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

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ART. I.—MŬHAMMAD HUSAIN KHAN.
(TUKRIYAH.)
A SKETCH OF ONE OF AKBAR'S HEROES.*

WHETHER by reason of the excellence of his chroniclers, whose fidelity lets the fact have way;—whether by the irrepressible truth of the fact itself, which vanquishes the doubt excited by a tolerance unusual even in our day,—it is certain that acquaintance with the doings of Akbar deepens first impressions of his sympathetic and tolerant appreciation of character. In his dealings with the man whose name heads this biographical sketch, he shows singular consideration and patience for the vagaries of a nature little in harmony with his own. Muhammad Husain had in him a strong leaven of bigotry and must, from this alone, have been uncongenial to the ruler who—to use Tennyson's satisfying words—saw in the "furious formalisms" of erudite Moslims,—

"The clash of tides that meet in narrow seas,
"Not the great Voice; not the true Deep."

The type of character embodied in Muhammad Husain is one which recurs and awakens interest under every sky; although reasonably enough, its attraction is felt more by outside observers than by those whose daily life is bound up with its irritating excellencies. He was not one of those great lords whose brilliant state and strong following made them rivals of their sovereign. He might have been such, for his foot was early set in the path of power and riches;—his heart was staunch and his pertinacity nitable. Moreover, he entered Akbar's service at advan-

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orities principally used in this sketch are the *Aín-i-Akbarí* mann and Col. Jarrett)—the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawáríkh* (Mr. liot and Dowson)—and the *Akbarnámah* (mainly from Chal-

words from the Persian, I have followed Mr. Blochmann, be- not pretend to select amongst conflicting forms of translitera- is true that this plan places *Lak'hnau* and *Dihlí* in my text, but these seem to me the forms which the eye naturally expects in writings which are based on translations from Persian M.S.S. of date antecedent to the British *ráj*.

tage, for he was of the band that had fought well for Humáyún, and he had long followed the mighty Bairám. At Akbar's accession, (1556 A.D.—963 H.) he filled a great command; twenty years of fighting placed him in no higher grade: during most of his service under Akbar, he held lucrative fiefs, yet he died in penury. When, in spite of talent, place, just claim and opportunity, a man fails to rise, the drawback must be his own. The following sketch of Muhammad Husain's life will show that it was, in truth, his own peculiarities which warped him from the line of a grandee's normal development.

Neither Abul Fazl nor Nizámuddín Ahmad gives details of the acts or character of Muhammad Husain; for these, recourse must be had to his almoner and friend, Abdul Qádir Badáoní, who has embalmed his memory in grateful and affectionate words.*

Of Muhammad's early life and close family connexions, little appears to be recorded. I can find no mention of his tribe or the date of his birth. He was closely linked to the fortunes of the Timurides by the bond of foster relation, inasmuch as his maternal uncle, Mahdí Qásim, was a *Kokah* of 'Askarí Mírzá, Bábar's third son. Muhammad Husain was, moreover, a son-in-law, as well as nephew, of Mahdí Qásim. He had an uncle named Ghazanfar, of whom Badáoní says that he was Muhammad Husain's paternal uncle *(amm)*, but whom Mr. Blochmann describes as brother of Mahdí Qásim and designates *Kokah.* Whatever may be the truth in these varied statements, it is clear, from what is told of Ghazanfar in his intimate association with 'Askarí, that he would strengthen the tie between the royal house and his nephew, because he was of the inner circle of milk brethren.† Badáoní names another man as being akin to Muhammad Husain, but without specifying the degree of relationship. This was a staunch adherent of the Timurides, Sa'íd Khán-i-Chagatái, who was, for many years under Akbar, the governor of Multán.

It is recorded that Mahdí Qásim joined the Emperor Humáyún when the latter returned from his Persian exile in 1545 (952 H.) and captured Qandahár from his brother, 'Askarí. With Mahdí Qásim would probably be his nephew, Husain Khán. It is probable—having regard to the foster relation between 'Askarí Mírzá and Mahdí Qásim, that the latter was within Qandahár and bearing arms against Humáyún; but, if so, he was also certainly amongst those Chagatáí nobles whom Humáyún pardoned and received into favour when the fort had been surrendered to him.

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* Muhammad Husain is usually called Husain Khán by his contemporaries, probably in deference to Akbar's distaste for things Arabian. In the earlier portion of the *Muntakhab ut-tawáríkh*, its author gives him the Muhammad.

† One remembers here that, when one of Akbar's foster brothers rebelled, he forgave him with the words: "Between me and 'Azíz, there flows a river of milk which I cannot cross." (Aín. Blochmann, p. 325.)

There are several later references in the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawáríkh*, which attest the presence of Husain Khán at Qandahár at this time, and the same source tells us that both Mahdí Qásim and his nephew then attached themselves to Bairám Khán's following, Bairám being then an attractive young chief of little over twenty-one, and in the first flush of the promise of his splendid powers. Led by Bairám, Muhammad Husain must have done his share in the re-conquest of Hindústán for Humáyún and its retention for Akbar.

It is in describing the battle of Pánípat that Badáoní first names Muhammad Husain as serving Akbar. On that fateful November day, (5th November 1556—2nd Muharram 964 H.) Bairám Khán had sent a contingent into the battle under his *vakíl*, Pír Muhammad Shirwání, and came up himself, with the young Emperor, only when the day had been won by 'Alí Qulí Shaibání. Mahdí Qásim's muster was with Bairám, and if, as is possible, Muhammad Husain accompanied his uncle and had not fought, he would be the more eager and the fresher for the pursuit in which he now joined, of the fleeing followers of Hemú, who were striving to convey his treasure and his wife to a place of safety.

From Dihlí to near Alwar, the Mughals dogged the steps of the retreating band. Even at this late day one is glad to know that the Hindú woman escaped with her life. The burdened elephants of her convoy were overtaken, and the peasants of Bajwárah were enriched with the greater part of the treasure they bore. Even so, however, much loot remained for the Mughals. A glamour of gold, such as recals the lip-born wealth of Scheherazade, shines from the words which set the scene before us. Much gold—the greater part—fell to the peasants, but still, to the Faithful—the royal troopers—, money could be measured out in shields, and for years afterwards travellers, in the wake of the hurrying elephants, picked up ingots of unwrought gold. What tumult of mighty beasts; what lurching of huge burdens, and dribbling of bags, and treading underfoot of things of price—by enormous feet, into sandy roads—is set before us in the brief narrative.

Those who know Muhammad Husain are certain that, gay and headlong as would be his ride in pursuit, he took no large share of the spoil, for he liked not the touch of gold, nor the cumbering of worldly gear.

Badáoní's next mention of him wins our better liking, for it describes him as doing a worthy part in the building of Akbar's Empire. Mánkot is the scene of the incident, within whose walls Sher Sikandar Afghán had taken refuge, after a six months' flight before royal *amírs*, from one lurking place to another, amid the northern hills. Mánkot was surrendered to Akbar at the end of June 1557 (24th Ramázan 964 H.), and although, after more than half a year's resistance, it yielded less to Akbar's arms than to Sikandar's conviction of the wane of Afghán power, it had given hard work to the besieging force, and Muhammad Husain, amongst others, had grasped the chance of laying a broad and fast foundation for soldierly renown under Akbar's eye. His daring courage, worthily matched by great stature and strength, called forth the admiration of Sikandar, a judge whose own fighting inches enabled him to take the measure of a man. Badáoní gives it as his opinion that Rustam would have acknowledged the merits of Husain Khán. The siege of Mánkot brought our hero more than fame, for, in its course, he had to mourn the death of a brother whom he loved.

When the great fortress had yielded, the Emperor took his way to Láhor and there spent some four months. This time was divided, we are told, between hunting and an endeavour to become acquainted with the character and promise of loyalty of the accompanying *amírs*. Akbar was but fifteen ; so one suspects that Bairám and 'Alí Qulí applied their stronger heads to the more serious duties of the halt, and left the boy-king to enjoy his out-door sports, untroubled by doubts and fears as to the trustworthiness of his followers. The fidelity of Muhammad Husain must have stood the test of examination, for, when the camp at Láhor was broken up and a move made to Dihlí, Akbar crowned previous gifts by appointing him Governor of Láhor. His holding probably consisted of the Panjáb, together with Láhor city and its circumjacent lands. It was a lucrative and responsible fief, and carried with it heavy military obligations. It was the high water mark of Muhammad Husain's revenues.*

It was now within the power of Muhammad Husain Khán to raise his contingent to the number usually provided by a Commander of Three Thousand and to live as others of his class were wont to live. With his fine presence, soldierly reputation, and well-placed kinsfolk, he could have matched himself with all but a few of Akbar's Court. But he was not the man to live according to tradition, and he now neither added state to his establishment, nor widened the narrow limits of his *harem*, nor even, it would seem, materially improved his contingent.

Of his personal peculiarities we learn a good deal from Badáoní's record of the Láhor appointment. We see that Muhammad Husain had no gift of good ordering, whether in money matters or in the prosaic course of common duties. He was always in extremes ; finish and adjustment were beyond his grasp, and his hand was a sieve through which revenue drained away to benefit anyone but those who had first claim upon it—his family and his sovereign. Láhor brings into prominence his bigotry, asceticism and doctrinal purism. His austerities were in part the outcome of his purism—he went back to the first plain injunctions of the Prophet and guided his life in accordance with these. Here, in Láhor, and when, to quote Badáoní, he was its "absolute Governor," he made barley bread his food ;—he abstained from all intoxicants, amongst which he classed nuts *(betel)* ;—when on a journey, he would not use a bedstead *(chárpái)* out of deference to the Sayyids who accompanied him : whatever the worldly position of a Sayyid who came into his presence, he always rose in greeting. These deprivations and humiliations were results of his purism, and, of a wish to enjoy nothing which those whom he revered had not enjoyed. During his residence in Láhor, he manifested the bigotry which has given a monotone of odious intolerance to such brief records of his life as are found in modern writings. He had assuredly hearty dislikes and could hate with effect ;—he hated a Shí'ah and he hated a Hindú. Many a man of both creeds must have winced from the keen edge of his emphatic tongue. Badáoní credits him with "genuine humility," but his illustrative anecdotes let us see that the Sunní's lowliness was well hedged about by his exclusive creed. One of the best known stories of Muhammad Husain dates from his incumbency at Láhor. It is that which tells how he was misled by some resemblance in the misbeliever's dress to a Musalman's, to rise and greet a Hindú who entered his *durbar.* When he found what he had done, he was both angry and ashamed, and, for the protection of his humility, ordered all Hindús to wear on the sleeve a patch of stuff of a colour differing from the rest of their garments. This patching edict can have taken effect only within a narrow circle of which the Governor was the centre, but it is worth recording, inasmuch as it throws light on the view of his power, taken by a provincial Governor in Akbar's day. It was published in the second year of the reign, when the Emperor's very supremacy was tottering, and when the law was emphatically not "of the land," but of the individual Captain. It had the result of giving to Muhammad Husain the nickname of "*Tukriyah*"—the Patcher—by which he is frequently mentioned by his contemporaries.

