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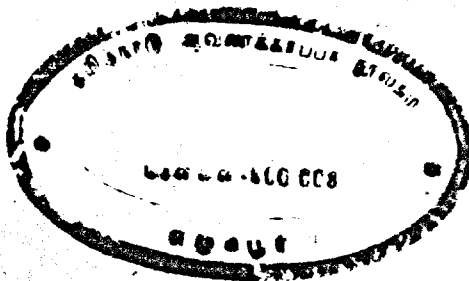
THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXV.

January 1908



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



Calcutta;

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 251 JANUARY 1908.

Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

THE history of the quarter is chiefly concerned with agitation, unrest, and downright sedition.

The Chitpur
Riots.

These were most pronounced in Bengal, where in the early days of October the Vernacular Press, and platform demagogues, vied with each other in the noisome occupation of libelling the British Government, the wilder spirits calling upon the people to rise and push the *Feringhis* out of the country. They were encouraged thereto by the remarkable tolerance of the authorities and the mission of Mr. Keir Hardie, the labour M.P., who professed no end of sympathy with the Bengalee aspirations. On 2nd October riots broke out in Chitpur, in the northern part of the town of Calcutta, and continued for two days. An organised attack was made on the police by a crowd attending a meeting in Beadon Square, because a police note-taker was reporting a speech with the intention of using his notes as evidence of sedition in the subsequent prosecution of the speakers. Not much harm was done in the disorder which the police soon controlled, the loss of an arm by a European sergeant, named Walters, being the saddest part of the business. The Bengal Government, now thoroughly roused to the danger of the situation ordered an enquiry by Mr. Collin, the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, who was on the eve of going to England on leave. He soon disposed of the

matter. He found that the riots were due to the licensed hooliganism of the native students, turned active politicians; that the police had behaved admirably; and the charges of *loot* and worse by the native constables were the exaggerations of a baffled and cowardly treason. Certain Bengalee so-called leaders, prominent among them being Babu Radha Charan Pal, the son of Kristodas Pal, who sits as a representative of the Calcutta Corporation in the Bengal Legislative Council, were loud in their denunciations of the partial and perfunctory character of the enquiry. They formed themselves into what they were pleased to call a People's Commission, which encouraged all and sundry to come forward to give evidence against the police. A portentous report was drawn up and circulated among the members of the British House of Commons. Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, censured Mr. Collin for haste and lack of judicial care and deliberation, and ordered a fresh enquiry by Mr. Donald Weston, who at one time had acted as Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. The enquiry extended over many days and a report was duly submitted to the Government of Bengal, which issued a resolution thereon in the last week of December. Sir Andrew Fraser with chilling politeness discredited the People's Commission. "It is impossible," he wrote, "for the Government to take official cognizance either of untested statements (made by witnesses against the police) or of the conclusions which the gentlemen before whom they were made thought fit to draw from them." His Honour agreed with Mr. Weston in generally acquitting the police of looting and maliciously ill-treating innocent persons from sheer vindictiveness. In the meantime one of the Presidency Magistrates issued an

ordinance closing the squares in the northern or Bengalee portion of Calcutta to public meetings. The ordinance remained in force for three months at the termination of which it had to be renewed in regard to the smaller squares in which the police found it impossible to control a political crowd still openly hostile. Several rioters were prosecuted and sentenced, by the police court stipendiaries, to various terms of imprisonment which did not err on the side of severity, but the miscreant who hacked off the hand of Sergeant Walters was tried at the Calcutta High Court Sessions in November and sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment.

The alarming state of the country and the boldness of the agitators determined the Government of

The Seditious
Meetings Bill.

India to introduce special legislation to withdraw the liberty of public speech whenever there was a danger of that liberty being abused to the danger of peace. Sir Lancelot Hare had asked for extra powers to deal with the sedition in Barisal, a notorious storm centre, and there were other satraps who would be glad of such weapons in cases of emergency. Sir Harvey Adamson introduced the Seditious Meetings Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla on 25th October. It was submitted to the criticism of a Special Committee which included Mr. Gokale, of Bombay and Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, of Calcutta, and passed into law on 1st November the anniversary of the Queen's proclamation of 1858. The two native members opposed its passage with great eloquence, but the Viceroy and his colleagues of the Executive Council were firm and carried with them the support of the whole country. In concluding his speech on the Bill Sir Harvey Adamson made this grave statement:

"I ask who is responsible for the enactment of this measure of repression. The honourable members who opposed the Bill will say that it is the act of the Government, but I assert most solemnly that they and the party whom they represent are responsible. They profess to abhor sedition, and they are never tired of saying that the party of sedition are few, and that they the Moderate Party, are many. What has the Moderate Party done to disavow sedition and to assist the Government of their country in this emergency? I must regretfully answer that they have done absolutely nothing. What has the Anglo-Vernacular Press done, the organs which reflect or ought to reflect the opinions of educated Indians? With a few honourable exceptions, their chief aim has been to distort the motives and acts of the Government. If the true leaders of educated India, men who have the views that are professed by the honourable members who oppose this Bill—they are many, though they are silent—would only have the courage of their opinions and take a firm stand against sedition, whether on the platform or in the Press, the day of sedition would be ended. Let educated Indians who can love their country and yet be loyal to its Government ponder over this. It is they and not the Government who have forged this fetter on the country. Let them even now set their faces against sedition, and against the wilful misconstruction of the motives and acts of Government; and within six months the Bill which we are now endeavouring to pass into law, will become a dead letter."

National
Congress. • The effect of the Bill was instantaneous. Sedition disappeared underground. The Bengalee politicians took right at this mild form of coercion, and showed no

desire to further imitate the Irish Nationalists whom they had previously proclaimed as their models. They declined to go to jail so that Bengal might become a nation once again. Their mischievous activity was turned into another channel, and at the end of the year of grace 1907, the whole world was thrown into a convulsion of laughter at the absurd situation to which political agitation in India was reduced. The Moderates and Extremists who had made common cause as long as abuse of the Government was unattended by personal risk now began to fall out. The former wished to promote constitutional agitation, the latter would proceed to open rebellion. The split was widened by a curious dispute as to the place at which the annual session of the Indian National Congress should be held in December. The Extremists voted for Nagpur, where their party is strong, as in the days of the Mutiny. The Moderates took alarm and decided upon holding it at Surat. There was found another bone of contention. The Moderate party nominated Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, the well-known Bengalee jurist, to the presidency. The Extremists declined to have him at any price. They clamoured for Lala Lajpat Rai, who had been recalled from banishment as an act of clemency on the King's Birthday. When he refused the honour they put forward Bal Gungadhur Tilak, the notorious Maharatta Brahmin, who believes himself to be an avatar of Sivaji. The Congress assembled at Surat on 27th December. There were over sixteen hundred delegates present, among them a powerful minority of Extremists. These howled down Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, who until recently was the idol of Bengal. A disgraceful *fracas* ensued and the President, Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, was obliged to suspend the 23rd Indian

National Congress *sine die*. The cleavage of the parties was thus completed and it will be interesting to watch events. The Moderates formed a convention at which it was decided to appoint a committee to formulate a constitution for the Congress. The Extremists as a counterblast appointed another committee to arrange to carry on the work of the Congress from the point reached at the Calcutta Congress in 1906, when Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee presided. The pithy comment of the London *Standard* is worth quoting, for it truly indexes the opinion of all Anglo-Indians and loyal natives. "The events of Surat," says our contemporary, "will convince people that the Congress, when not actively mischievous, is the exact representation of what the Indian parliament would be, namely, a political bear garden."

The Christmas week was saddened by the perpetration of a dastardly outrage at Goalundo, the outcome of racial hatred. Mr. Attempted Assassination. B. C. Allen, the Collector of Dacca, who had much to do with the suppression of the violence of Indian National Volunteers in his district, was shot on the night of the 23rd at the station, while talking to some native gentlemen who had come to see him off to Calcutta, whither he was proceeding *en route* to England. The assassin, who had used a revolver, escaped in the darkness. He was a young man, evidently a student and had two companions. Mr. Allen was brought down to Calcutta and taken to a private nursing home, where the bullet was extracted and he slowly recovered. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam offered a reward of Rs. 10,000 for the apprehension of the miscreant, but up to the time of going to press he has succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the police. The outrage is the worst that

has occurred in India since the murders of Mr. Rand, a civilian and Lieutenant Ayerst at Poona when the Maharatta Brahmins were on the eve of open rebellion.

Sir Henry W. Primrose, having, for reasons which were not made public, resigned the Chairmanship of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India, Mr. Hobhouse, the Under-Secretary of State for India was appointed in his place. The Commission assembled at Madras on 23rd November, and the Chairman made an opening speech which caused considerable fluttering in the official dovecotes. It was evident, he started by saying, that in the machinery of the administration in India there had collected a certain amount of grit which had thrown it out of gear. "It is our duty to point out where repairs are necessary or, if need be, where it would be advisable altogether to scrap an antiquated and therefore useless machine. By such means it may be possible to bring increased peace and contentment to the inhabitants of those provinces and give prolonged vitality to the instrument of Government." The Commission arrived in Calcutta in the last week of December, proceeding thence to Dacca.

Much disappointment was felt in mercantile circles at the decision of the Secretary of State for India that it would be unnecessary for the Commission, appointed to consider the question of railway finance, to visit India. Indian Railway Commission. Sir Walter Lawrence was appointed in October to be a member of the India Council, and as he is also an important member of the Railway Commission, some people believe that he persuaded Mr. Morley that a tour in India would be wholly superfluous. Be that as it may the disappointment of the commercial

community was profound and the Commission is likely to be thoroughly discredited.

On 8th November a serious strike of the Locomotive and Traffic Departments took place on the East Indian Railway and for more than a week, Calcutta was literally isolated from the rest of India. The organising genius was a guard named Engelken, and as long as his counsels prevailed, the strikers showed an unbroken front. Trade was paralysed and the situation was becoming desperate. Mr. Dring, the Agent, adopted strong measures. He declined to consider the grievances of the strikers until they returned to work. Engelken was dismissed the service and this at first enraged the strikers. Later, however, the Locomotive Department gave way on the promise of Government to appoint a Conciliation Board on which the strikers would be represented. And so the matter stands at present.

The failure of the autumnal rains ruined the *rabi* crops in the United Provinces, Orissa and parts of both Bengals. The distress was most acute in the United Provinces, where Sir John Hewett had to deal with a famine of serious dimensions. In the other parts of the country we have mentioned, the situation was not so alarming, but sufficiently grave to test all the resources of the District Officials.

H. E. Lord Minto toured in Burma during parts of November and December, returning to Calcutta on 22nd December. Burma welcomed him effusively and he brought away the pleasantest recollections of that picturesque country and its picturesque people.

Railway Strikes.

Scarcity and
Famine.

The Viceroy's
Tour.

PREFATORY NOTE.

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

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

CHAPTER XI.

THE ROAD TO INDIA.

ON the other side of the pass we found to our surprise a long gentle slope, crossed here and there by rivulets. The bare ground near the top changed at the foot to a prairie of luxuriant grass. We reached it at six in the evening, after a march that our exhaustion had made slow and uncertain. We hoped to find wild yaks feeding in this abundant pasture, but we hoped in vain. There was no trace of game, and we had to march all through September and without any sustenance, still moving to the south-west.

The ease of the journey and our hopes of killing a yak enabled us to cover over twenty miles on this day. But we met with no luck, and again lay down famished. As this could not go on, and as I had noticed what I took to be sure proof that a herd of yaks was not far away I decided to encamp where we were for another day and to go out in search of them. I went down one of the many valleys where the tracks were numerous, and within two hundred yards saw a herd of thirty peacefully browsing. I was well within range, and brought down a big beast, while the rest fled. I brought my news back to camp and

put fresh life into all. The men, who were dozing for want of better occupation, sprang up, and four of them went off at once with their knives to cut the yak into beef steaks. Others broke up our last cases and made firewood of everything that was not absolutely necessary to our progress.

At last we could rest and eat a little, for I could allow one day for it. Many of the men were in a sad condition of exhaustion and despondency. Want of food and sleep during the last few days had made things worse. But one day's rest was not much. It would have taken a week or two to rest them thoroughly and we could not spare the time.

I knew we must be approaching the first Thibetan settlements north of the lakes, and I was afraid that the authorities at Lhasa who were at present uninformed of our journey would hear of it and stop it if I did not press on south at once, as they had stopped all previous explorers in Thibet and Central Asia.

For two days we travelled south, following a river which I hoped would flow into one of the great central lakes. Its winding course made us cover about twice the distance that we should have had to traverse had we gone straight.

Traces of life appeared more and more often. We came across freshly marked tracks and the *débris* left by caravans. Once we even found on the site of a camp a kind of oven hastily constructed with square blocks of baked clay in which a fire had been recently burning, for the wind had not yet entirely scattered the ashes. Our ears were soon greeted by loud barking and several large Thibetan mastiffs rushed towards the caravan from behind a hillock on which some tame yaks and ponies were feeding. The noise made by the dogs drew the attention of their owners. They emerged one by one from

a black tent made of yak's hide and slowly approached us. One of them, a lama, spoke a few words in Chinese to us and seemed satisfied with our reply. We told him we were merchants on our way to India. Unfortunately we had lost nearly all our baggage in the mud and were now reduced to great poverty. He offered us milk and butter, and, as we had long been deprived of these luxuries, we did not examine them too closely to see what foreign ingredients they might contain. These people were as peaceful and amicable as could be, and it looked well for the future. The Lhasa authorities had evidently issued no orders about us, and our friends saw nothing out of the way about our arrival, though they were surprised that we had not followed some usual caravan route. We explained this as well as we could by professing to have lost our way.

But towards evening three men, among them the lama in his yellow robe, saddled their ponies and rode off at a moderate pace southward. They evidently proposed to discharge their duty as sentinels by warning the soldiers of our arrival. These latter were posted near the lake Nam tso nak, which, according to our new neighbours, was very close.

Nothing happened that night, but I kept watch. I feared that some of our animals might be stolen under cover of the darkness. Poor and exhausted as they were, we could not have progressed without them.

Early next morning we left the little Tibetan camp and continued without any opposition to follow the winding course of the river. It was a hard day, for a drenching rain fell, and we often had to cross the stream.

The water varied in depth from three to four feet, and our condition by evening can be imagined. The rain and the river had soaked us through, and the temperature was very little above freezing point.

I had not the slightest idea where we were, for one could see nothing through the rain, but I noticed that the valley had become a little wider.

I was wakened in the morning by the clatter of many horses, apparently ridden hard, and rushing out I saw ten Thibetan soldiers, who had dismounted from their shaggy and wild steeds and were advancing towards the tent with their long rifles on their shoulders or under their arms. Of course none of our people were on the look out, and my first act was to kick some of them awake. But for my own anxiety I should have laughed at the expression on their faces when they saw the armed Thibetans.

I admit I thought at first that our march would be arrested, and I contemplated with horror a journey to Kashmir from where we were, considering our exhausted condition.

But the soldiers on reaching the tent saluted us amicably. One of them spoke Chinese, and an animated conversation ensued, for a Thibetan in addressing a stranger thinks it necessary to use many gestures and much explanation. At first we were bombarded with questions as to who we were, where we had come from, and where we were going to. I replied in a fashion that satisfied everybody, and then put some questions myself. I found that our visitors were under the orders of a petty chief whose business it was to watch the pass through which we had come into the great lake district. As we were merchants he had no desire to stop us, and after an hour's conversation he wished us a pleasant journey. Before leaving he sold us a pound of flour for a tael, an exorbitant price in Thibet. But then everybody must live!

I started again with a light heart. Lhasa did not oppose us, and probably knew nothing about us. I congratulated myself once more on having obtained passports for Chinese Turkestan at Peking, and on not having breathed a word about my intention of entering the forbidden precincts of Thibet. The soldiers and their chief evidently had no suspicion and would not send a special message to Lhasa about us. By moving quickly we should probably cross the dangerous part before any orders could be issued to stop us. My expectations were justified by the event.

The district of Nam tso nak which we had now entered was very different to the country of rocks and valleys that we had just passed through. A green plain stretched as far as we could see covered with flocks, and horsemen and tents were everywhere. From the tents rose little columns of smoke. The general impression of life and comparative wealth was a great relief after the absolutely deserted regions we had travelled through, meeting only one pilgrim caravan and the yak hunters. During the day we counted sixty black tents, scattered about, sometimes together but generally at long intervals. Thibetan society evidently tends to the formation of little groups consisting each of one family rather than to larger gatherings.

The Chinese call these Thibetans "the black tents," because of the unvarying colour of their dwellings. They have the reputation of being extremely savage, and of pitilessly attacking travellers. We were lucky enough to have no trouble with them. On the contrary we were always well received and bowed to when we passed a tent without entering it. Only once did we excite the anger of an old lama, by taking the caravan past ground where his flock was folded for the night.

This is a serious affront to their superstition, and we were very careful not to do it again. Occasionally riders galloped up to us from neighbouring tents and followed us for some miles, with no show of hostility, only with the natural curiosity that a passing caravan excites in these big children.

During two days' march we were still in sight of Nam tso nak, though leaving it on our left, and towards evening on the second day we got into a mountainous region. This seemed due to a meeting of several small chains and was quite different from the long and wide regular chains that we met with later.

A strange phenomenon was observed here by many of my men. Their feet and legs were swollen and hard and, so far as the natural Chinese tint allowed, red. This peculiar trouble lasted about two days without otherwise affecting the persons seized with it. At first I thought it due to the height, but I gave up this idea on reflecting that we had been much higher, without any one suffering in this way. It was probably blood poisoning, due to the sting of some insects, but the inhabitants when consulted did not seem to have seen similar cases. What struck me most was that the swellings gave no pain and did not interfere with marching.

On September 8th we reached lake Pou tso. Its neighbourhood is fairly populous, not so much so as that of Nam tso nak. Here we held amicable converse with several Thibetans who showed no surprise at the sight of a sextant and an artificial horizon.

One of them even said that he had been present at the taking of a latitude by a European who had been stopped by the Thibetan authorities a little to the south of where we were. From this man's account the traveller must have been Dr. Sven Hedin. From this affable

Thibetan we bought two pounds of butter and two sheep for some thirteen yards of Chinese linen of which I still possess a little. It was common blue "pou", but in Thibet the cheapest stuff is valuable, owing to the paucity of communication.

All this portion of Thibet is well populated and very fertile, at least as regards pasturage. It is not cultivated, the only occupation of the inhabitants being the raising of cattle. The temperature was cold at night, but pleasant enough by day when the rain stopped and this was due to the fact that we had come down about 2,500 feet. We were now in the temperate zone of the Thibetan plateau.

On September 9th we bade a heated farewell to the Thibetans, whose anxiety to help in our packing and the loading of our mules had given them the opportunity of stealing several little things. We hoisted Siao Tchang on to our last camel. His condition of exhaustion was growing hourly worse in spite of all care and medicine.

Going straight south we surmounted a couple of crests and crossed the valley in which Sven Hedin was stopped and detained more or less as a prisoner for some days. There must be a small permanent police post here, for two soldiers came up to us wearing the Thibetan head-dress so like the pointed cap of the mediæval alchemist.

They put some questions to us, and readily let us proceed when they saw that we were not, like the great explorer, going towards Lhasa. This was great good luck, and now I had no doubt that we should soon be looking down upon the plains of India. But we had many miles to cover yet, and the neighbourhood of the Tengri nor had an ill repute. The Prince of Orleans and Little-dale were stopped there. Having come out of a labyrinth

of small hills which gave us much trouble and made us continually retrace our steps with no small irritation we saw the blue surface of the little lake To ko tso gleaming in front of us. It is a pretty sheet of water, like the Swiss lakes. There is a rocky island in it on which hundreds of white gulls alight.

In spite of the suggestions of the maps I do not believe that there is any connection between the To ko tso and the Pam tso, the latter lying to the south and about ninety feet lower.

The Pam tso is a much larger lake than the To ko tso, but is evidently disappearing, as is proved by the old water marks which are very clear upon its banks. The two lakes must have been connected once where they are now separated by a low ridge. The water of both is salt, but a boiling spring of fresh water gushes from a rock which stands in the Pam tso near its north-western shore.

The Pam tso is surrounded by high mountains. There is little pasturage near it, and this, with the scarcity of fresh water, accounts for the fact that Thibetans are rarely met with near it.

We encamped, however, close to a small fort in which two Thibetans dwelt by themselves. They asked us in Chinese, without leaving their post, whether we were followers of the grand lama of Sining, who had passed along the caravan road a few days before. When we said yes they wished us good luck and retired to their den.

A sad incident now cast a gloom over our successful march. Siao Tchang was found dead and already cold at eleven o'clock at night by one of the men, who on getting up to leave the tent stumbled over his body. He called me and I came and certified that the poor fellow had died from some kind of heart disease. The caravan

drivers gradually collected in a sympathetic group, but no one would touch the body, and I had to wrap it in a sort of winding sheet myself and use great severity of speech to induce his companions to lift the dead man and carry him a furlong away to a specially wild and rocky spot. Here I hoped the Thibetans would not notice the recently disturbed ground and that the grave would not be rifled with a view to the theft of rings or clothing, a feat they are only too ready to perform if they get the chance.

For several hours we dug the grave. It was very difficult, for the ground was frozen, and we did not wish to attract the attention of the Thibetans. Towards three o'clock in the morning, however, all was done, and Siao Tchang was laid to rest very far from his native country Leantchou.

During the few months that he had been with us Siao Tchang had borne a very bad character. He lied and stole with wonderful perseverance, in spite of the punishment with which his offences were always visited. I had often wished to dismiss him while we were still near Leantchou, but the other drivers had pleaded so hard for him that I had given way. I was further induced to keep him by his production of a letter of recommendation from a missionary. I could hardly believe that it had been given simply to get rid of him, yet such was the case. His was the second death, and it demoralised the rest if possible still more than before, for I had to raise my revolver threateningly on the next day to force them to start.

All day long the men did not interchange a word. They did their work with one eye fixed on me, to seize any chance of slipping behind a rock and going to sleep, or dying of hunger, which seemed to them a

more enviable lot than that which awaited them if they followed me.

For two days after passing the Pam tso we moved south south-west in a direction which, if my calculation was correct, would bring us to the middle of the northern bank of the great lake. We moved at an easy pace of a little over two miles an hour. The sad state of our mules made several halts necessary. The country was more and more frequently cut up by small marshes near which were great stretches of grass on which large flocks fed. Although we often passed only a few yards from an inhabited tent nobody showed the slightest surprise at the sight of our little band, or asked us any questions. On 13th September at nightfall we saw the Tengri nor stretching in all its magnificence before us. It was a noble sight. The great mountain chains, a hundred miles long and always ice bound, rose behind its waste of deep blue waters. The highest peaks were reflected in the calm transparent lake, the topmost being not less than 25,000 feet high. These measureless heights form a more imposing framework than any Swiss lake can boast of. Perhaps in another fifty years tourists will come from India and the heat to refresh themselves by the Tengri nor. The world changes so quickly now-a-days that such a development would scarcely astonish one. But the altitude of 16,000 feet, which many people cannot endure, will always make against it as a health resort. The country on the south of the Tengri nor is full of life. There are large collections of tents gathered round small temples in which lamas burn incense night and day. It was strange to smell this scent after our long days in an atmosphere untroubled by any odour of human production.

The plant from which this incense is extracted grows abundantly on the banks of the lake, and the sale of it is

one of the only industries. It sheds a peculiar perfume and rises to the height of a small bush. For two days I had to let the caravan rest. Men and animals were equally exhausted, and though my wife set them a gallant example of courage and endurance I did not desire to overtax her strength. Moreover these days were quiet and peaceful. Some Thibetans came to see us and sold us some sheep. They gave us all the information we wanted about the country, and no Lhasa soldier showed his peaked cap.

One of the mistakes on the maps which mark the Tengri nor is to place a group of islands towards the north-west. As we went along we could make certain that these islands do not exist. But there is a thin tongue of earth consisting of a group of rocks with the land rising so little above the surface that at a short distance it is invisible.

It was not easy to go round the lake from the middle of its northern side to its south-western end. The ground was firm enough and the pasturage excellent, but we had to cross several rivers which flow into the lake, and whose beds were often muddy and sometimes quicksands. One in particular ran over white limestone sand from which we had great trouble in extricating our beasts which were now too weak to compass such difficulties without assistance.

September 17th was a day full of incident. We had left the Tengri nor in the morning and begun a march almost due south across a series of valleys and hills, in regular lines but so close together that one could not see more than a few furlongs either way. This assisted the laziness of the men who tried more than once to slip out of sight. One of them, Hin, showed real ability in escaping my watchful eye. Towards noon having ordered

a few minutes halt, I saw Hin stretch himself out and begin to sleep. When the caravan started again he took a few steps and then began to limp. He came and asked me for a few minutes in which to fix a boot which was hurting his foot. I gave him leave and waited patiently, amused at his calling the rag that swathed his foot a boot. But as time went on my patience went with it and I ordered an advance, leaving him behind. He was to follow at once. We saw him no more. Shi-shi, our faithful watch-dog, was with him, and when towards evening he was still absent I am afraid I regretted the loss of the dog most. She had often warned us of danger while the men slept; and we could not do without her in this populous part. Shortly after Hin's disappearance another man, Tchrung, stayed behind, ostensibly to look after a mule which had fallen exhausted and which he was very fond of. While I went back as quickly as possible to bid Tchrung follow at once, a cousin of his with another driver named Tatchrung, a fairly bad character, left the front of the caravan in spite of my wife's order and undertook to look for the missing man. Of course they lost their way, since all the hills were just alike. So that when I came up again tired out I found only three men. The situation was not pleasant, seeing that the mule by which Tchrung had stopped carried the cartridges and what remained of our silver taels. Having found Tchrung and forced him to resume his march I had been obliged to leave him behind again for my presence was required in front of the caravan. His promises to come quickly seemed so genuine that I had left with him the precious cartridges and the still more precious taels.

If the Thibetans had attacked us on that night we should have vanished from this world without being

able to offer the least resistance, and the thought of it was enough to keep me awake all night.

As soon as the sun had risen I went out to look for the missing men. I hoped that having spent an icy night in the open without food, and exposed to the attacks of wolves and bears, they had learnt their lesson, and when I saw them with downcast faces and outspread hands begging pardon, I felt certain that at any rate for some months they would have no more ideas of suicide or voluntary starvation.

There was still no sign of Hin.

I waited all day on the 18th for him, but the poor fool never arrived and I was obliged to leave him to his fate. If I had decided to go back and find him the caravan would have mutinied.

