his return to India in order to personally supervise its transfer.

One is not surprised to learn that Pierre Frédéric received the news with incredulity and showed no inclination to suspend hostilities. Himself a commander of dogged perseverance, he resolved upon defending Colombo to the last. But there was only hardship and small glory to be gained in the service of a bankrupt company, and neither officers nor men required much persuasion to follow the example of the proprietor of the regiment to whom they considered their allegiance to be mainly due. A promise was obtained from Major Agnew the British envoy, that the regiment would not be called upon to serve against the Dutch, and de Meuron had no option but to acquiesce in the wishes of the force which he commanded. By a document drawn up under the hand and seal of the Governor of the Island, the Regiment de Meuron was formally released from its oath to the Dutch

¹¹ The garrison of Trincomalee consisted of 788 officers and men, of whom 185 were Dutch, 84 Swiss, 136 Wurtembergers and 363 Malays and Sepoys. Fort Ostenburg was garrisoned by 8 artillerymen, 69 of de Meuron Regiment, 32 Dutchmen, 54 Wurtembergers and 89 Malays. Batticaloa had a weak garrison of 39 Europeans and 98 natives.

Company, the statement being appended that its colonel had conducted himself throughout as a man of honour.¹²

Embarkation for Tuticorin was fixed for the 27th of October following. Vague rumours of mutiny on the part of a few discontented spirits fortunately came to nought. The Governor, Van Angelbeck, must, notwithstanding, have been considerably relieved when in that Sunday morning the companies marched for the last time past his house to the Place d'Amsterdam in perfect order: three cases of drunkenness among the men being the only disquieting symptoms which he afterwards reported. By the 29th of October, the last of the regiment had left the quay, being played out of the town to the tune of "Malbrouck s'en va t'en guerre," an air which had been specially selected for the occasion by the chef de musique, Bernard, and which, we are told, "égaya toute la population." One hundred and fifty women, children, and slaves accompanied the regiment, which embarked on three Dutch chaloupes and a vessel commanded by Pierre Monneron, the same who on the 1st of May, 1792, had been chosen with Beylié deputies of French India to the Assemblée Nationale at Paris.¹³

The Galle companies gave more trouble. Although stringent orders had been issued that no member of the regiment should remain on the Island, recruiting for the Dutch army was being extensively carried on *sub rosa* in the ranks by individuals who "se disant patriotes" winked openly at desertion. Matters arrived at such a pass that Captain Zweifel (who was one day to command the regiment in succession to Lardy) was hurriedly despatched to hasten the embarkation of the companies. One shipload under Lieutenant Senn reached Tuticorin safely on the 7th of November; the other which should have started with seventy-three men arrived with but twenty-six on board, the remainder having deserted on the eve of their departure. Matters were

¹² Colombo surrendered on the 15th of February 1796. The garrison was composed of 95 officers, 909 European troops, 1,840 Malays and Sepoys and 281 seamen—3,125 in all.

¹³ The *Bombay Courier* for the 19th of October 1797 records, "A private letter has been received within these few days from Muscat, of which for the present we can only learn that it relates the death of Mons. P. Monneron, who did not survive, as we had hoped, the loss of his vessel upon the Arabian Coast. Were M. Monneron less known in the commercial world of India, this article might have been omitted; but the memory of a man, who, like him, has explored with such industry the resources of trade in each quarter of the world; who has successively tasted, with the same equanimity, the plenitude of wealth and a penniless poverty; who has so magnanimously struggled with such a rare tide of misfortune; and whose mind was enriched with such a store of information; we say, such a man, unless we have been deceived in him, merits a tribute of respect."

not improved by a short halt at Colombo in order that Zweifel might take leave of the Governor, for Jacobinism was then rampart in the city and several of the Swiss soldiers were persuaded by a certain Major Vaugine to escape from their quarters and embrace the new cult.

Robert Percival of the 19th Regiment of Foot, who served throughout the Ceylon campaign, gives a different version of the capitulation of Colombo in his "Account of the Island of Ceylon." According to him, the Regiment de Meuron had already transferred its services to England before General Stuart landed at Negombo in February 1796. Its agreement with the Dutch Company had, no doubt, expired some three months previously: but it is difficult to believe that the regiment voluntarily changed its masters in the hour of danger. The Dutch in their turn tell their own story of the downfall of the capital. They openly assert the treason of Governor Van Angelbeck and imply that as the Stadtholder in 1795 had thrown himself on the protection of the English, the Governor of Ceylon had contrived the surrender of the island in order to gratify his new allies. Monsieur C. F. Thombe, an officer who had served in Batavia, published in 1811 his *Voyage aux Indes orientales*, in the second volume of which he has inserted an apology for the capture of Colombo from data supplied by him by individuals at Java, who had served during the brief assault. He specifies vigorous and earnest preparations for the siege for months before it actually took place, which were ostensibly continued up to the approach of the English. But he recalls many suspicious acts of the Governor prior to and during the advance of the British. At length on their march to Colombo and the appearance of the English squadron in the roads, the Governor's conduct became unequivocal. He held frequent conferences with Major Agnew, the English envoy, who landed from a frigate in the offing; and immediately after his departure, the Regiment de Meuron announced their intention to transfer their allegiance to the British. Van Angelbeck then commenced to conceal his plate and valuables, and awaited the enemy with a composure that, coupled with a multitude of minor circumstances, awoke the garrison to consciousness that they had been betrayed. "Le 16 février toutes les troupes pensant avec raison qu'elles étaient trahies voulurent se révolter et plusieurs coups de fusils étaient dirigés sur la maison du Gouverneur Van Angelbeck" (Vol. II, p. 214). Under these circumstances the doomed fortress surrendered: and such was the indignation of the soldiers that nothing but the presence of the English saved the Governor from their vengeance.

It is certainly a remarkable circumstance that Van Angel-

beck should have remained in Ceylon after the capture of Colombo. He lived there for several years, and eventually committed suicide. The Dutch have made no mention of the latter fact, but Cordiner describes his funeral by torchlight in September 1799, when "the body was deposited in the family vault by the side of his wife, whose skeleton was seen through a glass in the cover of the coffin."

With the arrival at Tuticorin of what had now become His Majesty's Regiment de Meuron, a new chapter opens in its history.¹⁴ Since its foundation in 1781 to the 31st of October 1795, there has passed through the ranks two thousand two hundred and seventy-seven non-commissioned officers and men. Of these, forty-two had met their death in battle, principally at Trincomalee, one hundred and thirty-nine had died at sea, three hundred and twenty-nine had died in hospital: making a total mortality of five hundred and ten. No less than six hundred and thirty-seven men had been dismissed the regiment, one hundred and eighty-nine had deserted, and fifty-five were prisoners of war. Twenty-seven cadets and non-commissioned officers had, on the other hand, won for themselves commissions in the regiment. Of the fifty-three officers who had served the Dutch Company during the fourteen years which had elapsed since the foundation of the corps, as many as twelve were members of the family de Meuron.

The transformation into a British regiment of what, to judge from the proportion of dismissals and desertions, had degenerated into a discontented and undisciplined body of irregulars, displays the exercise of a certain sagacity on the part of its proprietary colonel. The negotiations despite the suddenness of the transfer had been prolonged and tedious. As far back, indeed, as 1793 the military authorities in India had, in a despatch addressed to Lord Fitzgerald, reported to the Home Government on the possibilities and advantages of acquiring in their own interest the services of so formidable a corps of mercenaries. The flight of the Stadtholder to England at length induced the War Office to consider, and after much hesitation to accept, the recommendation. In the beginning of 1795, orders were finally issued to Colonel Hugh Cleghorn to proceed to Neuchâtel on an urgent mission for the purpose of endeavouring to arrange terms with Charles Daniel de Meuron. The bargaining, as was to be expected, proved a complicated matter, and was terminated only by an offer of the British Government to pay the whole of the arrears owed

¹⁴ A number of Wurtembergers also took service with the British, for 63 of them figure among the Madras troops which landed at Banda and captured the Spice Islands in March 1796.

to the proprietor by the now bankrupt Dutch East India Company. On the 30th of March, however, a provisional agreement was signed, and ratified by Dundas on the condition that de Meuron should at once proceed to India and personally superintend the transfer of the regiment.¹⁵ He and Cleghorn accordingly started off by the overland route from Venice to Alexandria and Cairo and thence to Suez, landing eventually at Madras after a troublesome journey on the twenty-fourth of September. Nearly a year later, on the 2nd of August 1796, the capitulation signed at Neuchâtel by Colonel Cleghorn was at length ratified by the Government of Madras, the signatories in addition to de Meuron being the Governor, Lord Hobart, together with his members of Council, Sir Alured Clarke, E. Saunders, and E. Fallonfield. It might have been supposed that the transformation of the Regiment de Meuron had now definitely been effected. In reality, the negotiations were only just beginning. De Meuron had still to reckon with the British War Office. On his arrival in England at the close of 1797,¹⁶ he found his hands fully occupied. For various reasons, indeed, the Madras "capitulation" was no longer entirely approved in London: reasons not unconnected with the matter of the Dutch arrears, payment of which had been withheld in Madras owing to the non-arrival of certain necessary documents. Enquiry at the War Office elicited the surprising information that the name of the Regiment de Meuron was unknown to the officials. Repeated applications to Dundas remained unanswered. "I am as yet," naively protests de Meuron, "without the answer which I may truly say that I await with as much impatience as the Jews did their Messiah." In a letter to de Meuron-Motiers, he expresses himself more forcibly: the Ministers are so astonishingly occupied "*que c'est une mer à boire pour les voir et pour obtenir des décisions.*" Finally an interview with Dundas was accorded, and de Meuron found himself confronted with the absolute refusal of the Government to settle the arrears of the Dutch Company. Nothing daunted, however, he as resolutely refused to agree to any such condition, and enlisted in his support the influence of Mlle. de Montmollin, a Neuchâtel lady at that time in favour at the English Court. Backed by her assistance,

¹⁵ Captain J. J. de Bolle, who had served up till 1790 in the regiment de Sonnenberg, accompanied de Meuron as Aide-de-Camp. He and Lieutenant de Dardel were afterwards associated with Cleghorn in 1796 in a mission to the King of Kandy.

¹⁶ De Meuron left for Europe in March 1797 on board the *Barrington* with Captain de Bolle, Lieutenant d'Yvernois of Saint Sulpice and Samuel de Meuron, son of Lieut.-Colonel de Meuron. On board the same ship was Lord Abercromby. After a stormy passage, during which the fleet had to put in for several weeks at Newfoundland, de Meuron reached Deal on December 13th, 1797.

de Meuron continued to maintain a steadfast attitude, and a satisfactory compromise was eventually agreed upon, by which, in addition to the thirty thousand pounds already paid him by the authorities in India, he was to receive a further grant of eighty thousand pounds in full discharge of all such arrears as might be owing to the regiment by the Dutch East India Company. An agreement embodying these terms was presented to him by General Nesbitt "en le laissant dans l'alternative de l'accepter immédiatement ou de perdre son régiment": a sudden decision on the part of the War Office which sufficed to bring the negotiations to a point at which de Meuron was compelled to acquiesce.

The revised contract was drawn up and signed on the 25th of September 1798 by Charles Daniel de Meuron and General John Ramsay. By the terms of the agreement, the British Government undertook to grant to de Meuron himself the rank and pay of Major-General in the British service, and declared that he and all the officers of his regiment should henceforth rank with officers of the King's service in accordance with the respective dates of their commissions. The sum of three thousand pounds was in addition to be paid annually to de Meuron in order to meet the expenses of keeping the regiment up to its full complement. The King engaged the regiment for ten years certain; if, at the expiration of that period the engagement should not be renewed, the officers were to be placed on English half-pay so long as they might refrain from accepting military employment under other powers. The appointment and promotion of the officers, who must be of Swiss extraction, was stated to remain in the hands of the colonel proprietary, subject to confirmation by His Majesty. The establishment, dress, and equipment of the regiment was henceforward to conform to that of the British infantry. The regiment was, however, permitted to retain its own colours with the addition of the Union Jack in the upper inner canton,¹⁷ and the Swiss marches were further authorised except on parade. The strength of the regiment was fixed at nine hundred and fifty men not including a hundred corporals and sergeants and the usual number of commissioned officers. A chaplain was attached to the corps and three surgeons were appointed in place of the eleven who owed their position to the paternal care of the Swiss Federal authorities. For every German recruit it was arranged that de Meuron should receive the sum of sixteen and a half pounds: the terms being the same as those of the 60th regiment of Hanoverians; for every Swiss recruit, the rate of payment was

¹⁷ In 1814 General Rottenburg reported that the old flags, then 18 years in use, were not in accordance with regulations, and recommended that the yellow cross dividing the fields should be light blue.

to be half as much again, owing to the difficulty of procuring soldiers of that nationality. Finally, it was laid down that the contract should take effect only from the 1st of January, 1799. During the intervening period, the regiment was to rank as an auxiliary corps, independent of the British army, and liable to be called upon for service only in cases of necessity.

With the completion of his labours, de Meuron retired to Neuchâtel to enjoy the dignity and emoluments of his new position as a British Major-General. That his regiment had proved a successful speculation admits of little question, and his later years were passed in a leisured affluence which quickly ensured for him a leading share in the affairs of the Swiss township. The close of his career was as uneventful as his earlier life had been adventurous. On the 6th of April 1806, he died and was accorded a military funeral by order of the French General Oudinot, his old comrade in arms in the regiment d'Erlach, who was at the time in command of Neuchâtel. The final ceremony seems, however, to have stirred up resentment among the more turbulent spirits in the city. Evil tongues were not wanting to reproach the French with having granted military honours to a British general. To such an extent, indeed, did "ces propos d'auberge" exasperate the French grenadiers that an attempt was actually made to disinter the body and to throw it into the lake: a chivalrous project which was checked only by the personal influence of General Oudinot, and which forms a characteristic conclusion to the career of the soldier of fortune who had sold his regiment to England.

In the meantime, however, the regiment had by no means taken unkindly to its new masters. On its arrival at Tuticorin in November 1795, it had been warmly welcomed and had speedily adapted itself to the new conditions. Drawbacks there had doubtless been at first. Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, who had found accommodation in the quarters of the late commandant, complained that the most indispensable furniture was lacking and that he "ne trouva pas même de quoi faire un peu de lumière." The discomfort, fortunately, proved of short duration. After Tuticorin the first destination was Madras, but, owing to the rivers being in flood, it was found impossible to transfer the entire regiment. Two companies only were in consequence stationed at Madras from the end of November 1795 to December 1796, while the others were ordered to Poonamallee and Colombo and later to Negapatam.

In 1797, Colonel Pierre Frédéric de Meuron was appointed Military Governor of Ceylon. The post was hardly an enviable one. No less than three Military Governors had died within the five months that England had been in possession of the island. The first was Colonel Petrie, of the 73rd Regiment, the cap-

turer of Cochin in 1795. The second was General Doyle, who died in June 1797. Colonel Bonnevaux of the Company's service, the next senior officer on the island, succeeded him : but had only arrived three or four days at Colombo from his former command at Point de Galle, when he was killed by his curricule upsetting as he drove out through one of the gates, and was buried within a week after his predecessor. De Meuron was appointed by Lord Hobart from Madras, and in addition to taking the command was placed at the head of a commission to investigate into the revenue departments. Mr. Andrews, a Madras civilian, had been brought into the island as Superintendent of the Ceylon revenues and had swept away the Dutch system of imports and collections, substituting in all its severity the Carnatic system with a host of extortionate Malabar dubashes to enforce it. Discontent became so great that the Singhalese rose in revolt, and it was not till after considerable loss on both sides that the insurgents were subdued. The Augean task of reforming such a state of affairs was entrusted to de Meuron, and continued by Frederick North, afterwards Earl of Guildford, who relieved him in October 1793 as the first British Governor. The latter made short work of the "infamous faction of Madras civilians" by wholesale dismissal, suspension and enforced resignation. The recommendations of the de Meuron commission constitute a valuable state paper and were forwarded by North to the Marquis of Wellesley. They are now among the Wellesley papers in the British Museum, where they form Nos. 13864, 5, 6 and 7 in the catalogue of additional manuscripts. De Meuron continued as Brigadier-General commanding the troops in Ceylon till February the 7th 1799, when, being too late to join his regiment in the field, he was transferred to the command at Vellore.

In July 1796, a curious incident diversified the monotony of the regiment's existence. The officers in that month despatched to the magistrates at Neuchâtel a lengthy and remarkable letter expressing their entire satisfaction at their transfer from the service of "une compagnie idéale" to that of England. Twenty-one officers at Poonamallee and twelve at Vellore appended their signatures to this interesting document. The penultimate paragraph alludes in flattering terms to Charles Daniel de Meuron, the "father" of the regiment. "Le corps d'officiers, pénétré de reconnaissance pour son respectable père, a cru ne pouvoir la lui témoigner mieux qu'en demandant à son colonel-commandant, Monsieur le Brigadier-General Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, la permission de vous écrire, Messieurs et très honorables magistrats, pour vous faire part des sentiments qui l'animait, persuadé, qu'en voyant que les soins et les travaux du General Major ont tiré vos enfants, vos parents, vos

compatriotes, du précipice où ils étaient prêts à tomber, vous lui en tiendrez compte en approuvant ses démarches ; et comme il retourne dans le sein de sa patrie, il y trouvera l'accueil que méritent ses bienfaits, lesquels ne se bornent point à tout ce qui tient aux individus qui composent aujourd'hui le régiment, mais s'étendent sur tous les Neuchâtelois que le goût pour le service militaire pourra porter à y entrer. La bonne volonté de tout le corps, la confiance entière que nous sommes fondés à donner à notre colonel commandant, nous donnent lieu d'espérer que nous ne diminuerons pas l'opinion que l'on a des Suisses, en joignant à toutes ces considérations l'assurance que nous vous donnons qu'il ne s'est pas trouvé parmi nous un seul partisan des principes qui ont bouleversé l'Europe, et qu'au contraire nous chérissons tous les gouvernements sous lesquels nous avons le bonheur de naître."

In 1798 the news of Bonaparte's landing in Egypt gave promise of new employment for the regiment, but the orders for its departure were for some reason countermanded. A detachment of twenty men, however, under Sergeant Portinger accompanied General Lake to Calcutta and embarked thence for Egypt. The expedition can hardly be described as having been successful. In 1801, the sergeant returned alone to India, his entire command having fallen victims to the Arabs.

At the commencement of the Mysore campaign, six companies of the regiment under Major H. D. de Meuron were in garrison at Tripassore, the remaining four being stationed at Vellore under Lieutenant-Colonel de Meuron-Bullot, whom sickness prevented from taking part in the coming operations. In December, 1798, the regiment joined the Wallajahbad division under General Floyd and a month later was paraded with the Grand Army and inspected by General Harris. The entire Madras column now numbered twenty thousand men, mostly European. One half were cavalry, whilst the park of artillery was the most formidable that had yet been gathered together in the East. Six brigades were formed, two of European troops and four of sepoys ; the Regiment de Meuron being assigned with the 33rd and 73rd regiments to the second Brigade under Colonel the Hon'ble Arthur Wellesley. As may be imagined, the progress of this vast array was in no wise conspicuous for its rapidity. Three months, indeed, elapsed before it came within sight of Seringapatam, being joined on the way by the Bombay army under General Stuart and by a force of twelve thousand of the Nizam's soldiers commanded by Meer Allum.

De Meuron Bayard, then a marching captain in the regiment, and seventeen years later its commander, has left a detailed diary of his experiences in this campaign. The

volume is still preserved in the Neuchâtel library, and its pages offer many graphic details of the storm which are not to be found elsewhere.

During its passage over the ghauts, the Regiment de Meuron, which had been posted on the left wing with the baggage and artillery, suffered severely both from heat and from privation, Tippoo having been careful to devastate the villages on the line of route, however much he may have neglected to defend the passes. The draught cattle, in particular, died by hundreds daily as the result of want of fodder, and the heavy guns had to be drawn by elephants or, where these failed, by men. Meanwhile the Mysore cavalry hovered about the flanks, paying special attention to the baggage train. On the 25th of March, de Meuron Bayard records that he was nearly cut off while carrying orders to the rear-guard of the regiment under Captain Pierre Renaud. In eluding the pursuit of three horsemen, he took the wrong direction and found himself suddenly in the burning village of Sultanpet, Hyder's reputed birth-place: a predicament from which he only extricated himself finally through the superior staying powers of his horse.

Two days later came the battle of Maravelly, memorable as the first occasion on which the future Duke of Wellington was under fire. Part of the regiment de Meuron was actively engaged for three hours and lost seven killed and as many wounded. The road was now open to Seringapatam, and the English still further deluded Tippoo, who expected them to take the route Lord Cornwallis had adopted in the last war, by advancing in the other direction across the Cauvery. On the 2nd of April, the advance guard was within sight of the island fortress, and the Swiss diarist found leisure to indulge in a glowing description of the luxury which was prevalent in the besieger's camp. The British soldier, we read, did not cook his dinner, did not carry his knapsack, did not groom his horse. All he did was to fight, everything else being done for him by lascars. Officers, we are told, carried each a cook, a couple of body-servants, a syce, a grasscutter and half-a-dozen baggage carriers, in addition to two oxen for the conveyance of their tents; while those of higher rank sometimes indulged themselves with a satrap's suite of as many as five hundred followers.

Even the Regiment de Meuron travelled with human impedimenta in the shape of several of its officers' wives. The most prominent among these appears to have been Madame de Meuron Roger, the lady of Major H. D. de Meuron-Motiers who, with her three daughters, took the field upon an elephant.¹⁸

¹⁸ The youthful occupants of the howdah, it may be remarked in passing, all married in India. Suzanne in 1806 became the wife of Adjutant

Once in the trenches, these courageous ladies must have soon repented their determination. Life ere long became anything but easy for the besiegers. Provisions ran short, until on the 17th of April bread was being sold at a rupee the quarter of the pound. Finally the commissariat reported that food supplies would not last beyond the 9th of May and it was found necessary to put the entire army on half rations. Lieutenant and Quartermaster Louis de Pury—who on the 21st of March 1801 was killed in a duel by Lieutenant Alexandre Lequin, the latter being in consequence cashiered—writing home to his father relates how his clothes were drenched and dried upon him three times within twenty-four hours. "Cependant," he adds, "tout le monde étoit content et ne désiroit que de se battre." The enemy, for their part, gave them every opportunity, and displayed so great activity that every foot of ground gained for the entrenchments was disputed at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss soldiers took their full share of work, being employed first in the defence of Shawe's Post, one of the earliest gained, and then in conjunction with the second battalion of the 12th Madras Infantry in the capture of the Powder Mill, known henceforward as Macdonald's Post. In the two days' fighting of the 26th and 27th of April round Sultanpet Tope, the regiment lost twelve killed and twenty-five men wounded. Assistant Surgeon Lesser was decapitated by a cannon-ball while Captain Piauchaud of the Chasseur Company and Lieutenant Guisant were both wounded. Sergeant-Major Zehnpfennig particularly distinguished himself by his gallantry during these attacks, in which the Eighth Company was led into action by the diarist de Meuron-Bayard, in the place of Lieutenant Baer who was on duty with the heavy ordnance. In a few more days, the breaching batteries were planted, several of the heavier guns being dragged across the Cauvery by the Swiss soldiers. On the 2nd of May, Lieutenant Lalor of the 73rd forded the river at great risk and reported the breach practicable. That

Jean Jacques de Gaechter who in later years served as aide-de-camp to General Baird at the bombardment of Copenhagen and eventually rose to the colonelcy of the Fourth Regiment of Swiss Guards in Paris, dying at Yverdon in 1840. Petronilla in 1805 married Lieutenant P. F. de Casselli, later a miniature painter at Pondicherry, where he died in 1817. Her second husband was J. Dayot, Intendant-General of the French establishments in India, on whose death in 1821 she was left in reduced circumstances. The French Government having refused her a pension on the ground that her father and her first husband had both been officers in British service, she then petitioned the Directors of the East India Company who in 1825 granted her a compassionate allowance of seventy rupees per mensem. This pittance she lived to enjoy for no less than fifty-four years more.

same night, the enemy's rocket factory in the heart of the town blew up with a tremendous explosion, "ce qui," adds de Meuron-Bayard, "nous fournit un superbe feu d'artifice, aussi difficile à imiter qu'à décrire." Much damage had been caused by these projectiles, in the launching of which the Mysoreans were especially expert; one rocket having carried off the arm of Colonel Montagu, commanding the Bengal artillery, who succumbed subsequently to his injuries.

By the 3rd of May, preparations for the final assault had been completed. The storming column consisted of four thousand men under General Baird selected from among the various European and native regiments. Included among these were the two flank companies of the Regiment de Meuron, the Granadiers being led by Captain Lardy with Lieutenants de Montmollin and Wolff, and the Chasseurs by de Meuron-Bayard (*vice* Piauchaud wounded) and by Matthey. The remaining eight companies stood in reserve under Colonel Wellesley. In the van of the stormers went a detachment of pioneers with hatchets and ladders under the orders of Lieutenant Charles de Meuron-Tribolet, Colonel Sherbrooke who commanded the right attack, having requested the services of a Swiss officer, knowing English, as their leader.

Shortly before one o'clock on the 4th of May, the forlorn hope of fourteen men advanced under Sergeant Graham and de Meuron-Tribolet. The distance to the breach was only six hundred yards, but that short space included both the river and the ditch. In about six minutes these obstacles had been surmounted, and the British flag was planted on the walls by Graham who, the next moment, fell a victim to the fire of the enemy. De Meuron-Tribolet behind him waved his hat in the air excitedly: an action which attracted the attention of Colonel Wellesley who, recognising the head-dress, asked of the officer nearest to him—"de Meuron d'Orbe, who of your regiment is that upon the breach?" Ere long the breach had been sufficiently enlarged by the pioneers to admit twelve men abreast, and General Baird at once gave the signal for the advance. The storming party rushed forward under a wild fire of musketry, hand-grenades, and heavy ordnance, which rendered the crossing of the rocky bed of the river a task of no little peril. Their guide, the gallant Lalor, fell wounded about midway and was drowned in the passage. Once, however, the opposite side had been gained, cover was found under the fort wall and scaling-ladders were quickly planted at a spot which Baird had previously indicated to de Meuron-Tribolet. The remainder of the column scrambled up pell-mell, Lieutenant Alphonse Matthey receiving a tremendous blow on the head while mounting and falling with great force upon de Meuron-Tribolet.

Matthey succumbed to his wound two days later, being the only officer of the attacking army actually killed upon the breach.¹⁹

On reaching the summit, the two companies diverged right and left as previously arranged. Their cartridge-boxes had been soaked during the crossing, but a charge with the bayonet scattered the Mysoreans, before these latter were able to reload, and the force under de Meuron-Bayard soon gained ground to the east, in spite of a murderous fire from the houses. The enemy's guns were spiked as soon as captured and the Union Jack planted upon every outwork gained, in one of which a store of ammunition was opportunely discovered by the attacking body. A terrific fusillade from the direction of the North Gate followed, and the Swiss soldiers, running to the assistance of their comrades, found themselves suddenly in the Palace Square which was being held by the 74th Regiment who had succeeded in capturing some of Tippoo's Frenchmen. Within the Palace all was terror and confusion until Major Allan obtained an entrance wrapped in a white flag and learnt from the panic-stricken young princes that Tippoo was no longer with them. He had in fact left the Palace with his guard as soon as the assault began, and hurrying to the ramparts had shot several of the storming party with his own hand. Seeing then that the English were carrying all before them, he made his way to the north of the fortress with the intention of rallying a part of the garrison and retreating with it to his camp outside the town. So great, however, was the crush of fugitives at the river-bridge that further progress became impossible, and the Sultan himself, who had been twice wounded, was nearly carried off his feet. He still endeavoured to press on, when his horse was shot under him, and almost immediately afterwards he received a third wound, severe though not fatal. His attendants, among whom were a number of his women, placed him in a palanquin. He left it and crawled to a gateway leading to a garden. At that moment, sweating with heat and mad with excitement, a body of English troops appeared upon the scene. A British sergeant rushed forward to lay hands on Tippoo who made a cut at him with all his remaining strength, inflicting a deep gash above the knee. The next moment the Tiger of Mysore lay dead with a bullet in the head, another in the

¹⁹ He was the son of a receveur at Cornaux in Switzerland. His brother Frederick who died a lieutenant-colonel at Yverdon in 1850 commanded the Red River expedition in 1816. He published a treatise on the employ of the carbine and a memoir with maps on the draining of the marsh at Zeeland.

chest, and bayonet wounds in four places in his body.²⁰ His handful of retainers fought over him with the energy of despair and covered his remains with their corpses, several women being shot promiscuously with his guards. The body, as is well known, was not found till after nightfall, when it was placed in a litter and carried off by torchlight to be identified by his two sons at the palace. Meanwhile Tippoo's flag had been hauled down and the British colours hoisted in their stead, saluted with twenty-one guns from the batteries and with three cheers from the assembled victors.

House-to-house fighting still continued after the occupation of the palace, the Frenchmen in Tippoo's service more than once rallying the Mysoreans in the streets. By four o'clock, however, all serious resistance was at an end; and, as soon as calm had been partially restored, orders were issued by beat of drum granting the troops permission to pillage until noon precisely on the morrow. De Meuron-Bayard, who was on guard at the bastion near the Mysore Gate, divided his company into three portions, one of which went out to plunder, while the others remained on duty. He records, as a noteworthy circumstance, that during storm and sack alike, the utmost humanity was displayed by all ranks. "*Les femmes furent principalement respectées et protégées ainsi que le reste des habitants qui n'avaient pas les armes à la main.*" Two soldiers, he adds, who were discovered plundering half-an-hour after the expiration of the time limit were at once hanged without ceremony.

The conquerors, indeed, had other duties to perform. Of these the most pressing was the removal of the corpses and wreckage which encumbered the city's streets, and the interment of the British officers killed, including Matthey, who were buried upon the breach. Quiet was now so far restored that most of the townspeople re-opened their shops. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 5th of May came the burial of Tippoo himself who was interred with military honours beside his

²⁰ A Private in the Regiment de Meuron named Christenau, a native of Offenberga and known as the "Brunswicker," who was afterwards Master of the Garrison Band at Fort St. George (where he buried his wife in 1823) is said to have been the soldier who killed Tippoo. But Lord Valentia, in 1804, after describing his visit to Seringapatam where he dined with Colonel de Meuron and his officers, wrote: "It is still unknown who gave the fatal wound to the Sultaun. The invaluable string of pearls which he wore round his neck was the prize of the soldier, but it has never been traced. He had been many years collecting this, always taking off an inferior pearl where he could purchase one of more value."

father and mother in the Royal mausoleum of Lal Bagh, two miles outside the city.

Hardly had this ceremony concluded and the troops returned to quarters than a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning and rain burst upon the town and continued for several hours. So violent was the lightning that numbers of lives were lost in the camp and out-posts. Lieutenants Barclay and Grant, of the 77th Regiment, were killed, and all the servants, horses, and even dogs of Lieutenant Bellasis stuck dead and himself much injured. Forcibly as the value of the capture was felt on the day of its accomplishment, the army had now more reason to congratulate itself as the torrents which fell this evening completely filled the batteries and trenches with water, and rendered the river impassable for some days afterwards. On the 7th of May, the British headquarters were transferred to the Darya Daulat, Tippoo's favourite summer residence, and the grounds at Lal Bagh were turned into a hospital. The privations and fatigues endured in the trenches had, unhappily been succeeded by excesses which more than doubled the mortality of the great army. Soon it was thought wise to remove the bulk of the troops outside the city. The Chasseurs at the Mysore Gate were relieved by the 33rd Regiment, and, together with the rest of the Regiment de Meuron and the whole of the Second Brigade, were despatched to the outlying cantonment of French Rocks, some fifteen miles away. The change in one sense proved disastrous. Ere many days, the camp was visited by another violent storm which deluged the tents, destroyed a large quantity of booty, and inflicted vast damage, especially in the lines of the 74th Foot. During its progress, de Meuron-Bayard's orderly, Plessang, was, we are told, drowned.

This accident added another item to the list of casualties of the Regiment de Meuron. Between the 10th of April and the 4th of May, it had lost forty killed and thirty-five men wounded. The deaths included one assistant-surgeon, one lieutenant, three sergeants, five corporals, two drummers and twenty-five rank and file; one man had been drowned, and two had been reported missing. The Seringapatam medal was not the only reward of the survivors. Lieutenant de Pury records that he received 9,540 pounds French as his first instalment of prize-money, and on the eighth of October writes that for the second he expects as much again. "*La troisième,*" he concludes, "*viendra quand elle pourra.*" Matthey's portion of one thousand and eighty pagodas was, in addition, owing to his death, divided among his comrades.

Fame had something further in store for the Regiment.

One at least of its heroes was immortalized in Robert Ker Porter's great historical picture of the assault of Seringapatam which was exhibited for several years at the London Lyceum. At the left extremity of some 2,550 square feet of canvas was depicted "Captain Lardy of the Regiment de Meuron (sic), being assisted by one of the artillery men in binding up his wounded left arm in order that he might rejoin the storming party." It is certainly remarkable that of the three officers wounded at the breach, two, namely Lardy and Matthey, should have been Swiss. The third was Colonel Dunlop, of the 77th Foot. All the other casualties among officers, ten killed and eleven wounded, were sustained either during the passage of the river or in the subsequent street fighting.

In the middle of June, the regiment returned from French Rocks to Seringapatam and was present both at the installation of the new Rajah of Mysore, a boy of six, under the Dewanship of Purneah, and at the departure of Tippoo's four elder sons for Vellore, the nine younger children being left at Seringapatam in charge of Colonel Wellesley. In November 1799 it was again moved, this time to Arnee, where its Colonel, Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, has been commanding the station during the whole of the Mysore campaign; and in August 1800 it was under orders for Vellore. Here it arrived with a total strength of no more than 536 men, a detachment of 216 having been despatched under Captain Bernard to take part in Colonel Wellesley's pursuit of Dhoondiah Wagh, who in the following September was finally run to earth and killed at Conagull. Less than a year later, the Regiment de Meuron was once more in Madras.

On the 24th of February 1801 it was reviewed on the north glacis by General Lake and passed as very fit to be presented either to friend or foe. "The same evening" (record the papers of the time) "Major-General de Meuron gave a ball and supper at the Pantheon at which Lord and Lady Clive and General Lake were present." Its quarters were then in Fort St. George; and the colonel obtained permission to use the fort church for divine service. The well-known Gericke, whose monument by Flaxman now adorns the walls of St. Mary's, was at the time regimental chaplain. It was doubtless he who officiated at the funeral of Isaac de Meuron de Rochat, captain and paymaster, whose grave in the island cemetery bears the date, 22nd of May 1800. The next year two privates suffered the extreme penalty of the law, being convicted of murder at different sessions, the first by the Recorder, and the second by the newly-constituted Supreme Court. The records of

their trials are unfortunately no longer traceable among the Registrar's records.²¹

The muster roll of the regiment on the 1st of August 1801, shows 431 officers and men at Fort St. George, 227 in the field against the Poligars, 14 at Arnee, 57 at Vellore, and 20 in Bengal, these last probably comprising the small party afterwards sent to Egypt under Sergeant Portinger. Adding fifty-one recruits, who had arrived by the ship of the 26th of July, the effective strength of the regiment would thus appear to have amounted to 798. The two companies at this time on active service were engaged with Colonel Agnew in a campaign against the Poligars of Madura and Tinnevely; with them, we read, were Captains Bernard and Zweifel, Lieutenants Wolff,²² Baron Muller, Gaechter, E. de May, Peter, Surgeon Franke, and the Chaplain Jean du Pasquier. Active employment was also found for four companies under Major Lardy who served with Colonel Montresor in his successful attack on the "Barriers of the Bullum Rajah" at Arakerry; which is, in spite of its distinctly Hibernian sound, on the borders of Mysore and Canara.

From a regimental point of view, a more important incident was the departure from India of Colonel Pierre Frédéric de Meuron, who, on the 18th of March, 1801, embarked for Europe on board the *Eden Castle*, and reached London in November. With the exception of a short visit to Switzerland, he remained in London until the arrival in England of his regiment in 1807. In that year he retired and settled at Neuchâtel until his death on the 12th of December 1812.

Several other officers, it may be noted, left India with their colonel. Among these was A. de Dardel who, six years later, was despatched on a recruiting mission to Sweden: a mission which can hardly have been attended with success, since only one Swede is known to have served in the regiment. The seven Danes, moreover, who figure in the muster-roll, were probably enlisted at the time of the occupation of Tranquebar in 1801. In that year, two companies of the regiment under Captain Bernard with a small body of English troops under Colonel Campbell were despatched to the little settlement, which promptly capitulated without a blow. The Swiss garrisoned the Danneborg for six weeks, and then returned to their regiment.

²¹ Their names are J. D. Grenier, tried in January 1801, and F. Koenig, tried in August 1801. General Lake landed in Madras on the 29th January 1801, on his way to Bengal to take over the chief command from Sir Alured Clarke. On the 11th February he reviewed the Body-guard, on the 19th the 1st Battalion of Artillery, and on another date the 2nd Battalion. On the morning of Tuesday, the 3rd March, he embarked for Calcutta.

²² Elias F. Wolff died in September 1801 at Shuleveram "with Lieutenant-Colonel Innes' detachment in camp."

Soon after de Meuron's departure, the regiment, commanded by de Meuron-Bulot, was again moved to Seringapatam. Leaving Madras on the 20th of September, it took no less than forty days to reach the Mysore capital. Three of the fifty recruits died upon the road, and the rains were so great that frequent halts were necessary: for the most part at places like Pullicondah, Santgur, or Ouscotta,—names long since forgotten in days when railways have replaced route marches.

For four years longer, the Regiment de Meuron continued to garrison the little island by the Cauvery. On the 29th of April 1803, it had the misfortune to lose its Colonel, J. P. de Meuron Bulot, who, with his eldest daughter, "a young lady of great worth and beauty," and Lieutenant Holborn of the 34th Regiment, was drowned in the surf at Madras by the upsetting of the accommodation-boat in which he was proceeding to join the *Union* on his way to Europe.

In the Seringapatam cemetery repose several of the officers of the regiment: John Reynolds, paymaster, Captain Mayer François Piachaud, Charles Bugnon, and Colonel Henri David de Meuron, who, like de Meuron-Bulot, met his death by drowning on the 23rd of September 1804. He had commanded the regiment throughout the Mysore campaign, and, in 1802, acted as Military Governor of Pondicherry. His widow, Mary, died at San Thomé on the 17th of August 1805, and is buried in St. Mary's cemetery, Madras.

Another officer, de Pury, was shot dead in a duel by Alexandre Lequin, whose subsequent history is recorded in one sentence: "Le 3 janvier, le capitaine Lequin a comparu devant la cour martiale pour avoir tué en duel le Lieutenant Pury, le 31 mars, 1801. Lequin, condamné, a été dégradé devant le régiment et a été chassé du service." The sentence exhibits a curious contrast with the regiment's early history at the Cape, when duels appear to have been too common of occurrence to have attracted the notice of the authorities.

Lord Valentia, who made the grand tour of India in 1804, halted at Seringapatam from the 29th of February to the 4th of March. "I dined," he writes, "with Colonel de Meuron, who had invited all his officers to meet me. He resides in a part of the palace of Hyder. The state room was painted green, which seems to have been a favourite colour of that chief, with much gilding. It joins on one side to the harem and opens into the public." All these buildings had been turned to official purposes. The other part of Hyder's Palace was the residence of the surgeon and the seraglio an European hospital. Tippoo's zenana served as a barrack for the artillery; his private apartments were occupied by the Resident and his public by the European troops.

During the last year's of its service in India, the numbers of the regiment, from one cause or another, fell considerably. At its first review at Seringapatam, it mustered 707 men; on the 1st of August 1805 it was reduced to 618, of whom fifty, by special permission of the Commander-in-Chief, were afterwards drafted into the Honourable Company's Artillery:

• The corps left Seringapatam for the last time on the 20th of September, 1805, and after leaving a strong detachment at Tripassore, reached Fort St. George in thirty-five days. The journey was marked by a dispute among the officers, as a result of which Colonel Lardy, who had now succeeded to the command, was compelled to report E. de May and de Meuron-Renaud for having insulted Captain de La Harpe. No proceedings were, however, taken, since de Meuron-Renaud had already been under arrest eleven months for another offence and, it was anticipated, would be still further punished. De La Harpe, it may be noted, in company with Senn, took an early opportunity of obtaining a transfer to the third Ceylon Regiment: a course in which he was joined by a number of men whose engagement in the Regiment de Meuron had expired.²³

In January, 1806, the regiment received orders for home, the Tripassore detachment having rejoined its comrades in Madras. As many as thirty-eight sergeants and two hundred and fifty men were drafted into other regiments, no less than one hundred, and thirty-three joining the first and second battalions of Artillery.²⁴ The corps itself was consequently reduced to thirty-five officers, sixteen sergeants and one hundred and sixteen men at the date of its departure. Nineteen "enfants de troupe" were left behind in India, twelve being placed in the Male Orphan Asylum, while the remaining seven were provided with three months' subsistence allowance in the hope of their eventually obtaining vacancies.

On the 11th of October the bulk of the regiment was embarked on the *Admiral Gardner*, seventy men under the

²³ De La Harpe's descendants are still in Ceylon. Mr. J. Piachaud, a planter at Kadiyananda, is the greatgrandson of Major Piachaud, of Nyon, who died at Seringapatam, 27th December 1802, aged 40.