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* For details as to revenues and charges, see the Aín (Col. Jarrett, pp. 110 and 318.

Distasteful as a Patcher must have been to the Hindús of his district, he won liking and gratitude from his co-religionists by the more worthy means of lavish expenditure of revenue on shrines, mosques, and places of pilgrimage.

Tukriyah governed Láhor some three years, and his own act ended his rule. It is now 1559 (967 H.), and fifteen years have passed since Bairám drew Husain to his banner. In his early days, youth and the soldier spirit were stronger in Tukriyah than sectarian rancour, and had allowed him to serve under a Shí'ah, while three lustrums of alliance through stress and struggle had forged a link which could be broken neither by bigotry, waxing with age, nor by feudal subordination to Akbar. So that now, in 1559, when Bairám fell from his place of power in the way that is known from the histories, Muhammad Husain stood by him to the end;—fought for him at Jálíndhar, again at Kanur Phillaur, and, in this final effort, was wounded in the eye and captured by the Imperialists.

Some will see no excuse for a vassal's resistance to his feudal chief. From Muhammad Husain's point of view, much was visible, if he looked backward, to justify fidelity to the General who had been the soul of success in two reigns: if he looked forward, the fall of Bairám must have seemed only the counterpoise to the rise of Máhum Anagah, and he could not know that, in her due and brief time, she too would yield to Akbar's capacity to rule alone. It must have seemed better—both for Empire and Sovereign—that Bairám, the soldier and practised statesman, should be supreme, rather than an ignorant woman. We should not quarrel with the Patcher, if he were less moved by these questions of policy than by the respect, affection and habit of faithfulness which fifteen years had toughened past breaking.

It was reasonable that the insubordinate Governor of Láhor should be superseded, and it is pleasant to find that in dealing with a vassal whose failure in loyalty might, with every appearance of justice, have been visited with severity, the young king showed a kindness which foreshadows the clemency of his manhood. Directly after his capture at Kanur Phillaur, Muhammad Husain was placed under the care of a grandee, 'Abdul Majíd, in no way uncongenial to him, and shortly afterwards made over to the watch and ward of one of his own brothers-in-law, a son of Mahdí Qásim He was not otherwise punished, and, without long interval, had Patiálí allotted to him, for his maintenance.

Patiálí has one claim to distinction which puts us in touch with Muhammad Husain, by letting us know what must at times have been in his thoughts: it was the birth-place, in 1253, (651 H.) of the "prince of Cúfí* poets," Amír Khusrau, servant of seven kings, and a centre of charm and poetic radiance. In naming him, the literary leaven of even Badáoní gets the better of his spleen, and where he would have cursed the free-thinker, he blesses the poet.

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* See Persian Poets—Ouseley, page 146.

Patiálí * was a fall from Láhor, and little can have been expected from its holder, but that something efficient was expected from Muhammad Husain, is clear from the following episode. In appreciating it, it must be remembered that, spite of forgiveness proffered and accepted, the ally of Bairám had yet to prove his renewed loyalty to Akbar. The place was the modern North-West, the year 1564 (972 H.), and a formidable rebellion had to be put down. Muhammad Husain, as well as a number of "tried warriors," did not fight well, and were reported to the Emperor, as being " sick of the command " of their superior officers. The rebels were Uzbaks, and, alas for ideal fidelity! their leader was the victor of Pánípat, the Khán Zámán, 'Alí Qulí Shaibání. Husain Khán had a certain bias which doubtless to himself excused slackness; for 'Alí Qulí had long shared the battles of Bairám; his services, position, descent and hereditary claim to tolerance resembled those of Bairám himself, and must have appealed to the sympathy of Bairám's faithful ally. Others besides our Husain were moved by these facts, and in truth no one wished to proceed to extremes except the chief in command, Mír Mu'izzulmulk Músawí. This man was a Shí'ah of the Shí'ahs, who gloried in descent from an Imám not recognised by Sunnís He was arrogant and boastful, and, over and above all this, was a Sayyid of Mashhad —a fact which, if there be any background of truth in Badáoní's witticisms, connoted as much that is disagreeable as can well be packed into an epithet.

Muhammad Husain's slackness was lightly punished; he was debarred from the presence, rebuked, and then restored to favour. This leniency appears to show capacity in Akbar for putting himself in another's place, and seeing by another's lights.

In 1565, (973 H.), the year following this characteristic little affair, fortune reversed the *rôles* of Husain and his whileom warder, 'Abdul Majíd, who was now Governor of Gondwanah, wealthy with the spoil of the gallant Durgáwatí, and powerful with a force which Nízámuddín estimates at 20,000. He lapsed into disobedience, and the Emperor commissioned Mahdí Qásim to oust him from his fief and occupy it. 'Abdul Majíd did not wait for punishment, but marched off before his successor's arrival and joined the Uzbaks. Gondwanah was a lucrative appointment, but it had drawbacks which neutralised this advantage, and Abul Fazl tells us that its wildness and the uncivilised character of its people disgusted Mahdí Qásim. The latter must, by this time, have grown old, and age alone may have turned his thoughts to the pious duty of pilgrimage If so, the inclination was strengthened by dislike for his new fief, and he was now led to undertake the journey to Arabia. He asked no permission, awaited no successor, but, having partitioned the district amongst the *amirs* of his following, turned his back on Gondwanah and made for the western coast. He was duteously set on his way by Husain, who accompanied him into the Satwás district of Máiwah. Here the kinsmen parted, and here Husain found himself in the swirl of rebellious commotion. This time the disturbers were the "Mírzás," who, in great force and under their chief, Ibráhím Husain, were threatening the town of Satwás.

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* Its feudal obligations were for 100 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, and its revenue was Rs. 11,414. Here, as elsewhere, revenue amounts, taken from Colonel Jarrett's translation of the *Aín*, are given in Akbar's *Jalalah rupís* and 40 *dáms* reckoned to the rupí.

The Governor of Satwás, Muquarrab Khán, shut himself within its walls, and with him went Husain Khán, who, although he had probably some part of his pilgrim uncle's muster with him, was by no means strong enough to cope with Ibráhim. Satwás was closely beleaguered and reduced to the point of starvation, but it held out pluckily until surrender was brutally enforced on Muqarrab by the exhibition to him, on a spear point, of a murdered brother's head, and the exposure, in front of the enemy's lines, of his captive mother. The harassed man yielded, attaching to his capitulation the condition of safe conduct for his comrade in defence, Husain Khán. To both royal *amirs*, Ibráhím Mírzá made pressing offers of advantage if they would join him, and both rejected his offers, brusquely and decisively. There may have seemed some chance of gaining the ally of Bairám and the abandoner of Gondwanah, but Ibráhím had not understood the limits of Husain's insubordination. It is somewhat remarkable that, having staunch opponents in his power, the Mírzá kept his word to both and let them go free, for he was not a man observant of promises: they were in his hands and he held lives of foes at the cheapest. Probably, in the case of Muhammad Husain, the bond of common Sunníism served as an additional safeguard, and probably, too, as on other occasions, Tukriyah's idiosyncracies stood him in good stead: part hero, part fool, as he must have seemed to his fellow nobles, he earned in days before he had acquired the fame of a *Ghází*, the consideration bestowed on an innocent.

Thus happily escaped from danger in Satwás, Muhammad Husain returned to his home in Patiálí, and hither came now—on a day to be marked with a white stone—the gossip and chronicler, 'Abdul Qádir Badáoní, to whose affection it is due that Tukriyah's character still rises above the mists of oblivion. Now there was knit up between Husain and Abdul a relation of master and man which was to last nine years, and now was initiated the friendship which speaks out in Badáoní's narrative of the doings of his master, whether he expresses praise, or, by excusing, blames. As followers of the story of Tukriyah, we gain a point of vantage when Badáoní enters his service. We are taken at once into an inner circle of intimacy by perusal of the reasons—creditable to both men—which led the bookman to attach himself to the then scanty fortunes of the soldier. "Since he was a teacher of polite learning, and condescending, and dervish-like, and brave and munificent, and of blameless life, a Sunní and attendant at the mosque ;—a patron of science, a friend of virtue, and easy of access, I had no desire to go and pay my respects elsewhere." Whatever a man's shortcomings as a grandee and provider of contingents, he must have been of impressive personality, when his biographer is compelled to an utterance such as this.

From behind every cloud, the sunshine of royal good-will broke forth anew upon Muhammad Husain, and in 1566 (974 H.) he received, in addition to Patiálí, the district of Shamsábád.*

His capacity in military matters having been thus increased, he was named (1566-974 H.) to a post which, under most circumstances, he would have coveted, that, namely of leader of the van of an army which was just about to take the field. But he failed to have his contingent ready by the appointed time and lost the command. Whether his defaulting was again due to his unwillingness to fight against 'Alí Qulí Khán, or whether to the cause named by Badáoní—the poverty-stricken and deplorable state of his troop after the misfortunes at Satwás—is not certain. He had gone to Shamsábád to refit, and his delay aroused royal displeasure. It cannot be denied that Muhammad Husain's plan of life always allowed a presumption of neglect to weigh against him. He was a "poor man with rich subjects," to whom money was as an "arrow or javelin which pierced his side," and who had no rest until he had given it away. He cast his revenues away from the bag's mouth, lavishly and petulantly, keeping no reserve for the decent ordering of his house or his troops, and he left daily needs unprovided for. One wishes Badáoní had told us what was thought of the wastrel in his home circle. Did his bravery, austerities and virtue compensate those who saw no battles and profited nothing by the open hand ? Pinched and fretted by the disorder of domestic finance, did not his wives and children sometimes murmur their version of "*Joie de rue, douleur de maison ?*"†

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* This appears to be the Shamsábád which lies north of Farruckábád. Its capital was Ráthor; it had a fort on the Ganges and a revenue of Rs. 1,784,608. It was charged with a levy of 400 Cavalry and 2,000 Infantry.

† Numa Rowmestan.—A. Daudet.