On the next day we had to cross frozen passes in a heavy fall of snow, so that the arrival of Shi-shi in the middle of the afternoon was the more miraculous. We suddenly heard a joyous bark, and immediately afterwards our good little dog was among us, unable to express her pleasure sufficiently. It was a wonderful feat to follow us through the snow and over the streams, but she had often already shown exceptional sagacity. Round her neck was a bit of the rope that she had bitten through and this confirmed my worst fears about Hin. He must have died of cold in the night. Shi-shi had thus freed herself and come up with us. Exhaustion had now claimed three victims, and it was time to reach our goal.

But we were still ten days' march from the Brahmaputra, the great artery of Southern Thibet. Judging from the general appearance of the country and the information of the inhabitants we could not take a straight line for the great river especially in our exhausted state.

Mountainous regions very intricate and difficult offered an insuperable obstacle, and so I decided to follow the first stream that seemed to flow towards the Brahmaputra.

So we went for several days down a continually widening river called the Kang Chu, along whose banks little by little civilization began to appear. The tents were larger, the people seemed more wealthy, the women's dress was more ornamented, and several wore jewels. But their greater prosperity did not make them more friendly. One day, wishing to buy a horse, I approached a tent. All its inhabitants fled in terror to the mountains. I went into it and found an old blind woman alone in a corner. I took all we wanted, and left a silver shoe on the threshold in full view. Another day we were stopped by a little group of mounted men, a sergeant and three soldiers, who assured us that we could not go on down that river for the way was blocked by a precipitous rock. He very kindly offered to bring us some tame yaks next day, with which to cross the river which was now fairly deep. We took his advice and had to admit later that he was right.

Here and there were shrubs, sometimes several feet high, and we were surprised and delighted. Herds of tame yaks abounded, white, black, and grey, going down our way, loaded with butter and dried meat. Only very few people spoke to us, and the further we advanced the more it seemed to us that we were looked upon with suspicion if not with hostility. We were approaching the district which had felt the effects of the English expedition to Lhasa, and our presence as Europeans was noted and resented much more keenly than in the central lake country.

However nothing important occurred till we reached the fort of Namling, rising in its might and sanctity on

the summit of a hill in the shape of a truncated cone. Under the shelter of its grey stone walls a monastery containing three hundred Thibetan monks dominates the town proper, whose population amounts to nearly one thousand. To get to it we had had to make use of a bridge made of large iron rings stretched between two small towers and bound together underneath with strips of yak's hide, on which wooden planks were loosely fitted. To cross this required great care and indeed some courage, for in the middle of the transit of this antique suspension bridge the chains began to swing from side to side and up and down, producing a feeling of insecurity which was increased by the sight of the river rushing below. As soon as we had set our tents up the lamas ordered all the people to shut their doors in our faces and refuse to sell us anything whatever. As we were very hungry I thought it best to supply ourselves with food without heeding the veto of the lamas. I accordingly fired on a flock of sheep, and killed three. A little later as we were beginning to feast on mutton and buttered cake, a deputation of lamas appeared offering us eggs and chickens. My shots had been most efficacious.

Namling lies in a bend of the river, and for long distances up and down one can see the old Thibetan forts, very like the castles on the Rhine. Perched on almost inaccessible rocks they speak well for the skill of their builders and for the fighting spirit of former days.

Namling is one of the strongest forts north of the Brahmaputra. The English expedition did not visit it.

The friendly if compulsory visit of the lamas resulted in the gathering of the whole population at our tents, and we were soon surrounded by hundreds of

persons. The women were naturally the boldest and most curious. They wore very clean clothes and pretty jewellery. Having left the tent for a moment to give some orders I found three of them on my return investigating the contents of my bag, which were now reduced to the smallest dimensions.

To crown all a troop of jugglers arrived and went through their programme, and we fell asleep with the sound of their sonorous and monotonous drums still in our ears.

From Namling to the Brahmaputra the journey was easy, for I had bought some tame yaks at Namling, and our poor remaining three mules could rest at last. We crossed the river in square boats made of yak hide stretched over a framework of wood. It was the most dangerous craft conceivable, and I do not understand yet how we induced our last and only camel to enter it and stay in it. I proposed to offer this animal to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens as a product of the north. The yaks also were difficult to manage. The boatmen had tied them all to the back of one of the boats and as soon as they started swimming each chose a different direction, so that the embarkation amid all these distractions nearly came to grief. In the evening we encamped near Shigatze, and four days later we saluted the English flag flying at Gyantze.

I will not say much about this portion of Thibet. Excellent books have described the fertile fields, stone houses, and general customs of this country very completely. Since the Thibetan expedition the south of the Brahmaputra is well known, except for that portion of its course which is intercepted by rapids, and another portion to the north-west of the point where it crosses the Indian frontier.

The general aspect of the country is quite different to that of the northern part. Relative cultivation and wealth have worked great changes. Thibet, the real Thibet, the Thibet of adventurous explorers, lies to the north, as completely ice bound and desolate as Southern Thibet is smiling and attractive. At Gyantze Captain O'Connor, the Political Agent who remained there after the expedition, entertained us most kindly for several days, and, when we had received permission from the Government of India to proceed south, we came into Sikhim and became the guests of Mr. Claude White, the Political Agent there. Here we enjoyed the greatest hospitality amid the lovely flowery scenery of Sikhim and we spent some days at Gantok in infinite peace, with the pleasant feeling of having succeeded at all points in our long and dangerous journey, of having for the first time crossed Thibet from north to south, and of having entered India from China, while all others who had attempted to execute the journey had met with pitiable failure.

LESDAIN.

Art. III.—SOME FAMOUS WOMEN OF INDIA.

THE task of presenting a picture gallery of famous Indian women to Anglo-Indian society is not divested of its difficulty by the privilege and pleasure lurking in its folds. The difficulty arises from the distance which separates British from Indian ideals of womanhood, ideals wrought out under separatist influences. The unity of the human race doubtless provides a meeting place on which sympathetic natures may find compensation in certain bed-rock affinities for many of the more superficial antagonisms. But is it not a melancholy truth that there are great gulfs, over which individuals may call to one another, and which rare personal enterprise may sometimes bridge, but which Indian and Anglo-Indian societies have for the most part labelled "impassable," and may continue so to regard, until some great soul-harmony unifies all mankind?

My object in approaching my subject in this particular vein of thought is not to steal a religious march on any one in a secular study. It is a purely scientific one. It is to postulate a differentiation which certain radical distinctions have created between dissimilar types of human institutions, and to recognise that men and women of one system naturally judge those of another in the light of their own prepossessions, rather than on their merits. These may depend on heredity and environment as well as on the subtle moral and social influences which human beings breathe in from their surroundings and exhale into their respective societies—a reaction which analytic science has still left more or less undefined.

For those of us who have studied Indian history and fairly translated Indian habits and moods into our own language, historical Indian womanhood stands on an emotional and intellectual plane to which European history and European society, at any rate of the Christian centuries, furnish no parallel. Differences between ancient and modern Indian society are not overlooked in this suggestion. The differences discoverable, however, between Indian womanhood of the present and of the past, great as they may be or seem, are rarely essential and are slight when contrasted with those which separate all Indian from all British womankind.

So approaching our study of some famous Indian women—a study which must of necessity on this occasion, be hurried and brief—some of us, who may begin with the languid interest sometimes considered the proper mental attitude of cultivated society towards most things Indian, may end with a new insight into one or two of these things, and possibly also a different estimate of the people of this "land of regrets" and surprises.

I. . . My first picture is that of *Sita*, only daughter of *Jan aka* king of *Mithila*, who became wife of *Rama*. It may seem to be passing from the region of history to the realms of superstition to begin this appeal to sympathy with a being whose very existence is denied or doubted by some scholiasts, and of whom others say that, even though she once existed, yet, after we have torn away all that imagination has woven round her, little that is human or historical remains attached to the skeleton to engage serious thought, or arouse regard. It is not so, however, that European scholars and poets have treated the heroines of Greek legends and Roman myths. Surely, wherever a lofty ideal has been set up

anywhere, after which some seemingly earnest and sincere individuals of any race strive, we have, in all such ideals, moral legacies, which it is the common privilege of the human race to cherish, as eloquent hints of a super human origin. Is it not in isolated human creatures or creations that we find our common human nature harking back to some higher source, like water seeking its own level? feeling, after it that haply we may find it? The mystic birth of *Sita*, named after the furrow where her father found her, and the popular belief that *Rama* is an incarnation of *Vishnu*, may conspire to place the early life of both in the same category with the nourishment of Romulus and Remus by a wolf. But no violence is done to the historical instinct in accepting the main incidents of these two lives, when sheared of their mythical fringes, as furnishing either high human examples or else ennobling ideals that are worth preserving. *Rama*, son of *Dasaratha*, king of *Ajudyha*, won his bride by one of those feats of prowess performed at a tournament, which have made the folk lore of the whole Indo-Germanic world kin. I should not stake much on the future of the British boy, whose pulse did not quicken to any one of these stirring stories. After his return home with his beautiful bride, *Rama* became the victim of a conspiracy set on foot by one of the queen mothers of the court, who sought to place her own son on the throne. The romance of *Rama* and *Sita*—or of *Sita Rama* as Hindus, with a lingering belief in the precedence of women, still sing it—began with *Rama's* voluntary exile, on which he determined, rather than plunge his country into a bloody civil war. The standard of duty here presented to us is not at all lower than that inculcated in an elaborate Peace Conference broached as a prelude to a sanguinary war. At

any rate, the model of self-abnegation set forth here, whether fiction or fact, seems of a piece, different only in degree but identical in kind, with the self-sacrifice which is the central principle of the highest moral codes. The loving pair wandered about from place to place, fulfilling their religious duties daily, and, in particular crises, addressing each other in language of ineffable tenderness and purity, which the *Ramayana* has consecrated for poets of all ages and races, and which Griffiths, in his incomparable translation, has placed within the reach of all readers of English. In the course of travel, *Sita* became the object of a violent passion in the breast of *Ravana*, king of *Lanka*, who carried her off and kept her in a fast fortress; whence, after many and weary months, she was released by her husband. He was helped by *Hunuman*, mythically known as the monkey-king, but historically co-ordinated with a ruler of aboriginal tribes whose ugliness suggested this antonomasia. Some of the most touching numbers of the *Ramayana* deal with *Rama's* refusal to acknowledge his wife, after her rescue, on the delicate ground that she could not have remained immaculate in thought while she was the object of *Ravana's* perplexing attentions; and *Sita's* determination to immolate herself on the funeral pyre because—mark the metaphysical refinement of the conception—his ideal wife had died out of the heart of her husband. Here fiction steps in to spice a good story for the Indian appetite and spoil it for the European mind. *Agni*, the fire-goddess, becomes a harmless golden flame on the pyre, recalling the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, whose scorching tongues had no power over their victims to do them harm. Restoring the true wife to the mourning husband, *Agni* wrests from him the striking confession that he had subjected

his beloved to a cruel ordeal, less to remove doubts of his own, than to destroy cruel suspicions in the mind of the scoffing world of his day—so like our own! The passionate enthusiasm with which the most moving passages in this romance are still sung, as they have been sung for untold generations by Indian bards, may surely be accepted as at least the intermittent yearnings of wandering souls after a cherished standard of domestic purity as high as any conceived by men.

I must plead for pardon for this lengthy lingering over my first picture—both because of its beauty, to which I have done scant justice, and because of its place in the evolution of Indian thought.

II. My second picture is that of *Sanjogta*, princess of *Kanauj*, the lesson of whose story seems to be that she was inspired by an ideal of womanly devotion which, though it does not conform to the higher standards set up, if not always followed, in our own double-minded times, at any rate demands discrimination. Daughter of *Jaychand*, king of *Kanauj*, who, at the close of the twelfth century, shared with *Pithaura* of Delhi, the fame of being the two greatest of the four great sovereigns of Hindustan, her father designed her for a different fate from that which she chose for herself. *Jaychand* had dreamed of making himself emperor of Hindustan. As, in the Hindu world, every important ceremonial must be primarily religious, *Jaychand's* empire-making began with the *Raja Suyia* ritual. That consisted in an extensive feeding of Brahmans, punctuated with an allotment of each one of the many domestic offices in royal house-holds, ordinarily entrusted to a menial, to one of the consenting vassal kings. *Pithaura* of Delhi, having refused to join in this glorification of his rival at his own

expense, a golden image of him was made to do duty for him as a *darwan*. Angered by this insult, *Pithaura*, accompanied by a hundred of his braves in disguise, made his way to *Kanauj*, and forcibly took away the image which had dishonoured him. His valour so impressed *Sanjogta* that, almost like one of George Macdonald's heroines who throw themselves into hesitating lovers' arms as a protest against the initiative monopolised by men, she offered herself to her hero. He, nothing unwilling, snatched her from the "impregnable fortress" in which, shocked at her perversity, her father had imprisoned her, and bore her home, paying a heavy toll in the lives of most of his courageous band. *Pithaura* married his hardly won bride with great éclat, but did not live happily ever after; for though the honeymoon lasted out their lives, the period was one of a blood-red moon, whose lurid beams died out in a blackness of darkness. It is the misfortune of such short summaries as this one that it is possible only to hint at traits of character and features of conduct which have taxed the imagination and exhausted the eloquence of poets and historians of a bygone age. It had been easy to linger within all the available space over the incidents of *Sanjogta's* life—if only to explain how her conduct led to the Mohamadan invasion of India on the one hand, and on the other, placed Indian womanhood on a pinnacle of its own. If *Sanjogta's* advances to a prince of whose claims to respect she had no other evidence than his courage, and to whom she sacrificed both her father and her country, present us with one of those tangents of oriental caprice, which fly off unexpectedly from all recognised circles of propriety, not only does her insistence on her own right of choice in the biggest crisis of life bespeak for her an

amount and kind of freedom, which may still be coveted in this and other lands, but any outrage on conventionalities involved in her conduct was atoned for by her utter devotion to the husband of her choosing, and the inspiration which her counsels brought him, when, surrounded by foes and enveloped in disasters, he went down fighting for his life and the freedom of his country. And does the picture of potential Indian womanhood which she presents to modern Indian society, with the inmates of some of its zenanas trembling on the threshold of emancipation, contain no suggestion of any wiser compromise between individual freedom and personal duty than that of this original heroine of other days?

III. My next portrait is that of Saltana *Rezia*, daughter of *Altamish*, who, sold as a slave by his jealous princely brothers, like another Joseph, overcame misfortune after misfortune by persistent personal uprightness; uninspired, so far as we know, by premonitory dreams. He finally ascended the throne of Delhi by marrying the daughter of the famous *Kutab*, whose service he had entered as an amateur counsellor. Of such men, one wonders, in these days of competitive examinations tempered by judicious selection, whether they were discovered for their offices or their offices were invented for them, until some belief in over-ruling destiny breaks in on our theories with its eloquent and impressive facts, and teaches us to be still, and know. *Rezia* was not only beautiful in face and form, but also in mind, and highly educated—as education went in those days; and it is not quite certain, as judged “by results,” that it did not go further than it has been carried by some of our modern syllabuses and codes, since it fitted her for her work in life. Some of the sentences carved

on the *Kutab Minar* are said to have been composed by the *Saltana*—an hypothesis which, if true, may be said to settle, for all time, the intellectual equality of women with men; for these sentences not only have the rare quality of exquisite expression, but display the rarer gift of original and elevating thought. When *Altamish* left Delhi in 1226 with a vast army for the conquest of some corners of Hindustan which had not yielded to his sway, he installed *Rezia* as his vice-regent after issuing this remarkable rescript:—“Know that the burden of power, too heavy for my sons, though there were twenty of them, is not so for the delicate *Rezia*. She has in her more spirit than them all.” For such a “rose of the rosebud garden of girls” to have blossomed forth out of the conditions of Moslem society in India in 1226, is not only a tribute to some inspiring or at least uplifting influence in the atmosphere of that day, however clouded it may have otherwise been, but also an epitaph of eclipsed glories for which we may still sigh with the help of the profound prescription that “whatever human nature has been or done before human nature may be and do once more.” *Rezia's* claim to the throne on her father's death was disputed by her vicious brother *Feroz*, but was established after protracted warfare and heavy slaughter. By one of those strange caprices which so often dismay all lovers of their kind, *Rezia* blotted out some of the brightest memories of her great life by falling in love with the Abyssinian master of her horse, whose muscular Mohamadanism, if I may coin the phrase, atoned to her infatuation for his unworthiness. This strange episode possibly suggested a parallel in one of the most repulsive tales of the *Bagh-o-Bahar*. Be that as it may, *Rezia's* own death knell was virtually sounded in the overthrow and murder of

this man ; for although the general, to whom she was entrusted as a prisoner, became her captive with a change of chains, and actually married her, he only temporarily averted the fate which finally overtook her in her defeat and death. Executed as a martyr to female freedom which had foolishly wandered into license, it is possible to brand the folly which died in infamy without forgetting the balance of good in a brilliant character.

IV. My fourth picture is of the nameless Hindu Queen of *Ganor*, mentioned in Todd's *Annals of Rajasthan* ; who, after losing all her outlying fortresses, was driven by her Mohamadan victor to her last stronghold on the Narbadda. Here she was sued in an unexpected way by her pursuing conqueror, who suddenly formed the business-like plan of preventing further bloodshed by offering marriage to his hunted enemy. The vanquished Queen ostensibly accepted the doubtful honour, and gifted her bridegroom with a resplendent tunic, which possessed the disadvantage of being poisoned. The marriage rites having been celebrated with great pomp, the Queen calmly informed her nominal husband of his impending doom. That rapidly overtook him, and he died in an agony of torture, while the Queen sprang over the battlements of her fort into the flood beneath and perished in a halo of darkened glory recalling a Rembrandt masterpiece. An Anglo-Indian poetess has vied with Hindu bards in perpetuating her memory. Miss Mary Leslie, who died in Barrackpore only in June last after a long life of unostentatious benevolence, sings thus :—

Still the swift Narbadda river
Flows into the blue sea ever,
And it bears her on its waters, gliding past each
wooded shore

With the bridal raiment round her
And the rubied crown which bound her—
Fairest of all India's daughters, Queen heroic of
Ganor.

To minds nurtured in Christian tradition the poetic beauty of this blighted life may not perhaps at once be apparent. But for all who can understand the redeeming influence of motive, the saving grace of fidelity to a wrong ideal in even the cruel rite of *satti*—for which no single syllable of apology is offered in this appreciation of one of its illustrations—in a Hindu widow, who preferred death by drowning to what she rightly conceived to be a degradation, the true inwardness of a self-sacrifice, which certainly represented devotion to principle and integrity of conscience, ought not to be altogether imperceptible. Women who endure cruelties are separated by the whole heaven from men who impose them. From the tangled drama of human struggle with overwhelming surroundings, stolen glimpses of motive sometimes come as lightning flashes of revelation to rescue men and women like ourselves from indiscriminate or pharisaical condemnation.

V. It must have struck students of Indian history that, not wholly unlike the annals of European states before the seventeenth century, the chronicles of Indian sovereignties generally are mostly records of courts and camps, in which a few central figures absorb all interest and attention, while the millioned masses move around them in comparative obscurity, living in myriads to contribute to their glory and dying by thousands to very little better purpose!

The romance of the *Princess of Rupnagar*, wife of the *Rana Raj Singh* of Meywar, furnishes a happy exception to this sad rule. When *Auranzeb*, in pursuance

British Government. *George Thomas*, the English buccaneer, who had first entered into her service, but afterwards set up for himself as an independent chief, offered the *begam* marriage, but was refused, yet so far remembered his earlier attachment that, when *Begam Samru* fell upon evil days, he was able to give her valuable help. He even rescued her from the imprisonment in which she was for a time held by Zaffar Yab Khan. Neither space nor the design of this study admits of our following this extraordinary woman, who may be compared to Justinian's Theodora, into the many and startling incidents which make up her life story. On one occasion she attempted her own life with a dagger in order to escape the indignity of falling into hostile hands. The weapon missed its mark—and no cynic has since suggested that the occurrence was a mere stage tragedy. The *begam* survived to experience greater reverses than those which she here sought to escape—and to commit greater crimes. It is of her that the terrible story is told of two miserable slave girls whom she buried alive, and over whose grave she slept all night in order to make her vengeance sure. Their only crime had been that they had won some admiring glances from an Afghan trooper whose attention she had desired to confine to herself. It seems only fair to realise that, if India has produced her models of womanly devotion and tenderness, it has not been wanting in parallels to the worst female fiends of European history.

VII. My reference to my next subject, *Lakshmi Bai Rani* of *Jhansi*, will be brief, and need not be too careful to avoid wounding Anglo-Indian susceptibilities. Her memory is justly execrated by Englishmen because of the Englishwomen and children

who were massacred by her troops in 1857. I believe it to be established beyond question that murder was, on this occasion, darkened by no fouler atrocities; and it has been doubted whether the slaughter was ordered by the *Rani*, or carried out by her soldiers without her knowledge and consent. Leaving future Macaulays and Froude's to darken or lighten the shades in which posterity shall read off her character, I may simply call attention to the fact that, fifty years ago, an Indian woman headed her troops in person and led them in battle, and behaved with dauntless courage on the field, where she fell fighting like a wounded tigress. When we remember that she had the same grievance that led the Nana Saheb, Dundhu Panth of Bithore, into nameless outrages, and that she fought for independence with a patriotism which we admire in Poles and Hungarians, a veil may charitably now be drawn over the alleged blackness of her character as we recognise her courage and devotion, and lament the miscarriage of political foresight which did not, as in the case of the Begam of Bhopal, enlist her virtues on our own side, the side of the most truly benevolent Government that India has ever known, the only rule that has consistently and persistently sought to secure the happiness of the helpless masses, *sua si bona norint*—and sometimes succeeded.

VIII. The early grave that closed over *Tarulatta* or *Toru, Datta*, as she is more affectionately known necessarily imparts a speculative character to any literary appreciation of her work as a Bengali poetess, or of its influence on Bengali society. But the daughter of a Bengali Christian gentleman, himself of high character, distinguished attainments, and liberal views, who has expressed her yearnings after

spiritual freedom, and her sympathy with victims of moral, social, and political bondage, Asiatic no less than European, in English and French verse of great insight and delicacy of expression, may well take her place among the great women of India and appeal to all generous minds of all races. May we not regard her indeed as a promise of peculiar significance in the midst of the intellectual turmoil which a system of secular education of doubtful tendencies has raised in the greatest Indian province? In *Toru Datta*, the blossom of an Indian home, we have, side by side with the mental keenness and literary capacity shared by some thousands of her countrymen and some scores of her countrywomen, a peculiar development of character and aspiration, apparently traceable, in part at any rate, to an heredity and environment that are still uncommon, if mainly Indian. Of these, any Christian may be pardoned for hoping that they are harbingers of a dawning Indian influence which heralds a brighter day.

My last portrait links the past with the present in an interesting way. *Ramabai* is the daughter of a girl whom her pilgrim father made over to an elderly Brahman on the banks of the Godavery to be his wife. The simplicity of the transaction recalls the Bethuel and Laban of older stories. The old husband educated his young wife in all the learning of the Hindus, contrary to all the habits and prejudices of his caste. That such a mother, taken up as a foundling but lapped in learning from girlhood, should give the world such a daughter as *Ramabai* became, is hardly surprising; though it is disappointing to find the same mother wedding her daughter in childhood to an unworthy husband whose conduct began for *Ramabai* the baptism of

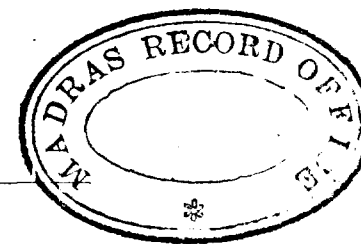
humiliation from which she emerged a true heroine and an apostle to her suffering sex in India. Though the early death of her husband gave her relief from the worst of thraldoms, to overlook the effect on her character of her first great ordeal, endured in the most impressionable years of her life, were to miss the key to the interpretation of her rich, deep, unfailing enthusiasm in the service of suffering Indian girls. The education she had received from her mother was of such a solid quality that, when left alone in the world at sixteen by her mother's death, she came to Calcutta and passed a searching examination in Sanscrit and in the Hindu shastras, from which she emerged with the coveted title of *Saraswati*. Her second marriage at eighteen, with a man of high character but inferior caste, which practically ostracised her from the best circles of Hindu society, was the second step in her preparation for those later labours which have made her widely known and greatly respected in India, in Britain and in America. After giving a series of lectures in India, while at the same time drinking in information for herself, *Ramabai* went to England in 1883. This visit, which is credited with enlarging her mind to a wonderful extent, as all travel doubtless enlarges most minds, may perhaps be more accurately said to have deepened her emotional receptivity and power of responding to external appeal. If I were alone in insisting, I should still insist, that, but for the moral nature, rooted in essentially Indian conditions, and moulded and ripened in essentially Indian sorrows, which this splendid woman took to England, the mere expansion of her intellectual horizon, which the visit undoubtedly brought her, had probably left her no further advanced in her mission of reclaiming her Indian sisterhood, than

many other Indians, men and women, whose visits to and stay in England have left them untouched by the day star that had arisen in this Mahratta woman's heart. I refrain from dwelling on *Ramabai's* conversion to Christianity, mainly because that embraces personal matters of a delicate kind relating to a living person, which I do not feel at liberty to discuss, but also because although I should be the last to doubt or deny the impulse which her reforming activities received from the "expulsive power of the new affection," yet it is difficult to doubt that her distinctively Indian evolution before her conversion gave her country unmistakeable guarantees of the future heroine, under no matter what religious inspiration her zeal blossomed into its mission of service. It is only necessary to add, in this imperfect sketch of a contemporary life, whose activities ought to be unknown to nobody interested in the uplifting of Indian womanhood, that *Ramabai's Mukti Home*, where the homeless of her sex are assured of welcome, shelter, and education; and where numberless girls have been rescued from lives of danger and fitted for useful occupation, forms a beacon light, whose lessons of warning and encouragement the best of her country-men will surely read aright without foreign interpretation.

It may be prudent, before closing, to anticipate two criticisms to which this imperfect study of some famous Indian women is fairly exposed. The first is that too few of India's many famous daughters have been brought under review. The other is that justice has hardly been done to the lives and characters of even those who have been introduced. To the former objection the answer is that the wealth of the available material and the limit of space imposed on a magazine article demanded a rigorous exclusion, and narrowed selection to individuals whose

experiences suggested reflections that might suitably be submitted to cultured women and men. Noor Jehan, Draupadi, Divan Devi, Karnarath, Padmini of Chitore, Pretal, Karam Devi, Suja Bai, Tara Bai, Mumtaza Zamani, the Begam of Bhopal and more than a dozen others may be mentioned; any one of whom would have required a whole volume for anything like an exhaustive study of her history and its lessons—without yielding those vivid contrasts which it has been part of my purpose to draw. To the second objection the answer is that, wisely or unwisely, some phrases usually attached to certain types of life have been deliberately set aside, and some familiar methods of anecdote have been designedly avoided, and others adopted in their place. This course has been pursued in the desire to present pictures which, if they illustrate a style of literary free-hand drawing to which some exceptions may be taken, may still make some lasting impressions to compensate for this defect. The penalty of such eccentricity any one guilty of it must be prepared to pay.