²⁴ This called forth the following remark from the Court of Directors in their General letter dated the 6th of April 1809. "In consideration of the long and faithful services of the Regiment de Meuron under the British Government in India and of the deficient state of Artillery Corps we do not object to the transfer of a part of that regiment to the corps alluded to, notwithstanding our disinclination on general principle to any large proportion of foreigners being admitted into that corps."

orders of Captain de Rham²⁵ setting out on board the *Metcalf*. The journey proved long and tedious, a half of fifteen days being made at Colombo and another of ten days at St. Helena, and it was not until the 18th of July that the ships came to anchor at Greenwich.

On arrival, the corps, after a stay of six weeks in the Isle of Wight, was despatched to its dépôt at Lymington for the purpose of completing its strength. Its next destination was Guernsey, where Captain de Meuron d'Orbe's daughter, Louise, was married to a painter named Long, a native of the island; her brother, it may be noted, entered the Hanoverian Legion and fought at Waterloo.

In May, 1807, the regiment was once more at Gosport. That England was not altogether to its liking seems to be evidenced by the fact that a number of officers seized this opportunity to resign their commissions or to exchange into other regiments. Captains Baer and Donzel were pensioned off; Baron Muller de Friedberg obtained a captaincy in the Regiment de Froberg; F. Treuller passed into the Chasseurs Britanniques and Florian Sprecher unto the Hanoverian Legion; while Louis Pillichody, who had left a brother in India in the English dragoons, secured a commission in the Regiment de Watteville, and Louis Xavier de Lentzbourg one in the Royal Regiment of Malta.

The next destination of the corps was Gibraltar, where it received a welcome addition to its ranks in a number of Piedmontese and Germans who had deserted from Napoleon's armies. From thence it was despatched to Messina, where, on the 20th of April 1808, it was incorporated into the English army of occupation under Colonel Lardy. After the repulse of the English fleet in the Bay of Naples, two years later, and Sir Hudson Lowe's ignominious surrender of the Isle of Capri, Murat's ill-starred attempt to descend on Sicily seemed about to afford a fresh opportunity of distinction to the regiment. As things turned out, however, no fighting of consequence was destined to occur. Barely two regiments

²⁵ De Rham was adjutant of the regiment in England, Sicily and Malta, and A.-D.-C. to Generals Hope, Gibbs, and Gore. He was attached to the German Legion under Major-General Hudson Lowe and retained on the staff of the Duke of Cambridge till that corps was disbanded, when he returned to his own regiment. He was A.-D.-C. to Baird in the expedition to Copenhagen. He knew nearly all the tongues of Europe and India, and was specially charged with recruiting and instructions. For 1½ years he was language master at High Wycombe Military College, and was "in at the death" of the regiment in 1816.

had landed at Spoleto when a storm arose which effectually scattered the transports, and the detachments already disembarked fell an easy prey to the companies of de Meuron and de Watteville.

More important, perhaps, was another change which now took place in the colonelcy of the corps. Pierre Lardy, who had commanded the regiment since the death of de Meuron-Bullot in 1803, sold his commission to a Major Wyndham, and the command reverted to the next senior officer, Zweifel, who, curiously enough, had in 1804 married the widow of de Meuron-Bullot.

In 1812, we hear of the regiment at Malta. Here on the 25th of March, new uniforms would seem to have been served out, making the third change which had been effected in the regiment's attire since its entry into British service. The scarlet coat with blue facing and leathern helmet with a bear skin crest had already given way to a coatee, round hat, and gaiters; and these in their turn were replaced by a jacket, trousers, and a shako. The Grenadier company was distinguished by a red plume, the Chasseurs by a green, the Fusiliers by a white; while the officers in full dress were resplendent with a blue silk sash with orange fringe. "Cet ensemble de tons," as we may well believe, "étoit des plus harmonieux et d'une éclatante gaieté." Pouches and scabbards were in addition ornamented with a plaque bearing the letters G. R., surmounted by a royal crown and the inscription "De Meuron's Swiss Regiment": a device which also figured on the shakos when the corps came to adopt that form of head-dress. So far, however, as "éclatante gaieté" might be concerned, the regimental surgeons easily outshone their comrades. During the first period of British service, the surgeon-major seems to have been clothed in a gray coat profusely trimmed with gold lace, a scarlet waist-coat as lavishly bedecked, and scarlet breeches. In view of the exceptional attraction of so gorgeous an attire, it is certainly remarkable that the name of not a single Swiss is to be discovered among the medical staff.²⁶ Out of the twenty-four medical officers who accepted service with the regiment, eight were Germans, eight Frenchmen, five English, and three Dutch. The uniform worn by the corps in the Madras Presidency in 1805 stands out in curious contrast to

²⁶ This was not the case in earlier years. In 1796 Charles Philippe Caudmont was Surgeon-Major with three Aides, Ch. F. Reine, Paul Glessner, (or Lesser) and Alois Plettner. Later on occur the names of W. Wybrow, John Franke, A. Ludwig Winter and John Smaasen, who buried a wife Jeromana at Arnee in December 1799.

the splendour of these surgeons. Here the waistcoat and trousers were of a dull drab colour—a presentiment of the modern khaki—while the facings were of Saxon blue and the trimmings of silver.

During the stay of the regiment at Malta, one of its officers at least was busied with more serious matters than a change of uniform. The difficulties of an officer on leave of absence to his native Switzerland are exemplified by the experiences of Lieutenant Emanuel de May of Berne, a soldier who had seen service in Flanders under d'Erlach before joining de Meuron's ranks in 1796. On the 7th of December 1811, he left Malta on six months' leave. Barely two days had elapsed when the vessel was wrecked upon the African coasts and, its passengers plundered and imprisoned by the Barbary natives. Released two days before Christmas, de May proceeded to Tunis, where on the 5th of January he embarked for Naples. On arrival there, he was placed in quarantine until the 8th of February, when, such were the combined effects of his shipwreck and his lodging under a crazy Neapolitan roof, which allowed the rain to drip through upon his bed, that he fell sick of a fever and was unable to leave his room until the 2nd of March, by which date three months of his leave had practically expired. Finally he reached Berne in safety on the 12th of April, where he was busily employed in arranging the affairs of his brother Rodolphe who like himself held a commission in the Regiment de Meuron. Suddenly on the 22nd of April, a secret warning reached him that he was on the point of being arrested at the instance of the French ambassador. Accompanied by a young ensign Auguste de Lorient, who had just joined the regiment, he effected an escape into Germany and took the mail to Schaffhausen. From thence he travelled to Ulm and down the Danube until he reached Vienna where he was delayed ten days by the necessity of procuring passports for the remainder of the journey. On the 29th of May, he was at Brood upon the Turkish frontier. Five days elapsed before the departure of the caravan and nine more went in reaching Serajevo. Here fresh difficulties again detained him for four days, and it was not until the 2nd of July after a most troublesome journey that he finally arrived at Salonika where Mr. Scharnaud, the British Consul, succeeded in obtaining for him a passage to his destination, on the 22nd of July. Three weeks later, he was able once more able to rejoin his regiment at Malta, having overstayed his leave by upwards of two months.

Meanwhile the authorities were discovering a new sphere of action for the regiment. The term for which the corps had been engaged had already been renewed in 1809 for a

further period of seven years, with the added stipulation that no Italians, Englishmen or Frenchmen should be henceforth recruited; and at the beginning of 1813 orders were received for its immediate embarkation for America.

In a general order, dated the 4th of May, 1813—the anniversary of the storming of Seringapatam—General Oakes, commanding the troops at Malta, testified in eloquent terms to his appreciation of the good conduct and discipline of the Regiment de Meuron, and on the following day the troops were once again afloat, on board the *Regulus*, *Melpomene* and *Dover*.

At the end of August, the regiment, now twelve hundred strong, landed in Canada. The English were then engaged in hostilities with the Americans both on the Great Lakes and along the frontiers, the British force being divided into two army corps under the command of Sir George Prevost, a Genevese by origin²⁷, and, as events soon proved, a weak and incompetent leader. The first column of twenty-five thousand men in three brigades had been despatched under Sir Gordon Drummond to operate on Lake Ontario with Washington as its objective. At the beginning, the division met with fair success, for on the 24th of October, it occupied Washington, whence, however, after setting fire to the Capital and most of the public buildings, it was compelled eventually to retire. The Regiment de Watteville, which was unlucky enough to take part in this expedition, suffered severe losses both here and at the repulse before New Orleans.

The Regiment de Meuron was more fortunate in being selected to join the army of Upper Canada, comprising some thirty-six thousand men under the command of General Brisbane, where it was brigaded with the Canadian Voltigeurs. The only important operation in which it shared was the attack on Plattsburg. Lieutenant Charles de Goumoens, who died at Lausanne as recently as 1882, has left an interesting narrative of this, the last, passage of arms in which his regiment was destined to play a part. The Swiss corps was stationed on the left wing of the army, and was the last to pass the line of blockhouses on the American frontier. The city of Plattsburg was divided into two by a deep river, but the Regiment de Meuron succeeded in occupying the lower half of the town, and had it not been for the want of energy displayed by General Prevost in failing to order an immediate attack upon the citadel, would have rendered itself speedily master of the whole. Its colonel, so soon as he had established

²⁷ Prevost (1767-1816) was the eldest son of Major-General Augustine Prevost, who served under Wolfe, by his wife Anne, daughter of Chevalier George Grand of Amsterdam.

his position in the town, sent off an orderly to General Prevost, but was met with the injunction to continue to maintain himself as best he could. The regiment had lost sixteen men in the attack, and for six days longer remained in the town, exposed to a heavy fire, day and night. On the 12th of September, the English fleet advanced to attack the American defending squadron, but was exposed to such a terrific cannonade from the fort that the first shot fired killed the British Admiral and so disabled his flagship that she was driven to surrender. This disaster took place under the very eyes of the regiment, which was awaiting orders to attack the citadel, and would almost certainly have overpowered the defenders, had General Prevost only been willing to combine a land attack with the naval demonstration. As matters stood, the fleet was no sooner disabled than the batteries of the citadel concentrated their fire upon that portion of the town which was in possession of the British troops. Ere long a church which protected their position had been blown away, and the forces were compelled to evacuate the city, the Regiment de Meuron covering the retreat of the artillery and being the last to cross the bridge, which was held until the last moment by a detachment of Chasseurs under Captain Frédéric Matthey, a brother of the subaltern, who had distinguished himself in the assault at Seringapatam.

The next time we hear of the regiment, it was at Burtonville, where, on the 12th of May 1815, General Campbell reported it as being in a high state of efficiency. At the review held on that date, its strength was returned as follows: one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, ten captains, eighteen lieutenants, six ensigns, an adjutant, a paymaster, a quartermaster, a surgeon,²⁸ an assistant-surgeon, sixty-four sergeants, thirty corporals, twenty-one drummers, and eight hundred and fifty-two men: making in all a total of one thousand and eleven. The officers at this time were composed of twenty-eight Swiss, five Germans, and eleven Englishmen. No less than fourteen of the Swiss Officers were natives of Neuchâtel, but only two were of the de Meuron family, namely, de Meuron Bayard and Lieutenant Jules César de Meuron, a son of de Meuron d'Yvernois. The oldest officers were Captain Bourgeois (forty years of age and eleven of service), Lieutenant-Colonel de Meuron-Bayard (forty years of age and nineteen of service), and Captain Fuchs²⁹ (thirty-six years of

²⁸ While the regiment was in Canada, Surgeon-Major Weber died at La Prairie, leaving a widow and five children. The lady married E. de May and returned later to Switzerland, where one of the sons, George Weber, practised for a long time as a doctor at Fleurier.

²⁹ Fuchs who was in the Regiment de Roll exchanged commission in 1819 with Antoine Courant.

age and twenty years of service); the youngest officers were Lieutenant de Meuron (nineteen years of age with two of service) and Auguste de Lorient who must have joined the regiment at thirteen, since, with two years of service to his credit, he is entered as no more than fifteen years of age. The regiment included two Englishmen, 313 Swiss, 256 Germans, 120 Italians, 23 Spaniards, 3 Portuguese, 7 Russians, 6 Poles, and 7 men of diverse countries; of these 203 were of the age of twenty, 264 were twenty-five, nearly four hundred were of the age of thirty, four were fifty and two were fifty-five. Ninety-two wives accompanied the regiment, together with twenty-four boys over the age of ten, two under ten, and sixteen girls.

Meanwhile the career of the corps itself was rapidly drawing to a close. Desertion was once more rife among the men, recurring with lamentable frequency in the officers' reports, and with the repulse before New Orleans, peace preliminaries indicated that the services of the regiment would no longer be required. On the 11th of March 1816, the final notification came to de Meuron-Bayard that the British Government had resolved on the disbandment of the regiment.

The 24th of June was the day fixed for the departure of such of the men as desired to remain in the colony. These numbered 343, being 23 sergeants, 13 drummers, and 307 privates. With them went 79 women and thirty children. Ten of the officers at the same time accepted half-pay in conjunction with a liberal grant of land: Matthey, d'Orsonnens, de Graffenried, Fauche, Bourgeois, Wittmer, Robins, Léonard, Napier, and Schultz. Many of the non-commissioned officers joined the Canadian militia as instructors; the *Montreal Gazette* of the 28th of November, 1815, alludes warmly to the efforts of the colonel in inducing his men to take up such employ and concludes with the cry of "Vive le Régiment de Meuron!"

In an order of the day, dated the 26th of July 1816, General Sir John Sherbrooke³⁰, who had fought with the regiment at Seringapatam, showed his appreciation of the services of the corps by a flattering farewell, and a few days later the remnant of the regiment, now reduced to 27 officers, 37 sergeants, 22 corporals, 7 drummers, and 232 men, embarked from Quebec in the *Eliza*.

Thirty-eight days later, the regiment was once again in England. On the 24th of September, Lord Palmerston, who

³⁰ Sherbrooke (1764-1830) was, says Wellington, "the most passionate man I ever knew." The episode known as the Wynyard Ghost occurred while Sherbrooke was quartered at Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, in 1784-5.

was then Secretary of State for War, communicated to the colonel commanding the final orders for disbandment, and the troops were transported to the dépôt at Lymington, whence they took ship for their respective homes.

On the 4th of November 1816, the War Office acknowledged the receipt of forty-nine volumes of the regimental papers. The flags of the regiment passed into the possession of de Meuron-Bayard, who, on his death in May 1859 at Heusdon in Holland at the age of eighty-eight, bequeathed them to Théodore de Meuron.

The Regiment de Meuron had now ceased to exist, but its traditions continued to animate the settlers, whom it had left behind in Canada. May, d'Orsonnens and Fauche, indeed, had not long taken up their lands, before they were conducting an expedition of Swiss soldiers on the Red River where the Indians had recently massacred the Scotch settlers of Lord Selkirk's colony. Joined on the way by a small detachment of the Regiment de Watteville, they completely cleared the country of the Indian marauders in twenty months. Captain Matthey, in writing home to his old Colonel, de Meuron-Bayard, draws a lively picture of the privations which were undergone by the expedition, and describes, among other incidents, how he accidentally encountered 1,100 leagues from the mouth of Mississippi Sapper Dalcour, a former deserter from the regiment.

In June 1817 the three officers, May, d'Orsonnens, and Fauche, were once again in London. The Regiment de Meuron, was, it is true, no longer in existence, but not on that account as yet forgotten. To such a height, indeed, did misrepresentation as to its past conduct obtain a hearing in the House of Commons, that, acting on the advice of Colonel F. G. de Bosset³¹, an old member of the regiment, the three officers addressed a collective protest to the Commons from their address at 4, Queen Square, Westminster, drawing attention to the high appreciation of the services of the corps which had been placed on record by Sir John Sherbrooke while in Canada.

With this characteristic termination to its history, the career of the Regiment de Meuron was now ended. Of the thirty-five years of its existence, fourteen had been passed in the service of the Dutch Company and twenty-one in that of England. During the first period, 2,277 men had passed through the ranks; during the second and longer period

³¹ His brother C. F. de Bosset was present in 1709 at the battle of Zurich, where he had been sent by Mr. Wickham, the English envoy. He was promoted from the Regiment de Meuron into the King's German Legion.

no more than 2,014. A conception of the cosmopolitan nature of the regiment may be derived from a study of the muster-rolls of this period of British service. Among the nationalities represented were 630 Swiss, 502 Germans, 192 French Alsatians, 123 Italians, 293 Dutch, 29 Spaniards, 16 Hungarians, 3 Portuguese, 4 Poles, 3 Russians, 7 Danes, 4 Englishmen, and 1 Swede; 2 members were from Guadeloupe, two from San Domingo, ten from Ceylon, three from Pondicherry, two from the Cape of Good Hope, and three from Canada. Two Boers and a score of Eurasians seem, in addition, to have taken service with the regiment. The average age of the men was thirty-three, while one man of sixty-two and four of sixty appear upon the lists.

The officers numbered in all two hundred and seven. Of these no fewer than eighteen were of the family de Meuron. Two of them, Gustave and Auguste, who were with the Prussian army learning their duties, remained in that service after the outbreak of war with France and fought at Jena. Two others died before being graded and one young cadet had to be sent back to Europe as not possessing "les qualités suffisantes pour être officier." The contribution of the family to the British army within the short space of twenty-one years included two major-generals, two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, nine captains, and two lieutenants.

Of the remaining officers, outside those of Swiss extraction, twenty-three were French, twenty-one German, and thirty-one English. Of the Swiss officers themselves, forty-four, in addition to the de Meurons, were natives of Neuchâtel. In this connection it may here be noted that during the stay of the regiment in England, Lieutenant Vitel of Verrières while on six months' leave of absence was summarily arrested in passing through Paris, and on the 4th of May 1807, shot by order of the Emperor: after which event stringent orders were issued by Napoleon to prevent recruiting for British purposes in the principality of Neuchâtel.

Owing to the reluctance of the British War Office to yield up its official secrets, not a little of the history of the regiment must necessarily remain involved in some obscurity. The first attempt to solve the difficulties which stand in the way of the regiment's biographer dates from the publication in 1885 of a privately printed and almost unprocurable essay compiled from papers in the family's possession and edited with a fair show of historical inaccuracy and much confusion of material by Theodore de Meuron, "l'arrière-petit-neveu du général de Meuron, Colonel Propriétaire du régiment." The only known copy of this work is the author's own, which, at his death, passed in to the library of Monsieur Albert de Montet,

of Cardoune, near Vevey, cidevant lieutenant in an Austrian Dragoon regiment, to whom I am indebted for the loan of the volume. A review of the essay by General Tyrrell appeared in the *Madras Mail* of the 29th of July 1896. The pamphlet itself and a few scattered articles in the "Musée Neuchâtelois" of about the same date, may almost be said to constitute the entire published authority for the history of the regiment. It is probable that a search among the regimental papers in the possession of the War Office would not only elucidate many mysteries in connection with the British service of the regiment but restore to more than one unremembered hero the meed of praise that is his due.

JULIAN JAMES COTTON,
Madras Civil Service.

ART. III.—BIHÂRI LIFE IN BIHÂRI NURSERY-RHYMES.

GLIMPSES of the social life of a people, in the agricultural stage of existence, may be obtained from an examination of its familiar sayings, proverbs, riddles, nursery-rhymes, and other items of its folk-lore. For these unwritten fragments of its speech embody, within them, occasional allusions to the customs and practices, the social ceremonies and religious rites, the round of daily duties and pursuits, and the inner workings of the mind of the simple uncultured rustics who form the majority of the people we are dealing with. The extremely limited stock of knowledge of these unlettered folks is obtained only from the narrow sphere of their simple lives, and from all the work and play, the humour and pathos that go to make up the humdrum round of their existence. Their similes and metaphors are borrowed from their daily pursuits, and the homely articles and implements connected therewith, as also from the familiar objects which come within the ken of their daily observation. Nowhere is the truth of the foregoing remarks more strikingly illustrated than in the case of the agricultural people of Bihâr, whose folk-lore teems with references to their customs and practices, to their daily avocations, and the objects and implements used therein. It is by a systematic study of this folk-lore, that a faithful picture of their home-life may be depicted. If we examine the proverbs of the Bihâris, we find that those pithy sayings furnish us with a vivid idea of the agricultural condition of that people. Being an essentially agricultural people, the villagers of Bihâr live in thatched huts, which they call मकड़ी. So when they have occasion to speak of a thing which is quite useless or which is out of place, they say बाहर का चुकर मकड़ी का जोसरा which means: "A servant to a servant is like a portico to a hut." Paddy is one of their staple crops; and rice is the staff of their lives. So when no distinction is made between merit and demerit, and the qualified and the unqualified are treated alike, these simple rustics say सब काम काईसे पड़ेरो which means: "To him every kind of paddy is worth twenty-two *paseris* per rupee, i.e., is the same." The poorest classes of the Bihâri tenantry, mainly, live by partaking of a very cheap kind of millet called कोदो (*Paspalum frumentaceum*). Hence, the well-to-do turn up their nose at it. Formerly, the *gurus* or rural school-masters used to get from their pupils fees in the shape of presents of paddy and other cereals; and the poorest students, naturally,

obtained their very elementary education by giving largesses of *kodo* grains. Hence, if the rustics of Bihar want to taunt a man, whose education is not worth much, they say *कोदो देके पढ़ल है* which means: "Have you given *kodo* for your education?" Similarly, they have recourse to implements used in agricultural operations, for "pointing a moral or adorning a tale." When speaking of an act or speech which is inappropriate, they say *हँसुआ के बियाह खुरपा के बीन* which means: "The song is for the weeding-hook, though it is the sickle which is to be married." When referring to a man who, even in his best behaviour, is still mischievous, they quote the proverb *बड़ सीक त हँसुआ बीन* which signifies: "If he is very straight, he is still crooked like the sickle." Similarly, they often draw their similes from the homely implements of their household use. All Bihari rustics use a winnowing-fan called *छप* for separating the grain from the chaff. Their women, also, grind, in handmills, wheat and chick-pea into flour and *sattu*, and sift the finer kind of flour from the coarser one called *atta*, with a sieve, which they call *चालनी*. In cooking, the Bihari women-folk use a wooden ladle called *होई*, for stirring the seething mass of food with, and for helping out the same to the partakers. Hence, when they have to speak of a highly incompetent man, who taunts another person somewhat less disqualified with incompetency, they say *चालनीं दुसख छप के, जिसका सखर बेद* which means: "The sieve, with a thousand holes, finds fault with the winnowing-fan," and of which the English version is "Pot calling kettle black." When they have to refer to a person, who possesses immense power for good or evil and, therefore, has everybody at his command, they quote the proverb: *जेकरा हाथ में होई वेकरा हाथ में सब कोई* which, rendered into English, signifies: "He, who holds the ladle, commands everybody."

Nursery-rhymes, child-songs and nonsense-verses are, also, important items of folk-lore and give us some insight, at least, into the social life, the manners and customs of the people among whom they are current. They are sung and recited to children by womenfolk all over the world either to amuse the former or to hush them to sleep. The following child-song, which is one of the oldest in the world and is current among the women of Japan, resembles the lullabies from other parts of the world, given elsewhere in this essay, in the fact of its commencing with words invoking sleep:—"Sleep, baby, sleep! Why are the honorable ears of the Child of the Hare of the honorable mountain so long? 'Tis because when he dwelt

within her honored womb, his mamma ate the leaves of the loquat, the leaves of the bamboo-grass. That is why his honorable ears are so long."

With reference to it, Mr. Lafcadio Hearn says:—"I could hear Oki mothers singing their babes to sleep with one of the oldest lullabies in the world. The air was singularly sweet and plaintive, quite different from that to which the same words are sung in Izumo, and in other parts of Japan."*

A study of these nursery-rhymes and nonsense-verses, also, discloses to us the strange fact that the ideas underlying them are almost the same all over the world. Take, for instance, the following nonsense-rhyme recited to children by Bengali mothers or maid-servants, the recital thereof being accompanied by the action of pointing to the different fingers of the child's hand:—

(Pointing to the child's littlefinger) एटा बजे खाब खाब ।

(Pointing to his ring-finger) ... एटा बजे कोथाय पाब ।

(Pointing to his middle finger) ... एटा बजे धार करना ।

(Pointing to his index finger) ... एटा बजे सुधबो कोथाय ।

(Pointing to his thumb) ... एटा बजे जब डङ्गा ।

TRANSLATION.

The little finger says:—"I am hungry (and want some food to eat.)"

The ring-finger says:—"Where am I to get food (for you to eat?)"

The middle finger says:—"Borrow money (to buy food with.)"

The index finger says:—"How is the loan to be repaid?"

The thumb says:—"Then there will be no food to eat."

The idea underlying the above nonsense-verse is, curiously enough, found in the undermentioned English nursery-rhyme:—

This pig went to market,
This pig staid at home,
This pig had roast beef,
This pig had a bone,
And this one cried, "pee-wee."

It is, also, reproduced in the following song from Coorg, which, Mr. Gover, the author of the *Folk-songs of Southern India*, says, "has never before been heard beyond the confines of Coorg."

The little finger nail is small,
The finger for the ring is gold,

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II, p. 609.

The middle finger loveth coins,
The fourth is called Kotera,
The thumb is Mûrutika,
And both are gone for cheese.

Count the little fingers and those that bear the ring,
Middle fingers, forefingers, and the thumbs are ten.

Both these latter two rhymes are accompanied by the same action as in the Bengali one given *supra*, namely, that of the mother or nurse in pulling each tiny finger or toe of the child, as she refers to it in the song.

Like their sisters all over the world, the womenfolk of Bihâr croon a large number of nursery-rhymes and doggerel verses for lulling their children into sleep, or for quieting the latter, when they are naughty or fidgety. Anyone, who may have occasion to pass through a village in Bihâr in the stilly hours of noon, or when the shades of evening are falling fast, may hear some Bihâri woman crooning these rhymes in plaintive notes. Like the proverbs of Bihâr, these nursery-rhymes and lullabies teem with allusions to, or descriptions of, the homely pursuits and the simple beliefs of the Bihâri agriculturists, and the appurtenances of a Bihâri rustic's household. Hence, if we carefully study these rude songs, we may be enabled to construct a faithful picture of the home-life of the simple villagers of Bihâr.

It is a noteworthy fact that the moon plays an important part in the nursery-rhymes of many races of people who are distantly separated from each other by wide expanses of ocean or large tracts of land. In Bengal, the children call the moon their "maternal uncle." In Japan, the Japanese women sing to their children the following Izumo child-song to the moon :—

"Nono-San,
Little Lady Moon,
How old are you?
'Thirteen days,—
Thirteen and nine.'
That is still young,
And the reason must be
For that bright red obi,
So nicely tied,*
And that nice white girdle
About your hips.
Will you give it to the horse?
'Oh, no, no!'

* Because an obi or girdle of very bright color can be worn only by children.

Will you give it to the cow?
'Oh, no, no!'

Similarly, the Bihâri womenfolk sing to their children the following nursery-rhymes, which are addressed to the moon and in which that luminary is, also, styled as "maternal uncle":—

(I)

चांद मामा चांद मामा खरहि दे ।

से खरहि काहेला ॥

खरझा काटात्रनेला ।

से खरझा काहेला ॥

घरझा काटात्रनेला ।

से घरझा काहेला ॥

गहया दुकात्रनेला ।

से गाहया काहेला ॥

गोबरा करात्रनेला ।

से गोबरा काहेला ॥

आङ्गना क्षिपात्रनेला ।

से आङ्गना काहेला ॥

गंहुया खुवात्रनेला ।

से गंहुया काहेला ॥

एरिया पाकात्रनेला ।

से एरिया काहेला ॥

भौजी खिजात्रनेला ।

से भौजी काहेला ॥

बास बास बबुया वियात्रनेला ।

से बबुया काहेला ॥

गोली डाखडा खेलेला ।

गोली डाखडा टुट् गइल ॥

बबुया रुक् गइल ॥

TRANSLATION.

O maternal uncle moon, O maternal uncle moon, give me a scythe.

Why is the scythe required ?

* *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life.* By Lafcadio Hearn. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1896. p. 75.

It is required for cutting the thatching-grass with.
 Why is the thatching-grass required?
 It is required for thatching the hut with.
 What is the hut for?
 It is required for penning the cattle in.
 Why are the cattle required?
 They are required for producing dung.
 Why is the dung required?
 It is required for plastering the courtyard with.
 What is the courtyard for?
 It is for drying the wheat in.
 What is the wheat for?
 It is required (for being ground into flour) to be made
 up into fried pancakes.
 Why are the fried pancakes required?
 They are required for feeding the elder brother's wife with.
 What is the elder brother's wife for?
 She is for rearing beautiful boys.
 What are the boys for?
 They are for playing at tip-cat.
 (As) the cat and the tip got broken,
 The boys became angry.

A second nursery-rhyme, addressed to the moon as "maternal uncle" and crooned by the Bihari women, is as follows:—

(2)

चांद मामा, चांद मामा ।
 आरे आत्र, बारे आत्र, नदीया किनारे आत्र ॥
 सोनेके कटोरा में दुध भात लेखे आत्र ।
 बजुआके मुंहमें घुटुक देना ॥

TRANSLATION.

O maternal uncle moon, O maternal uncle moon,
 Come here, come now and then, come to the bank of the
 river.
 Come, taking (with you) rice and milk in a golden bowl,
 And pour (the same, at once into the mouth of the babe.
 The version of the foregoing rhyme No. 2, which is current
 in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, is as follows:—
 चंदा माई धाय जा, धुपाय जा, दूध भात कै कटोरा भईया के मुंह में
 दारि जा घुटुक दे ।

TRANSLATION.

O mother moon, come quickly with a bowl full of milk and
 oiled rice, and pour the same at once into the baby's mouth

The noteworthy feature of this version is that the moon is styled therein as "mother," instead of "maternal uncle" as in those from Bihâr and Bengal. This is owing to the popular belief current among the womenfolk of those provinces that the moon is a female and that the marks on her are the shadow of an old woman, who is sitting in her, spinning thread on a spinning-wheel.

This is similar to the Japanese belief in the existence, in the moon, of a hare, which keeps pounding away at rice in a mortar to make it into cakes, and also to the old Hindu myth about the presence of a rabbit, or a black antelope in that luminary.

The two foregoing nursery-rhymes shew that the Bihari agriculturists use a scythe for cutting the thatching-grass with, which is grown on the boundaries of their fields, or on separate plots of land which are called *mujhauni*, and which grass is used for thatching their rude huts with. They live in simple cottages having walls of mud and roofs thatched with grass. They usually own a pair of plough-cattle, a cow or a buffalo, which they keep picketted in enclosures outside their huts. The dung, dropped by the cattle, is utilized by the womenfolk and made into dung-cakes which are used as fuel. As the cow's dung is considered sacred by the Hindus of Bihâr, their women compound with it and a little of water, a liquid with which they plaster the mud walls of their huts, or their courtyard in order to cleanse the same from all impurities, both real and imaginary. They cultivate, during the cold weather, crops of wheat, some of which they keep for home consumption, and sell the balance to wholesale dealers in grain. The money, realized by the sale thereof, is paid by them to the landlord for rent. The wheat is ground into *atta*, which is made up into *chapatties* or griddle-cakes. The poorer classes of the Bihari agriculturists partake of these griddle-cakes on the occasion of their high days and holidays, and content themselves with similar cakes, made of the flour of the maize, for their meals on ordinary days. It is only the well-to-do classes that can afford the luxury of regaling themselves with *puris* or fried pancakes, and of feeding their infants with rice and milk. The poorer classes feed their babies with a little boiled rice or a little rice-gruel. The Bihari boys play at the game of *मुत्ती दांड*, which is almost identical with the English game of tip-cat.

It is played with a block of wood, about six inches in length, which is called the "Cat" and which is struck with a small club or bat and knocked into the air. The rules for playing it are rather complicated; but, so far as they have

been compared, they have been found to be identical all over the globe. The geographical distribution of this game is very wide. It was played in Ancient Egypt, as is evidenced by Mr. Flinders Petrie's discovery of wooden "Tip-cats" among the ruins of Rahun in the Fayum in Egypt, which date from about 2500 B. C. It is played in Syria, under the name of *Hab*; in Persia, under the name of *Guk ichub* or "Frog-wood"—a name derived, like the English one of "Cat," from the way in which the small stick leaps into the air. In China, the game is known as *Ta-pang* or "Knock the stick." The Chinese emigrants, in the United States, play it under the name of *To tze* or "Little Peach." In Japan, it is played under the designation of *In ten*, the small stick or "cat" being called *ko* or "son," and the long one or bat being called *oya* or "parent." In Bengal, it is played under the appellation of *Guli dāndā*. In Bihār, it has been played from the olden times, as is testified to by its mention in the "Song of Bijai Mal"—an ancient ballad sung in the district of Shāhābad. It is, also, played among the Hanjis or Mahomedan boatmen of Kashmir. Under the name of *ilāta*, it is a favorite game with the Todas of Southern India, who play it with a bat like a broom-stick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. This piece of wood is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies up off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out-fields. It is, also, played amongst the Kotas of the Nilgiris. In Burma, it is called the *Kyitha*. In Russia, it is played under the designation of *Kosley* or "goat"—a name which is similar to the Persian appellation "Frog," and the English one "Cat," of this widely-diffused game. In the United States of America, it is played under the name of "Cat."

(3)

आतरे चिखो मामा खेत खलिहान् ।
 देबहुं चिखरो आरत्रा धान् ।
 आरत्रा धानके चूड़ा कुटलन् ।
 चूड़ा कुटि कुटि बाह्मना जेयानलन् ॥
 बाह्मनाके पुतात्रा देहे आशिष् ।
 तोरा बबुया जित्तौ लाख बरिष् ॥
 हमार बबुया आउरि ।
 हांडी धोत्रे रंघलन् भौड़ी ॥
 आपने खेलन् थारियत्रामे ।

बबुयाके देखिन् कटोरामे ।
 सेला बबुया रुघल् जाय ।
 रुघल् बबुया मामाघर जाय ॥
 मामाघर बबुया का का खाय ।
 सोरहि के दुध कोदोइके भात ॥
 बबुया कहे सुनो मामु बचन हमार ।
 हमराके देल मामु गुलौ टांड बनाय ॥
 सोनेके गुलिया रुपेके टांडवा देहो बानाके ॥
 एतने बचन जब मामा सुनलन् ।
 चल देखन् के सोनार कन् ।
 सुनो सोनार मिता भाइया ॥
 हमरा भागिना गुलौ टांड मांगे ॥
 सोनेके गुलिया रुपेके टांडवा देहो बानाके ॥

TRANSLATION.

O maternal uncle kite, come to the field and the granary ;
 I shall give you *arwa* (i.e., unboiled) paddy.
 I made *churā* (i.e., flattened) rice from the unboiled paddy,
 And fed a Brāhman with the same *churā*.
 Let the Brāhman give his blessings.
 May the Brāhman's son live for one hundred thousand
 years.
 (But) may my son live longer.
 (The Brāhman named) Jhauri cooked (some food) in an
 earthen vessel, after washing the same,
 And partook of his meal out of a metal plate ;
 But served the meal to my son in a metal bowl.
 For this reason, my son became angry,
 And went to his maternal uncle's house.
 What did my son eat in his maternal uncle's house ?
 (He partook of) the Suravi cow's milk and rice of *kodo*
 grain.
 He said : "O maternal uncle, hear my words.
 "Give me a cat and a bat.
 "Have the cat made of gold, and the bat of silver."
 When his maternal uncle heard these words,
 He went to the goldsmith's shop,
 And said : "O friend goldsmith, hear me.
 "My sister's son wants a cat and a tip.
 "Prepare the cat of gold and the bat of silver, and let me
 have the same."

The Bihâri women's practice of feeding their infants with milk and rice is, also, alluded to in the following nursery-rhymes:—

(4)

काचर कुचर कौआ खाय ।
दुध भात बबुआ खाय ॥

TRANSLATION.

The crow feeds upon dirty offal.
But the baby feeds upon milk and rice.

(5)

आनार मानारके पातात्रया ।
बबुआ खाय दुध भातात्रया ॥
बिलईया चाटे पातात्रया ।
चाटते चाटते गेल पिकुयार ॥
कुकुरा धैलक भर आंकोयार ।
छोड़ छोड़ कुकुरा तोर आंकोयार ॥
अब ना आयब तोर पिकुयार ॥

TRANSLATION.

O leaves of the pomegranate tree,
My baby feeds upon milk and rice.
The cat licks the leaf-platter (out of which food has been eaten),
And, while licking his lips, went to the backyard.
The dog tackled the cat (there).
The cat cried out: "O dog, let go your hold of me.
"Henceforth I shall not come to the courtyard which is your domain."

But, in the following nursery-rhyme, the Bihâri baby is spoken of as being fed upon balls of *ghee* or clarified butter, which are, probably, nothing but balls of pastry fried in clarified butter:—

(6)

कांचि कुचि कौआ खाय ।
घिन्न के सोन्दा बबुआ खाय ॥

TRANSLATION.

The crow feeds upon scraps (of offal).
But my baby feeds upon balls fried in *ghee*.
The fact that the well-to-do Bihâris feed upon wheaten

pancakes fried in *ghee* or clarified butter, is described in the following nursery-rhyme:—

(7)

ताति ताति एरिया ।
घिन्न में चभोरिया ॥
उठा घर कटोरिया ॥

TRANSLATION.

Very hot pancakes—
Fry the same in clarified butter,
And keep the same in a metal bowl.

This is similar to the English nursery-rhyme of—

"Pat-a-cake, Pat-a-cake, baker's man.

Bake me a cake as fast as you can.

Put it, and prick it, and bake it as fast as you can."

I have, already, stated above that the Bihâri agriculturists of the poorer classes partake of *chapatties* or griddle-cakes. These are prepared by their womenfolk. First, the *atta* or *sattu* is kneaded into a dough. The dough is, then, made up into small balls, which are, then, flattened out into circular cakes either with the hand or with a wooden roller. Then the cakes are baked on an iron pan placed upon the fire; and, in order to bake them to a turn, the cakes are finally thrown upon the hot embers for a minute and, then, taken out. Afterwards, they are eaten. In order to impart some flavour to these *chapatties*, sometimes, a little salt and some cummin-seed are mixed with the dough. This process of cooking *chapatties* is described in the following nursery-rhyme:—

(8)

रोटी पाकावे रोटी पाकावे धियारो ।
उन् न लावे जीरा न लावे तईयो रोटी पियारो ॥

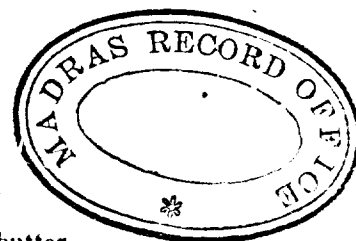
TRANSLATION.

The daughter (of the house) has prepared griddle-cakes. Though the same have been prepared either without salt or cummin-seed, yet the cakes are very nice to eat.

It has, already, been stated above that milk with rice forms the staple diet of the Bihâri infants. This milk is mostly derived from cows, as is mentioned in the following rhyme:—

(9)

आत्ररे गईया पिनाले या दुध ।
दमड़ीके गईया, छेदामके दुध ॥
आत्ररे गईया चिचोर काटना ।
संभ खानि आयाईं भर आंगना



TRANSLATION.

O cows, come and feed (my baby) with milk.

The cows are worth a *damri*, the milk is worth a *chhidam*.

O cows, come and chew the cud,

And come, in the evening, and fill my courtyard.

It will appear from the nursery-rhyme No. 8 *supra* that *ārwa* or unboiled paddy is mentioned therein. Rice made from this paddy is used for offerings to the gods in Hindu religious rites and ceremonies. The *ārwa* paddy is flattened, in a pounding-mortar, into *churā* (or flattened rice). *Churā* with *dahi* or curdled milk is one of the favorite articles of food of the Bihāris, and is, usually, partaken of on fast days. Then, again, rice is parched with heated sand in an earthen vessel, and, in this state, constitutes the *ṣaṭa* of the Bihāris, which is one of the favorite articles of collation of the Bihāri children. The Gonds of Bihār, who appear to be an offshoot of the Gond race of Central India, eke out a scanty living by selling parched rice and grains. The fact that the Gonds prepare the *ṣaṭa* by parching the rice in heated sand, is mentioned in the following nursery-rhyme :—

(10)

खिलते खिलते कौड़ी पाया ।
 सो कौड़ी गंगाने लिया ॥
 गंगा मुझको बालु दिया ।
 सो बालु कानुइन् लिया ॥
 कानुइन् मुझको जाला दिया ।
 सो जाला घाँसिआड़ा लिया ॥
 घाँसिआड़ा मुझको घाँस दिया ।
 सो घाँस गाइयाने खाया ॥
 गाइया मुझको दुधा दिया ।
 सो दुधा बिछीने पिया ।
 बिछी मुझको चुहा दिया ।
 सो चुहा चिन्हीने लिया ॥
 चिन्ह मुझको पांखा दिया ।
 सो पांखा राजाने लिया ॥
 राजा मुझको घोड़ा दिया ।
 सो घोड़ा आड़ पार ।
 तिस्रर चड़े मिया दाजान ।

मिया दाजानके चम्बी कुरी ।

घर घर कांपे यमुनापुरी ।

यमुनापुरसे आइल मोर ।

से गलेमें नवश वोर ।

मारतेहैं जो मारते हैं ।

दिखीसे पुकारते हैं ।

दिखी मिली काशीकोट ।

मार बाहादुर के पेलि चोट ॥

TRANSLATION.

