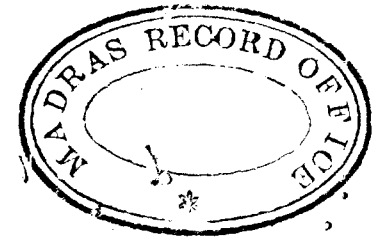


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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXVIII.

April 1909.

No man who hath tested 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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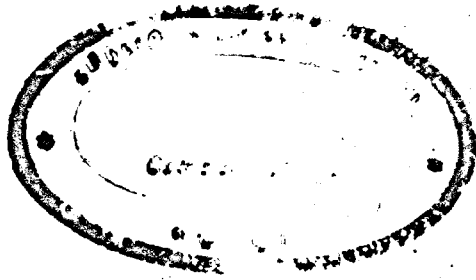
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 256.—APRIL 1909.

Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

THE event of most interest to Indians at the commencement of the current quarter was the Indian National Congress which assembled in Madras under the Presidency of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose. The most pleasing feature of what is always an interesting gathering was the marked improvement in the tone adopted by the delegates. Heretofore it has been the practice of the various speakers at this annual national gathering to air what they believed to be their grievances in language calculated to stir up naught but race hatred. At the last congress a marked change in this direction was manifest, while suggestions of self-help and mutual advancement were forced on the attention of delegates and congressmen. The proceedings of the congress were marked by a calmness that gave promise of a better understanding being arrived at between the Government and the people. Let us hope that the seed sown has fallen on receptive and fruitful soil and that the harvest of good will be plentiful and encouraging.

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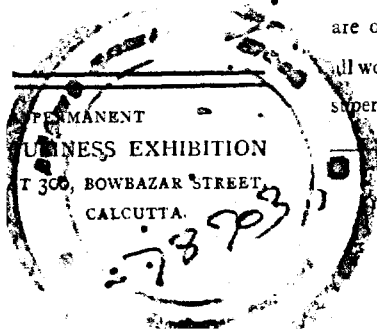
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No. CCLVI.

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The alliance of the houses of Lansdowne and Minto, which was brought about by the marriage of Lord Charles Fitzmaurice-Elliot •
Wedding. the marriage of Lord Charles Fitzmaurice, son of the Marquess of Lansdowne, with Lady Violet Elliot, daughter of the Earl of Minto, Viceroy of India, had been long looked forward to and will long be remembered as probably the most important social event of the reign of Lord Minto in India. On the 20th January St. Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta saw the ceremony performed by which two houses, indissolubly associated with the supremacy of Britain in the East, were united. The Marquess of Lansdowne will long live in the memory of the people of India as a Viceroy who ably ruled the country and proved himself so worthy a successor of Lord Dufferin as the representative of a great and good Queen. Since his retirement Lord Lansdowne has manifested his interest in this country and the people must not think of him as other than a friend, notwithstanding his strenuous opposition to the recent political programme of the present Secretary of State. His soldier son, Lord Charles Fitzmaurice, has proved himself the worthy son of a worthy sire and it is our earnest wish that his union with Lady Violet Elliot will prove not only happy but useful and that every blessing will attend them through life. Lady Lansdowne is affectionately remembered by the people of the country for her earnest efforts in advancing Lady Dufferin's scheme for providing skilled medical aid to the women of India. This is still receiving the substantial support of Lady Minto whose sympathy with her Indian sisters has so often been shown. The marriage was robbed of much outward show by the decision to have it as quiet as possible, but notwithstanding this it was a memorable

function. Troops lined the road from Government House to the Cathedral and the assembly of guests was an impressive spectacle, comprising as it did the official and non-official community, the consular body, military officers, and last but not least, several Indian Princes.

It is very many years since a serious accident occurred on the Hooghly, and when it was reported in Calcutta that the S.S. *Onipenta*, of the British India Steam Navigation Company, was ashore on the Shalimar-shoal, there were those, even among experts, who were of opinion that with a lightening of the cargo and a rise of tide the vessel would float, but such has proved not to be the case and, breaking in two, she has become a total wreck. On hauling out of the Dock the *Onipenta* struck a dredger, receiving considerable damage, she then drifted on to a couple of buoys and, finding she was likely to sink in mid channel, it was decided to beach her on Shalimar Shoal. This was done with the result already stated. A court of enquiry into the accident completely exonerated the Assistant Harbour Master in charge, who claimed that the tide was too strong to prevent the accident.

The annually recurring small-pox epidemic is claiming its victims in large numbers, and Major Vaughan, the Superintendent of the Campbell Hospital, has been having a busy, and anxious time. The epidemic is the most serious that has visited the city for many years and a goodly number of Europeans have succumbed. Beyond opening public vaccine depôts the Municipality has not done much in the matter of fighting the disease and

the laxity of the officials has been the cause of animated discussion at the monthly meeting held in March. Questions were asked as to why the law was not enforced which compels medical practitioners to report cases coming under their notice. The Chairman promised to see that greater attention is paid to this important matter. The greatest difficulty is experienced in combatting the spread of this fell disease by the intense apathy shown by the people of the country. It is next to impossible to get the masses to realise its terrible consequences and their strongly pronounced antipathy to resort to remedial measures renders the task of the authorities colossal.

His Excellency Lord Minto attended the Calcutta High Court in state and opened the new extension which had become necessary through the demands made on the Court, the work of which has so greatly increased during the past few years, and in his speech eulogised the work of the judges and officers of the Court. He paid a fitting tribute to Sir Francis Maclean, the retiring Chief Justice, to whose persistent effort the extension was chiefly due. It is quite probable that with the increase of work the bench will be strengthened by the addition of another judge.

Considerable regret was felt in Calcutta when it was announced that ill-health compelled Sir Francis Maclean to resign the Chief Justiceship of Bengal. He was appointed on the 9th November 1896 and soon made himself popular, being always ready to help forward any movement calculated to better his fellowmen or to ameliorate distress, as witnessed by the great interest he invariably took in advancing the cause of famine relief.

Sir Francis William
Maclean, K.C.I.E.

He was created a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire in 1898. The condition of service of the judges of the High Court has been greatly improved during his *régime*, and he has upheld the dignity of his position. As a judge he has not proved exceptionally brilliant, but then it is not easy to fill capably a position so ably held by his predecessor, Sir Comer Petheram. As a postprandial orator India has not had Sir Francis Maclean's equal and no social function of any importance was complete without his commanding and pleasing presence.

When it was believed that the political unrest had reached high flood level and that a reaction might confidently be looked for in the direction of law and order, the country was startled by the announcement that Babu Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prosecutor of the 24-Pergunnahs, employed in the prosecution of Arabindo Ghose and others for sedition, had been shot dead by a young Bengali named Charoo Chunder Bose outside the Court House at Alipore. The deed was done without the slightest warning and apparently without any reason being assigned for it. The murderer was instantly seized and promptly put upon his trial before the Magistrate. He admitted his guilt and made no defence of his action, and committal to the Sessions Court followed. Here he pled guilty to the charge, but taking into account the seriousness of the crime the Advocate-General produced evidence corroborative of the charge, the assessors unanimously found the prisoner guilty and he was sentenced to death. The record was sent to the High Court and the sentence was confirmed. No appeal was preferred by the condemned man and he paid the penalty of his

Murder of Babu
Ashutosh Biswas.

crime in the Alipore Jail on the morning of the 19th March. His relatives applied for permission to remove his body for cremation, but this was refused and the funeral rites were performed within the grounds of the jail. In connection with the murder of Babu Ashutosh Biswas a public meeting was held when it was resolved to commemorate his memory and judging by the speeches made one would have expected subscriptions to pour in, but a sum of something over Rs. 800 was collected from less than 50 subscribers.

An event of historical importance was the presentation and placing in position under the dome of the Taj at Agra of the lamp presented by Lord Curzon.

Lamp for the Taj at
Agra.

Few sojourners in the East have evinced the same interest in the preservation of ancient oriental buildings as the late Viceroy of India and the pains he took in obtaining a lamp for the Taj only intensified the longing for the preservation of things beautiful which was so characteristic of him. He sent the lamp out to India and as instancing his desire to obtain the best he could for his gift we quote from his letter to Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, in which he says :—"The history of the lamp is perhaps of sufficient interest to admit of being briefly narrated. I entered into correspondence with Lord Cromer in Egypt, where are the finest specimens of Moslem handicraft in mosques and tombs, and on my return journey from India in November 1905, I halted in Cairo to visit the Arab Museum and principal mosques. I found the most suitable model would be the lamp that once hung in the tomb of the famous Sultan Beybars the Second and has been illustrated in many works on Arab and Saracenic art. I could not ascertain where the lamp

now is. It is not in any of the museums in Cairo, Paris or London, but all its features are accurately known. At this stage I was fortunate enough to enlist the sympathies of Herz Bey, Director of the Arab Museum at Cairo, and Mr. Ernest Richmond of the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works. I learned there were only two workmen in Egypt capable of carrying out a work of so much delicacy, and one of these (Tadros Badir) was selected and entrusted with the commission. Tadros Badir took two years to construct the lamp. It is made of bronze inlaid with silver and gold. Mr. Richmond assures me that in his belief no such lamp has been made since the period of the original many centuries ago. However this may be, I trust that the lamp may be thought worthy of a place in the most solemn and beautiful building in the East, and in asking you to see to its final installation, I would beg that it may be carefully guarded by the custodians of the shrine and may hang there as my last tribute of respect to the glories of Agra, which float like a vision of eternal beauty in my memory and to the grave and potent religion which is professed by so many millions of our fellow-subjects in India."

In our last number it was our melancholy duty to refer to the death of Lady Clarke, the wife of His Excellency Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, and it is with exquisite pain that we now have to record the death of his talented and devoted daughter, which lamentable event occurred in Bombay on the 21st March. The death of the Governor's consort called forth the sympathy not only of Bombay but of the whole of India to a Governor who had shown himself not only a capable and sympathetic ruler but that greatest of good men, a

Death of Miss Clarke.

Christian gentleman. He put aside his own poignant sorrow and never flinched under the crushing blow to realise the dignity of his responsibilities and Miss Clarke nobly seconded her father's efforts, and by great self-denial and zealous sympathetic effort was ably helping His Excellency to bear his great burden. By her death a blow has fallen on Sir George Clarke, the severity of which it is impossible to fathom or for anyone not similarly afflicted to adequately appreciate. We in common with the whole country tender His Excellency our heartfelt and dutiful sympathy believing that He Who has permitted the blow to fall will extend that necessary strength for the patient bearing of this affliction.

The trial of the Bengali Anarchists at Alipore will long remain a record among cases that have lasted long in the trying.

The charging of the prisoners, the examination and cross-examination of the witnesses lasted over 90 days. Mr. Norton's speech for the Crown occupied fourteen days and at the end of the quarter counsel for the defence were still addressing the Court on behalf of their clients. Mr. Eardley Norton's speech was a masterpiece of oratory, as it was a detailed sifting of each prisoner's share in the conspiracy. Its most prominent characteristic was the complete absence of vindictiveness, while as an example of impartial investigation it will hold a place in the annals of Indian Courts, quite unique. The judge, Mr. C. P. Beachcroft, has shown a more than commendable patience and whatever the result the prisoners will have to admit that the trial has been a marvellous example of British justice, and the best traditions of English fairness have been amply maintained.

Art. II.—SOME FAMOUS EARTHQUAKES.

"Diseaséd nature oftentimes breaks forth
In strange eruptions ; 'till the teeming earth
Is with a kind of colic pinch'd and vex'd
By the imprisoning of unruly wind
Within her womb ; which, for enlargement striving
Shakes the old beldam earth and topples down
Steeple and moss-grown towers."—*Shakespeare*.

THE great calamity which has so lately overtaken the ill-fated Calabria has surpassed all recorded earthquakes of the past in its horrors and the loss it has caused to human life and property. The total number of lives lost by this disaster amounts to nearly a quarter of a million. Although the shock was not so severe as the Californian earthquake of 1906 it was far more so than those of 1905 and 1907 and as terrible as that of 1783. Messina and Reggio were swept over by the sea with a height of thirty feet, and soundings showed that the bed of the sea had risen ten feet. The earthquake of the 28th December of last year, which was mainly polycentric, was not a mere *shaking*, but has been described as "one of those great disturbances by which the whole world is shaken, which penetrate deep into its substance and result in a permanent alteration of its surface."

At the present day when all the world is talking of this disaster, it may not be uninteresting to recall a few instances of calamities of a somewhat similar nature. Verily, the expression *terra firma* is a misnomer ; for, in human experience, no portion of the globe has been immune against shocks and tremors. In ancient times the cause of this sudden convulsion of

Nature was involved in deep mystery. Unable to find out a natural cause, people ascribed the disaster to a visitation of Providence. In Achaia and along the western coast of Asia Minor the sea-god Poseidon was worshipped as the earthquake deity. The early Greek philosophers propounded certain theories to account for the cause of earthquakes, and in each case some one or other of the striking phenomena characteristic of earthquakes has been wrought into the conception. Aristotle held that all earthquakes were brought about by air or gases pent up in subterranean cavities, which by their struggles to escape caused the ground to shake. Achaia, Eubœa and Sicily were the regions singled out by him as specially subject to the disaster on account of the many caves they contained. Strabo and Pliny followed suit. Practically the same idea was held during the revival of learning which took place at the close of the Middle Ages, until we find it reflected by Shakespeare some two-and-a-half centuries later in the lines quoted at the beginning of this article. A flood of light has been thrown on the older theories by modern scientific investigations; but it would be beyond our province to enquire into minute details. Suffice it to state that the Aristotelian view that earthquakes are manifestations of explosive volcanic energy which in some way was pent up in focal cavities within the earth's crust, seems not to have been questioned. De Montessus, after a very careful study of seismic disturbances, came to the conclusion that earthquake districts of the globe are included within two great belts or zones which surround it in the directions of great circles and which meet at angles of sixty-seven degrees. The Alps and the Mediterranean, the Caucasus and the Himalayas form the

outline of the more important of these zones while the other belt surrounds the Pacific Ocean, following the great Cordilleran mountain system of the Western Hemisphere and the festoons of islands on the borders of Eastern Asia and Malaysia. This view is now held by the foremost living authorities on seismology, and it is recognized on all hands that the earthquake zones of the globe are also the zones of active volcanoes.

The history of earthquakes is as old as the world itself. A record of the destruction by earthquake of the lands through which the children of Israel passed, is found in the Bible. The earliest earthquake recorded in history is that which made Eubœa an island in B.C. 425. In the seventeenth year after the birth of Christ, twelve cities of Asia Minor were destroyed in a single night by a most dreadful shock, and in the year 63 A.D. fearful havoc was wrought in the vicinity of Vesuvius from the very same cause. During the reign of the Emperor Gallienus, a series of earthquake shocks was experienced over the greater part of Italy for several days together. They were preceded and accompanied by terrible sounds like roars of thunder beneath the surface of the ground; and fissures in the earth which were repeatedly opened, closed in various places and swallowed up a vast number of men.

In view of the semblance of monotony that characterises the descriptions of these convulsions of nature, it stands to reason that most earthquakes have more or less features in common. If the place be situated on the coast there is the rising of the sea to contend with; if in a volcanic region, there are frequently ground-fissures and flames, and so on.

The violent earthquake that visited Rome in 365 A.D. was long remembered by the people on account

of its severity. The freaks that Nature wantonly displayed on this occasion were almost unique. The Mediterranean Sea suddenly receded a great way from the shore, leaving it dry for a time and stranding many vessels in the mud. But, the tide soon returned with irresistible force and shook the coasts almost to their very foundations. The calamity cost fifty thousand human beings their lives, and Alexandria, as a sign of mourning, annually commemorated this fatal day. The earthquake that overtook Antioch in 526 A.D. was still more dreadful in its results and 250,000 men are said to have met their doom.

In 1538, a series of almost incessant shocks of earthquake were felt in Naples for months together; but the ultimatum was reached towards the end of September. Lake Lucrinus was completely annihilated. The earth opened up in many places and emitted flames with sand and red-hot stones, while in some other parts it heaved up and produced a hill about 1,127 feet high. The ruin thus brought about was so complete that in the course of the following day no trace could be obtained of there having been any dwellings in the neighbourhood.

In the year 1595 a terrible earthquake visited Meaco in Japan. The next year witnessed in the same place a similar disaster, which lasted three hours. Calabria, the site chosen out by Providence for the dreadful visitation which is just at present the talk of every town on the face of the globe, has many times been racked by earthquakes, and for no other country save Japan have the records been so long. As regards both the geological changes and the losses to life by which they have been accompanied, the Calabrian earthquakes rank among the greatest in history. This spot

was the scene of a destructive earthquake as early as 1638. The disastrous results brought about in that year is most pathetically described by Kircher, who was an eye-witness. Before the fatal shock was felt, the Gulf of Charybdis "seemed whirled round in such a manner as to form a vast hollow, verging to a point in the centre." Mount Etna emitted huge volumes of smoke which hid everything from view and a roaring noise could be heard all the while. The weather was quite calm, but the surface of the sea presented the appearance of a "lake in a violent shower of rain." Soon after, a terrible tremor was felt, and the whole of the island seemed to vibrate to and fro, a rumbling noise pervading the atmosphere all the time. The destruction was so complete (Kircher continues) that "turning to look for the city, it was totally sunk; and nothing but a dismal and putrid lake was to be seen where it stood."

According to Dr. Sloane, the inhabitants of Jamaica expect at least one earthquake every year. In No. 209 of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society are recorded the effects of one of the severest that ever befell mankind. This convulsion overtook Jamaica in 1692. Port Royal, the capital of the island, experienced a loss of nine-tenths part of it within the short space of two minutes. Two thousand human beings lost their lives and one thousand acres of solid earth sank beneath the level of the sea. The greater part of houses, trees and people was swallowed up by the gaping earth and large pools of water appeared where they stood. This water when dried up, left nothing but sand, without any mark that tree or plant had ever been thereon. The earthquake was accompanied by an offensive smell and the noise of falling

mountains at a distance. "The sky in a minute's time was turned dull and reddish like a glowing oven." Those who survived the shock were suffering from a general sickness as a result of the noisome vapours belched forth, and three thousand of them succumbed in consequence.