Perhaps Akbar accepted it as a fact that Patiálí and Shamsábád were not sufficient to support any considerable muster of men for such an economist as Tukriyah; at any rate he supplemented these fiefs by the gift, in the early part of 1567, (975 H.) of Lak'hnau.[*]

Some three years have now passed since Mahdí Qásim's unlicensed departure for Makkah, and the pilgrim has set his face homewards. He travelled by way of Persia and Qandahár, and, on his arrival in Hindústán, found the Emperor engaged in the siege of Rantanbhúr, (1567-975 H.) Thither he journeyed, and, having asked for pardon and presented a gift of Chaldaean horses, was appointed to Lak'hnau, in supersession of his son-in-law. Badáoní gives no reason for this transfer—possibly because the truth may not have been complimentary to his master. Whatever was Akbar's motive, it was not one which convinced Tukriyah of its justice, and he became violently angry with both the Emperor and his uncle. One infers that Mahdí had asked for the fief, or, at the least, had not pressed his kinsman's claims to retain it, for if the gift had been an arbitrary act of the Emperor's, Husain Khán would hardly have been so incensed against Mahdí Qásim as his words show him. He used words expressive of lasting breach—quoting from the Qoran: "This shall be a separation between thee and me," (cap. 18, 77.) and other passages indicating that he looked to the day of judgment to be righted. From angry word he went on to unjust deed, and avenged himself by injuring an innocent person. He put away Mahdí Qásim's daughter, who was the wife of his youth, and inferentially the mother of some of his children. He put her away "in disgust," and although he loved her, for the purpose of spiting his uncle, her father. He had long had a second wife, of whom we know only the fact of her existence, and he now married a third; another cousin and a daughter of Ghazanfar Beg. He thus effected a curious *quid pro quo*,—avenging one supersession by another—and, in so gratifying his anger, certainly showed himself regardless of the claims of wifely service, and also of an affection towards his wife which was sufficiently well known to find mention by Badáoní.[†]

A union dictated by spite could hardly turn out well; and this one proved disastrous to the bride, for, after a brief space, she was deserted. The household chronicler tells us that his master left Mahdí Qásim's daughter with her brothers, but that he left Ghazanfar's daughter "in helplessness." The close relationship of all parties might have afforded protection to the bride also, but one guesses that her marriage had angered her kinsfolk, inasmuch as it had made her an instrument of annoyance to Mahdí Qásim and his daughter.

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[*] The revenue of Lak'hnau was Rs. 43,669, and its military obligation was for 200 Cavalry and 3,000 Infantry. These numbers are for the city and circumjacent lands only, and it may be that the fief bestowed on Muhammad Husain included more of the *sarkar* than these.

[†] Sometimes the variations of translators are entertaining, especially when they are immaterial. At this point translators do not agree which of the two concerned—Husain and Husain's wife—offered the cheek and which bestowed the kiss. Sir Henry Elliot thinks he loved her; Mr. Lowe that she loved him!

When Akbar deprived Husain Khán of Lak'hnau, he offered him Kant- o-Golah, but it was not accepted, and the angry man took a departure all his own, by initiating the first of his guerilla expeditions which have made his name odious in history. These incursions were directed against the Hindús of the outer Himáláyás—subjects of Akbar against whom there was, at this time, no justification for a royal *amir* to take action. "Nevertheless," says Tukriyah's almoner, "he left Lak'hnau "with the intention of carrying on a religious war, and of break-"ing the idols and destroying the idol temples. He had heard "that the bricks of these were of silver and gold, and, conceiving "a desire for this and all the other abundant and unguarded "treasures of which he had heard a lying report, set out by "way of Audh towards the Sewalik Mountains."*

On the approach of the invaders, the Rájpúts withdrew further into the hills and left their country to do its very efficient part in its own defence. Crossing the Dotí *terai*, Muhammad Husain followed the track into Kumáon which had been taken in the first year of Akbar's reign, by Pír Muhammad Shirwání (Bairám's *vakil*), and came to a spot where some of the men of that earlier expedition had fallen and been buried. Here he halted, and here he read, over the graves, the *fatihah* "for the pure spirits of the martyrs."

"Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures; the most merci-"ful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, "and of thee do we entreat help. Direct us in the right way, in "the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those "against whom thou art incensed nor those that go astray."†

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* It will be seen that Badáoní uses the name Sewaliks in a more extended sense than we moderns give to it; the present expedition of Husain Khán took him into Kumáon, and he did not cross the Ganges, which is, I believe, the modern eastern boundary of the Sewaliks. Referring to the Gazetteer of the N.-W. Provinces for guidance as to the locality of this raid, I find Mr. Atkinson of opinion, that, of places named by Badáoní—Wajrail is Jurail or Diphail—the cold weather residence of the Dotí Rájahs, as being one of whom, Mr. Atkinson regards the Rájah Ranká, of the chronicle. Ajmír, named by Badáoní, as the capital of Rájah Ranká, Mr. Atkinson thinks is Ajmírgarh, near Dandaodhura, where the governor still has his residence.

† If we, too, read this, we touch the mind of Husain, as he knelt by those wayside tombs, and if we mentally add to the solemnity of the prayer, the reverence it inspires in devout Musalmans, we can realize a pious mood with which sympathy is spontaneous.

Muhammad Husain did further honor to those whom his creed taught him to call martyrs—men who had fallen in an infidel land and by the hands of unbelievers. He repaired their tombs and set up a seat (*cuffah*) close by, on which wayfarers might rest and recreate themselves with talk, and doubtless, too, with that amusement which crops up, in and out of season, in the chronicles—the composition and recitation of verses. These sociable and humane little observances go far to show that the Patcher was an example of the truth, that men are better than their creeds, and that his cruelty to Hindús was not of the heart, but of the doctrine. His duty to the faithful dead accomplished, he returned to the persecution of the no less faithful living—the Rájpút Hindús. He raided as far as Wajrail, a district belonging to a certain Rájah Ranká, and came to within two days' march of the Rájah's capital of Ajmír (Ajmírgarh) a town which Badáoní describes as a very mine of gold and silver, and musk and silk, and all the productions of Tibet.*

Happily for the lightening of the guilt which might otherwise have been Muhammad Husain's, it was not given to him to clutch the spoils of Ajmírgarh. His advance was checked by a natural phenomenon which the Hindús may well have thought a divine interposition in their behalf. Clouds gathered and rain fell in such masses, that neither food nor fodder could be procured, and famine loomed over the little band of invaders. Tukriyah's zeal was unquenchable, but that of his men was less proof; they grew so disheartened, that their leader's golden promises seemed but as a prating of trifles, and, whether he would or not, they dragged him to retreat. Their backward march made the opportunity for the Rájpúts, who issued from their hiding places, and taking up commanding positions above Muhammad Husain's line of retreat, showered down on his devoted band, stones and poisoned arrows. Most of the party fell by the way, and of the few who emerged again into the plains, many died later from the effects of the envenomed weapons. Badáoní was an eye-witness of the affair, and may well have had it in mind when he spoke later on, of having shared with Husain Khán many jungle wars and comfortless journeyings.

The raid into Kumáon had allowed Muhammad Husain's anger against Akbar to exhale, and he now betook himself to Court. The reception accorded to him there sufficiently shows that the Emperor looked on his escapade with other eyes than ours. Many considerations may have inclined him to treat the matter lightly; he was certainly always tolerant of the vagaries of the Patcher, and in this case, the punishment due to his unauthorised crescentade had been inflicted by the injured Rájpúts themselves, aided by the fierce storms native to their hills. Rájpúts have ever been stiff-necked, and, from the point of view of a foreign ruler, generally deserved more punishment than he could well inflict; besides all these considerations, there were those personal to the *Ghází* himself, and arising out of the circumstances under which he fared forth, in anger and humiliated pride—from his fief of Lak'hnau. So now, when asked for Kant-o-Golah,* Akbar gave it, and he did this, knowing well that it was sought because its position would afford Husain Khán a good *point d'appui* from which to start on other and avenging raids into Kumáon. It looks as though Akbar felt that it was desirable that victory over the Imperial arms for whatever cause or by whomsoever borne, must be punished by defeat.

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* Mr. Atkinson regards this mention of Tibet as referrible to the mart of Barmdeo, close to the Nipàl frontier, and a centre of Tibetan trade.

Muhammad Husain had now again a lucrative *jágír*, for, together with his new district, he still held Shamsábád and Patiálí. It is probable that he made Kant his head-quarters, a town of which the fine buildings still attest its former importance. From his new starting point, he made several other incursions upon the skirts of the hills, but seems never to have succeeded in penetrating into the interior of Kumáon. He lost many men from the ill-effects of the then, as now, notoriously bad water of the Dotí *térai*. In all his raids against infidels, he made more martyrs than victims, and his men suffered more at his hands for their fidelity, than the Hindús for their misbelieving.

In 1568 (976 H.) Badáoní took leave on private affairs, and was absent from his duties in Husain's household for more than a year. He returned in the sorriest plight, sick and wounded, and records that he was treated with the kindness of the kindest of fathers or brothers. The good Khán concocted remedies of tamarisk, but he could not successfully treat a broken skull, and Badáoní was compelled to quit Kant and seek elsewhere, the skilled assistance of a surgeon.

An interesting part of Tukriyah's story is reached in 1572 (980 H.), when he desists from following after infidels and turns his arms against rebels. The Mírzás were still in arms and had recently sided against Akbar, with others of their insurgent kidney in Gujrát, and been defeated at Sarnál. Ibráhím Husain fled from Sarnál, to do what mischief he might in the north, and now threatened Dihlí. The Jágírdárs of its neighbourhood were summoned for its defence, and amongst them, Husain Khán. He set out at once and was well on his way—at the village of Audh, in Jalesar, some 30 miles N. E. of Agrah—when word was brought to him that a certain Rájah Awesar was committing depredations close to his line of march. This Rájah was one of those Rájpúts who could not accustom themselves to the new order of Mughal supremacy;—he had been a source of trouble during the whole of Akbar's reign, had beaten many a royal captain, and had done to death many "excellent soldiers." Now, when Ibráhím's approach had drawn Muhammad Husain into Jalesar, the rebel Rájah was reported as lying in ambush for the Mughal leader,—by the connivance of the country people—in the jungle of the village of Nouráhí, in Jalesar.

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* This fief appears to be approximately the modern Sháhjahánpúr, and included a stretch of the submontane tract bordering on Kumáon. It does not appear in Col. Jarrett's translation of the *Aín*, as one holding, and I am unable to state its revenue or obligations.

If England had not had her gentlemen of the road robbing travellers and defying authority much later than the day of Elizabeth and 1572, Englishmen might think little of a foreign government which, in eighteen years, had not put down Awesar: but Hounslow Heath softens judgment on Nouráhí!

During the conflict which occurred between Muhammad Husain—the representative of order—and the Ràjah—its foe—Badáoní was with his master, and he gives an account of the affair so graphic and realistic that it must be quoted.