W. C. MADGE.



Art. IV.—AKBAR'S TOMB AT SECUNDRA.

AKBAR is buried at Secundra, a village five miles from Agra the capital that he had built and so lavishly decorated, in one of the most splendid buildings in which such a soul could love to linger amid the stately piles that he had reared.

This mausoleum, this "sculptured sorrow" as Ruskin well called such structures, was designed and partly built by Akbar himself. But it was left incomplete at his death and never finished according to his design. Beautiful as it is, it strikes the practised eye as imperfect and incomplete. And we may fancy, it is better so. It symbolises in a striking manner the incompleteness of his work for India. He was a man of vast designs and noble visions. Many of these he lived to see realised. But many, too, remained mere designs. They were never carried out by him in his latter years, and in his successors' times his noble visions were chased away. Well has the great poet of England represented this monarch as dreaming and having a presentiment that his noble work was incomplete and would be rendered still more so by his sons and successors:—

"I dream'd

That stone by stone I rear'd a sacred fane,
A temple, neither Pagod, Mosque, nor Church,
But loftier, simpler, always open door'd
To every breath from heaven, and Truth and Peace
And Love and Justice came and dwelt therein;
But while we stood rejoicing, I and thou,
I heard a mocking laugh, 'the new Keran!'
And on the sudden, and with a cry 'Saleem'
Thou, thou,—I saw thee fall before me, and then

Me too the black-winged Azrael overcame,
But death had ears and eyes; I watch'd my son,
And those that followed, loosen stone from stone,
All my fair work."

His son tampered with the design of this mausoleum as he tampered with so many of his father's other cherished designs.

In another way the last resting place of this great monarch is symbolical of him and his work. Its design is Hindu, rather Buddhistic, and not Mahomedan or Saracenic. He seems to have purposely done this to mark his predilection for by far the larger proportion of his subjects. Everything Hindu had a great attraction for him; he allied himself with Hindu princely families by marrying Rajput wives, and encouraged his nobles to do likewise. He adopted many of the Hindu customs, and almost totally abstained from the flesh of the cow and other like animals; he borrowed also much from their religion in his new "Ilahi Faith." In fact he was more a Hindu than a Mahomedan. Indeed the Hindus believe Akbar to have been in a former birth a Brahman saint. James Forbes relates the curious story thus: "So highly respected was Akbar among the Hindus, who wish to appropriate everything to themselves, that they insist that Akbar was a Hindu in a former generation. The proximity of the time in which this famous Emperor lived, has forced them, however, to account for this in the following manner:— There was a holy Brahmin, who wished very much to become Emperor of India, and the only practicable way for him was to die first and be born again. For this purpose, he made a desperate *tapasya*, wishing to remember, then, everything he knew in his present generation. This could not be fully granted, but he was indulged with

writing on a brass plate a few things which he wished more particularly to recollect afterwards ; he was directed to bury the plate and promised that he would not forget the place in the next generation. Mukunda, for that was his name, went to Allahabad, buried the plate and then burned himself : nine months after, he was born in the character of Akbar, who, as soon as he ascended the throne, went to Allahabad, and easily found the spot where the brass plate was buried. Thus the Hindus claim Mahomed and Akbar as their own : exactly like the Persians of old, who insisted that Alexander the Great was the son of their Kings ; so that, after all, they were forced to subject to their countrymen only." (*Oriental Memoirs*. Vol. II., pp. 211-12, Ed. 1834. Cf. another version of the story of this Mukunda in Monier-Williams' *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 318, Ed. 1891.) It was therefore in the fitness of things that his mortal remains should rest (on this earth) in a building designed after the old Hindu model, more like one of those Buddhist viharas than any Mahomedan mausoleum. Then also in death as in life he showed his disregard for the precepts of the faith of his fathers, and ordered his body to be buried with his face turned towards the rising sun, which he adored in life, following the Hindus and Parsis in this respect, and turned away from Mecca, a position contrary to that of all Mahomedans, who are always buried with their face towards that city to the west.

The historian of Indian architecture, James Fergusson has well described this noble building in a way to give us an idea of its excellence as well as defects :—

"Perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings is the tomb he commenced to erect for himself at Secundra, near Agra, which is quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since, and of at

design borrowed, as I believe, ~~from a Hindu or, more correctly, Buddhist model.~~ It stands in an extensive garden, still kept up, approached by one noble gateway. In the centre of this garden, on a raised platform, stands the tomb itself, of a pyramid form. The lower storey measures 320 feet in height, and pierced by ten great arches on each face, one with a larger entrance adorned with a mosaic of marble in the centre.

"On this terrace stands another far more ornate measuring 186 feet on each side and 14 feet 9 inches in height. A third and a fourth of similar design and respectively 15 feet 2 inches and 14 feet 6 inches high, stand on this, all these being of red sandstone. Within and above the last is a white marble enclosure 157 feet each way, or externally just half the length of the lowest terrace, its outer wall entirely composed of marble trellis work of the most beautiful pattern. Inside it is surrounded by a colonnade or cloister of the same material, in the centre of which, on a raised platform, is the tombstone of the founder, a splendid piece of the most beautiful arabesque tracery. This, however, is not the true burial place ; but the mortal remains of this great being repose under a far plainer tombstone in a vaulted chamber in the basement 35 feet square exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the mausoleum.

"At first sight it might appear that the design of this curious and exceptional tomb was either a caprice of the monarch who built it, or an importation from abroad. My impression, on the contrary, is that it is a direct imitation of some such building as the old Buddhist Viharas which may have existed, applied to other purposes in Akbar's time. Turning to the representations of the great rath at Mahavellipore, it will be seen that the

number and proportion of the storeys is the same. The pavilions that adorn the upper storeys of Akbar's tomb appear distinct reminiscences of the cells that stand on the edge of each of the rock-cut example. If the tomb had been crowned by a domical chamber over the tombstone, the likeness would have been so great that no one could mistake it, and my conviction is, that such a chamber was part of the original design. No such royal tomb remains open exposed to the air in any Indian mausoleum; and the raised platform in the centre of the upper cloister 38 feet square, looks so like its foundation that I cannot help believing it was intended for that purpose. As the monument now stands, the pyramid has a truncated and unmeaning aspect. The total height of the building now is a little more than 100 feet to the top of the angle pavilions; and a central dome 30 feet or 40 feet higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb as beautiful in outline and in proportion as it is in detail. Had it been so completed, it certainly would have ranked next the Taj among Indian mausolea" (Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 583-5, Ed. 1866).

To support his theory that this noble structure is unfinished and that it lacks the central dome, which must have been a feature of the original design, Fergusson quotes from the English traveller Finch, whose journal, as given by Purchas in his famous collection of travels, he says he saw after he had formed his theory. Finch resided for several years in Agra at the beginning of Jehangir's reign and saw the mausoleum while it was building about 1609. "At my last sight thereof there was only overhead a rich tent with a shamiana over the tomb. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious

white and speckled marble and to be sealed all within with pure sheets of gold richly inwrought." (Purchas, his *Pilgrims*, Vol. I, p. 400, Ed. 1626). There is another account contemporary with the above, and written also by an English traveller who saw this mausoleum in course of erection, which Fergusson might have quoted, as it is also given in Purchas' famous collection.

Fergusson might have quoted also the testimony of another traveller who was in India at the end of Jehangir's and the beginning of Shah-Jehan's reign, 1627-28, Sir Thomas Herbert, who, too, says that the mausoleum was not completed even more than twenty years after Akbar's death. "At Secundra, three course (or five miles) from Agra, as we go to Lahore, is the mausoleum or burial place of the great Moguls, the foundation of which was begun by Ecbar, the super structure continued by Yehangir, his son, and is yet scarce finished, albeit they have already consumed 14 millions of rupees in that wonder of India." (*Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, p. 67, Ed. 1665).

Herbert continues his account as follows:—

"It well merits a little more in that description. It is called Scander, *i.e.*, Alexander, a place where the greatest of Grecian kings made his *ne plus ultra* when he made his utmost progress or march into India; which place Ecbar, the most magnificent Prince of Tamerlane's race, selected as the noblest place of burial. 'Tis a mausoleum of four large squares, each side has about three hundred paces; the material is free stone well polished; at each angle is raised a small tower of party-coloured or chequered marble; ten feet higher than that is another tower, on every side beautified with three towers; the third gallery has two on each side; the fourth, one; the fifth half; and a small square gallery

or terrace about mounting in the whole to a royal Pyree, resembling not a little that famous Septizonium Severi Imper in ancient Rome which you have represented in sculpture by Lamrus, or (but in far less proportion) that famous tower which Semiramis built in Babylon, and dedicated to the memory of Jupiter Belus, her husband's great Ancestor. In this at the very top within is the mummy of Ecbar, bedded in a coffin of gold. The whole structure is built in the midst of a spacious garden, which is surrounded with a wall of red-coloured stone, and in that is a rail mounted by six stairs which discovers a little garden but exquisitely beautiful and delightful; so that of this noble fabric I may say, *Ædes est qualis toto Sol aureus Orbe Vix videt*. Such a monument; The sun through all the world sees none more gentle" (Herbert, *Travels*, p. 67, Ed. 1665.) The name Secundra is derived not, as Herbert here fancifully suggested, from Secunder or Alexander the Great, but from Secunder Lodi; the great Afghan ruler of India from 1489-1517.

Captain William Hawkins also saw the tomb of Akbar before completion, while he was at Agra in 1611. His journey thither and residence at the court of Jehangir may be looked upon, says Sir Clement Markham, as the opening scene in the history of the English in India. (Hawkins' *Voyages*, p. XLI, Hakluyt Soc. Edition). Hawkins it may be added, was induced by Jehangir to marry the daughter of Ababarik Khan, an Armenian, who went to England and died on his voyage home at the Cape in 1613. His description, given by Purchas in 1626 in his "Pilgrims," is as follows:—"After I had written this, there came into my memory, another feast solemnized at his father's funeral, which is kept at his sepulchre, where likewise

himself with all his posterity, mean to be buried. Upon this day there is great store of victuals dressed, and much money given to the poor. This sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest monuments of the world. It hath been these fourteen years a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seven years more, in ending gates and walls, and other needful things for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that work there daily, are three thousand people; but thus much I will say that one of our workmen will despatch more than three of them. The sepulchre is some three-quarter of a mile about, made square; it hath seven heights built, every height narrower than the other till you come to the top where his Herse is. At the outermost gate before you come to the sepulchre, there is a most stately palace building, the compass of the wall to this gate of the sepulchre and yarding, being within, may be at least three miles. This sepulchre is some four miles distant from the city of Agra." (*Apud* Hawkins' *Voyages*, Hakluyt Society's Ed., 1878, p. 442.)

In this extract from William Hawkins given by Purchas there is also just a reference to Akbar's death without any details. "This Selim Padasha being in rebellion, his father dispossessed him and proclaimed heir-apparent his eldest son Cossero (Khosru) being eldest son to Sehinsha, for his own sons, younger brothers to Selim, were all dead in Deccan and Guzerat; yet shortly after his Father died, who in his deathbed had mercy on Selim, possessing him again." (*Ibid.*, p. 428.) Another European traveller who was in India within three years after Akbar's death, in 1608, at the same time as William Hawkins to whom he refers, Pyrard de Leval also slightly alludes to the death in the following passage in his book of travels:—"When this Prince

Achebar died all India was in disquietude and alarm, for the war that was feared would ensue in those parts; for that king was greatly dreaded and feared of all the other Indian kings. And it can be said with assurance that he is lord of the fairest and best countries and of the most valient people in the world as the Tartars are. Many of his people, too, are exceedingly rich and cultivated. None speak of the Turk in all the Indies, but only of the great Achebar; and his subject-kings themselves speak of him, they bow their heads in token of respect." (*Voyage of Pyrard de Leval*, Vol. II., pt. 8, pp. 252-3, Hakluyt Society's Ed.)

Shortly after William Hawkins and Finch had written their accounts, Edward Terry, who came as a chaplain in Sir Thomas Roe's train to the Moghul Court, thus described the tomb. Though published in 1655, his account was written somewhat earlier and refers back to 1616-18. "Amongst many very fair piles there dedicated to the remembrance of their dead, the most famous one is at Secundra, a village three miles from Agra; it was begun by Achabar-sha, the late Moghul's father (who there lies buried), and finished by his son, who since was laid up beside him. The materials of that most stately sepulchre are marble of divers colours, the stones so closely cemented together that with many curiosities about it, and a fair mosque by it, the garden wherein it stands is very large (as before) and compassed about with a wall of marble. This most sumptuous pile of all the structures that vast monarchy affords is most admired by strangers. Tom Coryet had a most exact view thereof, and so have many Englishmen; other Englishmen had; all which have spoken very great things of it." (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, pp. 291-2, Ed. 1777.)

The following passage in Jehangir's Autobiographical Memoirs alludes to the fact that the builders had altered the original design. Writing about the events of the third year of his reign (1608) he says: "When I had obtained the good fortune of visiting the tomb, and had examined the building which was erected over it, I did not find it to my liking. My intention was that it should be so exquisite that the travellers of the world could not say they had seen one like it in any part of the inhabited earth. While the work was in progress in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the unfortunate Khosru, I was obliged to march towards Lahore. The builders had built it according to their own taste, and had altered the original design at their discretion. The whole money had been thus expended and the work had occupied three or four years. I ordered that clever architects acting in concert with some intelligent persons, should pull down the objectionable parts which I pointed out. By degrees a very large and magnificent building was raised, with a nice garden round it entered by a lofty gate consisting of minarets made of white stone. The total expense of this large building was reported to amount to 50,000 tomas of Irah and forty-five lacs of khanis of Turan." (*Wakiyat-i-Jehangiri apud*. Elliot and Dawson, Vol., VI., pp. 319-20.)

Later in these memoirs he again mentions the tomb in the following words:—"I considered it a sacred duty to visit the tomb of my father at Secundra over which the buildings I had long since ordered had been now completed, and, in truth it exhibited to the view in all its parts an object of infinite gratification and delight. In the first place it was surrounded by an enclosure or colonnade, which afforded standing for 3,000 elephants and a proportion of horses, the whole

being built on arches and divided into chambers. The principal gate by which you enter is thirty cubits wide, by as many in height, with a tower erected on four lofty arches, terminating in a circular dome; the whole one hundred and twenty cubits high, divided into six storeys, and decorated and inlaid with gold and lapis lazule from roof to basement. This superb portico, as it may be called, has also on each of its four sides (angles properly) a minaret of hewn stone three storeys or stages in height. From the entrance to the building in which reposes all that is earthly of my royal father is a distance of nearly a quarter of a parsamy, the approach being under a colonnade floored with red stone finely polished five cubits wide. On each side of the colonnade in a garden planted with cypresses, are wild pine, plane and supary trees (the betel-nut tree or arch) in great number; and in the gardens on each side, and at the distance of a bow shot from each other are reservoirs of water, from each of which issues a fountain or jet d'eau, rising to the height of ten cubits, so that from the grand entrance to within a short distance of the shrine we pass between twenty of these fountains. Above the tomb itself is erected a pavilion of seven storeys, gradually lessening to the top, and the seventh terminating in a dome or cupola, which, together with the other buildings connected with it in every part of the enclosure, is all of polished marble throughout; and all completed, from first to last, at the expence of 180 lakhs of rupees. In addition to this I have provided that a supply of two hundred measures or services of food and two hundred of confectionery should be daily distributed to the poor from the sacred edifice, and that no strangers should ever be required to dress their own meals, though their number should

amount to a thousand horse. When I entered on this occasion on the fabric which enclosed my father's remains, such were my impressions that I could have affirmed the departed monarch was still alive, and seated on his throne and that I was come to offer my usual salutation of homage and filial duty. I prostrated myself, however, at the foot of the tomb, and bathed it with the tears of regret and sincerity. On leaving the venerated spot, and in propitiation of the pure spirit which reposed there, I distributed the sum of Rs. 50,000 among the resident poor." (*Wakiyat-Jehangiri*, pp. 119-20.)

The final passage militates against Mr. Wheeler's theory that Jehangir had his father poisoned by the physician Hakim Ali. (*Vide* my article on the death of Akbar in *Calcutta Review*, October 1906.) For if he had really been instrumental in bringing about his father's death, he would assuredly not have written thus. Elsewhere, too, he writes with profound reverence for his deceased father. At the commencement of the account of the third year of his reign he says: "As the magnificent sepulchre of my father was on the road, I thought that if I now went to see it, ignorant people would consider that I went to visit it only because it was on my road. I, therefore, determined that I should proceed direct to the city (Agra), and then as my father, in accordance with his vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Agra to Ajmir, in the same manner I would also walk from the city to his splendid sepulchre, a distance of two and-a-half kos. Would that I could have gone this distance upon my head! On Thursday the 17th, I went on foot to see the resplendent sepulchre of my father. If I could I would travel this distance upon my eyelashes or my head. My father, when

he made a vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Fatehpur to Ajmir on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the great Khevaja Ud Din Chisti, a space of 120 kos, and it would, therefore, be nothing very great if I were to go this short distance, upon my head or eyes " (*apud* Elliot and Dawson, Vol. VI., pp. 316-9), Jehangir, if he were really a parricide, must have been dowered with incredible hypocrisy to write in this Pecksniffian vein. Many faults and even crimes must, doubtless, be laid to his charge; but we cannot add this, the most repulsive of offences, to the catalogue.

Niccolas Manucci, the celebrated Venetian, who was in India at the Moghul Court of Aurangzib, and elsewhere for nearly sixty years, and died in 1717, visited this tomb and gives a very interesting account of it, which is given here from his *Storia do Mogor*, now published for the first time after nearly two hundred years by Mr. William Irvine in his scholarly and highly important work in the "Indian Text Series."

"Finding himself conquerer of almost the whole of Hindustan, Akbar followed the example of his father. Although he made little account of his soul, he took care to prepare a resting place for his body with extreme magnificence. For the site he chose a garden on the road to Delhi, at three leagues' distance from Agra on the west, 'to which he gave the name of Secundra, that is to say 'Alexandria.' This mausoleum is a very large dome of great height, made all of marble adorned with many kinds of precious stones, the roof all gilded and enamelled in many pleasing colours. The garden is very large and pleasant, walled in on all sides, with various seats inside. There were drawings of human figures. Over these the king Aurangzib ordered a coat of whitewash to be applied, so that the drawings might

not be seen. He said such things were prohibited by the Mahomedan religion. I obtained entrance to this garden several times to inspect the mausoleum, being anxious to see the above-named figures before Aurangzib should order them to be covered over. The figures in the principal gateway of the garden were a crucifix, the Virgin Mary and Saint Ignatius. I had a great desire to obtain entrance into the great dome I have spoken of, and at last one of the officials at the mausoleum, who was a friend of mine, and also wanted to make use of me, believing I was a physician, took me with him. The condition was that I should bow such as he made, with great reverence and punctiliousness, just as if the king were still alive. He opened the door and I joined with him in making a very low bow in total silence, then barefooted I went round and saw everything. As I have already said, there was a holy crucifix delineated on the wall, on the right hand of the crucifix the image of 'Our Lady with the infant Jesus in her arms, while on the left was Saint Ignatius, the whole delineated.' In the ceiling of the dome were great angels and cherubim and many other painted figures. There were also many censers which were lighted every day. The hall is paved all over with stones of different colours.

"Outside the mausoleum, in the garden, were many Mullas, that is to say, learned men, reading the Koran. On the dome outside, on the very highest point was a ball, and upon it a pyramid, the whole gilt. Most curious of all is the reason for having these paintings, it was only because they were a novelty in those days; it was not on account of religion" (*Storia do Mogor* or *Moghul India, 1653-1708*, by N. Manucci now translated for the first time by William Irvine, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 40-2).

Bishop Heber's description of this mausoleum based upon a visit which he paid to it during his tour in "Upper India" as he calls it, in 1824-5, is often quoted and is given below. But, in truth to describe this as well as other monuments of the magnificent Moghuls at Delhi and Agra, Fatehpur Sikhri and Secundra, worthily, would tax the genius of a master of language as well as of architecture, of a prose poet like Ruskin. I often wonder, indeed, that that great man never came to India considering that his earliest inspiration was drawn from this country and from the ancient monuments which are in our close vicinity at Bombay, as witnessed by his youthful poem on the Elephanta caves. Had he come here, he would have found in these Moghul buildings materials for a work on, say, the "Stones of Agra," in every way as interesting and abounding in word pictures as his "Stones of Venice."

Heber writes under date 11th January 1825: "This morning we arrived at Secundra, a ruinous village without a bazaar, but remarkable for the magnificent tomb of Akbar, the most splendid building in its way which I had yet seen in India. It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, enclosed by an embattled wall, with octagonal towers at the angles surmounted by open pavilions and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with white marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also

of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornaments. At the bottom of the building, in a small but very lofty vault, is the real tomb of this great monarch, plain and unadorned, but also of white marble. There are many other ruins in the vicinity, some of them apparently handsome, but Akbar's tomb leaves a stranger little time or inclination to look at anything else. Government have granted money for the repair of the tomb, and an officer of engineers is employed on it. A sergeant of artillery is kept in the place, who lives in one of the gateways; his business is to superintend a plantation of sissoo trees made by Dr. Wallich." (Heber, *Narrative*, Vol. I., p. 555-6, 4to. Ed. 1826.)

Elphinstone has noted that this splendid pile served as quarters for a European regiment of dragoons for a year or two after the first conquest of that territory by the British (History of India, p. 531, etc.) in 1803. It lay neglected for a long time, the only attention it received being the whitewashing of its marble walls! (Howell, *Agra and the Taj*, 1904, p. 96.) But Lord Curzon's recent orders are applicable to this in common with other Moghul buildings, and sincerely do we hope that better care will be taken in future of this the last resting place of the greatest of the Great Moghuls.

R. P. KARKARIA.

**Art. V.—THE SELECTION AND TRAINING OF
PROBATIONERS FOR THE IMPERIAL
FOREST SERVICE OF INDIA.**

By J. NISBET, D.OEC.,

Formerly Conservator of Forests, Burma.

AFTER the formation of the Forest Department by the Government of India in 1864, it very soon became apparent to the first Inspector-General of Forests, the late Sir Dietrich Brandis, K.C.I.E., that in order to develop departmental organisation properly a body of well-trained officers was absolutely necessary. At first the department was recruited by the appointment of Military officers and others who seemed to be fond of rough camp life, or to show some aptitude for carrying out the simple methods of surveying and enumerating and classifying the stock of valuable marketable timber in the forests. To be fond of shooting or to be interested in Botany or Zoology was in these early days the best qualification that could be looked for in candidates desiring appointments in the new Department.

After a vast amount of correspondence the Government of India and the Secretary of State agreed in 1866 to Dr. Brandis' proposals for ensuring a regular recruitment of the Department by young officers who had undergone a thorough course of training in Forestry in Europe. But to supply urgent immediate requirements two young German foresters were selected and appointed under terms specially favourable to them. These were Dr. W. Schlich and Mr. B. Ribbentrop, who both later became the subsequent successors of Dr. Brandis in the Inspector-Generalship, respectively from 1882 to 1885 and from 1885 to 1900. And as regards future recruitment a system of competitive examination for

probationerships was also instituted, the first examination being held in London in November 1866, and the selected candidates being trained for two and a half years from the following March onwards either in Germany or at the French National School of Forestry at Nancy. At the end of their French or German training the probationers were appointed as Junior Assistant Conservators on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem. This original course of continental training ceased in Germany in 1875, but was continued in France down to 1886, and ninety-seven trained officers were thus appointed to the Indian Forest Department between 1869 and 1886, as the result of the competitive examinations held from 1866 to 1883.

Meanwhile the Coopers Hill Indian Engineering College, recently advertised for sale, had been built and opened in 1871 for the special training of Civil Engineers for the Indian Public Works Department. But with the subsequent fall in the exchange value of the rupee and the shrinkage which then necessarily took place in the surplus funds available for the execution of new Public Works in India, the number of young Engineer officers wanted (and especially after 1879, when a large reduction of establishment took place) was insufficient to enable the College to maintain itself except at the cost of a larger subvention than formerly from the Government of India. Partly in order to relieve the financial position and decrease this annual deficit incurred on the College, and partly also for other reasons, a new system of training for Forest probationers was introduced after the competitive examination held in 1884. The selected candidates of that and the following years were sent to Coopers Hill for two years and a half, and then taken for an extensive tour throughout German

forests during the last summer before their departure for India. From 1889 onwards the course of instruction in Forestry was given under Dr. Schlich (who retired from the Inspector-Generalship of Forests in India on 1st January 1889 in order to devote himself definitely to this teaching) as professor of Sylviculture and Forest Management, with Mr. Fisher (who also retired from a Conservatorship of Forests) as assistant professor of Forest Protection and Utilization of Forest Produce, the continental tours in the last half-year being personally conducted by the veteran Sir Dietrich Brandis. Thus the theoretical portion of the four main branches of modern French and German Forestry (but chiefly the German systems and methods) were taught by two retired Indian Forest Officers, while special lecturers provided instruction in Botany and Zoology, and the Forest students shared with candidates for Public Works appointments the courses in other subjects, such as chemistry and physics, surveying, etc. In time these original arrangements were modified and improved. The theoretical course in Forestry and the cognate sciences was arranged for two years spent in residence at Coopers Hill, and an extensive tour was made in French forests during the first year of study; while in the third or last year of study the probationers were placed for six months in small groups under selected head-foresters in Germany, in order to gain a proper insight into the practical application of the theoretical principles that had been previously taught to them at Coopers Hill, and to see the results of long-continued methodical management on a far-larger scale and in a much more scientific and thorough manner than can possibly be seen anywhere in Britain. It cannot be denied that this seems to have been like putting the cart

before the horse, and that it is desirable that instruction in practical work ought at any rate in part to precede the theoretical course, as is done in Germany. But in any case the above was the system adopted, an extensive tour under Sir Dietrich Brandis (or subsequently under Dr. Schlich) in German forests being the final portion of the instruction.

This system was continued at Coopers Hill for twenty years in all, from 1885 to 1905, during which time that was the collegiate training-place for 152 probationers, making in all 249 young British-born, scientifically trained officers who received appointments in the Imperial Forest Service of India between 1869 and 1906.