In the year 1693 the island of Sicily was overtaken by that ever memorable disaster which blotted out of existence the once famous Catania, which for many a long year was the chosen seat of sceptred hands and therefore adorned by choicest buildings. The shocks of this lamentable calamity were intensely felt over a very large area: it affected Naples on one side and Malta on the other. During this earthquake, Mount Etna emitted flames as high as the mountains themselves and a roaring noise proceeded from the sea which seemed unusually agitated. All Nature seemed menacing to such a degree that beasts and birds of prey issued out of their resting-places and kept flying hither and thither. The number of cities and towns which were completely destroyed, counted nearly two score and a half, and eighteen thousand human lives are said to have been lost. Sicily and Naples have so often been picked out as the scene of earthquakes that their dates alone would make a lengthy list.

In the earthquake that overtook Buhayan in 1640, large masses of stone are said to have been thrown off and flung to a distance of six miles. The noise of destruction reached Manilla. So complete was the darkness that shrouded the spot at the time, that ships at sea are reported to have lighted their lamps at 8 A.M. The mountain which was the source of the eruption, disappeared in the end and a lake was formed in its place. In the Philippine earthquake of 1645 a mountain

was overturned and a whole town was engulfed at its foot. The loss of lives on this occasion is reported to have been three thousand.

Coming to India, it may be noted that the Hindu theory of earthquake as described by Wilkins is that the world rests on the head of Sesha (the end) or Ananta (endless) who is regarded as the Serpent deity and has a thousand heads and forms the couch on which Vishnu reposes during the intervals of creation. The serpent temporarily withdrawing its head leaves the earth unsupported and tottering. It should be noted, however, that the great Ananta is space itself and the shifting of the earth from its path is due to gravitation working in some unknown way through that space upon our earth and causing the orbital deviation. This serpent again is described as resting itself upon a tortoise. When the tortoise moves his feet or Sesha yawns, earthquakes result. Still another popular theory locates the globe on one of the horns of a bull which occasionally transfers it from one horn to another. Much has still to be said in favour of the long accepted theory of the shrinking of the earth's crust by gradual loss of primeval heat being the cause of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.

A graphic description of the earthquake that visited Calcutta in 1737 is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It occurred at night and had a terrible companion in the hurricane that had been raging for some time. More than two hundred houses gave way rendering their inmates shelterless. Nearly twenty thousand ships and barques were cast away, and barques of sixty tons are described as having been blown two leagues up into land over the tops of high trees. Water rose forty feet higher than usual in the Ganges

and three lakhs of human lives were lost on the occasion.

South America is so very subject to earthquakes that "in 1746 at Quito, in Peru, not less than 200 shocks were counted in twenty-four hours, and within about one year 451 such shocks were felt." The earthquake that visited Guatémala in 1773 was so complete in its calamitous effects that not a single building was left standing in San Jago.

To return to India. The Sunderbans had more than once sunk below the level of the sea in consequence of terrible shocks of earthquake, and evidence of subsidence is visible on the whole coast from Cape Negrais to Akyabon. A description of how Chittagong was shaken in 1762 is given in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The earth opened up in many places and threw out water and mud of sulphurous smell. The shock of this earthquake reached Calcutta and sixty square miles of coast are said to have suddenly and permanently subsided. While the Chittagong coast sank, a corresponding rise took place at the island of Ramree, Reguain and at Cheduba.

The great earthquake of Lisbon of 1st November, 1755, was the severest that made itself felt almost throughout the length and breadth of Europe. It is ever to be remembered as one taking the first rank in many respects among all recorded earthquakes. The weather wore a peculiarly gloomy aspect on the day preceding the one on which this never-to-be-forgotten earth-movement took place. But there was no wind, nor the slightest commotion was visible on the surface of the sea. The first shocks came without any other warning than a roaring noise which seemed to proceed from beneath the surface of the earth and confounded

the people. The buildings were tossing to and fro and in the brief interval of six minutes, nearly sixty thousand lives were lost. To the destruction from the shocks were soon added the horrors of a conflagration, and robbers and thieves found a good opportunity to ply their nefarious practices. This earthquake was followed by a great sea-wave—the greatest that has ever been recorded. It rose to a height of about sixty feet and completed the destruction in and about the city.

The Calabrian earthquake of 1783 was studied with the greatest precision by a number of scientific men at the time. The Royal Academy of Naples sent a delegation with a staff of artists and prepared a big report of the greatest scientific value. Among other notabilities who visited the devastated area was Sir William Hamilton, the English representative at the Court of Naples. The shocks of this earthquake were not at all anticipated. They came without any warning and demolished the greater part of the buildings in Calabria and North-Eastern Sicily within the short space of two minutes. This earth-shake was so violent in its nature that the whole country heaved in great undulations and a sense of nausea was generally felt. Large trees were so swayed by the rocking motion of the earth that their tops nearly touched the ground. At some places the shocks were almost vertical in direction and paving stones are said to have been thrown up several yards high and were often overturned in falling. Fissures appeared in the ground by thousands and displacements occurred in various places. The total loss of lives is said to have numbered 30,000. The most authentic account of this earthquake was written by the Chevalier Vivienzio, the then

Court-physician to the King of Naples. It would appear from official statistics that 182 towns and villages were entirely destroyed, 92 rendered uninhabitable and many others suffered in a less degree.

Earthquakes are said to have been so frequent in the south and east of Asia that 162 of them were recorded by Captain Baird Smith from 1800 to 1842. But these shocks were by no means so severe as those just now related. In the works of the early historians of Arabia and Persia are mentioned more than a hundred earthquakes between the seventh and seventeenth centuries. The most extended record of earthquakes is, however, to be found in the Statistical Society's Journal from the pen of Mr. Walford in 1878. Vigne tells us that usually a dozen earthquakes are experienced in Kabul in the year.

One of the most violent earthquakes recorded in India was felt on the 16th June, 1819. Its centre was supposed to be at Cutch, but it affected a very great area. When the British army was besieged at Jalalabad in 1841, the walls of the city were thrown down by an earthquake. The disaster that made itself felt the next year in Calcutta, extended three hundred miles north to Darjeeling, two hundred and fifty miles east to Chittagong, two hundred and ten miles west to Monghyr, and was felt on board the *Agincourt*, seventy miles south of the Floating Light.

In December, 1854, an earthquake was felt on board the Russian frigate *Diana* as she lay at anchor in the harbour of Simoda not far from Jeddo in Japan. A big wave was seen rolling into the harbour at 10 A.M. and the water immediately rose high on the shore. The town, as seen from the frigate, appeared rapidly sinking. Another great wave followed in the course of

the former one; and when both of them came back, which was at 10-15, there was not a house save an unfinished temple left standing in the village. By 2-30 P.M. the ship was wrecked and in the course of five minutes the water in the harbour fell from twenty-three to three feet. All this time the weather was as calm as could be desired.

The Philippine earthquake of 1863 lasted only for a minute and within this brief period wrought great havoc in the country. A flame was seen to rise from the earth and gird the city of Manilla and at the same time terrific quaking was experienced. This flame was seen from the bay to ascend towards the sky and a second triple-branched one seemed to come from the land towards the water. The whole city fell into confusion at once and a thousand lives perished, while many thousands were injured. This earthquake completed the destruction which was begun by several repeated ones in and about Manilla.

In 1885 an earthquake service was first organised in Japan. Since that time the earthquakes recorded in Japan show a daily average of four. Until 1891 the greatest shock felt in Japan was that of 1854. In the earthquake of 1891 more than three-fifths of the whole area of Japan was shaken. The destruction of people and houses reached a very high number. Nearly twenty thousand buildings collapsed and seven thousand people lost their lives, while seventeen thousand were injured. The ground was riven by numerous fissures, and fire broke out in many places and burned to death several persons who might otherwise have escaped it. On the 31st August 1896, a severe earthquake again visited Japan. It was foreboded by many weak shocks and this was perhaps the reason

the greatest havoc was perpetrated. An inhabitant of the town, long accustomed to earthquakes, sallied forth from his house as soon as the ominous sound was first heard, but was immediately thrown down. Damage to life and property was excessive, and the east and west walls of the buildings were mostly overthrown. Investigations on the seismotectonic lines indicated by this disturbance showed the correctness of the habitual epicenters determined by De Montessus.

No earthquake of appalling magnitude seems to have been recorded in the British Isles; and, according to the computation of Mrs. Somerville, nearly 255 earthquakes, all of a very slight nature, have made themselves felt in these islands. An interesting anecdote is recorded in Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates* of how a lunatic had foretold that an earthquake would certainly take place on the 8th April 1750. People got so much frightened at the likelihood of the occurrence of such a terrible disaster that "thousands of persons, particularly those of rank and fortune, passed the night of the 7th in their carriages and in tents in Hyde Park!"

A detailed account of earthquakes that have from time to time overtaken various countries on the face of the globe cannot help being a gloomy study on account of its disgusting monotony. It may, however, prove instructive and interesting if it chances to give a precise and accurate description of some striking phenomenon visible on each particular occasion. Gibbon had pertinently observed, that "in these disasters, the architect becomes the enemy of mankind. The hut of a savage, or the tent of an Arab, may be thrown down without injury to the inhabitant; and the Peruvian had reason to deride the folly of their Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labour, erected

their own sepulchres." Suffice it to add that the various theories propounded do not help us in the least by way of being forewarned or forearmed. We are as helpless in the midst of these visitations as mankind was in the Stone Age.

To revert to the great catastrophe at Calabria, the question whether it is again likely to be habitable is just now engaging the attention of geologists, and Professor Ricco, Director of the Observatory at Catania, has been delegated by the Government of Italy to study the causes and effects of the late disaster.

In conclusion it may be noted that there are various mythological stories extant in different countries regarding the cause of earthquakes. In Japan it was supposed that there existed beneath the ground a large earth spider or "jishin mushi," which later on became a catfish. There is at Kashima, a place some sixty miles north-east of Tokyo, a rock which is said to rest on the head of this creature and keep it quiet. This is the only place where earthquakes are not frequent whereas the rest of the empire is shaken by the wriggling of its tail and body. In Mongolia and the Celebes the land-shaker is a subterranean hog. In India it is (among other creatures already mentioned) a mole; the Mussulmans picture it an elephant; while in North America it is a tortoise. The people of Kamtchatka had a god called Tuil, who like themselves lived amongst the ice and snow, and when he wanted exercise, went out with his dogs. These latter were supposed to have been infested with insects, and when, now and then, they stopped to scratch themselves, their movements produced the shakings known as earthquakes. In Scandinavia there was an evil genius named Loki, who having killed his brother

why the casualties did not exceed one thousand. Thirty-three hours before the violent shock there was also a strong magnetic disturbance. The Kawafune and Senya clefts opened on opposite sides of a mountain range and the land blocks lying outside these clefts were dropped by some yards. A number of thermal springs dried up completely, others diminished in volume, while a few new ones came into existence with the earthquake.

The earthquake of 12th June 1897—the greatest on record in India—is fully described in the *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*. The heavy shock, as may still be fresh in the memory of many of our readers, lasted only for two minutes and thirty seconds; but the destruction was complete within the first fifteen seconds. The area affected by the disturbance measured over one and three-quarter millions of square miles, and one hundred and fifty thousands square miles had been laid in ruins. The shocks were described in places as twisting in their nature. In the town of Shillong a rumbling noise like near thunder is said to have been audible from the beginning, and the ground was not only felt but distinctly seen to be thrown in violent waves “as though composed of soft jelly.” These waves appeared to advance on the ground and produced a feeling of nausea. In addition to numerous cracks, crater-like pits were formed in the ground, and through them jets of sand and water were thrown up seven or eight feet in height. “A re-survey subsequent to the disturbance revealed changes of elevation of stations by as much as twelve feet and of location by about the same figure.” A disastrous earthquake occurred in Northern India on 4th April 1905. About 20,000 human beings perished,

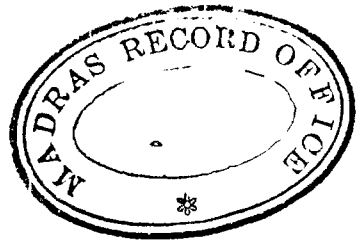
the loss of life being heaviest in the Kangra and Palampur tahsils. The station of Dharamsala and the town of Kangra were destroyed, the fort and temples at the former place receiving irreparable damage and many other buildings of archaeological interest, including Lord Elgin's grave at the Dharamsala cemetery, being badly injured.

At a few minutes past five on the morning of the 18th April 1906, a disastrous shock of earthquake made itself felt in the towns of California and San Francisco. This shock, however, was not at all anticipated by any unnatural phenomenon whatsoever. The quaking was only of a minute's duration, but casualties were by no means insignificant. The value of property destroyed on the occasion was without parallel in seismic history and was aggravated by the fire started by the earthquake. In vol. 14 of the *Journal of Geology*, Mr. Stephen Taber has described with a masterly hand the various local effects produced by this earthquake. Numerous fissures opened in the streets of San Francisco and trough-like depressions occurred in various places. This awful calamity impressed itself so heavily on the minds of the American nation that they henceforth paid particular attention to the investigation and means of prevention of these terrible freaks of Nature.

In vol. 29 of the *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India* is to be found a detailed narration of the earthquake that visited Kingston on 14th January, 1907. The island of Jamaica has a long record of this kind of disasters; but Kingston seems to have been singled out as the focus of these repeated disturbances. The quake on this occasion lasted at its maximum for nearly ten seconds, and in little more than half a minute

Baldwin was bound to a rock, face upwards, so that the poison of a serpent should drop on his face. Loki's wife, however, intercepted the poison in a vessel, and it was only when she had to go away to empty the dish that a few drops reached the prostrate deity and caused him to writhe in agony and shake the earth.

• KIRAN NATH DHAR, B.A.



Art. III.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE GAROS.

THE Garos are Highlanders and appear to be, not only in name but also in nature, akin to the Gaels of Erin. They live on hills, which Janus-like overlook Mymensingh in front, and Goalpara at the back. These hills had evidently no name of their own before the Garos made their settlement and are, therefore, very properly called after them.* The Garos proper appear to be of non-Aryan origin, but tradition which generally contains only a spark of truth hidden under a cloud of fiction, makes them the offspring of the union of the second Pandava brother, Bhima, with Hirimba, sister of the non-Aryan king of Hirumba (modern Cachar). Whatever may be the historical value of this tradition it certainly goes to show that in hoary antiquity inter-marriages between Aryans and non-Aryans were not quite uncommon. The Garos, if they have not inherited any of the other qualities of their putative ancestor, have at least come by a modicum of his physical strength. As a matter of fact, they are a very strong, robust and active race, capable of enduring a great amount of exertion. Indeed, they find pleasure in labour, hard bodily labour. The sword is the Garo's constant companion, and, besides being a weapon, is used to clear jungle, as well as for a variety of other peaceful purposes. It is a two-edged instrument, the blade and handle forming one piece, with a small abrupt point.

A Garo village is of a peculiar character and constitution. It resembles a commercial company where the

* According to local traditions, says Dr. W. W. Hunter, the Garo hills were once occupied by Kochs who were gradually driven northward by an invasion of Garos, and it is a fact that the Kochs at the present day claim land in the hills. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. V., p. 28.) The Kochs may have occupied the hills for some time, but they did not give any name to them, nor were they ever called after them.

liability of one is the liability of all the rest. This being so, if one member of a village borrows money from one of a different village and fails to repay it, then the latter can realize it from any fellow villager of the defaulter. As between themselves they seem to follow communistic principles and consider the property of its members as the property of the community.

As becomes savages that they are, the Garos live in tiled huts. These *mathans*, as they are called in native parlance, are built on piles and are frequently of considerable size, affording accommodation to a pretty large number of people. They are generally found on the banks of streams which break through rocky gorges and dash forward amidst forest trees, creepers of many varieties and gigantic ferns, all tending to conjure up a picturesque scenery.

The Garos are divided into *Máháris* or clans, and any injury done to one member of a clan is avenged by the other members as an injury common to all. Inter-marriages between the members of the same clan are not permitted; but otherwise no regard is paid to the ties of consanguinity.

The Garos are "neither Hindus nor Turks," and follow no religion worthy of the name. They, however, believe in a supreme being called Satjang, who is impersonated in the Sun. If they fall into difficulties, or if one of their near kinsmen gets ill, they worship "Deo," which seems to be only another name for evil spirit, corresponding to the "Asura" of the Hindus, and "Ahura" or "Ahrim" of the Iranians. The mode of this worship is very peculiar and cannot fail to excite pleasing wonder in one who is not accustomed to such strange sights. A bambóo twig is planted in a certain spot, to which are bound the feathers of fowls, such as cock, hen and the

like. After this is done, some one cuts the throat of one such bird and pours a libation of its blood on it. In this way only, it is thought, could the "Deo" be propitiated, and when so appeased, the evil against which the rite is performed is said to disappear and things regain their usual normal state. Fetishism which is so much in vogue among the Negros, does not find favour with the Garos. In fact, the latter are not idolators in the popular sense of the term. In this respect they considerably resemble those semi-barbarous people who worship good and evil spirits. Indeed, spirit worship seems to be very prevalent among wild tribes in general. Like the aborigines of Central India, the Garos are excessively superstitious, and believe in the existence of witches and imps of all kinds.

Not only are the Garos devoid of religion properly so called, they are also innocent of learning. Reading and writing are quite unknown to them; they are perfectly illiterate. The Provincialism in which they hold conversation and transact the ordinary affairs of life, partakes of the nature of a slang, and, so far from being a language, is not even an apology for one.

In food the Garos may be styled omnivorous. Like most aboriginal races, they are entirely free from caste prejudices and partake willingly of any kind of food they get. They eat beef, and are fond even of the flesh of cats, snakes, frogs, pigs and buffaloes. Some say that they hold tiger in considerable esteem and do not eat its flesh; but this does not appear to be true. All kinds of flesh and food are agreeable to them. Dog's flesh which is proverbially bad and is, accordingly, held very cheap, as appears from the common expression "damn'd cheap," that is, dog-cheap, as explained by that great lexicographer, Dr. Johnson, the Garos

appear to have a strong liking for. If they get hold of a stray dog, they collar it by a string and give it some rice to eat. After the poor creature has done eating, some one coming forward, kills it by striking it with a heavy club, and placing the carcase in a hole set fire to it. Some time after, when they find that the dog so stuffed with rice has been sufficiently burnt, they in great joy and glee cut up the whole thing and fall to eating it with great gusto. This is known as "*Kukur-pitha*" (dog-cake) among the Garos. The only article of food which they eschew is milk, for which they express an abhorrence.