While playing, I found a kauri.
 That kauri was taken by the Ganges.
 The Ganges gave me sand.
 That sand was taken by a Gond.
 The Gond gave me parched rice.
 That parched rice was taken by a grass-cutter.
 The grass-cutter gave me grass.
 That grass was eaten by a cow.
 The cow gave me milk.
 That milk was drunk by a cat.
 The cat gave me a mouse.
 That mouse was taken away by a kite.
 The kite gave me a feather.
 That feather was taken by the king.
 The king gave me a horse.
 That horse went to the other side of the river.
 On that horse rides Miyān Dālāl.
 Miyān Dālāl has got a long knife.
 Thereat trembles the town of Jamunāpurī.
 From Jamunāpurī came a hero.
 Round his neck hung nine hundred arrows.
 "I shall soon attack you";—
 From Delhi cries out the adversary.
 From Delhi and Kālikot.
 The valiant hero will get the first blow.

I have, already, stated before that the Bihārī women grind and pound the corn and grains at home, while the men go to the fields to reap the standing crops. This is mentioned in the following lullaby :—

(11)

सुन ए बबूया कुरुरवा काटे कान ।

माय गइलन पीसे कुटे बाप काटे धान ॥

TRANSLATION.

Sleep, babe, sleep, as the dog has come to bite your ears.
Your mother has gone to grind and pound (the corn and grains), and your father has gone to reap the paddy.

Almost all lullabies commence with some words invoking sleep, as will appear from the following two examples* current among the Dhâvars, one of the four tribes living at Mâhâ-bleshwar near Bombay :—

(a)

"Sleep, child ! sleep.
Oh cow ! come out of the hut
To give milk in the pot,
To give it to the child for drink."

(b)

"May sleep overtake Purasram.
All are busy in their work.
Oh child ! accept this rocking of the cradle."

Also compare, in this connection, the following English and French lullabies :—†

(c)

"Sleep, little brother, you must not awake,
Till mother comes home to her baby again."

(d)

"Fais do do Henry petit fils,
Fais do do tu auras
Le bon coco."

The lullaby (a) *supra* is similar to the nursery-rhyme No. 9 given above.

The Bihâri women save a little money from their household expenses, by practising the most rigid economy ; and the baby is told to bring his mother's savings in the undermentioned lullaby :—

(12)

बबुया रे बबुया ।
लाल लाल ढेबुया ॥
माँके चोरिका ।
निकास जात्र रे बबुया ॥

TRANSLATION.

O babe, bring the red *dhebud*s (or copper coins), which your mother has saved.

* *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, pp. 481, 483.

† *Op. cit.* pp. 482, 483.

Sometimes, the Bihâri women croon the following nursery-rhyme to lull the babies to sleep :—

(13)

बबुया बबुया करिजा ।
आंगना झिलौटी धरिजा ॥
चन्दन रगड़िजा ।
चन्दन भैल पातरा ॥
बबुया भैलन् मोटा ॥

TRANSLATION.

Calling for the baby,
I placed the grinding-stone in the courtyard,
And rubbed the sandalwood thereon (to make some paste).
The sandalwood paste became thinner ; —
But my baby became stouter.

The Bihâri mother, while dandling the baby, places it on her knees ; and, then, to the accompaniment of the following nonsense-verse which she sings, she drops down the baby from her knees on to the ground to her right and left sides alternately :—

(14)

तार काटों तरकुल काटों काटोरे बनखाजा ।
हाथीपरके घुघुआ चमक चले राजा ॥
नया भीत गिरेला पुराना भीत उठेला ।
संभरिहे बबुआ रे रे रे ॥

TRANSLATION.

I cut the palm-tree ; I cut the small palm-tree ; and I, also, cut the soft fleshy kernel of the palm-fruit.

On account of *Ghughud* (i.e. the play in which this nonsense-rhyme is sung) on the elephant, the king goes away, with a distressed heart. The new wall falls down ; and the old wall is erected. Be careful, O baby.

This nonsense-verse is somewhat similar to the following English nursery-rhyme :—

Dance, little baby, dance up high ;
Never mind, baby, mother is nigh ;
Crow and caper, caper and crow—
There, little baby, there you go !
Up to the ceiling, down to the ground,
Backwards and forwards, round and round !
Dance, little baby, and mother will sing,
Merrily, merrily, ding, dong, ding !

The Bihari child's play of *Ghughud* is similar to the Bengali one, in which the following Bengali nonsense-rhyme is sung by the mother or nurse, to the accompaniment of the same action as in the Bihari analogue :—

"*Ghu ghu ghu, meti su.
Saraḥ punti, ki diye khat, bhāṅgā banti.
Sondya padbi, nā rupoya padbi.*"

TRANSLATION.

Ghu ghu ghu, meti su.*

How am I to cut the fish called *saraḥ punti*, as
my fish-knife has got broken ?

(Addressing the child.) Tell me whether you will descend on
the golden, or on the silvern side.

I shall conclude this paper with the following nursery-rhyme,
which shews the Bihari mother's fondness for her baby, whom
she compares with some of the objects dearest to her heart :—

(15)

बहुया हमार काहेके ।
सोनाके कि रपाके ।
माइया जङ्गलके ।
दादा दादो अंजनके ।
जोग बिराना सज्जनके ।
मरहत आव बाबु काटहत आव ।
सगरे बिहार बनि आवते आव ।
माये का मोखना बहिन का साड़ी ।
फुफु का जगैलीके साड़ी ।

TRANSLATION.

What is my baby made of ?

Whether of gold or of silver ?

To me (your mother), you are as dear as the clove
which I wear on my nose.

To your grandfather and grandmother, you are as dear
as the collyrium of my eyes.

To strangers, you are as dear as a little gentleman.

Come, O baby, come beating and slashing (any body
who may oppose you).

Come after wandering through the whole of Bihār.

* These words are meaningless.

Bring for your mother a *mokhnā* cloth ; for your sister, a
sari.

Bring for your paternal aunt a *sari* made at Jagaili.

The above nursery-rhyme mentions some of the articles
of finery much affected by the Bihari women. A Bihari woman
wears, in the hole of her nose, an ordinary clove of commerce,
by way of nose-ornament. She paints her eyelids with
collyrium to impart a soft lustre to her eyes. The cloth called
mokhnā, and the *sari* made at Jagaili are the finest of her
wearing apparel, which she dons on the occasions of festivals
and, thus, blossoms out into the splendours of a village-belle.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

ART. IV.—THE FOLK-LORE OF THE PSALMS.

THE PSALMS IN CHURCH.

THE *Psalter, the music of the Army of God, His Church.*—

There are often for communities four degrees in the descent:—No dogmatic Christianity, no historical Church, no historical Christianity, no Christianity at all. If we lose nothing else, we lose the courage given by the sense of being members of a great host, with a glorious history and magnificent prospects. . . . Courage is given to the soldier of CHRIST by the visible unity of the Church to which he belongs. And the Psalter is the music of that great host as it marches on to victory. Psalm after Psalm peals grandly out of the Kingdom, the City, the Bride—of Sion and Jerusalem.

One string is mute or broken for those who do not bear within them the idea of the living Church.

For such, as they read, or hear, or sing, one great thought fades into the shadows of the Past; subsides into the dust of antiquarianism; falls back into the pigeon holes of history; recedes from the Catholic, the Spiritual and the Eternal, into the local, temporary, sectarian, and natural. The accomplishment shrinks into the type, the reality into a distant memory. 'See,' cries S. Augustine, 'of what city he saith that very glorious things are spoken of it. The earthly Jerusalem is destroyed. It has endured the violence of its enemies; it is laid even with the ground; it is not what it was; it expressed the image of what it was to represent, and passed away like a shadow.' Psalm after Psalm (pre-eminently the 46th, 48th, 87th, 122nd, 133rd) bears witness to the Church. As we hear, our hearts may pass onward from the historical Jerusalem, the Church Militant, to the city of the Living GOD;—and upward to the Church Triumphant, to Jerusalem the Golden, to where beyond these voices there is Peace.*

The use of Psalms in the Christian Church.—The Psalter was the one book the people had in their hands; and Augustine observes, that no stranger could enter a Church, even once, without hearing the harp of David, and the voices of the prophets or Apostles. In order that the people might sing with the understanding, Augustine bestowed much pains on the exposition of this part of Scripture. In his collected writings a much larger space is devoted to the Psalter than to any other book of Scripture. He published in his own lifetime, *Enarra-*

tions, as they are styled (a kind of running commentary) on all the Psalms; and of these, the greater part were discourses actually delivered to Christian congregations. Besides the *Enarrations* there are some two and twenty Sermons founded on texts in the Psalms that happened to be sung on the days in which the respective sermons were preached. All through the middle ages the Psalter continued for the most part to retain its pre-eminent place in the Service of Song, but gradually degenerated into dead form owing to two reasons. Pope Gregory (died 604),

(1). In re-arranging the Church Services put an end to the ancient custom of *congregational singing*, and restricted this heavenliest act of worship to the choir and professional singers.

(2). Early Christians of the West sang in Latin (their own vernacular). In time, Latin ceased to be the language of the people, and therefore unintelligible.

At the Reformation, Luther like Augustine bestowed more labour on the Psalter than any other part of Scripture, he executed an admirable German version, and completed a Commentary on the whole Book, after the manner of S. Augustine.*

Their use in the 'Churches.'—From whatever point of view any Church hath contemplated the scheme of its doctrine—by whatever name they have thought good to designate themselves, and however bitterly opposed to each other, in Church Government, or observance of rites, you will find them all, by harmonious and universal consent adopting the Psalter as the outward form by which they shall express the inward feelings of the Christian life. It was so in the earliest times. The Passover Psalms were the 'Hymn' of the Last Supper. In the first centuries Psalms were sung at the Love-feasts, and formed the morning and evening hymns of the primitive Christians. 'Of the other Scriptures' says Theodoret, in the fifth century, 'the generality of men know next nothing. But the Psalms you will find again and again repeated in private houses, in market places, in streets, by those who have learned them by heart and who soothe themselves by their Divine Melody.' 'When other parts of Scripture are used,' says S. Ambrose, 'there is such a noise of talking in the Church, that you cannot hear what is said. But when the Psalter is read, all are silent.' They were sung by the ploughmen of Palestine, in the time of Jerome; by the boatmen of Gaul, in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris. In the most barbarous of Churches the Abyssinians treat the Psalter almost as an idol, and sing it through from end to end at every funeral. In the most Protestant of Churches,—the

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 155, 156.

* *The Psalms, their History Teaching, etc.*, by Dr. Binnie, p. 373.

Presbyterians of Scotland, the Non-Conformists of England,—‘psalm-singing’ has almost passed into a familiar description of their ritual. In the Churches of Rome and of England, they are daily recited, in proportions such as far exceed the reverence shown to any other portion of the Scriptures.*

The Psalms and the Church.—The words of Aristotle did not become more completely stamped upon the language of the world in the Middle Ages than the words of the Psalms upon the language of devotion and Theology in the Church of every age. It is not merely that preachers occasionally quote the magnificent eponium of Hooker.

It is not merely that an enormous literature of criticism and devotion has accumulated round the Psalter, so that a competent scholar, many years ago, reckoned up six hundred and thirty separate commentaries on the subject. The Psalms occupy about a fifth of our English Prayer Book. They are more familiar than the words of Ken or Cowper. Of the many aspects presented by an English Cathedral there is one which is often overlooked; it is a shrine for the Psalter. . . . At marriages and funerals, by sick-beds and in stately ceremonies, in churches and homes they make their voices heard at every turn. They are as dear to us as the Evangelists themselves. Christianity is responsible for the Psalter with its very life.†

The Church and her use of the Psalter.—In receiving the Psalter from the Jews, and enjoining how it shall be employed in her own worship, the Christian Church seems to have generally treated it as a single and uniform collection of one hundred and fifty sacred hymns; from which, she has always, after the example of the Jews, deemed herself at liberty to select for use on particular occasions such portions as appeared the most fitting, whether they consisted of single, but entire psalms, or of single psalms abbreviated as in our Offices for the Visitation of the Sick and for the Churching of Women, or of several psalms taken from different parts of the psalter and grouped together as with us on Festival days, when those Psalms are appointed to be sung whose subjects are most in unison with the Festival. The American Church has gone yet further, and grouped together certain selected Psalms with no special reference, to be used generally on any occasion, at the discretion of the Minister; displaying in this perhaps more concession to a spirit of eclecticism than it would be wise to imitate.‡

* Stanley's *Jewish Church*, Part II, v. 146.

† *The Witness of the Psalm to Christ and Christianity* p. 5.

‡ Thrupp on *The Psalms*, p. 4.

Psalms in Church—how used.—There are three principal varieties in the manner of weaving the Psalter into the rites of the Church, which are *first*, citing a Psalm either entire, or in a copious extract; *second*, breaking up portions of different Psalms into versicles and responses; *third*, introducing phrases from the Psalms into the course of collects and orisons, not by way of quotation, but as integral portions of the Psalter.*

The Church's faithfulness to the Psalter.—The more distinctly Christian hymns of her own poets from Prudentius downwards, with which she has supplemented those of the Old Testament, have varied from time to time with the historical circumstances, and with the prevailing poetical taste, religious temper, and doctrinal tone of the age; of the Psalms she has never tired; their freshness has never palled upon her, their fervour has never proved so weak as to fall short of the warmth of her devotions, nor so uncouth as to repel the delicacy of her sensibilities.

Schism's have sent the Church asunder, yet each branch has kept firm hold upon the Psalms for employment in its worship. Even where a jealous and improper exercise of Church authority has shut up the rest of the Bible from the people it has yet left the Psalter free. And again when sects have separated from the bosom of the Church with a strong antipathy to the worship of the Communion which they have left, they have hardly been content to abandon the use of the Psalter; and on its well-loved strains their own hymns have been systematically modelled.†

The Psalms and Ceremonial.—The ‘hearts and imaginations’ of the Psalmists ‘are tinged with the endless beauty, and drink long draughts from the unfathomable significance of their ritual. Lights and colours overflow from the ordinance and sanctuary upon history, life, feeling, personal experience. The ceremonial is transfigured into thought, the thought into prayer. In the intense flame of their spirituality the ordinances of the law are taken at white heat. Its rubrics are made transparent.

Thus to note only a few instances. The Shepherd Psalm speaks of a Eucharistic gift: ‘Thou preparest a table before me.’ That is, the Divine Shepherd does that which in the law was appointed to be done with the table of shew bread. A laver was appointed whence Aaron and his sons were to wash their hands when they come near the altar to minister. God's priestly people were to do so in spiritual reality.—‘I will wash my hands in innocency.’ David's spirit yearns after rest.

* Dr. Neale's *Commentary*, Vol. IV, p. 266.

† Thrupp on *The Psalms*, p. 2.

It presents itself to him under the image of rest in the sanctuary. The prayer, 'O send out Thy light and Thy truth,' is an allusion to the Urim and Thummim.

The supernatural splendour and beauty of the newborn people, who follow the great Priest, is represented under a ritual figure—in the holy vestments, a Priest-king at the head of a sacramental host of priests. Was one of the Psalmists struck by the tenacious life of the ordered ritual of his Church? He yearned for his prayer to be taken up into, and, as it were incorporated with it. 'Let my prayer be set forth before Thee as the incense.' From this point of view, the Hebrew Psalmists were to their people as the hymnists are to those among us who love font and altar, the graceful rite, the white-robed gathering, the soul subduing Sacrament; they were as Ken, Crashaw, Herbert, Williams, Keble. They are the Hebrew *Church Poets*.*

The Psalms and Christian Theology.—As we turn from the great Theological principles of the Christian Church to the Psalms, we see in those old pages an eye that is fixed like a living thing upon the Creeds, and a mind that frames its utterances accordingly—and we say, *προϊδούσα ἡ γραφή προσευγγελίσαστο*.

The Font and the Altar have Psalms that are appropriate to them, and express the ideas which belong to them. The Psalter thus bears witness to Christian Theology. When we turn from the Dogmas of faith to the means and channels through which grace is conveyed to us, it might be shown that each great branch of the Church perceives its own favourite portion of Christian thought and experience anticipated in the Psalter. Along these ample ranges, each great school of legitimate Theology finds a place. To the manifold peal of those silverbells, each ear fits the words that are dearest to it. The great *Theology*, more strictly so called, which dwells upon the objective creed, cries with S. Basil, *ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἐν θεολογία τελεία*. The Mediæval Schools, sometimes so subtle and so arid, speak with such tenderness upon the Psalms, that Luther says, 'Some fragrance of life comes to men of good-will—from words, not always rightly understood, pious souls draw something of consolation, and feel a soft breath blowing from the Psalter as if it had passed over a garden of roses!' To Luther himself, and to Bellarmine, as we read them at a distance in which the sharp angles of controversy are rounded into a heavenly calm, the Psalter is equally clear.

As we study their Commentaries, Bellarmine is little less evangelical than Luther, Luther little less ecclesiastical than Bellarmine. In our own Church it is as dear to those for what

it witnesses of Justification as to those for what it witnesses of Sacraments.*

The Theory of Special Psalms.—The Christian seasons, and the use of sacred songs exquisitely appropriate to them have thus been provided for by anticipation. The Prophecy is cast in the form of a Ritual; the Prediction in a form ready made. Given the Life, Death and Glory of the Son of God; given also the existence of the Church as a community, with an outward expression, as well as an inward character; then the prophetic songs are also at the same time Church songs. The best practical proof of this is simply to turn to the 'Proper Psalms on certain Days' appointed by our Church to be used on Christmas, Good Friday, Easter and Ascension Day. The list might, of course be very largely increased. Most readers of the Bible, for instance, would at once point to the LXXII and LXXXVII Psalms as appropriate for the Epiphany. For the Advent Season, again, they would turn to the glorious and terrible octave from the VIII to the XV Psalm. For these Psalms, like the seals, trumpets, and vials in the Apocalypse, end with an anticipation of glory in the XV Psalm. And each of the intermediate Psalms is a vision of Judgment from different points of view; sometimes on the nations, sometimes on prosperous godlessness, sometimes to the persecutors of the Church, sometimes on hypocrisy.†

Recitation of the Psalms in Church.—Psalmody formed an important part of the Jewish temple worship; the singing was alternate or by way of response. The Christians naturally adopted this element; with them too the recitation was antiphonal or responsory. The appointment of the Psalter was extremely various. In Egypt the number of Psalms recited was after much diversity fixed to 12. In Spain three Psalms were sung in the nocturnal office.

In our mediæval services 12 Psalms were sung at Nocturns. The Psalms were fixed for each service through the week. Special Psalms were appointed for special occasions. The monthly course, which we observe, is peculiar to our elves; it was adopted in 1549; the rubric is of the same date. The iteration of the first, last or other characteristic verse of the Psalms, under the title antiphon, was discontinued. The Council of Laodicea, (c. 360 prescribed that Psalms and Lessons should be alternate. The same Council also required that Scripture alone should be read. The earliest trace of

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 113, 114, 115.

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 220, 221.

† *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, p. 204.

the observance of these directions is in the ritual of the Church of Lyons derived from Ephesus, where we find, A.D. 499, Psalms, then a lesson from Moses, then Psalms again, then a lesson from the Prophets, then Psalms once more, then a Gospel and later in the Service an Epistle.*

The Psalms and their Singing.—S. Augustine in his Confessions (Confess x-33) says that he has often heard it related of S. Athanasius—who has commented on many of the Psalms, and has bequeathed to the world a valuable essay on their uses, and on the best manner of using them,—that in his Church at Alexandria he ordered the Psalm to be recited in such a tone as to resemble reading rather than singing. And S. Augustine himself, while fully recognising the spiritual benefits to be derived from choral singing of the Psalms yet frankly makes this avowal—"Whenever it happens that the singing of a Psalm affects me more than the words which are sung then I am guilty of sin, and deserve punishment, and then I would rather not hear the voice of him who sings."†

How the Psalter was sung.—There were three principal modes of singing the Psalms.

- (1.) The primitive form, the joint or collective act of the congregation in all that was sung, as Thorndike explains prophesying, in the primitive Church, in a choir guided by a leader, as Samuel led the prophets, Samuel XIX, 20-4.
- (2.) A form as early as the third century at least, when the congregation joined only in the end verses.
- (3.) In the 4th century when the Council of Laodicea, finding great inconveniences arise from the congregation joining in the Psalms and service, directed that only the canonical singers, the chanters enrolled in the Church list, should go up into the ambon, and sing out of the parchment. In all these forms the antiphonal mode prevailed.‡

There are four methods in which the Psalms have been ecclesiastically sung. The first, when the whole Psalm is sung by the whole choir without any response or variation. This

* *The Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 61.

† Wordsworth's *Commentary*, p. 1.

‡ *The Double Choirs historic ally and practically considered*, a Lecture by Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott.

was called the Cantus Directus or Directaneus and hence one Psalm at Lauds in the Ambrosian Breviary is called the Psalmus Directus.

The second method of singing is the antiphonal, when the choir, divided into two sides, sing alternately.

The third method is where the Psalm is sung alternately between the precentor and the choir; and this is the Responsory method.

Lastly, the fourth way is when the whole Psalm or anthem is sung by a single voice, and this is called the Tract. It is needless to observe that the present Tract of the Roman Missal has retained the name only but not the character of its predecessor.*

Psalms in Holy Communion.—The Communis was an anthem so called because it was sung by the choir while the faithful communicated! This is said to have been introduced in the Roman Office by Gregory I, and it is certainly mentioned in the earliest Ordines:—"As soon as the pontiff has begun to communicate (the people) in the senatorium, the Choir begins the Antiphon for the Communion alternately with the Subdeacons, and they chant a Psalm (psallunt) until all the people being communicated the Pontiff gives them a sign to say the *Gloria Patri* and then having repeated the verse (*i.e.*, the Antiphon) they stop. The Psalms must have been said in connexion with them, the Antiphons for seven centuries. By the end of the 14th century the Psalm was evidently only a matter of tradition, as appears from the manner in which Ralph of Jongres cites Micrologus (1160) for its use:—"A Psalm is to be added (to the Antiphon) according to Micrologus with *Gloria Patri* if necessary." S. Augustine in his *Retractations* mentions that in his time a practice "began at Carthage of saying hymns at the Altar from the Book of Psalms whether before the oblation or when that which had been offered, was being distributed to the people." He wrote a tract in its defence which is not extant. In the Liturgy of St. Mark the priest is directed to say a certain Prayer "or else Quemadmodum desiderat, *i.e.*, the 42nd Psalm immediately before his own Communion. If we suppose this alternative Psalm turn over to the choir, we have the origin of the practice mentioned by S. Augustine. . . . In the Clementine is the following Rubric:—"Let the thirty-third Psalm (Psalm XXXIV) be said while all the others are communicating." This one of the Psalms said at the Fraction in S. James while a sentence from it—"O taste and see that the

* Neales *Commentary*, Vol. I p. 58.

Lord is good"—is sung by the choir immediately before the communion—a rite mentioned by S. Cyril in the 4th century:—"After this (the Sancta Sanctis) thou hearest him who sings with Divine Melody, exhorting you to receive the holy Mysteries and saying, O taste and see, &c.

In the Coptic Church they sing from the Psalms during the fraction. In the Greek Alexandrine Liturgy of St. Paul "the people say the 50th Psalm (the 51st) and the Koinanikon for the Day." In that of Gregory the 100th Psalm after the Fraction, but before the Communion.*

Introit Psalms—In 1549 Introits were prefixed, as in old offices, to the Collects. The Introit was a Psalm sung as the Priest went towards the Altar; it ended with 'glory be to the Father, &c. Then the Priest said, 'Let us pray.'†

Psalms in the Communion Office.—Marten tells us that "in the Order of the Mass" the Epistle follows after the Collect in the Old Book of the Sacraments; but it does not always follow immediately after. In the first ages lessons from the Old Testament were read at the Celebration as well as from the New. The Commentaries of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets are read as time permits, says Justin Martyr in the 2nd century. Pseudo-Dionysius says, 'The Bishop begins the sacred melody of the Psalms, the whole Ecclesiastical Order chanting the holy words of Psalmody with him. Then follows the reading of the sacred volume (*i.e.* observes S. Maxunus of the Old and New Testament) in course by the Ministers.

An Armenian Canon (A Canon of Nierces) of the 6th century says "Let them celebrate the Liturgy aright, singing Psalms, Prophecies, Epistles and Gospels in the order."

In the Mozarabic Liturgy a short selection from the Psalms headed Psallendo, is sung before the Epistle. . . . In the Milanese there was similarly a verse or two sung from the Psalms (called at first Psallenda, and at a later period Psallmellus) between the Prophecy (*i.e.* the Old Testament Lesson) and the Epistle.

In the Greek Liturgy a Versicle and Response proper to the day are sung before the Epistle. From their position with regard to it they are called the *Pickeimenon*. The following is the *Prokeimenon* for the Epiphany:—"Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord." Response—"O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is gracious." Only in the Armenian do we find a proper Psalm sung before the Prophecy.

* *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 758, 759, 760.

† *The Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 85.

The Psallmellus has been said to correspond to the Roman Gradual, but it appears to be more ancient, and it has always occupied a different place.*

The Early Christians and the Psalms.—The earliest notice of the Psalmody of the primitive Church, after the close of the New Testament Canon, occurs in the well-known letter sent to the Emperor Trajan by Pliny, when he was Proprætor of Bithynia about A. D. 102. Among other interesting particulars regarding the Christians, whom he found in the province in great numbers, he states that "they had been wont, on a certain day to assemble before sunrise, and to sing a Psalm to Christ as to a God." It is plain from Justin Martyr and the early Fathers that they did not sing what now would be "a Christian hymn," but a Psalm. The Christians in those days understood the Forty-fifth and other Messianic Psalms to refer to the Lord Jesus directly and exclusively, that Pliny's words would exactly agree with the account they would give of matters to a stranger, who finding them singing Psalms had asked for explanations. They would have answered, they were singing praise to Christ as a God.†

The Psalm of One Voice.—It has often occurred to me that a practice might profitably be revived among ourselves of which we frequently read in the African Church of S. Augustine's day. From time to time—more especially when the Psalm was to form the subject of the preacher's discourse—a particular Psalm was chanted throughout unbroken by reponse by a single voice. 'Ipsius servi vox est illa evidens quam in lamentationibus audistis in Psalmo, et movebamini cum audiretis, quia inde estis. Quod cantabatur ab uno de omnibus cordibus resonabat. In Joann, Evang' Tract x cap. 1.‡

Psalms at funerals in the Early Church.—The Heathen had their *næmia* or funeral song together with their pipers, and sometimes trumpeters to play before them; instead of this, the Christians chose to carry forth their dead in a more solemn manner, with psalmody to the grave. We cannot expect to find much of this in the three first ages, while they were in a state of persecution; but as soon as their peaceable times were come, we find it in every writer. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions gives this direction, "that they should carry forth their dead with singing, if they were faithful; 'for precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His Saints,'

* *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 238.

† *The Psalms:—Their History and Teaching* by Dr. Binnie, p. 366.

‡ *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*. Note p. 310.

And again it is said 'Return to thy rest, O my soul, for the LORD hath rewarded thee' and, 'The memory of the LORD shall be blessed'; and 'the souls of the just are in the hand of the Lord.' These probably were some of those versicles (from Ps. cxvi, 15 and 7: Prov. x, 7 Ps. xcvi. 10) which made up their Psalmody upon such occasions. For St. Chrysostom speaking of this matter, not only tells us the reason of their psalmody but also what particular Psalms or portions of them they made use of as proper for this solemnity. 'What mean our hymns,' says he, 'do we not glorify God, and give Him thanks that He has crowned him that is departed, that He hath delivered him from trouble that He hath set him free from all fear? Consider what thou singest at that time: 'Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul for the LORD hath rewarded thee' (Ps. xvi. 7). And again 'I will fear no evil because Thou art with me' (Ps. xxiii, 4). And again 'Thou art my refuge from the affliction which compasseth me about' (Ps. lix, 16). Consider what these Psalms mean. If thou believest the things which thou sayest to be true, why dost thou weep and lament, and make a mere pageantry and mock of thy singing?

If thou believest them not to be true, why dost thou play the hypocrite so much as to sing. He speaks thus against those who use excessive mourning at funerals, showing them the incongruity of that with the psalmody of the Church.

'For what said they are these the men that talk so finely and philosophically about the resurrection? Yes indeed! But their actions do not agree with their doctrine. For whilst they profess in words the belief of a resurrection, in their deeds they act more like men that despair of it. If they are really persuaded that the dead were gone to a better life, they would not so lament.' 'Therefore,' says Chrysostom, 'let us be ashamed to carry out our dead after this manner. For our Psalmody and prayers and meeting of fathers, and such a multitude of brethren is not that thou shouldest weep and lament, and be angry at God; but give Him thanks for taking a deceased brother to Himself.' S. Jerome also frequently speaks of this psalmody, as one of the chief parts of their funeral pomp. He says, at the funeral of the lady Paula at Bethlehem, which was attended with a very great concourse of the bishops and clergy and people of Palestine 'there was no howling or lamenting as used to be among the men of this world, but singing of Psalms in Greek and Latin and Syriac, (because there were people of different languages present) at the procession of her body to the grave.'

And speaking of S. Anthony's burying, Paul the Hermit, he says 'wound him up, and carried him forth, singing hymns

and psalms, according to the manner of Christian burial.' Gregory Nyssen gives the same account of the funeral of his sister Macrina, and Nazianzen of the funeral of his brother Cæsarius. And the practice was so universal that Socrates takes notice of it among the Novatians, telling us how they carried the body of Paulus their Bishop at Constantinople with psalmody and hymns. And it being so general and decent a custom it was a grievance to any one to be denied the privilege of it. Victor Uticensis upon this account complains of the inhuman cruelty of one of the kings of the Vandals. 'Who can bear,' says he, 'to think of it without tears when he calls to mind how he commanded the bodies of our dead to be carried in silence, without the solemnity of the usual hymns to the grave.'

For none were wont to be denied the privilege save only such as either laid violent hands upon themselves, or were publicly executed for their crimes, or died in a wilful neglect of baptism. Such were not allowed the solemnity of psalmody at their funerals; being in the same rank with excommunicated persons, who had no title to be partakers in any offices peculiarly appropriated to communicants in the Church. But 'such as were called out of the world in the vocation of God,' as one of the Council of Toledo words it, that is, the bodies of all pious and religious Christians were allowed this honour of being carried to their graves with singing, but then this singing must not be those funeral songs which were commonly used among the Gentiles, accompanied with antic beating of their breasts and the like. 'For it was sufficient for Christians, whose bodies were buried in hopes of a resurrection to have the service of divine songs, or psalmody, bestowed upon them.*'

The Psalms at Antioch.—As the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch, so, according to Theodoret, it was in that city the practice of singing in the public assemblies of the Church,—the Psalms of David by the worshippers of Christ, originated.

This was in the reign of Constantine; and the names of two religious laymen, Flavianus and Piodorus have been preserved, as the individuals who introduced that method of Quire singing, which afterwards spread throughout the whole world.

At Antioch, there was an order of Monks, whose rule it was to keep up unremittent Psalmody, or what they called *Laus Perennis*.†

* Bingham's *Antiquities*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

† Holland's *Psalmists of Great Britain*. Introduction 50.

Psalmody Island, in the Diocese of Nismes, is so named from a Monastery founded there, with similar observances by a Syrian monk from Antioch towards the close of the fourth century.*

The Psalms and the Canonical Hours.—The monks of the East used in the eighth century to pray three Psalms at each of the three prayer hours. The *seven* canonical prayer hours of the Roman Church even then developing themselves, reference being made to Psalm CXIX, 164 *seven times*.

These seven hours are the *matutina* before sunrise, when songs of praise were prayed (*laudes*); the *first* after sunrise, the *third* between sunrise and noon, the *sixth* at noon, the *ninth* between noon and sunset, the *verspers* in the evening, and the *completorium* at the close of day before retiring to rest.

S. Jerome writes to a mother whom he furnishes with counsel for her daughter (Ep. 107 ad Lætam): "Præponatur ei probæ fidei et morum et pudicitæ virgo veterana, quæ illam doceat et assuescat exemplo ad orationes et *Psalms* noctu consurgere: *mane* hymnos cantare *tertia sexta nona* hora stare in acie quasi bellatricem Christi accensaque lucernula reddere sacrificium *vespertinum*." Here are mentioned *five* hours for prayer.†

Monastic Singing at the reception of Brethren.—Palladius mentions one instance more of the monks' devotion, which was only occasional, *viz.*, their psalmody at the reception of any brethren; for that, it seems, was the first entertainment they gave them, to conduct them with singing of Psalms to their habitation, done in imitation of our Saviour's entrance and reception into Jerusalem.‡

Early monks and the Psalms.—The early monks were so versed in Scripture that they could repeat the Psalter by heart, which is particularly noted of Hilarion by Sozomen, and S. Jerome, and by this means were qualified to entertain their souls with spiritual exercises, singing David's Psalms, and repeating other parts of Scripture, even at their bodily labours, which practice is often mentioned with great commendation by Palladius, Cassian and S. Jerome, who takes occasion upon this account to extol the quiet retirement of Christ's little village of Bethlehem above the noisy pomp and ambitious greatness of Rome, where so much time was spent in seeing,

* *Edinburgh Review*, xxxiii, 362.

† Tholuck's *Commentary*, p. 3.

‡ Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 385.

and being seen, in receiving visits and paying them, in praises and detractions, things disagreeable to the life of a monk. Whereas at Bethlehem there was nothing to be heard but psalms; one could not go to the field but he should hear the ploughmen singing his hallelujahs, the sweating mower solacing himself with hymns, and the vine-dresser tuning David's Psalms.*

The number of Psalms required at a Service.—Cassian tells the following story. On the introduction of the cœnobitic system into Egypt under S. Mark (for Cassian supposes Therapeutæ to have been Christian cœnobites) some monks were for requiring fifty, sixty or even a greater number of psalms to be chanted at a service; when one day while the brethren were seated in Church, according to the Egyptian custom, one of the company stood up, sang twelve psalms and then vanished.

The monks concluded that their visitor was an angel, and fixed the number of psalms at that which he had sanctioned.†

The Recitation of Psalms in Cathedrals.—In this Cathedral of Sarum a certain number of Psalms were assigned to each one of the Prebendaries for daily recitation by him. The same custom is recorded by the late Dean Milman as having prevailed in S. Paul's Cathedral. The same custom prevails too at Lincoln, where, I have been informed, the initial words of each man's Psalms are written up over his stall, and where I know the present Bishop (Mackenzie) of Nottingham has taken occasion to write and publish a series of Meditations upon his portions of the Psalms. Probably the same custom prevailed everywhere. In Ethiopian and Abyssinian monasteries, which contained a great number of monks, the entire Psalter was said immediately before dinner, by being divided among the monks.

The distribution of the Psalms amongst the Clergy seems to have varied in different Churches. The explanation, however, which Marten gives with respect to the Church of Amiens probably applies to all Cathedral Churches. He says that anciently the entire Psalter was recited at Amiens daily throughout the year "in conventu," that is, with all the Canons present; but on account of the burden of such a service, a portion of the Psalter was subsequently assigned for recitation to each Canon so as to ensure the daily recitation of the whole Psalter within the ecclesiastical

* Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 382.

† Robertson's *History of the Church*, Vol. I, p. 335.

body. In connection with this it will be interesting to remark in passing that the reception of the book of the Psalter from the hands of the Precentor formed a part of the ceremonial at the admission of a new Canon, certainly in the Church of Paris, and probably elsewhere.*

Psalms at Vespers.—Very different rules as to the number of Psalms prevailed in different Churches. The Egyptian Churches recited 12; Benedict appointed 4; the Roman Church 5; in the Ap Const, there is only one Psalm at Vespers; in the Mosarabic Breviary there is ordinarily not even one.†

The Pointing of the Psalms.—The Psalms are pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches, by which is meant the colon in the middle of each verse, indicating the pause to be made not only in the chant but also in the recitation, as the words clearly imply: a direction commonly neglected by readers to the great prejudice of distinct enunciation.‡

The Singing of the Psalms.—The custom of repeating the Psalms alternately or verse by verse, between the minister and people, is probably designed to supply the place of the ancient antiphon or the responsive chanting of the Psalms by two distinct choirs.‡

The Gloria Patri.—The use of the "Gloria Patri," the 'lesser doxology,' as it was called, after the Psalms is of great antiquity. Cassian A. D. 424, says that in the East it was customary to add it to the last only of the Psalms recited, but that in all the Western Churches, except the Roman, it was used at the end of every Psalm. Its original form, which was long used in the Greek Church, was the single sentence, without any response, "Glory be to the Father, and to (by) or in) the Son, and to (or in) the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen." Before the Arian controversy it was used indifferently. But, the Arians making the words in brackets a badge of their party, the Catholics discontinued their use. The fourth Council of Toledo, A. D. 633, added the word Honour to Glory. This addition was used in the Mosarabic Liturgy, in which the form was "Glory and Honour to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen,"

* *The Gradual Psalms* by Rev. H. T. Armfield, p. 380.

† *Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 69.

‡ *Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 225.

The first express mention that is made of the response 'As it was' etc. was in the 2nd Council of Vaison, A.D. 529, the 5th canon of which, in decreeing its use in the French Churches, witnesses to its use at Rome and throughout Italy and Africa. The response was added for the purpose of asserting the co-eternity of the Father and of the Son.*

The Gallican Psalter is Jerome's more correct Latin translation made from Origen's Hexaplar, or most correct edition of the Greek Septuagint, filled up, where that was deficient, from the Hebrew; distinguished with obelisks and asterisks, denoting the common Greek version in those places to be either redundant or deficient. Many of the old M.S.S. still retain those marks; but more have left them out, I suppose to save trouble. This more correct Psalter was drawn up by Jerome in the year 389, and obtained first in Gaul about 580: or however not later than 595; from which circumstance it came to have the name of Gallican, in contradistinction to the Roman. From Gaul or France, it passed over into England before the year 597, and into Germany, and Spain, and other countries. The Popes of Rome, though they themselves used the other Psalter, yet patiently connived at the use of this in the Western Churches, and even in Italy itself, and sometimes privately authorised the use of it in Churches and monasteries; till at length it was publicly authorised in the Council of Trent, and introduced a while after into Rome itself by Pius the Vth. It was admitted in Britain, and Ireland, before the coming of Augustine the Monk, and prevailed after, except in the Church of Canterbury which was more immediately under the Archbishop's eye, and more conformable to the Roman offices, than other parts of the kingdom. This very Gallican Psalter is what we still retain in constant use, in our "Common Prayer Books."†

The Psalms and the Syrian Church.—There is a rule in the Syrian Church that no person can be ordained a Sub-Deacon until he has learnt the Psalter by heart. Jerome mentions that he had learnt the Psalms when he was a child, and sang them constantly in old age.‡

The Psalms Supreme.—It may be accepted as a well-ascertained fact that, down till so late a period as the middle of the fourth century the Psalms reigned supreme and almost alone in service of song throughout the whole Church and especially in the West.§

* *The Interleaved Prayer Book*, p. 227.

† Waterland's *History of the Athanasian Creed*, Chap. iv.

‡ *The Psalms—Their History and Teaching*, by Dr. Binnie, p. 366.

§ *Ibid.*

The Prayer Book Version.—The English version in our Book of Common Prayer was made in A. D. 1535 and revised A. D. 1539. It was formed from the original Hebrew, but for the most part, from that Latin version which is called the Gallican Psalter, and which was derived mainly from the LXX, and was due to S. Jerome (C. A. D. 390) and is in substance the Vulgate, or commonly received version of the Psalms in the Latin Church.*

The Bible Version.—Our own English version of the Psalter in our authorised translation of the Psalms was made by command of King James I in A. D. 1610 from the original Hebrew. Inferior to the Prayer Book Version in rhythmical beauty and musical applicability, but much superior to it in critical accuracy, it will never supersede that version in the choral service of the Church.†

The Psalms as a Penance in the Church of England.—To what extent the Psalter was rendered available in the discipline of the Church in England, even in times anterior to the Conquest, may be inferred from the fact, that not only was the repeating of the Psalms declared to be highly meritorious in itself, but the exercise was held as eligible for the commutation of a pecuniary mulct. "Hence," says Soame (Hist. Ang. Sax. Ch.) "he who shrinks from a fast, yet wanted means to commute it for money, might still appease an accusing conscience by proportionate numbers of Psalms."

What these numbers were we are told in the Penitential D. Ecgbert. "He who owes one week on bread and water, let him sing 300 Psalms kneeling, or 320 without kneeling; and he who must do penance, a month's space on bread and water, let him sing a thousand Psalms and 200 kneeling, and without kneeling 1,680.‡

The Psalter in the Scottish Prayer Book.—These were two issues of the Psalter in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. The title page is one is:—"The Psalter or Psalms of David: after the translation set forth by authority in James his time of Blessed Memory. As it shall be sung or said through all the Churches of Scotland. Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Young, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie. Anno MDCXXXVI. Cum privilegio."

The American Prayer Book divides the Psalter as our own;

* Bishop Wordsworth's *Commentary*, p. xv.

† Holland's *Psalms of Britain*, p. 23.