As ample provisions now exist in most of the British Universities for the very thorough training of Civil Engineers and the grant of degrees of B.Sc. in Engineering, the question of the continued maintenance of the Coopers Hill Indian Engineering College had more than once been under consideration by the Council of India. After a very thorough inquiry into the matter, a strong committee appointed to investigate and report on this subject urged the abolition of the College; and in the Spring of 1904 the Secretary of State for India publicly announced his decision that it should be closed from and after the summer term in July 1905. Since that date the Public Works Department has been, and will continue to be, recruited by the selection of fully qualified candidates who have gone through any thorough theoretical and practical course of instruction in British Engineering. The question of dealing with the Indian Forest probationers still remained, however, to be decided. As there is no National School of Forestry in Britain, it was felt that the special requirements of the case would best be met by transferring

the Forestry Staff, consisting of Dr. Schlich and Mr. Fisher, to some University centre where the best opportunities would be offered of getting the most highly qualified instruction in the cognate sciences—botany, zoology, geology, chemistry, and natural philosophy. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh were the most likely centres for such a purpose. But the issue soon narrowed down to a choice between the two great English Universities, whose Boards of Indian Studies provide the chief means of training the great majority of the probationers for the Indian Civil Service selected at the competitive examinations held annually. Oxford and Cambridge therefore immediately entered into keen competition for the reversion of the Coopers Hill Forest probationers. Having most to offer in the way of inducements, Oxford gained the desired object; and Dr. Schlich and Mr. Fisher were “delegated” to lecture at Oxford from October 1905 onwards, the curriculum being, as recently at Coopers Hill, a two years’ lecture course with a tour in France, followed by a twelve months’ residence under a German Forester and an extensive tour throughout German and Swiss Forests.

On this decision favouring Oxford being publicly announced, early in 1905, Cambridge at once protested vehemently about the very invidious distinction made in this “delegation” of the Forest probationers to its ancient rival,—because it is equivalent to a grant of £1,200 a year, the salaries of the professor and the assistant professor, paid by the Government of India, being respectively £700 and £500 a year, in addition to their pensions granted in 1889. The member of parliament for Cambridge University moved in the matter, and on 7th March 1905, the Earl of Lytton asked a question in the House of Lords, to which the

Under-Secretary of State for India made the following clear and definite announcement, as thus officially reported in the *Times* of the next day:—

The Marquis of Bath said there was a good deal of misapprehension both with regard to the reasons which influenced the Secretary of State in Council in formulating the scheme and also as to the results which would ensue from it. There had grown up throughout the United Kingdom a number of excellent institutions which were fully capable of carrying out that engineering instruction which Coopers Hill was originally founded to establish—institutions whose diplomas and degrees the Indian Government were prepared to accept. Further, the establishment of a forestry school at that college was no part of the original scheme. He particularly emphasised the fact that the scheme was, and was intended to be, of a temporary nature. In coming to his decision the Secretary of State in Council was guided by very strong representations that were made to him by the experts whom he consulted. They represented that the number of men who were engaged in the study of forestry was very small—only ten a year.* It was considered most necessary that they should continue to be educated all in one place, and that a residential University should be found which provided rooms and particularly supervision for the students, and where they could be brought into contact with their contemporaries who were themselves at the same time studying for professions and other walks of life. Another advantage that was desired was that forestry students should obtain the benefit of instruction in auxiliary departments of science and have the opportunity of obtaining university degrees or diplomas. In searching for a university of a residential character, and one not too far from London, the choice naturally lay between Oxford and Cambridge. No idea of preferring the one university to the other ever entered the minds of the authorities of the India Office. Indeed, when attention was first directed to the matter some two years ago, Cambridge was thought likely to be the most suitable place for the Forestry School. But the experts in Indian Forestry urged upon the India Office that practical teaching in Forestry, involving visits to woods, must go hand in hand with theoretical instruction,

* In 1906 nineteen Indian Forest appointments were advertised, and in 1907, eighteen; and for 1908 sixteen are advertised. Including the Ceylon and other Colonial students, the Forest probationers at Oxford numbered 50 last year.

and they pointed out that the situation of Oxford with respect to woods was far more favourable than that of Cambridge. There seemed to be an idea abroad that admission to the Forestry School at Oxford would be of the closest kind. As a matter of fact the competition would be just as open at Oxford as at Coopers Hill, and the examination would be carried out by the Civil Service Commissioners. The one thing that the India Office required was that the students should continue their training at the university for two years, and spend the last year of the course in Germany. But he desired again to emphasise the fact that this was merely a temporary measure. The revenues of India would not be spent upon a permanent establishment at Oxford or anywhere else until the matter had been fully considered in the light of experience and of the best expert opinion. If it would meet in any way the objections that were felt to the scheme, he could undertake that an enquiry, which should include outside authorities, would be held before the close of the three years to consider and report upon the experiment. Moreover, if it should be thought well to do so, the India Office were prepared to reduce the proposed experimental term of five years to three years; but they felt they could not reduce it below the latter period with advantage to the experiment. He hoped that the interest which had been aroused in this question would result in the establishment of institutions which gave teaching in Forestry.

However, as an actual matter of fact, though this was not stated in the above speech—and it looks suspiciously like a *suppressio veri*—the contracts existing between the Secretary of State and Messrs. Schlich and Fisher, originally made in 1889, and renewed from time to time for definite periods, do not lapse till 1910. Hence no change of any kind can be made until then. It is understood that the subject will actually, as promised, be reconsidered in the coming spring of 1908; but unless the various University and other educational bodies interested in the matter keep a sharp look-out, they may again find that future arrangements have then already been concluded, and that any renewed protest may easily once more come

too late to be of any practical use. And what is even more important is that fair opportunity should be given to the Government of India of expressing their views on the subject; for it is said that the delegation of the Professor and the Assistant Professor of Forestry from Coopers Hill to Oxford took place without the Government of India, which pays the £1,200 in salaries, having been consulted in the matter, or having been asked if they would not like to make any alteration in the course of study marked out for probationers.

Thus, after the competitive examination of that year, the instruction of probationers began at Oxford in 1905, the two years' collegiate course including I. theoretical and practical forestry in all its branches, and II. the following auxiliary subjects—(1) Organic and Soil Chemistry, (2) Geology, (3) Elementary Zoology and Forest Entomology, (4) Forest Botany, (5) Geometrical Drawing, Plane Trigonometry and Surveying, (6) German, (7) Elementary Engineering and (8) Book-keeping and Indian Forest Accounts. It was specially desired that the probationers should take a degree in the honour school of Natural Science before undergoing their last year of study in the German forests, at the end of which time approved probationers were to receive the diploma of Forestry from Oxford University.

Simultaneously with the commencement of this Oxford training, the India Office on 4th October 1905 issued a prospectus notifying that a competitive examination would be held on 28th August 1906 for ten (subsequently increased to nineteen) probationerships. The competitive examination was only in the elements of Mechanics and Physics, and Chemistry and Botany, with a merely qualifying examination in German. But as

the time for this competitive examination approached it was found that, for the first time since the institution of this system in 1866, thirty years before, there was a lack of candidates. For the 19 vacancies it is said that only three candidates were willing to present themselves for examination. So advertisements had hastily to be published announcing the bestowal of appointments by selection in place of by competition as theretofore.

There could, of course, only be one explanation for this sudden abstention of young men from the competition. The examination was easier than it used to be; so its difficulty could not be the reason. It simply meant that the salaries and prospective pensions offered for the Indian Forest Service were considered by young men's parents and guardians to be insufficient inducements for the expensive three years' course, involving two at Oxford (where honours in natural science were expected to be taken) and one "in such continental forests as may be selected for the purpose." This marked abstention even took place immediately after a re-organisation of the Administration grades of the Imperial Forest Service of India, the salaries of which were increased in February 1906, while a Chief Conservatorship for Burma had also been added.

But even these somewhat increased salaries cannot be expected to secure the services of the best men available, for, as Dr. Schlich wrote, in a letter published in the *Indian Forester* of August 1906, concerning the low educational demands now made on candidates for selection as probationers:—

I confess I fail to see what more you expect, considering the rate of pay prevailing in the Forest Department. If you desire to attract Senior Wranglers or Double Firsts with a knowledge of, say, German, French and Danish you must first ask the Government to raise the emoluments of the service so as to make them at least

equal to those of the so-called "Civil Service." To expect men of that class to join the Forest Department, as matters now are, is simply unreasonable.

Although the salaries have recently been raised, yet the prospective pension, which is merely a form of deferred pay, has not yet been improved, as it should have long ago been; and in this matter the Forest Department has hitherto been very shabbily treated. This is believed to be chiefly due to the action of the India Office, which had formally declined to sanction fully the proposals sent home by the Government of India; and on the last occasion such beneficial proposals were received in London, the Secretary of State in Council ordered that similar proposals should not again be submitted.

But perhaps the question regarding Forest pensions can only be considered fairly when its past history is taken into account. About 30 years ago the heads of the Forest, Public Works, and Telegraph Departments under the Government of India submitted for approval a joint scheme for improved pensions and providing annuities. This remained long under consideration; but when the financial pressure occurred some three or four years later, the Government notified to them that owing to the financial outlook favourable consideration could not then be accorded to the proposals. It was understood, however, that in due time they would be more favourably considered when the finances of India justified it. Subsequently, when the Public Works and the Telegraph Departments resolved to bring pressure to bear on the Government in order to gain improved pensions, the Inspector-General of the Forest Department preferred to rely on the assurances given by Government rather than join in attempting to coerce it. Thus the Forest Department cut itself adrift from the

Public Works and the Telegraph Departments, with the result that these have long since obtained many extra pensions of Rs. 1,000 (£87·10s.) a year for Superintendents and Chiefs of both Departments, while the Forest Department has only been granted this boon for Conservators I. grade and the Inspector-General. That is to say, for its loyalty and its faith in the promises made to it, its officers have suffered severely in place of being generously dealt with—there being only 9 such extra pensions of Rs. 1,000 now sanctioned for the whole Department, including the Madras and Bombay officers.

Considering the nature of the work and the responsibilities resting on all of these Administrative Forest Officers, it seems only fair that all Conservators of whatever grade, whether substantive or merely officiating, should be granted the extra pension of Rs. 1,000 per annum, now only granted to Conservators who have served for three years in the First Grade, and that extra pensions of another Rs. 1,000 a year should be permitted to the Chief Conservators in Burma and the Central Provinces and to the Inspector-General of Forests after three years' approved service.

The arbitrary distinction drawn for pensionary purposes between the Conservators of the First Grade and those of the Second and Third Grades seems quite unjustifiable. Under existing conditions as to promotion, mainly by seniority, it is quite a matter of chance if ever any Conservator happen now to reach the First Grade and to become thereby qualified for the extra pension of Rs. 1,000. And yet it very frequently happens that the heaviest financial responsibilities and the hardest and most important administrative work fall to the lot of Conservators of the Second and Third Grades, who are not yet eligible for this extra pension.

The position of Second and Third Grade Conservators is therefore very much worse than that of Superintending Engineers or of Superintendents of Telegraphs, who have now for many years been eligible for the extra pension after merely officiating for three years in such office. And yet Conservators of Forests occupy a higher official position than Superintending Engineers, because they are *de facto* the Heads of Departments under the Local Governments, except perhaps when there may be a Chief Conservator.

The injustice thus done to Conservators of Forests has been recently intensified by the granting of the extra pensions to officers in the Police Department, where again the Deputy Inspectors-General of Police occupy a lower official status than the Conservators of Forests. And this injustice becomes all the more glaring when it is recollected that until the last three or four years no Police Officers were appointed from home, and even now they have not to undergo any expensive training before obtaining their appointments in India. For Forest Officers the cost of the three years' course at Coopers Hill entailed (and now entails at Oxford) an outlay of between £800 and £1,000; and during these three years the Police Officer was, and is, drawing a salary amounting in all to about Rs. 9,000. That is to say, on joining in India the Forest Officer is worse off than the Assistant Superintendent of Police by about Rs. 24,000, or £1,500.

Now, £1,500 at 4 per cent. becomes £4,465 in 20 years, £6,246 in 25 years, and £8,412 in 30 years; and the Annuities obtainable from first class Offices for these sums are as follows:—

For	£4,465	at 45 years of age	=	£245	a year.
"	£6,246	" 50 "	"	£380	" "
"	£8,412	" 55 "	"	£575	" "

Hence the Forest Officer would seem to have a far stronger claim to extra pension than the Police Officer; and yet the Secretary of State has recently granted this extra pension to the Police Department, after having previously refused it to the Forest Department and after having even forbidden the Government of India to re-submit any further recommendation on behalf of the Forest Officers.

Perhaps it is as well also to point out here that during the three years of probationary training for the Forest Service at Coopers Hill or Oxford, the Assistant Superintendent of Police has not only been earning salary for three years, but likewise puts in three years of active service counting towards pension, earns nine months of furlough on half pay, and also three months of privilege leave on full pay. Hence his position is very much better than that of the Forest Officer in other essential matters besides salary and pension. This is surely extremely unjust. This injustice the Department keenly resents, and I have been given to understand that lately a very large number of memorials have been sent to the Government of India, setting forth fresh reasons for asking that the case of the additional pensions be re-opened, and that the Secretary of State be again addressed on the subject. There is a feeling in the Department that the Secretary of State must, as a matter of common justice, favourably consider any pensionary representations made to him by the Government of India. After Mr. Morley's striking eulogy of the work of the Forest Department in his Indian budget speech on the 20th July 1906, he cannot, without being strangely inconsistent, withhold favourable consideration to what the Government of India may again urge as reasonable pensionary concessions.

It was not until 5th February, 1907, that the next announcement, with regard to the appointment of 18 probationers in 1907, was made. By then the idea of competitive examination was abandoned and the candidates were on 28th August 1907 chosen "on the advice of a Selection Committee." In all, 21 probationers were then chosen for the Forest Services of India and Ceylon, this Selection Committee consisting of a member of the Council of India (Sir Philip Hutchins), the Revenue Secretary (Sir Thomas Holderness), and Dr. Schlich. And it has already been announced, on 27th September 1907, that a similar procedure will be adopted for the selection of at least 16 probationers in the summer of 1908, who will also have to go through a two years' theoretical course at Oxford and one year in German forests. But the standard required under this selection system is far lower than formerly obtained under the competitive examination; and whereas some of the batch of young men selected by competitive examination in 1905 have now, in 1907, taken first class honours in Natural Science at Oxford, it is unlikely that mere selection will furnish as keen and energetic a set of students, and as good officers, as were obtainable by the old system of competition. Candidates offering themselves for selection must give evidence to show that they have received a good general education. This is to be understood to include, at the least, a fair knowledge of English composition, Mathematics up to and including Plane Trigonometry, Latin, and either German or French.

The Oxford training of the selected probationers of 1908 will consequently be carried on down to the summer of 1910, and their continental study will terminate in 1911. It can therefore only be after the conclusion of

the present Oxford arrangements, in 1910, that the effects of the Secretary of State's promised announcement of his reconsideration of the matter may be expected to take effect. But will he be advised that any alterations are considered desirable? And to whom will he confine the opportunity of tendering their opinions? This is certainly a matter in which the views not only of the Local Governments in India, in whose service the young trained officers are to be employed, but also of the Supreme Government, which pays the salaries of the two professors of Forestry, should be ascertained and given full consideration to, as well as the opinions of the "experts" upon whose advice the Secretary of State acted in transferring the probationary instruction from Coopers Hill to Oxford, in 1905. And indeed, this is all the more necessary seeing that the chief expert, Dr. Schlich, cannot possibly form any altogether unbiassed opinion of matters which concern so closely his own personal employment and position, and this special educational work in which he has now been engaged during the last twenty-two years. Between 1869 and 1885 he was able to gauge thoroughly the results of the continental system of training then obtaining; but he has never had any opportunities of satisfying himself as to the results of the Coopers Hill system of training, now continued at Oxford, and more particularly as to whether this system still suits the requirements of the Indian Forest Department at a time when a far more thoroughly and highly organised system of work is in regular practice than obtained when he gave up the Inspector-Generalship of Forests to devote himself to the teaching of Forestry at Coopers Hill.

It is a pity that he should not yield to none in the just appreciation of what Dr. Schlich has done for the education of Indian Forest

probationers during these last twenty-two years. It has no doubt been a difficult, but an interesting, pleasant, and very profitable employment for him; and I should be glad to see our one K.C.I.E., rendered vacant by the death of the late Sir Dietrich Brandis, conferred upon him in recognition of this work and as a compliment to the Department, upon whose officers such honours have certainly not been lavishly bestowed in the past. But it is surely no disparagement of his work to suggest that the opinions of other retired Conservators, and of those now occupying the highest departmental positions, are also worthy of being obtained and considered, for these men alone have been able to form a proper estimate as to whether or not the Coopers Hill teaching of purely Continental (and principally German) Forestry is the best that it is possible to conceive and practically to arrange for in the interests of work in India. When, however, such an opinion was offered, uninvited, at the India Office it received, to say the very least, a frigid welcome and a suggestion that "You can write in about it." And one knows what that means.

Yet these recent and present Conservators are the men who know best what are the defects of the present system, and what improvements should be made in it. There has been, and there is now, strong feeling on the subject in India; and such views as the following seem worthy of fair consideration at the India Office:—

What the clear-headed business man cares to know is not the details of instruction, but the result of it when put to the test of actual practice. Dr. Schlich quotes the case of one man who found, after taking honours at Dehra Dun, that there was still something to be learnt at Oxford. I do not for a moment doubt it; I would, on the other hand, suggest that if the men coming out in the Department from Oxford were to go to the Dehra Forestry College they would find that they had still almost everything to learn.

as far as practical forestry in India is concerned. There is always something new to learn in forestry, and the training at any centre can never be regarded as final. The instruction at Oxford may no doubt be imparted by Fellows of the Royal Society or other eminent specialists; these gentlemen are generally, however, unacquainted with our Indian requirements. What we want is that it should be imparted by men who have an up-to-date knowledge of what is required in India, of what will be most useful, and what will tend to make their pupils efficient servants of the Indian Government; the desideratum is not theoretical instruction (however good) aided by narrow practical work while on a small excursion or in a botanical garden, but theoretical instruction on broad lines backed by useful practical work that will adequately illustrate and allow to be assimilated this instruction in the actual localities where in after time it will have to be applied.

To my mind, in spite of the eminent men at Oxford and the long hours of lecture, the training there, if the test be practical efficiency in India, must end in failure. Dr. Schlich goes on to say that the present course of instruction is what it has been at Coopers Hill during the last few years. This will not give unalloyed satisfaction to the Department out here. Should the opinion of almost any Conservator, who has the progress of forestry at heart, be asked, he will tell you that, although the Old Nancy and Coopers Hill men of the earlier years turned out as a general rule excellent practical officers, there has been a marked falling off of late years (though naturally there are brilliant individual exceptions), and if the course of instruction at Oxford is what has lately obtained at Coopers Hill, the close observer will find ample cause for grave doubt as to whether the results will prove satisfactory. It is evident that if we are not obtaining the men we require, and there is little doubt about this, the cause must be that the stamp of man coming forward leaves much to be desired, or that the method of training as judged by the results is largely capable of improvement. If the right stamp of man will not come forward, surely Dr. Schlich must, unless he has lost all touch with India, also recognise the fact, and, while doing so, must see that it is his duty to point this out to the Government at home and advocate radical improvements in the pay and prospects of the service and in this way co-operate with the Government of India. If, on the other hand, the method of training is a barrier to our obtaining the men we require, the course at Oxford should be abolished, or at least new blood should be

infused into that portion of the teaching staff responsible for the education in the forestry subjects. By new blood I mean men who are keeping themselves intimately acquainted with the progress of forestry in India, who are in active touch with such progress, and can impart such instruction as, while meeting our present requirements, will be an incentive to greater progress in the future. There can be no doubt that a marked advance has taken place in the last few years, and that in order to keep pace with this at Oxford we require our "hopefuls" to be instructed by practical men who have been and are taking part in this advance. (*Indian Forester*, September 1906, pp. 447-9).

Of recent years much has been done in Britain in the way of providing good sound theoretical and practical instruction in Forestry, so far as is possible in a country without many large woodlands. It is now taught as a branch of Rural Economy in the Department of Agriculture at Edinburgh University (since 1890), at the Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Bangor College, University of North Wales (both since 1904), and at Cambridge University (from October 1907). At Edinburgh, Newcastle, and Bangor the degree of B.Sc. is given in Forestry, and at Cambridge a Diploma of Forestry is conferred, all of these academic hall-marks being bestowed only after a one year's practical course in addition to the theoretical teaching. And at most Agricultural Colleges, such as Cirencester, Aspatria, Downton and others, Forestry forms a special branch of the instruction provided for those being trained in Estate Management.

I grant at once that none of these courses is so extensive and thorough as that now provided at the special cost of the Government of India at Oxford (which also grants a Diploma of Forestry since 1907) but they at any rate give a fair grounding in the scientific principles underlying any and every rational and methodical system for the Cultivation, Management,

Protection, and Utilisation of Woodlands ; and they also provide good specialised instruction in the Cognate Sciences—Botany, Zoology, Geology, and Chemistry of soil and plant.

Now, after all, what is Indian Forestry? What is the best general description of the Indian Forest Officer's duties? It is mainly Estate Management on a large scale. Every Forest Officer must admit that if he had to be classed according to the work which takes up most of his time, he is far more of an Accountant and a General Revenue Officer than anything else, and that the modern scientific German and French Forestry he has been taught in Germany or France, or at Coopers Hill or Oxford, is of but rare appliance in the great stretches of forest committed to his charge. His first impressions of Indian Forestry must often indeed seem to him altogether opposed to the first principles he has been taught, *e.g.*, as in the case of the vast pure plantations of Teak formed in Burma,—Teak being a tree naturally of a sporadic habit of growth, which never occurs growing in great masses gregariously in a manner that exposes it to the gravest possible danger from noxious insects and fungus diseases. And yet it might easily happen that, through a simple evolution following the line of least resistance, increased generative power might make the microlepidopterous insects which every few years defoliate many of the Burma Teak plantations become a terribly destructive pest, against whose attacks we should stand almost absolutely powerless. Fortunately Teak is practically immune from any fungus disease, or else this danger, too, would be greatly intensified by our pure plantations—as witness the ruination of the Ceylon Coffee Industry thirty years ago, and the grave dangers which threaten the rapidly extending Para

Rubber plantations in Ceylon and the Malay States, the *Hevea brasiliensis* being, like Teak, a tree naturally of a sporadic habit of growth, but now grown largely in pure plantations.

At Coopers Hill for twenty years, as also now at Oxford, it was principally German Forestry that has been taught. British Forestry, the copse method of growing oak and other timber trees, as prescribed by the "Statute of Woods" enacted in 1543 and subsequently stringently enforced with regard to the number of "stores" or "standards" that had to be left standing at each time the underwood was coppiced, practically became a lost art soon after the introduction and the rapid development of steam-communication by land and water, and of iron shipbuilding. There is only one really large block of woodlands in Britain, the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, now, since 1897, being managed under a regular working-plan. And as there are no large forests, so also there is no modern Forestry practised extensively in Britain. If one wish to study European Forestry it must therefore be either French or German Forestry, or both. Now, when Sir Dietrich Brandis and Dr. Schlich organised the new system of instruction at Coopers Hill in 1885, it was of course quite natural that they, being Germans, would take a German system as their model; and certainly no one can deny that both then and now Germany held and holds the lead as regards Forest Science. But "German Forestry" is spoken of as if it were something definite, something that can be considered as one homogeneous system. Such is not the case; and it is very far from being the case. Each German State has its own peculiar system of management, especially adapted to its own local conditions and requirements. And the local systems differ very

widely in their provisions in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Baden, Hesse, etc. In fact, in no two States can any one system of management be found any more than any one system of Forestry can be applied to the different provinces in our Indian Empire, differing as they do in forest flora, climate, local conditions, and special desiderata—though the mountain tracts of Southern Germany generally, and of Bavaria in particular, most undoubtedly offer by far the most instructive and useful object-lessons to the Indian Forester.

But European and Indian Forestry differ vastly. In every practical detail Indian Forestry (varying in all the provinces) differs entirely from European Forestry. If one be forced to compare them, the former is in miniature and deals with relatively small areas under intensive treatment, while the latter is on a very large scale embracing vast areas that can only be treated extensively. Thus, for example, in France there are 32 Conservatorships, and 236 divisions; and the total area of all the State, Communal or Corporation Forests under the charge of the Department of Woods and Waters amounts to 7,787,000 acres, which gives an average of about 243,359 acres or 380 square miles for each Conservatorship, and about 33,000 acres or $51\frac{1}{2}$ square mile for each division. In India, however, over its whole superficies of 1,000,000 square miles there are about 250,000 square miles of State Forests (Reserves 100,000 square miles, and protected or unclassed Forests 150,000 square miles), which are divided into 19 Conservatorships or circles, and about 130 divisions. The average area of *actual forest* in each Conservator's charge thus exceeds 12,500 square miles, and each Divisional Officer has charge of over 2,000 square miles on the average. But the *actual territorial area* included

within each Conservatorship averages over 57,000 square miles, which is over 3,400 square miles larger than all England and Wales ($50,902 + 2,682 = 53,584$ square miles); while each Divisional Officer's charge averages over 8,000 square miles, and is just about thrice as large as Wales. It is therefore easy to see that although the fundamental principles of Forestry are the same both in Europe and in India, yet the differences may in many important respects be just as vast as they are with regard to the territorial and the actual forest areas committed to the care and management of the Forest Officers. Such differences in the application of the principles of Forest Science in Europe and in India are, indeed, just as marked as those noticeable in the application of the principles of pictorial art in, say, the highly finished paintings of Teniers or Meissonier on the one hand, and the huge canvasses of Rubens or the big cartoons of Raphael on the other.