The Garos are hard drinkers—men, women and children, all indulge to excess in the infernal drink which has been committing such terrible havoc on mankind. But the liquor they drink is not of foreign origin. Large quantities of rice-beer are prepared by them, which is said to be rather a pleasant drink when well made. This beverage is made from *káon*, *megáru* and other grains as well as from rice, but that prepared from rice is regarded as the best. Rice-beer goes under the name of *pacháyi*. No auspicious or inauspicious act could be done without the consumption of a large quantity of such beer. Devil drink is the one thing needful in Garo life, it cannot be dispensed with. Drunkenness is, as we have said, quite common, although it is very difficult to get intoxicated on the rice-beer, and a seasoned toper would have to consume gallons of it before the desired effect would be produced. The Garos are also great smokers of tobacco, but they touch no intoxicating drug. Opium, *ganga*, *charas* and other such drugs they hold in abhorrence and despise the Bengalis for their use of these enervating compounds.

Not only do the Garos drink wine of their own brewing, the scanty clothing they use is also home-made. Generally such cloth is small in dimensions. The breadth is about one cubit, while the length does not exceed three or four cubits. The males have only a strip of cotton cloth which is passed round the waist and between the legs and then tied at the back. The females only cover the lower parts, leaving the breast and the head quite uncovered. Like the Grand Old Parents of mankind they use cotton clothing, as those used leaves, only to hide their shame.

There is no restriction among the Garos as to trade indeed, they follow all kinds of avocation. Their hills being eminently fit for cultivation, it is only natural that they should take to agriculture to a large extent, and, as a matter of fact, this primitive occupation is very common with them. They cultivate their land on the system known as *jum*. A small plot of land is selected on the hill side and the jungle cut down and removed or burnt. Several kinds of seeds are sown broadcast in the same clearing; and each crop is reaped in rotation as it comes to maturity. They largely grow paddy and oil-seeds (*sorsa*); and sometimes chillies, cotton, jute and the like.* In a word they care to grow only the bare necessities of life. Their salt-money and such like petty charges they meet by selling fish and firewood to dwellers of the plains.

Both male and female live in the same *machan*. Boys and girls, while very young, are allowed to live with their parents; but when they grow up, all the maidens of the village pass the night in one *machan* and all the bachelors in another. During day time, however,

* In the second year, rice only is grown; and after two years' cultivation, the clearing is abandoned and suffered to lie fallow for about ten years.

they eat and drink and do all other acts by staying in the *machan* of their respective parents. The old Spartan mode of dining in common does not find place among the Garos. The *machan* in which the unmarried young men sleep at night is known as the *kachari-house*. On the occurrence of any dispute regarding social or other matters, all the village people assemble in that house for its determination. This *machan* is common property and partakes of the character of a public hall.

In the matter of marriage the Garos fare better than some of the civilized nations in certain respects. Infant marriage is not in vogue among them. No member of either sex can marry until he or she gets sufficiently old, in other words, only adults are competent to enter into matrimony. Widow marriage is very common. Not only young widows but also grown-up ones can take a second husband if they please. The system of marriage in common use is very peculiar and cannot fail to excite wonder in all rational beings. Marriage with one's maternal aunt is very common, and in her default with maternal uncle's daughter. If a widowed maternal aunt is available, marriage with any other female is deemed improper, if not impossible. The same rule is observed even when a maternal aunt by connection only is to be had. It is only where no such aunt of any kind is available that some other kind of connection is thought of. Marriage with maternal uncle's daughter is also held in high regard by the Mahomedans. In fact, Islam allows wide latitude in the matter of marriage.

Marriages are arranged by the parents and are concluded when the parties are of fit age. No dower is demanded on either side. It is not necessary to look for an auspicious day for the celebration of marriage.

Some day is fixed in view of the convenience of both sides and with their consent. Such day, however, could not be fixed unless the parties have prepared quantities of wine sufficient for the purposes of marriage. On the day so fixed, some relatives of the bride go over to the bridegroom's *machan*, with a view to bring him in. On seeing them coming, or on being apprised of their coming, the latter takes to his heels and runs into a solitary room or enters a forest. The bride's people make diligent search, and on finding him out, try to bring him by force, at the same time holding out all sorts of temptations in order to induce him to consent to the marriage; and on these means failing to have effect, they throw him down in a pool of water, and when on being ducked two or three times he at length expresses his consent, they take him out of the water and triumphantly lead him captive to the bride's house. The bride, too, on her part flees into a lonely room; but what makes her case somewhat different from that of the bridegroom is that she never goes into a forest. After her flight some women go in search of her, and on finding, bring her out. After the bridegroom and the bride are thus found out and brought in, all the women of the village sit with the bride on one side, and all the men with the bridegroom on the other. Then some leading villager is selected for the purpose of performing the ceremony. He is universally called the God-father (*Dharmapita*) and is held in very high regard. Shortly after, a pair of fowls, a cock, and a hen, are brought in. The said God-father, on rising up, puts some rice on a winnowing fan, and places it before the two fowls to eat; and while they are eating, he, taking a small piece of bamboo in his hand, gives them such a smart blow that by one stroke both of

them are killed. Then the entrails are consulted for an omen ; but whether this turns out to be good or bad, the marriage still takes place. After the sacrifice of the fowls, the aforesaid God-father who ministers at the ceremony strikes the woman on the back with the dead cock, and the man with the hen.

The piece of bamboo with which the fowls were killed is held very dear. Putting a portion of the entrails therein, it is taken to and kept in the bridegroom's *machan*. Then the flesh of the fowls is dressed and cooked, when the women taking the bride on one side, and the men in company with the bridegroom on the other, eat and drink to their hearts' content. In the matter of potation, too, some rule is observed. In the first place the God-father, filling a cup with wine, offers it to the bridegroom to drink, and whatever remains in the cup after the latter has drunk is offered to the bride. The same routine is followed in the case of rice-eating also. After these preliminaries are gone through, feasting and rejoicings follow in full measure. It is considered an evil sign if either the bridegroom or the bride refuses to join in the eating and drinking.

A remarkable custom among the Garos is that the man who marries the favourite daughter of a household has to marry his mother-in-law in the event of the death of his father-in-law, and through her succeeds to all the property which thus descends through the female line.* This is certainly carrying things a little too far. But such is the custom, and custom cannot be disobeyed or interfered with. Reason, equity and even law must all yield to it. With the Garos the wife is regarded as the head of the family, and through her the descent of

* See Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, Vol. II, p. 154.

property is traced. This custom is apparently a survival of the system of polyandry. With the Garos the daughter is the real heir. The son gets nothing, and has to look to the family into which he marries for his establishment in life. No sooner he marries than he becomes, as it were, a stranger to his paternal abode. He has to accompany his wife to his father-in-law's house and make it his permanent abode ; and on his father-in-law's death comes by all the property left by him in right of his wife who is primarily the party entitled to the heritage. In fact, in Garo families, women enjoy a power and position quite unknown among more civilized tribes and peoples. Even in the councils of men, their voice has considerable weight.

Polygamy is practised by the Garos ; but a Garo hardly ever marries more than two wives, and cannot even take a second wife without the consent of the first. The principal wife is called *Jik phongma*, or the eternal wife ; the other wives are called *Jik-gilli*.

Cremation is the mode adopted at funerals ; burial is not the prevailing custom. In this respect the Garos resemble the Hindus, who as a rule cremate their dead. In the case of a death occurring among these rude barbarians, all the friends and relatives of the deceased are duly notified of the melancholy event, and funeral rites are deferred till all of them come. This circumstance smacks of the custom prevalent among European nations. The dead are usually laid out for days together, dressed in their best clothes, while friends and relatives lament and keep vigil over the remains. When it is found that all who ought to have come and joined in the ceremony have assembled, the corpse is burnt at a spot not very far from the homestead of the deceased. All friends and relatives each bring some little firewood with them, and

after cremation is over, get hold of some few bones which lie unburnt, put them in the hollow of a bamboo, and suspend it from the thatch of the residential hut of the deceased. At the spot where cremation takes place, there, too, they dig a hole and placing therein the ashes and other remains of the funeral pyre, fence up the spot all round. Among us Hindus, the unburnt bones and all are thrown into the Ganges or some other holy stream.

The Garos believe that the spirit of the deceased journeys on to Chikmang, a hill north of Susang, where, according to superstition, the souls of the dead have their resting place. Quite in keeping with this belief, dogs are sacrificed at the time of cremation in order that they may accompany the spirit to the said hill as guides.

After death *shrad* ceremony is performed three several times. The initial *shrad* of a man takes place six days, and that of a woman five days, after death. Then, the second *shrad* is observed in the following Kartik or Aughran, and the third and last in Falgoon or Cheyt. The first and second *shrads* are not of much importance; it is the third which is celebrated with considerable *eclat*, according to the Garo's idea of "pomp and circumstance." On this important day, cows, bullocks, buffaloes, pigs, cocks and several other creatures are sacrificed. Indeed, the killing is done on such an extensive scale that the sacrificial ground is converted into one large pool of blood. And as to wine nothing short of twenty-five or thirty canisters (*mutkis*) suffice for the purpose. On that festive occasion all the villagers and all friends and relatives of the deceased, wherever they may reside, assemble in a body and for three or four days together, eat and drink and indulge in all sorts of delights which in their wild imagination they can think of. Indeed,

pleasure is the one thing which engages their attention those days, no other business or affair is done or transacted. Men, women, boys, nay, even the aged and the infirm join in the festivities of the *shrad*. Some dance, some sing, while not a few make all sorts of gestures and grimaces under the exciting influence of wine, thereby proving an unfailing source of delectation to all those who happen to be near. A large kind of brass-cup (*bati*), which is known as *garo-khora*, is manufactured in the northern part of the Mymensingh district. Some ring changes on it with a stick, while in another part of the pleasure-ground some play on a kind of *dholuck*, made of wood in the fashion of *mridanga* (tambourine); some, again, make themselves merry by sounding the *singa* (a large brass pipe) and the bamboo flute. In this way some days are spent in singing, dancing and music; and after the festivities are over, they take down the bamboo which had been filled with the exequial remains as stated above, and having burnt its contents, return to their respective abodes.

The wearing of brass *kharoo* (bracelet) on the left arm is regarded as a very felicitous sign among the Garos. But only a very few can afford to have this luxury. Indeed, such a thing cannot be obtained without a large expenditure of money. This wearing of *kharoo* is known as "*baubal* wearing." It seems that this word "*baubal*" is a corruption of the Sanskrit "*bahubal*" (strength of the arm). The well-to-do individual who is bent on having this thing on his person begins to brew wine on an appointed day, and after a certain quantity is prepared, he invites his friends and relatives and makes them a present of wine and flesh. From this day onward for one whole year it is absolutely necessary for him to entertain with flesh

and wine all persons, invited or uninvited, who may come to seek his hospitality. If the year passes without any hitch, then the lucky man becomes entitled to wear "*buubal*." But if by accident any default occurs, or if wife, son or daughter dies, then the wearing of "*baubal*" cannot be done.

The wearing of brass earrings is very common among the Garos. Persons of both sexes all wear large brass rings on the ear, and one's respectability increases in proportion to the number of earrings he wears. Sometimes the rings are of enormous size and weight. It is a coveted mark of distinction to have the lobe of the ear altogether torn away by the strain thus caused, in which case the earrings are suspended from a string passed over the top of the head.

Although the Garos are no better than savages, still they stand superior in some respects to many a civilized people. One may laugh at some of their strange customs, but in point of morals, they occupy a very high position. Until lately, lying was altogether unknown to them. They would never tell a lie whatever the consequence might be. They seemed to have long anticipated the poet's advice,—

"Dare to be true. Nothing can need a lie,—
A fault, which needs it most, grows two thereby."

They knew not what cunning or guile was. Their thought was speech, and speech was thought. In this matter their childlike simplicity and purity was simply admirable. But contact with the people of the plains has brought about some change in this respect, and they, or at least, some of them, are not so great lovers of truth as they used to be.

Honesty is their policy. They would rather suffer than cheat. In fact, they seem to be incapable of

entertaining such evil motive, far less of doing a dishonest act. They are wonderfully fair and straight forward in all their dealings. The Santals also are of this noble character. In fact, all wild people who live almost in a state of nature seldom fail to conduct themselves like Nature's children, that is, just as they came out of her hands.

The Garo women also bear pure unspotted character. They hold unchastity in supreme contempt, and are seldom if ever found to go wrong. Adultery, which is so very common among people who brag of their civilization, is almost unknown in Garo households. The women are strictly faithful to their husbands and the men, too, on their part, adhere to the woman whom they have taken for wife. It is very seldom that a husband's bed is defiled; and where that happens, both the man and the woman are looked upon with great disfavour, if not with utter contempt, and the village community whose authority is very great try their level best to duly punish them for their guilt. In former times adultery used to be punished by death of both the offending parties. In the present day it is punished only by a fine, and a wife can abandon an adulterous husband and demand *dai* or compensation from him.

The Garos are a happy people and appear to be quite content with their lot. They enjoy a considerable measure of prosperity and pass their days in peace and comfort. They are in all probability particularly immune to malaria, and as they are no longer decimated by *Kala-azar*, there is nothing to prevent steady growth in their numbers. Human sacrifices are no longer made, and as a matter of necessary consequence, they have given up the cruel and inhuman practice of head-hunting. They seldom go to war, but when they

are in, they never fail to play the men. Quarrels about land, however, are numerous, and often lead to bloodshed. On the whole the life of a Garo, though it is not all that could be wished, is sufficiently happy, and the Garo hills well deserve to be called a land of peace, plenty and prosperity.

SHUMBIHOO CHUNDER DEY.

Art. IV.—HINDU EARLY MARRIAGE.

THE Consent Act has provided a partial remedy against the injurious consequences of early marriage. No doubt it was a matter of regret that the legislature had to step in in, order to stop the tide of a growing evil and that our society did not see its way to reform its abuses so as to obviate the necessity of such interference which has cast a great reflection on its internal constitution. In this case also the religious plea is put forward as an excuse for culpable negligence. The absurdity of such a plea becomes apparent when we call to mind Raghunandan's clear opinion contained in the following passage of his Jyatishtwatta : "If a man of 20 years of age approaches a woman of the full age of 16 years when she has been purified after a certain event in the expectation of offspring, good offspring is born ; below those ages the offspring is bad—thus says the smriti." This explains what reasonable construction is to be put upon what he has laid down in this respect in his Sanskartwatta. Further, it rests upon the authority both of Susruta and European Medical Science that children born of immature parents do not attain to a high standard of excellence. According to Susruta, if a man not having attained 25 years of age impeguates a woman below sixteen, he endangers the child in the womb ; if it is born it does not live long, if it lives it becomes weak of organs of sensation and action. It would appear from this that Hindu Medical Science and Hindu religious authority unite in fixing 16 years as the proper age for a woman to enter upon the duties of maternity ; and in this they

are supported by the Medical Science of Europe. If the State is unable to fix the minimum marriageable age it cannot be denied that the indirect and educative influence of the Consent Act will co-operate with the force in our society in slowly pushing forward the present ages of marriage. In respectable families girls were seldom given in marriage before they attained the age of twelve years before the passing of the Act, which has now furnished an additional motive, if not to enlarge at least to adhere to, that period of a girl's life as the minimum marriageable age. It is hoped that the paramount considerations of good health and proper physical development will weigh with all classes of society in India to maintain a yet higher limit of marriageable age.

It is a matter of historical fact that from the Vedic to the modern period Hindu girls were disposed of in marriage at an advanced age. It was only in the Buddhistic age that child marriage was introduced on account of the frequent invasions of foreigners and the insecurity of the times. Now, as perfect security of life and property prevails in India under the British Indian administration, it is highly desirable that this obnoxious practice should be discontinued and abandoned. Besides the express authority contained in the Smriti referred to above for the marriage of Hindu females after puberty, the peculiar character of Hindu marriage, its indissolubility and the serious duties cast upon the married couple all tend to lead to a reasonable inference that the Shastras contemplate that the marriage should only be contracted where the parties to it have attained an age of discretion, sufficient to enable them to realise its nature and duties. With the exception of the cases provided for by legislative enactments and case-law, the Hindu marriage creates an indissoluble

bond which is a sound basis of abiding interests, strong affection and religious culture of the married parties. The Hindu wife is called *sahadharmini*, i. e., a partner with her husband in religious observances. The wife is sought for the procreation of a son and a son is necessary for offering funereal cakes. The son delivers the parents from a hell called *put*. From this it is evident that marriage according to the Hindu Shastras is regarded as a sacred institution conferring an equality of status in the wife with the husband, considering her necessary for the attainment of the noblest objects of life and enjoining upon the son a holy mission of attending to the spiritual welfare of his parents and perpetuating and honoring their names. A tie which is considered so sacred and strengthened by so many chords of domestic felicity, religious sanctity and agreeable prospects, is seldom allowed to be sundered by caprices and whims, temporary inconveniences or untoward circumstances difficult to avoid even in the most respectable families.

Above all, it is imperatively necessary that whatever is catholic and rational should demand our best consideration; whatever is illiberal and irrational ought to be rejected. There should be no misconception of the true nature of Hindu religious and social customs. Of such customs some are universal or invariable, such as marriage, upanayana, *sraddha*, etc.; and others are local or variable, such as *garuadhana*, *pumsavana*, etc. The former are intimately connected with the Hindu religion. They form, so to speak, the backbone of the Hindu social and individual life. A Hindu ceasing to observe them ceases to be a Hindu. But the latter class of rites and practices is of a local or, rather festive character and their observance is

merely optional. It behoves us, therefore, that in our investigation for shastric injunction we should exercise proper discrimination and caution so as not to mistake the shadow for the substance, the chaff for the kernel, the base for the genuine metal. The best touchstone for examining the soundness and validity of a custom is its moral and material efficiency. And as marriage after puberty satisfies such a condition shastric sanction for it, which cannot be meant for anything which is improper and injurious, must be presumed even if it cannot be established by positive and direct evidence. Any such sanction for child marriage which medical opinion, both Indian and European, has clearly pronounced to be dangerous to life even if it is found, must be considered to be obsolete, unscientific and obnoxious and its non-observance is not only consistent with the spirit of true religion but absolutely necessary in the best interests of humanity which such religion can never ignore or disregard.

SHASTRIC SANCTION FOR MARRIAGE OF GIRLS AFTER PUBERTY.

In addition to the text in the Smriti fixing 16 years as the minimum marriageable age of Hindu girls, a sloka in the Manu Sanhita may be cited which means that it is desirable that a daughter even if she has attained her puberty should up to her death remain unmarried at home, but should never be given in marriage to a person without merit.

CHAPTER IX, 89.