‡ *Ibid.*

but it has also ten "Selections of Psalms to be used instead of the Psalms for the day, at the discretion of the minister, and portions of Psalms to be sung or said at Morning Prayer, on certain Feasts and Fasts instead of the *Venite Exultemus*, when any of the foregoing selections are to follow instead of the Psalms, as in the Table." These "portions" are formed of verses culled out of certain named Psalms and are invitatories for Xmas Day, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. The rubric after the *Venite* is: "Then shall follow a *Portion* of the Psalms as they are appointed, or one of the *Selections* of the Psalms set forth by this Church. And at the end of every Psalm and likewise at the end of the *Venite*, *Benedicite*, *Jubilate*, *Benedictus*, *Cantate Domino*, *Bonum est confiteri Deus misereatur*. *Benedic anima mea* may be said or sung the *Gloria Patri*, and at the end of the whole *Portion* or *Selection* of Psalm for the day, shall be said or sung the *Gloria Patri*, or the *Gloria in Excelsis*, as followeth.*

Adam of S. Victor in a sequence in the dedication of a Church says:—

Quarum tonat initium
In tubis epulantium,
Et finis per Psalterium.

The Psalms, a Prophetic Manual of Prayer.†—If we measure the value of products by their rarity then prayers are the most precious of all products. The barbarism of the Hebrew people was one of the favourite topics of the last century: it is not unheard of now. Be it so. Yet the prayers of these barbarians are reasonable, profound, pathetic, interesting, sublime. At times they bring tears to our eyes. At times they lift us up from the earth. True prayers are not compositions. They are not rhapsodies. But they are effusions. There are only two uninspired utterances of devotion which can compete with the Psalms in universality of use, in depth and extent of effect. Of these the *Te Deum* has, by a sort of instinct, been said to be *improvised* by Ambrose and Augustine. The other is the wonderful anthem or sequence—*Mediæ Viæ* so often mistaken for a Psalm or text. It came from the heart of Nölker, as he watched, the samphire gatherers at 'their dreadful trade' on the cliffs of S. Gall. As the dirge rose before his soul, it moulded itself round a form of the

* Proctor on the 'Prayer Book,' Note p. 47.

† The few remaining extracts in this Chapter, although, strictly speaking, they may not come under the heading of the Chapter, yet, at the same time, they are on subjects akin to it, and the beautiful language in which they are expressed makes them doubly valuable.

Trisagion. In speaking of the rareness of prayers as a product, I must draw a distinction. In the places of worship of our Separatist Protestant brethren in this country, the gift of prayer is exercised without the trammel as it is supposed to be, of a book. When we pass into Scotland, we come to a land in whose parish Churches prayers which are called extemporaneous are offered up publicly every Sunday. Who doubts that they are sincerely offered, with pure lips and from holy hearts, through the one Mediator, and have brought blessings upon millions of souls? But, viewed as words to be employed by men, they have died away as they floated out of the Church, and left no traces behind. Is there a single prayer which has been used in these communions that has found its way into the hearts of men?

In our own land the press teems with manuals of devotion. But, after meeting a temporary demand, they are left upon the publisher's shelf. To-day they are, and to-morrow are cast into the oven. Parliament, Prelates, Convocations, Synods, may order forms of prayer. They may get speeches to be spoken upward by people on their knees. They may obtain a juxta-position in space of curiously-tesselated pieces of Bible or Prayer Book. But when I speak of the rareness and preciousness of prayers, I mean such prayers as combine three conditions—permanence, capability of being really prayed, and universality. Such prayers Primates and Senates can no more command than they can order a new Cologne Cathedral, or another Epic Poem.

For, the prayers which we now contemplate are those which have come from some individual spirit, but from him have passed into the sanctuary, leaving echoes there that never cease to reverberate; and which from the sanctuary again have been wafted like seeds on the wings of every wind. Prayers, which, when once they have been learned, mingle with the memory in other years like the music of a nursery song;—prayers which like some mysterious vestment fit every human soul in the attitude of supplication;—prayers for every time, place, circumstance; for the bridal and the grave, the storm and the battle, the king and the peasant, the harlot sobbing on her knees on the penitentiary floor, and the saint looking through the lifted portals into the city of God; from the solitary soul on the Hospital stretcher, and the thousands crowded in the great Minister;—prayers for the seasons when the Church looks upon the Crucified, and for those when he bursts the bars of the tomb, and ascends to His Father's Throne. Such prayers the world has never seen but once. Thus in the Psalms, we have a Prophetic Manual of prayer, providentially prepared for the peculiarities

of that character with which God intended to gladden the earth.*

The Psalms and Eternal Hope.—As we think of the Psalms in connection with the blessed hope of Eternal Life, yet others and others crowd upon our memory. As we turn over the pages of the Psalter we associate with them calm, sweet faces, from which, when our eyes see them next, the lines of pain and sorrow shall be smoothed out, and they shall look fairer and nobler than they ever did. From the cross, the stake, the faggot, the sick room, fragments of Psalms break upon our ears, set to the music of Easter. We turn to the 23rd and we think of Edward Irving, dying on that Sunday in December 1824, murmuring again and again in Hebrew 'The Lord is my shepherd.' The 71st stands in our own office for the sick; it is the only Psalm with its antiphon preserved: 'O Saviour of the world! who by Thy Cross and precious Blood had redeemed us, save us and help us.' The fifth verse of the 31st Psalm rises from saint after saint. It was spoken by Jesus first; then it came (as Dr. Kay has mentioned) from St. Stephen, S. Polycarp, S. Basil, Epiphanius of Pava, S. Bernard, S. Louis, Huss, Columbus, Luther, Melancthon.

It was, I may add, the last spoken on earth by Silvio Pellico. One day in January, 1854, he dictated these broken words: 'Adieu, sister! Adieu, brother.' Adieu dear benefactress! Yes, Adieu! We all go to God. "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*" A few instants after, he fell asleep. Why is it that saintly souls turn to them in affliction, and are soothed by them as it by the voice of Christ? That S. Jerome records how in that great mourning for Paula, Psalms were sung in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Syriac?

That the solemn silence after Monica's departure was broken first by the cadence of a chanted Psalm? No book which was without the assurance of immortality could have cheated so many dying saints, and deceived so many generations of manners. There is not a pall of darkness over the Psalms; no odour of the Charnel-house exhales from them. The hopes of eternity trickle, like drops of light, from the pens of their writers. They come to us, like the breath of violets in a letter which reaches us from a land of sunshine.†

The Psalms and Natural Religion.—Natural Religion finds inimitable expression in the Psalter. It is well to note the great importance of this in a book providentially designed

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 126, 127, 128.

† *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 98, 99.

for the widest circulation and most constant use in Christian worship. We, at least, live in an age when the very idea of a personal God is assailed from various quarters, ultra-material and ultra-spiritual.

The Psalms in their deeper significance, waken echoes in a land far off. They prophesy of another worship and theology. But in their most literal and superficial expression in words which no man can mistake, they set to music the first article of the Creed, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,' and supply it with an exuberant and attractive commentary.

This many-voiced republication of Natural Religion, this vivid, impassioned, picturesque assertion of the existence and attributes of God, is of priceless value.*

The Psalms and 'My Father.'—We should notice one remarkable omission in the Psalms. 'As God,' says Donne, 'hath spangled the firmament with stars, so the Psalms with His Name.' The Psalmist sung of God with a wealth of attributes which put our colder hearts to shame. God is his sun, his light, his shield, his rock, his salvation, his defence, his glory, his refuge.

Never praise of love or wine,
Panted forth a flood
Of rapture so divine.

Yet, through all his strains one epithet is never applied to God. In all these Psalms beyond which the Church cannot rise at Christmas, Easter, or Ascension tide, in all those deep and burning songs, no Psalmist has ever cried, 'My Father.' Psalm LXXXIX, 26 may occur to some as an explanation. But it has been well remarked, 'David in toto Psalterio nusquam invocat Deum sub nomine Patris. Proinde non de ipso dicitur. *Ipse invocabis me, Pater meus es Tu.* Fortasse particulari providentiâ Dei factum est, ut David nusquam invocaret Deum sub nomine Patris, ut hic locus non acciperetur de David, nisi 'ratione Christi,'—Bellarmin, *Explanat, in Psalm*, p. 656.†

M. A. CAMBRIDGE.

ART. V.—AN ANCIENT INDIAN DRAMA OF THE TENTH CENTURY A. D.

*Karpūra-Manjarī. A Drama by the Indian Poet Rājasekhara.
* Edited by Dr. Sten Konow, Translated into English by Prof.
C. R. Lauman, Cambridge, Mass. U. S. A. Published by
Harvard University. 1901.*

IT is a happy sign that the study of the Sanskrit language and literature is making rapid progress in the United States. The centre of these studies is the Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass. U. S.; and the authorities of that institution have conferred a lasting obligation on all Oriental scholars in general, and all students of Sanskrit in particular, by establishing the Harvard Series of Oriental works, which is edited with the co-operation of various scholars by Mr. Charles Rockwell Lauman, Professor of Sanskrit in that University. The object of this series is, mainly, a historical one, namely, the exposition of the history of religions, specially, those of India. With this object in view, the editors have begun to publish works dealing with Indian literature, history and archæology, according to their chronological sequence, and the different schools of thought and the systems of religion, such as Vedic, Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist from which they have emanated, for the express purpose of elucidating the different languages, namely, Vedic, Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Pāli, in which they are embodied.

Karpūra-Manjarī, a drama by the Indian poet Rājasekhara, which is the subject of this review, forms the fourth volume of this series. So long ago as 1876, Professor Pischel wrote that "a critical edition of the *Karpūra-Manjarī* is an urgent necessity for the advancement of Prākṛit studies." This long deferred hope has, at last, been realized in the present volume, which has been critically edited in the original Prākṛit, with a glossarial index and an essay on the life and writings of the poet by Dr. Sten Konow of the University of Christiania, Norway, and translated into English and annotated by Professor C. R. Lauman. The sacred scriptures of the Jains are all written in Prākṛit. But, as there are only a few works in that language, the publication of this first critical edition of this unique play in Prākṛit will prove a welcome boon not only to the students of that language, but also to those of the Jaina religion.

Rājasekhara flourished, according to Fleet, about 900 A. D., and was a Yāyāvara Brāhman of the Cāiva sect. In all his four extant plays, he declares himself to be the spiritual

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 204, 205.

† *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 207, 208.

teacher of a king Mahendrapāla or Nirbhayarāja, the latter being a *biruda* or ὄνομα παρρηγορικόν of the former name. His family, originally, came from Mahārāshtra, that is, from Vidarbha and Kuntala, which are included in the Western Deccan. His grand-father was Akālajalada; his father Lurduka or Duhika was a high minister, and his mother's name was Cilavata. It is said that, like Bilhana, Rājasekhara left his native country to seek wealth and fame at foreign courts, for we find him installed as the Court poet at Kanauj, which post he seems to have held even during the reign of Mahendrapāla's son and successor Mahīpāla. There is epigraphic evidence extant to shew that, at sometime of his life, our poet had some connection with the Court of the Cedi princes.

Rājasekhara was, to use Apte's words, "a poet of great learning and much information." The poet himself seems to have been very proud of his linguistic skill, as he directly calls himself, in his writings, *sarvabhāṣāvicasana* or *sarvabhāṣācadura*. As far as is known he himself wrote only in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. At the present day, the following four plays are extant, which are ascribed to Rājasekhara:—
1. *Karpūra-Manjarī*. 2. *Viddha-śālabhāṇjika*, or "The Statue."
3. *Bāla-rāmāyana*. 4. *Bāla-bhārata* or *Pracanda pāṇḍava*.
The editor Dr. Sten Konow thinks that the *Karpūra-Manjarī* (or the *Camphor-Cluster*) is the oldest of the poet's plays, from the fact that it was not, like the other plays, acted under the orders of the king, but at the request of the poet's wife Avantisundarī. It contains four acts and describes how the king Candapāla marries *Karpūra-Manjarī*, the daughter of the Kuntala king, and, thus, becomes a paramount sovereign. The queen's jealousy, and the intrigues by which the meeting of the king and the heroine *Karpūra-Manjarī* is brought about, constitute the plot of this drama.

The Indian drama appears to have its basis partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prākṛit literature. But the only extant Indian play, which is written in Prākṛit exclusively, is the *Karpūra Manjarī* by Rājasekhara which is the subject of this review. Our poet Rājasekhara has, therefore, made his mark in Prākṛit literature by reason of the circumstance that he has given us a unique specimen of a kind of literature, which has, perhaps, a history of its own.

The *Karpūra-Manjarī* is, also, of great importance to the student of the general history of the Indian drama, as we find in it the mention of the *Sthāpaka*, who had something to do with the arrangement of the play, and of his action, although this character has disappeared from most of the known Indian plays. We, also, find from the Stage Manager's speech, at the end of the Prologue to this play, that the rôles

of the female characters used, in those days, to be played by women. It is, also, noteworthy for another curious fact occurring in it, namely, the recital of verses after the Nāndī. The two most distinguishing features of the Prākṛit language, as written by Rājasekhara in his *Karpūra-Manjarī* as also other works, is his extensive use of rare and provincial words, of which a list is given in the work under notice, and also of Marāṭhi ones. Another remarkable literary characteristic of our poet is his abundant use of proverbial expressions, as for instance, the saws: "Bangle on your wrist, no need of a mirror"* (meaning: the fact is as plain in that talk as is a bangle on your wrist, without a mirror); "Asking the bystanders if a horse is speeding, when you see him on the dead run" (i.e., there is no need of asking, etc.); "Gold is not tested without a touchstone" (Act I of the *Karpūra-Manjarī*); "Piling up the old palm-leaves" (i.e., piling the same word-series; threshing the same old straw); "Snake on your head—and the doctor away;" "Can't trust a boat even when it has touched the shore" (Act IV of the same play); and many others too numerous to be quoted here. Another of our poet's notable characteristics is his masterly command of the more elaborate metres. He, also, occasionally uses rhyme, as, for instance, two of the magician's ribald songs in the *Karpūra-Manjarī* are full of internal rhymes.

Although this drama is mainly important to the philologists, and to the students of the Jaina religion, it throws a good deal of light on the manners and customs prevalent in the court of a Hindu king in the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era, the beliefs and superstitions that were current in those times; and the state of the fine arts in that period, and a great deal of other interesting matter. From it, we know the names of the beasts, birds, reptiles and creeping things that were familiar to, and the names of the trees and flowers that were cultivated by the Hindus of that remote age. In fact, from the study of this play, we may construct a vivid picture of the home-life of the ancient Hindu patricians and plebeians of the tenth century A. D. The drama, under review, is, therefore, of great interest to the students of Indian antiquities, folklore, ethnography and geography.

As for domestic manners and customs, of the people and the aristocracy, we find from it (Act I, St. 14) that the houses were, in those times, like the modern bungalows and had a verandah running all round it. In the cold weather, the inmates slept within the inner apartments, and used blankets

* This saying is current even at the present day, as a Marāṭhi proverb, and is given in A. A. Waring's collection.

for muffling themselves up with. During the summer, they slept in the verandah to avoid the stifling heat of the inner apartments. The wealthier classes, such as Rājās and Rānīs, spent their evenings on roof-terraces, where couches, "delightful in the starlight," were spread for them to sit upon. (Act I, St. 36.) These latter slept upon couches (Act III, St. 3), and sometimes, used divans for lounging upon. (Act III, St. 27.) Palm-leaf fans (Act III, St. 20) and punkahs, besprinkled with drops of water (Act IV, St. 8) were used for fanning purposes. Incense of aloes was burnt to fumigate the rooms. (Act III, St. 27.) Luxurious people used shower-baths. (Act III, St. 20; Act IV, St. 10.) The pleasure-pavilions of the wealthy "showed circling wreaths of incense rising from burning aloes; they were ablaze with the lighted lamps they had pendent festoons of lustrous (or rarest) pearls; they swarmed with doves let loose; in them were prepared charming pleasure-couches; while on the divans appeared the pouting women-folk." (Act III, St. 27.)

The women wore *saris* (Act I, St. 27) which were, sometimes, of silk fabrics and trimmed (Act I, St. 21¹⁰), and bodices (Act I, St. 13), which they dispensed with during the hot weather. They anointed their hair with fragrant oil, braided the same into tresses (Act I, St. 13), and adorned the same with flowers (Act II, St. 21). They painted their eyelids with collyrium, washed their faces with chalk-water to lend them a whitish appearance (Act III, St. 33) and, sometimes, painted themselves with mineral rouge (Act III, St. 18). They wore, on their necks, pearl-necklaces and strings of emeralds (Act III, St. 18); on their hands, bracelets and bangles; in their ears, earrings; on their feet, anklets which were, sometimes, of emerald (Act II, St. 13). They wore girdles of jewels round their waists (Act III, St. 13 and 18).

Among the persons that composed the fabric of society of those days, were the Brāhmins, merchants, physicians (Act IV, St. 7), dancing-girls (Act IV, St. 11), jewellers and goldsmiths (Act I, St. 21, ¹⁴), slave girls (Act I, St. 21, ³⁵) and outcasts (Act I, St. 21, ²⁹), and others.

Included among the retinue of the royal courts were hunchbacks, dwarfs and pigmies who were kept for amusing the kings (Act III, St. 34⁸). Dwarfs are, frequently, represented in Indian paintings and sculptures, and appear on the frescoes in the Ajanta Caves. Eunuchs and harem-keepers were employed to guard the royal Zenanas (Act III, St. 34⁸). The queens were attended upon by girls who held chowries or fly-flappers of yaks' tails, ladies-in-waiting, female betel-box-bearers, bath-keepers and reciters of witty sayings (Act IV, St. 10, ⁷⁻¹²).

The appurtenances of a theatre are vividly described in the following passage from Act I, Stanza 5:—"Our players seem to be busy about their acting: for one actress is getting together such costumes as suit the rôles; another is twining garlands of flowers; a third is putting the masks in order; some one seems to be rubbing colours on a palette; here they are tuning a flute; there a lute is being strung; and here they are making ready three drums; here the noise of timbrels is heard; there they are rehearsing the introductory stanza."

Gambling was largely indulged in; and the gambling-hell appears to have been an established institution (Act I, St. 21, ²⁹).

Spirituuous drinks were largely drunk and meat was eaten, as the Magician Bhairavānanda says: "Good meat I consume, and I guzzle strong drink" (Act I, St. 23). The liquor appears to have been manufactured from grapes, for we have mention of grape-juice in Act II, St. 26.

Some degree of progress appears to have been made in several branches of the Fine Arts. We have mention, in this play, of pictures (Act I, St. 27 and 30; Act II, St. 4), and of picture-galleries (Act I, St. 36). Statues were also carved, for the Jester says: "Nobody but the moon can make the moonstone statue to ooze" (Act IV, St. 19³⁶), the moonstone being a fabulous gem, supposed to ooze or deliquesce under the moon's rays. Dancing appears to have been a favorite pastime; and a few kinds of dances and the methods of dancing them are described in the following passage:—"Circling around with charmingly-varied pose of hands and feet, these two and thirty dancing girls"—they tread their mazy rounds, their steps keeping time with the music. In thy court is seen the "staff-dance."

"With their shoulders and heads even, with their arms and hands even, other maidens, each with clean-cut pose, and ranged in two rows each facing the other, are rendering the *challi*-dance and regulating its tempo by the beaten measure."

"And one fawn-eyed girl, sounding the drum that makes you shudder, and with the pleasant noise of a tambour, with her creeper-like arms alternately swaying, has started to execute the performance of the *challi*."

"Others are performing, as might a fay, a graceful dance in tempo, with a jingling made by their bells, with the measure regulated by the tempo of vocal music, and with the clear tinkle of anklets." (Act. IV, St. 11, 12, 16 and 17.)

Songs were sung by the dancers, while they danced, as is the practice, at the present day, with the modern Indian dancing-girls. (Act. III, St. 14.)

While on the subject of pastimes, I may refer to the fact

that swinging was one of the popular amusements of the womenfolk of those days. (Act I, St. 21; Act II, St. 30), as it is, at the present day of those of Bihar. A swinging scene is also depicted on a fresco in the Ajanta Caves. There are, also, various swinging festivals. The most famous is the Dola-yātrā (culminating with the Phālguna full moon), during which images of Krishna are placed on a swing and swung. The weight of the idols often broke the swing. Again, on the eleventh of the bright half of Chaitra, Vishnu and Lakshmi are swung. There was, also, a swinging festival of Gaurī and Civa.

There was also the वटसावित्री (वटसावित्री) or the great Festival of the Deity of the Banyan (Act IV, St. 15¹⁸). It is defined in the glossary appended to the work, as "the divinity fancied to be in the Vata-tree during Vatasāvitṛvratā, an observance among women on the day of the full moon of the Jyāistha." It is a pity that, as this work is also intended for general readers, the learned Translator has not given a fuller account of this important festival than the meagre note he has supplied.

It has, already, been stated above that our poet belonged to the Caiva sect. His religious persuasion is indicated by the numerous allusions to Civa, Pārvatī and Gauṛī, which are scattered throughout the play.

The antiquity of the Mahābhārata is proved by the reference to Yudhishtira which occurs in the passage (Act I, St. 21¹⁵), wherein the Jester chaffs Vichakṣaṇā by saying "If you ridicule me that way, I will tear off that part of you that goes by the name of Yudhishtira's eldest brother."

That the cow and her five products were held sacred in the tenth century of the Christian era, is proved by the Jester's speech in Act I, St. 21²⁶.

The beasts, mentioned in this play, are the horse; bull; elephant; antelope (and the fawn); cat (Act II, St. 30¹¹; Act IV, St. 38); muskdeer (Act III, St. 21³); and the dolphin which is the banner of Cupid in the Hindu mythology.

The birds referred to are the Chakor or the Greek partridge; the starling (*Acridotheres tristis*); cuckoo; gander; white goose; the Ruddy Sheldrake (*Asarca rutila*); king-parrot; peacock; the *Kala-haṇṣa* (a kind of white teal with grey wings), which was tamed and held in high esteem on account of its supposed agreeable cry; dove, which was most probably, a kind of pigeon and kept as pets in the pleasure-pavilions of the kings; koil; and parrot. The serpent is also mentioned.

Our poet Rājasekhara's botanical knowledge is evidenced by

the frequent mention of the following flowering shrubs and trees:—Champak (*Michelia champaca*); jasmine; asoka (*Jonesia asoka*); ketaka (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) of which the hollow flower-leaves were used as offerings to the goddess Pārvatī (Act II, St. 7) and on which leaves love-messages used to be scratched with the finger-nails (Act II, St. 7²⁰); lotus; blue lotus; water-lily; the *Tilak* and the Amaranth, both of which were said to burst into flowers, if a maiden in love embraced the first, or looked at the second (Act II, St. 43); the *Tamala* (Act II, St. 44²); the bakula (*Mimusops elengi*); the East Indian rose-bay which has been identified with the *Tabernaemontana coronaria*; the Kadamba (*Nandea cadamba*); the acacia (Act IV, St. 7); the *Sinduvāra* shrub (*Vitex negundo*) which is said to bear a quantity of white blossoms (Act I, St. 19), as also berries of which necklaces were made (Act IV, St. 7); and the Cephālīkā—the night-blooming Jasmine or the "Deserted Sweetheart" (*Nyctanthes arbor tristis*) which, the Jester in the play says: "Nobody but the moon can make to bloom profusely." The *Nyctanthes* tree is well-known in Indian poetry and legends for its night-blooming property and the fragrance of its flowers. Of this celebrated flowering tree, the famous Dutch traveller J. H. Linschoten published, more than three hundred years ago, the following pretty fable:—"There was a certain nobleman named Parisaticō, whose exceedingly beautiful daughter was wooed by the sun; and, when dazzled by his charm, she surrendered to the importunity of such a glorious lover. She was basely deserted by him for another damsel with whom he had become enamoured. Hence the grief of the deserted maiden, who, in a fit of sad despair, put an end to her own life. The corpse was placed on a funeral pile and consumed by the flames; and they positively assert that this tree (*Nyctanthes arbor tristis*) sprang from the ashes of the deserted beauty; and in token of her grief and indignation, it sheds its flowers with the rising sun, and closes its petals, preferring to exhibit its ceaseless woe during the gloomy hours of the night."

It is to be regretted that neither the learned Editor nor the Translator has identified the plants bearing the name of *Tamala*, and the one which has been translated into the English name Amaranth.

Among the trees mentioned by our poet are the Dhāk (*Butea frondosa*); sandal, horse-radish tree * (*Moringa pterygosperma*) of which according to the Translator, "the bulbs are cut up for a pungent sauce and the limbs are torn off for their flowers." (Act I, St. 21²⁹.) [This note of the Translator is erroneous, as

* मोदक (मोदक) or द्राक्ष.
VOL. CXVII.]

the tree is not a bulbous plant and has no bulbs. Its roots are sometimes boiled and eaten like horse-radish by Anglo-Indians; while its leaves, flowers and pods are eaten in Bengal; the plantain; birch; areca-nut; mango (Act IV, St. 5); the banyan; the jack-fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*); and the coral-tree (*Erythrina indica*) "which is used for hedges and largely employed to support the black pepper vine."

The folklorist will find, in this play, a fair amount of materials for his study. As throwing a side-light on the practice of magic and witchcraft in Ancient India, the Magician Bhairavānanda has been introduced into the drama, who says that he possesses the following thaumaturgic powers:—

I can bring down the moon to the ground
And show you its rabbit-face round.
The car of the sun I can stop in mid-sky,
Wives of sprites, gods, or Siddhas through heaven that fly,
Or of Civa's retainers,—I fetch 'em anigh.
Lord knows what on earth I can't do if I try.

(Act I, St. 25.)

The magician was, also, believed to possess a magic car which moved about without hindrance or obstruction from gravity, walls and such other obstacles. (Act IV, St. 21⁵⁹.)

We have allusions to the practice of human sacrifice and, possibly, of cannibalism in Ancient India in the passage (Act IV St. 15), wherein coquettish girls are represented as enacting a cemetery-scene by "bearing in their hands offerings of human flesh, and wearing the masks of night-wandering ogresses."

Then, there is the popular belief that there is a rabbit in the moon (Act I, St. 25). About this, the learned Translator has given the following note which is, I think, not correct:—"The Hindu sees, not a 'man in the moon,' but a rabbit." There is current, even at the present day, a belief among the Hindus of Bihār and Bengal to the effect that there is an old woman in the moon who is sitting there spinning thread on her spinning-wheel. It was, also, believed that there is a spotted antelope in the moon (Act II, St. 20; Act III, St. 31 and 34); and the dark spots or flecks on the moon's disc are often likened to that black or dappled antelope. Hence the moon is frequently called *mṛgāṅka* or *harinalaksana* by the Sanskrit poets. The belief that lunar eclipses are caused by the demon Rāhu's swallowing or hiding the moon, is referred to in Act II, St. 21.

We have, also, allusions to various folk-beliefs about different kinds of birds and reptiles. The *Chakora* birds, which are known to naturalists as *Caccabis chucar*, Gray, are popularly believed to feed upon moon-beams. (Act I, St. 1.) The

Gander, or, more properly, the swan is supposed to frequent the Mānsarovāra Lake in the Himālayas (Act II, St. 7¹⁰) and to feed upon fresh unpierced pearls. The Ruddy Goose or Sheldrake, which is known to naturalists as *Casarca rutila*, Pallas, is also mentioned. (Act II, St. 8 and 50.) The conjugal fidelity of the Ruddy Goose, and her mate is proverbial. They are condemned to pass the night in most pitiful separation.

The snakes, like the chameleon and the sand-lizard are popularly supposed to feed upon the wind. Sir Joseph Fayrer, in his *Thanatophidia of India*, says: "Some of the snake-catchers have a curious notion concerning the sex of the cobra. They say that the hooded snakes are all females and poisonous, and that the males are all hoodless and innocent." The modern snake-charmer's belief that only the female serpents are hooded, was current in India one thousand years ago and accepted by our poet who alludes to it in Act I, St. 20.

The belief that, if rain falls in an oyster, the rain-drops are converted into pearls, was current in India one thousand years ago, as is evidenced by the references to it in Act III, St. 4¹⁸. This belief was also current among the Ancient Romans, and is also prevalent, at the present day, among other Oriental races, such as the Tamils and the Persians. There is a fine mystical poem about this popular notion in Book IV of Sa'di's *Bustān* or *Garden of Odours*.

Then we have the curious belief, so often mentioned by the Sanskrit poets, that the Asoka tree (*Fonesia asoca*) burst into flowers; when touched by a fair maiden's foot. (Act I, St. 21²⁷; Act II, St. 43 and 47). Then, again, there are allusions to the belief that, if a maiden, who is in love, looks at a Tilak tree (*Clerodendron phlomides*), or embraces an amaranth, both of the same, will burst into flowers (Act II, St. 43).

Our poet has also incidentally described the rites of tying the symbolical wedding-knot in the upper garment (Act IV, St. 21¹³), the sunwise circumambulation thrice made by the bridegroom and the bride around the nuptial fire, and of throwing parched grain into the same fire, which are so essential to the performance of marriage-ceremonies among the Hindus.

Although the literary merit of the work under review is meagre, the plot thereof being scanty and there being no development of characters, yet there are some passages in it which show that our poet possessed finer feelings for the beautiful in nature. Witness, for instance, the passages in which the First Bard describes the effects of the vernal breeze (Act I, St. 15) and the Second Bard the blowing of the flowers at the

advent of the spring (*Ibid*, St. 16), as also the verses in which the king expresses his admiration of the bursting into bloom of the Asoka tree (Act II, St. 47). The stanzas in which sunset, evening and moonrise have been described (Act II, St. 50; Act I, St. 35-36; and Act III, St. 25) are also fine and testify to the poet's picturesque sensibility and appreciation of the softer moods of nature.

The text has been carefully collated with 13 MSS. partly by the Editor, Dr. Konow, and partly by Professor Pischel and Dr. Lüders, and has been printed in bold and clear Devanagari types. The usefulness of this edition has been considerably enhanced by the addition of chapters on the geography and time-allusions of the play as also on the Hindu seasons, months and asterisms. Considered from every point of view, the work under review is a very valuable addition to Prākṛit literature.

ÆSCYÆM.

ART. VI.—SHAKESPEARE AS PEDAGOGUE.

OUR avowed intention to administer, legislate, and educate in India free from all religious bias, has its natural outcome in such books as the four little Shakespeare's monographs noted below.* Morality must be taught to the young—and its tone must be set "so far as we are concerned" by Western ideals. But the genius of Western morality has for a full thousand years been Christian. It is then Christian morality that we cannot fail to set before the youth of India. The bounds we have, according to our own standard of justice, set ourselves, forbid us to teach it with the authority of Christ as the Son of God—even the New Testament we can only use as one out of many text-books. We may take Shakespeare however as a not professedly religious teacher, and from his plays draw morals really Christian. This is the idea of the author of these four suggestive little monographs, Dr. Miller is the Principal of a Christian College and a Doctor of Divinity. When will the thinking world in India (and indeed the so-called free-thinking world in the West) recognize that it is Christianity that has made the morals of Shakespeare?

Take Gloucester's attempt at suicide in "King Lear," a play which in its appeals to Apollo and other gods gives intrinsic evidence that the *dramatis personæ* are pagans: the attempt is frustrated by a pious fraud on the part of Gloucester's unrecognized son, Edgar, and a short time afterwards Gloucester is found praying:—

"You ever gentle gods, take my breath from me;

"Let not my worser spirit tempt me again

"To die before you please.

Edgar. "Well pray you, Father."

This is the Christian view of suicide, and not that of either the Eastern or the older or modern Western non-Christian world. †It is a higher view than Edgar's later expression:

"Men must endure

"Their going hence; even as their coming hither,"

for it gives the Divine Will as the sole justifiable cause of death; the idea of a Divinity shaping our ends, a Divine Person in whose Will is our peace, is Christian, that of a mere

* Shakespeare's Othello and the Crash of Character (pp. 108)

Shakespeare's Hamlet and the Waste of Life (pp. 105).

Shakespeare's King Lear and Indian Politics (pp. 115).

Shakespeare's Macbeth and the Ruin of Souls (pp. 126) by William Miller, C.I.E., D.D., L.L.D., Principal of the Madras Christian College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. Published by Natesan & Co., Madras—8 annas.

fate to be endured as heroically as man may is not—"Vouloir ce que Dieu vent est la seule science Qui Nons met en repos."

The mocking worldly dissuaves from suicide Shakespeare puts into the mouth of his prince of villains, Iago. "Drown thyself? Drown cats and blind puppies! Put money in thy purse! If thou wilt needs damn thyself, do it a more delicate way than drowning. Make all the money thou canst. A pox of drowning thyself! Seek thou rather to be hanged in compassing thy joy than to be drowned and go without her."

Take again Shakespeare's treatment of the question of unprepared death. It is the finer Christian character Othello who even in his own avenging rage of murder is so anxious that Desdemona should pray before he kills her—it is a contrast to Hamlet who would fain kill the soul as well.—

Othello. Have you prayed to-night, Desdemona?

Desdemona. Ay, my Lord.

Othello. If you bethink yourself of any crime

Unreconciled as yet to Heaven and grace,

Solicit for it straight.....

Well, do it and be brief: I will walk by,

I would not kill thy unprepared spirit;

No, Heaven forbid, "I would not kill thy soul."

Yet this is the Othello who would fain have had his wife's betrayer "nine years a-killing." Turn we to Hamlet.

Hamlet. "Now might I do it pat, now he is praying.

And now I'll do't—and so he goes to Heaven:

And so am I revenged. That would be scanned:

A villain kills my father; and for that

I his sole son, do this same villain send

To Heaven.

Why this is hire and salary, not revenge—

He took my father grossly, full of bread,

With all his climes broad blown, as flush as May:

And how his audit stands who knows save Heaven?

And am I then reveng'd

To take him in the purging of his soul,

When he is fit and seasoned for his passage?"

This prostitution of faith to the purposes of revenge gives one a shudder.

The object of Dr. Miller's little monographs is not so much to point out the Christian doctrine to be found in Shakespeare, though ethics and doctrine are inseparable in all religions, as to draw practical lessons on a Christian basis for the conduct of life. King Lear and Othello afford him opportunity for special teaching to his Indian students on the difficult problems raised in life by a time of political changes such as prevailed in Britain in Lear's legendary days and such as has prevailed in India

during the last 100 years—and on the effect on a simple character of one race from its environment by another, such for instance as Othello in the midst of the cultured Venetians. "We become sensible of how the greater intimacy with all around him which results from his married life has made Othello feel that the ways of Venetians are not his ways, nor their thoughts his thoughts. He is puzzled and alarmed. Here there is an opening for the evil force. Conscious of inability not only to deal with but even to comprehend the play of the thoughts and feelings which encompass him, Othello is far more liable to be seized on by suspicion than he would be amidst familiar surroundings. Examples may easily be found of the readiness with which suspicion is stirred up in those suddenly brought within the inner circle of a civilization different from their own; and perhaps examples also of how often those who are thus situated make shipwreck of characters which would have held together fairly well if they had never been transplanted from their original environment." Instances of this are abundant both among Englishmen in India and the Indian in England, and must often present themselves to one who like Dr. Miller is daily dealing with young India torn between two civilisations and many religions.

We cannot drop the subject without taking up the cudgels for Desdemona. Dr. Miller's religious school predicates freewill; he will not have it that Desdemona can have suffered entirely guiltless. While owning her the model wife, he censures her dealing with her father; and animadvert on her folly in lying about the handkerchief, and on her fatuously misleading exclamation when, on the eve of her own death, she exclaims at Othello's announcement of Cassio's death. "Alas, he is betrayed and I undone." One might point out that Desdemona would not have been the young ignorant and guileless victim had she had the common-sense of a full grown woman, nor have been the model wife "tender, affectionate, domestic, full of sympathy and insight, and most delicately sensitive" that she was, had she not have risked all for Othello "and the world well lost." One might even say that the play taught rather the grim grasp of heredity, the strength of original sin—Brabantio is the passionate father and he naturally has a passionate daughter. One might expect a run away match of the daughter of a father of whom Shakespeare writes:

"Her match was mortal to him, and pure grief

Shore his old thread in twain; did he live now

This sight would make him do a desperate turn

Yea curse his better angel from his side. And fall to rebobation."

Moreover to blame Othello for his lack of ability to see

through Iago's flimsy plot, is to miss his blunt soldierlike character. The combination of courage with insight into character is more easily found in an Iago than an Othello, just as common-sense and tact when dealing with an injured husband are rather attributes of an Emilia or indeed a Bianca than a Desdemona. "On a les défauts de ses qualités." The soldier who could fight as Othello fought, and love as Othello loved, must necessarily burn with revenge as he burned when once he found the objects of his trust and love—his wife and his Lieutenant—unworthy;—and unless endowed with a rare supernatural grace must carry out his revenge in some such sort as Othello did. Dr. Miller asks the question "what principle in the government of the world do the scenes from human life which 'Othello' presents illustrate most forcibly? What lesson may be learnt from it which may help a man to guide his own life well?" Weaknesses allied to their virtues are of course to be found even in such loveable characters as Othello and Desdemona; but instead of concluding that "*when* men are overtaken by either material or moral ruin they have always same share in causing it," one prefers rather to think that the "principle" illustrated by these scenes from human life is what Browning adduces as his reason for believing in Christianity.

"'Tis the faith that launched point blank her dart
At the head of lie—taught original sin,
The corruption of man's heart."

And that the "lesson" to be learnt from the ruin of such fair and noble lives is the old one "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

MARGARET M. TRAILL LAMONT.

ART. VII.—INDIAN ART IN THE FAR EAST.

THE THEORY OF A COMMON ASIATIC SCHOOL.

THE striking similarity of cult and culture in India and in the Far East, as evident in art, has led a recent writer to say that "the reason of this is probably to be sought in the existence of a common early Asiatic art, which has left its uttermost ripplemarks alike on the shores of Hellas, the extreme west of Ireland, Etruria, Phœnicia, Egypt, India and China. In such a theory, a fitting truce is called to all degrading disputes about priority, and Greece falls into her proper place, as but a province of that ancient Asia to which scholars have long been looking as the Asgard background of the great Norse sagas. At the same time, a new world is opened to future scholarship, in which a more synthetic method and outlook may correct many of the errors of the past.*"

This new theory must stand the scrutiny of experts before it can be accepted. And inasmuch as it controverts almost all existing theories adumbrated or advanced after years of careful study by experts, the student should be careful how he accepts it at once to secure, what may seem to be, a short cut to the solution of what, at first sight, may be taken to be one of the most puzzling problems of history. The mere fact that during a very early period (the age of Asoka—B. C. 250) the Persians were, for purposes of art, practically the same people as the Indians † should not be enough to make us conjecture the existence of a common early Asiatic school.

Moreover this striking similarity does not really seem to be one of those strange problems of history which would justify the student to stretch his imagination for an explanation, because materials are wanting.

Buddhism was a potent factor in the development of Indian art. It carried the developed art from one end of India to the other. And it was in the wake of Buddhism that Indian art reached the Far East, where, often grafted on indigenous arts, it has achieved wonders and endured to our own day. We hold with Mr. Okakura that "the great historic spectacle with which the world is necessarily familiar, of Buddhism pouring into China across the passes of the Himalayas, and by the sea-route through the Straits—that movement which probably commenced under Asoka and became tangible in China itself at the time of Nāgārjuna in the second century A. D.—was no

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*, Introduction by Sister Nivedita.

† Fergusson—*Archæology in India*.

isolated event." Therefore an attempt to seek the solution of this striking similarity in Buddhism—the common cult—may not prove unprofitable. And we proceed to consider the rise, the progress and the influence of Buddhism.

THE RISE, THE PROGRESS AND THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM.

Buddhism grew out of Brāhmanism; and its growth was inevitable. "Christianity founded its kingdom in times of the keenest suffering, amid the death-struggles of a collapsing world. India lived in more settled peace; if the government of its small states was the evil despotism of the Oriental, men knew of no other government and made no complaint; was the gulf between poverty and wealth, between knight and yeoman, a wide one—and it has always been so in that land by natural necessity—still it was by no means the poor and oppressed alone, or even chiefly, who sought in monastic robes freedom from the burdens of the world."

"Voices are raised full of bitter lamentations over the degeneracy of the age, the insatiable greed of men, which knows no limit, until death comes and makes rich and poor alike: 'I behold the rich in this world,' says a Buddhist Sutra, * 'of the goods which they have acquired, in their folly they give nothing to others; they eagerly heap riches together and farther and still farther they go in their pursuit of enjoyment. The king, although he may have conquered the kingdoms of the earth, although he may be ruler of all land this side the sea, up to the ocean's shore, would still insatiate, covet that which is beyond the sea. The king and many other men, with desires unsatisfied, fall a prey to death; Neither relatives nor friends, nor acquaintances, save the dying man; the heirs take his property; but he receives the reward of his deeds; no treasures accompany him who dies, nor wife, nor child, nor property nor kingdom.' And in another Sutra it is said † 'the princes, who rule kingdoms, rich in treasures and wealth, turn their greed against one another, pandering insatiably to their desires. If these act thus restlessly, swimming in the stream of impermanence, carried along by greed and carnal desire, who then can walk on earth in peace.' ‡

The Oriental sets more value on the hereafter than on the here. A desire for material prosperity is a snare, and life on earth a punishment for past sins. He yearns after freedom from future births—dreaming morbid and proud dreams of that which is beyond all time. This corruption and this cry filled

* Ratthapāla—Suttanta in the "Majjhima-Nikāya."

† "Samyuttaka-Nikāya."

‡ Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

the sensitive Oriental mind of Buddha with sorrow. And the germs of those thoughts entered his soul which drove him to change home for exile, and the plenty of his palaces for the poverty of the mendicant.