This aspect of the matter is one that could not fail to force itself upon the attention of experienced Indian Forest Officers, one of whom has thus placed his views on record:—

It should be remembered that the men to whom it (*i.e., the present Oxford course of instruction*) is being given are not going to spend their lives in England or in European forests. They will mostly go to tropical or semi-tropical ones, and will certainly also be working in immense areas—areas consisting of tropical vegetation. In a recent article in the *Indian Forester* an American Forest Officer practically led us to understand that he would advise Americans going to India for a practical course in preference to Europe. His point of view was, we think, very sound. "How is a man who is to practice extensive and perhaps even rudimentary forestry to learn his profession in a country where a thick population, a large peasant class, a paternal form of Government and a long-settled forest administration give the key to the instruction which he will receive and the

principles which will underlie his forestry sense? How is one to learn constructive forestry in a country where forestry work is administrative routine?" It is, of course, a fact that a certain proportion of the work in India has become administrative routine, but we would venture to say on a very different scale and on very different lines to anything seen either in France or Germany. Formerly it was, as all will admit, essential that the practical course should be gone through on the Continent. Does the necessity still exist? Would it not be possible for the probationers to spend six months or a year at Dehra Dun doing their practical course in the country amidst conditions which, though not for all perhaps entirely similar to those of the part of the country they would eventually serve in, are yet much more analogous than any they could find throughout the length and breadth of Europe? Would they not learn more by actual work in and tours through the Dun and adjacent United Provinces and Punjab plains forests supplemented by visits to, and actual work performed in, the Jaunsar and neighbouring Himalayan coniferous forests? We are of opinion that not only would the probationers themselves acquire a better and a more thorough knowledge of Indian forest conditions as they actually exist, but in addition they would carry with them into other parts of the country, owing to the broader and more enlightened views engendered by the larger scale of operations and forests among which they had had their practical course, ideas which would be of the utmost service in advancing the interests of the Department as a whole. Can it be doubted that we still as a Department suffer to a great extent from a certain narrowness of ideas induced by our Practical course at home owing to the small areas and consequently minute ideas of working on which our training has been based? The Himalayas are not the only mountains, the only hills of any size in India, and yet outside the Himalayas are there not many large systems of sledge roads, tramways, wire ropeways, water slides, etc., in India? Are such in common use for export operations in the forests throughout the country? Is it not conceivable that, had we all enjoyed even the advantages of such a practical course as is given to the students of the Dehra Dun School, the working of the forests would have been by now, in some localities, more intense? Have we not followed too much in the narrow and small European groove as if we were managing a few hundred hectares instead of charges of a few hundred or thousand square miles? We believe these queries can be answered in but one way; and we

would ask whether the time has not arrived at which the question of the probationers performing their practical course under the eye of specially-selected experienced Forest Officers in India would not seem to demand careful consideration, and whether the plan would not result in a far better practical training than is obtained by placing them under specially-selected German Officers, admirable men no doubt, but with neither the local experience nor breadth of view of the Indian Officer. The plan would result in a saving, for the young assistant as he now joins is admittedly useless for the first year, which would not be the case had he gone through a year's practical work in the country. For the theoretical course the very best professors and the highest form of tuition attainable are required. Such can be only obtained at home, and, above all, at a University. For the practical portion of the training we are of opinion that it can now be best given in India. Whilst as a Service we owe much to our confrères on the Continent, and are scarcely likely to forget the debt, it should not preclude us from seriously considering if we should continue to copy methods unsuited for Indian conditions (*Indian Forester*, July 1906, pp. 367-8).

The writer of the above even advocated that the course of instruction should henceforth either be given at the Imperial Forest College at Dehra Dun in Northern India, or else that it should consist of a two years' Continental training in France or Germany followed by a one year's course of instruction and touring in India. The view that the special training for Indian Forest Officers can perhaps in future best be given at Dehra is, indeed, shared by many men of commonsense, who think that the recent Coopers Hill training was not, and the Oxford course is not, what is wanted—although naturally these are opinions which do not commend themselves to Dr. Schlich.

The Dehra Forest School, originally founded in 1878 for the training of subordinate officers (rangers and foresters) for the various Provincial Services, has now, by a regulation of 5th June 1906, been transformed into a Research Institute and College where scientific

research and technical instruction are combined, as I have thus elsewhere pointed out (*Trans. Royal Scot. Arbor. Socy.*, 1907, p. 221.):—

The lectures are henceforth to be given entirely in English, the lower vernacular classes for foresters being thus abolished, and each of the six research officers is to give a course of lectures in his own special branch. This will not interfere with the research work, as the lecture session is confined to the four rainy months (July to October), when in any case all the officers will be at headquarters. This arrangement is a decided improvement. When I was deputy-director and chief instructor at Dehra Dun in 1894, I had to lecture not only on Sylviculture, Management and Protection, and Utilisation of Produce, which were my own proper professional subjects, but had also (in the absence of the regular lecturer) to deliver a special course on Zoology, for which I felt myself little qualified.

For the vernacular teaching of the lower subordinates (foresters and forest guards) the various Local Governments are now making the necessary provision. The first of such purely local Forest Training Schools was that proposed and organised by me (1895-97) whilst Conservator in Burma, and the second, that at Coimbatore for Southern India, organised by Mr. Gass, Conservator of the Southern Circle, Madras.

The researches that can now be undertaken at the Research Institute and College will differ considerably from those questions with which the various European Experimental Stations are concerned, for the special problems requiring solution are of entirely different nature in the temperate and the tropical zones. And even in the different provinces of India (extending to over 1,000,000 square miles), the forest questions vary considerably in many respects. That this work will be undertaken enthusiastically is evident from the feeling of gratitude with which the Department has welcomed the Government Resolution.

But it is impossible that the training at Dehra of the European Forest Officers for the higher executive and the administrative positions can be seriously considered. The course of instruction there is the best that the department can offer; and it could not pretend, without stultifying itself, that it could arrange any

better course for the young Europeans than is now given to the Eurasian and native students. Hence, to arrange separate classes and courses would be mere waste of energy; while to form mixed classes would be altogether out of the question, for social reasons. And even if separate courses could be arranged, it would be extremely undesirable that the future officers of the higher or Imperial and the lower or Provincial Services, who are afterwards to occupy entirely different positions as superiors and subordinates, should come in contact at all until their respective courses of instruction are completed and they meet as officers in active service with well-defined positions. But, for these very reasons making this earlier contact with native officers undesirable, it is equally desirable that the Forest probationers should, if possible, be brought early in close touch with the probationers for the Civil Service along with whom they will afterwards serve in India; and this can only be arranged for at Oxford and Cambridge, at each of which Universities there is a special Board for Indian Studies dealing with the majority of selected candidates.

Personally I am of opinion that with Forestry, mainly continental or its direct offshoot, now taught at several Universities and at most Agricultural Colleges, the Forest Department could satisfactorily and quite as easily be recruited with fairly well-equipped students of estate (including woodland) management as is found to be the case for the recruitment of the Public Works, the Educational, and other scientific departments under a system of selection from among properly qualified candidates. But at the same time I think it is very desirable, from more than one point of view, that Indian Forest probationers should be selected by a competitive examination held by the Civil Service Commissioners.

in Forestry and the cognate sciences, and then be given one year's specialised training in Indian Forestry, Indian vernacular languages, and one branch of science at Oxford and Cambridge, combined with extensive tours in such European forests as may be specially instructive from the Indian point of view.

Such an examination should supply not only the Indian Forest requirements, but also all the growing Colonial needs. The Malay States, Ceylon, Cape Colony, Natal, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the East African Protectorate, Egypt, and Cyprus now all require forest officers; and it can only be a question of time before Canada, Australia and New Zealand must also introduce some rational system of Forest Conservation based on our Indian experience, and will then require a large number of men. And all Colonial systems of Forestry must be based on the Indian system, not on European models.

Such a test would, I feel convinced, secure the best men who are likely to be attracted by the pay and pension offered by the Indian Forest Service, after having gone through a university or other collegiate course with a view to adopting the profession of Land Agency or Estate Management. And just as open competitive examinations are now held annually in July for the Home, Indian, and Colonial Civil Services, so, too, should a competitive examination in Forestry apply simultaneously to the selection of probationers for the Indian and Colonial Forest Services. The examination should be open to all those between 20 and 23 years of age who have obtained either—

(1) The B.Sc. degree in Forestry from Edinburgh University the Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, or the University of

North Wales, Bangor; or

(2) The Diploma in Forestry at Oxford* or Cambridge; or

(3) The Diploma of one of the Agricultural Colleges at Cirencester, Downton, Aspatria, or Wye; or

(4) The Diploma of Professional Associate of the Surveyors' Institution, London.

Such competitive examination should take place in the following subjects:—

OBLIGATORY SUBJECTS.

I. Forestry.	Marks.	II. Cognate Sciences.	Marks.
1. Sylviculture	600	1. Geology and Mineralogy ...	400
2. Management and Valuation	600	2. Chemistry (chiefly organic)	400
3. Protection	600	3. Botany	400
4. Utilisation	600	4. Zoology	400
		5. Surveying and Elementary Engineering ...	400

OPTIONAL SUBJECTS.

French Conversation ...	200	German Conversation ...	200
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But when one considers the enormous differences that exist between the Civil and the Forest Services of India in regard to pay, position, and responsibility throughout the period of active service, and compares the many prizes of office (culminating in six Lieutenant-Governorships worth £6,666 a year and above a score of other appointments worth £3,200 a year or more) open to Civilians, with the one Inspector-Generalship worth £2,120 and only as yet six other permanent appointments worth £1,520 obtainable by even the luckiest Forest Officer, and notes the vast differences as to Civil Service pensions (besides the £350 widows' and the £100 and

* To supply qualified Students Oxford would then require to provide its own Forestry instruction—just as Cambridge, Edinburgh, and the other Universities do—without special India Office support.

£80 orphans' annuities allowed after the death of Civil officers), one cannot but be amazed that any reasonable person can pretend that a more expensive and longer training should be considered necessary for the Forest Officer than for the covenanted Civilian when once the preliminary open competition has been passed. If, as is the case, the Civil Service probationer can be trained in Indian History, Indian Civil and Criminal Law and Procedure, Political Economy, and Vernacular languages in twelve months, then there seems to me no reason whatever why Forest Officers cannot equally well be trained in Indian Forestry (including Forest Law, and Departmental Procedure and Accounts), Vernacular languages, and one branch of science (Botany, Zoology, Geology, or Chemistry, according to individual option) during the same time and at the same places, Oxford and Cambridge. It is quite absurd to suppose that a deeper and more scientific special training is required by the Indian Forester than by the much better paid Civilian, whose duties are manifold and much more responsible. This is how Sir William Hunter described the manifold duties of himself and his brother Civilians (*The Indian Empire*, 1882, p. 332):—

As the name of Collector Magistrate implies, his main functions are twofold. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he is also a Civil and Criminal Judge, both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his smaller local sphere all that the Home Secretary superintends in England, and a great deal more; for he is the representative of a paternal and not of a constitutional Government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation and the imperial revenues of his District are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the

natives and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountant, a surveyor, and a ready writer of State papers. He ought also to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy, and engineering.

The training of probationers after the competitive examination in Forestry and the cognate sciences should therefore not exceed twelve months, as in the case of the Civil Service probationers; and it should be specialised to meet Indian requirements so far as possible. Also, it should be given both at Oxford and at Cambridge, as might easily be arranged through the Boards of Indian Studies without further cost to the Government of India than is at present incurred in the "Delegation of Forestry Students" to Oxford, one Professor of Indian Forestry (and Adviser of India Office) being henceforth delegated to Oxford with a salary of £700 a year, and another to Cambridge with a salary of £500 a year. The specialised course should then embrace the following curriculum (the probationers being previously assigned to provinces, as is the case with Civil Service probationers), after which the selection and the seniority of candidates should be determined by an examination in the subjects of study to be held annually in June, on the completion of the academic year at Oxford and Cambridge:—

I.— <i>Indian Forestry</i> (the lectures being freely illustrated with lime-light illustrations)—		Marks.
1. History of Indian Forest Department; Sylviculture, Management, Protection, and Utilisation, as practised in the various provinces of India	...	400
2. Indian Forest Code of Procedure, Office Work, and Accounts	...	400
3. Indian Forest Law (India, Madras, and Burma Forest Acts), and the Rules and Regulations issued thereunder	...	400
II.— <i>Vernacular Languages</i> —		
1. Hindustani (colloquial and elementary, in Persian character only)	...	400
2. Chief Vernacular Language of the Province to which the Probationer is assigned (including the Nagari character and also a more advanced study where Hindustani alone is prescribed)	...	400

III.— <i>Cognate Sciences</i> , not more than one of the following subjects :—			
1. Botany	...	...	} 400
(1) Plant Physiology, or	...	...	
(2) Fungous Diseases of Forest Trees	...	...	
2. Zoology ; Forest Entomology	...	...	
3. Chemistry of Soil and Plant	...	...	
4. Physical Geography and Meteorology	...	...	

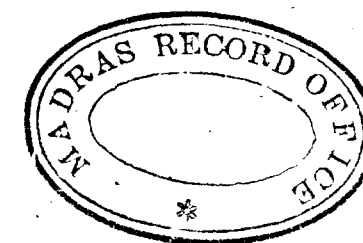
Selected candidates who pass this examination and are otherwise favourably reported on should be appointed to the Indian Forest Service, and should receive (like the Civil Service Probationers) a grant of £150 for the year of probation, with passage-money of £37. 10s. to Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, and £43 to Rangoon. And seniority in the service should be given according to the results of this final examination.

During the Easter Vacation at the University the probationers should be taken, at Government expense, for a tour in the Alpes Maritimes, the Pyrenees, and Gascony ; and after the final examination the selected candidates should in July and August be taken to visit the forests of the Vosges, the Black Forest, the forests of the Bavarian plateau and the Bavarian Alps, the Swiss mountain forests, and the spruce, beech, oak and pine forests of Hanover,—these being undoubtedly the European woodlands that are by far the most instructive to the Indian Forester.

If after their year of probation selected candidates appointed to the Indian Forest Service could conveniently, immediately on their arrival in India in November, be taken from Dehra for an extensive tour in the lower Tehri-Garhwal, Kamaon (Himalayan), and Siwalik forests, and in Oudh, it would certainly be very useful in introducing them to practical work in India, in accustoming them to camp life, and in getting them into touch with their new surroundings under the most favourable circumstances. And even if such a tour only lasted for

about four or five weeks, say, from about 15th November till near Christmas, it would help to prepare the young officers for entering on their duties in the New Year with a far better knowledge of, and preparation for, them than were ever enjoyed by their predecessors, the men who have during these last forty years made the Forest Department a well organised and efficient branch of our Administration in India.

J. NISBET.



Act. VI.—HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

III.

I.—BENGAL.

ON the 4th April 1823 Mr. John Adam's Rule, Ordinance and Regulation, received the sanction of the Supreme Court of Calcutta and as such, became law.* Accordingly the Calcutta newspapers were formally called upon to apply to the Government for licenses. On the 18th April following, a license was granted to Mr. John Francis Sandys, the editor, Messrs. John Palmer and George Ballard, the managing proprietors, and Mr. Peter Stone De Rozario, to publish the *Calcutta Journal*. But even before that, disagreements with the Government were not unfrequent. On the 8th April a letter signed "A young officer" was published in the *Calcutta Journal*. The Adjutant-General brought this letter to notice as a serious violation of the order of the 8th June 1822, and requested that the name of the author might be ascertained. On the 11th April Mr. Sandys stated that he was not in possession of the name of the author; that he had been ill, or the letter would not have appeared. On the same day, Mr. Sandys was informed that if the name of the author was not given up on the

* On May 23, 1825 James Silk Buckingham preferred an Appeal before the Right Honourable the Privy Council of His Majesty against Adam's Rule, Ordinance and Regulation. The Counsels for the Appellant were Mr. Denman and Mr. John Williams; those for the East India Company were Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet, Mr. Sergeant Spankie, Mr. Henry Brougham and Mr. Tindal. The Lords of the Privy Council, after hearing the most lengthy addresses from the Counsels of both sides, advised His Majesty to dismiss the Appeal of Mr. Buckingham. The natives of India, headed by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, presented a memorial against Adam's Press Regulations to the King of England, but without success. The proceedings of the Appeal as well as the memorial will be printed in the Appendix of Volume I.

following day, the circulation of the paper would be stopped. Mr. Sandys, on the 12th, expressed his willingness to take an affidavit that he did not know the author, and he was then informed that the journal would not be stopped, but that he must take the affidavit he had offered, and he was warned of the consequences he would entail on himself if he should persist in violating the Press Regulations. On the 15th April the affidavit, which had been called for, was submitted to the Government, and on the 17th he was required to give up the original manuscripts, and affidavits similar to that made by Mr. Sandys were ordered to be taken up by the person who had acted for him during his illness and from the person who took the letter out of the letter-box. On the 18th Mr. Sandys stated that the original manuscripts had been destroyed and that he had conceived that the letter which was written in a feigned hand and dropped into the letter-box, was written by an enemy of the *Calcutta Journal*. On the 23rd, the affidavits required in the letter of the 17th were furnished to the Government and the correspondence communicated to the Adjutant-General.

On the 12th May 1823, notice was given to Messrs. Palmer and Ballard, proprietors of the *Calcutta Journal*, that the article headed "Notorious Reviewer dissected" was an infringement of the Press Regulations, and a warning was given to them. On the 18th May seven articles were again brought to the notice of Messrs. Palmer and Ballard as infringements of the Press Regulations, and it was intimated that if the same course were pursued, a necessity would arise for taking measures seriously detrimental to the interest of the proprietors. The Government further required that the names of the British subjects employed in connection with the

paper should be communicated. Messrs. Palmer and Ballard enclosed an explanatory letter from Mr. Sandys, and they disclaimed any personal or particular interest in the paper. Mr. Sandys having in his explanatory letter communicated the names of the British subjects employed in connection with the paper, orders were issued to search the records to ascertain on what authority the parties were residing in India; and it was ascertained that Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland, one of the parties named by Mr. Sandys, had a license, but that the three others, Messrs. Sandford Arnot, Assistant Editor, Thomas Heckford, Book-keeper, and Frederick Blacker, Librarian, were residing without lawful authority.

On the 18th August 1823, Lord Amherst arrived in Calcutta as Governor-General relieving John Adam who reverted to the Supreme Council as Senior Member. We have seen how he was instructed to proceed against the Indian Press by his masters at the time of his nomination to the Governor-Generalship of India. Coming to India with a hostile attitude against the Indian Press, Lord Amherst tried his best to curtail its liberty as much as possible. On the 23rd September 1823, under his sanction, the following letter was sent to the proprietors of the *Calcutta Journal* informing them that his lordship had ordered the deportation of their assistant editor Mr. Sandford Arnot.

TO J. PALMER AND G. BALLARD, ESQ.

GENTLEMEN,—After the official communication made to you in my letter of the 18th July last and the recent assurances on the part of the conductors of the *Calcutta Journal* conveyed in Mr. Sandys' letter to your address of the 29th of that month the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council

has noticed with surprise the following passages contained in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 30th ultimo, page 833 :—

“Our readers cannot but recollect the subject of the paper for which Mr. Buckingham was removed from India. The mention of this event is essential to our present argument; and we hope we may speak of it as a matter of history without offence, as we shall not express our opinion on it either one way or another. If it were not absolutely necessary we should not even allude to it; but in doing so we shall not for a moment forget the respect due to the established Laws and Government of the country. This article in question related to the appointment of Dr. Bryce as clerk to the Stationery Committee; and the part of it which is understood to have been so offensive to the Government as to determine Mr. Buckingham's transmission, was an allusion to the report of Dr. Bryce being the author of those letters placed in connection with his appointment to his secular office. Thus it appears Dr. Bryce's reputed authorship and pluralities were the cause of Mr. Buckingham's removal, and of the new laws which are in consequence established for the Press. But for him, this society might have continued in the enjoyment of all its former privileges nor have been deprived of one of its members. When those who watch with anxious expectation the progress of improvement in this country, and the spread of that Gospel which Dr. Bryce is commissioned to preach, consider the effects of these measures, it will be for them to award him the praise or censure which they think he has deserved.”

2. The renewed discussion in the *Calcutta Journal* of the question of Mr. Buckingham's removal from India, after the correspondence which has so recently passed, is in itself disrespectful to the Government, and a violation of the rules prescribed for the guidance of the Editors, and the offence is greatly aggravated by the mode of treating the subject and by the manner in which the motives of the Government in removing Mr. Buckingham from India are grossly and wilfully perverted.

3. The passages in question marked by a double line which clearly impugn the motives of the Government in removing Mr. Buckingham from India would warrant the immediate recall of the license under which the *Calcutta Journal* is

published; but notwithstanding the just cause of displeasure afforded on this occasion, the Governor-General in Council is still unwilling from the considerations connected with the interests of those who share in the property, to have recourse to so extreme a measure, while it can be avoided.

4. His Lordship in Council cannot, however, pass over the present insult offered to Government with the mere expression of his displeasure, and he has resolved to adopt the following course:—

5. The article containing the offensive passages, above quoted is professedly an Editorial article for which Mr. Sandys and Mr. Arnot, the avowed conductors of the paper, are clearly and personally responsible.

6. Mr. Sandys cannot be subjected to any direct mark of displeasure of Government suitable to the occasion and to the nature of the offence, which would not equally injure the interests of the sharers in the property; but Mr. Sandford Arnot is a native of Great Britain residing in India, without any license from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors or other legal authority. The Governor-General in Council has accordingly resolved that Mr. Arnot be sent to England and that immediate orders be issued to give effect to the foregoing resolution.

7. The Governor-General in Council trusts that this measure will be sufficient to prevent any further violation by the conductors of the *Calcutta Journal* of the respect due to Government, and of the rules prescribed for the regulation of the periodical Press, and will render it unnecessary to have recourse to the ultimate measure of withdrawing the license under which the *Calcutta Journal* is now published.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT,
23rd September 1823.

I have, etc.,

W. B. BAYLEY,

Chief Secretary to Government.

Mr. Sandford Arnot first appealed to Lord Amherst for mercy, but was refused. On the expiry of one month from the date of the letter, that is, in the last week of October 1823, he was arrested and confined in the Fort William for being dispatched to England. A writ of *Habeas Corpus* was applied for him and was granted.

Getting liberty he fled to the Danish Settlement of Serampore where he was given up and was shipped on board the Company's chartered vessel the *Fame* going round by way of Bencoolen and not direct to England. From Bencoolen Mr. Arnot went to England afterward.*

In September 1823 there arrived from England a book called the "*Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India*" by Leicester Stanhope. This pamphlet was reproduced verbatim in the *Calcutta Journal* for several weeks of time and was finished on the 30th October 1823. On the 10th November following, the *Calcutta Journal* was ordered to be suppressed. The following was the Government order:—

TO MR. JOHN PALMER AND MR. GEORGE BALLARD.

GENTLEMEN,—You were apprised by my official letters of the 18th July and 23rd September last, of the sentiments entertained by the Governor-General in Council, with regard to the repeated violation on the part of the conductors of the *Calcutta Journal* of the rules established by Government for the regulation of the periodical Press. The editor of the *Calcutta Journal* notwithstanding these communications, has, since, by the republication in successive numbers of that newspaper of numerous extracts from a pamphlet published in England, revived the discussion of topics which had before been officially prohibited, and has maintained and enforced opinions and principles which, as applicable to the state of the country, the Governor-General in Council had repeatedly discouraged and reprobated the extracts themselves so published, containing numerous passages which are in direct violation of the rules prescribed by Government under date the 5th April last.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has, in consequence, this day, been pleased to resolve that the license granted by Government on the 18th day of April 1823:

* Mr. Sandford Arnot first came to Calcutta in July 1820 as an assistant to Buckingham. After his return to England, he moved the House of Commons to take his deportation into consideration for awarding compensation. A Committee sat and recommended him for compensation to the East India Company.

authorising and empowering John Francis Sandys and Peter Stone De Rozario to print and publish in Calcutta a newspaper called "*The Calcutta Journal of Politics and General Literature*" and supplement thereto, issued on Sundays, intituled and called "*New Weekly Register and General Advertiser of the Interior*" with heads of the latest intelligence, published as a supplement to the country edition of the *Calcutta Journal*, shall be revoked and recalled, and you are hereby and respectively required to take notice that the said license is resumed, revoked and recalled accordingly.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

W. B. BAYLEY,

Chief Secretary to Government.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, }
10th, November 1823. }

After the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal*, the proprietors, anxious to make the most of the property that remained, thought of reviving the paper. Accordingly Dr. William Pitt Muston,* a servant of the Government as a member of the Bengal Medical Board, and son-in-law of Mr. John Herbert Harington, one of the members of the Supreme Council, was selected as editor to give guarantee for the careful editing of the new paper. On the 28th November, Dr. Muston applied for a license to publish the new paper of which Messrs. J. Palmer and G. Ballard were proprietors, and Messrs William Pitt Muston and Peter Stone De Rozario publishers and printers. He in reply was informed that the Government would refrain from complying with his request, pending a reference to the Medical Board. On the 30th November, a notice of revival written by Mr. George Ballard, an intimate friend of the Chief Secretary, W. B. Bayley, headed "*Revival of the Calcutta Journal*" was published, as the

* Inventor of army ambulance *deoly*.

1st of December 1823 had been fixed for the re-appearance of the paper. But on the night before the day when the first number of the revived paper would appear, a letter was sent by the Government forbidding the appearance of the paper on the following morning and assigning the objectionable character of the notice as the sole reason of this step. On the 1st December, the Medical Board reported that the functions of Editor would not interfere with Dr. Muston's official duty, and on the 4th Dr. Muston was informed that from the tenor of the Medical Board's report, a license would probably have been granted him, but that it was withheld in consequence of the publication of the notice headed "*Revival of the Calcutta Journal*" which was deemed objectionable in having made an announcement inconsistent with fact, accompanied with reprehensible observations and affording reason to believe that Dr. Muston was not a free Agent. The letter to Dr. Muston concluded with a denial on the part of the Chief Secretary to Government, of the truth of the assertion that the publication had been forbidden on account of the name of the paper—the *Calcutta Journal*. In reply to this, Dr. Muston submitted a letter from Mr. George Ballard, dated the 12th December, on the 13th December, declaring that Dr. Muston should have the sole management of the new *Calcutta Journal* and requested again that a license might be granted him. On the 23rd December Dr. Muston was informed that the Government did not consider it advisable to comply with his request.

Finding the Government obdurate in refusing a license for the revival of the *Calcutta Journal* under the old proprietary, it was agreed between the proprietors of the *Calcutta Journal* and Dr. Muston that the

latter should take a lease of the types, buildings, etc., for a year and pay a given rent for their use, to conduct a paper of his own called the *British Lion*. Accordingly on the 29th January 1824, Dr. Muston wrote to the Government stating that he had an agreement for the lease of the Columbian Press for one year to print and publish a paper of his own called the *British Lion* and requested a license to publish the paper. On the 30th January this request was refused on account of the temporary nature of the arrangement, which gave no security that Mr. Buckingham's influence might not predominate at the end of the twelve month.* On the 12th February Dr. Muston again applied for a license to publish a paper to be called the *Scotsman in the East* of which he was the sole proprietor. A license was this time granted, as Dr. Muston had no connection whatever with the press

* After this refusal, the proprietors of the *Calcutta Journal* were obliged to sell by auction, the types, presses and other plant of the suppressed paper. Of this auction sale, there is an account by J.C.C. Sutherland full of feeling and sentiment. On the 4th June 1834 James Silk Buckingham, then a member of the House of Commons, succeeded to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons to take into consideration the circumstances connected with the suppression of the *Calcutta Journal* in the year 1823 and the loss of property entailed on him in consequence of that measure and to report their opinion to the House as to whether any and what amount of compensation ought to be awarded to him for his losses on that account, in accordance with the petition presented to the House of Commons on the 9th May, 1826. The Select Committee sat on the 4th August 1834 to take evidence and finally resolved thus :—

4. That your Committee, without impugning the motives which actuated the measures of the Government, feel that those measures have, in their consequences, proved to Mr. Buckingham and his family, penal to a degree which could not have been contemplated at the time of their adoption.