Again Asalayana cited in the Nirayasinidhu provides that a man shall not approach the wife before the appearance of cataminia; approaching becomes degraded and incurs the sin of slaying a Brahmana by reason of wasting the virile seed. Now, it may be

contended that this text prohibits the consummation and not the ceremony of marriage before puberty of the girl. But if the consummation is postponed till after the attainment of puberty, the mere ceremony is immaterial and of no moment. Besides when a heavy penalty is attached to approaching a wife before the appearance of cataminia, the object of the ordinance is evidently to discourage and discountenance her marriage before the occurrence of that event. Also it is quite reasonable and safe that a girl should not be given in marriage until she is fit to enjoy the company of her husband. Another text in Manu Sanhita means this. Let a man of 30 years marry an agreeable girl of 12 years and a man of 24 years a girl of 8 years, one marrying earlier deviates from duty.

MANU IX. 94.

In the same chapter on page 89, as has already been shown, Manu has provided that a girl even after her puberty should remain unmarried rather than be given in marriage to an unsuitable person. From this it appears that there is no hard and fast rule as to the age of marriage of a Hindu girl, but that great care should be taken that she is given in marriage to a suitable person. As there is a very great disproportion of age between a husband aged 24 and a wife aged 8, such a match cannot be called a suitable one. As the Shastras cast a duty upon a Brahmana to espouse only when he has finished his studentship (Yajnanakya I, 52, 33) it necessarily follows that a girl of tender years will be quite unsuitable for him to marry. This circumstance coupled with the interdiction in the Shastras against the marriage of a girl below 8 years of age (Manu IX. 94) and consummation of marriage before she has

attained her puberty, leads to the conclusion which is at once logical and reasonable that the Hindu Shastras contemplate the marriage of girls after and not before puberty. It is thus pretty clear that the authority of the marriage of Hindu girls after puberty rests upon (a) the immemorial custom, (b) the Smriti, (c) Manu Sanhita, (d) the Nirnaishindo. Immemorial custom is regarded as one of the sources of Hindu Dharma or law. The word *Dharma* is generally rendered into law and includes all kinds of rules, religious, moral, legal, physical, metaphysical or scientific in the same way as the term law does in its widest sense. The word is derived from the root *dhri* to hold, to support or maintain and it means law or duty or the essential quality of persons or things. By the term *Dharma* is understood the rules whereby not only mankind but all beings are governed; it also imports duty or distinctive feature of beings, implying subjection to or control by rules. The term *Shashtra* is derived from the root *shas* to teach, enjoin or control and means teacher. The term "source of law" is used in two senses, in one the Deity, according to the Hindus, and the sovereign, according to modern jurisprudence, is the fountain source of law; and in the other sense the term means that to which you must resort to get at law, in other words, the evidence or records of law which we are to study for the purpose of learning law. In this sense the sources of Hindu law are the Sruti, Smriti and the immemorial and approved customs by which the divine will or law is evidenced. The Sruti is believed to contain the very words of the Deity. The name is derived from the root *sree* to hear and signifies what was heard or the revealed law. The Sruti contains very little of lawyer's law, they consist of hymns and deal with religious rites, true knowledge

and liberation. It comprises the four Vedas, the six Vedangos and the Upanishads. The Smriti means what was remembered and is believed to contain the precepts of God but not in the language they had been delivered. The language is of human origin but the rules are divine. The authors do not arrogate to themselves the position of legislators, but profess to compile the traditions handed down to them by those to whom the divine commands had been communicated. The Smritis are the principal sources of lawyer's law, but they also contain matters other than positive law. The complete Codes of Manu and Yajnavakya deal with religious rites, positive law, penance, true knowledge and liberation. Manu has drawn a broad distinction between Sruti and Smriti thus. By Sruti is known the Vedas and by Smriti the Dharma Shastras. Golap Shastri says that of three sources of law the Sruti, though of the highest authority, is of little practical importance; the immemorial customs are of very great importance as being the rules by which the people are actually guided in practice, and their value has come to be specially recognised by the British Courts of Justice in India. The time-honored customs override the Smritis and their accepted interpretations given by an authoritative commentator should there be inconsistent with the customs. They prove that the written texts of law are either speculative and never followed in practice or obsolete. The Hindu commentators have not, except in a few instances, devoted much attention to these unrecorded customs and usages though they recognise their authority as a source of law. They have confined their attention to the Smritis alone which constitute the primary written source of law. Again the doctrine of *factum valet* which means that a fact cannot be

altered by a hundred texts has made custom of superior validity to shastric texts.

But such a custom must be reasonable and of time immemorial. Manu and Yajñanalkya declare approved custom or usage to be evidence of law. Divine will is evidenced by such customs indicating rules of conduct; in other words, such customs are presumed to be based on unrecorded revelation. We believe it has now been made abundantly clear that the custom of marriage of Hindu girls after puberty falls under the category of approved customs.

K. C. KANJILAL, B. L.

Art. V.—RESPONSIBILITY IN CRIME.

THE Probation of Offenders Act (7 Ed. VII C. 17) is in many ways a most instructive piece of legislation. Not only does it apply to all classes of offenders but, perhaps for the first time in Great Britain, it actively recognises the principle that crime cannot be stamped out by repressive measures alone and that unless strict attention be paid to the moral elevation of the criminal classes no definite progress can be made.

Mr. Gladstone's Bill is so simple in its main features and so obviously useful a measure, that at first sight it seems strange that it has been so long delayed. The general public, however, are perhaps not fully aware what a stormy conflict has for many years raged over this question of the treatment of the criminal. It is not generally known that the subject is a vexed one which has driven the parties interested in it into different camps with the usual result that many exaggerated ideas have been evolved and strained theories propounded.

In this controversy we find two great armies of opposite thought; and between them there lies a host of more or less neutral persons who attempt to be "reasonable" with varying success. The principle of the Probation of Offenders Act, namely, that a *locus pœnitentiæ* should be given criminals who have not as yet clearly come within the class styled "habitual," lies only on the verge of the whole matter. The controversy has dived deeper than this and now involves the fundamental question of responsibility in crime.

In approaching this question of responsibility it is first necessary to examine shortly the received notion

regarding the treatment of the criminal as propounded from the point of view of the purpose of criminal punishment. On this there is little disagreement. The purpose of criminal punishment is primarily exemplary. The retributory idea has practically been discarded for good and all. Perhaps in practice the idea will never be altogether disregarded and, especially in India, where this subject has not been studied by the Magistracy, a desire to mete out deserts irrespective of the utility of the process from a preventive standpoint, has considerable vogue. But among the most authoritative penologists the idea of vengeance, public or private, is dead. Punishment *qua* punishment is abhorrent; only in so far as it prevents the repetition of the crime, either by example or by ridding society of the criminal's noxious presence, can punishment be in any way justified. Vengeance is the Lord's, it is not for man to repay.

We come then to the root of the matter. No punishment is justifiable that does not effect its true purpose—the prevention of the repetition of the offence. Is therefore the present system effective from this point of view? On this the chief parties have joined issue. The humanitarian or subjective school, founded by Lombroso, with adherents everywhere, is never tired of asserting that modern punishments are not deterrent. As regards crimes against property they assert that on the facts it is clear that severe punishments in no way tend to decrease such crimes. As sentences have been made more lenient so there has been a marked falling off in the number of crimes against property. Crimes against the person may be divided into two classes for the purpose of this discussion; namely, crimes which are, and those which are not, the result of passionate impulse. It is admitted on all sides that the fear of

punishment hardly ever enters the mind of the perpetrator of the *crime passionnel*. We may also include in this category crimes committed under the influence of drink. When intoxicated a person is *not* responsible for his actions. He is indeed punished for allowing himself to become intoxicated, and it is extremely doubtful whether the punishment of one man for a crime committed in a state of drunkenness will, apart from isolated instances, prevent others from drinking. Passing then to the only branch left for consideration, namely, crimes against the person committed in cold blood and unconnected with the passions, it is pointed out how few these are in quantity. They chiefly consist of assaults, murders or attempted murders committed for gain or to destroy the evidence of thefts, or for the purpose of escape. It is in this class alone that it is generally admitted that any countenance can be given to the exemplary idea. Indeed it cannot be doubted that the fear of punishment does very largely prevent these offences. The number of such cases is small, but this fact may be due to exemplary punishment itself. We have it therefore that, excepting this branch, punishment as a purely exemplary force is a failure in the great majority of cases. Having thus cleared the way the subjectivists bring forward the question of responsibility.

A theory has found its way into every penal system to the effect that a man who is not mentally responsible at the moment when a crime is committed is not to be considered a criminal at all, but a lunatic. Such persons are to be immured and looked after. Every attempt is to be made to cure their lunacy, and provision is made for their liberation when cured. The subjectivist points out that from the theoretical standpoint these criminal lunatics are in much the same position as

the criminal who is responsible for his actions. The lunatic is kept away from society for the sake of society, the criminal is kept away for the same reason (for purely vindictive punishment is admitted to be abhorrent). In practice the lunatic is liberated on recovery and the criminal is liberated at the expiry of his term—theoretically whenever the latter is morally reclaimed he should be set free. If it be answered that the criminal may relapse, so also may the lunatic. To immure a lunatic prevents his injuring the community; to immure a criminal prevents crime. If either recovers he should be liberated; the danger of a relapse is a risk to be run. To sum up the position—it being agreed that the retributory idea is wrong and that we have no right to punish for the sake of punishment or to satisfy either private or public vengeance, and further from the exemplary standpoint punishment being largely ineffective as a means of prevention, the only remaining reason for depriving a person of his liberty is that by immuring him society is relieved of his presence. This being so his seclusion should be made as little like retributory punishment as may be, and if it is possible to redeem him no effort should be spared to do so.

It is from the argument regarding the lunatic that the controversy itself has sprung. For the subjectivists have sought to prove that every criminal act is due to mental sickness even when the criminal knows right from wrong when he commits his offence. This is the fundamental doctrine of the subjective school, the doctrine of irresponsibility.

The personality of the criminal, his antecedents, his surroundings, his attitude of mind in general and more particularly at the moment he commits his crime, in short his whole psychological aspect, is the measure

whereby his action is to be gauged and his punishment meted out. Each crime is to be studied on its own merits, but specially from the point of view of the animus that has created it. Thus every criminal is a new "case," and even as the medical man diagnoses and treats accordingly, so must every wrongdoer be diagnosed and treated. This is the new school of criminology, a school whose influence is steadily growing, whose main idea is subtly insinuating itself into the mind of every magistrate, willy-nilly, forcing him to punish with at all events just a slight regard for the mental characteristics of the criminal before him.

The influence of these psychologists has everywhere made itself felt. Primitively and until within recent years the criminal law remained purely objective. Perhaps in England the publication of "Hard Times" first enunciated the humanitarian standpoint; at all events this book raised a popular protest against the then existing prison system that it was impossible to ignore. But the movement to-day is doubtless due more to Lombroso and his supporters than to any other factor, for they have attacked the subject systematically and scientifically. When it is once admitted that criminals possess varying mental constitutions, it is difficult to brush aside individuality in dealing with crime. Thus they argue.

The subjectivists do not regard the criminal as apart from, but part of, the public, he has to be elevated and the moral reclamation of the criminal classes can alone bring about the end of the fight with crime which the mere indiscriminate use of repressive measures cannot possibly do. Every member of the community is regarded as a potential criminal. The evil thinker is as morally criminal as the evildoer, the criminal who

by some accident fails in his *coup* is as wicked as he who brings his off. It is therefore impossible to make hard and fast rules. The allotment of punishment without a most careful consideration of all the surrounding circumstances connected with the criminal's mind, body, education, and so on, can only, in the long run, do far more harm than good.

In the opposite camp are the objectivists. With them the personal equation is of much less value. The exemplary character of punishment cannot efficaciously be demonstrated and enforced if heed be paid to the criminal's mind. If his intention be proved, if he knew right from wrong, if in a word the *mens rea* is clear, the only practical standard by which he can be punished is that based upon the damage caused to the public. The intention and responsibility of the criminal are of much less importance. The Law presumes the sanity of every criminal, and if he has not set up and proved his irresponsibility, *i.e.*, unsoundness of mind at the time of the crime it is not for the Court to go into that. The objectivists regard the criminal as a noxious pest that has to be at all hazards kept in check. Crime is an enemy to be continually battled with, and being an enemy within the gates every weapon is legitimate. Repressive methods are the only methods of utility, the public safety demands them. Sentiment must give way before the public good.

The subjectivists now fancy they have discovered the weak spot in the armour of their antagonists. You admit, they say, that mental unsoundness at the time of the commission of an offence is a good defence. In such a case you claim to be at liberty to confine the criminal lunatic until his recovery. The fact of unsoundness is to be demonstrated by medical experts,

in England to the satisfaction of a magistrate or jury in some countries to the satisfaction of no one but the experts themselves. But they continue, what is mental unsoundness? Who is to define it? Lawyers are not experts in mental diseases, only the medical man himself can say what this is. And then arise all those difficulties which do arise in every case where the defence of insanity is set up. In India and most English-speaking countries the Law with regard to experts is quite clear. Their testimony is only to be accepted for what the judge or jury consider it to be worth. The latter it is who have the final word. The expert must explain the reasons upon which his conclusions are based, and these are to be scrutinised and deliberated upon by the Court. Thus we have a different standard for every case. One criminal, such as the murderer Thaw, is saved, the next goes to the gallows. In France it appears to be the rule to class as insane all criminals who have been guilty of crimes of passion. In England the murderer by passion is no better off than he who slays the victim of his theft with a view to destroy the evidence of it. In short, lately, we hardly know where we are. This is laid hold on by the objectivists who consider that an examination of motives is of quite secondary importance to the punishment of the criminal. Once, they say, we begin to examine motives and give weight to them in calculating punishment we take up the cudgels for the criminal classes, whereas all our energies should be devoted to the extermination of crime. A French Procureur-General has said: "To accept the irresponsibility of a man who commits a criminal act under the irresistible influence of a suggestion will be to plunge society into an anarchy of unpunished crimes."

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The question is becoming still further complicated by the researches of that new class of specialists, the neurobiologists. What weight is to be attached to the opinions of these experts? M. Grasset, Professor of Clinical Medicine at the University of Montpellier, who is a champion of the medical experts, admits that errors in diagnosis and appreciation are not infrequently committed by his colleagues, but he upholds the latter on the ground that there is much less chance of error with them than if the whole matter is left to a tribunal that knows very little, if anything, about morbid tendencies and states of mind. As he puts it, "the expert is better armed than the magistrates and the public to appreciate the responsibility or irresponsibility of an accused person." But strange to say at the Geneva-Lausanne Conference of August 1907, Gilbert Ballet, the *rapporteur* on this subject, brought forward the questions in the following form: *En matiere d'expertise mentale, les questions de responsabilite sont elles du domaine medical?* The question was negatived by a majority.*

This vote created a considerable sensation. The Paris *Matin* pointed out that the resolution announced the failure of scientific justice. Medical men now admitted that they were unable to draw distinctions. "For some time every criminal comes forward with the

* It is interesting to examine the article of the French Penal Code out of which the discussion arose. Under Section 64, in cases where mental derangement is suspected the criminal is submitted to the examination of experts who declare simply whether or not the accused was in a state of *madness* at the time of the crime, a question which in England is left to the jury. Nothing about responsibility. The Conference discussed how far the experts were expected to go, and voted that the medical specialist had nothing to do but to declare *yea* or *noy* according to the tenor of the section. It further expressed the wish that the magistracy should require no more from them than was necessary under the section. The minority demanded that the legislature be asked to introduce the doctrine of degrees of responsibility into the law and to provide special treatment for accused persons who were recognised to be in any degree mentally deficient. The amendment was lost by 26 votes to 18.

one defence—irresponsibility. As soon as a murderer is arrested an advocate rushes to the *juge d'instruction*. The latter engages a medical expert, two of them, three of them; they start tapping the skull of the subject, searching in the lines of his hands, the creases of his ears, and the shape of his teeth to discover the proofs of his irresponsibility. They then decide that he is irresponsible, or half responsible, or quarter responsible..... The rôle of the judge disappears, the medical man invades everything. Our whole judicial system rests on but one foundation, the infallibility of the medical man."

The Magistracy thus very unfairly pounced upon the above vote as an admission on the part of the medical profession of the inability of its members to pronounce scientifically upon the moral responsibility of criminals. It characterised the experts as having, little by little, propelled forward by excess of scientific zeal, passed the bounds of the mission confided to them and created a state of things which they themselves were now compelled to protest against. It was the experts who had evolved the theories of entire responsibility, mitigated responsibility, and attenuated responsibility, and now they desired not to be questioned about such things. The result being that in spite of fourteen years of discussion the doctrine of responsibility in France rested exactly where it did. The criminal lunatic must be dealt with as a madman, the criminal partially mad as a criminal. Degrees of responsibility were incompatible with the administration of criminal justice.

A recently enunciated theory goes further and separates degeneracy from lunacy altogether. It urges that the physiological aspects of the brain of the lunatic differ materially from those of the merely degenerate

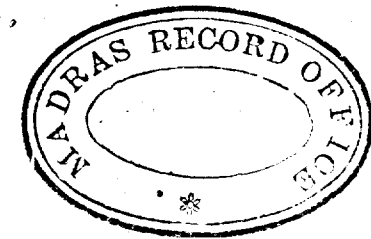
person. We have indeed to deal with distinct classes of persons—sane persons, insane persons, criminal persons and degenerate persons. It may of course be difficult in some cases to place a person in his appropriate division but this is due to imperfection of diagnosis alone. There can be no doubt at all that the subject does belong to one of them.

Thus the theorists continue to propound theories for which the practical man can find little or no application. The theories, however divergent they may be, are all provable by statistics, experiments and reasoning. In the end we cannot help feeling thankful that with us the laws are down in black on white and that the limits of good and evil are defined for us with a precision which enables justice to be dispensed with practical efficiency. And when an accused is convicted penology is nowadays sufficiently liberal to ensure a correct and humane treatment of the criminal. It seems to us that no change is in any way necessary in our preventive penal laws. The McNaghten doctrine has worked admirably for many years and will continue to do so. At the same time there is no reason why the efforts to ameliorate the lot and reclaim the mind of the criminal, be he sane, insane or degenerate, should not continue. The unanimity with which Mr. Gladstone's Bill has been received serves to show that this is the prevailing opinion.

The legislature in England and India has discovered the only reasonable solution and drawn the line between the two parties in the right place. Neither the subjectivists nor the objectivists must be given way to and yet attention must be paid to their opinions. The doctrine of semi-irresponsibility must not be roughly brushed aside, but its application must attach not to the

conviction of the accused but to his subsequent punishment. Here the principle that the main purpose of criminal punishment is deterrent must be a guiding line. And in cases where it is doubtful whether exemplary punishments have much effect as in crimes of passion, it is to be hoped that magistrates will be more lenient in passing sentence than they have been in the past.