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss how, within a very short time, Buddhism—like the great luminary of the day in the summer of the world—grew great and glorious. Numerous causes contributed to the phenomenal success of the religion which pulsated with that passion of pity which lifted the dumb beast to one level with man. And prominent among them was the personal example of the Perfect One who went forth from home into homelessness, and renounced the world—not for his own salvation, but for the salvation of others. "In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, walking about, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl.*"

But if there was one thing which more than others helped to make the religion popular it was the homeless, wandering life of Buddha and his disciples. "In nothing did the secret of the great power of rapid increase, which existed in the young Church, so much lie as in its itinerancy: here anon, there anon, appearing, vanishing, simultaneously at a thousand places."† "Go yet out, O disciples," said Buddha to his followers, "and travel from place to place for the welfare of many people, for the joy of many people, in pity for the world, for the blessing, welfare, and joy of gods and men."

No special importance was attached to the dialect in which the "doctrine of deliverance" was preached. Buddha's words were confined to no language "I direct, O disciples," tradition ‡ makes him say, "that each individual learn the words of Buddha in his own tongue." And strange were the Missionary efforts of the Church at a time when to the popular mind the idea of non-Indian lands had "hardly a more concrete signification than the conception of those other worlds, which, scattered through infinite space, combine with other suns, other moons and other hells to form other universes."

TO THE FAR EAST.

Communication with the Far East was established very early. "Besides the sea-route from the Bengal coast by Ceylon to the

* Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Cullavagga, quoted by Oldenberg.

mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang, there were two great landways, which both began at Tonko in China, at the mouth of the Gobi Desert, dividing before reaching the Oxus, into the Northern and Southern passes of Teusan, and so on to the Indus.*" Another through Tibet, conquered by Taiso, added a fourth line of communication to the routes by Teusan and sea.† Northern Buddhism has justly been said to resemble a "great mountain ravine through which India pours her intellectual torrents upon the world." And "the contention that in Kashmir was made the most authoritative deposit of the doctrine, though it may or may not be true in the sense intended, has an inevitable accuracy of its own, deeper than the words imply."‡

During a long period of uninterrupted communication the process actually at work was "not the Buddhising, but the *Indianising* of the Mongolian mind."

INDIAN INFLUENCE.

How much Tibet owes to India cannot be ascertained till the search-light of modern civilisation penetrates into the Forbidden Land, which is still enveloped in a mist of mystery which keep it outside the pale of modern civilisation and impermeable to its influence. The cursory notes of frightened foreigners, who can seldom cross beyond the boundary line, cannot be taken to be sufficient data for an enquiry of this kind. But we know how not only Buddhism, but Hinduism also influenced the religion of Tibet. Like the interior of the Buddhist caves in India, the interior of the temples in Tibet is decorated with paintings of episodes in the life of the Buddhas as well as with representations of gods with dreadful countenances. The late Mr. Brian H. Hodgson says "that the walls of sacred edifices in Tibet are literally covered with pictures."

That the seeds of Indian art were scattered far and wide, will be evident from its influence on the art of the neighbouring countries. Speaking of the rock-cut caves of Bâmian, situated in a valley on the chief road between Kâbul and Turkestan, Maitland of the Afghan Boundary Commission says: "The whole interior of the niches, and particularly the arches over the heads of the idols, have been painted with what appears to be allegorical designs."§ But Buddhism was the chief factor in carrying the influence. It took the art to Ceylon, where it left traces on the famous temple Dalada Maligâwa. Fragments of

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† Even to-day the zealously guarded gates of Tibet are not closed to the *bonâ fide sanyâsin* from India.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xviii.

Buddhist pictures have been discovered in a cave in the fortress of Sigiri. In these pictures, as in the Ajantâ work, is to be marked a preponderance of green.

The origin of these caves in Ceylon is yet another example of Indian influence travelling beyond India in the wake of Buddhism. Every year Buddha for three months 'kept vassa' (spent the rainy season) "surrounded by groups of his disciples, who flocked together to pass the rainy season near their teacher. Kings and wealthy men contended for the honour of entertaining him and his disciples, who were with him, as guests during the season in the hospices and gardens which they had provided for the community."* Thus in the Buddhist records we read of the pleasure-garden Bê-nubana which the king Bimbisâra offered "to the fraternity of bhikshus with the Buddha at their head," and of the Jêtabana a gift to Buddha and the Church by Buddha's most liberal admirer, the great merchant Anathapindika—who bought it for a fabulous price.

"During the three months of the rainy season in which itinerating ceased, the monks were expressly forbidden to resort to a place of rest in the open, at the foot of a tree."† Thus the tradition of the Singhalese represents Mahinda,‡ the converter of the island, and his spiritual companions, before the rainy season sets in, dwelling near the capital in the park, which the king had placed at their disposal, 'with good view and rich in shades adorned with flowers and fruit, truly lovely . . . there is a beautiful lotus pool, covered with lotuses, white and blue; there is fresh water in beautiful springs, scented by sweet flowers.' But when the rainy season comes round, when in India damp weather sets in—in Ceylon itself these are the finest months of the whole year.§ Mohinda leaves the park and goes with the other monks to the mountain of Missaka, there to provide himself accommodation in the holes of the rocks. The king hears of this and hastens out: 'Why hast thou left me and mine and come to this mountain?' And Mahinda replies: 'Here we wish to pass the rainy season, three months long. Near a village or in the forest, or in a dwelling place, the door of which can be shut, has Buddha commanded the monks to dwell, when the rainy season come.' Then the king gives an order for eight and sixty cells to be hollowed out in the rock for the

* Oldenbore—*Buddha*.

† The reason is apparent—the rainy-season being very unhealthy in India.

‡ Mahindra son of Asoka.

§ See Rhys David's *Buddhism* in the series of Non-Christian Religious Systems.

monks—cells such as throughout the whole of India and Ceylon, lying often several stories one over the other, still mark indelibly to-day the old rallying points and centres of monastic life.*

In India these cave-temples are numerous. And this tradition about the origin of the cave-temples of Ceylon shows the conservative tendency of the oriental mind, which loves to follow with unnecessary accuracy even obsolete customs—simply because they happen to be connected with the name or the work of some of the numerous religious teachers or reformers—whose apotheosis again is not at all uncommon in India.

But it is needless to say that the influence of Indian art is more palpable on the art work of the East.

"The Jelālābād caves were very thickly coated (with plaster), and the surface painted with figures and ornament."†

In Sikkim a monastery "consists of a *gompa* or chapel round which are situated houses where the priests and monks live. At Tasiding there are two principal *gompas*, having overshadowing umbrella-shaped roofs: hatched with split bamboos and casting in sunlight very long shadows over the walls, which are of rough stone, the upper half being painted red. The windows are large, and the doorways are larger still, and all are of wood. The interiors, somewhat dark, have two stories, the beams and wooden pillars of which are well painted, and the walls covered with highly-coloured frescoes."‡ The frescoes on the walls of a chapel "are illustrations of the punishments in a future state, some of which would be suitable for illustrations of Dante's *Inferno*." The colouring is rich and good and the designs are spirited. "But the execution * * though in many respects giving signs of masterly cleverness, is so utterly deficient in ideality, and in many of the elements which constitute art as *we* understand it, that the ultimate effect would be thought, perhaps, by many to be grotesque and bizarre. This is, indeed, almost inevitable if the spectator sees the figures near; but they were manifestly meant to be seen at the distance of a few yards in a dim subdued light, with the window shutters arranged accordingly. When thus regarded, they form a striking study for a painter."§

This is exactly what can be said of the Ajantā work in which little attention is paid "to the science of art" as *we* understand it. "One of the students, when hoisted up on the scaffolding, tracing his first panel on the ceiling, naturally re-

* Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.

‡ Temple—*Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*.

§ *Ibid.*

marked that some of the work looked like a child's work; little thinking that what appeared to him up there as rough and meaningless, had been laid in by a cunning hand, so that when seen at its right distance, every touch "fell into its proper place."*

Waddell thus describes a "typical temple" in Tibet—"The temple interior is divided by colonnades into a nave and aisles, and the name is terminated by the altar. * * * The whole of the interior, in whichever direction the eye turns, is a mass of rich colour, the walls to right and left being decorated by frescoes of deities, saints, and demons, mostly of life-size, but in no regular order; and the beams are mostly painted red, fixed out with lotus rosettes and other emblems. The brightest of colours are used, but the general effect is softened in the deep gloom of the temple, which is dimly lit only by the entrance door."† This is rude imitation of the work found in Ajantā.

The walls of the Lhāsā Cathedral "are covered with rough pictures out of the biography of the founder of the religion."‡ Frescoes are mostly confined to the mural decoration of temples. The colours are very brilliant and violently contrasted, owing to the free use of crude garish pigments "imported from China or India."

The Tibetan pictures are "mostly paintings, seldom uncoloured drawings, and many of them are of considerable artistic merit. * * The costumes are usually Tibetan, when not Indian. The eye of the Buddhas and the more benign Bodhisats is given a dreamy look by representing the upper eyelid as dented at its centre like a cupid's bow, but I have noticed this same peculiarity in mediæval Indian Buddhist sculptures."§

The very same method was employed in the wall-paintings of Ajantā in India, and Horinji in Japan—the early Asiatic method of "covering the ground with white lime and laying upon this the rock pigments, which were accentuated and marked off from each other with strong black lines. Thus Confucius says 'all painting is in the sequence of white.'"||

CHINA.

Fergusson has shown that Nepal, in its architecture, presents us with a microcosm of India as it was in the seventh century, when Hwen-Thsang visited it; and that the Sikkim

* Temple—*Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*.

† The *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III.

‡ Waddell—*The Buddhism of Tibet*.

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

monasteries show a perseverance in the employment of sloping jambs as used two thousand years ago in the Behar and early western caves; and the porch of the temple at Pemiong-chi shows the form of roof which we are familiar with in the rock examples of India.* And we now proceed to consider the architecture and other arts of China.

We have already referred to the communication between India and China. And it is needless to add that missionaries, travellers, pilgrims and traders carried the cult and culture of India to the Celestial Empire. In China Confucianism provided the soil on which the seed of Buddhism afterwards fell. "It is, of course, possible that the missionaries of Asoka reached the Celestial Empire in the reign of the first Shin tyrant. But if so, they left little trace. The historical records which we can authenticate being about the year 59 A. D., when an ambassador of the Gettaes, then probably under Kanishka, gave to the Chinese scholar Saian, certain transactions of a Buddhist scripture. In 64 A. D., Meitei, a Häug Emperor, dreamt of a huge golden god, and on waking asked his courtiers for the meaning of his dream. It was this Saian, now a scholar of great repute, who proved able to explain about the Buddhism of the West, and he was sent next year, with eighteen followers, to the Gettaes, returning in 67 A. D., with Buddhist images and two monks, Matanga and Horan, claiming to be from Central India."†

An embassy is recorded to have come from India by way of Cochin China in 159 A. D. The name of Nāgārjuna is well known in China and Japan. "He followed in the wake of previous teachers, known as Asvaghosha and Vasunitra, the latter of whom had acted as president of Hanishka's council."‡

Communication with India became more facilitated by the extension of the Empire on the Pamirs, and the number of pilgrims to India, as well as the influx of Indians into China, grew greater every day. "There were at one time at Loyang itself to impress their national religion and art on Chinese soil, more than three thousand Indian monks and ten thousand Indian families; their great influence may be judged from their having given phonetic values to the Chinese idiographs, a movement which, in the eighth century, resulted in the creation of the present Japanese alphabet."§

This continued for a pretty long time "Zeu, from the word *Dhyān*, meaning meditation in supreme repose, was introduced

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ *Ibid.*

into China through Boohi Dharma, an Indian prince who reached that country as a monk in A. D. 520."* "Gensho (Hionen-Tsang) and Gijo (Iching), though noted for their records, are only two out of innumerable instances of the intercourse between the countries."†

Fergusson in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, justly deplored the scarcity of materials about China. But he has collected enough for the student to hazard an opinion.

The architecture of the country is a faithful index of its civilization, "which seems to have been stationary from the earliest times."

"The coast (of China) has excellent harbours, which must have assisted the intercourse with India and Assyria, &c., and the consequent influence of their architectural forms. The Chinese pagoda was a direct imitation of an Indian prototype, or may have been derived from the pyramidal many storied buildings found in lower Chaldæa."‡ This will become more clear, when we remember that the shapes of the Chinese dolmens are significant in their relation to the original *stupa*, and suggestive as the prototype of the "lingam."

"Chinese palaces were changed at once into Buddhist temples in an impulse of renunciation (during the Asoka period) only such alterations being made as would meet the new needs. The *stupa*, through its evolution of the tee, had, as early as the time of Kanishka, attained several stories, and when translated into Chinese forms, under the conditions of wooden architecture, became the wooden pagoda, as known to this day in Japan."§

"Wooden pagodas, built in the beginning of the sixth century, . . . seem more and more to have followed the Indian method of ornamentation, for regarding them we read of the great vase at the top, in striking reminder of the description by Goushe (Hionen-Tsang) of the ornaments of the Buddha Gaya Stupa, built in the same century by Amara Singh,|| one of the so-called 'Nine Gems of Learning' of the court of Vikramāditya."¶

Any person familiar with the rock-cut examples in India will easily recognise in the temple at Honan all the features he is accustomed to in the earlier Chaitiyas and Vihāras, though strangely altered by their Chinese disguise. The figure which stood in front of the dagoba is moved forward and placed on an altar by itself, with two companions added, in

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Fletcher and Fletcher—*A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*.

§ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

|| About 500 A. D.—See Cunningham—*Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. I.

¶ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

accordance with modern Chinese theology; but the general arrangements remain the same. * * * As early as the eleventh century the Buddhist Chaitya in India, standing in the centre of its Vihâra, had already been sublimated into an idol temple, surrounded by a series of idol niches, since there cannot be a doubt that the Jaina temple of Vimala Sah is a reproduction for another purpose of an old Buddhist monastery. The curious point is, that the eighteenth century temple of Honan reproduces, for their original purpose, forms, which in India had, seven centuries earlier, passed away to another faith, and become wholly conventional. It is still more strange that, if we leap over the intermediate period, and go seven centuries further back we shall find in India the same ceremonies performed in the same form of temples as those at which any one may assist in China at the present day.

"At Pekin there are several Lama series or Buddhist monasteries, of a much more monumental character than that at Honan, but it is very difficult indeed to guess at their arrangement from mere verbal descriptions without dimensions. The gateway of one * * * gives a fair idea of the usual mode of constructing gateways in China.

"It has three openings of pleasing proportions, and is as well designed as any to be found in China. Behind it is to be seen the dagoba, to which it leads: a tall form, with a reverse slope, and an exaggerated tee, so altered from those we are accustomed to in the earlier days of Indian architecture, that it requires some familiarity with the intermediate forms in Nepal and Burmah to feel sure that it is the direct lineal descendant of the topes at Sanchi or Manikgala." *

"In the rear of the Great Wall, in the Nankin Pass, there is an archway of architectural pretensions, and which is interesting as having a well-ascertained date, A. D. 1345. Its dimensions are considerable and it is erected in a bold style of masonry. The upper part is a true arch, though it was thought necessary to disguise this by converting its form into that of a semi-octagon, or three-sided arch. On the key-stone is a figure of Garuda, and on either side of him a Nâga figure, with a seven-headed snake hood, and beyond that a class of flowing tracery we are very familiar with in India about the period of its erection. Its similarity to the Nepalese gateway at Bhâtgaon has already been remarked upon † and altogether it is interesting as exemplifying a class of Indian ornamentation that came into China from the north. If we had a few specimens of art penetrating from the south, we might find out the secret of the history of Buddhist art in China." ‡

* Fergusson.—*Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

† *Ibid* p. 305.

‡ *Ibid*.

"Tombs, in consequence of the great reverence for the dead, are finished with care, and have respect paid to them. They are either conical, mounds cut in the rock or structural. Those of the Ming Dynasty (A. D. 1368—1644), to the north of Pekin, are entered through triumphal gateways of white marble and an avenue, a mile in length of colossal monolithic figures, thirty-two in number, and twelve feet in height, representing camels, horses, priests, elephants, lions, griffins, &c. Each of the thirteen tombs consists of an earthen mound, half-a-mile in circumference, and supported by a retaining wall twenty feet high, and seem founded on such monuments as the Sanchi Tope in India." *

In ancient India "sculpture in stone * * * was certainly employed lavishly, not indeed in the Chaitya halls, but on their façades and in the Vihâras. The oldest Vihâra at Bhâjâ is covered with sculptures, and so is the façade of the Ananta Cave, which is apparently the oldest cave at Katak—probably 200 B. C., but there is no reason for supposing that even they are the oldest. The art may have been practised long before then, though probably on wood." † Very early too images had become connected with Buddhism. And early Buddhist missionaries from India took with them these images to China.

"The stone Buddhas of the Tin Tâl in Ellora, though deprived of the plaster mouldings with which they were originally covered, are beautiful, with a self-contained grandeur and harmony of proportion. In them we find the sources of inspiration of the Tâng and Nara sculptures." ‡

Mr. Griffiths has remarked that there is "a Chinese turn in the Ajantâ paintings—in the drawing of the human eye and sometimes of the whole figure and in many ornamental details," § Mr. Fergusson too says that "the style * * * is not European, but more resembles Chinese art, particularly in the flatness and want of shadow." But he adds, "I never, however, in China saw anything approaching its perfection."

"In a previous paper we have tried to show that Mr. Griffiths' search after the source of inspiration in China cannot but end in failure; and the marvellous unity of style presented by Buddhist pictures of Tibet, Nepal, China, Japan, Burmah and

* Thanks to the endeavours of Cunningham, the date of the Sanchi tope is now well ascertained—

† The *Toran* gateways were set up in the first century A. D., say 80 A. D.

‡ The stone railings round the Stupa by Asoka about 250 A.D.

§ The Great Stupa sometime before Asoka, perhaps as early as 500 B. C."

See *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. I. p. xxiii, the *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 270, and Introductory note to General F. C. Maisey's *Sanchi and its remains*.

† Fergusson—*Archæology in India*.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ The *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantâ*.

Java can be very easily explained by the historical fact of the Buddhist art of India travelling beyond the mother-country in the wake of Buddhism.*

"It is clear that wherever Buddhism prevailed the art of painting flourished, and early records and traditions show that it was systematically studied and practised."† And the Indian origin of the Buddhist art of China and Japan is apparent.

Tā-Hien has said that he remained at Tāmralipti for two years "writing out copies of the sacred books (*Sūtras*) and drawing image pictures."‡

We have already referred to the communication between India and China, and described how Indian cult and Indian culture took root in the soil of the Celestial Empire. There is very strong reason to believe that the school represented by the great artist of the Tāng dynasty claims an antiquity of many centuries, "tracing its origin to India." The Buddhist art of India, as seen in the wall paintings of Ajantā and in the sculptures of Ellora Caves "thanks to innumerable travellers, gave its inspiration to the Tāng art of China."§

"There are many indications of the Indian origin of Chinese Buddhist art, amongst the chief of which are the almost invariable absence of Mongolian traits in the physiognomical characters given by the Chinese to the various divinities of the Buddhist pantheon, and the practical identity in point of dress, attitude and attributes, between Indian representations of certain of the divine personages, and the corresponding images produced in China and Japan. Again in the colouring of Chinese Buddhistic paintings the selection and arrangement of pigment, while very unlike the practice of the older secular school of China, often produce chromatic effects that strongly recall those of Indian work."||

The impermanency of the materials of the painter's art has unfortunately deprived us of the precious and suggestive relics which have taught so much concerning the archæology of Oriental sculpture and architecture, but there is no doubt that religious pictures were made in India before the adoption of the faith of Gautama in China. This being the case, the process of naturalization of Buddhist pictorial art upon Chinese soil may be readily conjectured. It is on record that the momentous Indian Buddhistic Embassy of the Emperor Ming Ti, in the first century of the Christian era (65 A. D.) resulted in the importation

* *Paintings in Ancient and Mediæval India* in the "Calcutta Review," July 1903.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā*.

‡ Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*.

§ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

|| Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

not only of Sūtra, but of drawings and images; and these were, in all probability, constantly augmented by the Indian Missionaries drawn into China in the cause of the great religion during the subsequent five or six hundred years, as well as by the collection of Fā-Hien, whose travels in India (899—414 A.D.) led the way in local research for the expedition of Hionen-Thsang two centuries later (A.D. 629—645). The works so acquired were the types upon which the Chinese artists founded the pictorial and other images demanded for the supply of the innumerable temples that rapidly multiplied over the face of their country.*

Thus did Indian art leave an undying influence on the art of China, where its success was something wonderful†

* Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

† There are some illuminated manuscripts of the Moghul period in the Khodabux Library at Bankipore. And it is interesting to know—and I have the authority of Mr. Macfarlane of the Imperial Library—that the illuminations in some of these manuscripts were actually done by Chinese artists. This proves the residence of some Chinese artists in India as late as the Moghul period. But long before this time had the Indian style influenced the styles of almost all countries in Asia, and had, owing to its decay in India, come to be generally known as the Chinese style.

I am indebted to Bābu Jadu Nāth Sircār, M.A., of the Patna College, for the following interesting note on some of these manuscripts:—

In most cases the names of the artists are unknown, but in some of the pictures the influence of the Chinese School of painting is unmistakable. Indeed a few of them, though undoubtedly old, look like copies of modern Japanese painted fans or screens. I note the chief points of the following books:—

(1) "The *Byazo*" (or collection) of Muhamed Husain Kashmiri (of Jahangir's time) 1010 A. H., contains less than six illustrations. The trees stand on a background formed by a golden hill, of which the upper contour is drawn but not the separate cliffs, peaks and fissures. It looks as if a gold foil with a jagged or undulating upper margin had been pasted on the sheet and the trees drawn on it. The flowers (mostly white, a few pink) look like encrustations of colour on the branches. Most of the flowers stand detached and not in bunches. Faces of men, of the old conventional type, absolutely expressionless, almost like eggs.

(2) "Masuavi of Shē'in and Khusran" by Hatafi, copied by order of Ibrahim Adil Shah (probably the 2nd of the name, died in 1628 ætatis 56). The same golden hill background, trees with scanty leaves and white or pink flowers encrusted in paint. One of the pictures is a very beautiful hunting scene—hunters on horseback, armed with swords, spears, bows, and daggers, slaying bears, lions and antelopes. Perspective wanting. But faces not distinctly Chinese. Landscape—of the old conventional style.

(3) A nameless History of the Mughal Sovereigns down to the 22nd year of Akbar's reign contains Shah Jahan's autograph on the fly-leaf. Many illuminations (full page) under each of which are given the names of the artist whose work (*aml*) it is of the artist whose method or style (*tarh*) has been followed. Names of some of these artists:—

JAPAN.

From China we turn to Japan. And here we are fortunate in having reliable records and careful critical works. For Japan has opened the gates to the tide of modern civilisation, and made herself civilised in the strictly modern sense of the word. Her example is unique in the East, and her success marvellous. She has accomplished the impossible.

Nand (नन्द) of Gwalior, Sarjan (सर्जन), the younger बनওয়ারी; names of some of the masters:—Farkhi (Farrūkhi), the elder Tulsī, &c. Characteristics—no perspective; buildings conventional; leaves stand distinctly, never forming a confused mass nor fading into the background; rocks coloured and a slight attempt to represent the fissures and outlines of rocks overlapping each other; foliage green and abundant.

(4) Shah Jahan-namah, said to have been copied in the eleventh century A. H. (about 1593-1690 A. D.): A series of historical pictures of the most elaborate workmanship; attention to the minutest detail, and dazzling brilliancy. (a) Eyes, necks, and faces beautifully shaded to represent depressions; (b) Faces distinctly Indian. Individuality mostly preserved and not "as like each other as eggs." The identity of Jahangir's (and also Shah Jahan's) features preserved throughout the series of more than a dozen pieces; (c) Well drawn deep blue sky fading towards the earth into white, with a few dim clouds (or cloud-like paint?); (d) Trees not well done. The leaves distinct even when standing in clusters; (e) Houses conventional, *i.e.*, angles seem unnatural; (f) Fine picture of the marriage of princes (Aurangzib and Murad?) Night piece; black sky, fireworks going off; fire in gold lightly touched with red; (g) Endless variety (and no repetition) in the dresses of the many courtiers; dress materials also various. Every pearl can be counted in the score of pearl necklaces worn by the Emperor, &c.; (h) Perspective recognised by the artist, though still in its rudimentary stage; (i) Trees too distinct and detailed in their parts, even in the distant background; (j) A most charming picture of the funeral procession of Shah Jahan—his jewelled turban on the coffin borne on men's shoulders. The Taj whitely gleaming in the distance. This last touch is too good to be purely Indian. I strongly suspect that all these pictures were drawn when European art had already appeared in India, and under its influence, but by native artists. In Southern India native artists might have come in contact with European works of art as early as 1700 A. D., or even earlier in the case of the courtiers of the Bijapur, Gujrat and Ahmadnagar Sultans, who were great purchasers of European goods and often received presents from European traders and travellers.

Contrast the above Indian illuminations with the following executed in Central and Western Asia:—

(5) Masuavi of Khasran, copied (and probably illumined) by Mir Ali for Sultan Abdul Aziz (of Bukhara—) in Bukhara. Faces Chinese or Mongolian; trees against golden hill background; long black eye-brows drawn in single lines as if the men painted their eye-brows (the exact copy of the faces of Chinese boys and well-to-do men seen at Calcutta); chub-nose; no *moustache* or beard (though Muhammadans!); full profile and well-developed lower face, (*i.e.*, cheeks and chin) in all figures (unmistakable Chinese style).

(6) *Majnuu* (collection) copied by Mir Ali (of Bukhara)—(a) Background surprisingly natural; rocks and trees not at all conventional. There are two coloured portraits at the end—a man and a woman

"A nation secluded from the world, bound with the iron fetters of a rigid feudalism, distracted by internal anarchy, and consisting for the most part of an ignorant, down-trodden, and unenterprising multitude, has become a strong and consolidated state, ready and able to make its voice heard and respected in the great councils of the world, with a constitutional government successfully tried by over ten years' working experience, a powerful army and navy, and a patriotic, courageous, and determined people, actively engaged in the administrative affairs of the empire, and displaying a high degree of political enterprise, both domestic and international." Her history has been written and her art has been studied and criticised. And her history and her art both reveal a vast Indian influence, which reached her with Buddhism.

"Indian influence on Japan is a vast and somewhat obscure subject. * * * In a sense Japan may be said to owe everything to India; for, from India came Buddhism, and Buddhism brought civilisation,—Chinese civilisation, but then China had been far more deeply tinged with the Indian dye than is generally admitted even by the Chinese themselves. The Japanese, while knowing of course full well that Buddhism is Indian, not only habitually underrate the influence of Buddhism in great matters, they have no adequate notion of the way in which smaller details of their lives and thoughts have been moulded by it. They do not realise, for instance, that the elderly man or woman who becomes, as they say, *inkyo*, that is hands over the care of the household to the next generation, and amuses him or her self by going to the theatre or visiting friends,—they do not realise that this cheery and eminently practical old individual is the lineal representative of the deeply religious Brahman householder, who at a certain age, her worldly duties performed,—retired to the solitude of the forest, there to ponder on the vanity of all phenomena, and attain to the absorption of self in the world-soul through profound metaphysical meditation. * * * The 'true name' which is kept a secret, is an Indian heritage. The fire drill for producing the sacred fire at the great Shintō-shrines of Ise and Izūmo seems to be Indian; all philological

respectively—one of them exactly like the picture of a Persian princess published in the *Journal of Indian Art* sometime ago—; both of them look like the figures on Japanese screens in several points.

(7) A copy of the *Shahnamah* transcribed by Shah Muhammad in Persia in 908 A. H. Background coloured rock and green trees; no gold hill. In the trees the foliage is in masses and not distinct and separate. The whole space within the outline of the leaves—of one uniform colour. No perspective.

* The *Quarterly Review*. October 1902.

research in the Far East is certainly of Indian origin, even to the arranging of Japanese syllabaries in their familiar order. * Not only can some of the current fairy-tales be traced to stories told in the Buddhist Sutras, but so can some of the legends of the Shintō religion, notwithstanding the claim confidently put forward, and too easily accepted by European writers, to the effect that everything Shintō is purely aboriginal. The very language has been tinged many learned words being of Indian derivation, and even a few common ones. * * * Indian of course is all Buddhist religious architecture and sculpture; Indian is the use of tea now so characteristic of China and Japan; India has dictated the national diet, fostering rice-culture and discrediting the use of flesh, which seems to have been a staple article of Japanese food in pre-Buddhist days. * *

"The idea suggested will bear elaboration, the steps of the process being in each case these:—first from India to China, second from China to Korea, third from Korea to Japan; or else from China to Japan direct, but this is less often except in comparatively recent times."†

The Japanese have plenty of fairy-tales, "but the greater number can be traced to a Chinese, and several of these again to a Buddhist, that is to an Indian source."

The combination of the Brahminical and Buddhist doctrines in India influenced the mythology of the latter, which acquired great masses of gods and goddesses "alien to the faith itself." And it is evident in the gods and goddesses still to be found worshipped in the Far East. Thus Fudo is Siva with "the gleaming third eye, the trident sword, and the lasso of snakes."‡ Kālī is represented by Kariteimo. Saraswati is Benten with the *vīra*, "which quells the waves." Kichijoten is Lakshmi. Taigensui is Kātekeya the Commander. And Shoden is the elephant-headed Ganesa.

"The Seven Gods of Luck have been swept together from many incongruous sources—Japanese Shintōism, Chinese Taoism, Indian Buddhism and Brahmanism."§ And this reminds one of the folk-story about three travellers meeting in Loyang. "One came from India, one from Japan, and one from the Celestial soil itself. 'But we meet here,' said the last, 'as if to make a face, of which China represents the paper,

* We have already referred to the Indians "having given phonetic values to the Chinese ideographs, a movement which, in the eighth century, resulted in the creation of the present Japanese alphabet."

† Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*.

‡ Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

§ Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*.

yon from India the radiating sticks, and our Japanese guest the small but necessary pivot."*

The first Buddhist *period* in Japan begins with the *formal* introduction of Buddhism from Korea in 552. Buddhism had spread to Korea from China. The account of the introduction of Buddhism into Japan to be found in the native history books is that a bronze gilt statue of Buddha, "with hangings and canopies" and some scrolls of the *sūtras* were presented to the Mikado Kimmei by the king of Hyakusai, one of the Korean states in A. D. 552. The Mikado was for accepting the new religion; but the majority of his council, conservative Shintōists proposed that they should reject the image. Only Iname of Soga proposed that the image should be worshipped "with due rites."

"The emperor decided the matter by entrusting the statue to Iname, in a spirit of tolerance, and it was placed in his villa at Mukobara for a time. But the pestilence and famine which raged in the ensuing year gave a pretext to the enemies of the Sogas, who promptly declared that such disasters came from worshipping alien gods. Thus they got permission to turn its accessories and throw the statue into the neighbouring lake."†

But such dire calamities followed on this act of sacrilege that the temple was soon allowed to be rebuilt. "Buddhist monks and nuns then flocked from Korea in ever-increasing numbers. Shōtoku Taishi, who was prince-regent under the Empress Suiko from A.D. 593 to 621, himself attained almost to the rank of Buddhist saintship, and from that time forward the new religion became established as the chief religion of the land though Shintō was never entirely suppressed. All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands, as was the care of the poor and sick; Buddhism introduced art, introduced medicine, moulded the folklore of the country, created its dramatic poetry, deeply influenced politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity. In a word, Buddhism was the teacher under whose instruction the Japanese nation grew up. As a nation, they are now grossly forgetful of this fact. Ask an educated Japanese a question about Buddhism, and ten to one he will smile in your face,—a hundred to one that he knows nothing about the subject, and glories in his nescience."‡

It is necessary to remember that long before the *formal* introduction of Buddhism from Korea in 552, and long before its *formal* adoption by the Court of Japan Buddhist monks and images were known in the country. Buddhism first reached China perhaps as early as the time of Asoka. And it is only

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*.

VOL. CXVII.]

natural to suppose that six to seven centuries were not required for the influence to reach Japan from China, the fountain-head of its ancient knowledge. We have already referred to the brisk communication between China and India. And it is not difficult to suppose that the wonderful missionary efforts of Buddhism did not stop in China. For instead of there being some insurmountable barrier between China and Japan communication between the two countries was free and flowing.

Before its formal introduction in Japan the cult had been gaining ground daily, in spite of conservative perversity and persecution. We know that the Korean priest, Donjei, and Doshin, arrived in Japan in 554 A.D., Chiso, a Southern Chinese, brought over images and sculptures ten years later, and Wumako, the son of Iname, who succeeded his father as prime-minister, erected Buddhist temples in 584. It is impossible, without supposing that long before the formal introduction Buddhism had been gaining ground in Japan, to imagine that the seed so unwillingly sown in 552 had by 584 grown into a mighty tree that gave shade and shelter to the wearied wayfarers of the Land of the Rising Sun. This formal introduction is nothing more than one of those landmarks of history which are useful in indicating the way the explorer should go. It should help the student in tracing the source of that influence which re-created Japan and not prevent him from proceeding further up.

Shibatatsu, of the Rio dynasty in Southern China, a devout believer, and grandfather of the celebrated sculptor, Tori, who is the most prominent figure in the arts of this period, had migrated to Japan thirty-one years before this formal introduction. And "his daughter became the first nun who worshipped the Buddhist images."*

Of course it is needless to say that with the formal introduction of Buddhism into Japan the prattling brook, which had so long flown through brambles and bushes chattering over stony ways "in little sharps and trebles" broadened into that mighty stream which—even to-day—satisfies the thirst of the seeker after truth in the Far East. What had remained hidden was proclaimed. The esoteric doctrine became exoteric.

"Doshō, a Japanese monk, had become a personal pupil of Gensho (Hionen-Tsang) in Choan, and returned again to Japan in the year 677."† A Brahman monk, named Bodhi, reached Japan just in time to conduct the inaugural ceremony of the "largest statue of east bronze in the whole world."

"The beginnings of Japanese art, as of almost all things Japanese excepting cleanliness can be traced to China through

* Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

† *Ibid*.

Korea. Even after Japanese art had started on its independent career it refreshed its inspiration from time to time by a careful study and imitation of Chinese models; and Chinese masterpieces still occupy in the estimate of Japanese connoisseurs a place only hesitatingly allowed to the best native works. Even Chinese subjects preponderate in the classical schools of Japan. Speaking of the productions of the classical Japanese painters, Dr. Anderson says: "It may safely be asserted that not one in twenty of the productions of these painters, who to the present day are considered to represent the true genius of Japanese art, was inspired by the works of nature as seen in their own beautiful country." Whatever Indian, Persian or Greek strain may be detected in Japan came through Korea and China in the wake of Buddhism, and is accordingly far less marked—if marked at all—in genuinely native Japanese paintings and carvings than in those archaic remains which, though often inaccurately spoken of as Japanese, were really the handwork of Korean or Chinese artists or of their immediate pupils."*

Of course the influence of the Hân school reached Japan from China before the influence of the Indian Buddhist art. And when in the Asuka period (550 to 700 A.D.) Buddhism called for a "new and grand" expression the art education of the Japanese was by no means of little consequence. On the other hand because the art education of the Japanese was by no means insignificant—because the soil was ready that the seeds of Indian art germinated so soon. It came from China in the wake of Buddhism.

"The religion and its art once firmly rooted in China, the seeds soon reached the Korean peninsula, and thence, in the sixth century, were conveyed to Japan. * * * With the advent of the elements of belief came the now inseparable images and pictures, mostly of Korean workmanship but including a few genuine remains of India (some of which are still preserved), and upon this basis was established the early Buddhist school of Japan."†

We have discussed at some length why, we think, Indian Buddhist influence reached Japan long before the formal introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century. Of course the Buddhist school of Japan dates from the sixth century. But it may safely be assumed that with Indian Buddhism Indian art too had reached Japan long before the sixth century. Long before this formal introduction Chinese art (coming often through Korea) had influenced the art of Japan. And even before that

* Chamberlain—*Things Japanese*.

† Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

the art of China had been considerably influenced by the art of India.*

It is by overlooking this fact and, perhaps, by assigning to the Hōriūji mural-paintings a date earlier than the date the Japanese themselves would assign that the late Professor Anderson has failed to find any impression of Indian art on these exquisite paintings. But we shall refer to them later on.

It may be interesting to note that in the art of the Far East, the Indian cobra was replaced by the Chinese dragon. And "the identity of the dragon and the serpent is often illustrated in Japanese art."†

"The elephant sometimes seen in Japanese work, is a Buddhist emblem, and is copied from Indian art."‡

The Japanese Buddhist temple comes from India, being a modification of the Indian origin. We have already shown how the Indian *stupa* became the wooden pagoda, as known to this day in Japan.

We have as well referred to the fact that in sculpture the stone Buddhas in the Tin Tāl in Ellora were the sources of inspiration of the "Tāng and Nara sculptures." "The art of the Nara period is reflected from that of the early Tāng dynasty, and has even a direct connection with its prototype in India, for many Indian artists," says the Japanese writer, "are recorded as having crossed over at this time to our shore."§ The gigantic Roshana of the Riumonsan may here be mentioned. "This statue, similar in type to the Buddhas of Ellora, is more than sixty feet high, and towers in great magnificence against the rocky precipice of the wonderful hill-side of Riumonsan, with a foaming torrent at its foot.||

* "The Chinese style (Kara rin), the fundamental essence of all Japanese art, had a fairly distinct history, dating back to the introduction of Buddhism into China (A. D. 62)"—*The Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX.

† Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

‡ Andsley and Bowes—*Kemari Art of Japan*. cf. "At Sānchi, and I may add, in all the Indian sculptures I have seen, elephants are exceptionally well carved."—General F. C. Mailey—*Sānchi and its remains*.

"While other animals represented in Hindu art are merely decorative and conventional, or awkward and ill-understood, there is invariably a strong feeling of nature in Hindu elephant sculptures and paintings. The contrast may be noticed in most old temples, but especially in the sculptured gates or tori of the Sānchi tope in Central India, where all kinds of animals are shown, but the elephant alone is carved with complete knowledge, and unvarying truth of action."—Lockwood Kipling—*Beast and Man in India*.

§ In a painting the elephant is seen in the paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajanta witness, for instance, the fresco in Cave XVII—which represents the coronation of the king who had conquered Ceylon; a group of elephants in the ceiling in front aisle (plate No. 153); wall painting, illustrating the story of the Chāradanta Elephant (Cave X)—Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajanta*.

|| Okakura—*Ideals of the East*.

|| *Ibid*.

In ancient Japan, as probably in ancient India, wood was often used for the expression of the sculptor's art "setting aside pre-historic and rudimentary essays in stone and metal, which have their special interest for the antiquary, we have examples of sculptures in wood and metal, magnificent in conception and technique, dating from the earliest periods of what we may term historic Japan, that is from near the beginning of the great Buddhist propaganda under the Emperor Kimmei (A.D. 540 to 571), and the princely hierarch Shōtoku Taishi (573 to 621)."

"The first historical period of glyptic art in Japan reaches from the end of the sixth to the end of the twelfth century, culminating in the work of the great Nara sculptors, Unkei and his pupil Kwaikēi. Happily, there are still preserved in the great temples of Japan, chiefly in the ancient capital of Nara, many noble relics of these six hundred years, but only a few of the number need be noticed here. The place of honour in the selection may perhaps be conferred upon sculptures in wood, representing the Indian Buddhists Asangha and Vasabandhu, preserved in the Golden Hall of Kōfukuji, Nara. These are attributed to a Kamakura sculptor of the eighth or ninth century, and in simple and realistic dignity of pose and grand lines of composition are not unworthy of comparison with some of the works of ancient Greece.* * * The wooden portrait of Vimalakirti attributed to Unkei, at Kōfukuji, Nara, has some of the qualities of the images of the two Indian Buddhists."†

The most ancient painting now existing in Japan is a Buddhist mural decoration in the temple of Hōriūji near Nara, believed to date from A.D. 607 and to be the work of a Korean priest. "For more than two centuries longer, art remained chiefly in Korean and Chinese priestly hands."

Referring to these decorations, Professor Anderson wrote in his *Catalogue*—"The connection between India and Japan in Buddhist art is beyond doubt, but there is equal certainty that it was established entirely through the intermediation of China and Korea; for although Indian priests have from time to time settled in Japan, one as early as A.D. 737, there is no evidence of the arrival of any artist from that country, nor are there any specimens of Indian art preserved in Japan that are likely to have made an impression upon the possessors of such gems as the Hōriūji mural paintings and the sculptures of the Two Deva Kings at Kōfukuji."

We have already said that during the Nara period many Indian artists are recorded to have crossed over to Japan. And there is nothing to prove that they did not go earlier.

* W. Anderson in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX (New Volumes).

† W. Anderson—*In the Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX (New Volumes).

Even taking it for granted, that the native historians of Japan are silent about the advent of artists from India their reticence cannot be taken to import that no Indian artists went to Japan. And, above all, we must remember that the source of Japanese art is to be traced to China, where the fountain-head had been tainted long before the stream reached Japan. We have already shown how early Indian art reached China to influence the art of the Celestial Empire, and how the latter was in fact influenced. And when the beginnings of Japanese art are to be traced to Chinese art—thus influenced by Indian art—it must be admitted that it was not necessary for Indian art to reach Japan through Indian artists. It is beyond doubt that Indian art reached Japan and influenced Japanese art through Chinese art.