"At midday on the 15th of the blessed month of Ramzán "in the aforesaid year, when the men were off their guard "and marching in loose order, and most of them were fasting,—"suddenly the rattle of musketry and arrows burst upon them, "and they found themselves engaged in a hot skirmish. The "Rajah, with the help of the villagers, had erected crows nests "in the trees, and from that vantage-ground many useful men "became marks for arrows and musket balls, and some were "martyred and others were wounded. At the very beginning "of the battle-moil, a musket ball struck Husain Khán below "the knee, glanced off and struck his saddle, but with great "presence of mind, he grasped the pommel and kept his seat. "I threw water on his face. Those who were around him and "in front, thought that it was perhaps weakness caused by "fasting, but I seized his bridle, wishing to draw him under "the shelter of a tree where he might be safe from the shower "of arrows. When there, he opened his eyes, and, contrary "to his usual custom, shot a glance of anger at me and "querulously made signs, as much as to say, 'What are you "holding my reins for? You had better go down into the "battle.' So they left him in that state and went down and "joined the fray. Such confusion then raged, and so many "men were killed on both sides, that imagination were too "weak to number them." It must be parenthetically observed that there is no time recorded at which the living of Tukriyah's force could not easily be numbered, and this without aid from any imagination. "Eventually, in accordance with the promise, "'Al-Islam shall conquer and not be conquered,' towards "evening the breeze of victory blew to the side of the small "handful of religious warriors; and the infidels, company by "company and crowd by crowd, took to flight, but not before our "soldiers were so tired that they could scarcely wield a sword or "shoot an arrow. In that thick forest they became so "commingled, that friend could not be distinguished from foe, "and yet, through weakness, they could not make an end of "one another. Some of the servants of God showed such "fortitude as to merit the excellence both of waging a holy "war and also of maintaining a strict fast. But I, on the "contrary, was so weak, that I took a single draught of water "to moisten my throat, for want of which some gave up the "ghost, and several excellent friends of mine became martyrs."

Muhammad Husain was in no case to pursue the Mírzá, and now returned to Kant, where, while awaiting the healing of his wound, he occupied himself in strengthening his defences. Before he was able to sit his horse, news reached him that Ibráhím Mírzá was in his paternal district of Sambhal, with a force which Nizámuddín estimates at 300. Hereupon Tukriyah had himself carried in a litter by forced marches to the town of Sambhal. The roll of his midnight drums caused some alarm to the *amírs* who were gathered within its walls to oppose the Mírzá. Badáoní—in his character of retainer of a dare-all, fear-nothing—comments with laughing malice on the fear of the garrison, and on their relief of mind when they knew that a friend had come to their assistance.

On the next day, there was held a conference of all the assembled Mughul *amírs*, but no plan of action was agreed on, because Husain Khán could by no means concur with the scheme which approved itself to his colleagues. Their suggestion was that all but Husain himself should go to Ahár, where were other *amírs*—there wait till Husain's arrival, and *then* discuss a plan of action. The scheme does not seem one likely to serve for the defence of Dihlí, because Ahár is south of the capital, and the Mirzá was to its north and moving west. Muhammad Husain's disapproval was expressed in no uncertain terms.

"'Good God,' he exclaimed, 'the Mirzá came here with a "small party of horse, and, although your numbers more than "doubled his, you took refuge in the fort of Sambhal, and you, "twenty or thirty *amírs*, all old soldiers too, with a large force, "are so dismayed, that you would shut yourselves up in the "fortress of Ahár, which is a regular rat-hole. This will en-

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"courage the Mírzá to make further attacks on the Imperial "territories Now there are two courses open, one of which "we must follow. Either you must cross the Ganges and must "intercept the Mírzá and prevent his getting over the Ganges. "I will follow up his rear and we shall see what will happen. "Or I will hasten and cross the Ganges and head the Mírzá "while you pursue him. This is our duty as loyal subjects.' "But" continues Badáoní, "they could not agree upon any course "until Husain Khán, driven by necessity, went off in haste with "the horsemen he had to Ahár, and inveighed loudly against their "shutting themselves up in that fortress. He brought them "out and repeated the same counsel to them. 'The enemy,' he said, 'is enclosed in the heart of the country, and is just "like a hare appearing in the midst of a camp; if you move "briskly, we shall be able to make a fine *coup* and take him alive, "and the glory of the victory will be yours!'"

Meantime the upshot of the limited responsibility of the *amírs* of Ahár and Sambhal was, that the Mírzá had the country at his mercy. He had left A'zarpore, on Husain Khán's approach, and had gone to Amrohah, a place not far from Luk'hnor on the Ramganga. With a following augmented by disloyal scamps from far and wide, he "sprang like a rook on a cleared chessboard" into the heart of the country—plundering and ravaging with a brutal lawlessness which even now—when all the actors in the play have long since passed away—makes one indignant with the men who could have crushed him, if they had cared for the helpless peasantry. That Ibráhím could have been crushed, seems certain from examination of the forces which Ahár and Shambal could have furnished. However much below the nominal rank of the respective commanders their contingents may have been, their combined muster would greatly outnumber Ibráhím's 300. The Commandant of Shambhal was a Commander of One Thousand and had with him twenty—probably lesser—*amirs* in Ahár, there were, of the men named by Badáoní, Commanders of One Thousand, of Nine Hundred, of Two Hundred and Fifty, etc. Husain Khán, it is true, appeared with 200 to support his dignity of a Commander of Three Thousand, but he was always exceptionally faulty in the maintenance of balance between his rank and his muster.

Ibráhím left Amrohah, and having crossed the Ganges by the ford of Choubálah, turned westward along the great highway to Láhor. In his wake, and plundered and desolated in hearth and field, he left Pánípat, Sónpat and Karnál. Let us rejoice, be we of what race we may, that in our time the peasantry of Hindústán sleep secure from such demon work as Ibráhím's under the shadow of a flag which is stronger to save than even the great Akbar's.

Two *amírs*—Turk Subhán Qulí and Farrukh Díwánah—joined their small followings to Muhammad Husain's, and the three, after taking hasty, and, doubtless, scornful leave of the *amirs* who elected to remain behind, set out in pursuit of Ibráhim. They first made for Gadha Mukteswar, a town on the Ganges and north of Ahár, at which they would strike into the highway travelled by the rebels. At this place evidence was forthcoming that the reproaches of Tukriyah had not been ineffectual, for here, a letter overtook him which urged, "Do not be in a hurry, for we will join you. Eleven are better than nine." The writers followed their letter, coming, says Badáoní, "more by compulsion than free will, and the verse of the glorious word, 'Thou thinkest them to be united but their hearts are divided.'"*

Husain did not wait for their arrival, but, hurrying on, gathered as he went, tidings of the misery wrought by the Mírzá such as would add wings to his speed. The Ahár *amírs* marched at some distance in his rear, and so continued to march to Sarhind, and beyond it they refused to budge. They had strenuously objected to quit Ahár;—well might they become refractory when, in Sarhind, they had followed their magnet more than two hundred miles. They halted, and Muhammad Husain, with his faithful captains, went on in their long stern chase to Lúdhiánah.

In Lúdhiánah came authentic news as to the whereabouts of the Mírzá;—he had drawn near to Láhor, she had closed her gates against him, and he had passed on to Sher Gadha and Jhanní.

In or near Lúdhiánah, other news reached Tukriyah which stirred him to characteristic action. It came from Bairám's nephew, Husain Kulí Khán (the later *Khán Jáhán*), and was to the effect that he was himself on the way to oppose Ibráhím, and marching south from Kangrah and Nagarkot.

These two Husains were old comrades—their association dating from at least as early as the siege of Qandahár, (1545). Both had long fought under Bairám, and both had together done their part in the battles which based the empire of Humáyún and Akbar. In their young days, there had surely been many a friendly tussle for renown between them, but of late years, their roads had lain apart:—now, when Husain Khán knew that the eyes of both looked once more to the same goal, memory quickened the old spirit of rivalry, and he vowed a vow,—"in that madness which a thousand times had got the "better of his judgment," interjects his almoner,—that he would eat no food until he had joined Husain Qulí. It was a fatuous vow, for how could hard work be done by a fasting man? But if Tukriyah could have put together these two elements—the work and the means—he would have not been our man of unwisdom, nor have been distinguished from the mass of brave and daring soldiers of Akbar.

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* (*Qorán* LIX, 425. Sale.) exactly fits the case.

Probably he desired to set himself before his old comrade as still able to bear the privations they had borne in company:—who knows but that they had made some such vow and kept it in earlier days? Hardness and privation they must have shared in their youth, and many a night of weariness and probable hunger, when life was full of watchful journeyings and unremitting effort to prevail in Hindústán. Such a background of common experience would prompt Tukriyah to prove that pluck and persistence were still alight in him. He made his vow somewhere near Lúdhiánah, so that he had time to reach a very uncomfortable degree of starvation before (as will be told) relief came—over 100 miles further on—at Sher Gadha, in Jhanní.

Husain Khán crossed the Biáh (Bias), a little above its junction with the Satlaj and by the ford of Talwandí. Thence he made speed to Sher Gadha, where he sought quarters at the monastery of a noted Shaikh, Dáúd Qádirí, surnamed Jhanínwal, who welcomed him with gracious words and proffer of generous hospitality. "The monastery," says Badáoní, "provided enter-"tainment for all the party, and the Shaikh's private fields fur-"nished grass and corn for the horses." These words guide one's eye across the fields of Sher Gadha to the background of sandy roads, scant provision, and still more scanty pasture which had been the portion of the wearied troop since it left the fertile lands of Gunga.

Dáúd Qádirí offered food to his guest, and the latter declined it on the ground of his oath. The Shaikh replied that it was easy to atone for a vow, but foolish to distress one's friends. Herein one catches the echo of argument which the dry good sense of an intimate had already urged on the march from Lúdhiánah. It is indeed probable that the first impulse of self-immolation satisfied by the utterance of the vow, Muhammad Husain had himself reached a repentant stage. Now, without demur, he sent for a slave, and with one manumission freed the neck * of a true believer from captivity and himself from his folly. If one had forgotten a modern war of which the root was slavery, one might smile at this exhibition of crude thought as to human brotherhood. There stood a slave:—here is a free man:—freed for no better reason than to lift from another man the burden of a hasty word.

One night only was spent by Tukriyah at the monastery, then he refreshed himself, and with men and horses full of the content with which well-enjoyed hospitality had soothed their long-suffering frames, he flung himself once more on his quest. Marching down the Barí Duab, he learned that both friend and foe were near Tulambah, a town on the Ravía, and a little to the

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* *Qorán* V. p. 134. (Sale)

north-east of Multan He heard this when he was within one stage of the place, and, burning to have his share in the coming fray, hurried off a note to Husain Qulí. : "Since I have come 400 *kos*" (some 800 miles) "by forced marches—if you would let me have a share in the victory, and put off the fight for one "day, it would be only friendly." The answer was an acquiescent, "All right!"