T. C. ADAM.



Art. VI.—THE LETTERS OF A GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY,
1839-1841.*

THE writer of the letters, which we propose to publish in instalments in this *Review*, was Sir James Rivett Carnac. Born in the year 1785, he was the son of James Rivett,† a Member of the Bombay Council, who had added to his own surname the historical name of Carnac. The future Governor entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1800, and joined the Madras Native Infantry in 1801. Transferred to Bombay, he was appointed *aide-de-camp* to Jonathan Duncan, who had held the office of Governor since 27th December 1795, and retained it till his death on the 11th August 1812—a record tenure of that high appointment. In 1802, Rivett Carnac, at the youthful age of seventeen—he had been a cadet at 15—had a taste of active service in the Mahratta war, and then passed into political service as First Assistant at Baroda and Secretary to the Resident. In 1822, at the early age of twenty-seven, he attained the rank of Major, and retired to England, where, in 1827, he became a Director and in 1830 Chairman of the Directors of the Honorable East India Company. In 1837 he entered the House of Commons as member for the borough of Sandwich, having in the year previous been created a Baronet Sir Robert Grant, who had been Governor of Bombay since 17th March 1835, died at Dapuri on 9th July 1838

* The letter copy book in which these letters are entered was purchased by Mr. Firminger at a book sale by auction at Calcutta. The letters are copied neatly by a clerk, but one or two seem to be in Sir James' own hand.

† A daughter of the famous beauty, whose portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds is well known. This lady married the famous General John Carnac.

ivett Carnac was appointed to succeed him, Mr. James Farish in the meanwhile officiating as Governor. The writer of these letters assumed charge of his office on 31st May 1839, and made over charge on 27th April 1841 (the day on which he departed for England) to Mr. George William Anderson, who officiated until Lieutenant-General Sir George Arthur, Bart, arrived in the year following. It is pathetic to take notice that Sir William Hay Macnaghten had, on the 4th August, been appointed to succeed Sir James Rivett Carnac, but, as we know so well, Macnaghten was murdered by the hand of Mahammad Akbar, on the 31st December 1841.

Lord Auckland, who had arrived in Calcutta on 4th March, 1836, received the charge of his weighty office from Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had officiated as Governor-General since the departure of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck on 20th March 1835. That the new Governor of Bombay fully approved of the policy of Lord Auckland is clear beyond dispute.

I.—TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.
BOMBAY, 3rd June 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN¹—I have the pleasure to inform you of our safe arrival here, on the evening of the 31st, after a quiet passage and not a long one. The little communication I have yet been able to have with the parties in authority at this place impresses me with a favourable opinion of the state of affairs throughout India, although we are not without alarmists as to what may happen. For my own part, I see

¹ Sir John (Cam) Hobhouse. Son of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, and second Baronet, created Baron Broughton de Gyfford in 1841, best known as the friend and fellow traveller of Lord Byron. An account of his exceedingly interesting career will be found in *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was at this time President of the Board of Control and member for Nottingham. To him has been ascribed the conviction of the phrase "His Majesty's Opposition." He left on his death a MS. "Diaries, Correspondence, and Memoranda, etc., not to be opened till 1900."

nothing formidable; on the contrary, the peaceable manner in which we are settled in Scind¹ and the advance of Sir John Keene to Candahar without opposition are events which show that our power in those countries is deemed irresistible. We know not what are the intentions or movements of Dost Mahomed, but, as the public papers tell us that Captain Wade² with the Seiks have had no difficulty at the formidable Khyber Pass, I infer that he will not be able to give us any very serious trouble. In India generally I hear of no particular outbreaks, though of course you must expect that while operations are going on at a distance on a scale of magnitude, the minds of people will be unsettled, and that there should be occasional indications of disaffection, and can it be wondered at? But we must not allow such things to disturb us here, or to give uneasiness in England, where fears may be generated by the exaggeration of those in India, who represent possibly causes and effects under limited information. There is here but one opinion, and I believe it to be very general throughout India, that the policy of Lord Auckland with reference to Afghanistan was called for to save India from general confusion. The Persians appear ill-disposed and are said to be mustering a force; and the conduct of the Governor of Bushire to the Admiral and our Resident there, amounts to a national insult. I fear that Russia still maintains her ascendancy in the councils of the Shah, and it is only by a firm determined course on our part that he will again be made to solicit a renewal of amicable relations with us. I hear that

¹ "The peaceful manner in which we are settled in Scind," Contrast the description given by Vincent Eyre. *The Kabul Insurrection of 1841-1842*. "Owing to the undisguised dislike manifested by the Amirs of Sindh to the passage of so many British troops through their country, there seemed every probability of hostilities breaking out in that quarter at the very commencement of the campaign, which must have necessarily delayed the onward progress of the army towards Afghanistan; but yielding to the force of circumstances, backed by the undeniable arguments of strong battalions eager for the plunder of Haidarabad, they had the good sense to succumb before compromising themselves too far although they thereby obtained but a brief respite from the hard and inevitable fate in store, and which overtook them about four years later." Pp. 43-4.

² *Captain Wade*.—Claude Martin Wade, knighted for his services in the Afghan War of 1839-41. Died 21st October 1911. It was mainly due to Wade, that Lord Auckland assumed the fatal patronage of the exiled Amir of Afghanistan, Shah Shroah, but against Wade's mistake in this direction must be set his skilful handling of Ranjit Singh.

our forces in Scind and Afghanistan are healthy, and that their greatest difficulty has been in the way of supplies. The people are represented as well disposed towards us wherever we have appeared, but of course we must calculate on finding many of the chiefs otherwise, who will be reconciled by good management, when we have placed Sujah on the throne. We shall probably be more perplexed when he is fairly placed there, than in the means we have taken to accomplish it. Runjeet Sing holds out, though by the last accounts to the 9th May he was still living. I cannot judge whether his death would be an evil just at this moment. I am inclined to think not, though it might be followed by some difficulties in the succession which we should have to settle. The Burmese and Nepalese are in *statu quo* as far as the folks here know anything about them, as I am told that the Bengal Government are not communicative on matters not immediately connected with this Presidency. We have here a sufficiency of native troops (in my opinion we can spare some on emergency). With the aid we have had from Madras consequent on the expedition to Scind and Aden,¹ our European force is diminished a little, but yet there are enough for any local exigency. The affair in China is a serious one, and there will be an end to our commerce in that quarter, if we tamely submit to the seizure of the opium, and the indignity with which the British Authority has been treated. I shall be curious to know what course the Governor-General takes in this important matter.

I shall not fail to send by every steamer to the Secret Committee what we may know up to the latest dates. The present steamer goes to the Gulph, an arrangement made before I arrived. I daresay there are good reasons for not sending the packet to Suez at this season. Sir H. Fane² is, or will be soon, at Poona, better in health. I conclude he is waiting for his successor being nominated and that he will go home

¹ *Aden*.—The first accession of territory during the reign of Queen Victoria, in January 1839.

² *Sir H. Fane*.—See Buckland *Op. Cit.* He had served through the Peninsular Campaign, and from 1835 to 1839 was Commander-in-Chief in India. He died on his way home, off the Azores, on 24th March 1840.

overland after the rains. Lord Elphinstone¹ is at the Neelgherry Hills—not very strong I am sorry to hear—and also the Bishop of Madras,² who had been very unwell but was better again. He attributes his ailings to his exposure in the Red Sea in an open boat.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

2.—TO J. C. MELVILL, ESQ.³

BOMBAY, 3rd June 1839.

MY DEAR MELVILL,—On our arrival here on the evening of 31st May, I found your acceptable letter of 25th March. You may be sure of my best attention to all your suggestions; and, by the present opportunity, the Secret Committee will receive the latest accounts we have of the Forces in Scind and Afghanistan. There has hardly yet been time for much communication with the authorities in this place. I find them rather disposed to be alarmists at the state of affairs in India, but from all I can gather there is nothing to apprehend and certainly not half as much as when we were involved in the Mahratta Wars. We have met with no opposition worth mentioning as far as we have yet advanced into Afghanistan—the people wherever we appear are said to be well-disposed towards us, and the greatest difficulties we have experienced have been in getting sufficient supplies which might have been expected. The Bengal Treasury is said to be equal to the demands upon it, and already, both there and here, the rains have been very favorable. In fact, it seems to me that we have more to guard against the intrigues in Europe than to fear from the powers in this country. I hear of no outbreaking anywhere in the interior, nor can I as yet glean anything about Burmah or Nepaul. As to troops it seems to me that we

¹ Lord Elphinstone.—John, the 13th Baron, Governor of Madras, 1837-1842; Governor of Bombay 1853-59. Died 1860.

² The Bishop of Madras.—The Right Rev. George John Trevor Spencer. Consecrated 1837: resigned 1849, died 1866.

³ Melvill, Chief Secretary of the H. E. I. Co. from 1836 to 1858. K. C. B. in 1853. A brother of Canon Henry Melvill, the once famous preacher.

have a sufficiency at Bombay for all the purposes we can have at this Presidency with the aid we have had from Madras. The additional Europeans, which you mention as about to be sent, will make us efficient in that arm, but I am glad the 15th Hussars are not to come here—they had better be sent to the Upper Provinces, if not wanted at Madras. We can make little use in this quarter of more European Cavalry. Infantry would be far preferable. This is a sad affair in China, and I shall be anxious to know what the Governor-General will do. The Chinese have plausible grounds, which will tell in England, for insisting on the opium being surrendered. Nevertheless, I think if I had been there I would not have given it up, come what may, particularly under the circumstances in which it was coerced, should we tamely submit to all the indignities heaped on us in this affair. I know not what intercourse we can afterwards hold with his Celestial Majesty's Dominions. We all landed here very well and the passage throughout was like a sail on the Thames. The Governor, Mr. Farish, was very civil and kind to us—it seems to me that the affairs of Government were much in the hands of subordinates, and that there may be difficulty in getting them in the course I would wish: but more of this when I know more. We feel the heat a good deal, though Parell is certainly a splendid residence—Lady Carnac, my daughters, and the Danvers are delighted with it. Adieu, I shall write you regularly, and you will make allowances if my letters are somewhat desultory. I rely on your correspondence, and you cannot give me a greater proof of your regard than by writing me with perfect freedom either as advice or censure.

Believe me, ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

The *Balcarras* from England, 21st February, arrived yesterday.

3.—TO THE LORD ELPHINSTONE, G. C. H.

BOMBAY, 11th June 1839.

MY DEAR LORD,—You have by the newspapers learnt that I arrived here on the 31st ultimo, and was happy to find the state of India much more favourable than was anticipated

in England, when I left it. The prospect of the complete success of Lord Auckland's policy in Afghanistan is very encouraging, and I expect to hear that Dost Mahomed will either take flight from Cabool, or enter into terms with Shah Soojah. No one with whom I have had communication since my arrival in this country questions the expediency or justice of our interference beyond the Indus—some differ as to the means, as might be expected, but none appear to participate in the opinions of those in England habitually opposed to the Government. There it is evident that our present Indian policy will be made a vehicle of party attack and that the integrity of our Persian Alliance will find advocates in spite of the perfidiousness of that Government and its close connection with Russia.

The occasion however of my writing just now was not to enter upon a discussion of this question, but to entreat your co-operation with us in a matter of material importance, namely, how to procure a sufficient and regular supply of teak timber from the forests in Malabar to enable us to build several ships of the line for the British Navy. This is very much desired by the Admiralty, and I was prepared at once to begin upon the work, had timber of the requisite quality been procurable at Bombay. I find that the Government here has deputed an officer to enquire into the state of the forests and the present means of purchasing ship timber in that quarter. But I would submit to you that it is really of great importance to prevent the further destruction of the large trees; the great point is to see if we cannot retrace our steps so as to reserve to us a certain degree of royalty. The large timber can only be used for the large ships which are proposed to be built here, but the practice, I understand, has been to cut up this valuable timber for small vessels. I submit, if it be possible, that we return to the former system, and that a conservator of the forests be re-appointed. Already the little timber procurable in the market is 40 per cent. dearer than it was when ships of the line were last built here, and we are at the mercy of the combination of merchants, who naturally look for a harvest, since the Admiralty gave such publicity to

their intentions. It is not only with a view of preserving the larger description of timber, but that we may get out of the hands of the timber trade, that I suggest to your consideration an immediate return if feasible to our former system.

I find by my letters in March that Sir John Campbell, formerly in Persia and a captain in one of the Regiments of cavalry at your Presidency, is on his way out, and may be expected here in the course of a few days. I would very much desire to appoint him an extra Aid-de-Camp, if you will allow me to do so. He is the eldest son of Sir Robert Campbell, and from his acquirements is likely to be very useful to me.

I hope that you continue to enjoy good health. I need not say how happy I shall be to attend to any of your wishes in this quarter, and that it will always afford me great satisfaction to keep up our old correspondence, from which I derived so much information and pleasure.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

4.—TO THE HON'BLE JAMES SUTHERLAND, ESQ.,

BOMBAY, 12th June 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—It gave me great satisfaction yesterday to receive your letter of the 5th instant. One of the first enquiries which I made in landing here was regarding yourself, and I had sincere pleasure in learning that you were at your post, and in good health. I am fully alive to the value of your services, and to the extent of assistance and co-operation, which I shall receive from you in the arduous situation in which you are placed. I have not yet had time to look into all the proceedings, which have lately passed with reference to the Guicowar, but I am told that Sivajee continues obstinately to resist all our claims on his observance of his obligations. No one can be more anxious than I am to preserve the Guicowar in all his rights and dominions. It has been the habit of all my public life to maintain that State in the position

in which it was placed by its treaties with us, and, as far as I have it now in my power, that feeling prevails with me. But how to deal with such a man as Sivajee is represented to be is a question of great difficulty—he quite mistakes his relative position; and, if he does not by his pertinacious opposition bring down destruction on the Guicowar State, I fear that he will personally feel the effects of his misconduct. I should be glad to have your unreserved opinion on the state of affairs at Baroda, and how it would be possible to induce Sivajee to take a right view of his own interests and of his obligations to that Government by whose alliance his political existence is preserved. I would also be happy to receive your sentiments on the advantage, or otherwise, of my visiting Baroda at some future time, with a view of endeavouring to reconcile differences and to induce a better system of Government in Guzerat. It would, however, make matters worse with Sivajee, if I should go to Baroda and find him inexorable as ever.

We had an excellent voyage with no bad weather to speak of—Lady Carnac and my daughters derived benefit from the sea air, and seem pleased with Bombay, though I find the heat oppressive, which I believe it is always at the commencement of the rains. I trust that Guzerat generally has been blessed with the seasonable showers we have had in this quarter for the last fortnight.

Lady Carnac desires to be very kindly remembered to you. Do you think it would better conduce to the objects I have in view respecting Sivajee that you should see me here, than that I visited His Highness? You will do me the favor, I hope, to make the Government House your home, whenever duty or inclination leads you to the Presidency.

Believe me always, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

5.—TO THE HON'BLE JAMES SUTHERLAND, ESQ.

BOMBAY, 17th June 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just finished reading the whole of the proceedings of this Government with reference to our

demands on Sivajee, and the sequestration of this portion of Petland. It has given me much concern to observe his infatuated resistance to the reasonable requests made of him, and his determination to adhere to the counsel of his Minister, Veneeram, who has already done him so much mischief, and will, I fear, at last, accomplish his ruin. From a perusal of these papers, I have hardly a hope that Sivajee will ever be induced to act in a friendly spirit—he has been led to take a most erroneous view of his relative position, and systematically violates his public engagements. Being so completely in the hands of Veneeram, whose aim it has been and is, to foster his master's alienation, it is with pain that I contemplate the prospect of our being driven to the extremity of deposing Sivajee. I entirely agree with you, that it would not become the character of the British Government to recede from any part of the arrangement recently adopted. The opposite policy of Sir John Malcolm* and Lord Clare† has been misconceived by Sivajee, and no doubt, encourages him to hope, that again, what one Government affects another will undo. I am not disposed to give him cause to entertain such hopes on the present occasion—perhaps I might not have pursued the course which has been taken, had the choice been in my hands, as I am opposed to any dismemberment of the Guicowar State, and might have had my scruples how far, under our treaties, we are entitled to appropriate any revenues belonging to it to our own purpose. I might also have thought that a political punishment such as has been resorted to would produce no effect on a mind thoroughly subservient to the influence of a character so infamous as that of Veneeram. I should indeed be glad to find myself mistaken in the impression. However, we are now to consider, what we ought to do in the contingency of Sivajee's deposition being forced upon us. First, who should be his successor, whether his eldest son or any one of his sons (to which our friend Anderson objects on a general principle) or any member of the Guicowar family of a collateral line. I am quite opposed to any project

* Governor of Bombay. 1st November 1827-1st December 1830.

† Governor of Bombay. 21st March 1837-17th March 1839. Lord Byron's best loved friend since school days at Harrow.

of taking possession of the Guicowar Territories, even to be temporarily administered by us in the name of the reigning prince, but I should feel greatly obliged by having the benefit of your matured opinion, not only on this point, but on the general arrangements which you would recommend, consequent on Sivajee being set aside. In such a case I apprehend that we must quite abandon the non-interference principle introduced in 1820, which has, as it appears to me been attended with the worst consequences to our alliance, and the peace and prosperity of Guzerat. The Minister should be an individual possessing our confidence, and we should take care that the hoard of treasure, which the avarice of Sivajee has collected, being the property of the State, is appropriated to its service. If you could favour me with your general views, I should be prepared eventually to follow them out as far as I could.

I cannot conclude without assuring you, that throughout the late delicate discussions with Sivajee, the judgment, temper, and discretion which you have manifested, impresses me with the great advantage we have, in having you as our representative at Baroda, at a conjuncture of so much difficulty.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Let me have your views in the form of a statement or memorandum, as more convenient to me for future reference.

Yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

6.—SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G. C. B.¹

BOMBAY, 20th June 1839.

MY DEAR JENKINS,—As I am pressed for time and the weather is exceedingly close and oppressive, perhaps you will not mind my sending you a copy of my letter by this packet to Sir John Hobhouse which contains in fact, all that I have to say, on public matters.

¹ Sir Richard Jenkins.—Sir Richard Jenkins, a retired Company's Servant who had retired in 1828 after vigorous service in the Central Provinces. In 1839 he succeeded Rivett Carnac as Chairman of the Court of Directors. Died 30th December 1893.