Mr. Okakura—himself a Japanese artist and art critic of some distinction—assigns these Hōriūji wall-paintings to the beginning of the eighth century, and says that they show “what the Japanese genius had been able to add, even to the fine workmanship of the wall-paintings of the Ajantā caves.”*

It seems that Professor Anderson, though keeping his opinion about the date of the Hōriūji wall-paintings unchanged, afterwards considerably modified his opinion about the influence of Indian art to be found in these paintings. In a later paper† dividing the development of Japanese painting into six periods, “each signalized by a wave of progress”—he thus wrote of the first period (from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the ninth century: the naturalization of Chinese and Chino-Buddhist art,—“Tradition refers to the advent of a Chinese artist named Naurin, invited to Japan in the fifth century as a painter of the imperial banners, but of the labours and influence of this man and of his descendants we have no record. The real beginnings of the study of painting and sculpture in their higher branches must be dated from the introduction of Buddhism from China in the middle of the sixth century, and for three centuries after this event there is evidence that the practice of the arts was carried on mainly by or under the instruction of Korean and Chinese immigrants. The paintings of which we have any mention were almost limited to representations of Buddhist motives executed in the style of the Chinese masters of the Tāng dynasty‡ [A.D. 618—905(?)], notably WuTao-toz’ (eighth century), of whose genius romantic stories are related. The oldest existing work of this

* *Ideals of the East.*

† *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIX (New Volumes).

‡ We have already referred to the school represented by the great artist of the Tāng dynasty claiming an antiquity of many centuries, “tracing its origin to India.”

period is a mural decoration in the hall of the temple of Hōriūji, Nara, attributed to a Korean priest named Doucho, who lived in Japan in the sixth century; and this painting, in spite of the destructive effects of time and exposure, shows traces of the same power of line, colour, and composition that stamps the best of the later examples of Buddhist art.”

The scheme of colouring distinctive of the Buddhist picture “was almost certainly of Indian origin”—brilliant and decorative, and heightened by a lavish use of gold—essential to the effect of a picture destined for the dim-light of the Buddhist temple.

The activity and the influence of the Buddhist school continued unabated for a very long time. “There are . . . preserved, even in such comparatively recent works as the well-known Kamakura ‘Daibutsu’ in Japan, which is not much above six hundred years in age, many points of design, especially physiognomy and draping, that offer far more resemblance to the characters of the Græco-Buddhist sculptures of India, than to those of true Japanese art.”*

It is interesting to note that “colour decorations introduced, it is said, from China in the sixth century, is very generally applied to the inside and outside of Japanese temples. The beams, brackets, carvings and flat spaces are picked out in bright colouring and gilding, the colours being blue, green, brown, purple, modder and vermillion. The wall-paintings are generally on a gold ground, and represent animals, birds and flowers. Supporting pillars are usually black, red or gold.

“Among subjects for decoration, birds of bright plumage—as cranes, peacocks, pheasants, ducks—flowers, water-plants, trees, bamboos and lions are the most frequent, combined with weird and grotesque demons derived from earlier Indian sources and resulting in a curious mixture of conventional and realistic forms.”†

Coming now to the Ajantā paintings we find the principal colours to have been golden brown, white, various shades of red, dull green and a light ultra-marine blue. “In some places a kind of light pink, and in others a sort of cream colour, appeared to have been produced by mixture of these reds with the white.”‡

At Ajantā walls and ceilings are covered with paintings of figure subjects and ornaments full of invention and phantasy. Here, too, we have “flowers which bloom, birds which soar.” “In ornament the lotus—blue, white and pink, the mango,

* Anderson—*Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum.*

† Fletcher and Fletcher—*A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method.*

‡ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajantā.*

custard apple, pomegranate, gourd and other fruits and flowers, furnish themes for decorative phantasies which always fill their appointed spaces effectively.* Of plants we have the banana, the graceful *asoka*, the *palāsa*, the banian and the *pipal*. "The delicate foliage which fills in the spaces between the figures will give some idea of the power of these old artists as designers, and also of their knowledge of the growth of plants."†

In the Ajantā work princes and nobles are at once recognised by their characteristic "elongated faces." And an oval of exaggerated length has for centuries been the ideal of beauty in Japan.

We have already said that in the Japanese paintings "lions are most frequent." And here is a fact more salient than the rest. "It is noticeable (in the Ajantā work) that the lion and not the tiger is the favourite wild creature; the latter, indeed, but seldom appears. Sometimes the lion is shown in a jungle-cave of formal design."‡ Thus the influence of Indian art on the art of Japan becomes apparent. And it is to be hoped that in the near future some student of Oriental art will be able to trace the progress of Indian art from the land of Buddha to the Land of the Rising Sun, when many dark points in the history of both countries will become clear and the history of the East complete.

DECAY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA.

The question may be asked, how it is that the overshadowing influence of the Buddhist art of India upon the art of the Far East has been overlooked, if not altogether ignored by most art critics? Buddhism "has now been extinct in India for several centuries, leaving, however, all over that country, a legacy of gorgeous architectural remains and monuments of decorative art, and its living effect upon its apparent offshoot Jainism, and upon Brāhmanism."§ Even to the educated Indian Buddhism to-day is an obscure subject of which he knows nothing or next to nothing. Of the great religious teacher—perhaps the greatest the world has ever produced—he knows little beyond what was taught him by some primer of Indian history in a short paragraph. The people of India do not remember; neither do they understand how Buddhism has influenced and is even now influencing their life and literature, their religions and ideas, their arts and industries. Her historians have done this great religious movement—which was not confined

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajanta*.

† Griffiths in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III.

‡ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajanta*.

§ Waddell—*The Buddhism of Tibet*.

to religion only, but extended its influence to every department of human activity—but scanty justice, forgetting that it influenced not only India but the whole East. And art-critics—but recently drawn to a serious and systematic study of Oriental art cannot be much blamed for overlooking this point. Moreover China was, for a very long time, inaccessible to European art-critics who could apply to her arts modern methods of comparison and classification.

"If, Anānda, in the doctrine and the order, which the Perfect One has founded, it were not conceded to women to go out from their homes into homelessness, holy living would remain preserved, Anānda, for a long time; the pure doctrine would abide for a thousand years. But now, Anānda, that, in the doctrine and order, which the Perfect One has founded, women renounce the world and go into homelessness, under these circumstances, Anānda, holy living will not be long preserved; only five hundred years, Anānda, will the doctrine of the truth abide." Buddha said this when with grave misgivings he at last yielded to the pressure of his foster-mother Mahāprajāpati, to receive women as his disciples. The causes of the decay of Buddhism as it was left by Buddha himself are to be found in the system itself.

"The strength as well as the weakness of original Buddhism lies in its philosophical character, which enabled a thinker, but not the masses, to understand the dispensation of the moral law that pervades the world. As such the original Buddhism has been called by Buddhists the little vessel of salvation, or Himayāna; for it is comparable to a small boat on which a man may cross the stream of worldliness so as to reach the shore of Nirvāna. Following the spirit of a missionary propaganda, so natural to religious men who are earnest in their convictions, later Buddhists popularised Buddha's doctrines and made them accessible to the multitudes. It is true that they admitted many mythical and even fantastical notions, but they succeeded nevertheless in bringing its moral truths home to the people who could but incompletely grasp the philosophical meaning of Buddha's religion. They constructed, as they called it, a large vessel of salvation, the Mahāyāna, in which the multitudes would find room and could be safely carried over. Although the Mahāyāna unquestionably has its shortcomings, it must not be condemned offhand, for it serves its purpose. Without regarding it as the final stage of religious development of the nations among which it prevails, we must concede that it resulted from an adaptation to their condition and has accomplished much to educate them. The Mahāyāna is a step forward in so far as it changes a philosophy into a religion and attempts to preach doctrines that were negatively expressed, in positive propositions."*

* Paul Carus—*The Gospel of Buddha*.
VOL. CXVII.]

Then again—"The force of existing circumstances and the authority of the influential personages might perhaps for a time help to make up for, or conceal the utter want of organisation; finally however, the inherent impossibility of a Church without Church government, with ordinances which were only applicable to the narrow circle of a *côterie*, was certain to lead to ever-increasingly momentous consequences. Those deeply incisive schisms, which early arose and never disappeared, the weakening of the resistance opposed to Brâhmanism at first so successfully attacked, are phenomena certainly not unconnected with that fundamental defectiveness of Buddhist Church-organisation. If at last, after a long death-struggle, Buddhism has vanished from its Indian home, * * * we venture to think, that in the old rules of the community, in what they say and not less in what they leave unsaid, no small part of the preparatory history leading to that distant future is clearly enough depicted."

Such are the causes of the decay of Buddhism as it was left by the great teacher himself, and its ultimate disappearance from the land of its birth.

And this is why—as the Chinese after losing the works of art and the manuscripts belonging to the Sung and Mongol dynasties, the former being lost during the Mongol conquest and the latter in the age of the reactionary Ming, now seek in Japan the fountain head of their own ancient knowledge, so we in India after influencing the ideals of the East now seek in the art of the Far East the source of the inspiration of our own art, and when in some art relic of ancient India we discern what is known as the "Chinese turn" we at once rush to the ridiculous conclusion that the art travelled from China to India, and not as it actually did from India to the Far East.

Indian art may be in a moribund condition in India to-day, but it still survives and thrives in the art of the Far East which it modified, influenced, recreated and, in some cases, even created.

"When in the cloister gardens at Rājagha and Sāratthi the discourses of Buddha were recited among the assembled brethren, they bethought themselves also of the prophecy: 'Not a long time, Anānda, will holy living remain preserved; five hundred years, Anānda, will the Doctrine of the truth abide.' Who then foresaw, that after five hundred years the Church of the Buddhists would overspread India, and that its missionaries far beyond India, traversing the ocean, crossing the snowy ranges of the Himālaya, wandering through the deserts of Central Asia, would bring the faith of Buddha to nations, whose name even was not then named in India—to nations among whom its faith survived and still survives to this day, while in its

* Oldenberg *Buddha*.

parent land the spirit of the Indian people, which in endless play dashed into ever new spheres of thought and fancy, which relegated to nothingness the wreck of ruined worlds and rebuilt lost beauty, not always of greater stateliness, has long since permitted the Doctrine of Buddha to decay?" *

Similarly at the time of the greatest and most glorious development of Indian art who could imagine that when in its native land it has—owing to loss of liberty, introduction of foreign ideas and ideals and want of peace and prosperity—lost its tone and vigour, it would survive in the Far East expressing itself in wonderful activity and achieving wonderful results?

Let us hope, with the dawning of a new era on the civilization of the world a comprehensive history of Indian art will soon be written—in which Buddhism will be accorded its proper place in the development of Eastern art which by its unity in diversity interests the student of art and by its diversity in unity pleases those in whom the æsthetic sense has not become dull or dead.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

* Oldenberg—*Buddha*.

ART. VIII.—TYPES OF SOCIETY IN THE PUNJAB.

WRITING in 1892 Letourneau said the right of property begins in collectivism and tends towards individualism,* yet he went on to point out that among the most primitive races rights of property depended on the constitution of the tribe, which was of two types, republican and monarchic, at a very early stage of development, and it has been demonstrated by Seebohm and other writers, that the earliest system of land-holding, the most ancient tenures known to us in Northern Europe depended on and are explained by the tribal systems. Thus it is of the highest interest and importance to examine the organization of Indian castes and tribes, to see if their system exhibit any differences in type, and if so, to enquire whether those differences affect their social life and ideas of property.

The two types noticed by Letourneau certainly exist in India or at least in the Punjab, though in many instances, as might be expected, they overlap, and it is almost impossible to draw a well-defined line of demarcation between them. In practice a purely republican, or communistic tribe is as rare as a purely aristocratic or monarchic one, but the two types exist side by side and can be very clearly seen to affect the social life of the people in various ways.

In the first place they affect land-tenures, and to the present writer at least Letourneau's theory has made many of the bewildering intricacies and apparent inconsistencies of the land-systems of the Punjab readily intelligible. Briefly it may be said that it furnishes the key to a work, like the late Mr. Baden-Powell's *Indian Village Community*.

In the next place the theory throws a flood of light on what at first sight appear to be the hopeless contradictions and anomalies in the social systems of the people. There are in fact two social systems, one, the monarchic founded on individualism as Letourneau points out, the other the communistic. In that stage of evolution at which all but a few Western nations have arrived, women are chattels, and being themselves property are usually incapable of becoming actual owners of property. Each type of society starts with this conception, but the monarchic tribe makes woman the property of the individual and holds to monogamy or polygamy, while the communistic regards her as a chattel common to the brotherhood or at least to some section of the brotherhood of the tribe and accepts polyandry or com-

munistic marriage just as it accepts the communal tenure of its land.

Another theory which may be advanced tentatively is that, in those tribes which are truly monarchic and which carry the principle of subjection to the tribal chief to an extreme, there will arise a tendency for the chief to become a superior proprietor of the woman of the tribe—just as he possesses an eminent domain over its land—and thus is evolved a *droit de seigneur*, which, whether it ever existed in Europe or not, can be shown to have been known in ancient times among monarchic tribes in the Punjab.

Thus the two types of tribal society may be shown to develop distinct types of land-tenures and marriage laws, and this is in strict accord with the trend of primitive thought which draws a close analogy between women and land. Examples are easily given. Thus among the Biloch a murder is committed by *wanni*, the payment of a girl, or *banni* a gift of land, to the murdered man's relations. In Sanskrit, the son by a levirate marriage was called *kshetraja*, a word connected with *khet*,* a field. And the idea is not confined to India, for it was a Roman belief that the *feriae* were proper for the marriage of widows, but not of virgins—*quia tergere veteres fossas liceret feriis, novas facere jus non esset*.† We may also compare the simile used by Oedipus ‡ and there is a well-known passage in the Quran which need not be quoted.§

There is a third field in which the two social types appear to play an important part, and that is religion. There is some reason to think that the distinctive cult of the aristocratic or monarchic tribes is that of Vishna the Thakur or lord, while the communistic tribe worships the Earth-god, the common benefactor of all. It may be however that these cults, which are certainly subjective as primitive cults so often are, reflect rather the occupation than the social system of the tribe and that the aristocratic or military tribes worship Thakur as the war-lord, while the democratic tribes whose rôle is the cultivation of the soil worship the Earth-god. This subject is however beyond the scope of the present paper, but incidentally it may be remarked that the close connection between women and land, is reflected in religious ideas, for we find that the gods or saints revered by the peasantry are also worshipped by all women, the object being equally in either case to gain fertility by saintly intercession or divine power.

* Jolly's *Recht and Sitte*, p. 70.

† *De Marchi, II Culto Privato di Roma*, p. 152. Curiously enough a similar notion appears to exist among the Muhammadans of the Punjab.

‡ *Oedipus Tyrannus*, line 1245.

§ Satti's Translation, *Chandos Classics*, p. 23.

* *Property; its origin and development*, p. x (Contemporary Science Series).

With these remarks we may turn to a consideration of the various castes and tribes which are organized on either system, and examine some of the more important results of those systems. The castes organized on an aristocratic basis are best exemplified by the Khatri and the Rajputs, two castes well-known in northern India. But the aristocratic system is not confined, by any means, to the high castes, for owing apparently to the institution of clientship the lower castes who are attached to or dependent on these castes imitate their organizations and adopt many of their social rules. Such castes are the Nais.

Other important castes such as the Aroras and Bhātias also have a social organization like that of the Khatri, the reason probably being that these castes are of Khatri descent. That the lower and dependent castes should imitate the higher in this respect, need cause no surprise, for we know from Dickens that a gentleman's gentleman takes rank according to his master's social position, and the hereditary relations between the higher castes, and their dependents are so close and constant, that they naturally adopt their social prejudices, much as a Roman freedman took his patron's name. Further the Brahmans, in spite of their sacrosanct character, reflect in their social organization the system of their patrons, and if this appear inconsistent with their priestly functions, we may remind our readers of the position of the chaplain in great houses in England in the eighteenth century. Anyone who has read Esmond, will at once realize what the social dependence of the priestly caste is in the East.

The organization of the Khatri caste differs from that of the Rajputs, and the latter again comprises many varieties of the type. Nevertheless the guiding principle is the same in both cases, and at the risk of being tedious, we may describe the Khatri system in some detail. It is best represented by a diagram.

There are three main groups:—

1. The Bari or group of twelve (*barah*) sections or *gots*.
2. The Bunjahi or group of fifty-two sections,
3. The Sarin (? from Sanskrit *śreni* a line or row), the mass or ruck.

In theory but not in reality the Bunjahi contains fifty-two sections and the Bari usually *does* contain twelve, and it will at once strike the ingenious reader that there are in a year twelve months and fifty-two weeks, but whether there is any connection between that fact and the Khatri system, and if so, what the connection is, does not appear. But whatever the origin of these groups may be, there is an acknowledged fact, viz., that a Khatri of the Bari group may marry a Bari, Bunjahi or even a Sarin bride, but he may not give his daughter in marriage to a Bunjahi or *a fortiori* to a Sarin. In other words the three groups are hypergamous.

But this is not all. Each of these three groups is farther divided into various sub-groups, also hypergamous. Thus we have a Bāri-Bunjahi sub-group, i.e., the 12 upper-crust *gots* or sections of the 52 Bunjahi *gots* and a Bāri-Bunjahi Khatri may take a bride from, but not give one to a Khatri of the 40 remaining Bunjahi *gots*. So too we find a Bāri or elder and a Chhoti or junior Sarin sub-group, with a similar rule. The most interesting (and complicated) grouping is, however, that found among the Bāris proper, i.e., the first group. Here we have a highly ingenious grouping though the ingenuity is a little misdirected, and we find among the Bāris

Dhaighar or the group of 2½ houses	
Charghar " " " 4 "	
Chheghar " " " 6 "	
Baraghar " " " 12 "	

to eliminate a number of less important and often local complications.

Now the Dhaighar group does not contain 2½ families or houses or *gots* (sections), nor does the Charghar contain 4 *gots* etc. Whatever these terms originally meant they now imply simply this—that a Dhaighar Bāri Khatri will only give his daughter in marriage to two-and-a-half, i.e., to three (the No. 3 being it appears too unlucky to be mentioned) *gots*: while to a Charghar is allowed a greater latitude and he may marry her in any one of four *gots*: and so on. In other words the more restricted the circle within which a Khatri permits himself to bestow a daughter the higher his position in society—and *vice versa*. Social status does, it would seem, depend on the extent of the circle within which a man may marry, though generally (but not universally) he must marry a Khatrani, i.e., a woman of the caste.

Such in outline is the extraordinary system of the Punjab Khatri. Its results are far-reaching, and the social evils to which it gives rise manifold and deplorable. In the first place, to begin at the bottom of the scale, the Sarins, especially the junior group, must have a difficulty in obtaining wives, and as the article is scarce there is keen competition for it, so girls are sold and the cost of marriage raised. The prohibition of widow re-marriage, common to the whole caste, adds to the cost. Farther when wives are not procurable illicit unions with girls of other castes—with whom marriage is impossible—are found, and the demand for such girls is met by a system of trafficking in women which baffles the police and the magistrates, because however immoral it is not illegal.

In the middle groups the results are still more curious. Compelled on the one hand to purchase brides from the lower groups for their sons, families of the middle class have also, on the other hand to purchase sons-in-law for their daughters from the groups

which are above them in the social scale, so that they are mulcted on either side. In a sense the highest groups are in a singularly favoured position for, by practising a modified form of what is known as Kulinism in Bengal, their members can exact substantial dowries from their brides' parents, their consent to accept a daughter from a lower group having to be purchased at any cost.

The evil results of this social system are manifest. The upper classes within the caste are constantly recruited from the lower, not by a system of natural selection, but from the most sordid motives. The wife being often in reality purchased, though the fact of purchase is disavowed, and as often of lower social position than her husband, must inevitably occupy a low place in the household and thus the whole position of women in society is hopelessly and permanently degraded. It may indeed be suggested that the chief cause of the inferior position accorded to women in modern India as compared with that assigned to them in Vedic times is due to this, the leading idea of the social system. In the higher groups there is but little room for the daughters of the family. As families of equal status can always obtain brides from a lower group there is a difficulty in finding husbands for their own daughters and as an inevitable result they are neglected.

The effects of this on the physique and intelligence of the caste may be imagined. Girls are neglected. If not deliberately killed at birth in the manner beloved of primitive and savage societies they are less tenderly treated than boy-children and no officious attempt is made to keep them alive. The wealthier and well-to-do families whose children would be naturally stronger in mind and body than those of their poorer caste-fellows are tempted to lower the standard of breeding and refinement by a succession of *mésalliances*, and to a certain extent Indian society itself recognises this danger, for it is not uncommon to find that marriage with a girl of lower status is only permitted in alternate generations, the position of a family being lowered unless every second generation mates with a bride of its own standing.

Such is the system of the Khattris, the great trading caste of the Punjab. That of the Rajputs, one of the great land-owning castes is similar in principle but differs in its details with the locality in which it is settled. In the Kangra Hills, the home of a very ancient type of Hindu civilization, never contaminated by close association with, or subjection to a dominant Muhammadan race, there appear to be in theory seven grades of what may be termed society. Below these grades are the artizan and menial castes which are outside the pale, but within it are the rude peasantry whose daughters may aspire, by a series of hypergamous marriages, to become the mothers of a queen in seven

generations. Here again the higher groups are constantly recruited from the lower so that purity of blood is almost unknown. At the bottom of the social scale is the Ghirth (possibly from the Sanskrit *grihastha*, householder) a petty cultivator, living in the lower valleys amid rice-fields, and in consequence of inferior physique. Yet as the proverb runs, in the seventh generation the Ghirth's daughter becomes a queen and thus, equally with the Khattris, social progress, based on equal marriages and a rational position accorded to women, is out of the question. To describe adequately the intricacies of Rajput society generally, would hardly be possible. It is in a constant state of flux, the social position of each family varying incessantly. One family has never yet regained the status it lost by giving a daughter in marriage to a Sikh ruler who, as a Jât, was outside the ring-fence of the Rajput fraternity. Probably the taking of a Jât's daughter to wife, would not have appreciably lowered the family's position. Thus we have the curious result, so opposed to European ideas, that contamination of the blood is not effected by marriage with an inferior or a commoner, but that the surrender of a daughter to a husband of lower status inflicts an indelible stain on her family.

The study of the Rajput system, nebulous as it is, is full of interest. At the head of the social scale stands the *rájá* or king, but he is anything but a monarch nor is his power by any means absolute. His eldest son is the *tikka* or heir designate, his second is the *dothuin*, his third the *tirthain*, and so on. On the accession of the *tikka* custom, inexorable in this as in everything else, requires that he should endow his younger brothers with a substantial share of his dominions, and each cadet of the ruling family exercises semi-sovereign powers in his own fief. Thus a Rajput State is almost invariably split up into several sub-states, allowing allegiance to the main state, but constitutionally subject to it only so far as their submission can be enforced.

H. A. ROSE.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Census of India. Volume XVII. The Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. Part I. Report by H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Simla, Government Central Printing Office.)

MR. Rose adorns his title-page with the aphorism "Statistics accumulate and Knowledge decays." Is this a warning to the enthusiast, who deduces everything from statistics and reduces everything to statistics, or is it a mere cry of exhaustion after a monumental work, similar to Solomon's, "of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh." It must be a weariness of the flesh certainly for the Statistician to have to answer such questions as the following, addressed to him by the Census Commissioner. "What are the actual working beliefs of the ordinary man? What are his standards of right and wrong, and what does he suppose will happen to him if he disregards them?" The different answers furnish food for thought, not only as indicating the many religious beliefs held in separate Provinces, but as showing the different attitudes assumed by the Western and presumably Christian men responsible for answering the question in each Province. The chapters in this Report on Religion and on Civil Condition are exceptionally interesting, in spite of the fact that Mr. Rose states that he did not expect to have to write a chapter on religions and so had not attempted to collect information on the subject. There is a marked increase in the Mohammedan population in contrast to the Hindu, although the Mohammedan is the poorer, the more thriftless and the less energetic, and felt the effects of famine much more severely. Mr. Rose attributes the fact to the Hindu artificial restraints on marriage, and to the law excluding females from succession to land, "making the Punjab the land of sons only," just as the Code Napoleon has made France the country of *le fils unique*. The fact that Hinduism is rather a social than a religious system in the Punjab accounts for the absence of any new Hindu sects in the past decade. The tendency of Hinduism to form Sects is exemplified even in that neo-Hinduism the Arya-Somaj. "In the Jullunder district it has split up into two or three sections, each differing from the other on minor religious points and there is at present but little harmony among them." The members of the Arya-Somaj only number 9,105 adult males in the two Provinces out of a population of nearly 25 millions. The Christians number 71,864 and are subdivided under 14 headings: the English Church numbers

over 40,000; of the others only the Roman and Presbyterian number over 5,000 adherents. One is reminded of the clever account in a London newspaper of the new Church of Humanity, which went down to worship in one four-wheeler and returned in two hansoms, not because there had been fresh conversions but because there had been a schism. That Christians are wearying of these perpetual schisms is possibly shown by the fact that nearly 16,000 "Christians" in the Punjab returned themselves as such, without giving any denomination. Of these quite one-half were natives. It is possible that a certain number of such vague returns may have been due to a dread of the consequences if they made their denomination known. We have known an English village where pious Anglicans preferred to have their linen ruined or to put up with bad eggs sooner than patronise the only good laundry and poultry farm in the place which happened to be a Roman Catholic Nunnery. The same petty persecution prevails in many Hospitals, and not only in England, so that many a good nurse conceals the fact of her being a Roman Catholic as it may mean that she is not appointed. Episcopalians suffer in the same way in Presbyterian Scotland, and we have heard that in a certain Scotch regiment the recruiting sergeant is paid by the regiment double the ordinary sum for each recruit if he should be a Presbyterian. Considering our extreme toleration for "non-Christian" religions, and our Quixotic "justice" in this country so as to be almost biassed against our own colour, it is time we put a stop to such invidious distinctions on religious grounds in secular matters. This by the way.

The reviewer is not a Roman Catholic, but fails to see how there can be Roman Catholic eggs or Protestant soap or Anglican bandages. It is quite possible that some such reason as this exists for the vague return noticed.

A sect interesting as illustrating the origin of Islam and of various early heresies and likewise of some mediæval superstitions is described under the title of Chet-Ramis, a cross to speak between Hinduism and Christianity, such as very likely to arise under the methods of open air "Christian preachers."

"The sect was founded by one Chet-Ram some thirty-five years ago. His father was a shop-keeper and money-lender. He was a man of little education. When twenty-five years of age he began his mission and soon gathered round him a number of disciples. He died about 1895 and his daughter was installed as his successor"—(herein following the traditions of the Booth Family). "He was burnt near the village of Bhuchoke, where three fairs are held annually to commemorate his memory. Implicit confidence in Christ as the only God was the chief basis of his teaching. A copy of the Bible was to be worn by each of his disciples round his neck: they were also to carry a long rod with a cross at its

head." (The Oriental mind sees no antagonism between the Gospel and ritual.) "The front portion of the rod bears the inscription 'Help, O Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, God! Read the Bible and the Gospels for Salvation.' His followers belong mainly to the poorer classes. They are to be met with chiefly in the Lahore district. Forty persons are always to subsist on alms and preach the teaching of Chet-Ram. These are to remain celibate all their lives. The number of his followers is increasing day by day, but Hindu converts do not mix with Mohammedan converts and caste prejudices remain untouched." Are these Franciscans of the thirteenth century or the Salvation Army of the nineteenth? The lack of the real Christian spirit however is proved by the last remark; the genius of caste and race is too much for this new religion.

Mr. Rose mentions several other interesting features of various sects. In a house of the Zinda-Kaliana sect, is a sacred fire which has been kept burning for four centuries. What generations of faith and devotion have been necessary for this result! The same sect practises as an ascetic act sleeping on the ground. After a death and before and after a marriage this is practised even by the laity: no resident or pilgrim at Khangah Dogran and Sakhi Sarwar may use a bed out of respect to the saints there worshipped. Mr. Rose recalls the *σελλός* or priest of the Pelagian Zeus who had to sleep on the ground "with unwashed feet."

The worship of the Gaddis is as Catholic as that of decadent Rome or of the Athens of St. Paul. On Sundays and Thursdays Nags and Sidhs are worshipped, on Tuesdays Devis and so on. The Birs are worshipped on Thursdays, one of them Kailu Bir the nomen of abortion being worshipped by women only, presumably in this heathen and oriental land where children are still "a heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord," with a view to averting such disasters. Autars are the spirits of persons who have died childless and who are therefore supposed to cause sickness. Bengali Mohammedans believe that such a spirit becomes a will o' the wisp, reminding one of St. Jude's "wandering stars to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever." To propitiate an autar, a sickman puts on special clothes with an image of the deceased and then worships the autar or idol which is always kept near a stream. In addition, the Gaddis believe in sprites of springs and wells, and of rocks. They have curious marriage customs too; in one peculiar to themselves, a woman early in pregnancy puts aside four copper coins with her necklace in the name of the Nag Kailung. Two or three months after delivery she worships the Nag, putting up a large stone under a walnut or wild-pear tree and sprinkling the blood of the right ear of a white goat over a cloth which she wears till worn out. No

other woman may use this sheet. These pretty domestic customs remind one of the vows of Old Testament mothers and of the Christian custom of Churching the woman "decently apparelled" and offering "accustomed offerings." The lack of such services in the forms of Christianity which have sprung up since the Reformation emphasizes what has been so often noticed, the points of resemblance between the great heathen religions and Catholicism. As Keble says "The occasional services constitute from their personal and domestic nature the most perfect instance of that *soothing* tendency in the Prayer Book which it is the chief purpose of these pages to exhibit." (Preface to the "Christian Year.") One other curious custom of the Gaddis is the wearing of the "crown of the rival wife" by a second wife to avert the hostility of her dead rival. This jealousy on the part of the dead, whether the childless or the dead first wife, is an echo of the shades of Virgil who still long for the warmth and the Sunlight of earth, but to it is added a malevolence unknown to the happier Western nature.

In Chapter IV Mr. Rose has some interesting remarks on the subject of the habitual misstatements of natives as to age.

"There are three chief causes or motives which lead to misstatement of age:—inaccuracy of thought, vanity, and superstition. The first is beyond all doubt the most efficacious in this part of India in vitiating the age returns. Just as distances are measured (in the hills at least) by the number of halts required to enable you to have a good smoke (a *pakka tambaku*), or merely a few whiffs (*kachcha tambaku*) while grain is measured by the handful and land by the quantity of seed required to sow it, so ages are not counted but described; and there is no doubt that the phrases in use convey to a native a much more vivid idea of a man's age than mention of his precise age in numbers would do. In Jhelum phase, nau-jawan signifies — 15-25 years.

jawan	...	25-40	"
pakki umr	...	40-50	"
buddha	...	over 50	"

In Kurram a man's age is judged like a horse's by mark of mouth.

warukai ghakh, of small teeth	...	under 15
manz ghakh, of middle teeth	...	20-35
pokh ghakh, of full teeth	...	35-70

Obviously to ask people who think in this picturesque but rather primitive way to translate their thoughts into numbers is expecting too much.

The tendency of women "of a certain age" to understate it affects European returns as well as native. Yet I doubt if the effect is very marked, except in the case of girls of a marriageable age for whom no husband has been found. . . . The tendency

of the old to overstate their age is perhaps to a certain extent counterbalanced by the feeling that it is luckier to understate one's age than to exaggerate it.

Superstition has remarkably little effect.

Mr. Rose notes great difficulties in obtaining correct ages of children and considers that we have failed to obtain accurate data. The statistics show that there is, as in England, a greater mortality of males than of females in the first year of life; but "as soon as that is past the difference between the Punjab conditions and those of England is very striking, for there the mortality in both sexes is the same from the 3rd to the 35th year of life, and after that females die less rapidly than males, whereas in these Provinces females die more rapidly in proportion to their numbers than males up to the age of forty." We believe that this difference is due to the large number of unmarried or of purposely childless married women in England, and of our scientific obstetric methods at home. In India, almost all women are married, and they run far greater risks in childbirth. By the way, it seems unreasonable that in England, women should pay a higher premium for life insurance than men, if the statistics are as Mr. Rose states. In any case unmarried women or women over forty should not have the five years added to their real age before calculating the premium, which is usual with Life Insurance Companies. Talking of life insurance, special care is needed in insuring the lives of young widows in India; it is obvious that as re-marriage of widows is not usually practised even where as in the case of Native Christians and Mohammedans it is allowed, the widow does not run this extra risk of childbirth. The expectation of life is therefore in her case greater than that of the married woman under forty, and she is not likely to leave any children she already has unprovided for. The temptation therefore to relatives to assure her life and to shorten it artificially must in some cases present itself. We know of one such case discovered by a lady doctor in Bombay, and on her information the Company refused the life on suspicion of intended foul play—the candidate being a healthy young Hindu widow under twenty without children whose life was only of value to her family from the point of view of her life-policy—

The proportion of females to males for the province is low. Mr. Rose thinks the causes are in the main social not climatic.

If they were climatic our data for seasonal birthrate would surely show some traces of the influence of climate. If they were economic we should certainly find that the lower and poorer castes had invariably a lower ratio of females than the higher but the converse is generally the case. The law of hypergamy which compels a man to marry his daughter in a group of

higher or at least equal social status to his own, accounts in some degree for this paucity of females. Again, there is the very important law which forbids the taking to wife of the daughter of a sacred group or conceivably of a sacred village. It is not merely that a Sayad could not give his daughter in marriage to a layman, but that the layman would deem it sacrilege. This feeling that certain groups are sacred belongs to all great religions and is so deeply-rooted that it appears to have extended so as to forbid the taking to wife of a girl born in a village which has become sanctified by the birth of a holy personage within it. . . . Vaguely we may say that in a rude half civilized society the weaker sex will go to the wall and probably the general conditions of existence in these Provinces are as a whole inimical to female life, but this does not explain why the Sikhs should have a lower ratio of females than the Hindus (whilst the Granth condemns female infanticide as one of the four deadly sins) and the Mohammedans a higher ratio than either. Alike among Mohammedans, Hindus and Sikhs, there are no rejoicings at the birth of a girl. The Mohammedan social system with its disregard of many artificial restrictions on intermarriage is favourable to female life.

Mr. Rose instances one extraordinary reason for male infanticide, namely as the remedy for barrenness in another woman and so, often perpetrated by her or in her behalf. He thinks that the idea that a bronze knife must be used and that as much pain as possible must be caused, points to its origin in human sacrifices. The idea that a dead child's life may be re-transferred to its mother or to another woman and born again into the world seems clear from many practices. A dead girl is hidden in the jungle and told "Don't come back but send a brother." Dead children are frequently buried at the threshold, with the idea of keeping the life in the house. The tribes of Central Australia believe "that the spirit part of the child goes back at once to the particular spot whence it came and can be born again at some subsequent time even of the same woman." The idea that the first born son has his father's spirit in him, accounts for the infanticide of the first born if a girl. So deep is this idea of the father's spirit passing into the first born son, that amongst the Kochhar, the father's funeral rites are actually performed in the fifth month of pregnancy; and they perform the ceremony of *dev-kaj* or divine nuptials, i.e., the ritual re-marriage of the parents after the birth of their first son. Another reason for infanticide is the belief that certain children are unlucky, e.g., the second of three girls in succession, and a boy that comes between two girls. Unlucky male children can be handed over to religious orders, which are not open to females, except in the case of Buddhists. Mr. Rose thinks cases

of infanticide still occur, but usually more in the form of unconscious or semi-conscious neglect of females. The chapter on Civil Condition gives many interesting particulars as to marriage. It seems that in Chamba, Ambala, and Hoshiarpur there is as much antagonism to the re-marriage of widowers as of widows. Mr. Rose considers that the objection points to a time when marriage was regarded as a sacrament and so inviolable, and without the clause "till death us do part" of our English ritual. Twenty per cent. of women over 15 are widows among the Sikhs and Mohammadaus, 24 per cent. among the Hindus, owing probably rather to the earlier age of marriage among the Hindus than to their prejudice against re-marriage. The proportion is less than in 1831, which points to a gradual increase in widow re-marriage.

Polygamy is much less common than is usually supposed. It is rare among the higher Hindu castes. Six per mille among Hindus and Sikhs, 11 per mille among Mohammadans are polygamists. It is commoner among the lower agricultural tribes, possibly as a remnant of the idea by which a man inherited his brother's wife or wives as among his household goods; but practically a wife is an investment, as most of the field work is done by women.

Polyandry in the lower classes of the Tibetans of the Punjab and the enforced celibacy of all sons except the first born are evidently forms of prudential restraint on population. The Kanets of Bangahal do not limit their sons, but the property devolves on the youngest. Speaking of polygamy, 18 native Christians are noted as practising it—presumably recent converts. Mr. Rose makes no note on the matter, which is peculiar. The very lax way in which marriages are performed in this country outside the Churches of Rome and England may account for this anomaly.

The whole report is deeply interesting, a mine of wealth in folklore as well as in statistics necessary for political and economical purposes—and forms a curious contrast to the cheaply-acquired and hastily-published impressions of "Paget M. P."

Census of India, 1901, Volume XXVI, Travancore, by N. Subramanya Aiyar, M.A., M.B., C.M., Dewan Peishcar, Census Commissioner.

THIS volume is another of this fascinating series of probably the most interesting blue books in the world. It presents special features, being a Native State, one of which is that the Census Commissioner is a native of India; he was appointed without prejudice to his duties as Sanitary Commissioner and his medical qualifications must have given him some special

facilities for the work. The wild nature of the country rendered a night census impossible. The travelling population, and the houseless poor were enumerated at night, the resident population on the following morning. Dr. Subramanya Aiyar considers the census remarkably accurate and notes that the attitude of the people towards it was one of unsuspecting tolerance if not of positive helpfulness. Canards about the intentions of Government were conspicuous by their absence and there were no Census offences. The volume opens with some remarkably good coloured maps, a feature missing in some other volumes of the Report. Among the Native States of Madras, the largest is Travancore, its area is 7,091 square miles. It is smaller than Baroda and only one-twelfth the size of Hyderabad or Kashmir. It is a little smaller than Wales and covers 1 per cent. of the aggregate area of all the Native States and Agencies taken together. Its total population is close on 3 millions, a greater proportion for its area than almost any other Native State, Mysore with four times the area, has only double the population, while Kashmir has a smaller population. Wales has only half the population of Travancore. The density of population is 416 to the square mile, a proportion only exceeded by Bengal with 494 and the United Provinces with 445, and Cochin which is the most densely populated Native State with 596. Kashmir has only 36 persons to a square mile. As the General Report points out, "A low specific population density may imply pressure as much as a high one, and conversely great density is not incompatible with a high standard of comfort." Dr. Subramanya Aiyar remarks:—In a country like Travancore where the Agriculturist class predominates and where large manufacturing industries are comparatively unknown, the distribution of the population is mainly determined by the scope and facility for procuring the means of subsistence from the soil. Where the physical configuration of the country, as in the north-eastern parts, interposes permanent obstacles to the extension of agricultural operations, a keenly felt population pressure may co-exist with an extremely low density. Where however these obstacles are absent as in the littoral and deltaic regions, the density or specific population may be high; but the pressure with reference to the extent and capacity of the land may admit of still further increase. For gauging pressure the census records cannot supply the materials. Only nine places are censured as Towns, i.e., places with over 5,000 inhabitants. Their average population was 20,000, higher than that of all other Native States except Kashmir which are only two towns, but with an average population of 80,000. The largest town in Trivandrum, the residence of the Maharajah, but it has only a small seaport, and Quilon, one of the oldest towns on the

VOL. CXVII.]

coast, promises to regain its important commercial position with the opening of the Tinnevely—Quilon Railway—Kottayam is interesting as the centre of the Syrian Christian community and the site of the most ancient Syrian Church in Malabar.

Travancore is interesting as being next to Cochin, the most Christian territory in India. Nine religions are distinguished in the census schedules—Hinduism, Mohammadanism, Christianity, Animism, Sikhism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism. Three persons have been found who have added the "religion" of "Atheism" to the list. Of these, Hinduism numbers two millions and Christianity comes second with nearly 700,000. There were 227 Buddhists, 151 Jews, 15 Sikhs, 7 Zoroastrians, and 1 Jain. For every 10 Hindus there are 3 Christians and 1 Mussalman. Since 1891, Hindus have diminished by 327 while Mussalmans have gained 25, and Christians 302. During the last decade for every 5 persons added to the Hindu community, 2 have left for the Christian fold. The tendency to collect in towns is strongest in Mussalmans, weakest among the Christians. The Christians of Travancore are divided into Romans, Syrians, and Protestants under which latter heading is included the Anglican Church. The Romans were 377,500 to 226,619 Syrians and only 88,590 Protestants—but that it is the last of the three that is proselytizing most actively is shown by the percentages, of which the figures are, Roman + 27.8, Syrian + 21.3 while the Protestant percentage is + 97.8 during the decade.

The absence in Travancore of the Sectarian Spirit leads numbers of both Christians and non-Christians to make no return under the heading of sect. There has been absolute toleration in religious matters since very early days. The history of the reversion of the Malabar Hindus to their original non-Sectarianism is, says the Commissioner, "wholly centred in that great philosopher and saint of India about the time of the traditional visit of St. Thomas—Sri Sankaracharya. "He preached that all created things are manifestations of a Supreme Eternal Spirit and openly proclaimed the absence of difference between Vishnu and Siva, laying down sectarian neutrality as an inviolable law. With a wisdom which reminds one in many ways of the Catholic Church, he allowed the practice of any rites prescribed by the Veda or by orthodox teachers, to those who could not rise to a philosophic conception of the Godhead. In this he was at one with St. Dominic and his Rosary, or Wesley and his hymns—men of whom it may be said "*Beati qui intelligunt pauperes*," the Latin more pregnant than the English translation "Blessed is the man that considers the poor and needy." Consideration may be learnt, but the man and woman that *understand* the spiritual needs of the simple and unlearned are born not made.