5. That your Committee are therefore, of opinion that compensation ought to be made to Mr. Buckingham.

6. That your Committee abstain from expressing any opinion as to the amount of compensation in the hope that that subject will be taken into the favourable consideration of the East India Company, and thus the interposition of Parliament, in the next session, to fix such amount be rendered unnecessary.

The East India Company granted Mr. Buckingham a life-pension of £200 a year.

in which the *Calcutta Journal* was printed. On the 1st March, the *Scotsman in the East* first appeared, but was stopped at the end of September 1824 for want of support after being alive for seven months: when the goodwill of the paper was sold to Mr. Samuel Smith of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and the paper was amalgamated with the *Bengal Hurkaru*. Thus closed a memorable chapter of the Indian Press which was begun in 1818 by James Silk Buckingham.

The suppression of the *Calcutta Journal* gave very large additions of subscribers to the other existing newspapers of the time, especially to *John Bull*, the *Bengal Hurkaru** and the *India Gazette*. Mr. Peter Stone De Rozario, the printer of the *Calcutta Journal*, finding his principal occupation gone, started a small paper of one sheet, called the *Columbian Press Gazette*.† In 1826 its name was changed into the *Bengal Chronicle*. On the 31st December 1824 the Government of Bengal informed the Court of Directors that censures had been passed on the following editors for violations of the Press Regulations, viz., the editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* on two occasions, the editor of *John Bull* on two occasions, and the editor of a native paper

* Under date Calcutta, 10th February 1824, J. C. C. Sutherland thus writes to Buckingham :—“The party who gains most at your cost is the owner of the *Hurkaru* Newspaper. You may recollect that on the suspension of the licence of the *Journal*, Mr. S. Smith proprietor of the *Hurkaru* volunteered and was employed to furnish *pro tempore* your subscribers with his paper. This arrangement at once made that paper productive; so much so that the owner has been enabled to induce Dr. Abel, the private physician to the Governor-General to accept the editorship on terms which I have heard, improve as the profits of the paper may increase.”

† Towards the end of 1824 when J. C. C. Sutherland was employed in a confidential situation in the office of Messrs. Alexander and Company he was solicited to assist the proprietor of the *Columbian Press Gazette*. He did so; the articles took, and the paper was published twice a week, and afterwards thrice a week. Sutherland then became editor, and the circulation rapidly increased. The name of the paper was changed into the *Bengal Chronicle* with the motto of *Floreat Libertas*.

in Calcutta. On the 31st March 1825, a censure was passed on the editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*. On the 30th September 1825 and 3rd August 1826 censures were passed on the editor of the *Bengal Chronicle*. The Government had more than once objected to the freedom of the editors' observations and were particularly offended by a satirical article on a despatch relative to the island or rather sand-bank of Shapooree. They were also greatly irritated with the editor's allusion to their second warning, to which he applied the quotation of "And twice the brindled cat has mewed." At length the Government announced to the poor proprietor, Peter Stone De Rozario, that his paper would be suppressed on the 21st March 1827, but the editor, Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland, averted its misfortune by avowing the authorship of the most offensive articles and engaging to discontinue his connection with the paper. On this condition the *Bengal Chronicle** was permitted to continue.

On the 11th May 1826 Lord Amherst published a circular in the *Government Gazette* prohibiting the servants of the East India Company from having any connection with the public Press in any way. This was the first inhibition of the kind. The circular runs thus in full:—

FORT WILLIAM, GENERAL DEPARTMENT, the 11th May 1826 :—The following extract from a Public General Letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, bearing date the 30th December 1825, is published for the information of the Hon'ble Company's Servants on this Establishment.

* J. C. C. Sutherland was succeeded in the editorship of the *Bengal Chronicle* by Mr. William Adam, the famous Unitarian Missionary of America and Reporter on the Vernacular Education in Bengal. But as he and the proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle* could not entirely agree, the *Bengal Chronicle* was sold to Mr. Samuel Smith of the *Bengal Hurkaru* of which it became a tri-weekly edition. A full history of the *Bengal Chronicle* will be found in Volume II.

"We feel it incumbent on us, from a regard to Public Interests to issue, in a circular to our Indian Governments, our positive prohibition against any person in our service, either civil, naval or military surgeons and chaplains included, connecting himself with any newspaper or other periodical journal (unless devoted exclusively to Literary and Scientific subjects) whether as editor, sole proprietor or sharer in the property."

"This order we shall enforce, if necessary, by dismissing from our Service those who may contravene it. And in regard to such as may have already formed connexions of this sort, we desire they may be immediately warned, that if the connexions are not dropt within six months after notice so given, they shall be held liable to the consequences of a breach of this prohibition, which you will publicly promulgate for the information of our servants. You will also report to us the names of the parties to whom this injunction may apply."

Published by Command of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

C. LUSHINGTON,

Chief Secretary to the Government.

It does not appear that this first inhibition was vigorously enforced by Lord Amherst as his attention about this time was very much occupied by his warlike operations in Burma and Bhurtpur. But in the following year, at the urgent call of Lord Combermere, Lord Amherst sanctioned the suppression of a Calcutta newspaper, called the *Calcutta Chronicle** on account of some of its remarks on the Calcutta Stamp Act. The order for suppression runs thus :—

MR. WILLIAM ADAM AND MR. VILLIERS HOLCROFT.

Proprietors of the *Calcutta Chronicle*.

GENTLEMEN,—The general tenor of the contents of the *Calcutta Chronicle* having been for some time past highly disrespectful to the Government and to the Hon'ble the Court

* The *Calcutta Chronicle* was started in January 1827 by M^r. William Adam after his separation from the *Bengal Chronicle*. J. C. C. Sutherland joined him as a co-partner and co-editor. The success of the paper surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the proprietors, but how it was brought to ruin is told above.

of Directors, and the paper of the 29th instant in particular comprising several paragraphs in direct violation of the Regulations regarding the Press, I am directed to inform you that the Right Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council (Lord Combermere) has resolved that the license granted to you (on the 25th January last) for the printing and publishing of the *Calcutta Chronicle* be cancelled, and it is hereby cancelled accordingly from the present date.

I am, etc.,

COUNCIL CHAMBER, }
31st May 1827.

C. LUSHINGTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

After the suppression of the *Calcutta Chronicle*, its proprietors tried to revive it in some other form, but the Government refused to grant a license for any paper in lieu of that suppressed. On the 28th February 1828 a censure was passed on the editor* of the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

On the 10th March 1828 Lord Amherst left India and was succeeded temporarily by William Butterworth Bayley as Governor-General of India pending the arrival of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck. In July 1828 Lord Bentinck arrived in Calcutta and assumed the Governor-Generalship. He was a man of liberal propensity, and under his rule, Indian Journalism advanced by leaps and bounds. In December 1828, he nominated Dr. John Grant, a servant of the East India Company's Bengal Medical Establishment, to be Superintendent of the Government Press, notwithstanding the order of the Court of Directors as quoted above. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was then a member of the Supreme Council, strongly supported Lord William Bentinck in this matter and wrote the following minute recording his opinion on the connexion of Government servants with the Press.

* Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland, who became editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* towards the latter end of 1827.

1. I have the honour to concur in the Governor-General's proposal for the nomination of Mr. Grant to be Superintendent of the Government Press; and I trust that the reasons which induce his Lordship to recommend this deviation from the orders of the Court of Directors, will satisfy the Hon'ble Court of its expediency.

2. I cannot refrain from availing myself of this opportunity to express my regret at the tenor of those orders (already quoted) which entirely exclude the servants of the Company from any share in the exercise of the power of the Press.

3. That no person in high official station should have any share in the profits of a newspaper or any connection whatever with the political Press seems to be perfectly proper and unquestionable.

4. But that the only class of persons who feel any interest in the Company's Government should be utterly precluded from the employment of their talents in the operations of the Press, appears to be very impolitic.

5. The Press in India, although not free from restrictions, is sufficiently free to make it desirable that it should not fall exclusively into the hands of those who, however loyal as British subjects, are disaffected towards the Hon'ble Company; and that it will be generally engrossed by such persons, must be the natural effect of precluding the servants of the Company from taking any share in it.

6. Since the enactment of the local law by which newspapers are printed under a license revocable at pleasure, the proprietors and editors being responsible for the contents, it has been found expedient to admit a considerable latitude of discussion; nor can this be avoided without adopting one of the two courses either employing the extreme measure of extinction on every construed breach of regulation which would be harsh and excite public disgust—or entering into a continual expostulatory and inculpatory correspondence with the editors which would be quite derogatory and disreputable to the Government, and much more likely to bring it into ridicule and contempt than any freedom of discussion.

7. I take it as universally granted that the Press ought to be free and subject, of course, to the laws, provided it be not dangerous to the stability of our Indian Empire.

8. Should it ever threaten to become so, the Local Government ought undoubtedly to possess the power of protecting the safety of the State against this or any other danger, from whatever quarter it may come ; because it is impossible in this distant region, that we can be protected on emergency by any enactments of the mother country.

9. But at present there is no symptom of danger from the freedom of the Press in the hands of either Europeans or Natives ; and the power being reserved to provide for the public safety against any danger by which it may at any time be menaced, to crush what is itself capable of great good from an apprehension that it may possibly, under circumstances yet unconceived, be converted into an evil, would be a forecast more honoured in the breach than the observance.

10. Arguing, therefore, on the supposition that the Press is already in some degree free, that it is not desirable to strangle its growing liberty, the exclusion of the Company's servants from taking a share in the exercise of the power which that engine wields, appears to me to be the very reverse of expedient ; and I much regret that the orders of the Court of Directors have not left employment in the Press open to all their servants, excepting those in high official stations, and especially to gentlemen in the medical line, on the indispensable condition that such employment should not be allowed to interfere with the due discharge of public duties.

C. T. METCALFE.

29th December 1828.

In 1829 the Calcutta paper, *John Bull*, began to attack the civil servants of the East India Company most unsparingly. Alarmed at these attacks, the East India Directors sent out peremptory orders forbidding public servants to have any connection with the public press and ordered Lord William Bentinck to enforce the order most vigorously.* In this year as well as in the following, the great agitation over the Half-Batta question

* In virtue of this prohibition, Dr. John Grant of the Bengal Medical Board, withdrew himself from the editorship of the *India Gazette* of Calcutta.

was surged up in the columns of the Indian Press in consequence of Lord William Bentinck's retrenchment policy as dictated to him by the Court of Directors. The army gave full vent to their grievances in a manner highly disrespectful to the Government. Highly inflammatory writings were published appealing to the worst passions of the discontented soldiery. But Lord William Bentinck, excepting one instance, did not, in the least, pay any attention to these malevolent and outrageous writings. The following is taken from Public Letter from Bengal dated 22nd September 1830 :— 587—The attention of Government having been directed to an article in the *Bengal Herald* of the 1st August, 1829, commencing, "We solicit the attention of the Indian community and the British people and Parliament to the general orders in our columns of to-day, etc.," we directed our Secretary to express to the proprietor of that paper the displeasure with which we perused the editorial comments on the general orders above referred to, as containing matters calculated to excite a spirit of mutiny and discontent in the minds of the European soldiery, to whose worst passions the mischievous and mistaken notions inculcated in that article were addressed, and to caution him against indulging in similar comments and observations in future. 588—The letter of the proprietor of the *Herald*, in reply, disclaiming, with expressions of regret at having incurred the displeasure of Government, the motives attributed to him in his remarks on the General orders alluded to, is also recorded on the proceedings of the same date." On the receipt of the final orders from the Court of Directors on this much-vexed question, dated the 8th and 22nd of September 1830, Lord William Bentinck addressed

the following circular letter to all the editors of newspapers in Calcutta from discussing that question:—

Circular Letters to the editors of *John Bull*, *Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle*, *Bengal Chronicle*, *India Gazette*, *Government Gazette*, *Bengal Herald*, *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, *Oriental Observer*, *Mirror of the Press*, *Calcutta Domestic Retail Price Current and Miscellaneous Register*.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council to acquaint you that you are prohibited from admitting into your paper any comments on the letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, No. 37, dated 31st March 1830, which will be published in general orders to the army in the *Government Gazette* of this day.

I am, etc.,
GEORGE SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, }
8th September 1830. }

Before this prohibition went out, the members of the Supreme Council minuted on the expediency or otherwise of the measure. It will be seen from the following minutes that Lord William Bentinck and Mr. William Butterworth Bayley, forming a majority in Council, determined on sending the above circular to the Press in opposition to the opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL DATED 6TH
SEPTEMBER 1830.

The Hon'ble Court have directed the publication of their despatch, No. 37, conveying their final orders on the Half-Batta question.

With the final adjudication of this reference at home, it is much to be desired that no revival of former discussions should take place here, and that the tone of complaint deemed so objectionable, should not again be heard. To prevent as far as may be possible the

publication of remarks (the disrespectful nature of which may be too certainly anticipated) that this dispatch will call forth, it seems necessary that a prohibition should proceed from the Secretary to Government to all editors of papers, from admitting into their columns any observations whatever upon this official document.

I am aware that this recommendation exposes me to two charges: first, of omission, in not having, on the first appearance of discontent when the orders were originally published, adopted the measure which I now propose, for the purpose of preventing the publication of opinions and remarks tending to foment and keep alive the existing agitation, and extremely disrespectful towards the authorities from whence they emanated; secondly, of inconsistency, in now interfering with the liberty of the Press, of which I have been the advocate and with which, after the example of my predecessor, I have not meddled.

Upon the first point, many, I know, are of opinion that the public Press contributed greatly to the discontent. I see no reason for this opinion. The order itself, so many years the topic of discussion and of contention between the authorities in England and in India, was quite sufficient to excite universal dissatisfaction, and it is quite as clear that it could only be set at rest by a definite resolution of the superior authority. The Adjutant-General of the Madras army who was at the time at Calcutta, described the angry feeling and language so loudly expressed here, and all the signs of the times, to be precisely similar to those which prevailed before the Madras mutiny, and he anticipated a similar explosion. Let it be remarked that the mutiny *did* take place at Madras; and though there was not a shadow of liberty belonging to the Press there, the communication

and interchange of sentiment and concert was as general as if it had passed through the medium of a daily press, without the reserve which the responsibility of the editor more or less, requires for his own security. My firm belief is that more good than harm was produced by the open and public declaration of the sentiments of the army. There was vent to public feeling, and the mischief was open to public view ; and the result is so far confirmatory of the opinion here given, that no overt act took place. There is a great distinction to be made both in the nature of the offence itself, and in the treatment to be applied to it, between the expression of dissatisfaction on the first infliction of the supposed wrong and injustice, and the clamour and censure which should be cast upon the final and solemn adjudication of the governing power.

With respect to the second point, I retain my former opinion that the liberty of the Press is a most useful engine in promoting the good administration of the country, and in some respect supplies that lamentable imperfection of control, which from local position, extensive territory and other causes, the supreme Council cannot adequately exercise. But I have always said and thought, that as well with the liberty of the Press as of the subject, it was indispensable for the safety of the empire that the Governor-General in Council should have the power of suspending the one and of transmitting the other, whenever the safety of the State should call for the exercise of such authority. I think the present case an exception to the general rule. I apprehend no positive outrage or open violence to authority ; but I do apprehend the possibility of unmilitary and insubordinate language, highly discreditable to the character of the army, which the Government

could not overlook and which might end in a conflict between the Government and its officers, that could not fail to be attended with the greatest public inconvenience.

W. C. BENTINCK.

MINUTE BY THE HON'BLE WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH
BAYLEY.

I have always entertained, and continue to entertain, the opinion that the unfettered liberty of the Press, as it exists in our native country, is totally unsuited to the present state of our dominion in the East, and that so long as the Press was subject to no other restraint than that arising out of the fear, on the part of the editors, of being punished for a libel by a court of law, it was in the power of factious individuals to disseminate the most mischievous reports through the public papers and injuriously to affect the influence and proper authority of Government over its own servants, its army and its native subjects.

So long as the power of Government effectually to suppress evils of such a description was disputed and denied, the question of the asserted freedom of the Press was felt to be one of vital importance, and that feeling led to many of the acts of interference with the Press which were directed by the Government at that period.

From the time, however, when the power of Government to control the Press was legally recognised and established, the motive and necessity for such frequent interference ceased. It was gradually withdrawn, and for several years past, the Press has practically been allowed almost perfect freedom. Although I neither think so highly of the advantages nor so lightly of the

mischiefs of a free Press in this country as the Governor-General and Sir Charles Metcalfe do, I yet attach so much importance to the former as to desire that the Press may remain unfettered, except in instances in which highly important interests of the State are likely to be compromised. The occasions for interposition, on that ground, have been, and are likely to be, rare; they form exceptions to the general rule; and when they do arise, the Government can immediately check the mischief by prohibiting the discussion of a particular question, altogether or during a specified period.

In this form the interference would operate like that of the censorship in the particular case, and no penalty would be imposed unless the prohibitory order were wilfully violated.

Entertaining the opinions above expressed on the general question, I have no hesitation in recording my concurrence in the proposition contained in the Governor-General's Minute of the 6th instant.

The public interests would, in my judgment, be exposed to very serious injury if the recent and final orders of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, on the memorials from the officers of the Bengal army, were publicly canvassed in the same insubordinate spirit as was manifested when the original instructions were carried into effect.

That they would be so canvassed there can be no doubt; and we shall, in my opinion, best consult the interests of the army and of the Government by prohibiting the editors of papers from publishing any comments or remarks on the despatch conveying the final orders of the Court of Directors on the Half-Batta question.

W. B. BAYLEY.

6th September 1830.

MINUTE BY SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

I regret to see that it is the intention of the Governor-General to interfere with the liberty of the Press, on the occasion of the publication of the letter of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, regarding the memorials of the officers of the army, on the subject of the Half-Batta reductions.

It appears to me that the intended measure will excite fresh feelings of disgust, which it is wholly unnecessary to create.

Hitherto the utmost freedom of discussion has been permitted on this subject, and generally on all subjects for years past; and I cannot see any difference between the present order of the Court and their former order, that should make it expedient to allow the one to be censured, and to prohibit all comment on the other; the former order was meant to be final as much as the present one.

I am persuaded that the freedom of discussion allowed in the Half-Batta question has been attended with good effects; it has afforded a vent for the expression of the feelings which a most unpopular measure excited; and it gave an assurance to those who conceived themselves injured that their complaints were at least made known and must attract attention.

I think on the present occasion that it will be infinitely better to allow anything to be said that can be said, than to furnish a new source of discontent, by crushing the expression of public opinion.

I do not apprehend that anything can be said worse than has already been published. The lenitive operation of time is producing its usual effect. The feelings which prevailed in the army are in some degree allayed; their complaints have been heard; their arguments are exhausted; and the subject is almost worn out.

The order of the Court of Directors is not altogether unexpected. Its publication may be followed by a few letters in the newspapers which will do no harm, and then the matter will finally subside. But the attempt to prevent the ebullition of any feeling will cause fresh irritation, and be construed as a new grievance.

Viewing the question more generally, it is, whether an arbitrary interference with the Press shall be substituted for the freedom which has for many years been allowed?

I have, for my own part, always advocated the liberty of the Press, believing its benefits to outweigh its mischiefs; and I continue of the same opinion.

Admitting that the liberty of the Press, like other liberties of the subject, may be suspended when the safety of the State requires such a sacrifice, I cannot, as a consequence, acknowledge that the present instance ought to be made an exception to the usual practice of the Government; for if there were danger to the State either way, there would be more, I should think, in suppressing the publication of opinions, than in keeping the valve open, by which bad humours might evaporate. To prevent men from thinking and feeling is impossible; and I believe it to be wiser to let them give vent to their temporary anger, in anonymous letters in the newspapers, the writers of which letters remain unknown, than to make that anger permanent by forcing them to smother it within their own breasts, ever ready to burst out. It is no more necessary to take notice of such letters now than it was before.

The Government which interferes at its pleasure with the Press becomes responsible for all that it permits to be published. We continually see in the Calcutta papers gross abuse of public authorities; and we answered to

the complaint of one that this Government did not interfere with the Press or something to that effect. I think that we made a similar assertion in a communication to the governor of a foreign settlement. How can we say such things at one time, and at another interfere with the Press, as it is now proposed to do?

If I could think it sound policy to shackle the Press I should prefer the steady operation of the censorship, or any fixed rule, to the occasional interference of the Government by its arbitrary will. Every letter addressed by the Government to the editor of a newspaper has always appeared to me to be derogatory to the Government; and the Bengal Government has been exposed to more ridicule from this sort of correspondence than from any other cause. It is true that the power now exists of converting ridicule into terror by the destruction of the property, but who can desire to see a newspaper impertinence brought to such an end? Even punishment has sometimes proved a farce, the real offender soon re-appearing in the field, with new honour as a pretended murderer.

■ For all these reasons, I object to the measure proposed, considering it preferable on every account to leave to the Press the uninterrupted enjoyment of its supposed freedom, and to the public the means which it now practically possesses of expressing its sentiments on all subjects, without any other restriction than those of law and discretion.

C. T. METCALFE.

6th September 1830.

In 1830 took place that tremendous financial crash which involved the great commercial houses of Calcutta in utter ruin. The famous Agency House, Messrs. Palmer and Company, was first to fall in this year, and

one by one, the others, Messrs. Mackintosh and Company, Alexander and Company, Cruttenden, McKillop and Company, Fairlie, Fergusson and Company, Colvins, Bazett and Company, followed suit. Their failure involved the public in a loss of sixteen crores of rupees, not even two crores of which were recovered from their assets. Savings were deposited by the servants of the East India Company in the cherished expectation that they would enable them to return to close their lives in their native land; but at one fell swoop they saw their little all swallowed up, their prospects blasted and themselves left to prolong an unwilling and cheerless service, with broken spirits and minds soured by severe and unexpected disappointment. The effect of this financial collapse was terrible* upon Calcutta Journalism. *John Bull*, which was the property of Messrs. Cruttenden, McKillop and Company was sold and converted into the present *Englishman*, The *India Gazette*, which was owned by Messrs. Mackintosh and Company, was taken over by Dwarkanath Tagore and amalgamated with the *Béngal Hurkaru*. The latter owed Messrs. Alexander and Company seven lacs of rupees, and the *Calcutta Courier*, which was managed by an ex-partner of Messrs. Palmer and Company, became a moribund journal. In these dark days† Lord William Bentinck, be it said here to his

* Macaulay while residing in Calcutta in 1836 as Legislative Member wrote home thus :—“That tremendous crash of the great commercial houses which took place a few years ago has produced a revolution in fashions. It ruined one-half of the English society in Bengal, and seriously injured the other half. A large proportion of the most important functionaries here are deeply in debt, and accordingly the mode of living is now exceedingly quiet and modest. Those immense subscriptions, those public tables, those costly equipages and entertainments of which Heber, and others who saw Calcutta a few years back, say so much, are never heard of.”

† J. H. Stocqueler when he started the *Englishman* in October, 1833, thus described the condition of Calcutta Journalism :—“Samuel Smith of the *Hurkaru* dared not tell Alexander and Co., they were scoundrels; he owed the House seven

credit, scrupulously avoided interfering with the liberty of the Press, and in all possible ways, encouraged its growth and prosperity. His Lordship's sympathetic attitude encouraged the Calcutta citizens, in the cold weather of 1835, to present a petition to him calling upon him to repeal the Press Regulations passed by Mr. John Adam in 1823. On the 27th January 1835, the Governor-General received the petition of the Calcutta community, and an official answer was returned saying that “the unsatisfactory state of the laws relating to the Press had already attracted the attention of his Lordship in Council, and he trusted that in no long time a system would be established which while it gave security to every person engaged in a fair discussion of public measures, would effectually secure the Government against sedition and individuals against calumny.”