There are some parts as you see quite confidential, but I must say that generally I find the functionaries there willing to give me their best assistance. I shall be anxious to see what the Court thinks at the late proceedings with the Guicowar, who is a sad fellow. You must really put an end if you can (but *there* is the difficulty) to these missions of Native Prince to England, or we shall have no peace in this country. We find Parell a spacious, indeed a princely residence, but nothing can redeem this climate—just now, the monsoon setting in, it is like living in a steam bath. We are all, however, thank God, well, and unite in kind regards to Lady Jenkins. Remember me affectionately to all of my late colleagues, who you know possessed my esteem, and to Melvill, to whom Danvers is writing. I am anxiously looking out for the April steamer which I trust will inform me, that my friend Bayley is your colleague in the chair.* The *Kilkenny* has not yet made its appearance, though a sailing vessel which left ten days after has arrived. So much for steaming round the Cape. Lord Auckland is perfectly well and very firm in all his measures. He has shewn an energy, the world did not give him credit for.

Believe me, my dear friend,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

7.—THE RT. HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.,

BOMBAY, 20th June 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—We are making the experiment at sending you a packet by a sailing vessel to Aden which will be conveyed thence to Suez by a steamer, it will take at least six weeks to reach Aden, and you may not get our packet in less than 70 or 80 days. We have not got steamers of sufficient size to carry coals to attempt a southern passage to the Red Sea, or of adequate power to try the direct passage. The *Kilkenny* has not yet arrived, and when she does, happily I see nothing emergent to employ her. Our advices from Afghanistan and Scind are perfectly satisfactory. I have seen

* William Butterworth Bayley. Acted as Governor-General 1823 till the arrival of Lord W. C. Bentinck.

a private letter from the Khyber Pass, where there had been great public rejoicings on the Shah's entry into Candahar. It was dated the 16th of May, and the general tenor of it leads me to suppose that Dost Mahomed will make no formidable resistance. I expect that he will come to terms when Sir John Keene advances upon Cabool, as it is said he would about the middle of last month. I congratulate you sincerely upon the success of our policy, of the wisdom of which, no one I have met here seems to entertain a dissenting opinion—a little more forbearance, and we should have had much harder work cut out for us in India, than we can ever encounter by the espousal of the cause of Shah Sujah. As for India generally I am astonished at the state of tranquillity in which it is, considering the magnitude of our operations at so great a distance from it. We hear now and then of spies and conspiracies, which we are too prone to consider of importance. This I have discouraged and already I have perceived less excitement about such matters. It is very well to be on the alert when we find any attempt to tamper with our native army, but to make a fuss about spies moving round the country, appears to me calculated to impress the people with a belief that we are uneasy in our present position, while the general aspect of affairs gives us no reason to be so. I look upon it that our power is more firmly established and considered far more formidable in general opinion, than at the conclusion of the great Mahratta War. As for troops, as far as this Presidency is concerned, we have quite enough for our purposes, and could spare some in case of a rupture with Burmah, supplying their absence by an augmentation of our Police establishments and Irregular Corps of Horse. I would be glad to see another Corps of Europeans but it would be more with a view to a Burmese War than our local security. I conclude of course, that Lord Auckland will come to an understanding both with Burmah and Nepaul when we have done with Afghanistan. A private letter from one of the Secretaries in Bengal to my colleague, Mr. Anderson,* mentions the Burmese

* Anderson. I think the reference is to Sir George William Anderson, afterwards Governor of Ceylon.

to be more pacific, but this may be the consequence of our unopposed progress to Candahar. There can be no doubt of their hostile feeling at a suitable opportunity, or of the hostility of Nepaul, and with these gentry I hope the Governor-General will yet settle accounts. Runjeet was rallying a little by the last accounts, but it is not in nature that he should live long. I think his death, now that we have done so well with Shah Sujah, would be favourable to us. Contemplating that event and our unavoidable interference with the succession in the Punjab, I have written to Lord Auckland, that we should have an admirable opportunity of consolidating our views on the Indus. Having Tatta and Bukhur we should complete our control over the whole course of the river, by having possession of Attock. The Seiks ought to withdraw from the west banks of the Indus, and Sujah again recover his authority in Peishawar. We might say nothing about Cashmeer but eventually we should look to hold the passes into that country. I think we have committed an oversight in not taking all lower Scind when so good a pretence was given by the Hyderabad Ameers. As it is, we ought to cover the Indus with steamers, as a means of political security and commercial adventure. So much for my opinion of general politics.

Here, I have been employed for many days in reading what has passed with the Guicowar and the Sattara case. As regards the former, I do not concur in what has been done, though to undo it would make Sivajee more intractable. I do not see what legitimate ground there was for seizing on Petland. It had nothing to do with our demands on the Guicowar, nor has it promoted the settlement of them one jot. We are if anything worse than before, for Sivajee still will concede nothing, and relies upon his emissaries in Calcutta and England. Really there will be no peace with our native allies, if their intrigues in England receive the slightest countenance, in or out of Parliament. I like not the Petland sequestration on other grounds than that I cannot recognise our right to apportion it to our own purposes. It is but a half measure and has produced no effect with Sivajee. I can

understand our right to set him aside altogether, for a systematic violation of his engagements, and placing another on the throne, and to this we must come at last, unless a change takes place in Sivajee, which I hardly expect. I fear that this strange fine upon the Guicowar, had its origin in the desire of the good folks here for more territory. They are deeply imbued with a sense of the superior blessings of British laws and dominion and not insensible to its other advantages. I have opened my views to the Council about the Rajah of Sattara, and they are going for the sanction of the Governor-General. I propose to overlook his misconduct, as an act of generosity, and that I shall in person communicate with the Rajah. The whole affair was made too much of in the first instance, and the Government laboured to make more of it afterwards to justify themselves. I perceive that I shall have troublesome work, both with the Rajah and the Guicowar, as my policy is not in accordance with the feelings of those who ruled before, and possibly, I can hardly expect much active assistance from subordinates, though I receive hitherto most cordial support, both from Mr. Anderson and Mr. Farish. This China affair is really most serious in all its bearings. As far as I yet know, I cannot account for the proceedings of our Commissioner. I trust that the question will be taken up in England without delay. As regards Bombay it must not be considered as merely concerning the parties immediately concerned in the trade, or the interests of the Government, only with reference to our opium revenue but as most seriously affecting our commercial prosperity. Unless some speedy assistance is afforded, the general trade and revenue of this Presidency will be seriously injured, and this too at a time, when the usual spirit and enterprize of the place, would have been employed in improving the new opening to commerce by the Indus. As to Persia, we had better lay upon our oars, it will suffer by our Residency going to Karrack from Bushire, and we need not war with Mahomed Shah on that account. It will be time enough when he renews his attack upon Herat, to go to that extremity. But I expect that His Majesty will not be long before he asks for a renewal of our relations with

him. I hope that no circumstances will induce us to surrender Karrack, a position most essential with reference to the Euphrates and Baghdad. I cannot but suspect, since Russia has been foiled in her attempts to establish her influence in Afganistan, that she may turn her attention to Baghdad, in concert with Mahomed Ali. Our forces in Scind are represented as very healthy, and the climate much superior to that at Bombay and its dependencies. Here the weather at present is very hot and oppressive, being the beginning of the monsoon. I often think of the fine climate which I have left, and of the happy days I passed with you at Erle Stoke. Pray do me the favor to make my respectful compliments to Lady Hobhouse and your sister the Countess. May I also presume to be remembered in the same terms to the charming, intellectual Lady Methuen. Be assured at my attention to your wishes about Captain Stanton, the very first opportunity that presents itself, he has a claim upon us, from the Whig principles of his family at Strode. He is in the Ordnance, and will perhaps have to wait for something turning up in that line. He is a good officer, and a good man, though a regular saint. I shall write to Mr. Poulett Scrope,¹ who is interested about him.

Believe me always,

Most truly yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

8. POWLETT SCROPE ESQ, M. P.,

BOMBAY, 20th June 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter recommendatory of Captain Stanton of the Artillery on this establishment. The interest you take in his welfare in common with our friend Sir John Hobhouse, shall not fail to be attended to the first opportunity which presents itself. Captain Stanton being in the Ordnance, he will perhaps have to wait until something worth his while falls in that line. I understand that his family at Strode are genuine Whigs, which

¹ *Poulett Scrope*.—I presume the geologist, George Julius Poulett who on his marriage with a daughter of the artist William Scrope, assumed the name of his wife's family.

coupled with his merits, gives him another claim on my good offices. I shall never forget the happy day we passed together in sporting at Erle Stoke. You gave me a lesson in shooting on that occasion, and I admired your dexterity. Begging my respectful compliments to Mrs. Poulett Scrope.

Believe me,
Faithfully yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

PRIVATE.

9.—SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G. C. B.,
and
WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY, ESQ.,
India House.

BOMBAY, 1st July 1839.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Since I came here, I have reason to know that the family of poor Sir Robert Grant¹ are left in distressed circumstances, more so than report stated when I left England. I ask earnestly for your sympathy for them; he poor man was held in great esteem here particularly by the Native community and if I may be allowed to judge from what I see on record in his own hand writing, he must always have laboured hard. The Court is always disposed to be generous. I know you both too well to doubt your dispositions to aid the distressed when it may be consistent with your public duty. Do let me know that you think Lady Grant has at least your good wishes. See what we did for Sir John Malcolm's family. Our relief to them did not require us to go to the Court of Proprietors. Something of the same kind would be much for Lady Grant. I have ventured to write to Sir John Hobhouse,

Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

10.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

BOMBAY, 1st July 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I write a separate note on a subject not immediately connected with public events in this quarter.

¹ Sir Robert Grant.—The second son of that Calcutta worthy—Charles Grant. A distinguished alumnus (3rd Wrangler) of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Governor of Bombay 1834-38. The author of the fine hymn "O Worship the King."

It is to ask your sympathy in behalf of the family of the late Sir Robert Grant who I have reason to know since I came here are left in more limited circumstances than rumour stated in England. My intercourse, more especially with the native community assures me that he was held by them in high estimation and the Records to which I have had access show that he was laborious in the discharge of his duties. I believe that precedents can be found of the Court of Directors having extended their generosity to the families of many, who have held offices in this country of much inferior importance than that of a Governor. Here is a case of peculiar distress, and I feel persuaded that if you can, consistent with public duty, you will, do something towards relieving it. You will excuse my writing you on such a subject. I have ventured also to solicit my friends in the Chairs, who with your concurrence would be able to accomplish the object without much difficulty in the Court.

Believe me,
Very truly yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

11.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

BOMBAY, 1st July 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Mails of April and May reached us within 7 days of each other, the first being conveyed by a sailing vessel in the absence of a steamer at Suez, and the last by the *Berenice* which returns with this packet. I was delighted to receive your letters of the 14th and 15th May. You may depend on hearing from me regularly, knowing the importance of your having our latest intelligence in the present state of India, and the feeling regarding it in England. There shall be no want of exertion here to maintain regular communication with you in the monsoon months either by the Red Sea, or the Persian Gulph, but as regards the former route, to make it certain we should have steamers of greater power and capaciousness to carry coal sufficient to overcome any obstruction. I have less faith in the safety of the Baghdad route and at present would always give the preference to that by the Red Sea. I see that there is a Company on foot in

London on the comprehensive plan of undertaking the conveyance of packets to all the Presidencies and if you are satisfied of the ability of the parties, it would be a better arrangement and would give more satisfaction in India than the present system. We are straining every nerve to get the steamers ready for the Indus—two have been received, and by the opening of the season, I hope to have them at their destination. It is of the first importance that we should have as many steamers in the Indus as we can get there. The Supreme Court here I am told have declared that it will put a stop to the construction of the steamers in the Dockyard owing to the noise, making it, as they say, impossible to carry on business. I am about to tell them that we will endeavour to suspend the noisy work during the hours of their settling, but that the work *must go on*. I hope that we shall not come into collision on this account with Her Majesty's Supreme Court. Sir John Awdry¹ appears a very gentlemanly man, but the Queen's Courts have a very high idea of their independence and importance. There is another place but the Dockyard to which we can resort for our purpose until the ships are built, on a spot a little further removed, but that will not be without the hearing of our great law functionaries. I find Captain Oliver most zealous and useful and seeing what he has to do, and how much we save by his superintendence and experience, I am sorry that we reduced the salary of his situation—he has never said a word to me on the matter though I originated when chairman, the reduction. We are now engaged in putting the Dockyard on a footing similar to establishments of that kind at Home. Much was lost to the public by divided responsibility and as opportunities occur, we shall be able to consolidate departments with due regard to efficiency and economy—our present plan will not involve any increased expense of which I shall be vigilant everywhere. But looking to our local position here, and how much is expected of us in consequence, Captain Oliver's establishment should be made as efficient as possible, it is economy in the end to do so.

¹ Sir John Awdry.—Fellow of Oriel. Puisne Judge of the Bombay Supreme Court, 1830. Chief Justice 1839-1842. Died 1878.

I have a letter from Lord Auckland of the 16th June, and his last accounts from the Army were of the 21st of May. They mention, he tells me, that the climate was oppressively hot and that there was more sickness in consequence, but that grain was falling in price. Convoys, however, are on their road. Mr. Macnaghten's letters down to the 17th of May to the Governor-General (I have seen private letters to individuals here as late as the 20th) are written in excellent spirits and he is sanguine in his expectations that the greater part of the Army may return to India in the course of three or four months. This, however, can hardly be calculated upon, but it shows that we shall have no difficulties of any importance in Afghanistan. The only difficulty we have yet experienced in getting supplies—it was fortunate for us that the Indians did not follow the example of the Moscow conflagration. Dost Mahomed by every account is deserted by his followers and we shall find him as we advance taking flight like his brothers, but I would rather see him make flight. I am in the habit of writing Lord Auckland just what comes uppermost and I enclose you copy of my last letter to him. What is Persia about?—it would seem that Russia in spite of her professions is still carrying on intrigues by the deputation of the emissary mentioned in your letter to me of the 15th of May, copies of which I *instantly* dispatched in duplicate to Mr. Macnaghten and Sir A. Burnes and also to Lord Auckland. Is Persia bent upon going again to Herat or has she designs on Bagdad? I think as regards that power, we had better lay upon our oars, until she renews her aggressive conduct, taking special care to retain our hold on Karrack, which I perceive is significantly alluded to by Count Nesselrode in his explanatory letter to the Russian Minister in London. I was much gratified to hear of the splendid and suitable distinction bestowed on McNeil,¹ who well merits the honour. Of Bahrein and the Egyptians I have heard nothing, nor do I suppose the Pacha will persevere after Lord Palmerston's remonstrance, but I should be disposed to look vigilantly to any movements, Persian or Egyptian, towards Bagdad. We have enough on our hands at present to deter us from interference beyond

¹ I suppose Sir John MacNeill. The envoy to Teheran, 1836-38.

India. Let us settle the Afghan affair and then we can take the rest in detail. Lord Auckland is not without his fears in regard to the Burmese and Nepaulese, the last accounts he had of the former being of a more warlike complexion than any which had preceded them. So long as success attends us in Afghanistan, I have no fear of an outbreak from Burmah, and I think we have the means of thrashing him without further augmentation of our military establishments, if he or his friend of Nepaul should be rash enough to provoke us.

I have indeed, as you remark, plenty to do—the very details of this Government have so increased, that attention to them occupies almost as much time, as the whole business of the Chairman at the India House. In these stirring times we have not leisure to think of any great measures of internal improvement—instead if they are to involve present sacrifices for future benefit, we cannot afford them—every resource must be seized or we shall be driven into new financial measures. It may be difficult as it is for the Governor-General to avoid them when I look to the loss we must at all events for the present sustain by the suspension of the Opium Trade in China. The events at Canton will tend to encourage Burmah to quarrel with us upon the first favourable opportunity. I have submitted my view to the Governor-General on the Sattarah case and proposed an amnesty of past offences. The whole Council of India are for deposing the Rajah, and there is no doubt of his guilt. But too much has been made of the matter, and we shall stand better in the eyes of the people of this country by a generous forgiveness. There seems to me a strong disposition here and in Bengal to overthrow Native States. I question this policy, and besides we have more territory in India than we can well manage. States created by, or anciently allied with us, should be preserved, though the conduct of individuals as their Sovereigns might justify their being set aside. But perhaps we should not then hear so much of deposing Native Princes, the territory would not then come to us. I propose going to Sattarah when the Governor-General sanctions the course which I have recommended. It is the best chance of bringing the Rajah to reason—he is deluded by adventurers who plunder him,

and he is led by them (just as the Guicawaries) to believe that missions to England will be sure to protect him from the displeasure of the Government in this country. I do not know how we are to prevent such missions, but of this I am sure, that if they receive the slightest notice or encouragement, it will be in vain for the local Governments to keep this country in order. The Guicawar passively resists, because he believes that he has friends in Parliament to help him, and he will get friends enough everywhere as long as he pays for them. He expends large sums in this way in Calcutta, and probably in England. I fancy that we must take the Guicawar in hand when we have less to do in other quarters. I hope that we may not be driven to depose him in favour of another of his family, but his misdeeds would justify it—he systematically violates his engagements, and evades explanation when called upon. He relies on the counsel of a man at Calcutta, whom he retains as Minister in defiance of our remonstrance, and the conditions of his treaty, and this man named Veneeram, is leagued with some European gentlemen. We are generally quiet in this Presidency—we hear less of plots and conspiracies, which were magnified into undue importance. Our native army seem contented and so long as we have its fidelity, we need fear nothing. I need not tell you my feelings on hearing of your return to power. How admirably has our youthful Queen acted! I like her frankness in expressing her deep regret at losing her Cabinet, and her firmness afterwards. I have set to work to get the horses Her Majesty has commanded to be procured from this quarter. It will be a work of some little time because I doubt if good horses are to be had in Bombay, but you shall hear further on the subject. I have been able to do something for Captain Stanton, whom you and Mr. Powlett Scrope recommended to me. He applied to me yesterday, to be appointed to act in a good situation about to be vacated by the person holding it going to sea. I told him he should be appointed immediately that it was in my power. You may be sure that I will look after *our* friends, only let me know the *degree* of interest you feel in them. I shall keep this open until the sailing of the packet for any additional news

I may have, the weather has been unusually oppressive, but the rains are beginning to fall. I can hardly believe from the difference of temperature that Erle Stoke and Bombay were places in the same world.

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

12.—SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G. C. B.

BOMBAY, 3rd July 1839.