Nevertheless Husain Qulí fought without Tukriyah; not for the bad reason insinuated by Badáoní's clannishness, but because the Mírzá—with curious *insouciance* in a man who had a foe at his heels—had chosen to go hunting and his troops could be attacked at advantage. Husain Qulí seized the moment and, after a stubborn tussle, came off victorious.

On the day following the fight, Muhammad Husain, with drums gallantly beating, came up—his force dwindled to eighty. Badáoní was not with him, for he had remained a few days in Sher Gadha, coquetting with the temptation of becoming a dervish, and of retiring to sweep the monastery of the "Pole Star of Saints"—Shaikh Dáúd Jhanníwal. But his narrative reads like one had at first hand, and little stretch of fancy is needed to let us see him, rejected by the saint and returned to the soldier, listening to the tale of interim adventure. It is a taking little picture, that of the way-worn, shabby band, drumming itself into the well-found camp of the grandee;—its tall leader alert in eye and ear, as to the fight he hopes he yet may share, his hearty greeting to his friend, too genial to be clouded by more than a bluff word of discontent at his luck in coming late;—then out go the two together to the field, and the victor describes the struggle, and sets forth, to a sympathetic listener, the gallant exploits of his men.*

When the fray had thus been fought again, the baulked activity of Tukriyah leaped up;—the business was not complete, he said, so long as the rebel, who had fled northwards, was at liberty. Husain Qulí was content with his success and declared himself willing to let other friends have their share of glory;—he had come far and his men were weary, and had suffered hardships amongst the Rájpúts and their stubborn hills. This was enough for Tukriyah;—it was true his men had come far, a much longer journey than from Nagarkot;—they, too, were weary; they were few and ill-provisioned;—but what of this, or any detriment? They had had no reward of fighting. Some of the eighty were at the end of their endurance; these betook themselves for rest to Láhor, and with them went Husain's few elephants and his historic drums.

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* To give Husain Qulí's victory its due value, it should be said that it was not gained from Ibráhim only. The latter had—probably at Tulambah,—joined his brother, Mas'ud Husain Mirzá and others of the rebel crew, who had come up from Gujrát. Their numbers must have been considerable, because we find that 100 men of rank placed themselves under the protection of our Husain, when the Mírzás had been defeated.

In his pursuit of the Mírzá, Muhammad Husain was indisputably desirous of doing loyal service to Akbar; he loved the rapid and adventurous nature of the work; and it is also possible, that both these motives to activity were strengthened by a third, namely, desire to hold his own benefactor at his mercy and repay his debt. But no success crowned his efforts throughout the whole affair with Ibráhím.

When Ibráhím Mírzá returned from his sport to Tulambah, he found that he could effect nothing against the victorious Mughals, and turned his bridle in flight towards the north. Husain Khán followed and had come to within measurable distance of the fugitive party, when it halted for a night, not far from Sobraon—at the junction of the Satlaj and Biáh. Here the peasants of the district attacked Ibráhím, and in the fray he received his death wound. It is not for us to follow his story except where it touched our Husain's, and as we do this, it is pleasant that we find Tukriyah again sound and straightforward of heart.

Baulked once again of his quarry, Tukriyah retraced his steps southwards, and following the wounded prince—who as a prisoner was being conveyed to Multán—betook himself to his kinsman Sa'íd Khán-i-Chagatái, the then Governor of Multán. He desired to have an interview with the fallen Mírzá, but felt it difficult to reconcile his duty to the Emperor and that to the man who had spared his life at Satwás. He discussed the point with his host. "If," he said, "when I see "him, I salute him, it will be inconsistent with my duty "to the Emperor, and, if I do not salute him, it will be discourte-"ous, and the Mírzá will say to himself—'See this uncircum-"cised fellow who, when he received quarter at Satwás, made "obeisances without end, and, now that evil days have fallen "on me, treats me cavalierly.'"

The difficulty was laid before the Mírzá, who invited the Khán to visit him without making obeisance. Having thus set his loyalty above doubt, Muhammad Husain paid his visit, and, it is pleasant to know, satisfied his chivalrous sense of duty to a benefactor, by making the salutation due to a prince.

One point in the conversation which ensued brings out the fact that Ibráhím—evil as had been his life and full of cruel act or connivance—shared Muhammad Husain's devotion to their common tenets. At this supreme crisis of his career, the wounded man could spare thought for sectarian consistency and regret to his fellow-Sunní, that he had been defeated by the Shi'ah, Husain Quli. "Would to God!" he cried, "I had "received this defeat (at Tulambah) at your hands, that it "might have been a cause of advancement to you who are "my co-religionist, and not from Husain Qulí Khán, who is "an alien in sect and religion." If things had fallen out as he wished, it is probable that he might have lived to trouble Akbar's peace again, for assuredly Husain Khán would have done all in his power to give a life where he had received one and to save a Sunní.

His farewells said, Tukriyah turned his face towards his distant home. If one follows his journeyings on a map, one sees what Ibráhím had cost him in travel. Badáoní describes the journey from Kant to Tulambah as one of hardships and of more than 500 *kos* (1,000 miles)— add to this what was traversed later and the return march;—recall the sand, glare, barrenness of much of the route, and the expedition may well be reckoned an achievement of the first magnitude.

Husain's own return party must have been small, and it says a good deal for his reputation, both as a man whose intercession would weigh with the Emperor, and as one who might be expected to use his influence for clement aims, that "100 Kháns," followers of the fallen Mírzá, took refuge with him after their defeat at Tulambah and now accompanied him to Kant. With him, too, were certain prisoners of the Mírzá's troops. While the Kháns tarried with Muhammad Husain, they heard what must have made them rejoice, that they had elected to surrender to Tukriyah and not to Husain Qulí, for it is sad to have to say that the gallant victor of Tulambah was guilty of horrible cruelty, and had indelibly stained his name by studied brutality to his prisoners. He had taken these to Court, and, while there, made mention to the Emperor of those others who were with Husain Khán. On inquiry being made concerning them, the Khán replied that, having received no orders to put them to death, he had set them free, and, in so doing, had performed an act of clemency in the royal name. He had, indeed, simply given all leave to depart, when he heard of the cruelties practised by Husain Qulí. By this act he discharged his debt to Ibráhìm Mírzá in the way within his scope. The Emperor forgave the act of mercy and imposed no penalty.

Brief notices in the *Akbarnamah* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawáríkh* let us know that in 1573 (981 H.) Muhammad Husain accompanied Akbar to Gujrát, and Badáoní mentions that he was distinguished for his bravery in the forefront of the battle of Karí, by the royal gift of a scimitar—a "crescent scimitar" which was Akbar's most renowned of scimitars. Towards the end of this same year, the household association of Husain Khán and Abdul Qádir came to an end. From the reticence with which Badáoní speaks of the matter, one infers that the parting was due to a series of impressions and occurrences which had, for some time, suggested to him, that better fortune might be in store for him elsewhere than under Muhammad Husain. Certainly he had contemplated change for some time before the final breach. He does not name the cause of the rupture, but he assumes the blame, and asks his mother to intercede for him with Muhammad Husain. Even with this statement before us, we feel sure that he had no real desire that her intercession should succeed. We may well leave the matter where Badáoní does, and not attempt to saddle either of the men concerned with blame or incompatibility. Writing subsequently, and when Muhammad Husain was dead, Badáoni calls his change of service "a trick of fortune" and "a strange matter." He adds, "but one piece of opposition, though to use such a strong "term in connection with him, were a shame and a dire in-"justice, did I meet with from him, and that was in military "matters and the affairs of the world!" Possibly Badáoní had laid before the old soldier, the desire which he nourished of becoming a military commander. If to this he added that he wished to make money by changing his pen for the sword —a reason urged upon Badáoní himself by a friend who advised him to ask the Emperor for a command—it is easy to infer that he would hear some unpleasant truths in opposition to his scheme. The quarrel—if so it may be called—may well rest in obscurity. It is for our greater edification that the two friends should part, for now Badáoní placed his services—his erudition, his voice "ravishing with the tones of the parrot"—and all his admirable qualities as chronicler, observer, and gossip at the feet of the Emperor.

One result of the rupture between Husain and 'Abdul is that Badáoní's narrative as to his old patron's doings becomes briefer. It is difficult to see the import of what is next recorded of the Khán, but it is indisputable that he ought to have been fighting in Bengal and was not there. A messenger from the field reported to the Emperor that, although Muhammad Husain's brother was doing his duty, the former was not with the army, but was harrying the *banjárás* near Lak'hnau and Audh. Badáoní discredits the accusation because there was ill-blood between the informant and the accused, arising out of the contiguity of their respective fiefs. Whether Muhammad Husain was injuring the grain-purveyors or not, the Emperor was displeased with his neglect of duty, and on the next occasion of his visit to Court, ordered Sháhbaz Khán, the *Mír Bakhshi*, to exclude him from the roped enclosure of the royal tent, and also deprived him of his *jágír*.

Taken together with what follows, there is ground for thinking that the root of this unsatisfactory episode, as well as of other and later acts of insubordination, was anger against the rules for regulating contingents *(dágh-o-mahall)*[*] If this supposition is right, it must have caused still greater bitterness to the defaulter, that his punishment should have appertained officially to Sháhbaz Khán, in whose hands was the enforcement of the branding rules. The Emperor's anger, working with his own and his bias to asceticism, determined Muhammad Husain to become a *kalandar*. If he could have divested himself of his love of battle, the status of a religious mendicant was the one best fitted to his taste. Life from hand to mouth, in an atmosphere of devotional fervour, disorder, and personal restriction, was the true vocation of his middle age.

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[*] See 'Aín. (Blochmann) p. 233 and 235.

Now he stripped himself of possessions till he was as bare as *Alif*; he gave away everything—elephants, horses and military stores—and reduced himself to destitution. Not, be it observed, that he restored these things to the person who had best claim to them—the Emperor, as giver of the fiefs from which they were derived—quite the reverse;—they were bestowed on "students and worthy people" and the attendants at Humáyún's shrine—in the neighbourhood of which the incident occurred. Akbar did not wish to drive his old vassal to desperation, and, being tolerant of his vagaries, proffered forgiveness, gave back his *jágirs* for another and probationary season, and made a promise which appears to elucidate the whole episode;—namely, that tax-gatherers should not interfere with him, and that, when he had put his troops on the footing required by the *dágh-o-mahalli*, he should receive a suitable *jágir*. An inference from these two promises may be, that pressure had been applied to bring about some reasonable balance between the Khán's means and his muster, and that the latter had fretted, fumed, resisted, and, as an upshot, had not gone to Bengal.