In our review of the Punjab Census Report, we mentioned not only this evident weariness among many of Sectarianism, but the growth of strange sects exhibiting a sort of cross-strain between Christianity and Hinduism. Islam is an example of a similar cross between Christianity, Judaism, and the old Arabian superstitious. There is a sect in Travancore known as the Yuyomayam Sect which arose in some of the extravagances of millennium—seeking Protestants and now exhibits a curious combination of Catholic and extreme Protestant traditions with Sanskrit religious phraseology and invocations adapted from those of the Brahmins, suited to their converts, and a certain lingering of caste rules. Its history is as follows: In 1875 Justus Joseph, descendant of a Brahmin Protestant convert of two centuries ago, announced that the millennium would begin in 1881. He aroused considerable enthusiasm in the six years preceding that date, which naturally cooled off after it had passed uneventfully. He maintained a certain following, by interpreting his prophecy differently, with either a sublimity of faith or a refinement of chicanery, and now gave out that the absence of faith in God was the darkness he preached against, and that the establishment of his sect denoted the millennium. He managed to retain the allegiance of some of his followers, even with only this modified millennium to offer them. The sect has a High Priest of the family of the founder. Tithes are levied on the faithful. There are no Churches, and a service is conducted in the house of some adherent, which is a striking combination of Catholic and Protestant features.

"Bread and water are placed on a table. The people stand round and pray in silence for a few minutes. Prayer is then said and Hallelujah sung. After this portions from the Old and New Testaments are read. With the pronouncement of the benediction by the priest, the service closes, and the consecrated bread and water are distributed among the congregation. Occasionally there is a short sermon. Neither men nor women may wear ornaments; the women wear the clothes of caste Hindus. Marriage takes place in the presence of the priest and is registered. Animal food is forbidden. They dispose of the dead in their own premises like the Malabar Hindus, but do not cremate them. They have an era of their own, dating from October 1st, 1881—"

The Commissioner accounts for the fact that out of a total of nearly 700,000 Christian 23,000 (3.3 per cent.) have not recorded their sect, by saying that the Native-Christian is usually ignorant as to the name of his sect. That is just as well perhaps where we find as separate sects in the Census Schedule Anglican Church, Church Mission, Church of America, Church of England, Church of Ireland, Episcopalian, S. P. G. Mission, and Protestant—all called "Anglican Communion" in some of the Census Tables.

It is the fashion to judge of the accuracy of an Indian Census by the nearness with which the female total approaches that of the males. It is considered that "the neglect and contempt" with which women are treated is accountable for their numerical inferiority in most parts of India. Human nature is apt to prevail in man and it is not our experience that women are, as a rule, either neglected or despised in India. Reticence as regards domestic life is early taught to all boys of decent family and accounts for misstatements to male census officials. In Travancore the purdah hardly prevails at all and the succession through the female line causes girls to be as much cared for as boys. There has been marked improvement in the proportion of the sexes in the last two decades, showing improved census methods.

The chapter on civil condition is interesting as giving some account of the practices of the Nayers, (also well described in the little book on Malabar which we review elsewhere) or Nairs. Advocates (? like Bernard Shaw) of relaxation of the marriage tie can see the system fairly at work in Travancore. It is striking that those brought up under its influences are anxious to adopt the more orthodox views of the West and indeed of other parts of India. "Marriage is relatively less universal, juvenile marriage less common, and immutable widowhood less prevalent here than elsewhere." In Travancore as in England the number of spinsters is in excess of the number of married women. "In regard to the married, the condition of wedded happiness is not lifelong. With nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the males in the later years of life the housewife has failed and the support of the household in the case of $\frac{1}{2}$ the females. The Animists have the largest proportion of married folk, and the Christians come second—Musalmans come highest in both bachelors and spinsters and Animists lowest. Hindu bachelors and Christian spinsters are proportionately more numerous. We must attribute the large proportion of unmarried Christian women partly to their education by nuns, Catholic or Protestant, and must here enter a protest against the danger of educating these girls to consider the life of a teacher or nurse higher than that of a housemother. It may possibly be that, in the abstract, a life devoted to pious and charitable ministrations to the many, may be higher it is certainly less rewarded by earthly happiness) than that of similar ministrations to the few near and dear—but Indian women are very seldom capable of this life; Western women have been trained under other skies, in a more bracing moral atmosphere, have better mental training, and the traditions of hundreds of Christian generations. The training of girls in large schools does not develope such good wives and mothers as the training of home life. The Roman Catholics are, we think, the most successful of all the Christian bodies in not raising their converts to too high a standard of

education so as to unfit them for the monotonous domestic duties of the Indian home. We want "a creature not too bright and good, For human nature's daily food." The Education Statistics show that out of a population of 2,900,000, no less than 2,600,000 are illiterate: that is only 1 person in 8 is literate, the male literates being 7 times the females. The advance of female education is seen by the fact that 5·7 per cent. of girls between 15 and 20 can read and write, whereas over that age the percentage drops considerably. The highest degree of literacy is found in the Taluks where Christianity has been longest at work, the Native-Christian showing a literate percentage of 15·7 in all. As might be expected the hill-tribes are the least literate—only 2 per mille. Christian women are of course far ahead of the females of any other religion in literacy, Hindus come next, Christians showing 52 per mille, Hindus 25 per mille. Musalmans only 10 per mille while the Animistic women are practically uneducated. There are only 238 per mille illiterate Eurasians, a result we should think largely due to the Convent Schools. As regards literacy in English, 1 person in every 220 can read and write English; no doubt a larger number has some speaking acquaintance with it. This proportion is less than in Ajmere, Merwara and Bombay, but is equal to Madras and Mysore, all the others coming behind. Of the languages for which statistics have been collected for India at this Census, 41 have been returned from Travancore.

Census of India. North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Part III, Provincial Tables and Appendices. By R. Burn, I.C.S.

THIS volume forms the last of the three of which the Census Report for the United Provinces is composed. It gives us nothing to add to our review of the first two volumes in the January number. It is well arranged and clearly printed; the totals appearing in larger type are easily seized by the eye. The subjects of the Provincial Tables are the variations in population, the population by religion, literacy by religion, ages of the population of municipalities above 10,000 inhabitants, and numbers of adherents of particular sects of Hinduism and Muhammadanism. The appendices treat of the details of the Census operations, the deaths registered under the Infanticide Act, and other vital statistics.

International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.—Volume III, Part I. Physics, Part I.

Volume IV. Part I. Physiology including Experimental Psychology, Pharmacology, and Experimental Pathology. Part I. Price Rs. 21 each. Published for the International

Council, by the Royal Society of London. (Harrison & Sons, London.)

THE International Catalogue of Scientific Literature is an outgrowth of the catalogue of scientific papers of the nineteenth century published by the Royal Society. It was Professor Hedry of Washington who first suggested such a catalogue. There is both an author's catalogue and a subject catalogue in each volume: and the schedules and indexes are given in English, French, German and Italian. So good is the acquaintance of most German Scientists with other continental tongues that the German catalogue might almost have been omitted. The possibility of preparing a complete index of current scientific literature by international co-operation was first taken into consideration by the Royal Society in 1893. It was evident that the work was beyond the power of any single body. An International Conference of delegates from all countries was held in London in 1896, a second conference in 1898, and a third in 1900. The Royal Society organized the Central Bureau, and undertook the office of publishing the catalogue. The supreme control over the catalogue is vested in an International Convention to be held every fifth year, and in the interim by an International Council. The catalogue comprises all original contributions to seventeen branches of science—Mathematics and the Physical Sciences—Psychology is only included where experimental as in the volume just issued. The Honorary Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is responsible for the Regional Bureau of India. Dr. W. T. Blanford represents India on the International Council. Sir Michael Foster and Professor Armstrong are among the members of the Executive Committee and the Director is Dr. Forster Morley.

Annual Progress Report, Archaeological Survey Circle, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, year ending 31st March 1902.
Government Press, Allahabad.

EVERY one who feels a real interest in our Indian Empire must be grateful for the work done year by year by the Archaeological Survey of India, there is a kind of *noblesse oblige* about the very existence of the department, working as it does to restore, renovate and preserve countless temples, mosques and tombs which otherwise would fall into decay; the large-hearted Titus did not wish the temple of Jerusalem destroyed, no doubt he would have founded an Archaeological Survey of Palestine if such had been the manner of his day.

Perhaps no higher tribute to the talent of the late Mr. E. W. Smith could have been paid than the simple statement occurring time after time in the Report that such and such a work

had come to a standstill owing to his death—a pillar not broken but with the capital partly carved, imagined to be the work of the hand that is still, might well be the monument to inspire others to finish what he has so well begun.

If we may venture to criticize the Report at all, it is merely to point out that there seems not to be always an entire harmony in the spirit in which the work is carried out,—to illustrate this we give the following extracts:—

Itimad-ud-daulah's Tomb, Agra.—His Excellency the Viceroy visited this tomb in December 1899, and disapproved of the mural paintings in the vestibule, which had been restored by the Public Works Department some seven or eight years ago. His Excellency ordered that "the whole of this modern work should be removed, and if, as is possible, the original designs below have faded or been obliterated beyond recognition, the panels should be repainted with as close an approximation as possible to the designs and colours in the neighbouring untouched panels." In October 1901 the Archaeological Surveyor submitted to Government an estimate for the restoration of the old paintings, which His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor approved. In November the modern paintings were drawn and photographed, and the modern work of the northern side was removed and the walls reprepared. When so much was done Mr. Smith died and the work was stopped by the order of Government.

Again,

Modern cloister like buildings in the courtyard of the Diwan-i-Am, Agra Fort.—His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor sanctioned Rs. 260 for the demolition of the modern cloister like buildings on the north-east and north-west sides of the Diwan-i-Am in the Agra Fort. With the permission of the Director-General of Military Works, Simla, the demolition has been carried out by the Provincial Public Works Department.

Every one must feel that all this is very right, but feeling so what are they to think of the following:—

Restoring the Sirhi Darwaza at the Taj.—This work comprised (a) general structural repairs, (b) restoring black and white marble inlay work of the finial columns, and (c) plastering the interior surface of the entire south wall of the quadrangle. The surface of the plaster has been coloured to imitate red sandstone, and by slightly varying the shades of colour a good suggestion of the general appearance of the original sandstone facing has been produced at a small cost.

This work was highly approved of by the late Lieutenant-Governor.

It is enough to make Ruskin turn in his grave, and that little touch "at a small cost," puts out the lamp of sacrifice and leaves an evil smelling wick instead.

Perhaps the sham sandstone was a necessary expedient, but why defend its use by an appeal to the kindly remark of the late Lieutenant-Governor. If a man has the misfortune to wear a glass eye he does not boast about it, however clever the invitation and however moderate the cost!

Some Notes on the Geological Survey of India in the Shan States.

[It is with very great pleasure that we have read the General Report of the Department of the Survey of India for 1900 and 1901.

It is of course entirely unnecessary to add the adjective 'thoroughly' to any description of the work of this Department, as all their operations are carried out with great conscientiousness which is only to be expected when one considers the position deservedly attained by the Department under the régime of its present able and indefatigable head.

Trigonometrical Survey.—In this direction it is noteworthy that the Government of India is carrying its operations into the Northern Shan States, and it is to be hoped that the public will now shortly learn something about this little known territory which is at present practically forbidden ground.

It is of course an open secret that the district N. E. of Lashio situate near the valley of the Nam-ma river is richly auriferous and we may expect to hear of very large gold-deposits being found and eventually worked, which must undoubtedly open up the country to commercial enterprise and benefit the Government to no small degree.

The evidences of gold are many, and from observations made by the writer who has lived in the Shan States and examined the district thoroughly, he is led to think that the gold which is now known to be alluvial will be found in large quartz reefs which are noticeable features of the range known as the Nam Hong Leng Hills. The formation of the country is largely dolomitic and sandstone with quartz stringers running through it. The direction taken by these lodes is chiefly N. E. by S. W. and to all appearances continue right down to the Salween River and will probably be found continued across the stream into what is now called the Wa States. With the survey maps which the Government has now in its possession and should publish, the public may hope to know more of this truly beautiful and salubrious climate, and may, in the near future, help to open up the Northern Shan States.

The little known Lushai Hills have met with attention and we note with great satisfaction that the more important portions of this survey have been completed and that the whole will shortly be finished. In Kashmir and adjoining territories the department have not been idle, for although interrupted and retarded by an exceptionally heavy season some 5,000 square miles have been covered in the direction of Gilgit through the Kaghan Valley. In Kashmir this department has also surveyed 3,224 square miles on behalf of the military authorities.

Kangra and Simla districts have also been surveyed and some six miles covered.

Topographical Surveys.—It is here to be observed that the Government are pushing operations in this direction also, and we see that the Lashio Section of the Northern Shan States has met attention, and that the surveys of the town and environs of Hsipaw is now completed.

Hsipaw is a flourishing town on the direct line of the Mandalay Kunlong Railway and is the capital of the Shan State of the same name, being 40 miles distant from "Lashio," the latter place being at present the terminus of the line which we hope to see carried on to the Chinese frontier, tapping on its way the richest and most important portions of the Shan States and thus opening up a direct route to Canton through the fertile province of Toungu.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti) by J. B. Stoughton Holborn. [Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture Series—George Bell and Sons, London. pp. 156.]

THESE little handbooks are worth possessing if only for the charming reproductions of the works of the Old Masters which they give in abundance. Of the 156 pages of this monograph on Tintoretto 38 are taken up by photographs of his best known pictures. A few of these are too crowded to have justice done to them in such a small page, for example the "Massacre of the Innocents" and the "Crucifixion." The "Last Supper" however is well reproduced, and even the "Study for Il Paradiso" justifies the author's remarks of the picture itself. "The picture is impossible to reproduce, being nearly eighty feet long. The unity that is preserved throughout this composition is its most marvellous quality, and one which on *a priori* grounds it might have been urged was impossible with so many figures. It is thus a Paradise indeed. The one unfortunate circumstance is that Christ and the Virgin are the least satisfactory part of the whole picture." The "unity of action" is indeed plain even in the reproduction of the study for the picture, and here affords a marked contrast to Fra Angelico's *Paradiso*, in which the minor saints are engrossed in the welcome of their guardian angels and dance a happy dance with them in childish innocence and gladness, while the great saints, unconscious of these gambols at their feet, are rapt in the Beatific Vision. Tintoretto's is more the orthodox middle class conception of heaven as a place, where as the child Donovan has it "people sit on a cloud and sing hymns." Bernard Shaw in his last work "Man and Superman" gently satirises this conception. "At every one of these concerts in England you will find rows of weary people who are there not because they really like classical music, but because they think they ought to like it. Well there is the same thing in heaven. A number of people sit there in glory, not because they are happy, but because they think they owe it to their position to be in heaven. They are almost all English."

We own to a weakness for Fra Angelico's idea. There are some great saints who are only rightly represented as rapt in the Beatific Vision, such as S. Bernard of Clairvaux who could travel all day by a Swiss lake so lost in contemplation of

the premonitions of that vision that he could not tell his monastic hosts in the evening by what route he had come; but the majority of us look forward to the fair flowers of Paradise at our feet, the green pastures and still waters, and the welcome of the guardian angels, the Supernatural unseen before, or the human whom we have loved long since and lost awhile. Tintoretto's picture, however, gives an idea of the great multitude which no man can number and of their voice, the voice of many waters. Only a truly religious layman such as Tintoretto or such a devout Religious as Fra Angelico can take in hand the representation of the *Urbs beata Hierusalem*. One could wish that Tintoretto's picture lent itself more easily to reproduction: for a copy of such a picture would help its possessor through many a weary day of this brief life. "Quo illi pervenerunt, per gratiam Tuam me venturum confido."

Mr. Holborn gives several interesting comparisons of works by Tintoretto with those of Titian. To his mind Tintoretto is the greater artist of the two and indeed the greatest artist of all. Indubitably Tintoretto's little Virgin being presented in the Temple is far sweeter in her childish purity and dignity than Titian's rather commonplace dumpy little girl.

The "Ganymede" in the National Gallery, put down in the catalogue as "School of Titian," is ascribed by Mr. Holborn to Tintoretto, and certainly the picture, put side by side with a flying angel from his "Descent of Christ into Hades" does remind one forcibly of the "Ganymede." It is a fact that Tintoretto did paint Ganymede on the eagle's back, as a fresco on a dyer's house in Venice, close to the Ponte del Angelo; some fragments still remain. A story told by Ridolfi of Titian's jealousy of his little pupil Tintoretto accounts for the fact noticed by Mr. Holborn that Titian's Virgins, even his Virgin of the Assumption have none of the fervour of religion, not even the fervour of one who loved his fellow men. The nobility of Tintoretto's own character is well shown in the little anecdote his enthusiastic biographer gives at the end of his chapter on "Titian and Tintoretto." After the victory of Lepanto the Senate chose Titian to celebrate the event, with Guiseppe Salviati as his assistant. "Titian was at this time so old that it was clear that the undertaking was beyond his power and Tintoretto, at length approached the Doge, pointing out that Titian's great name would only shield the inefficiency of Salviati." It might be said that this conduct was self-seeking under the guise of unselfish anxiety for Titian's name, but his offer to execute the picture *without payment* shows his patriotism, while his offer almost if not quite unprecedented in the annals of any art "to remove his own picture if anyone should produce a better representation of the battle shows his disinterestedness."

It would be well if more of our so-called patriotic and charitable acts, great or small, were marked by a similar spirit of self-effacement. It was Tintoretto the layman that painted a *Paradiso* which rivals in conception that of the Religious Angelico, this little anecdote shows a character which partook of the humility and "poverty of spirit of the cloister." No wonder then that Tintoretto's "Last Supper" far exceeds in interest both human and Divine that of Leonardo da Vinci, with which we are so familiar. Some one is needed, some Arundel Society, to render more accessible pictures with so much religious teaching as Tintoretto's. Mr. Holborn says: "It is not strange that the layman and art patron have generally preferred the beautiful and magnificent colouring of Titian, with its slightly meretricious tendencies to the finer and more restrained harmonies of Tintoretto's brush. It requires an even more educated eye to appreciate form than colour, and so the galleries of Europe contain better examples of Titian than of Tintoretto."

Ruskin is a conspicuous example of a layman (but had he not some claims to be considered an artist?) whose judgment was sound on this point.

Mr. Holborn mentions the criticism that Tintoretto could not paint the tenderness of a woman's face. We agree with him that the lovely maternal expression of the Madonna in his "Madonna and Saints" contradicts this idea, though the total absence of all expression whether of shame, penitence or apprehension from the face of his "Woman taken in Adultery" does give some ground for the accusation. The book like all of this series is worth possessing, at the very moderate price of Rs. 5. But why is no volume on Fra Angelico forthcoming?

Cornet Strong of Ireton's Horse, by Dora Greenwell McChesney—(pp. 343) John Lane. London and New York.

THIS story is the last of four which the author has written of the times of the Great Rebellion—we call it so advisedly for it was a rebellion, though the author's sympathies are on the side of the rebels and she prefers such terms as Puritans, or Parliament men. In spite of her Puritan bias, the author depicts some lovable characters on the Royalist side, even, with unusual fairness, two Irish Papists, brother and sister.

The two most striking features of the story are the love-match between this Irish girl and the young Puritan Captain, celebrated be it noted by a Church of England parson, who had enlisted in the Puritan ranks. The other episode as unlikely and much less picturesque is the one that gives its title to the book. The identity of Cornet Strong is well con-

cealed, too well we think since the author wishes us to be touched. We are more than a little revolted to find that the Cornet is a woman; women have fought before now and remained women, when it was in defence of home and children as was often the case in the days of the early settlers in North America; but this Puritan soldier who forgets her sex in her religious zeal and would rather kill her long lost son than disobey what she takes for the Divine Voice, is a justification of Ruskin's dictum "Let a girl study anything you like except theology." Scripture and ancient history give instances of men whose stern sense of religion or patriotism has made them executioners to their own kin; but it was Abraham not Sarah whose obedience was tested with such severity by Him, whose own Son was to be born of a woman. It is a right instinct that makes us feel that Jael and Judith and Charlotte Corday need apologists, and in their case it was their country's enemy they killed, and one does not recollect that any of these women were mothers. Cornet Strong's anguish at discovering her son to be, as she supposes a traitor, and her tenderness to him when the two were prisoners together, do not altogether remove the unpleasant impression. The exclamation of her son's young Irish bride, who alone knows the secret of the Cornet's sex, when the Cornet says: "At the word of God I smote down my first born and the child I had vowed to His service"—is echoed by the reader. "Mother of God! and you that were made a woman!" It is a fine study of character of course and of an unusual character thrown on unusual times, but it does not make pleasant reading, and one is glad that the author adopts the only possible solution of the difficult problem that faced the young couple with such a mother—a soldier's death for Cornet Strong. The illustrations and get-up of the book are charming and the history graphic. The author has seized upon the main characteristics of the Puritan generals and represents them in their conversation with singular art—Cromwell's care for his soldiers, Fairfax's chivalry, Manchester's supineness are all well drawn. Flynt is not a historical character but is excellently drawn as a type of the philosopher, who might almost equally well have joined either side; he affords the touch of humour otherwise almost totally lacking, as it is so apt to be lacking in women's literary work.

Barlasch of the Guard. By H. S. Merriman. London, Macmillan & Co.

IN this book Mr. Merriman lives up to his already great reputation. It is a story of Napoleon's advance and retreat from Moscow, and of the siege of Danzig, in which city the nar-

native begins and ends. There are many characters claiming our attention—the heroine Désirée Sebastian, daughter of a French nobleman who has escaped the guillotine, passing his last days in plotting against Napoleon; Charles Darragon, her careless husband—who all along plays the traitor's part,—and his friend, Colonel Casimer, no less a traitor. Mathilde, her wilful sister, and Louis Darragon, her husband's loyal sailor cousin,—but before them all Papa Barlasch,—who gives his name to the story stands out in his battered existence, an example of loveliness, and chivalry. Barlasch, at last, gives his life to bring happiness to Désirée—and this is how it came to pass :—

"Where is Barlasch?" she asked, with a sudden sinking at her heart.

"He is coming slowly," replied Louis. "He came slowly behind you all the time, so as to draw the fire away from you."

They turned and waited for Barlasch, who seemed to be going in the wrong direction with an odd vagueness in his movements. Louis ran towards him with Désirée at his heels.

"Ca-y-est," said Barlasch; which cannot be translated and yet has many meanings. "Ca-y-est."

And he sat down slowly in the snow. He sat quite upright and rigid, and in the cold light of the Baltic dawn they saw the meaning of his words. One hand was within his fur coat. He drew it out and concealed it from Désirée behind his back. He did not seem to see them, but presently he put out his hand and lightly touched Désirée. . . "What is she doing?" he asked.

"I cannot see in the dark. Is it not dark? I thought it was. What is she doing? Saying a prayer? What—because I have my affair? Hey, made-moiselle! You may leave it to me. I will get in, I tell you that."

He put his finger to his nose and then shook it from side to side with an air of deep cunning.

"Leave it to me. I shall slip in. Who will stop an old man who has many wounds? Not St. Peter, assuredly. Let him try. And if the good God hears a commotion at the gate, He will only shrug His shoulders. He will say to St. Peter, 'Let pass; it is only Papa Barlasch,' and then there was silence. For Barlasch had gone to his own people."

Malabar and its Folk. By T. K. Gopal Panikkar, B.A. (pp. 215. G. A. Natesau & Co., Madras.)

AS the introduction by the Rev. F. W. Kellott of the Madras Christian College, says, this book is interesting both as showing the extent in which Indian students are assimilating the science of the West and applying it to Indian subjects, and as preserving for us before the advance of education obliterates them, the peculiarities of social life in this unique district of India. These peculiarities are described as only a native of the country and of the district could describe them. It was Sir Henry Maine, who, in the interests of ethnography and the economics which take account of social experiments in the past, before repeating them on a larger scale in the present, called for immediate study of the archaic fragments of ancient society of which India is full.

Mr. Gopal Panikkar's little book deals largely with the life and institutions of the Nairs, by far the most conspicuous amongst the

peoples of Malabar. Some of the chapters have already appeared in various magazines, including our own pages. The account of the origin of Malabar reminds one of the patriotic mythology of "Rule Britannia."

"When Britain first at Heaven's command
Arose from out the azure main,
This was the Charter of her land
And guardian angels sang this strain."

It is recorded in the Puranas that Parasu Rama having destroyed the Kshatriyas twenty-one times, thought of expiating his sin by making a grant of land to the Brahmins. He prayed Varuna, the Hindu Neptune, to create some land for the purpose, and the Arabian Sea which had stretched up to the Ghauts receded at the God's command, leading dry the strip of country now known as Malabar, which has ever since been dominated by a Brahmin aristocracy. Malabar is interesting to us of another faith as having been the scene of the apostolic labour of St. Thomas. The remnants of seven churches are shown in Malabar as owing their foundation to the doubting Apostle. Malabar was the first part of India trodden by European feet and it was the land of Tippoo, our antagonist at Seringapatam. It is analogous to the Celtic portions of Western Europe in its clan-organization, and the primitive superstitions of the people, their fairies, witches and demons. In scenery it is not altogether unlike Scotland. The effect on Mr. Gopal Panikkar of his youthful studies at the Madras Christian College is evident, not only in his description of Scotch scenery of which a two-day trip down the Caledonian Canal may have been sufficient to make him a judge, but in his description of the Irish peasantry "immersed in the darkest depths of ignorance and superstition"—a statement one would need to spend some time in the country before asserting without quotation marks and references. What dark and magic powers must not the Hindu reader of Mr. Panikkar's pages attribute to the Irish priest, when he reads that "it is said that even Parliamentary elections" (which might well be considered of the earth earthy) "are surreptitiously controlled by the mystic influence which the priests yield over the souls of a people given over to the worst forms of superstition." Again "the Irish tenants are under the oppressive control of their landlords." From what part of the country does the staff of the Madras Christian College hail?

Malabar, Mr. Panikkar states, is as priest-ridden as Ireland—its divine origin is adduced by the natives as the reason, and similarly we might suppose that the great debt Ireland owes to the Saint who banished snakes accounts for the same feature in the green isle. It may be true that the Brahmins amongst the Nairs rule them hand and foot, and also that

landlords practise eviction too readily, but Mr. Panikkar's minute knowledge of Malabar does not warrant such severe indictments of particular classes in a country so little likely to be personally known to him as Ireland. Mr. Panikkar's pages are full of most interesting bits of folklore and of social and domestic details. The descent through mothers obtaining among the Nairs is a peculiar feature. Intermarriages between members of the same clan are prohibited, and hypergamy prevails. In cases where a high caste bride does marry a low caste bridegroom, he must not be present while she is eating. It is curious how in spite of the fact that the instinct of sex is considered the most imperative next to that of self-preservation, the distinction of caste so often proves the stronger. Among all but Christian people, the female sex is the inferior, and as such, women usually prepare the food for and wait on their lords and masters and then humbly eat the remains; but in this case it is the low caste man whose touch during meals would ruin his wife's caste. Such marriages must be rare.

Malabar drama is described as only an Indian could describe it; it is a dumb show, all the musical part being rendered by singers who are not actors. It is a counterpart of our old mysteries and morality plays: like the actors at Ober-Ammergau, those who take the part of the sacred personages represented are held in great respect by the devout of Malabar.

Mr. Panikkar notes that horrible incidents involving the mutilation of some personage are usually only described as in the Greek drama—but that occasionally they are represented with the faithfulness of the Adelphi, and that in this case the actor gets extra remuneration from his audience presumably for the extra trouble of his make-up, but possibly from the popular love of things horrible. The actors are "strolling players." Holy places are selected for the performance. The life of Krishna takes eight days to represent, and on the ninth, with an instinctive aversion to ending with the death of the divine personality which gives a hint of the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection, on the ninth day his birth is again represented. Ordinary plays begin about 10 P. M. and end at 1 A. M., the charge for the day's performance being some Rs. 18. The various festivals of the country are well described and so are the popular religious ideas. It is a very interesting little book.

Selections from English Literature for the use of Schools in India, edited by Cecil M. Barrow, M.A., Principal, Victoria College, Palghat. (Macmillan & Co.) (pp. 192.)

THIS handy little school-book has been compiled for the use of Sixth Forms in Indian schools. It contains prose ex-

tracts from such authors as Lamb, Miss Yonge, Thomas Hughes and Miss Edgeworth, with selections from Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Scott, Macaulay and Arnold. Macaulay's "Armada" is the poem selected, a sufficiently difficult one on account of its many geographical allusions. One is Goth enough to wonder however whether selections from good present day newspapers and magazines would not tend to cure the tendency to "babu-English," rather than the somewhat stilted periods of the good Maria Edgeworth or even of our dear old friend Charlotte Yonge. "Journalese" is frequently as objectionable as babu-English, but a few articles do appear in good English in both Home and Indian newspapers. Some well-reported speeches from the House might even reckon as "literature."

Sand Buried Ruins of Khotan. Personal narrative of a Journey of Archæological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan by M. Amel Stein. T. Fisher Unwin, London.

THIS is an expensive book, Rs. 18-6-0, and M. Stein apologises to us, for not sending a copy, on account of its cost. He however sends his Introduction, "with the author's compliments;" and as the subject of which it treats is of great antiquarian interest, we are glad to call our reader's attention to this substantial and solid volume.

The author is a member of the Educational Department of India, and Inspector of Schools in the Punjab, and the journey described in the pages of the book was carried out in the year 1900-01, under the auspices of the Government of India. Its main object being the systematic exploration of ancient remains about Khotan and in the adjoining parts of the great desert of Chinese Turkestan.

The idea of archæological work about Khotan first suggested itself to M. Stein in the spring of 1897, in consequence of some remarkable antiquarian acquisitions from that region and by the discovery among the papers left by the distinguished French traveller, M. Dutreuil de Rhins of fragments of ancient birch-bark leaves, which had been acquired in the vicinity of Khotan. These proved to be a Buddhist text in an early Indian script and language, and were soon recognised as the oldest Indian manuscript then known, going back by the first centuries of our era.

Later on fragments of paper manuscripts, ancient pottery and similar relics came into the hands of Russians and English agents in Central Asia and found their way into various museums. While these materials accumulated, no reliable information was ever forthcoming as to the exact origin of the finds, or the true character of the ruined sites which were supposed to have furnished them. From this resulted M. Stein's resolution that

their full historical and antiquarian value could never be realized without systematical researches on the spot.

Lord Curzon thoroughly entered into the proposed exploration, and a resolution in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture provided for the author's deputation on special duty to Chinese Turkestan, for one year, and a grant of £600 was made to meet the estimated expenditure on the journey and explorations.

Colonel St. George Gore, R.E., C.S.I., Surveyor-General of India, also furthered this object, by deputing one of the native sub-surveyors of his Department, with a special grant of £133 in order to cover additional expenses. With this help, a continuous system of surveys was carried on during the whole of the author's travels in Chinese Turkestan.

We here allow Mr. Stein to record in his own words—his experiences.

The ruined sites explored by me have more than justified the hope which led me to Khotan and into its desert. Scattered over an area which in a straight line extends for more than three hundred miles from west and east, and dating back to very different periods, these ruins throughout reveal to us a uniform and well-defined civilisation. It is easy to recognise now that this bygone culture rested mainly on Indian foundations. But there has also come to light unmistakable evidence of other powerful influences, both from the West and from China, which helped to shape its growth and to invest it with an individual character and fascination of its own.

The origin and history of the culture that once flourished in Buddhist Khotan, are faithfully reflected in the remarkable series of sculptures and paintings which the ancient shrines and dwelling places, after long centuries of burial beneath the dunes, have yielded up. Exact archaeological evidence enables us to determine the various periods at which these settlements were invaded by the desert sand. Though these periods range from the third to the close of the eighth century of our era yet the preponderance of Indian art influences is attested by the latest as well as by the earliest of these finds. The rich statuary of the Rawak Stupa Court, and the decorative wood carvings of the ancient site beyond Niya reproduce with astonishing fidelity the style and motives of that fascinating 'Græco-Buddhist' art which, fostered by Hellenistic-Roman influences grew up and flourished in Gandhara (the present Peshawar Valley) and other neighbouring tracts in the extreme North-West of India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of our era. Yet when we turn from those remains to the frescoes on the walls of the small Buddhist shrines at Dandan-Uiliq, dating some five hundred years later, we recognise, with equal distinctness the leading features of ancient Indian pictorial art as preserved for us in the Ajanta Cave paintings.

The records of the Chinese Annals plainly showed us that for considerable periods under both the Later Han and the Tang dynasties China had maintained effective political control over the kingdom of Khotan. My excavations have confirmed these records, and from the finds of Chinese documents on wood or paper, Chinese coins articles of manufacture etc., it has become abundantly clear that Chinese civilisation no less than political ascendancy asserted there a powerful influence. Seeing how close for centuries were the relations between Khotan and the great empire eastwards in matters of administration, trade and industrial intercourse, we cannot feel surprised to find a connection in art also attested by manifest traces. It is China which in this direction appears the main borrower; for besides such distinct historical evidence as the notice about a scion of the royal house of Khotan, whom the Annals name as the founder of a new pictorial school in China in the seventh century A.D., there is much to suggest that the Indian element which so conspicuously pervades the whole Buddhist art of the Far East had to a very large extent found its way thither

through Khotan. Yet a careful analysis of the composition and drawing in more than one of the frescoes and painted panels of Dandan-Uiliq will show that Chinese taste also had its influence on the later art of Khotan.

For us still greater interest must attach to the convincing evidence disclosed as to the question how far into Central Asia the classical art of the West had penetrated during the first centuries of our era. We see its triumphant advance to Khotan half-way between Western Europe and Peking, strikingly demonstrated by the remarkable series of classical seals impressed on clay and yet preserved in wonderful freshness, which still adhere to a number of the many ancient documents on wood discovered at the sand-buried site beyond Niya. We cannot make sure in each case where the well-modelled figures of Greek deities, such as Pallas Athene and Eros, or the classically treated portrait heads that appear in these seals, were actually engraved. But it is certain that the seals themselves were currently used by officials and others resident within the kingdom of Khotan, and that classical models greatly influenced the work of local lapidaries and die-sinkers. The remarkable diversity of the cultural influences which met and mingled at Khotan during the third century A.D., is forcibly brought home to us by these records from a remote Central-Asian settlement inscribed on wooden tablets in an Indian language and writing and issued by officials with strangely un-Indian titles, whose seals carry us to the classical world far away in the West.

The imitation of early Persian art which, five centuries later, we find unmistakable traces in some of the paintings of sacred Buddhist subjects recovered from the ruins of Dandan-Uiliq, is a curious parallel and from a historical point of view almost equally instructive.

The dwelling places, shrines, etc., of those ancient settlements had, no doubt, before the desert sand finally buried them, been cleared by the last inhabitants and others of everything that possessed intrinsic value. But much of what they left behind, though it could never tempt the treasure-seekers of succeeding ages, has acquired for us exceptional value. The remains of ancient furniture such as the wooden chair; the shreds of silks and other woven fabrics; the tatters of antique rugs; the fragments of glass, metal and pottery ware; the broken pieces of domestic and agricultural implements, and the manifold other relics however humble which had safely rested in the sand-buried dwellings and their deposits of rubbish—these all help to bring vividly before our eyes details of ancient civilisation that without the preserving force of the desert would have been lost for ever.

But however interesting and instructive such details may be, they would by themselves, not permit us with any degree of critical assurance to reconstruct the life and social organisation which once flourished at these settlements, or trace the historical changes which they have witnessed. The hope of ever elucidating such questions was dependent on the discovery of written records, and it is fortunate indeed that, at the very sites which proved richest in those relics of material culture the finds of ancient manuscripts and documents were also unexpectedly ample and varied. The Sanskrit manuscripts excavated at Dandan-Uiliq acquaint us with that class of canonical Buddhist literature which we may assume to have been most cherished in the monastic establishments of ancient Khotan. The series of Chinese documents discovered in ruins of the same site is of particular historical interest. The exact dates recorded in them (781-790 A.D.) in combination with other evidence, clearly indicate the close of the eighth century as the time when the settlement was deserted while their contents throw curious side-lights on the economical and political conditions of the territory immediately before Chinese suzerain power finally abandoned these regions to Tibetan invasion. Sanskrit manuscripts and records in Chinese mark foreign imports in the culture of Khotan. All the more interest attaches to the numerous documents and fragmentary texts from the same site which show an otherwise unknown language, manifestly non-Sanskritic yet written in Indian Brahmi characters; for it appears very probable that in them we have records of the tongue actually spoken at that period by the indigenous population of Khotan.

We see Sanskrit, Chinese and the same non-Sanskritic language, similarly represented among the literary finds from the ruined temple of Enderé, in the extreme east of the territory explored. But here in addition there appears

Tibetan, as if to remind us of the prominent part which Tibet too has played in the history of Central Asia. A curious Chinese graffito found on the wall of the Endere temple clearly refers to the Tibetans, and gives a date which, since its recent examination by Sinologist, can be safely read as 719 A.D. It is probable that these finds of Tibetan manuscripts are directly connected with that extension of Tibetan power into Eastern Turkestan which the Chinese Annals record for that very period.

But much older and of far greater importance than any of these finds are the hundreds of Kharoshthi documents on wood and leather brought to light from the ruined houses and the rubbish heaps of the ancient settlement discovered beyond the point where the Niya River now loses itself in the desert. That peculiar writing material (so much older than the paper of my other literary finds), their early Indian script and language, and the surprisingly perfect state of preservation of many among them, would alone have sufficed to invest these documents with special interest. But their exceptional historical value is derived from the fact that they prove to contain records written as early as the third century of our era, and dealing with a wide range of matters of administration and private life.

A remarkable journey, with remarkable results.

The Method of Christ as traced in Chemistry, Physics, and Spectrum Analysis by John Coutts. (Hygienic Publishing Agency, 4, Duke Street, Charing Cross.)

THIS is a pamphlet devoted to the tracing of spiritual analogies in scientific research. Indeed the author would persuade us, apparently, that these things are truths and not mere analogies, positive revelation of Almighty God to men. It is a pity that he does not use more plainness of speech. Paragraph after paragraph is piled with sounding scientific and theological phrases, but the meaning of them is often hard to see. The author is, in great part, as a man that speaks in an unknown tongue, and the plain man must needs be to him "as a barbarian, and he that speaketh a barbarian" unto the other.

It is doubtful whether many thoughtful Christian people would accept as more than a poetical conception "that the thoughts of God are the laws of Nature," or would allow that the way of life "that will lead men to God, life, and immortality. . . . May be summed up in the three realms of Experience, Science, and of Divine Wisdom."

The following is a summary of the author's thoughts as to "the method of Christ as traced in spectrum analysis," and may serve as an illustration of the way his analogies are worked, or dragged out. He likens the spectrum to a Divine ladder that reaches from earth to heaven. "It descends to the earth's centre, to that point where gravitation, as the strong arm of God, keeps all things in their places; it ascends to the very throne of God in His Grace . . . drawing all men to Himself." The Divisions of this heavenly ladder he traces thus:—the third division, which is the visual coloured part, he likens "to the spirit of power in man that looks out upon the universe." Below

this, the second division, is dark, "but it is that division upon which there is manifested heat—the portion beyond the heat ends the spectrum; and, strange to say, the power that resides here may represent gravitation." Going up the scale, the fourth division is actinic, and "is in harmony with that part of man's nature thought of as the mind or memory." The fifth is luminescent or fluorescent: "the analogy with man is in his intellectual nature." The sixth division "may be conceived as crystalline. Law as the result of light seems to express the conception, and the analogy in man is his moral nature." The seventh "would seem to speak of electricity and ether . . . here is the realm of Christ's Grace and Mercy." The eighth division coincides with magnetism. Of this the author writes previously in his chapter on physics—"the all important matter at this critical point is the relations of the man to the Magnet. The circle of light, the forces of the Universe centre in Him. He draws all to Himself." . . . Surely these things are fantastic, to say the least.

"Tales of Mariada Raman" (by P. Ramachandra Rao, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras).

IN this book we have twenty-one short anecdotes of an Indian 'Solomon,' who, as a lad, is raised from the playground to the judicial bench by a witty judgment and the caprice of his royal master; which caprice seems certainly, in this case, to have been justified by the subsequent career of its object as set forth in the remaining anecdotes. The stories are of the shortest. They are naturally Indian in flavour, and some are better read to oneself than out loud; but the cleverness of many of them is undeniable, and, even if one or two appear coarse, their coarseness is incidental and not the object of the story.

Tambil Vadik by Babu Durga Charan Rakshit.

THIS book deals with the caste of traders: the author's object is to prove that these belong to ten Vaisya class and not to the Sudra class: as Vaisyas they have a claim to the brahmanical thread.

Bharat Pradakshin, by the same author, treats of travels in India originally written for different newspapers and now compiled in the form of a book. It is interesting reading.

The Indian Church Directory for 1903. Being a Book of Reference for facts connected with the Clergy and the work of the Church of England in India, Ceylon and Burma, with a Digest of Rules and Regulations for the Clergy. Calcutta, 6, Ballygunge, Circular Road.