But in no long time Lord William Bentinck retired and returned to England, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor of Agra, took his place at the head of the Supreme Government. He was now “sovereign and master,” indeed, and the opportunity for which he had long yearned to completely liberate the Indian Press was fairly before him. He also found that his Council, too, were ripe for immediate legislation on the subject. Macaulay, whose first great literary success had been a glowing panegyric on John Milton, was

lakhs of rupees. Wm. (William) Adam could not allow Mackintosh and Co. to be abused in the *India Gazette* for it had been their property; and George Prinsep who edited the *Courier*, was an ex-partner of the great house of Palmer and Co. Rogues all. Happily I had no such scruples. True, I had bought the effete *John Bull* (then edited by a Mr. Bignel, who always fell asleep at dinner before the cloth was removed) from the assignees of Cruttenden and Co., but though they would have *burked* the expression of opinions adverse to the Agency Houses, if they could I knew that I was in a condition to bear their hostility and so opened the pages of the *Englishman* to the complaints of the sufferers—the destitute widow—the indigent orphan—all in fact who had lost their property (from the failure of the Agency Houses).”

then the Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, and as such, was not likely to be backward in giving all weight of his authority in furtherance of a measure for the bestowal on the people of the liberty of unlicensed printing. Accordingly Macaulay was asked by Sir Charles Metcalfe to draft an Act on the subject of the Indian Press applicable to the whole of India. With great enthusiasm, Macaulay entered upon the task, as he was himself an ardent advocate of popular liberty. At the meeting of the Supreme Council held on the 18th May 1835, Macaulay formally introduced the Bill and presented the minutes written upon the measure by the different members of the Council. Macaulay himself minuted thus on the Bill:—

“In the accompanying draft of an Act on the subject of the Press, I have attempted to embody what at several of our recent meetings appeared to me to be the general sense of the Council. It is difficult to conceive that any measures can be more indefensible than those which I propose to repeal. It has always been the practice of politic rulers to disguise their arbitrary measures under popular forms and names. The conduct of the Indian Government with respect to the Press has been altogether at variance with this trite and obvious maxim. The newspapers have for years been allowed as ample a measure of practical liberty as that which they enjoy in England. If any inconveniences arise from the liberty of political discussion, to those inconveniences we are already subject. Yet while our policy is thus liberal and indulgent, we are daily reproached and taunted with the bondage in which we keep the Press. A strong feeling on this subject appears to exist throughout the European community here, and the loud complaints which have lately been uttered are

likely to produce a considerable effect on the English people, who will see at a glance that the law is oppressive, and who will not know how completely it is inoperative. To impose strong restraints on political discussion is an intelligible policy, and may possibly, though I greatly doubt it, be in some countries a wise policy. But this is not the point at issue. The question before us is not whether the Press shall be free, but whether, being free, it shall be called free. It is surely mere madness in a Government to make itself unpopular for nothing; to be indulgent, and yet to disguise its indulgence under such outward forms as bring on it the reproach of tyranny. Yet this is now our policy. We are exposed to all the dangers—dangers I conceive greatly over-rated—of a free Press; and at the same time we contrive to incur all the opprobrium of a censorship. It is universally allowed that the licensing system, as at present administered, does not keep any man who can buy a press from publishing the bitterest and most sarcastic reflections on any public measure or any public functionary. Yet the very words “license to print” have a sound hateful to the ears of Englishmen in every part of the globe. It is unnecessary to enquire whether this feeling be reasonable, whether the petitioners who have so strongly pressed this matter on our consideration would not have shown a better judgment if they had been content with their practical liberty, and had reserved their murmurs for practical grievances; the question for us is not what they ought to do, but what we ought to do; not whether it be wise in us to incur odium unaccompanied by the smallest accession of security or of power. One argument only has been urged in defence of the present system. It is admitted that the Press of Bengal has

long been suffered to enjoy practical liberty, and nothing but an extreme emergency could justify the Government in curtailing that liberty. But, it is said, such an emergency may arise, and the Government ought to retain in its hands the power of adopting in that event the sharp, prompt, and decisive measures which may be necessary for the preservation of the Empire. But when we consider with what vast powers, extending over all classes of people, Parliament has armed the Governor-General in Council, and in extreme cases, the Governor-General alone, we shall probably be inclined to allow little weight to this argument. It seems to be acknowledged that licenses to print ought not to be refused or withdrawn except under very peculiar circumstances, and if peculiar circumstances should arise, there will not be the smallest difficulty in providing measures adapted to the emergency. No Government in the world is better provided with the means of meeting extraordinary dangers by extraordinary precautions. Five persons who may be brought together in half an hour, whose deliberations are secret, who are not shocked by any of those forms which elsewhere delay legislative measures, can, in a single sitting, make a law for stopping every Press in India. Possessing as we do the unquestionable power to interfere, whenever the safety of the State may require it, with overwhelming rapidity and energy, we surely ought not in quiet times to be constantly keeping the offensive form and ceremonial of despotism before the eyes of those whom nevertheless we permit to enjoy the substance of freedom. It is acknowledged that in reality liberty is and ought to be the general rule, and restraint the rare and temporary exception. Why then should not the form correspond with the reality? Why should our laws be so framed as to make it appear that

the ordinary practice is in the highest degree oppressive, and that freedom can be enjoyed only by occasional connivance? While this system is established in the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra, and in that part of the Presidency of Bombay which lies beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, a system open to objections not less serious, but of a very different kind, prevails throughout the Presidency of Fort St. George. In that part of India every man who chooses is at liberty to print and publish, and it is very difficult to bring the fact of printing or publication home to him. Thus, while the inhabitants of one province are complaining of the tyrannical restrictions which our laws impose on the Press, the inhabitants of another province suffer from the irresponsible licentiousness of the Press. The editor of a newspaper at Calcutta must have a license from the Government. The editor of a newspaper at Madras may excite his fellow-subjects to the most criminal enterprises, or may destroy the peace and honour of private families, with small risk of being convicted before any legal tribunal. The Act which I now propose is intended to remove both evils, and to establish a perfect uniformity in the laws regarding the Press throughout the Indian Empire. Should it be adopted, every person who chooses will be at liberty to set up a newspaper without applying for a previous permission. But no person will be able to print or publish sedition or calumny without imminent risk of punishment.

T. B. MACAULAY.

CALCUTTA, 16th April.

MINUTE BY THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The reasons which induced me to propose to the Council the abolition of the existing restrictions on the

Press in India accord entirely with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Macaulay in the minute accompanying the draft of an Act, which at our request, he has had the kindness to prepare with a view to give effect to the unanimous resolution of the Council. Those reasons were as follows: first, the Press ought to be free, if consistently with the safety of the State it can be. In my opinion it may be so. I do not apprehend danger to the State from a free Press; but if danger to the State should arise the Legislative Council has the power to apply a remedy; second, that the Press is already practically free, and that the Government has no intention to enforce the existing restrictions, while we have all the odium of those restrictions, as if the Press were shackled. It is no argument in favour of the continuance of these unpopular restrictions that they may at any time be enforced, for if restrictions should be necessary to ward off danger from the State, they may be imposed and enforced instantly; third, that the existing restrictions leave room for the exercise of caprice on the part of the Governments in India. Our Council or our Governor may be for leaving the Press free; another may be for restraining it. There is no certain law, and anyone connected with the Press might be any day subjected to arbitrary and tyrannical power for any slight violation of rules, the total violation of which has been long tacitly sanctioned; fourth, the different state of the law, or the want of any law, at the other Presidencies, renders the enactment of some general law for all India indispensable. To extend the odious and useless restrictions which now exist is out of the question; and no law, in my opinion, could be devised with any good effect except a law making the Press free. We are much indebted to Mr. Macaulay for the Act which he

has had the goodness to prepare for us. The penal provisions which it contains have been already partially discussed, and will come more fully under consideration of the next Council. They are, I conclude, unavoidable; but they show how much easier it is to rescind laws than to make them, for while the existing restrictions are got rid of in a few words, we are compelled to make a long enactment for the sole purpose of making printers and publishers accessible to the laws of the land.

C. T. METCALFE,

CALCUTTA, 17th April.

MINUTE BY THE HON'BLE H. T. PRINSEP.

The Governor-General has summed up so very clearly the arguments for repealing the existing laws for licensing and restraining the Press, that I have only to subscribe my entire concurrence in them. But I do not go quite so far as to say broadly and without reserve that I do not apprehend danger to the State from the Press of India being free. I see no immediate danger in the present state of things, nor is the future danger such as the existing laws would provide for better than laws made specially for the purpose when the danger threatens. But I think the eye of the Government will require to be kept continually upon the Press, and especially upon the native Press, for it is capable of being made an engine for destroying the respect in which the Government is held, and so of undermining its power. Our Government in India has been called a despotism, but it is far from being so in as much as it is bound by strict laws and is subject to an ever active responsibility to other authorities. Still, so far as concerns our native subjects, they have no voice in determining those laws nor in settling the constitution of the Government which rules them. If it were

supposed that our power in India is quite independent of the state of the people's affection towards us,—that the machine of Government could do its work, maintain the army in discipline and efficiency, collect the revenues, administer justice, and provide a vigilant and not tyrannical police, even in the extreme case that all the population had turned against us, then indeed might we be indifferent to the workings of the Press. But no one goes this length, even in hypothetical argument; and therefore it is that I do not contemplate without apprehension, the encouragement of the growth of a native Press, which, judging from the spirit of discontent produced by our first experiments in the work of education, threatens to be hostile. At present this Press is nothing, and the controlling or influencing it would be an easy task were Government disposed to direct its efforts to do one or the other; but if we let it grow till the danger from it is imminent, we may then find it a giant to wrestle with. So long as discussion is carried on in English, it is no more formidable than similar discussions in England and America. The Government will have its advocates as well as its assailers, and considering that a large proportion of the best informed of those who mix in the controversy will be employes of the State, intrusted in maintaining it as an object of respect, I have little fear of the spirit that would prevail, or of the effect of having this branch of the Press entirely free. But the case is not quite the same with the native Press, it may take a malignant turn calculated and designed to set the whole population against us. The Government cannot then depend on having its cause fairly stated, and much mischief may be done before the public authorities hear of what is going forward or think of providing remedies. In the peculiar position

in which the governing authority stands in India, and with reference to the state of feeling and of society amongst the people, I confess I think there is wisdom in the dictum ascribed to one of the warmest advocates of the people's rights, now at the head of the legal profession in England. "When you have a free Press on board of a man-o'-war, then you may think of giving one to India." I dread that in its consequences, the native Press may be subversive of good order and discipline; but the experiment has been commenced of having this Press free, and we have, therefore, now only the choice of endeavouring to influence it, and to give it a proper direction, or of abiding the result, leaving it to pursue its own course, in the confidence that we shall be strong enough to cope with it when we see danger. The late Governor-General appears to have looked upon the existing Press laws of this Presidency as good materials to have available in case the necessity should arise for State interference with the Press. Therefore, although himself the last person to think of acting under them, and withdrawing any newspaper license for attacks on the Government or its officers, he would not deprive his successors of the means of controlling the Press if they should be disposed to use it. I fully participate in the feeling that it would be wrong to take any step calculated to tie up the hands of the Government hereafter, or to deprive it of any of its authority in such a matter. If there were doubts whether upon the repeal of these laws the Government could obtain the *registration* of new, when the occasion for interfering might arise, I should be the last to consent to any abandonment of what had been gained. But none of these forms are necessary now, for, as is forcibly put by Mr. Macaulay, the Legislative Council has but to

decide, and a law suitable to any emergency can be produced in a day. Instead, therefore, of the hands of Government being tied up, and its powers weakened by the course recommended, the repeal of the existing laws will be but a clearing away of the rubbish and preparation of the ground for any new edifice of legislation that the wisdom of future governors may determine to erect. I have before said that it is the possible direction that may be given to the native Press that I look upon as the source of evil to be guarded against, and that the existing press laws are not calculated to be of any use either in controlling this direction or in providing the necessary means of restraint when the Government may desire to interpose authoritatively to correct effects produced by this press. Looking upon these laws, therefore, to be inefficient, as they are inoperative, for any good purpose, present or future, I assent without scruple to the proposition for their repeal, leaving future measures, so far as concerns the security and protection of the Government against the Press, to be determined hereafter as circumstances may arise to call for legislation or other interference. It was resolved that the Act for the repeal of the existing press regulations should contain provisions calculated to assist persons aggrieved in bringing offences of the Press to trial according to the existing laws and in the established tribunals. For this purpose I understood it to be intended, first, to require the printer's name and the place of printing to be entered in every book, pamphlet or paper printed; also, secondly, to require that the name of the printer and publisher of every periodical should be delivered in under declaration to the Magistrate, which declaration, or an *attested copy of it*, was to be received in the civil and criminal courts as

evidence sufficient to fix the responsibility for any libel that might appear in the periodical; and, thirdly, to require a copy of every periodical to be forwarded to some office in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay (where the Supreme Courts are), to be there forthcoming to be produced as evidence of the publication. This is essential for the difficulty of getting witnesses from Agra and Delhi to prove publication, these will otherwise operate to exempt libellers from all responsibility in the Supreme Courts which if they are British subjects ought, of course, not to be. The draft prepared by Mr. Macaulay provides only for one of these three points, *viz.*, the declaration of the printer and publisher's names in respect to periodicals, but the other two are not less necessary for the security of individuals, and I would submit ought not to be omitted. I reserve for the discussion of the next meeting of Council the observations I may have to offer in respect to the particular provisions of the draft and the penalties by which the rules are proposed to be enforced. At present I have merely to remark that the forfeiture of *all* property for a second offence of printing and publishing, or causing to be printed and published, without declaration as proposed at the end of the second section, will be like the crime a felony according to the antiquated rules of English law, which surely must be more than is intended.

(Sd.) H. T. PRINSEP.

CALCUTTA, 17th April 1835.

MINUTE BY THE HON'BLE A. ROSS.

The reasons stated in the Governor-General's Minute which induced him to propose the abolition of the existing regulations respecting the Press, and the arguments contained in Mr. Macaulay's Minute on the subject, are to my mind decisive in favour of the abolition.

I do not, with Mr. Prinsep, apprehend any danger from the native press in consequence of the abolition. On the contrary I think the native press under a law, which having it free, provides for its conductors being known and responsible to the courts of justice for what they publish, is likely to aid greatly in preventing danger by exposing and counteracting the practice, known to be resorted to by ill-disposed persons in this country, of circulating seditious manuscript papers anonymously.

[No date.] (Sd.) A. Ross.

MINUTE BY THE HON'BLE LT.-COL. MORISON.

I fully concur in the expediency of a new Press Regulation, considered as an enactment for rescinding another which has become obsolete in Bengal, and providing for the want of any such regulation at the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. I could wish, however, that the proposed draft should provide some means of applying a speedier remedy to the abuse of the Press on any emergency when the Governor-General might be absent from his Council, or when there might be an urgent necessity for the Government of any of the presidencies to act without the delay of a reference to the Governor-General of India in Council. I think, then, that it should be declared that although it is meant that the offences of the Press should in general be liable only to the cognizance of the courts of law, the Government will retain the power of instantly suppressing any publication, if it should at any time appear to risk the safety of the State; and it would appear but fair to the public that the powers which Government may intend to exercise in cases of emergency should be at once declared and understood. I, therefore, submit that a clause may be added to the proposed enactment to meet

this object. Whether the strong opinions recorded by the late Sir Thomas Munro* on the subject of the Press in India be correct or otherwise, time alone can determine. I am, however, so deeply impressed with the wisdom and foresight of that eminent person, that I think his opinions on this subject deserve on the present occasion the greatest consideration. What he most apprehended was the effect which would probably be gradually produced on the minds of the native army, and I confess that I am not free from the same apprehension. The native press in particular will not fail to furnish materials to interest the feelings of that army, and I am enabled to show from the accompanying copy of a native paper† published at Madras that there would probably be a demand for such papers in the native ranks, if the expense of postage were not at present a bar to their transmission to regiments. If then the native press is to be free (as I conclude it is intended) and subject to no other restraint than the English, I would recommend that it should be made the duty of some responsible officer to watch its operations and be acquainted with all its proceedings. I submit these suggestions with the utmost deference, and beg to explain that my sole purpose is that we may possess at all the presidencies the immediate means of preventing evil results, without checking any useful operation of the press, but without the delay which might arise from being obliged to have recourse to the consideration and preparation of a legislative enactment, probably when too late. My suggestions, I am well aware, may be viewed as at variance with the spirit of the times, but they

* His minute of the 12th April 1822. It will be reproduced in the Chapter on the history of Madras Journalism.

† *Carnatic Chronicle* No. 147 of the 3rd September 1834.

appear to me to be called for by the peculiarity of our position in this country, which I consider the main object to be kept in view. The Press is already virtually free, and I am sensible that it must so remain, unless some great event should arise to render it manifestly necessary to place it under some new restraint beyond what is now proposed; but I am of opinion that the most likely mode of preventing the necessity of having recourse sooner or later to that measure will be to provide, in the first instance, that all printers and publishers shall be made clearly aware of the existence of the power inherent in the Government, of instantly putting a stop to the operations of any press, whenever it may become the vehicle of sedition or of discussions manifestly dangerous to the public tranquillity. This is a power which the Government never can relinquish, and I think it would only be just to ourselves and to all parties that there should not exist any grounds for misconception in so important a matter.

W. MORISON.

CALCUTTA, 25th April 1835.

MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL in reply to the above.

Colonel Morison proposes the addition of a clause to the proposed press law declaring that the Government will retain the power of instantly suppressing any publication, if it should at any time appear to risk the safety of the State; and that this power shall be common to the Governments of all the Presidencies.

2. It does not seem to me that such a clause is either necessary or expedient.

3. The power of providing for the safety of the State is inherent in the Legislature and the Government

of every country. It is not probable that the safety of the State would be endangered so suddenly by any operations of the Press as not to afford time to the Legislative Council to apply a remedy; but if such an extreme case of sudden and imminent danger can be conceived, what Government would hesitate to protect itself until the Legislature of India could provide for the case.

4. To declare that such a power is retained is not only unnecessary but would convey to the public and to the subordinate Governments a notion that occasions for the exercise of arbitrary power were expected, and its exercise would not be deemed extraordinary. If I mistake not, our object is to subject the Press exclusively to the laws, and to prevent the exercise of arbitrary power, which cannot be conferred consistently with any limitation to the effects of caprice or false alarm.

5. Were we to adopt Colonel Morison's proposition, the power of the Government over the Press would be made by law more despotic than it now is. Our proposed Press law does not confer any additional freedom on the Press either at Madras or Bombay, as to the Presidencies which enjoy already, the one by law and the other by the absence of law, the same degree of freedom that it is now proposed to extend to Calcutta, and one of them an entire irresponsibility. Any degree of liberty short of that which our law proposes to grant, would be the imposition of restraint at two out of the four Presidencies, and throughout the territories subject to the Madras Government.

6. Colonel Morison also proposes that it should be made the duty of some responsible officer to watch the operations, and be acquainted with the proceedings of the native press.

7. I think that in all our legislation we ought to be very careful not to make invidious distinctions between European and native subjects. As the proposed law now stands, it will be an act of grace, confidence and conciliation towards all; and may be expected to produce the effect which such acts are calculated to produce. But if it were alloyed by enactments indicating distrust towards our native fellow subjects, the effect could not fail to be bad on their minds. We should be telling them that we calculated on their disaffection, and dreaded the effect of free discussion. Before we follow such a course, we ought, I conceive, to wait for proof that it is necessary. The native press has for years been as free as the European, and I am not aware that any evil has ensued. It is not certain that the effect of free discussion on the minds of the natives must be wholly and solely bad. It may in many respects be otherwise. It may remove erroneous and substitute just impressions. Along with equal legislation and the establishment of equal rights it may serve to promote union with them. It may make the Government better acquainted with their feelings, and better able to provide for their wants and their happiness. Disaffection and sedition will operate, I believe, with more concealed weapons than an open and free press, under the guidance of responsible persons amenable to the laws, from which I do not apprehend that we have anything to fear, unless we must necessarily fear the progress of knowledge; but do what we will, we cannot prevent the progress of knowledge, and it is undoubtedly our duty to promote it whatever may be the consequences. It is quite unnecessary to take any measures to watch the proceedings of the native press. They will soon bring themselves to our notice if they require any peculiar

precautions. The present is not a new experiment. It is merely a continuance of one which has been practically tried without any bad effect for several years.

8. I am, therefore, of opinion that any restraint on the native press beyond what is imposed on the European would be injudicious; and that any restraint on either, beyond that of the laws, is not requisite. The Act proposed will be productive of good by giving general satisfaction and promoting knowledge. Admitting that in other respects its ultimate consequences cannot be with certainty predicted, I see no reason to anticipate that they must be injurious; and think it will be time to check what is in itself good when we see that it is likely to produce bad effects, and that we cannot do good with impunity; but if our rule in India is to come to that, we may be sure that we cannot long retain it. A tenure dependent on attempts to suppress the communication of public opinion could not be lasting; both because such a tenure must be rotten and because such attempts must fail.

(Sd.) C. T. METCALFE.

■ CALCUTTA, 27th April 1835.

I entirely concur in the opinions expressed by the Governor-General in the foregoing minute.

(Sd.) A. ROSS,

T. B. MACAULAY.

I beg to submit that it was not my intention to propose any legislative restraint on the native press more than on the European. It appeared to me that the operations of the former were more likely to pass unobserved by Government than the latter, and therefore that some arrangement for watching the progress

and effect of those operations might be advisable in the one case which was not required in the other, but I did not mean to suggest, nor do I conceive it necessary, that any provision for this purpose should be introduced into the law which it is proposed to enact.

(Sd.) W. MORISON.

The Act passed by Sir Charles Metcalfe on the unanimous support of his Council was as follows :—

ACT NO. XI. of 1835.

Passed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council on the 3rd August 1835.

I.—Be it enacted, that from the fifteenth day of September 1835, the four Regulations, hereinafter specified, be repealed.

1st.—A Regulation for preventing the establishment of Printing-presses, without license, and for restraining under certain circumstances, the circulation of printed books and papers, passed by the Governor-General in Council on the 5th April 1823.

2nd.—A Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation for the good order and Civil Government of the Settlement of Fort William in Bengal, passed in Council 14th March, Registered in the Supreme Court of Judicature 4th April 1823.

3rd.—A Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation for preventing the mischief arising from the printing and publishing Newspapers and Periodical and other books and papers by persons unknown, passed by the Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Bombay, on the 2nd day of March 1825, and Registered in the Hon'ble the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, under date the 11th May 1825.

4th.—A Regulation for restricting the establishment of Printing-presses and the circulation of printed books and papers, passed by the Governor of Bombay in Council on the 1st of January 1827.

II.—1st.—And be it enacted, that after the said fifteenth day of September 1835, no printed Periodical work whatever, containing public news or comments on public news, shall be

published within the Territories of the East India Company, except in conformity with the rules hereinafter laid down.

2nd.—The Printer and the Publisher of every such Periodical work shall appear before the Magistrate of the jurisdiction within which such work shall be published and shall make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration :—

“I, A. B., declare that I am the Printer (or Publisher, or Printer and Publisher) of the Periodical work entitled——— and printed (or published, or printed and published) at ——.” And the last blank in this form of declaration, shall be filled up with a true and precise account of the premises where the printing or publication is conducted.

3rd.—As often as the place of printing or publication is changed, a new declaration shall be necessary.

4th.—As often as the Printer or the Publisher, who shall have made such declaration as is aforesaid, shall leave the Territories of the East India Company, a new declaration from a Printer or Publisher resident within the said Territories, shall be necessary.

III.—And be it enacted that whoever shall print or publish any such Periodical work, as is hereinbefore described, without conforming to the rules hereinbefore laid down, or whoever shall print or publish, or shall cause to be printed or published any such Periodical work, knowing that the said rules have not been observed with respect to that work, shall, on conviction, be punished with fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

IV.—And be it enacted that each of the two originals of every declaration so made and subscribed, as is aforesaid, shall be authenticated by the signature and official seal of the Magistrate before whom the said declaration shall have been made, and one of the said originals shall be deposited among the records of the office of the said Magistrate, and the other original shall be deposited among the records of the Supreme Court of Judicature, or other King's Court within the jurisdiction of which the said declaration shall have been made. And the Officer in charge of each original shall allow any person to inspect that original on payment of a fee of One Rupee, and

shall give to any person applying a copy of the said declaration attested by the Seal of the Court which has the custody of the original, on payment of a fee of Two Rupees.

V.—And be it enacted, that in any legal proceeding whatever, as well Civil as Criminal, the production of a copy of such a declaration, as is aforesaid, attested by the Seal of some Court empowered by this Act to have the custody of such declarations, shall be held (unless the contrary be proved) to be sufficient evidence, as against the person whose name shall be subscribed to such declaration that the said person was Printer, or Publisher, or Printer and Publisher (according as the words of the said declaration may be) of every portion of every Periodical work whereof the title shall correspond with the title of the Periodical work mentioned in the said declaration.

VI.—Provided always that any person who may have subscribed any such declaration as is aforesaid, and who may subsequently cease to be the Printer or Publisher of the Periodical work mentioned in such declaration, may appear before any Magistrate and make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration:—

“I, A. B., declare that I have ceased to be the Printer (or Publisher, or Printer and Publisher) of the Periodical work entitled——. And each original of the latter declaration shall be authenticated by the Signature and Seal of the Magistrate before whom the said latter declaration shall have been made, and one original of the said latter declaration shall be filed, along with each original of the former declaration:—and the Officer in charge of each original of the latter declaration, shall allow any person applying to inspect that original on payment of a fee of One Rupee, and shall give to any person applying a copy of the said latter declaration attested by the Seal of the Court having custody of the original, on payment of a fee of Two Rupees:—and in all trials in which a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the former declaration, shall have been put in evidence it shall be lawful to put in evidence a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the latter declaration: and the former declaration shall not be taken to be evidence that the declarant was

at any period subsequent to the date of the latter declaration, Printer or Publisher of the Periodical work therein mentioned.

VII.—And be it enacted, that every book or paper printed after the said fifteenth day of September 1835, within the Territories of the East India Company, shall have printed legibly on it, the name of the Printer and of the Publisher, and the place of printing and of publication; and whoever shall print or publish any book or paper otherwise than in conformity with this rule, shall, on conviction, be punished by fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

VIII.—And be it enacted, that after the said fifteenth day of September 1835, no person shall, within the Territories of the East India Company, keep in his possession any Press for the printing of books or papers who shall not have made and subscribed the following declaration before the Magistrate of the jurisdiction wherein such Press may be; and whoever shall keep in his possession any such Press without making such a declaration, shall, on conviction, be punished by fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

“I, A. B., declare that I have a Press for printing at——.” And this last blank shall be filled up with a true and precise description of the premises where such Press may be.

IX.—And be it enacted, that any person who shall, in making any declaration under the authority of this Act, knowingly affirm an untruth, shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine to an amount not exceeding Five Thousand Rupees, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

The above Act with all its proceedings was sent home on the 18th May 1835 for the information and approval of the Court of Directors. At first the home authorities took the establishment of a free Press in India strangely to heart and there was a disposition on their part to reject the Act by which it was effected. An angry debate took place at the East India House, and the end of their debate took the shape of the

following despatch condemning the measure and calling the Governor-General's Council to consider the propriety of its repeal.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT, dated 1st February (No. 1) 1836.
OUR GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

1. We now reply to your letter, in the Judicial Department, dated the 18th May 1835, in which you refer to us the proceedings relative to an Act of the Indian Legislature, for removing all restrictions on the Press. The Act was read in Council on the 27th of April, was published in the *Gazette* two days after for general information, and was to be read again on the 1st of August with a view to being passed into a law.

2. This proceeding is in all opposition to all our previous orders, to the solemn decisions both of the Supreme Court at Calcutta and of His Majesty's Privy Council delivered in both cases, after full arguments on both sides of the question, to the recorded opinions of all preceding Governments of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and more especially to the carefully considered measures of Lord William Bentinck and Sir Frederick Adam for extending the Licensing Regulation to Madras.

3. We are compelled to observe that this proceeding must be considered the more unjustifiable inasmuch as it has been adopted by a Government only provisional; and also, when a Commissioner for framing a code of laws for the three presidencies, was about to commence its important labours.

4. We must further remark, that, after an attentive perusal of the minutes recording the opinions of the Governor-General and of the Members of Council, we find no sufficient reasons assigned for the step now taken, nor any facts whatever brought to our notice upon which we might be enabled to form a right judgment. We look in vain for any detailed account of the actual condition and character of the Press, whether British or native. We have no statement of the aggregate number of or individual sale of the respective newspapers, of the general or particular mode in which they are conducted, of the influence, whether increasing or decreasing, which they may be said to exercise over the British and Indian community. Instead

of such obviously indispensable information we are furnished only with the dogmatical assertion of certain principles which may be admitted, and indeed are never denied with reference to one state of society and which amounts to mere idle declamation when applied to another.

5. Nor do you allege the existence of any real grievance the redress of which might justify your proceeding. On the contrary, your Legislative Councillor informs us that "the newspapers have for years been allowed as ample a measure of practical liberty as that which they enjoyed in England," and the only apprehension entertained seems to be, lest the due influence of Government should be weakened by incurring odium for a law never put in force, an apprehension arising from no facts with which you have made us acquainted, and prompted, as it would appear, rather by an unwise desire for temporary praise than a fear of just and lasting blame.