MY DEAR JENKINS,—I take it as very kind, your having written to me so fully by the April and May packets. To you who have been in India, I need not say how reviving it is to receive a letter from an esteemed friend at home. I cannot expect that with your present occupation, you can give me time on every opportunity, though inclination and duty suggest that I should give you regular advice of our situation in this country. The details of this Government are more voluminous than I expected, constant attention to them is requisite to keep all the Departments on the alert and there is not much leisure for considering a comprehensive measure. I find my colleagues most willing to aid me and the Secretaries also are able in their respective situations. The weather, since we arrived, has been oppressively hot, and though the rains are now falling seasonably, they have not yet much diminished the temperature.

Towards the end of this month, I am going with my family to the Deccan, where the climate at this time of the year is much more favourable. It is preparatory to my visit to Sattarah with a view of settling that most perplexing question I conclude that Lord Auckland will sanction my proposition of an entire amnesty to the Rajah under certain conditions, though he and all his colleagues in Bengal have denounced the conduct of the Rajah very furiously. I feel myself in a delicate position as regards this affair. The evidence proves the Rajah to have been engaged in treacherous correspondence, but the matter was made too much of by the late Government, and might have been settled in a day, so supremely insignificant is the power of the Rajah of Sattarah. The whole proceeding looks as if we laboured to make a case

against him, to vindicate the first steps we took in it. Here of course, all hands are for supporting the view originally taken, and I shall have to work with them against the grain, at which I cannot be surprised. They consider the character of this Government, as involved in the recognition of its acts in this case, and it has appeared to me, the best way, and the most dignified course for our Government, is to overlook the past, and make a fresh start with the Rajah. But supposing Lord Auckland agrees to this, the question is, will the Rajah be satisfied, and if he is obstinate, what then is to be done? It is unfortunate that these protracted investigations have given birth to intrigues in all quarters, and impressed the Rajah with a notion, that he has friends here and in England, who will support him. Two or three missions have gone to England, and the poor man has spent a good deal of money in European Agencies. He has been following the example of the Guicawar in this respect, and if either of these Princes have an idea that their missions to Europe will receive attention there, it will be impossible for the local authorities to do anything with them, while adventurers, of which there are now many, at all the Presidencies will fleece them handsomely. Sivajee Row continues sullen, and has not yet thought proper to communicate with me. There ought to be a complete change in our position with the Guicawar—the evils of letting him loose in 1840 are now acknowledged on all hands, and we should return, in some degree, to what was the system before that time. I am curious to know the feeling of the Court regarding the sequestration of Petland. I do not profess to approve of the course taken, though it was intended as the milder one to deposition, but it does not seem to have produced any effect on Sivajee—he relies upon his unprincipled Minister, Veneeram in Calcutta, and his missions to England. In the meanwhile the same misgovernment, of which we have so long complained, goes on.

To avoid repetition as to news in this quarter, I enclose copy of my letter to Sir John, written as you will see, in confidence to him, but with perfect freedom. I have no fears about us in India. Our power seems to me, much more fixed than it was when I was here before. I think

we might have done well enough with what we had in the way of force without any *permanent* augmentation of it. How the revenue is to support all these charges, now too that we must suffer in opium, I leave cleverer heads to decide. This Presidency is quite quiet, and I have discouraged the propensity I found to make mountains of molehills. For the first ten days I was told, that there were conspiracies here and plots there, but as I did not encourage talking about such matters, I hear less about them. We must take care to be vigilant, but not to let the people imagine that we attach great importance to every vagabond who chooses to be disaffected. There is a fanatical sort of conspiracy at Hydrabad (in the Deccan) and investigations going forward at Vellore near Madras. I do not think much will come of it, and I see no evidence of any tampering with our native troops. But you know as well as I do, that the native troops at Madras are the least to be depended upon. Lord Elphinstone makes an excellent Governor, which I hear from Nicholls, who would not say what he did not think—he is considered in talent, manners and disposition as very much resembling his uncle. I have heard from him frequently and his letters show, that he knows much already of India. You will find him, I think, very soon, rising in public opinion. What will you do about China? Surely not put up with the national insult, of seizing the person of our representative. Lady Carnac and my daughters join in kind remembrances to Lady Jenkins and yourself, and I am ever, my dear friend, sincerely yours

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

I shall write Bayley by the mail of the 18th of this month, also to Ravenshaw¹ and Campbell. It will go *via* Suez, this by Bagdad, in which I have not the same faith.

13.—JAMES ERSKINE, ESQ.,
DHAPOOREE, 2nd August 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to offer my excuses for having so long delayed to answer your favour of the 9th of last month. My silence has arisen from the circumstance of my inability to write from an inflammation in my eyes, and still I am only

¹ Ravenshaw.—Possibly John Goldsborough Ravenshaw. Died 6th June 1840. See Buckland.

able to use my pen with some difficulty. I cannot, however, postpone the pleasure of expressing to you my thanks for your communication with my hope, that you will always address me without the least reserve, either as regards the highly important duties upon which you are employed or with reference to your personal wishes or interests which it will afford me satisfaction to promote to the best of my ability.

In assuring you of my perfect sense of your zeal and ability as a public servant and of the intensity of your feelings to promote the prosperity of the important province committed to your administration I have only to add, that if we should have differed with you occasionally on measures which you have in the conscientious discharge of your duty recommended, it has not been on the principle of such measures as upon the feasibility of acting upon them at once. My various occupations since I came to this Government, have as yet allowed me no time to turn my deliberate attention to your charge in which I feel a deep interest from its intrinsic importance, and by its having been the scene of my early labours in this country. I shall not fail to examine into its present state, and to pay respect to your suggestions for its amelioration immediately that I am relieved from pressing loth on my attention in this quarter. I hope indeed in due time to make a tour of the Province when your presence would prove of essential value to me, and therefore you will permit me to hope that you will give me that advantage by a continuance in your present position should nothing more advantageous in the service offer for your employment. I shall be most happy in the opportunity of making your personal acquaintance when you visit the Presidency after the monsoon. It would facilitate my better knowledge of Katheeawar, if you can make it convenient to accept of accommodation in the Government House during the whole or at least a portion of the time you may stay in Bombay. Be assured in the meantime of my good wishes and entire confidence, and allow me to venture to subscribe myself.

My dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

I am just about appointing your brother to the command of the Poona Auxiliary Horse vacated by the promotion of its present Commanding Officer. His character and services would under any circumstances have ensured for him this advancement, but it was pleasing to me that the first appointment of any consequence made by me, was, in favour of a relative of my kind friend Lord Elphinstone, and the nephew of one who all revere, Mr. Elphinstone to whom I am personally so much indebted.

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

(To be continued.)

Art. VII.—AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA.

“AMID the numerous races and creeds of whom India is composed, while I have sought to understand the needs and to espouse the interests of each, to win the confidence of the Princes, to encourage and strengthen the territorial aristocracy, to provide for the better education, and thus to increase the opportunities of the educated classes, to stimulate the energies of Hindu, Mohammadan, Buddhist and Sikh, and to befriend those classes like the Eurasians, who are not so powerful as to have many friends of their own—my eye has always rested on a larger canvas, crowded with untold numbers, the real people of India, as distinct from any class or section of the people.

‘But thy poor endure
And are with us yet;
Be thy name a sure
Refuge for thy poor
Whom men’s eyes forget.’

“It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent. who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men’s eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget—to whom I refer.’ He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, for every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, nor even in the squalor, of great cities; he reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all; he has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country, by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled, from

his labour comes one-fourth of the national income, he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard."

Thus spoke Lord Curzon—one of the ablest of Indian Viceroys—in his farewell speech at Bombay. Indeed the importance of the peasant in the social and industrial system of India cannot be overestimated. And when we find that in India out of a total population of 294,361,056 not less than 195,668,362 are supported by agriculture and pasture, and 2,850,584 males and 472,630 females are partially agriculturists we cannot but say that not in vain has India been termed "the peasant empire."

The late Professor Fawcett commended the Indian land-tax to the consideration of the British public because—to quote his own words—"although a very insignificant portion of our revenue (*i.e.*, the revenue of England) is obtained from the land-tax, yet the principal part of the revenue of our great dependency, India, is provided by the taxes imposed upon land."¹

In view of the growing demands of the Government, the empire, if it is to continue to flourish, or, even, to exist, must have a large increase of revenue. And the only source from which the Government can—without having recourse to income taxes, license taxes, and the like—derive this increase, is the land. The land must provide for the mighty military expenditure—to a great extent beyond the control of the Government, the immense civil expenditure, and the highly organised and elaborated systems of administration which are "alike beyond the wants and the wealth of our Indian fellow-subjects."²

¹ *Manual of Political Economy.*

² Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India.*

But from the land this increase is not to be got "as long as through wide provinces all classes of agriculturists are crippled by poverty and debt."

"The land revenue," remarks Mr. Hume, "in all historical periods has been the main financial resource of every successive Government, Hindu or Mahomedan. We have done much for the country, have enormously increased the value of produce, yet province for province we are not receiving much more than many of our predecessors, Akbar for instance, did. Are we really making the most out of the land? * * * Most certainly the question, are we making the most out of the land, must be answered in the negative; but this, not through any imperfection in the existing revenue administration, but because the land itself yields nothing like what it should. * * * If, then, our revenue from land is to undergo any marked development, and to bear hereafter that proportion to the rest of our revenues that in the times gone by it has always borne, it is to an increase in the produce of the land, to an improved system of agriculture in fact, that we must look."¹ That at the present moment the land cannot yield more is admitted by all. "Many who are most competent to express an opinion confidently assert that the agricultural classes in India, except in the permanently settled districts, where an increase of the land revenue cannot be obtained, are not in a condition to bear a heavier assessment."²

Thus for revenue purposes agricultural reform is the one thing needful. It is to the land where "the gold lies thickly for the gathering, that the Government has to look, and this it has steadily refused to do."

¹ *Agricultural Reform in India.*

² Fawcett—*Indian Finance.*

Indeed while moving heaven and earth "to scrape together copper from all quarters of the globe" the Government has systematically ignored the gold at its door-steps. Had the Government but turned to the land—as it should have done—it would have secured a few extra millions. "These extra millions," Mr. Hume justly remarks, "would have made the administration easy. We should never have heard of license and income taxes, hateful to the country, however equitable in theory; famine expenditure would not, as now, have involved proximate insolvency; and nine-tenths of the fiscal measures * * * which have created a more or less sore feeling in every section and grade of the community, would have been unnecessary."¹

Here we should recall the attempt made by Lord Mayo to improve the condition of agriculture in India.² He conceived the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce "mainly as an instrument for agricultural reform." And though Lord Mayo's conception was one thing and the sadly modified scheme that as the result of vehement opposition he was compelled to accept, another—he clung to the idea of ultimately making it "really a Department of Agriculture." The little importance attached to agriculture by the Secretary of State will be evident from the fact that he did not approve of even this. "Lord Mayo named it the Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce. The Secretary of State objected to this, said that

¹ *Agricultural Reform in India.*

² Lord Mayo was probably the only Governor-General who had farmed for a livelihood, and made a living out of it. When he came of age (he was then Mr. Bourke), his father (whose elder brother was still living) could not afford to make him any allowance, but rented to him one of his farms to make what he could out of it. This Lord Mayo farmed himself ("Many a day," he used to say, "have I stood the livelong day in the market selling my beets") and made enough out of it to enable him to attend Parliament regularly from after Easter to the end of the Session.—*Vide Hume's Agricultural Reform in India.*

Revenue and not Agriculture, was the main object of the Department, and ordered the name to be altered to 'Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce.'¹ So Agriculture—the chief source of *revenue* in India—was not considered important or aristocratic enough to be named before *Revenue*. Such is ignorance! Lord Mayo still hoped to convert the Department into a Department of Agriculture. "We must have patience," he used to say, "it will all come right." But with his death "India lost the warmest, most competent, and, at the same time, most influential advocate for agricultural reform." The Government soon emphasised the ignorance of the Secretary of State referred to, above by abolishing altogether the Department of Agriculture.²

The Department created afterwards has not yet been able to shake off the traditions of its predecessor. We shall endeavour to show that it has "some truths to learn, some frailties to forget."

From an economic point of view the importance of agricultural improvement is by no means insignificant. Unfortunately people often lose sight of its importance. And Mr. Hamilton did well in trying "to impress upon the public attention, more particularly when, at a time like the present, the public gaze is so fixed upon *swadeshi* manufacturing industries that the all-important fact³ is apt to be lost sight of, that *swadeshi* manufacturers are themselves almost entirely dependent for their success on the success of agriculture. That this is so will at once be apparent when it is realised that the manufacture of *swadeshi* piece-goods can only

¹ *Agricultural Reform in India.*

² Lord Mayo "designed the Department of Agriculture and Commerce to perform for India the double set of duties discharged by the Board of Trade and the new (1891) Agricultural Department in England."—Hunter—*Mayo*—in the "Rulers of India" series.

be successfully established when it has been found possible to grow suitable cottons; and I may also add in passing, that when the growing and manufacturing problems have been solved, the question of markets will be found also to depend on agriculture, for the simple reason that the great market for piece-goods is the agricultural population, and the more flourishing that population is the more can it afford to spend on manufactures. It hardly seems necessary to mention such self-evident propositions, but when the voice of the multitude of counsellors is as the voice of many waters, it is perhaps well to call attention afresh to the 'still small voice' of first principles.¹ I might also here remind you that when you have captured the whole of the Manchester and Dundee cotton and jute industries you will have converted into manufacturers only one million of the 300 millions of India. When the healthy cotton smoke of Bombay has become still more dense, and when you have doubled the jute mills which now adorn the banks of the Hooghly, you will still have to provide for 299 millions that remain. When you have enriched your country by transferring some crores of rupees from the pockets of Bengal to the purses of the men of Bombay; when you have had your little gamble and your money has changed hands and added to the wealth of your country as the money does which passes on the race-course, you will still have 90 per cent. of your countrymen appealing to you for

¹ Truly did Mr. Baines remark, that in India "It is on the peasantry that the merchant depends for the bulk of his exports and by whose consumption he regulates the volume of his imports. It is to the peasantry that the artisan owes the character and quality of his outturn, and it is by the verdict of the peasantry, unspoken, but unmistakably expressed that the results of our administration must stand or fall. The tastes and requirements of the vast rural masses of India are therefore the chief factors in the industrial development of the country, and it is with reference to this standard that the supply must adjust itself."—Paper on "Industrial Development of India," read before the Indian Section of the Society of Art (Lord George Hamilton in the chair), 17th May 1900.

help, and how are they to get it? There is only one way, and that is by increasing the produce of their fields. * * * India's economic problem can be briefly stated thus—What are the wants of her people? They are these—Food, Clothing, Housing—and these three are one—Agriculture, for even the roof over his head has to be grown by the cultivator. And the cultivator has to bear not only his own burden, but also, in a very real sense, the burden of the Empire."¹

Agriculture may be said to be the backbone of the Indian Empire. "The people of India are a dense population of husbandmen." Only one-twentieth part of them live in towns, most of which are overgrown villages: and of cities there are very few."² "The Indian Empire is a peasant empire. Ninety per cent. of the people live by the land."³ India is the land of

"—an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,
Storing yearly little dues of wheat, and wine, and oil;
Till they perish."

We have called the peasantry of India "an ill-used race of men." And they really are so. "A man to an acre, or 640 men to the square mile, is the utmost density of population which India can comfortably support, except near towns or in irrigated districts. But millions of peasants in India are struggling to live on half an acre. Their existence is a constant battle with starvation, ending, too often, in defeat. Their difficulty is not to live *human* lives—lives up to the level of their poor standard of comfort—but to live at all and not die."⁴ Millions are, "year in and year out,

¹ "Indian Agriculture," a paper read before the Indian Industrial Conference at Benares.

² Lilly—*India and its Problem*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

in a state of chronic starvation, not knowing from January to December what it is to eat and be satisfied: their worm (of hunger) dieth not."¹ They work on insufficient food, and the burden of their song is:—

“Strike hard the turf, oh drive the ploughshare deep,
And sow that Wealth your harvests all may reap.”²

This piteous poverty is so persistent and palpable that even tourists cannot fail to mark it. In India, says one of them, “the villages are piteous clusters of mud walls, daubed around the sides of a thick pond in the bare earth. Where there should be a village green there is a patch of stained dust covered with rubbish and peopled by fowls and dogs, by naked children and bony cattle. Cultivation is carried out in despairing patches snatched from the waste, and the labour of the husbandman seems infinite. Every drop of water for these sorry fields has to be drawn from a well in a bucket of cowhide. Masses of parched cactus make a poor substitute for the hedge of English hawthorn or wild roses, and an unsteady tract of dust through the jungle takes the place of the turnpike road of the old country.”³ “India,” he says, “leaves on the mind an impression of poorness and melancholy, even if in some districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains, the country is brilliant with blossoms which no meadow in England can produce.” And again, “Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and ‘toiling for leave to live.’ They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon.”

¹ Digby—*India for the Indians and for England.*

² “The Song of the Plough”—*Mukerjee's Magazine*, May 1873.

³ Treves—*The Other Side of the Lantern.*

The “common people” are the vast rural population of this “Peasant Empire.” In spite of the solicitude of the Government the agricultural classes of India are neither wealthier nor better fed to-day than they were a century back. “Famine is the horizon of the Indian villager; insufficient food is the foreground.”¹ “Sir Ali Baba” has drawn attention to his “collapsed cuticles” and remarked—“While the Indian villager has to maintain the glorious phantasmagoria of an imperial policy, while he has to support legions of scarlet soldiers, golden chuprassies, purple politicals, and green commissions, he must remain the hunger-stricken, over-driven phantom he is.”²

Prosperous India means the prosperity of the agricultural classes throughout the country; thriving industries must begin with thriving agriculture. “India,” wrote a writer in the *Times*, “cries aloud for industries other than the universal and insecure industry of agriculture.”³ But when all is said and done India will still remain mainly an agricultural country—at least for some time to come. Her natural conditions—the fatal fertility of her flood-stricken shores which has made tempests of conquest and tidal waves of nations sweep across the continent—indicates the lines on which her industries should be developed. And, as has already been pointed out, her manufacturing industries must depend on agriculture. A parallel is to be found in the industrial development of America. Speaking of American industrial problems an English writer remarks, “The agricultural part of the problem has always been, and still is, of greater importance to us than

¹ Abernethy-Mackay—*Twenty-one Days in India.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Times* on “Indian Affairs.”

the manufacturing part. In the whole range of competing industries there is nothing in which we have been so completely left behind by the Americans as agriculture. The facts here, however superficially we may examine them and however persistently we may ignore their political bearings, are more striking than those of any other industry. It was as food-producers that the Americans got their first start in international trade. Their wheat and beef and cotton exports provided them with the money to build factories and ironworks. Even yet their largest industries are closely connected with agriculture."¹

Roughly speaking agricultural improvement means an increased outturn of produce. That in India continuous cropping has exhausted—and is still exhausting—the soil, without endeavours being made to recoup the failing fertility, is apparent. Where the *Ain-Akbari* gives nineteen bushels an acre of wheat as the average yield in those days, fourteen bushels must be taken to be a high average for good fields (*i.e.*, fields with which their cultivators are fairly satisfied) now.² Consequently the income of the agriculturist is daily dwindling. No wonder “in the United Kingdom, where land is not superior to ours, and the physical and climatic advantages not greater, the agricultural earnings per head per annum come to about £4 and the total earnings to £34, while in India the whole of the total earnings, including agriculture and all the rest, come to Rs. 27.”³ The physical conditions are not

¹ Lawson—*American Industrial Problems*.