To the pardon of the defaulter, Akbar added pleasantness by the gift of a shawl and of one of his own quivers of arrows. This is the second time that a gift has been made to Tukriyah of something which was the Emperor's personal property; if these gifts may be read in our fashion, they indicate intimacy bordering on affection. Doubtless, cheered by royal kindness and promises, Muhammad Husain returned to Kant. In ending the recital of this episode in his old master's career, 'Abdul Qádir remarks, "So he, who through his *extreme liberality and boundless extravagance, and though exceeding all limits of reasonable power and the exhibition of it*, was not able to muster 10 horsemen, procrastinating through force of circumstances, at length arrived at his *jágir* and kept close to the northern mountains." The words italicised, no doubt, reflect views current at Court and must be admitted justifiable.

Royal clemency did not have the result of taking Muhammad Husain to Bengal. It is now 1575 (983 H.), and he once more sets forth upon a crescentade to the Sewáliks. We are told that he left his *jágír* and began to plunder in the Duab. Whom he plundered is not clear;—Badáoní, fumbling for any excuse for his old patron, says the victims were the "disaffected of "the neighbourhood who, deeming the payment of rent unnecessary, never used to return any answer to their feudal lord, "so that you may guess what happened to the helpless duped "non-plussed, dishonoured tax-collectors!" The excuse does more credit to the writer's heart than to his head, and is not borne out by the acts of the tax-collectors, who close the gates of their towns and cry loudly to the Emperor for help against their supposed friend. Tukriyah moves on from the Duab to the Eastern Dún and Basantpúr, a thriving town of that district. "Then," continues the chronicle, "the tax-"collector of T'hánesswar shut the gates of the fort and the "other tax collectors, in like manner, in a fright, having run "into their holes, spread a false report that Husain Khán was "in rebellion, and sent a petition to that effect to the Em-"peror." It looks as though the plundering in the Duab had been a commissariat raid, and that tax-collectors who shut town gates were royal officers in fiscal charge of Hindú resorts which, as such, tempted the Ghází spirit of Tukriyah. Obscure as the matter is, however, the past career of the chief actor allows no suspicion of disloyalty,* although both byegone and present difficulties fully justify accusations of "exceeding all limits of reasonable power and the exhibition of it."

Thanks to the presence of Abdul Qádir at Court, we know something of the reception accorded to the cry of the tax-collectors. It chanced that, at the time, Sa'íd Khán-i-Chagatai had come up from Multán and was with the Emperor. As he was both a kinsman and friend of the accused, he was asked to give an opinion on the accusation of rebellion. He repudiated it utterly, while at the same time declining to accede to a request one can hardly believe serious, that he should give a bond of indemnification for the cattle carried off in the Duab by Husain Khán's men. Badáoní is scornful over a friendship which would not back its word by a bond, but he does not appear to have flung his own resources into the breach to recoup the cattle-lifting of hungry troopers.

Something had to be done to mend the evil case of the tax-collectors, and Akbar's course of action again shows kindly feeling. Three *amirs* were commissioned to coerce Tukriyah to the right way; every one of whom was well-disposed to the offender. But the *Ghází's* fate had been decided before they could bring their persuasion to bear on him: his investment of Basantpúr had failed, and many a man of his troop had paid a death penalty for his leader's unrighteous attempt on the liberties and property of Rájpút subjects. Muhammad Husain was used to wounds and carried many a scar, but, at Basantpúr, a musket shot which struck him under the shoulder blade dealt him the blow which was to be his last. He turned from the scene of his discomfiture, and making for the Ganges, dropped down its stream towards his home. At Gadha Mukteswar, he was met by the three *amirs* commissioned to him by the Emperor, who conveyed him to Agrah and lodged him in the house of Cadiq Khán—once spur-holder of Bairám, a fellow Sunní and friend of thirty years standing. Akbar despatched a surgeon, Shaikh Bíná, to him, and, when the Shaikh declared that the wound was of a frightful nature, sent a second in consultation. With the latter, Hakím-ul-Mulk Gíláni, went Abdul Qádir.

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*Badáoní excuses Muhammad Husain here, and evidently thinks excuse is needed, by attributing this latest aberration from right, to the infirmity of age. The excuse may be accepted as explaining weakened judgment and the stronger sway of fanaticism. At this time, (1575-983 H.) Muhammad Husain had served Akbar twenty years; he had been a grown man at Qandahár in 1545. Here is a minimum of adult life of thirty years, and impressions gleaned along his story convey the impression that he had already left goodly years behind him in 1545. But it matters little whether age added to fanatical mania, or the latter alone, led to the expeditions against Basantpúr.

The wound was examined in the presence of Abdul Qádir, who can therefore testify that his hero was a hero to the end, and smiled under the horrible agony of the probe. This was the last meeting of the Khán and his old almoner, and in a few days news was brought to the latter, to Fathpúr, that Muhammad Husain was dead. The holder of four fiefs died in penury, and the cost of his burial was borne by a friend, who laid him with honour and respect in the strangers' resting place of Agrah. Subsequently his body was taken to Patiáli, and the date of entombment yielded to Badáoní's ingenuity the appropriate chronogram, "Bestower of Treasure."

Thus ended the turmoils and jarrings and inconsistencies which had fretted the unbalanced mind of Tukriyah. Sayyid Muhammad, a former Sunní judge of Amrohah, spoke of him as a man rich in heart and poor in purse, and, amid the tears called forth by the news of his death, declared that, if "any-" one wished to practise walking unspotted from the world, "he ought to act and walk just as Husain Khán had walked "and acted." Abdul Qádir pays his dead friend a tribute which is eloquent of the real worth and sincerity of both men. It shows that the bond which held them together, was fitness ripened to affection, and it sets Badáoní in a more likeable mood before us than any other of the many in which he had represented himself. Here is an overflow of genuine feeling in one man for another whom he mourns.

"Let it not be forgotten," he cries, "that the author enjoyed "the society of that unique one of the age for the space of "about nine years . . . And among the many venerable per-

"sons and spiritual directors of the age, I do not find a tithe of "a tenth part of that I found in him, who was in the Sunní "section, pure in faith, and in purity of conduct, perfectly sin-"cere and upright in spirit, without an equal, in valour peer-"less, in courtesy alike in his behaviour both to great and small, "and in disinterestedness without an equal in the age, in detach-"ment from worldly objects, stainless, in active service untiring, "in dependence on God without compare, in asceticism worthy "of a hundred praises ;—"

If Muhammad Husain had not been born a Musalman *amír* of good family, he would have made a *kalandar* of *kalandars*. The interest of his character lies in its blending two types—the austere and the martial—and this, too, accounts, in part, for the respectful consideration which was shown him by his contemporaries. Certainly he was a blot on the brilliance of his peers; certainly he declassed himself to live in squalor and confusion; and certainly very few would see, in his poverty and waste, the signs, which they nevertheless were, of devotion to a fixed standard of conduct. For to be—as he was—temperate and virtuous in ways uncommon to a Musalman grandee, and—thus self-governed—to have the physique of a fine man of action;—to tower amongst the strongest and tallest;—to be staunch, enduring, and pertinacious in the field;—to be dashing and fearless;—all this lights an unsullied radiance round our Husain, for, all the world over, it is the strong man self-subjected to virtue who wins the heart's worship.

We have often seen Husain Khán dealing with his fellow soldiers on equal terms and common ground. Then the martial spirit was in the ascendant. We have seen him, too, when the parallel motive of his conduct was uppermost—his monkish withdrawal from his actual rank. It is an excellent illustration of the first motive of his actions—his soldierly spirit—that his battle cry should have been "Martydom or victory"; and of the second, that, when told he ought to reverse the alternatives and give victory the lead, he should say that he desired rather to see the glorious dead than the lords of earth. The reply was natural from a man who could not live like his peers!

One of Muhammad Husain's best defined characteristics is his purism in creed. He obeyed the Prophet's law as it stands in the strict and narrow rules of its inception, and not in the broidered form wrought by time, and the interpretations of wealthy and erudite *'ulama*, still less as it was followed by his military colleagues. One of the 'ulama was once greatly exercised by the "voluntary poverty, expenditure, squandering "of property, unnecessary presents and extreme extravagance "in the distribution of pensions and grants," which friends lamented in Tukriyah. The theologian endeavoured to persuade the Khán to change his habits, but naturally his advice fell dead, and the wastrel certainly came off best in the encounter, for he could ask effectively a question to which there was no answer. "It is," said he, "simply a question between "obeying your order in the matter and following the tradition "of the Prophet; what choice can there be?" He turned the attack by reminding his assailant that men look to spiritual leaders for guidance in uprooting avarice, and not that these "should lend a false glitter to the accessories of transient trifles "and should make us avaricious, so as to sink among the lowest "of the low, in the unworthy pursuit of greed and avarice." Excellently said, if there were no middle path between avarice and waste! But there is no such middle path for a zealot; he sees one side of the road only—the side on which his eyes rest —on your opium, and not on his beer:—on your differing creed, and not the inefficiency of his own;—on your expenditure, and not his waste. Want of perception and balance sum this phase of Muhammad Husain's character—defects which caused him to overlook the fact, that the straight outcome of his theories was the non-acceptance of fiefs.

Badáoní has recorded several of the oaths and vows of the impetuous Khán. Amongst them is one which second thoughts would commend, namely, that every slave who came into his possession should have the first day for himself. Granting the existence of slavery, this was a considerate ruling. Another of his vows would sound wise enough in the mouth of an economist who could spend with sense, namely, that he would amass no treasure. Badáoní tells us, apropos of a vow, that his master's madness had a thousand times got the better of his judgment, and thus suggests a cloud of hasty oaths sufficient to have emancipated an army of slaves. What surprises and reticences and evasions must have been the portion of the followers of a man so apt to make new and startling resolutions and to back them by an oath! Much in the Khán's minor traits justifies the assertion that he was *gey ill to live wi'*

Badáoní's flood of commentary on his dead master, tempts to quotation, by its stamp of direct issue from the heart, and out of a full reserve of feeling He observed in his hero a "resolution and courage such as perhaps those renowned "heroes who have left their names emblazoned on the pages of "history, may not have possessed, and, not to mention his immense physical strength and prowess—they might have boasted of the same courage as that lion-like warrior."

Again;—speaking of Husain's open-handedness, he cries, "If by any possible supposition, the treasures of the world "and the Sultanate of the whole face of the earth could have "become accessible to him and have been delivered over to "him, the very first day he would have become a borrower."

Quite a delightful little specimen of Muhammad Husain's mystical views in money matters is embodied in 'Abdul Qádir's story, that it sometimes happened that his master would buy a number of horses at the price first named by the dealer, and would then say, "You and God know that a true merchant never demands too much." Possibly chaffer would have left the merchant the more honest man!