6. We have, moreover, to remark that two of the Members of your Council anticipate much danger from removing the restrictions from the native Press, and give indeed to the new measure a consent, if not reluctant, at least entirely at variance with the whole tenor of their arguments. Even your Governor-General and your Legislative Councillor, with whom the proposal seems to have originated, contend for the safety of withdrawing the licensing system, principally on the ground that the same or any other mode of suppressing at once a mischievous publication may at any time be adopted by sudden and summary proceeding of Government. So that in fact the liberty of the Press will still be dependent upon the opinions and dispositions of those who happen to compose the Supreme Council, and whose apprehensions of danger, whether well or ill founded, will be a sufficient justification for the exercise of that arbitrary authority, which it is the alleged object of your proposed Regulation to dispense with altogether. And admitting the facility of resuming on an emergency, a power thus abandoned (which, however, in common with one of your Council, we are much inclined to question), we should predict that your apparent liberality would be productive of no beneficial results either to the subjects or the rulers of India. The one would not in reality be more free nor the other, except for a moment, be more beloved.

7. We deem it to be wholly unnecessary to examine the details of the law by which you propose to substitute legal responsibility for the present licensing system. Some such law would, it is obvious, be requisite were the change you contemplate to be finally determined upon, and even without abandoning the licensing system, some of the provisions of the proposed enactment might perhaps be framed into a useful Regulation quite compatible with a reserved power to deal summarily with such offences of the Press, as could not be reached by ordinary legal process. But the main question now before us relates to the abolition of the licensing law, and without entering upon general arguments upon a point so frequently discussed, it is sufficient to repeat that no just grounds, nor indeed scarcely any grounds at all, appear on the face of your minutes, to reconcile us to the change in contemplation.

8. In cases of emergency much discretionary power must be, and always has been, allowed to your Government. But in this instance, no emergency, no cause for prompt interference is shown or even pretended to exist, and if we were inclined to approve of your measure, we should nevertheless consider your conduct as wholly indefensible for taking a step of such importance without previous reference to the home authorities.

9. We should, then, be prepared at once to avail ourselves of the power entrusted to us by Act of Parliament, and disallow your new law when passed, were we not aware that the immediate repeal of such a law, however ill-advised and uncalled for its enactment may have been, might be productive of mischievous results. We shall, therefore, wait for the deliberate advice of the Governor-General in Council after the arrival of Lord Auckland, your present Governor-General, before we communicate to you our final decision. But you are in possession of our sentiments, and we shall not be sorry to find that by returning to the former system, you have rendered our interference unnecessary

EAST INDIA HOUSE,
1st February 1836.

(Sd.) W. S. CLARKE,
T. R. CARNAC,
etc., etc.

The above despatch reached Calcutta almost simultaneously with the arrival of Lord Auckland in India as Governor-General. On 4th April 1836, he relieved Sir Charles Metcalfe and took the oath of his office. We have seen from his private letter to Metcalfe what was his opinion on the new Press Act passed by Metcalfe. No change came over his opinion regarding that measure in his capacity as Governor-General. As such, his "deliberate advice" as well as that of his Council went to re-support the measure of Metcalfe with greater strength. In September, 1836, the Governor-General in Council sent their "deliberate advice" to the Court of Directors, and Macaulay again wrote in his second minute thus:—

"I regret that on this or on any subject my opinion should differ from that of the Honourable Court. But I still conscientiously think that we acted wisely when we passed the law on the subject of the Press; and I am quite certain that we should act most unwisely if we were now to repeal that law.

"I must, in the first place, venture to express an opinion that the importance of that question is greatly over-rated by persons, even the best informed and the most discerning, who are not actually on the spot. It is most justly observed by the Honourable Court that many of the arguments which may be urged in favour of a free Press at home do not apply to this country. But it is, I conceive, no less true that scarcely any of those arguments which have been employed in Europe to defend restrictions on the Press, apply to a Press such as that of India.

"In Europe, and especially in England, the Press is an engine of tremendous power, both for good and for evil. The most enlightened men, after long experience

both of its salutary and of its pernicious operation, have come to the conclusion that the good on the whole preponderates. But that there is no inconsiderable amount of evil to be set off against the good has never been disputed by the warmest friend to freedom to discussion.

"In India the Press is comparatively a very feeble engine. It does far less good and far less harm than in Europe. It sometimes renders useful services to the public. It sometimes brings to the notice of the Government evils the existence of which would otherwise have been unknown. It operates, to some extent, as a salutary check on public functionaries. It does something towards keeping the administration pure. On the other hand, by misrepresenting public measures, and by flattering the prejudices of those who support it, it sometimes produces a slight degree of excitement in a very small portion of the community.

"How slight that excitement is, even when it reaches its greatest height, and how little the Government has to fear from it, no person whose observation has been confined to European societies will readily believe. In this country the number of English residents is very small and, of that small number, a great proportion are engaged in the service of the State, and are most deeply interested in the maintenance of existing institutions. Even those English settlers who are not in the service of the Government have a strong interest in its stability. They are few; they are thinly scattered among a vast population, with whom they have neither language nor religion, nor morals, nor manners, nor colour in common; they feel that any convulsion which should overthrow the existing order of things would be ruinous to themselves. Particular acts

of the Government—especially acts which are mortifying to the pride of caste naturally felt by an Englishman in India—are often angrily condemned by those persons. But every indigo-planter in Tirhoot, and every shop-keeper in Calcutta, is perfectly aware that the downfall of the Government would be attended with the destruction of his fortune, and with imminent hazard to his life.

"Thus, among the English inhabitants of India, there are no fit subjects for that species of excitement which the Press sometimes produces at home. There is no class among them analogous to that vast body of English labourers and artisans whose minds are rendered irritable by frequent distress and privation, and on whom, therefore, the sophistry and rhetoric of bad men often produce a tremendous effect. The English papers here might be infinitely more seditious than the most seditious that were ever printed in London without doing harm to anything but their own circulation. The fire goes out for want of some combustible material on which to seize. How little reason would there be to apprehend danger to order and property in England, from the most inflammatory writings, if those writings were read only by Ministers of State, Commissioners of the Customs and Excise, Judges and Masters in the Chancery, upper clerks in Government offices, officers in the army, bankers, landed proprietors, barristers and master manufacturers! The most timid politician would not anticipate the smallest evil from the most seditious libels, if the circulation of those libels were confined to such a class of readers; and it is to such a class of readers that the circulation of the English papers in India is almost entirely confined."

The result of the "deliberate advice" was, of course, the acquiescence of the Court of Directors in the wisdom of the measure passed by Metcalfe.*

S. C. SANIAL.

(To be continued.)†

* I have not been able to get the minute of Lord Auckland as well as those of his other Councillors except that of Macaulay, on the liberty of the Indian Press which went in reply to the above angry despatch of the Court of Directors. But the following private letter written by Lord Auckland to Metcalfe in June 1836 gives a clue to the opinion which he expressed in his minute.—"The good people of England have taken strangely to heart the establishment of a free Press in India. There has been a disposition to reject the Act by which it has been effected. The end, however, of their deliberations on the subject has been an angry despatch condemning the measure and calling the Council to consider the propriety of its repeal. I am exceedingly surprised at the manner in which this measure has been received both by the Court and Board. It had never occurred to me to think of it as one of danger and innovation until I heard of the alarm that had been raised. Upon all observation, I am well satisfied that, without effecting any substantial change, it rests upon a good principle and has removed a cause of irritation, and the tenor, therefore, of our answer to the Court cannot be doubted."

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Hindustan under Free Lances, 1770-1820 : Sketches of Military Adventures in Hindustan during the period immediately preceding British Occupation. By H. G. Keene, C.I.E., Hon. M.A. Oxon, etc. London : Brown, Lingham & Co., Ltd. 1907.

FOR the past four centuries India has been emphatically the land of European adventurers. Civilisation of every order as it moulds society and gives it principles of definite progress, has failed to fashion every member of it to the same type. There will always be men who resist or flee from its influences, who have will enough to retain their individuality, to whom the regular duties, the polished refinement, the binding conventionalities which become stronger and stronger as civilisation advances, are intolerable. Fitted for a career, they are denied all opportunity of finding it, and become Bohemians in the modern sense of the term, wanderers from the great mass of their age and nation, attached to no particular profession, calling themselves by no man's name. There are very few large families of sons in England where there is not probably one with those Bohemian tendencies, one whom neither parents nor masters understand ; one who has an inner life of his own ; whose imagination is fed and ambition excited by the deeds of the great and brave of old and who ends by finding in the army, on the sea or in some distant colony, that life which fits into his nature and develops his latent powers. Such men are the glory of England ; it is of such that some of her greatest captains have been made ; by such her greatest colonies have been founded. Others of this class, with a physique not so perfect and hopes not so ardent, have found in literature that escape from their individuality which the ordinary profession denied them. The youth whose big brain and, it may be, restless genius, led him to thought and its expression, hates action. In dreamy indolence or in unhealthy spasmodic fits of labour, he passes his days, bequeathing to the world thoughts and fancies that sometimes it will not

let die. The history of English literature is full of instances of such Bohemians, of its Savages, its Otways, its Chattertons, its Shelleys and its Byrons. There is a third career which sucks down this class in large numbers—crime which is emphatically a profession and one of the largest in these days.

Thus, then, in the Army, the Navy and the Colonies; in one department of literature or other, and in crime, do the adventurers of modern Europe find the career which the order created by civilisation denies them elsewhere. Of the European adventurers whose life-sketches we find in the volume under review, some were of gentle, almost noble birth, some were soldiers from the ranks, some were from the fore-castle, some were deserters, some were swash-bucklers, some were gentlemen and administrators, some were honourable though rough soldiers, some were mere money-makers and some were adventurers of the meanest type. Their origin was as various as their employments, Italians; Savoyards, French, Flemish, Dutch and occasionally even British. All these men took part in the great anarchy which ensued in Hindustan after the sack of Delhi by the Persians under Nadir Shah in 1738, like stormy petrels hovering over the sea of trouble or like mariners in their barques riding on the crests of the waves, often nearing the breakers, yet rarely striking on them and but seldom engulfed or directing the political storms or guiding the whirlwinds. The disturbed state of the country afforded ample scope for these adventurers to enlist themselves on the side of one or the other of the country powers as the latter appeared on the scene for contesting the empire of India, and they continued their reign of chaos as long as their power and prowess were not subdued by a paramount power like the British. For a period of over fifty years these adventurers made the confusion prevailing in Hindustan worse confounded simply for their self-aggrandisement, and it is some consolation to see that among them, many, perhaps most of them, were non-British.

When the great Anarchy began after the murder of the Emperor Alamgir II, four competitors were on the field of India contesting its sovereignty. Two were European—the English and the French—and the other two Asiatic,—the

Mahrattas and the Muslim of Mysore. The Mahrattas were then the most powerful in the country, and had they been able to retain their combination unimpaired, they would have been able to emerge victorious from the great contest. But their combination was soon broken by British diplomacy. In the contest between the English and the French, the latter were hopelessly beaten. Remaining alone in the field the British entered into an alliance with the Mahrattas and the Nizam of Hyderabad to crush the Muslim of Mysore—their common enemy. On the fall of Tippu Sultan a great thorn on the side of the British was removed, and an excellent opportunity was found by them to coerce both the Nizam and the Peshwa. In the latter work the British were most successful, in consequence of which the foreign adventurers found their occupation gone and disappeared, one by one, from the scenes in which for a considerable time they were the most prominent. In theory the Anarchy begun by the "Free Lances," terminated when General Lake appeared in the Imperial Durbar of Delhi in 1803 and assumed supreme control of India on behalf of the East India Company promising help and protection to the Delhi Emperor.

The reign of chaos which a handful of European adventurers were able to create in Hindustan during the period noticed above in spite of the combination of the Mahratta Powers then existing in the land, was owing to the superiority which these adventurers more or less possessed in military operations. And the first country power who took particular notice of this European superiority and tried to utilise it for the benefit of his own disorganised army, was Mahadaji Sindhia, the founder of the present House of Gwalior. The circumstances which led him to mark the value of European discipline and organisation in the army are related to be, that in the year 1778 the British authorities of Bombay sent a column towards the Deccan to meet and oppose a Mahratta force under the chief command of Mahadaji. The British force was defeated by the Mahratta Chief and in retreating showed considerable discipline and order. When the British officers were summoned to the Durbar immediately after to treat of the terms of

surrender, Mahadaji was said to have exclaimed to a British officer who sat by him "What soldiers you have! Their line is like a brickwall; and when one falls, another steps into the gap: such are the troops I wish to lead." Sindhia soon acted upon the opinion so expressed, and engaged the ablest and most successful of the military adventurers of the eighteenth century to impart to his troops a tincture of European discipline—the famous General de Boigne. His example was followed by many of his less favoured brethren, and the result was the employment of the "Free Lances" of good, bad and indifferent kinds in the armies of the Indian powers. This result would have been happy, had the country powers the capacity to control these adventurers and to learn from them that discipline and organisation for which they were then so conspicuous. But the effect was disastrous. The adventurers at the outset entered as needles and eventually came out as elephants. Instead of being controlled by the Indian Chiefs, they began to control the latter. Naturally mutual mistrust ensued, in consequence of which hearty co-operation became impossible, and nowhere is such a state more disastrous than in the battlefield. The Indian Chiefs who valued European discipline in the army were not able to learn the same from their European servants so long as the latter were in their service. Nor did they ever try to impart European methods of military training to their own army by impressing upon them its superiority. Hence the employment of some European adventurers by the Indian Chiefs did not improve the general character of the Indian troops; in fact, they retained their old ways of fighting and skirmishing. Only the troops led by these adventurers were tinctured with some form of European discipline, and as such, the consequence was the temporary predominance of these adventurers over their employers. The great Anarchy lasted in Hindustan as long as this predominance prevailed.

Of the military adventurers spoken of above, our author mentions Monsieur Law as the first in point of time. The account that is given of this "Franco-Scot" shows how ignorant the author is about the personality of his subject. There were

two Laws—Jacques François Law and Jean Law, two brothers—the former appeared in Southern India and the latter in Bengal. But Mr. Keene confounds the two into a single individuality—Monsieur Law. The Law who appeared at the siege of Trichinopoly was Jacques François Law and the Law who was Agent to the French Factory at Cossimbazar when Seraj-ud-dowla was attacking Calcutta was Jean Law, the former's elder brother. This confusion is simply unpardonable. The younger brother was never a free lance, but the elder, Jean, was such to some extent. After the surrender of the latter to Major Carnac and his transmission to Calcutta, our author tells us that "this is our last authentic view of a brave, but very unlucky man and we are indebted for it to Ghulam Hossain (author of *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*.)" This shows his lack of knowledge of his subject. Jean Law has a complete memoir of his own in the British Museum, written by him in French, and in *Bengal in 1756-1757* Mr. S. C. Hill has given a translation from this memoir of the period in which Law had connection with Seraj-ud-dowla. We learn from this memoir that Jean Law left India in 1762 and arriving in France, was made a Chevalier and Colonel, Commissary of the King, Commandant in the East Indies and at last, Governor of Pondicherry. Thus Jean Law is not a "Free Lance" in the strict sense of the word, and we cannot find any justification of the remark made by our author that he was a very unlucky man. For some time he helped Shuja-ud-dowla of Oudh to regain his ascendancy over Behar and Bengal, but that was at a time when his nation was in active hostility with the English and when the French Power in Bengal was sought to be crushed by Clive.

Strictly speaking therefore Jean Law was not a "Free Lance" nor his younger brother, Jacques François Law. Next we are told that with Law were associated in the task of "beating off the English and administering the Indian Empire," Medoc, Reinhardt, Du Drenec, Comte De Moidavre, Chevalier de Crecy, St. Frais and Courtin; the last two who had served "hopelessly but bravely at Plassey were captured by Coote on their way to Lucknow in 1758." How much the author is ignorant of the

personalities of these men is quite apparent from the above. There was no such person as Medoc, and he was never associated with Law in his work. Most strangely our author calls René Madec as Medoc and conjectures most freely about his life and career. For a time he served in the English army in Bengal, and as that period coincides with the time when Law helped Shuja-ud-dowla of Oudh to win Bengal and Behar, Madec cannot be said to have been associated with Law in his work. When Madec escaped the Bengal Army, Law had already left India. Madec and Law cannot, therefore, be described as associates in "beating off the English." Further, the statement that Madec was killed in a duel in France is inaccurate as he died in 1784 worn out by all his hardships. St. Frai is, of course, Mr. Sinfrey of Orme, who at the battle of Plassey led forty vagabond Frenchmen with four pieces of light cannon. But why is Mr. or Monsieur Sinfrey, Secretary to the French Council at Chandernagore, called by our author as St. Frai? Is it a mnemonic blunder, or has the author any authority for his version of the name? As Mr. Keene has not cited any authority for making Sinfrey into St. Frai, we take it to be a mistake. Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Indian Record Series) supports Orme's version and calls the French general who led a party of French troops at the battle of Plassey as Sinfrey. He was a follower of Monsieur Jean Law. Had Mr. Keene consulted Mr. Hill's remarkable book, he would not have fallen into a blunder which is seriously to be deplored. Next our author has said that Courtin like his St. Frai, "had fought at the battle of Plassey and was captured by Coote." No one bearing the name of Courtin fought at the battle of Plassey, nor was anybody of that name ever captured by Coote. At the time when Jean Law was Chief of the French factory at Cossimbazar, Jacques Ignace Courtin was Chief of the French-factory at Dacca. Mr. S. C. Hill has described fully his Indian career in his well-known book *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*. Mr. Keene seems to have been ignorant of these books and to have relied more upon his own knowledge about these Frenchmen than upon the more accurate history of these

men now made available through the researches of scholars. It is a pity that so well-written a book has been allowed to be vitiated with so many inaccuracies. A reference to Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography* would have helped the author to be more accurate. But he relied on a little work of Major Smith published in London in 1804 and neglected to consult modern works on his subject.

Then follows a haphazard account of Walter Reinhardt commonly known as General Samru, which is not so inaccurate as those of Sinfrey and Law, though the statement that Samru accompanied Law from Southern India to Bengal in 1756 in the capacity of sergeant, is quite erroneous, for no person of the name of Law ever came to Bengal from Southern India about this time. Samru and Law were never associates, and, most probably, they were not even known to each other. In January 1761 Law was sent to Calcutta by Major Carnac as prisoner. At that time Samru was in the army of Kasim Ali Khan, commanded by the Armenian whom our author calls Gürjin Khan. Samru remained in the army of Mir Kasim till the latter's complete defeat at the battle of Buxar in 1764, which also humbled his patron Nawab Shuja-ud-dowla of Oudh. Then Samru joined the Jats and helped them to take possession of Agra. In 1774 the Emperor of Delhi attacked the Jats to recover the Imperial city when Samru and his brigade joined the Imperial forces after the defeat of the Jats, and a considerable fief near Delhi was assigned to him for the support of his troops. In May 1778 Samru died leaving his begum, who afterwards became famous as Begum Samru.

In Chapter III. we have an account of General Claude Martin and of the early life of Benoit Boigne. General Martin is treated most unsatisfactorily, and it does not appear that the author had consulted Mr. S. C. Hill's life of General Martin, which is perhaps the best account of the General on record. Though Martin was not in any degree a military adventurer, yet the life of the General must be regarded as quite adventurous. Like David Hare he left the bulk of his property to purposes of education. His friend and partner was General Boigne, whose career our author has taken

considerable pains to describe in full. His worth was early appreciated by Mahadaji Sindhia by whom he was commissioned to raise a large army on the European model. Needless to say, Boigne succeeded in this commission. With Boigne's army at his back, Mahadaji Sindhia became supreme in power in Hindustan, and emulating his example, both Holkar and the Nizam employed Du Drenec and Raymond respectively to form armies on the European model. After the death of his generous master in 1794, Boigne retired from India after disposing of his fine troopers to the East India Company. For over thirty years Boigne lived in Europe in quiet retirement and died in June 1830. On the departure of Boigne from Gwalior, the command of the armies raised by him for Sindhia was given to General Perron whose career is described in Chapter XI. Du Drenec whose services were availed of by Holkar after Sindhia's example, did some good service to his master, but as he was then opposed to men like Boigne and Raymond in the opposite camp, he was not as successful as Boigne and Holkar. suffered several defeats in consequence of which Du Drenec retired from his service and surrendered to the British. Raymond, as we have seen, entered the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad and obtained a high command. In the battle of Kardla, fought between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, Raymond's battalions fought bravely. But Raymond died in 1798 and his troops were disbanded shortly after in consequence of a treaty which the Nizam concluded with the British. Boigne, Du Drenec and Raymond were all Frenchmen, and they succeeded in gaining the love, esteem, and admiration of the Indians by their generous behaviour. Though the work they did for their masters was only of a fleeting kind, yet the life they led under their masters quite satisfied the people whom they commanded for only a short period. They certainly lived not in vain.

In Chapter VIII. George Thomas and his relations with Begum Samru are described. The Irishman entered the Begum's service about 1787 and in the following year led an expedition in command of the Begum's contingent against

Gokalgarrh for the Emperor of Delhi. The Begum herself accompanied the expedition, and in a trying moment saved the life of the Emperor by her gallantry. As a reward she was created Zeb-un-nissa by the Sovereign. In 1792 George Thomas left the service of the Begum in consequence of her marriage with a French officer called Levassault and betook himself to Anupsahar as a guest of a British officer. While he was thus living quietly and peacefully, the Begum's step-son rose in rebellion and compelled her to seek British protection at Anupsahar. While proceeding there, Levassault, hearing of the Begum's assassination by the infuriated soldiery, shot himself, but really the Begum was not killed but severely wounded. A French officer of the Begum, seeing the dangerous situation in which she had been placed by the rebels, immediately wrote to Thomas to come to her help. Thomas did as he was asked and soon brought the mutinous officers to obedience. The Begum soon recovered. In the following chapter, we find an account of Thomas as the Raja of Haryana. In August 1801 he and Perron drew near each other at Bahadurgarh in which the former was completely defeated in the negotiations that followed for peace. Soon after Perron attacked Thomas and obliged him to surrender on the first day of 1802. Thomas then went to Anupsahar whence he was sent by the order of the British Government to Bahrapur, where he died on the 22nd August following in his forty-sixth year. The adventurer had married a French dependent of the Begum Samru whose Christian name was Marie, and she had borne him three sons and a daughter. These were left in charge of the Begum with a lakh of rupees for their support. As the Begum was deeply indebted to George Thomas, she gladly accepted the charge of his family and acquitted herself fairly well. The daughter is believed to have been married at Delhi and to have left issue there; and the grand-daughter of another son, James, was living at Agra a few years back, the wife of a Mr. Martin. A third son was in the service of Ranjit Singh and rose to the command of a regiment. Except Begum Samru, George Thomas did not serve any other Indian chief, but did his best to become an independent leader,

and as such, in the zenith of his power, posed as the Raja of Hariana, subordinate to none.

In 1803, when Wellesley marched into the Deccan and Lake defeated Ambaji at the battle of Laswari, the Begum Samru, who was assisting Ambaji, was brought under British influence. Seated in her grand palanquin, she was brought to Lord Lake's camp. On the announcement of her arrival Lake rose hastily and went to the door of his tent in time to catch her Highness in the act of descending from the litter. In the excitement of the moment, the General gave the visitor a hearty kiss: "See, my friends," cried the self-possessed lady to her attendants, "how the Padre receives the penitent child." The red coat and face of this jolly father of the Church Militant are said to have struck the bystanders with astonishment, but the result was a complete success. The Begum was confirmed in a life tenure of all her possessions, Lake having plenary political authority from the Calcutta Government; and for the rest of her days she maintained a sort of mediatised rule in her provincial capital at Sardhana. Among men of lesser fame who helped to maintain the Anarchy of which we are speaking, Joseph Harvey Bellasis, John Hessing, Brownrigg, Perron and others were most prominent; they all fought on the side of the Indian Chiefs. On the other hand, Skinner, Shepherd, Gardner and Sutherland never fought against their countrymen, the British. Bellasis was an English gentleman who began his military career in the British Army but soon found an opportunity for fortune in the employ of native powers. In 1799 he was shot dead while assaulting a place called Saunda. Hessing was a Netherlander who fought in the army of Sindhia. In 1794 Mahadaji Sindhia died, and Hessing made over the bodyguard to his son, the younger Hessing, and retired to Agra, where he died. A magnificent monument now marks the place where the father Hessing died, at Agra. The son surrendered to Lord Lake in 1803 and was given honourable terms for retirement. Brownrigg was killed in action at Sirsa. But the most noted of them was Perron who succeeded Boigne in the command of the troops raised and organised by him. He was originally a seaman, but deserting

his ship, became a gunner in Sindhia's service. He was most dutiful and vigilant, and soon won his way to the good graces of his superiors. Assuming command of Boigne's force, Perron gradually brought all Hindustan into subjection and assumed the rôle of an autocrat. Sindhia, his master, became a powerless tool in his hand, and Perron became in fact the director of India. But his tenure was a short-lived one. In September 1803, during the Second Mahratta War, Lord Lake came up and found Perron drawn up before the Fort of Alighrah. Leaving the command of the Fort to his son-in-law, Perron arrived at Hatras when he heard that his master had determined to deprive him of his command. Calmly thinking over all the circumstances, the French General came to the conclusion that it would be better for him to give himself up to Lord Lake. He did as he thought, and he was most honourably treated by General Lake. Perron ultimately returned to France and died in 1834.

In Chapters XIII. and XIV. the careers of Colonels James Skinner and W. L. Gardner have been described. Skinner was born of a Rajput mother with whom his father had a transient intimacy. Lord Lake took him into British service in which he rose gradually and was honoured. He died in 1841, and his memoirs were written by Baillie Fraser. William Gardner came of a good Irish stock and came out to India as a British soldier. But he soon got employment under Tukaji Rao Holkar and his son Jaswant Rao Holkar. In 1803 Gardner surrendered to Lord Lake and was honourably treated and taken into British service again. He died in 1835, after enjoying ample retirement. The wife of his youth, an Indian lady, continued to be dear to his advancing years, and all his offspring were married to natives of India. He was Thackeray's "Major Gahagan," but the great novelist's caricature has no resemblance to the original in any way. Gardner's faithful Begum died soon after the death of her husband. The retirement of Gardner from British service may be said to be the end of the anarchy which ensued in Hindustan after the fall of the Great Moghuls.

In Chapters XV. and XVI. the author describes the events which led to the pacification of India under Lord

Hastings and expresses the thoughts which one cannot help indulging in after carefully grasping the facts which went to the rebuilding of India as an united Empire under British military genius. On the whole, the book under review is pleasant reading, and but for the inaccuracies which attention has been drawn, its value as a historical work would have been commensurate with that of the author's historical style.

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