² The American farmer's average yield of wheat per acre is about 12 bushels against the British farmer's 30 to 32 bushels, *vide American Industrial Problems*. Here the cases of India and America are similar. This is an instance of two extremes meeting. They have too much land for manuring, we have too little to give rest. Moreover the Indian fields produce two crops during the year.

³ The late Mr. Sayani on the Financial Statement, 1897 (Budget Debate in the Supreme Legislative Council.)

disfavourable in India. This will be evident from the simple fact that in the case of a new crop—the potato—the Indian agriculturist gets about 5 tons per acre. The crop of the British farmer too averages from 4 to 5 tons per acre, which is nearly double the normal yield in the United States, America.

Agricultural reform in India is, in our opinion, nothing if not easy. People ignorant of the peculiar conditions of the country and of the agricultural classes in India make the question complicated and see wraiths in wreaths of smoke.

Much has been said of the ignorance and conservatism of the Indian cultivators. The patient, frugal and industrious peasants of India do not lack intelligence. Ignorant they certainly are of the results of scientific experiments; but they cannot be held responsible for this shortcoming. That in spite of the disadvantages under which they labour the crops the Indian peasants do produce are surprising, speaks volumes. “So far as rule-of-thumb goes, the experience of 3,000 years has not been wholly wasted. They know to a day when it is best (if only meteorological conditions permit) to sow each staple and each variety of each staple that is grown in their neighbourhood; they know the evils of banks and hedges, dwarfing the crops on either side and harbouring vermin, and will have none of them; they accurately distinguish every variety of soil, and, so far as the crops they grow are concerned, the varying properties and capacities of each; they fully realise the value (though they can command but little) of ordinary manure, ashes, and the like, and recognise which are most required by which kind of the crops; they know the advantage of ploughing, in most cases as deep as their imperfect implements and feeble teams

will permit, and of thoroughly pulverising the soil; and they also recognise where, with a scanty or no supply of manure, it would be folly to break the shallowlying pan. As for weeds, their wheat-fields would, in this respect, shame ninety-nine hundredths of those in Europe. You may stand on some high barrow-like village site in Upper India, and look down on all sides on one wide sea of waving wheat broken only by dark-green islands of mango groves—many, many square miles of wheat and not a weed or blade of grass above six inches in height to be found amongst it. What is to be spied out creeping here and there on the ground is only the growth of the last few weeks, since the corn grew too high and thick to permit the women and children to continue weeding. They know when to feed down a too forward crop; and they know the benefit of, and practise, as far as circumstances and poverty permit, a rotation of crops. They are great adepts in storing grain, and will turn it out of rough earthen pits, after twenty years, absolutely uninjured. They know the exact state of ripeness to which grain should be allowed to stand in different seasons; in other words, under different meteorological conditions, to ensure its *keeping* when thus stored; and equally the length of time that, under varying atmospheric conditions, it should lie upon the threshing-floor to secure the same object.”¹

Scientific agriculture is a thing of recent growth in Europe and America—and still a stranger in Asia. And the poor Indian peasant must not be blamed if—without an attempt being made to initiate him into the mysteries of scientific agriculture—he fails to adopt it and work up to its teachings. The intelligence of the

¹ Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

Indian peasant is evident. “The Indian peasant knows, not only how to take prompt advantage of a rise in prices, he knows also how to quickly recoup himself for the loss of a market.”¹ “Science moves but slowly, slowly, creeping on from point to point.” The proletariat moves even more slowly. But he moves. And we have reasons to believe that when an attempt is made to demonstrate to the Indian peasant the advantages of scientific agriculture, “the fairy tales of science” will find in him a ready listener.

As for his conservatism, suffice to say that he has not been slow to adopt new crops. Chulam was introduced in India by the Yavanans from Arabia or Africa, and the crop was cultivated in King Bhoja's time. Chillies were introduced by the Portuguese, and were named after pepper “milagai,” meaning literally pepper fruit. It was classed among “Visvamitra sristi,” and its use prohibited in ceremonies. Ground nuts, tobacco, maize, potatoes, and probably also sweet potatoes are importations of a comparatively recent date.²

“Up to 1850, cotton was produced on a small scale in India, and the total value exported averaged during the previous five years only 1¾ millions sterling. Ten years later, the American war gave rise to a sudden demand; and the Indian cotton exports rushed up, till, in 1865, they exceeded the enormous value of 37¾ millions sterling. This vast amount of money went into the pockets of the cultivators, who, the moment that they found a more profitable crop than their old food stuffs, quickly began to cultivate it on a large scale. What the American war became to the Bombay peasant, the Russian war had been to the Bengal husbandman.

¹ Hunter—*England's Work in India*.

² Vide Mr. C. K. Subba Row's lecture on “Indian Agriculture” at a meeting of the Saidapet Agricultural College Society.

The blockade of the Baltic ports put an end to Great Britain's supply of fabrics from Russia during the Crimean campaign. Forthwith the Bengal peasant enormously increased his production of jute. In 1852-53 before the Crimean war, the whole export of jute from Bengal was about £100,000. In 1886-87 it exceeded six millions sterling, including jute manufacture, an increase of sixtyfold.¹ This is proof positive of the intelligence and shrewdness of the Indian peasant.

The Indian peasant is always ready to make an endeavour to meet the demand for a new crop—when he finds it profitable. The first shipment of linseed to England was made in 1835-36 by Mr. Hodgkinson², and to-day we find linseed extensively cultivated by the average Indian peasant on his own account. So the charge of conservatism brought against him is as untenable as the charge of want of intelligence. True he is loth to migrate to “fresh fields and pastures new.” But his conditions are somewhat peculiar. Society shapes the individual after his own fashion. A sympathetic English writer has explained why the Indian peasant would struggle as long as he can to live on half an acre rather than leave his village for undeveloped fertile tracts—unknown to him. “Among an old-fashioned rural community there are grave deterrents to changing one's abode. Local ties exercise an influence which modern Englishmen are wholly unable to comprehend, but the recollections of which will live to all time in George Eliot's delineations of the English rural life of half a century ago. Such ties attain their

¹ Hunter—*England's Work in India*.

² Vide Feary Chand Mitter's “Agriculture in Bengal,” a pamphlet which contains some valuable information.

maximum strength in India. They have struck their roots deep in the religion, the superstitions, and the necessities of the people. The whole social system of the Hindus is one continuous chain, from which, if a link drops out, it finds nothing to attach itself to, and no recognised place to fill.* * * The migratory husbandman not only lost his hereditary position in his own village, but he was an object of dislike and suspicion among the new community into which he thrust himself.”¹

Yet the inexorable laws have not proved inoperative in the case of the Indian peasant. They have not spared him. Nor has he preferred to perish on his hereditary holding to leaving it in search of better and more profitable employment. Every year vast numbers of people from congested Bengal are drafted off to the border districts, which, till the British obtained the country, were left waste through fear of the wild frontier races. “These peasants, instead of starving in their old densely-populated homes, are now earning high wages on the tea plantations.”² The number of men employed in the mills and factories is considerable.³ The major portion of these wage-earners comes from the peasantry.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

(To be continued.)

¹ Hunter—*Orissa*.

² Hunter—*England's Work in India*.

³ In the jute mills on the banks of the Hooghly alone “employment is given to 200,000 native operatives, whose wages amount to £3,000,000, or four and a half crores of rupees a year.”—Cumming's *Review of the Industrial Position and Prospects in Bengal in 1908*.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

THE MIKIRS.—By Sir Charles Lyall, David Nutt, 57, 59, Long Acre, London.

THE author is to be congratulated on giving to those interested in the subject a work of considerable value on this tribe of Assam. It is the result of much labour and extensive study. The only materials to hand were notes by the late Mr. Edward Stack, who unfortunately died before he was able to put into book form the result of his extensive research. Sir Charles Lyall in his introductory note points out how unfortunate it was that the writer of the notes did not live to complete his work, and it is wonderful that so interesting and instructive a work is available under the serious handicap circumstances imposed on the author. The habitat of the tribe is dealt with, while its physical appearance and its traditions are fully described. A chapter is devoted to a description of the domestic life of the Mikirs, their houses, furniture, manufactures. In chapter three the author treats very fully of the laws and customs of this interesting tribe, dealing *in extenso* with their marriage laws. Religion is attractively discussed in the fourth chapter which also treats of their belief in divination and magic, while their funeral ceremonies are fully detailed. Folk-lore and Folk-tales will be found specially interesting from their quaintness, while the language of the Mikirs is minutely treated in the penultimate section, the last being devoted to Affinities, the whole work concluding with a comprehensive and detailed index.

EFFECTS OF WAR ON PROPERTY.—By Alma Latifi, M.A., LL.D., Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.

THE author has placed in the hands of the legal profession a short work which, for its conciseness, will at once commend itself as eminently useful on questions regarding the effect of

a state of war on property. The author in his prefatory note says that the work "does not profess to be anything like a complete treatise on the subject which it discusses" but states that "topics which have not hitherto received much attention from writers on international law have been dealt with more fully than those which have already been exhaustively treated." The work consists of five chapters—the first dealing with 'Property of Enemies and Neutrals on Land.' The second treats of the effects of Conquest on Property while the next expounds the law on the property of "Enemies and Neutrals at Sea" The fourth chapter is devoted to exceptions to the rule of capture of property at sea while the concluding chapter is devoted to the inviolability of private property at sea and contains a valuable and instructive note on "Belligerent Rights at Sea" by Professor J. Westlake, K.C., LL.D., D.C.L.

THE MEITHEIS.—By J. C. Hodson, late Assistant Political Agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State, Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute. David Nutt, 57, 59, Long Acre, London.

ETHNOGRAPHY is the richer to a very considerable extent by the publication of this work and a perusal of its pages, no matter how hasty, convinces one of the thoroughness with which the author has conducted his researches into the history of the hill people he deals with. The work which consists of 227 pages is divided into six sections. The first deals with the habitat of the tribe, their appearance (which is described as to a certain extent Mongolian with a variety of stature almost European, while the main characteristic is their muscular build, a fat Meithie being rare. Some of them are even described as good looking while good looking, fair girls with brownish black hair, brown eyes, straight noses and rosy cheeks are not uncommon), the geographical distribution, origin, affinities, dress, ornaments, weapons. The next deals with their occupation, houses, villages, furniture, manufactures, implements and utensils, agriculture, crops, fishing, hunting, food and drink and games. Their laws and customs are detailed in the third section, marriage rules, inheritance, adoption, tenure of land and

aws regulating land and regarding other property receiving special treatment. Section four relates to Religion and the Meitheids' popular beliefs, the worship of ancestors, rites and ceremonies, sacrifices, priesthood, nature worship, ceremonies attending birth, marriage, and festivities. In the next section traditions, superstitions and folk-tales receive ample treatment, while the concluding section treats of the language and contains a useful vocabulary and an interesting sketch of Manipur (Meithei) Grammar with comprehensive appendices. The whole work shows a laudable desire for accuracy and the rectification of existing wrong impressions. It is excellently printed and well illustrated while its value is considerably enhanced by an instructive note from the pen of so eminent an authority as Sir Charles J. Lyaill.

SKETCHES OF THE RULERS OF INDIA.—Vol. IV.—By G. D. Oswell, M.A., Oxon., Principal of Rajkumar College, Raipur, Central Provinces, India. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

THE fourth volume of this excellent historical series will be found as interesting as the one immediately preceding it and gives evidence of the same painstaking effort which we have learned to expect from the author. The opening chapter treats of the Buddhist Emperor of India, Asoka, and covers the period 272 B.C.—232 B.C. In the next a concise record of the years 1482—1530 A.D. is found, as also a sketch of the life of Babar, the founder of the Mogul Dynasty. Akbar and the rise of the Mogul Empire 1542—1605 are dealt with in the next, while the decay of this empire and Aurangzib are treated of in Chapter IV, the period coming down to 1707. We then have the Hindu reconquest of India dilated on and Madhava Rao Scindia's exploits described, while Chapter VI brings us down to 1799 and explains the struggle with the Muhammadan powers of the south, relating the parts played by Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. In the penultimate chapter is an account of Sikh doings and Ranjit Singh, and the last chapter harks back to the middle of the fifteenth century, Albuquerque and the early Portuguese settlements in India. The work bears the impress of the author's thoroughness and

is a credit to him and his publishers. There is not a student of Indian History who can afford to be without this excellent series.

THE BOOK OF WHEAT.—By Peter Tracy Dondlinger, Ph. D., New York. Orange Judd Company; London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Limited. 1908.

THE place which wheat occupies in the dietaries of the world, the wonderful expansion in its production in recent years, the scientific methods directed towards its improvement, all conspire to give it a place of importance in the economic history of our day, which in turn gives to publications dealing with it an interest that can hardly be overestimated. Much depends, in any work on such a subject, whether to practical acquaintance with its material details, is added that touch of the higher interest which gilds everything real in life and amply repays all who have the eyes to see it. It is not giving too high a place to Mr. Dondlinger's work to say that it will take its place among the best works that have been written on the great food grain of the world, if indeed many, or perhaps any, can rank quite beside it. There have of course been great treatises on wheat and wheat production: and if looking at the mere grain, or indeed any grain, from the engineering point of view, essays and professional articles may be named, which deal more exhaustively and more searchingly with some details of freight charges and transport generally, on the other hand, there is probably no standard work which possesses the great merit of bringing almost every fact worth knowing in connection with wheat from its cultivation, along the route of its improvement, its harvesting, production, drawbacks, transport, freightage, storage, milling, marketing, and consumption, and finally its very bibliography to the mind of the general reader with such compact and comprehensive illumination, while at the same time captivating his interest, as this serviceable volume in handy form. That it will find, if properly made known, many readers outside the large enough circle of those commercially or otherwise professionally interested in wheat, may be fairly assumed. The work is artistically illustrated.

THE COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF INDIA.—Being an abridgment of "the Dictionary of the Economic Products of India," by Sir George Watt, C.I.E., M.B., C.M., LL.D., F.L.S., London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.

ANYTHING from the pen of the author of this useful work, within the region in which he reigns somewhat as a sovereign, carries with it an authority, in no way diminished by the characteristic candour with which all that savours of contributory merit in the work is placed at the credit of those to whom it is due. Though what is wanted in such a production is that compromise between fulness and succinctness which appeals to practical minds in search of knowledge, and indifferent to the manner and method of its communication, this latest of Sir George Watt's services to the public has the charm of excellent arrangement, and is also not without some literary merit. Hunters after information know of what enormous value a first-class index is. Here, we not only have a compendium, whose alphabetical arrangement from beginning to end makes reference to any known subject easy, but there is besides a carefully prepared index in which a fairly careful search has disclosed no mistake of any consequence. This is a rare merit in books of reference. In a work of this nature—with heading after heading packed with information on all conceivable points relating to any product of any value, even though greater and more valuable interest may be awakened and fed by its contents, than that stirred up by romances and histories and books of travel—not much service can be rendered to author or reader by extracts. Some of the most interesting extracts would be too long; and all would be entirely disconnected. But Gum, Bael, Ground Nut, Tea, Coffee, Orange, Hemp, Cotton, Jute, Cattle, Pigs, Silk, all come in for their appropriate notices, and it will prove a wholesome recreation for the omniscience which knows everything under the sun and a few things above it, to turn up these pages and come across things which it never heard of before, unless it had previously sounded the depths of the "Dictionary."

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, 1907.—Vols. I and II. Government Printing Office, Washington, U. S. A.

To attempt to review in detail or even in a cursory manner this report, which comprises over 1,200 pages, would, with the space at our disposal, be obviously impossible, but a glance through the various chapters impresses one with the stupendousness of the task entailed and the thoroughness with which the work has been accomplished. The first volume deals with the system of education in the various schools and colleges in the United States, Great Britain and Ireland, in France, Central Europe, Foochow and other parts of China, in Canada, Mexico, Uruguay and Panama. Chapters are devoted to an account of the educational exhibits at the Jamestown Exhibition, the Second International Congress on School Hygiene, the Conference for Education in the South and the Southern Education Board. Everything, in short, connected intimately or remotely with education is handled in a most thorough manner. The second volume is devoted to lucid and exhaustive tabulated statistics, and the whole work comprises a veritable encyclopædia of the subject of education.

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE FOR 1907-08.—North-West Frontier Province Government Press, Peshawar.

OFFICIAL reports are not usually interesting reading, but the one under notice proves a pleasant exception to the rule. The Province has since its separation been vastly improved and the tribes on the frontier have learned to respect the British raj and power in a manner not formerly appreciated by them. Each successive report since the separation has been a record of improved progress. Trouble which necessitated an expedition coupled with drought contributed to the anxiety and responsibility of those in authority, while the latter condition caused considerable sickness. The realization of revenue continued gratifying. The satisfactory administration of Criminal Justice which marked previous years was unfortunately not continued owing in large measure to a troubled border,

but contributed to by a laxity in the employment of preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The administration of the Province, however, taken on the whole was satisfactory and the prestige of the Government amply upheld.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH, 1907-08. The Government Press, United Provinces, Agraabad.

THIS report is a concise yet instructive publication and shows with what difficulties the Lieutenant-Governor and his lieutenants had to contend in the successful and satisfactory administration of the United Provinces. The first part of the report comprises a General Summary making special reference to the lamentable famine which caused such misery and resulted in so much loss of life; indeed, it is difficult to relate or realise the full extent of the evil wrought. Part II. is devoted to departmental chapters dealing with Administration of the Land, Protection, Production and Distribution, Revenue and Finance, Vital Statistics and Medical Services, Education and Archæology, while the last treats of miscellaneous matters.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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