As a matter of course, Husain Khán died deeply in debt. His creditors, however, had their hearts so softened to his memory that we are told they tore up their bonds and brought no claim against his children. This is a story difficult of simple credence, but at least one may admit that there was generosity in foregoing claims for which vouchers were held. One must also admit that the unexpected may have happened when, as now, business relations issued in the departure from Husain's house of his creditors with prayers for the peace, pardon and acceptance of their dead debtor.

Mr. Blochmann has called Husain Khán the Bayard and Don Quixote of Akbar's reign, thus striking a guiding light for more detailed criticism by those whose work rests on his broad foundation labours. The comparison is delightfully suggestive, both where closer examination of Muhammad Husain's life shows that it holds, and where it serves but as a rough outline of the facts. The dreams of the oriental were not the gracious follies of the Knight of La Mancha, and his rough tilting against Hindúism clashes with the Don's gentler fantasies. Husain's courage rivalled Bayard's, but that it flowed from a source of lesser purity and light, one thought is sufficient to prove;—Bayard lived and moved on the narrow royal road of justice, and of justice Husain knew nothing.

Circumstances, rather than character, make another rift in the comparison. In the chivalry of Europe, the dreams of the Don and the devotion of Bayard, woman played an inwoven part. All which gave the glow of romance to feats of arms in Europe is missing from the Hindústán of the Mughals. What man of Akbar's day wore his lady's favour, under her eyes, at jousts and tourneys? Naturally one does not count eyes that may have been bright behind the *purdah!* Nor speak of Rájpútnís whose very *jauhar* ranks them above Musalmanís. It is not the fault of the man, but of the creed and the custom of his race, that in Muhammad Husain's story there is no gleam of the "fancy linked with love," which is the step to happier Western marriage. One regrets this now that one knows Husain better, because he would have made a true knight and dutiful lover of the sunniest days of chivalry. He missed this charm because he ran his course under the rule of social theories which crawl from beneath the *purdah*, and which forbid the equal ranking of even a sober and temperate Musalman—such as Husain was—with a knight, sworn in terms of respect to honor his lady. In Husain Khán's day, as with rare exceptions, it is sad to remember in our own also, Hindústán had none of the vivacity and brilliance of free girlhood, or of the duteous independence of women on whose honor is cast no stigma of seclusion.

Although his youth lacked the charm and grace of romance, Muhammad Husain's manhood approached more nearly to the European standard of domestic excellence than was at all common in his day. Up to within six years of his death, he was faithful to his two wives, and they might have kept their dual sway within his house to the end, but for a freak of his temper.

"Without fear" was Tukriyah, and as the blame of not "without reproach" would pass into speech, it is barred on the lip by more than the thought that, in this, he was as are all men;—it is barred too by the remembrance of the worthy acts of his life. Along the unbroken thread of his self-restraint, there slip the studded deeds that do him honour:—his mercy to Ibráhim's men:—his courtesy to Ibráhím himself: his compassion on the repentant Badáoní:—his vehement pleadings for right at Ahár:—his weary journeyings in his sovereign's service:—his honourable wounds, borne for faithfulness sake, whether to Akbar or Bairám:—his dauntlessness and independence:—and finally, evil as was its working, his steadfastness to the faith that was in him. These are bars to reproach, and we close his story with the thought that what lay behind Husain and fitted him to be but a drop in those "tides of faith that meet in narrow seas," was his heritage of creed and custom, just as other influences, baffling creed and custom, set Husain's sovereign—a spectator—on the heights above the turmoil, and let him think and say—as he might have said, if to his other gifts he had added that of the Laureate's song—the words which, marking the contrast between him and a Tukriyah, restfully close this little record of a jangling life:—

"I can but lift the torch
Of reason in the dusky cave of life,
And gaze on this great miracle, the world,
Adoring that who made, and makes, and is,
And is not, what I gaze on:—all else Form,
Ritual, varying with the tribes of men."

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

ART. II.—THE ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE LAW OF ITALY.

(Continued from No. 194, October 1893.)

3. MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

EXTRACTIVE and agricultural industry furnish man with the prime materials necessary for his needs; manufacturing industry transforms those materials into an infinite variety of products. The administration ought not to neglect this industry, as on its development and prosperity depends the well-being of the population.

Manufacture of weights and measures.—With the view of preserving the public confidence in contracts, the manufacture of weights and measures is subjected to certain restrictions. No one is allowed to manufacture them without first making a declaration to the Sub-Prefect, stating the place where he intends to exercise his art, and the kind of weights and measures he proposes to make; and he must, moreover, produce a certificate of good conduct from the Sindac of the place where he resides, and an impress of the mark he intends to use. All weights and measures must bear the mark of some manufacturer exercising his calling within the kingdom. Manufacturers must be provided with a complete set of model weights regarding the exercise of their art, stamped with the stamp of first verification, and they cannot keep in their shops or workshops different weights, even though they do not use them.

Goldsmith.—An industry, which in many countries is still subject to restrictive regulations, is the goldsmith's art. In Italy an obligatory hall-marking system used to prevail, but this was found inconvenient, especially after the abolition of the internal customs barriers. Experience showed that the responsibility assumed by the Government was too heavy, and that the guarantee often proved illusory, while State interference proved injurious to the development and diffusion of the industry. By the law of the 2nd May 1872 a voluntary was substituted for the obligatory system.

Gold and silver manufactures presented for assay and marking must be finished, all but the last polish. Fees are levied at the rate of 50 lira for every kilogramme of gold, and 5 lira for every kilogramme of silver or silver gilt.

Patents.—Although the name of property cannot be applied to the products of genius, still it is just that a reward should be given to the author of a work, whatever it be, a literary work, an industrial invention or discovery, or a manufacturing design or model, he having rendered a service to society, and very often at considerable expense to himself. This reward consists in guaranteeing to him for a time the exclusive application and fruit of his work. This is done by the grant of patents (*brevetti*).

A patent cannot be claimed except for an invention or discovery, which is new, lawful, and of an industrial character. Hence are excluded the discoveries of a purely scientific principle, or those which have not for their object the production of material objects. There is a difference between invention and discovery : that is invented, which has never existed : that is discovered, which had already existed, but which had hitherto escaped observation

Inventions of things made in foreign countries can also be patented in Italy, although they have been patented elsewhere, if the demand is made before the expiry of the period of the foreign patent.

A patent of improvement, or a modification of a privileged discovery, can also be accorded to the same inventor or to others. The period of privilege cannot be less than a year or more than 15 years.

Applications for patents are made to the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and must be accompanied by the payment of the tax and a description of the invention or discovery. with corresponding designs and models of such a nature as to permit of an expert putting them into practice. The application can be made direct to the Minister or at the local Prefecture or Sub-Prefecture.

The grantee of a patent can make over to another the exercise or license to manufacture, and can also transfer the patent; but, in order to have effect against third persons, the transfer must be registered at the office of the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and published in the official Gazette.

Merchandise Marks.—Merchandise marks are a guarantee for the purchaser, and still more for the manufacturer ; for the former, because they afford him the means of knowing the quality and origin of the goods ; for the latter, because the trade-mark is the indication of his fame, of the speciality of his industry, or the beginning of his business. The absence of any mark diminishes the price of the goods, while its presence raises a presumption that the goods possess all those qualities which are attributed to them by commercial and public opinion. Therefore the law secures to the manufacturer the use of the mark, and prohibits counterfeits or fraudulent imitations of it.

A person who wants to use a certain mark or sign must make a special declaration before a Prefect that it is distinct from any mark or sign already legally used by any other person, and must file two copies of it, and pay the tax of 40 lira. One of the copies is deposited with the Chamber of Commerce.

Those who rear cattle also sometimes brand their own breeds with a particular mark, both to get a better sale, and to distinguish them from the cattle of other persons kept in the vast natural prairies or mountains. In such cases it is evidently necessary that the animal should carry with it, so to speak, its own civil state, and the proof of its origin.

Infringements of the law relating to patents and merchandise marks are punishable with a fine, which may extend to 2,000 lira, and even double in cases of a second or subsequent offence, in addition to compensation for damage sustained and the confiscation of the articles in respect of which the law has been infringed.

Copyright.—As the inventor of an industrial process is protected, the public administration will also protect the author of a scientific or literary work, or of an artistic work, whether of a musician, or of a painter or sculptor. The law of the 19th September 1882 guarantees, in fact, to the author, editor or grantee the exclusive right of publishing the work of genius, of permitting translation or representation, and of reproducing and selling copies for a given time. Any one may acquire and apply, as suits him, the ideas and fancies which are the essential part of the work, but they may not utilise the extrinsic or auditive form in which the author has clothed the fancies of his mind, by any sort of signs or purely artificial methods, such as printing, galvano-plastics, oleographs or photographs. The exclusive right of the author to permit the translation of his work, and the right of the translator last for ten years ; on the other hand, the right in the production and sale of the work lasts the whole life of the author. And if the author dies before the lapse of forty years from the date of publication, the right continues to the heirs or representatives until the expiry of such term At the end of the first period a second period of forty years commences, during which the work can be reproduced and sold without the consent of the person who has the rights of the author, on condition of paying five per cent. on the gross price, which must be specified on each copy.

The exclusive right of performance of a work adapted for public representation, such as a coreographic spectacle or an operatic composition, runs for eighty years from the date of the first representation or composition ; and any representation of it is forbidden without the author's written permission consigned to the Prefect. On the lapse of this term the work becomes public property.

In the case of the publications of corporate bodies (communes, provinces, scientific and similar institutions) the duration of the author's rights is limited to twenty years.

He who wishes to maintain the copyright in his work must, within three months from publication, present to the Prefect of the province, and if he is abroad, to the Italian Consul, a proper declaration in duplicate with a copy of the work and payment of the tax of two lira for the declaration and ten lira for the work.

If a work be inserted in a daily paper or other periodical, the writer must declare that he intends to reserve the rights of the author; otherwise, his work can be produced in other papers, provided that the author's name be specified, and that there be no separate publication. The prohibition does not extend to discussions on politics and the events of the day.

The author of a work adapted for public spectacle, who wishes to reserve his rights, must make a declaration to the Prefect, who exercises a censorship over the stage, that he intends to prohibit any representation of his work without his written consent.

Wrongful publication and infringement of copyright are punishable with fine which may extend to 5,000 lira, in addition to compensation for loss and without prejudice to heavier punishment where theft or fraud is proved. In the matter of copyright, foreigners are generally put on the same footing as Italians, provided they have complied with the legal formalities required in their own country for the acquisition of copyright. There is an International Union at Berne constituted for the express protection of literary and artistic works.