OUR notice of this Directory is late, because it was issued late. The value of a Directory, especially if it contains a Calendar, consists in its punctual appearance. In the present instance there were extenuating circumstances, and we have the promise of an early issue in 1904.

This Directory is absolutely necessary to all who wish to know the full extent of the work of the Church in India, containing, as it does, details as to the Clergy, Lay Workers, Societies, Associations, Guilds, Charitable Societies, Funds, Colleges and Schools, Stations and Churches in each Diocese.

It also has information of general usefulness concerning the whole Province of India and Ceylon, together with a complete Alphabetical List, with details as to degree, date of ordination of every Clergyman in India.

Part II—Rules and Regulations for the Clergy is no less important—and is composed of six parts, viz., (1) Ecclesiastical Obligations; (2) Civil Service Regulations; (3) Cemeteries and Churches; (4) Army Regulations, India; (5) Miscellaneous Rules; (6) Diocesan Rules.

There is an interesting table showing the increase in the Episcopate of the Province. In 1814 there was one Bishop for the whole of India, Ceylon, Burmah and Australia; and this was the state of affairs for twenty-one years, when Madras was made the seat of a Bishop, and two years later, Bombay.

Colombo was created in 1845, and for thirty-two years more things remained at this ebb. Lahore and Rangoon came into existence in 1877, Travancore in 1879, Chota-Nagpur in 1890, Lucknow in 1893, Tinnevely in 1896 and Nagpur 1903—making in all eleven members of the Episcopal Synod. We learn from another table that there are 849 Clergy of the Church of England in the Province of India and Ceylon,—the largest number, 138 being in the Diocese of Madras—and the smallest, 24, in the new Diocese of Nagpur. The list of retired Chaplains numbers 148.

“*A Dream of Realms beyond us*” by Adair Welcker. 6th American Edition. San Francisco, Cabery & Co.

IN this book, to the best of our honest and deliberate judgment, is neither sense, learning, effect, imagination, passion nor invention. That it has reached a sixth edition only shows how many people are distrustful of their own common sense, and,

being persuaded by the cool vanity of the author that stuff like this is sublime poetry and prophetic utterance, are ready not only to accept the book, but to pretend to understand, and even to praise it.

East and West, Vol. II. No. 23, September 1903. 21, Paternoster Row, London. Caxton Works, Bombay.

THIS Magazine,—the current number of which lies before us, is in style, and outward dress as well as in matter, well to the front, among Indian Magazines. Its cover, with the name East and West, in bold letters and high relief we do not think can be beaten, in attractiveness, by any other Magazine that we know of, either in England or in this country.

The September number contains some articles of note—among them *India's Economic Problem* by Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I. *Keshub Chunder Sen* by Frances Power Cobbe, and *The Caste Codes and Popular Theology of India* by J. F. Hewitt, I.C.S. The article by Miss Cobbe is especially interesting, as it contains in Keshub Chunder Sen's own letters, the vindication of his action, in the marriage of his daughter, to the Maharajah of Cooch Behar.

We quote here Miss Cobbe's opening words, or they seem to express exactly the real truth concerning, Keshub Chunder Sen's character—and the secret of the seeming failure of his best endeavours.

“It would be a great mistake for any one to treat the career of Keshub Chunder Sen as, on the whole, a failure. His earnest goodness, the purity of all his aspirations and his fervent piety, must have helped to kindle in many hearts—as they did in mine—the sparks of devotion and faith. How much of actual religious zeal now exists in the Brahmo Somaj, I am not in a position to judge; but whatever be the height of the sacred flame of such sentiments in that body, much of it must, I am convinced, be due to him who lighted it up with his ardour thirty years ago.

Yet whatever still remains of his influence, one of the saddest disappointments of life to many of us was the break-down of our hopes of what Keshub was destined to do before he passed from the world. To some of us he seemed the “later Luther,” who would purify India from idolatry and create a new Reformation. Others of us thought of him as one of those who (as the old Chaldean Oracle said) “receive truth through themselves;” and whose transparent spirituality enabled him to convey to more mundane souls the direct and highest teaching of religion. But, suddenly and wholly unexpectedly, a cloud gathered over him; he passed under a shadow, and, before it had lifted, death had borne him away from earth, leaving his work abruptly ended.

In looking over a collection of old letters addressed to me by many eminent men and women of the past Victorian age, it has struck me that it would only be an act of loyalty to the memory of my old friend, if I should publish, in his own country, some of his communications to me, and especially, his final letters of 1878, telling me at full length the motives for his conduct in the one questionable incident of his life, namely, his consent to the marriage of his daughter with the Rajah of Cooch Behar.

That he considered that the course he adopted was incumbent on him as a public man and was a part of his public duty, is made perfectly plain by his

remarkable letter of 25th April 1878; and I shall be glad if the appearance of it in *East & West*, may serve to clear away whatever mists still hang over the memory of this good and pure-hearted man. In a recent article concerning him in the same magazine, although a high eulogium winds up the memoir, no effort has been made to vindicate his action, or to explain what really happened on the occasion which gave a handle to misconstruction. I believe and hope that his own simple account of the matter, given to a friend like myself in whom he placed confidence, will be his best apology, if absolute justification be not available. Not for the first or last time alas! in the world's history may it have happened that grievous mistakes and downfall have followed from the ethical error that *social* duty comes before *Personal*, and that a public advantage may lawfully be sought, or allowed to override, the soul's own law of Truth, and Purity and Justice; in other words, that it is ever possible for us to *do* good in any more effectual way than by *being* good to the summit of our moral ideal.

Notwithstanding the unique elevation of Keshub's whole character, it may be admitted, perhaps, that he was somewhat deficient in firmness—in what we English are wont to speak of as "backbone." He would (I have no shadow of doubt) have gone bravely to the stake as a martyr for his creed; but he could, and perhaps did, suffer himself to be overborne by the will of high and imposing officials and their persuasions. This, I know, to have been the opinion of many of his warmest English admirers. I have been myself inclined to wish that instead of a high born Bengali gentleman, with (as he told me), a pedigree of 800 years, he had had a little infusion of the blood of sturdy Saxons or stiff-necked Scots! But I am still more disposed to think that his fatal practice of abstinence from needful food and sleep, that "culpably weakening of our powers entrusted to us for good" (as Zoroaster describes asceticism), had not a little share in his weakness.

The career of this very remarkable man was cut short a few years after his return from England by an early death. I believe he had taken to ascetic practices, fasting and watching, against which I had most urgently warned him, seeing his tendency towards them. I had argued with him that, not only were they totally foreign to the spirit of simple Theism, but dangerous to a man who, living habitually in the highest realms of human emotion, needed, *all the more for that reason*, that the physical basis of his life should be absolutely sound and strong, and not subject to the variabilities and possible hallucinations attendant on abstinence. My friendly counsels were of no avail. Keshub became, I believe, somewhat too near a 'Yogi' (if I rightly understand that word) and was almost worshipped by his congregation of Brahmos. The marriage of his daughter, who has since visited England, to the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, involved very painful discussions about the legal age of the bride and the ceremonies of a Hindu marriage, which were insisted on by the bridegroom's mother; and the last year or two of Keshub's life were, I fear, darkened by the secessions from his church which followed an event otherwise gratifying."

The Hindustan Review and Kayastha Samachar, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2. July and August 1903. Edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar.-at-Law, 7, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

THIS is a double number of the *Hindustan Review*, and it appears with a new cover, and much improved type and paper. The Manager—in a fly-leaf—makes his apology for the late issue, and explains why a small extra postage-charge is added to the yearly subscription. We are compelled to say that he does not err on the side of modesty;—should it not be for others to call it a 'high class Journal' and give expression to the words (We print them exactly as they appear), "We claim

that . . . the *Review* is the BEST and at the same time the CHEAPEST monthly Magazine in India."

However, we cordially confess that it is the cheapest, and we would also say one of the best,—in style and outward appearance we prefer *East and West*, a short notice of which appears above.

With this friendly criticism, we wish to congratulate the *Hindustan Review* in its new dress, and record that it is a marvel for the price, in quality and quantity.

Among the articles in this number is one on the *Labour Problem in Southern India*, by Mr. G. Subramania Iyar, B.A., and the chief thing that strikes us in this article is the unwilling testimony of the writer, to the levelling influence as far as caste is concerned, of the Christian Missionary, and the great increase, in that part of India, of the Christian population. Here are his words on the latter point:

"There is no part of India where the population of Native Christians has recently increased more rapidly than in Southern India, and unlike those in most parts of Northern India, the converts to Christianity in this Presidency are recruited almost entirely from the classes of Hindus which are lowest in the social scale. These classes being exceedingly poor, it is no wonder that they are easily tempted to quit the fold where their ancestors have lived for centuries and to enter that of Christian faith in times of difficulty. And such occasions having recurred several times within the last quarter of a century, the Native Christian population has increased with striking rapidity. In the year 1891, Native Christians numbered 8,79,437 in this Presidency, and this has increased since then to 10,38,854 in 1901, which is an increase of 18.1 per cent. In the decade between 1881 and 1891 the increase among them was even more striking, being 48.8 per cent. During the last thirty years it has amounted to 99 per cent., against an increase in the population as a whole of 22.1 per cent. In other words, as the last Census Report puts it, the Native Christians have multiplied four and five times as fast as the population generally."

The concluding article in this number, *Social Intercourse in India*, by Mr. Mohammed Ali, B.A., (Oxon) is laboriously clever, but its tone and temper will not do much to promote social intercourse in India between Englishmen and Indians. We quote the concluding sentences—they will teach many of our readers something they did not know before, as to the application of the magic word 'mister' to natives of this country—and also we hope do something to banish from the vocabulary of the intelligent Englishman, the absurd use of the word 'native,' as applied to Indians.

"The decision of the Government on the question of forms of address is not without a touch of humour. It has been ruled that those Indians who have been to England may claim the distinguished and the distinguishing title of "Mr.," but those who have not been to the Sacred Isles should content themselves with the picturesque and oriental "Munshi" or "Babu." So it is often a matter of satisfaction and consolation to an enlightened and self-sacrificing father to know that though he is too old to aspire to it, his son may achieve the distinction of becoming a "Mister." Well has the Persian poet said, "*Agar padar na tawan kun, pasar tamam kunad.*" (The son may complete what the father left unfinished.) Another little word has been

the source of no end of mischief. Sensitive Indians whom constant insults have not turned pachydermous, object to the use of the word "Native" as applied to them. It may be asked whether a *Native Gentleman* is not a contradiction in terms. If it did not imply a degraded style of life, an absence of all refinement and an affinity to brutes, it would not be applied to the savages of Africa, Australia and America. Ambiguity cannot soberly be pleaded as an excuse, for it is not right that Indians should suffer for the geographical mistake of Columbus who thought America was the Western coast of India and called its inhabitants Red Indians.

A story is told of an Indian youth in England who was asked by an Anglo-Indian worthy whether many "Natives" attended a certain *soirée* at the Imperial Institute. "Quite two hundred of them, Sir," said the youth. "What" said the worthy, "two hundred of your countrymen in London?" "A thousand pardons" apologised the youth, "I thought you referred to *your* countrymen!" Since then one Englishman less calls the people of this benighted land "Natives."

Such are the minor details of social intercourse between Englishmen and Indians. It was expected that the advent of the *Mem Sahib* would usher in a brighter era for society, for in her case at least there was not even the bugbear of *Purdah*. But the curl of her upper lip and the elevation of her nasal organ are but too slightly indicative of her attitude. For her and her partner in life that attitude is easy enough. It is the position of us Anglophiles who find much to admire and to imitate in English men and English women that is hard to retain and still harder to defend. Like a famous French diplomat, to the English we appear as rank anglophobes while our own less moderate countrymen designate us by the no less distasteful title of Anglomaniacs. "Between the D—l and deep Sea."

The Indian Review, Vol. 4, No. 9, September. G. A. Nateson & Co. Madras.

THIS *Review* fills an important place among Indian magazines and we might, with perfect justice, call it the *Indian Review of Reviews*, containing as it does (in addition to original matters) so much information, from other Indian magazines and papers, not easily accessible to the ordinary reader. We are sorry to see a curiously ignorant paper, from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, quoted in its column. The name of the article is "Wanton Waste of forty-five lakhs a year"—the 'wanton waste' is the ecclesiastical establishment in India: It is so ignorant that no educated man will be led away by its statistics, *e.g.*, what do these entries mean, under the heading of yearly payments. "Forty Junior Chaplains in Field Service Rs. 20,000." "Fifty Senior Chaplains for hospitals, sanctuaries and cemeteries, Rs. 40,000," and many others. The whole question of an Indian ecclesiastical establishment has been thoroughly gone into by Sir Theodore Hope; and it is a known fact, that, the European tax-payer in India pays five times as much to the support of Hindu temples and Mahommedan mosques, as the Hindu or Mahommedan does to the Christian ecclesiastical establishment.

The proportion, as to this payment is made with some reservation, as the writer of this notice is away from books; but, this much is quite certain, whatever proportions it is, it is all in favour of the native of India.

The Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research. Edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army, Part CDVI. August 1903. Bombay. Education Society's Press, Byculla.

THE August number of the above Journal contains some of its most interesting information in its *Correspondence* and *Notes and Queries*.

The opening paper, *Some doubtful copper coins of Southern India* by Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., I.C.S., (retired) is illustrated by three beautifully engraved plates representing one hundred and twenty-two copper coins. In Southern India there are an immense number and variety of small copper coins, and Mr. Sewell is of opinion that, as they cannot be classified as belonging to any known dynasty or state—they must have been privately struck at the principal great temples. Just as every leading town in England at the close of the eighteenth century had its local pennies and half-pennies, so, probably, there were local issues of small copper coins in South India, generally connected with the most revered shrines, and circulating in their vicinity.

There is an interesting account of a Cave Burial in Baluchistan. Mr. R. Hughes Buller, Superintendent, Imperial Gazetteer, Baluchistan, while travelling in the Jhalāwān country to the south-east of Kalāt, with Lieutenant E. O. Macleod, 1st Sikhs, encamped near the small village of Pandrāva. Whilst there Mr. Macleod visited a curious vaulted cave near the village, and the following is the description of the place and cave:—

"Pandrāva is a pretty place on a basin of the hills with plenty of water from two springs on the west. The village, which contains five or six Banniah's shops and about fifty houses, is situated round an elevated rock known as Anbir. There is much cultivation and plenty of trees.

Due west of the village, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile, is an extraordinary cave situated in the skirt of the hill. All the ground round is rolling, and in the side of one of the folds is a hole just big enough for a large man to squeeze through. It is said that this hole was uncovered and exposed to view by a flood of erosion some fifty or sixty years ago. On entering the hole which is almost in the centre, one finds oneself in an underground vault consisting of a front chamber, and two recesses. The breadth of the chamber is about eighteen feet, and the length to the back of each chamber about sixteen feet. The recesses are round, with domed roofs, and the front chamber has a domed roof. The whole appears to have been hewn out of the conglomerate rock. At the left-hand corner of the centre partition is a heap of bones, and with this exception there is nothing in the left-hand recess.

In the right-hand recess in the centre a niche has been cut out of the rock, about six inches by three inches by three feet. In it there are twenty-five skulls; one of them is a small one and appears to be that of a child. The rest appear to be those of adults. There are also the ribs and leg-bones of a child down to the knees. In the centre of the right-hand recess lies a bed which, according to the country-people, when the vault was just opened, supported a skeleton. The strings of the bed have now, however, given way, and the skeleton, which is evidently that of a man, is lying on its back, on the ground below the bed. There are holes, which appear to be those of a bullet or arrow on the right temple, and at the left side of the back of the skull.

Lying near the bed is the skeleton of a large dog, which the people say was tied to the bed or *chârpâi* by a string when first observed. Between the bed and the back of the recess are a few bones. The bed is firmly made of rounded wood (including the frame) and is still in good condition. Lieutenant Macleod seated himself on it when exploring the cave. Over the ribs and head of the corpse was a coarse cloth, thin, and of a dirty colour.

The natives point to another place about twenty yards away and say that there is another vault there in which women's skeletons are to be found. No one living appears to have ever entered the second cave, if it exists as alleged.

The natives hold the place in considerable awe, and have a theory that the place was the scene of a fight. The whole vault was extraordinarily symmetrical."

The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Guzerat. Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IX. The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarât, Baroda Territories. By J. Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., and Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., London: 1903.

OF all the branches of the fine arts, architecture is the only one in which the Hindus had made the greatest progress, as is evidenced by the remains, that exist at the present day, of the numerous temples, palaces, monasteries, and other structures that were erected by their ancestors throughout the length and breadth of India. They had developed different styles of architecture and had a literature of their own on that subject. Among other styles of architecture, the one that prevailed in Gujarât generally in the olden times, and more especially in Northern Gujarât and Rajputana, is that which is known to Europeans under the name of the Jaina or north-western style of Hindu architecture. This style, though Hindu in

its inception, was subsequently, much modified in details by the Jainas according to their peculiar tastes and necessities, until it acquired that chastity and elegance of character which it, now, possesses as its distinguishing features. In its developed form, it was, subsequently, adopted and copied by the orthodox Hindus.

The Jainas, who were the greatest temple-builders of Western India, had also a literature of their own on the subject of the art of building, which consists of such old works on civil and religious architecture as the *Prâsâda-mandala Râja-vallabha*, &c., which are preserved, with jealous care, in their temple-libraries.

There was a particular class or guild of artisans, known as *Salâts* or builders, who follow architecture as their profession and who appear to have always worked, as they do even at the present day, equally for all sects of Hindus. But they owed much of their employment to the Jainas, who have, always, possessed immense wealth and have spent much of it in building temples and dedicating images of the Jainas and Tirthankaras which were considered acts of great piety and merit. They have obtained much of their knowledge of the principles of architecture from traditions handed down from generation to generation, the works mentioned *supra*, of which they have got with them rough Gujarâti abstracts for purposes of reference, as also from instructions received at the hands of certain Jaina professors of the building art.

Gujarât is now the only district in Western India where the art of architecture is still practised as a flourishing branch of industry. But, even there, the style of architecture has become degenerated, owing, perhaps, to the *Salât's* ignorance of Sanskrit in which the original literature of the subject is embodied, to the loss of interest in the older methods of building which are so different from those of the European art of architecture, which latter is exercising such a dominating influence on all modern buildings throughout British India, and also to the fanatical tyranny of the Mahomedan Conquerors of India who prohibited the building of all beautiful religious edifices by the Hindus.

However, such of the remains and ruins of the temples, *Kirtistambhas* or ornamental arches, reservoirs of water, wells and similar other structures of Northern Gujarât, as exist at the present day, are sufficient to excite the curiosity and admiration of the Europeans and other lovers of the beautiful in art, by reason of the grandeur of their design, the intricacy of their details, and the delicacy and finish of their ornaments. Such remains exist at Anahilavâda or the modern Pâtan, which was once the capital of the Châvâdâ

and Solanki dynasties and is now one of the oldest and most famous cities of Gujarât, Siddhapur, Modherâ, Vadnagar, Delmâl, Kambi-Solanki, Vâghel, etc., Munjapur, Lotesvara, Sankhesvara, etc., Chandrávati, Roho, and Sarotrâ; Sûnak and Kaserâ; Rulâvi, Sauderâ, Mânod, and Dhinoj, etc., and Târinga, etc. The thanks of the learned world are due to the Government of India which has always evinced an anxious care to preserve these beautiful remains of antiquity and to publish sumptuously illustrated and scientifically accurate descriptions thereof, through the agency of its staff of efficient archæological surveyors who are ransacking every nook and corner of India to find out the crumbling and decaying relics of the past. Messrs. Burgess and Cousens of the Archæological Survey of Western India, have carefully examined the aforementioned antiquarian remains of Northern Gujarât and have published the results of their study thereof in the beautifully illustrated quarto volume of report which is the subject of this Review and which is a splendid outturn of the printer's, draughtsman's and photographer's arts. There are, in this volume, 118 pages of beautifully printed descriptive letterpress, accompanied by 111 exquisite plates and 11 illustrations in the text, which faithfully portray the various architectural antiquities, sculptures and specimens of stone and wood-carvings, dealt within the text of the Report.

According to accepted traditions, the city of Anahilavâda is said to have been founded by Vanarâja, the founder of the Châvadâ dynasty, in 765 A.D. The antiquarian remains at this place fall under the three heads of Hindu, Jaina and Mahomedan. The iconoclastic proclivities of the Mahomedan invaders of Gujarât and the ruthless ravages of time have so denuded modern Pattan of almost every structure of antiquity that there remains, at the present day, only a few fragmentary relics which may be ascribed to the Hindu period and workmanship. Among these are the remains of the Rânî Wâv or step-well ascribed to Udayamatî, the Queen of Bhimadeva I; the Sahasraliṅga Talâv said to have been constructed by Siddharâja Jayasinha; and certain other old images, pillars and fragments of sculptured slabs. The Jaina antiquities include the temples of that faith, of which the majority is of a later date than the fifteenth century A.D. The Mahomedan antiquities consist of the Gumada, Ghazni and certain other mosques; the Khân Sarovar tank; Bâhâdur Singh's well and specimens of old wood-carvings, all of which date from the latter part of the thirteenth century downwards.

Of the aforesaid remains at Anahilavâda, the Hindu antiquities do not call for any special notice. Among the Jaina antiquarian remains, the inner balcony (depicted in Plate IV) of the Vâdîpura-

Pârsvanâtha Temples and its elaborately and beautifully carved roof (Plate XXI) are remarkable. "The roof is decorated in concentric circles with figures and bands of ornaments, and has a lotus-shaped pendant hanging from the apex. Eight large bracket figures are placed at equal intervals round the inside. These are female musicians and dancers; and between each pair of these is a seated male figure with two attendants. These are the asthtadikpâlas or eight regents of the points of the compass and are arranged in the ceiling according to their proper quarters, and each with his *rahana* or conveyance carved below his seat. Some fine carving, now much injured, has filled up the corners or spandrels of the octagonal roof, between the lowest circle of the dome and the lintels. Under the dome and helping to support it are four balcony windows, projecting inwards from each side of the apartment, which are very delicately worked. Lower still is a dado running round the four walls, and carved with musicians and dancers in niches, with rows of geese and other ornamental carving below. The rosettes in the spaces between the brackets below the window sills are rich and effective. All the carving, designs and figures, in this wood-work, are precisely the same as are found in stone. With the Hindu workman, whatever was practicable in stone, seems to have been regarded as equally so in wood, and *vice versa*."

Fine wood-carving is one of the industries of Gujarât. The façades of houses in that province are decorated with delicately-carved wood-work, of which many beautiful specimens are to be found at Pattan. The specimens reproduced in Plates XXII and XXXVI are well worthy of careful examination; and the ornamental bands thereof appear like fine old lace of fairy design and elaborate workmanship.

Among the Mahomedan antiquities of Pattan, may be mentioned the Gumada Masjid, which is remarkable for elaborate designs in its niches (Plate XXV) and for the three windows filled with stone lattice-work, of which two are represented in Plate XXVI (figs. 1 and 2), shewing patterns of perforated work similar to those to be found at Ahmedâbâd. The carved roof-panel and ceiling (reproduced in Plates XV and XVI) of Shaikh Farid's Tomb at Pattan, are also beautiful specimens of their kind.

The principal antiquarian remains at Siddhapur appertain to the famous Saiva temple known as the Rudra-mahâlaya which was dedicated to Rudramahâkâlâ or Mahâdeva, who was also called Rudra, "the Howler, the Terrible." It was begun by Mularâja about A.D. 944 and completed by Siddharâja Jayasinha about 1143 A.D. This splendid temple was ruthlessly destroyed by the Mahomedans once in 1298 A.D., and again in 1415 A.D., so that, at present, only a few magnificent fragments remain, namely,

the four pillars of the north porch, and five of the east porch to the *mandapa*, a beautiful *Torana* or *Kirtisthambha*, and certain other pillars, some of which are represented in Plate VI. The carved balcony-window in Plate XLVI is a beautiful specimen of the artistic wood-carving of Gujarât.

The old Temple of the Sun at Modherâ is "even now, in its ruin and decay, an imposing structure, with a majestic beauty, rarely met with in such remains. No finer or more interesting structure remains in Northern Gujarât. * * * But, perhaps, the most elegant and ornamental feature of this temple is the beautiful and richly decorated *sabha-mandapa* or *châvadi* which stands in front of the temple proper, and separated from it by a narrow passage," and which is represented in Plate L. From an inscription found in the back-wall of the shrine, it appears that this temple was built in 1026-27 A.D.

The most remarkable of the architectural antiquities at Vadānagar are two magnificent *Kirtisthambhas* or triumphal arches which must, once, have formed part and parcel of a great temple of which not the least trace exists at the present day. These arches are built of red and yellow sandstone without mortar or cementing material; and have been reproduced in Plates LVII and LIX, from which representations the grandeur of their conception, the beauty of their proportions and the exquisite delicacy of their ornaments can be realized. In fact, these three splendid Hindu monuments of antiquities, namely, the triumphal arches at Vadānagar, and the *Sabha-mandapa* attached to the temple of the Sun at Modhera lead one to think that the Hindu architects of Gujarât designed like Titans but finished like jewellers.

At Delmal, the sculpture (Plates LXIX, and LXXI, fig. 7) occurring on the west face of the south-east shrine, in the temple of Limboji-Mâtâ is curious by reason of the fact that it represents a blending of the Hindu Triad—Brahmâ, Vishnu and Civa—with the sun-god Surya, a combination which is somewhat unusual in Hindu mythology.

Scattered throughout the work under review, are interesting items of folklore which throw some side-lights on the religion, the popular beliefs and superstitions of the Hindus and Mahomedans of Gujarât. There is a legend connected with the Sahasraliṅga Talāv at Pattana, which is to the effect that Jayasinha Siddharâja, king of Gujarât, sent for from Malwa some Ods* for excavating this tank. With them came a beautiful Odane maiden, by name Jasmâ. On the completion of the tank, she left with her tribe for her native place. Thereupon, King Siddharâja, who was smitten with her charms, pursued her to Modherâ where he killed some of her tribesmen to get forcible possession of her. In order

* The Ods are a low caste, whose occupation is that of excavating tanks.

to avoid falling into the hands of the king, she committed suicide by stabbing herself, and, with her dying breath, cursed Siddharâja, saying that the tank would be devoid of water. When the king returned, baffled in his purpose, he found the tank empty. Thereupon, he consulted the sooth sayers who advised him, that, if a human being was sacrificed in the tank, it would fill up with water. A victim was, accordingly, selected from among the Dheds or the Scavengers, who dwelt in the outskirts of the towns, wore untwisted cotton round their heads and hung a stag's horn from their waist to distinguish them. The king ordered the victim to be sacrificed in the tank, and by way of reward to the dying man, proclaimed that his tribe should, thenceforth, be exempted from the disabilities of living outside the towns and of wearing the distinguishing badges of their caste. On the victim being sacrificed, the tank became filled with water. The incident of sacrificing human beings to propitiate the water-spirit for filling tanks and wells with water, is common enough in Indian folklore and occurs twice in Santal folktales.†

We have, then, an example of Sympathetic Magic, which is so prevalent among peoples in the lower culture, from the Gumada Masjid at Pattan. This mosque has walls made of sandstone which is full of hard or flinty nodules, about two inches in diameter. When the masons met with these nodules on the surface of the stone, they left them as small protuberances, in order to avoid spoiling their tools in chipping the same away. From the fancied resemblance of these protuberances to boils or ulcers (*gumadun*), the name of "Gumada" has been given to the *masjid*. People suffering from boils come to this mosque and anoint these stone-boils with *gur* (molasses) in the belief that, by so doing, they will be cured of their natural boils.

As throwing a side-light on the worship of the sacred basil plant and on the process, which has been going on in India from the remotest ages, of canonizing and ultimately deifying men of humble callings or inferior castes, who earned for themselves undying fame by their extraordinary religious piety or by inaugurating great spiritualistic revivals, of which process, instances are to be found in the cases of Râm Dâs, the tanner; Dâdu, cotton cleaner, Kabir, Mahomedan weaver; Tukâ Râm, farmer; and Nâur Deo, the tailor, we have the following legend which is connected with the curious maze or labyrinth called Padmanâth at Pattan. Khân Aziz Kokah is said to have granted the site of this maze to the potters of Naharwâlah, out of gratitude to a member of that caste, who cured him of an ulcer from which he was suffering. As a reward for effecting the cure, the potter, by name Padmanâth Kumbhâr, asked for the piece of land on which the maze stands, for planting thereon beds of sacred basil (*tulasi*). This

† Vide Campbell's *Santal Folktales*, pp. 107, 124.

potter is now looked upon as an incarnation of Vishnu, and has given rise to a cult which has many adherents who worship him under the symbol of the *tulasi* plant. The potters, still, ply their calling at this maze which is of large area; and the walks are eight feet broad or more, and are sunk to some four or five feet below the level of the plots which are covered by a dense growth of trees, as well as of *tulasi* plants.

This naturally leads us to the subject of ancestor-worship, which has, in many Oriental countries and among many Asiatic races, developed into distinct forms of religion, as, for instance, the ancestor-worship of the Chinese. We have a remarkable example of this cult in the south of Delmal village, where, built into a long platform, are twenty-six *pāliyās* or memorial-stones which are known in the south as *virgals* or *virakallus*. These commemorate the deaths of certain persons who departed this life between Sainvat 1513 and 1891 (A.D. 1457-1835). The portrait of the dead worthy, arrayed in his best clothes and, sometimes, riding on a horse, is graven on a panel on the upper portion of the slab, whereas, in some slabs, he is represented as standing beside his wife. The date is inscribed, in all cases, below the figures; while the sun, symbolised as a lotus blossom, and the moon appear above the figures, as the great and everlasting witnesses who will bear testimony to the worth of the deceased till eternity. These sculptures are exceedingly crude, being entirely devoid of expression or of the slightest animation of pose, as will appear from an examination of the five specimens of *pāliyās* reproduced in Plate LXXI. The first and second memorials commemorate the fact that two wives, in the first case, and one, in the second, immolated themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, as is indicated by the woman's arms adorned with marriage-bracelets which are engraved therein; while the other three specimens are memorials of local heroes.

These funeral monuments are, frequently, erected in great numbers on the banks of reservoirs of water or around the gateways of towns. The relatives of the deceased worship at these memorial-stones once every year, either on the anniversary of the death, or on some other day fixed for the festival. Whenever a marriage takes place in the family of the deceased, the bridegroom and the bride go thither to pay their devoirs to their beatified ancestors. If a person, who has made a vow at one of these memorials, happens to have his heart's desire fulfilled, he entertains Brāhmins at that *pāliyā* or erects a temple there.

The worship of the primal energy of Nature, as represented by the Saktis or Mātās—the mother goddesses, is popular in Gujarāt. Among these goddesses may be mentioned Ambā,

Ambāji or Ambā-Bhavānī whose shrine is in the Anāsūr hills; that of Adgā or Hajāri-mātā at Halwad; that of Ashāpurā-mātā—the wish-fulfilling goddess at Mahar in Kachh; the Bhiladi-mātā of the Shenvās, who is represented by a cocoanut, and many others.

At Dhinoj is the old temple of Vyāghre'svari, whose vehicle is the tiger (*vyāghra*) and who is the patron-goddess of the Sonis or goldsmiths of Gujarāt and of the Mesri Srimāli Vāniyās. It is not known whether this goddess has anything to do with tiger-worship, for the learned authors of the work under review have not stated anything on this point. But there is at Gayā in Bihār, the temple of a goddess named Vāghesvari who is the patron goddess of tigers.*

Although the demolition of many of the beautiful Hindu temples, or the defacement of the exquisite monuments of antiquity in Gujarāt, is due to the iconoclastic zeal of the Mahomedan conquerors, who were led to commit these sacrilegious acts by the tenets of their religion, the vandalism of the latter day Hindus of Gujarāt, who, to save themselves, the trifling cost of some building materials, remove by cartloads the fragments of sculpture of priceless value for burning the same into lime, or that of the modern and ubiquitous railway-contractor, who utilizes the beautiful remains of antiquity in building the piers of railway-bridges, and culverts, and in metalting the permanent way, is quite inexcusable. Nowhere has the latter personage displayed a greater spirit of vandalism than in the destruction of the beautiful remains of Chandrāvati which was, once, the capital of the Paramāra Rājās, and is mentioned in ancient legends and poems. These beautiful remains existed till about the third decade of the last century. But nothing now remains of the same, save a solitary column which, by its loneliness, accentuates the desolation around it—the rest of the remains having been used wholesale in the construction of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. This is but a typical example out of the many ruthless acts of destruction which are daily taking place in this country. The Government is able to devote its attention to the preservation of only the important monuments of antiquity. But the preservation of the ruins of historical towns and of other antiquarian remains of lesser importance has become a matter of urgent necessity. The destinies of India are now wielded by the most accomplished Viceroy she has ever had, who is already devoting much of his attention to this subject; and it is to be sincerely hoped that His Excellency will promulgate orders for the adoption, by the departments concerned, of speedy steps for the preservation of such architec-

* Vide the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, pp. 162-3.

tural antiquities as the Ruins of Chandrâvatî, which are being rapidly destroyed by modern vandals against whose acts of destruction the learned authors of the work under review have, in sundry places, raised their voice of protest.

ÆSCYÆM.

India: Past and Present, by John Murdoch, LL.D. Madras. 1903.

THIS interesting *brochure* deals with some of the much-vexed problems of Indian administration. In writing it, the author, to quote his own words, has been actuated by "the sole desire to benefit the people of India by attempting to remove some misconceptions, and by showing the steps which are necessary to promote the well-being of the country." He has further invited educated Indians and the Indian Press to calmly and dispassionately consider the measures that have been suggested by him and, if they approve of the same, to accord their hearty support to them.

No one can question that what England has, already, done for India has entitled her to the gratitude of the Indian people. She has established the *Pax Britannica* throughout India and given it security from foreign invasion and intestine warfare; under her fostering care, education has made considerable progress in this country, and the people that "walked in darkness have seen a great light;" ideas of national life and progress are fast spreading from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin; the various branches of public service have been thoroughly organized and considerably purged of all possible sources of corruption; the moral tone of the people has been considerably elevated, and several pernicious customs, which are intolerable to a civilized Government whose moral ideas are based on the Christian code of ethics, have been abolished; and the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man are beginning to be acknowledged. But there can be no gainsaying the fact that she has still very much to do towards India. Every sincere well-wisher of India trusts to the generosity of the English Government and the good sense of the English people and confidently expects that she will grant to the Indian people the hoped-for boons at no distant date, for there are, in her Councils, Statesman,

"Who know the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet."

Among the problems, which the Government of India has lately had to deal with, it has had to answer the question: "Is India becoming richer or poorer?" That section of the Indian Press and Public, which constitutes the Opposition of the English Government in India, has answered the question by

saying that India is becoming poorer and poorer under British rule, that her poverty is due to over-assessment of the land-revenue and that, devastated as this country has been by successive famines, the Indian peasants have lost all resisting power and are, therefore, falling easy victims to starvation by hundreds of thousands. The author of the *brochure* under notice disagrees with this view of the aforementioned school of Indian politicians who are headed by Messrs. R. C. Dutt, W. Digby, and Da Naoroji and others, and has attempted therein to show that "India, as a whole, is very much richer and is becoming wealthier, but there is an increasing number of people earning a precarious living as labourers, and unless vigorous measures are adopted, things will get worse and worse." But some of the authorities, as for instance, Sir W. W. Hunter, relied on by the author, admit, in no uncertain terms, that "the people of India are very poor." Dr. Murdoch is, however, at one with the aforementioned school of politicians in thinking that a Commission ought to be appointed to enquire into the present incidence of the Land Tax and what it ought to be, and that this body should extend its enquiries, not over the whole of India, but over representative districts.

As the raiyats form the great bulk of the Indian population, and obtain their livelihood by following agricultural pursuits, some reforms are urgently needed for ameliorating their condition. From time immemorial, they have lived from hand to mouth, making no provision for the future, and defraying their extraordinary expenditure, as on the occasions of marriages and *sradh*s, by borrowing. The former Hindu and Mahomedan Governments of this country knew these trials of their character and, therefore, used to help them out of their pecuniary difficulties by giving them *takairs* or advances of money from time to time. Even, after the establishment of British rule in India this system of making *takair* advances to them was continued by the British Government. But it fell into disuse during the first quarter of the last century, although such advances are still given to raiyats who cultivate opium. On this point, Dr. Murdoch says: "Ryots might suffer, but not the opium revenue. By withholding a privilege which ryots had enjoyed for centuries, both under Hindu and Mahomedan rule, the British Government for a century has caused to the ryots an untold amount of misery largely counterbalancing other benefits." He has, therefore, suggested that, for the purpose of saving the raiyats from the clutches of the all-devouring money-lender and otherwise assisting them, the old system of giving them *takair* advances should be adopted and agricultural banks should be established, both of which should be carefully tested in selected districts, and the future policy determined by the experience gained.

Another reform suggested by Dr. Murdoch is that the Government should devote its attention to the development of manufacturers. The opinion of the Indian public has, already, been awakened to the importance of this subject. Several industrial exhibitions have already been held in different parts of India for the purpose of showing the world at large what the Indians are capable of manufacturing. For the carrying out of this reform, Dr. Murdoch has suggested : (1) The organization of a separate department ; (2) an industrial survey ; and (3) a well-devised system of industrial, commercial and technical education. It appears to us very doubtful whether the appointment of a highly-paid Director-General of Manufactures will have any effect on the development of manufacturing industries in this country. The second means suggested, namely, the industrial survey is already in course of progress, for well-illustrated monographs on the different branches of arts and industries practised in every Province of India, are being carefully prepared by experts and published by the Government in its *Journal of Indian Arts and Industry*. Besides, collections illustrative of such arts and industries are exhibited in the Economic and Art Section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and in several Provincial Museums. Of course, the third means suggested by Dr. Murdoch is worthy of some consideration. Suppose that, according to his suggestion, well-equipped Technical Colleges are established, and Indian youths are trained therein in various branches of art industries. But where is the trained student to find his professional career ? How is he to turn his technical knowledge into account for earning his livelihood ? Man liveth not by knowledge alone. He has, also, to supply the material requirements of his daily life.

The people of India are, admittedly, very poor, and cannot therefore, afford to buy the articles of luxury which are the products of such art industries as carving, pottery or sculpture. Unless there is any demand for such articles, there will be no supply thereof under these circumstances, the trained student will, for want of employment suitable to his professional knowledge, "accept a modest billet in the service of Government." Of course, the indigenous arts and manufactures can, to a certain extent, be developed by training youths in their technics and by finding suitable careers for them, when their art education is finished. But we are firmly of opinion that the struggling industries of India can be saved from utter extinction, only if the Government will protect them with tariffs and bounties as is done for them by Governments in independent countries.

At page 71, Dr. Murdoch says : " If proper means are used Indians in increasing numbers will enter the Civil Service. The foolish prejudice against crossing the sea should be given up, and

the course of study should be carefully adopted to the requirements of the service." He does not say what these "means" are. The omission should be supplied in the next edition. It appears to us that the chief obstacles to the entry of Indians, in increasing numbers, into the Civil Service, are the poverty of Indian students, and the gradually-increasing preponderance of the questions couched in Greek and Latin, which are set at the examinations, and which greatly handicap Indian candidates who are well-founded only in the classical languages of India.

The brochure concludes with an appeal to the Indian National Congress for its co-operation and makes some suggestions for the better organization of that body.

ÆSCYÆM.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- The Indian Young Man in the Battle of Life, Hints to Students leaving College.* By John Murdoch, LL.D. The Christian Literature Society for India. London and Madras.
- Rules on English Prose Composition.* By M. W. Jennings, Longmans Green & Co., London.
- List of Pictures in Government House, Madras.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Dove, R.E. Government Press: Madras.
- Chamber's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. The People's Edition.* Edited by Andrew Findlater, M.D., LL.D. W. & R. Chambers: London.
- Buddhist India.* By T. W. Rhys David, LL.D. London: Fisher Unwin.
- A Passage Perilous.* By Rosa Nouchette Casey. London: Macmillan & Co.
- Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the year 1902-1903.* Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press.
- Annual Report of Punjab Veterinary College and of the Civil Veterinary Department for the year 1902-1903.* Civil and Military Gazette Press: Lahore.
- Note on the Stamp Statements of the Punjab for the year 1902-1903.* Civil and Military Gazette Press: Lahore.
- Report on the Police Administration in the Punjab for the year ending 31st December 1902.* Civil and Military Gazette Press: Lahore.
- Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1902.* Civil and Military Gazette Press: Lahore.
- Report on the Eighteenth Indian National Congress, held at Ahmedabad, on the 23rd, 24th and 26th of December 1903.* Commercial Press: Bombay.
- Season and Crop Report of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year 1902-1903.* Allahabad: Government Press.
- General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India during 1901-1902.* By Colonel St. G. C. Gore, C.S.I., R.E., Surveyor-General of India. Government Press: Calcutta.
- Annual Report of the Civil and Veterinary Department, Bengal, and of the Bengal Veterinary College for the year 1902-1903.* Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press.
- Report on Archaeological Work in Burma for the year 1902-1903.* Government Press: Rangoon.
- Report on the Administration of the Police of the Lower Provinces, Bengal Presidency, for the year 1902.* By R. W. Carlyle, C.I.E., I.C.E., Inspector-General of Police, Lower Provinces. Bengal Secretariat Press: Calcutta.