In order to make known and to protect more effectually the rights of inventors and authors, a special Bulletin in two parts is published by the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. The first part comprises a list of patents, their extensions, transfers, &c., and another list of registered merchandise marks and signs: the second contains a list of extracts from the declarations regarding the rights of authors, works adapted for public representation, with modifications, and transfers. In the same Bulletin is published a synopsis of the judicial and administrative jurisprudence (decisions) national and foreign, regarding industrial, literary and artistic rights. This Bulletin is gratuitously supplied to Prefects, Sub-Prefects, Public Prosecutors, Courts, and Chambers of Commerce.

4. COMMERCIAL INDUSTRY.

Commerce demands the maximum of liberty; prohibitions and restrictions injure its development. But this truth was not always recognized, the free growth of commerce having been hampered until comparatively recent times by monopolies, corporations of arts and trades, personal privileges, transit-duties, tolls and customs. Commerce in grain and eatables has been especially subjected to restrictive legislation. The purchase of grain in order to resell at a profit was forbidden in almost all the Italian States up to the end of the last century ; while in the southern provinces those who made such profit were put in prison even as late as 1853.

Restrictions on the liberty of Commerce.—Though commerce is no longer hampered by its former barriers, still there are certain branches of it which cannot be exercised without special license. Before a man can establish a public agency office, an office where writings are copied, a pawn-broker's business, or a Loan Office, he must make a declaration in writing, and obtain the consent of the political authority of the circle, an appeal being allowed to the Prefect in case of refusal.

Jewellers, goldsmiths, watchmakers, and all persons who are engaged in the buying and selling of jewellery, gold and silver, are bound, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, to make to the Sindac of the commune a distinct and detailed declaration of the articles purchased by them or received in pledge, payment, or exchange or for sale, shewing their number and quality with the full names, residence, and particulars of the persons, who have sold or entrusted the articles to them.

Uniform standard of money, weights, and measures.—Time is money, and diversity of standard causes error and waste of precious time in making calculations. By the convention of the 6th November 1885, between France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland (to which also the principality of Monaco, Servia, Greece, and Spain consented), the franc and the lira were equalized. But the lira is regarded only as a unit for calculation and exchange, and is legal tender as regards private persons only up to the extent of 50 lira. Public banks, however, receive lira without limitation of amount, except in payment of customs import duties, in which case payment in lira is limited to 100 lira.

The abovementioned States follow the metric-decimal system of weights and measures, the unit of which is the metre for linear measure, the square metre and *ara* (10 square metres) for superficial measure, the cubic metre for solids, the litre for capacity, and the *gramma* (kilogramme) for weights. The metric-decimal system is generally followed, under varying names, in all countries of Europe, except Russia and England.

Verification of weights and measures.—Verification is of two kinds, *primary* and *periodical* ; the first, before they are put in circulation by comparison with Government standards, while the second is annually carried out every year by Government officers known as verifiers *(verificatori)*. Those who use weights and measures for buying and selling goods, and also measurers of gas, are liable to periodical verification. A list of these persons is annually compiled in every commune by the municipal committee in December, and published during the first fifteen days of the year, the list being open to the public up to the 15th of February. Contraventions of the rules are punishable by fine and forfeiture of the weights and measures; but before a competent Court pronounces judgment, the offender can, by a written application, demand that the punishment, within the maximum and minimum limits prescribed by the law, be applied by the Prefect or Sub-Prefect.

Particular vigilance is exercised with the object of protecting purchasers of provisions. According to an antient statute of Milan, the baker who gave short measure was whipped naked through the streets of the city with a trumpeter in front; and in some German cities he was placed on a sort of net raised above a dirty place, and left there till he was obliged to leap out into the mud, from which he emerged a sorry spectacle amid the jeers of the crowd. Model weights were kept in public places, and the correct dimensions were written up on the walls of every public place, so that the public might easily know them.*

Post and Telegraph.—The State absolutely reserves to itself the transport of epistolary correspondence: it shares with private enterprise the transport of periodical newspapers, of money, of small packets, and samples of goods; and it shares with Savings Banks the receipt of money deposits.

Following the example of Belgium, Germany. Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland and France, the postal administration charges itself also with the recovery of commercial bills of exchange, promissory notes, and bills of lading coming from foreign countries in accordance with the second article of the international convention signed at Lisbon on the 31st March 1885.

Letters can be registered and insured. In the case of loss of a registered letter, not caused by *vis major*, the postal department gives a compensation of 50 lira; if an insured letter be lost, it is responsible to the extent of the declared value. But claims are not entertained after the lapse of two years, nor unless accompanied by a statement from the addressee that he has not received the registered or insured letter.

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* The methods of cheating in India by false weights, measures and scales are Protean in their variety and exceedingly ingenious. Act XXXI of 1871 empowers the Governor General in Council by notification to fix standard weights and measures of capacity. But it is a matter for regret that no notifications have as yet been issued under the Act.

The law guarantees the secrecy of letters: and they can only be sized by postal officials in the case of the death or bankruptcy of the addressee, or under the orders of a criminal Court. In England, under a statute of Queen Anne, letters can be stopped and read under the orders of a Secretary of State.

In Italy the telegraph service is considered to be equal in importance with the post office, and it was enacted by the law of the 28th June 1885, that within six years a telegraph office should be established in all communes which were the chief towns of a *mandamentum.* There are international conventions relating both to the Post and the Telegraph. The principal object of these Unions is to insure and to render more speedy and regular the Postal and Telegraph Services, to guarantee the secresy of correspondence, and to make the tariff moderate and uniform.

Fairs and markets.—Markets are held weekly or monthly, and are only frequented by buyers and sellers of agricultural produce. On the other hand fairs (so-called from *forum*) are held more rarely, but last longer; they are visited by merchants from distant countries, and all sorts of goods are sold in them. Formerly it was a right of the crown to permit the establishment of a fair or market; but the law of the 17th May 1866 gives the right to communal councils, subject to the intervention of the Provincial Deputation in the case of any claim by a bordering commune.*

Commercial Exchanges.—These institutions enable commercial men, without loss of time, to find one another at a fixed hour of the day; to learn all news relating to commerce, to ascertain personal credit, to learn all about the money market and shares of companies, and to attract capital towards important industrial enterprises. All large commercial cities have special buildings, some on a very sumptuous scale, for these meetings.

Attached to some of the exchanges are "*offices of compensation,*" intended to obviate the inconveniences caused to commerce by the fluctuations in the relative values of gold and silver. The merchants of Leghorn opened a special office, where the cashiers of banks met three times a week to fix the exchange between gold and silver. A law of the 7th April 1881 gave power to establish similar institutions in other cities under the name of "offices of compensation" (*stanze di compensazione.*)

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* In Italy, as in England, only a public body can establish a fair or market. The Calcutta High Court have actually ruled that any private person can establish a fair on his own land, This ruling seems to take no account of the abolition of sayer duties, and is a typical instance of the way in which the Indian High Courts are prone to exaggerate and amplify private rights, while they jealously curtail those of the administration. In the Bombay Presidency no person can establish a new market or fair without the permission of the District Magistrate, [illegible] Act IV of 1862. In Bengal towns a license from the Municipal Commissioners is required. In England a market can be established by an urban authority, being a Local Board or Improvement Commissioners, Section 166, Public Health Act, 1875. See also Markets and Fairs Clauses Act, 1847, which does not, however, affect the rights of the Crown.

Chambers of Commerce and Arts.—The Chambers of Commerce and Arts and the Consulates are institutions for promoing, representing, and guarding commercial and industrial interests. The Chambers of Commerce submit to Government information and proposals which they consider useful for trade, arts, and manufactures; they compile every year statistics for their district; draw up the list of persons whom they consider eligible for the post of curators in bankruptcy; supervise the offices of compensation; propose the establishment of commercial exchanges, and nominate members; prepare the register of arbitrators, with power to cancel or suspend; determine the proportion in which exchange agents and brokers must compose the syndicate attached to the stock exchange; and perform other duties. The Chambers can also provide, by themselves or with the aid of Provinces and Communes, for the institution and maintenance of schools for teaching sciences applicable to commerce and arts, and for the formation of industrial and commercial exhibitions in their district. They can also unite with other Chambers in the kingdom in general assemblies to examine commercial and industrial questions of common interest.

Composition of the Chambers of Commerce and Arts—The Chambers of Commerce and Arts are composed of not more than 21 nor less than 9 merchants, chosen by vote by those engaged in art, commerce or industry, and inscribed on the political electoral list of the communes comprised in the district of the Chamber. Naturalized foreigners also, who have been engaged in commerce in the country for at least five years, may vote. They remain in office two years, half going out every year by rotation, and adopt a President and Vice-President, who hold office for two years.

Consuls and their privileges.—Consuls are delegates appointed by a State in foreign cities of commerce, in order to protect its countrymen living there, to watch over their rights and privileges, and exercise in regard to them certain functions of administration and jurisdiction. They may also be invested with diplomatic functions. There are two classes of consuls, agents sent from another country, and local agents Consuls differ from ambassadors, who are charged with essentially political functions, and enjoy the privilege of extra-territoriality.

Administrative duties of Consuls.—Consuls are empowered to grant passports to their countrymen who present themselves, after being assured of their personal identity. They may countersign travellers' passports, health certificates, and affidavits and other documents of the local authority. They see that treaties are observed, and respect maintained for the national flag; and they keep their Government informed of all that can be of public interest, with especial reference to navigation, commerce, industry and health.

Judicial functions of Consuls.—In Christian countries the jurisdiction of consuls is somewhat restricted. With the exception of simple infractions of discipline, and desertion of persons serving in the mercantile navy under the Italian flag, consuls have no authority over their countrymen for the repression of offences. But they can insist that they be treated humanely, and impartially defended and tried. In civil matters, consuls exercise a sort of guardianship over their countrymen, by force of which they can place seals on and make inventories of the property of a deceased person, and take such measures as usage and treaties permit, to preserve the integrity of the succession for an absent or minor heir.

The exceptional jurisdiction of Consuls in Italy, Egypt, and Asiatic non-Christian countries, belongs rather to the domain of international law. The Italians are regarded as a colony, and are exempt from local taxes and jurisdictions; they are only bound to respect the public authority and the peace of the country. Consuls are invested with civil and penal judicial functions as regards their own countrymen, and apply their own laws where not otherwise provided by usage or treaties. At the end of every year they send a list of cases they have decided to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Industrial and Commercial education.—The scientific progress of industries is kept in view by the different schools of arts and trades, which of late years have sprung up in the country, and are being continually multiplied with the aid of the State, the Provinces and the Communes. The development of industry and commerce is also furthered by the technical and polytechnic institutions, and especially the industrial museum at Turin, the high schools of commerce at Venice, Genoa and Bari, and model exhibitions and shows. These exhibitions, besides being a means of instruction and culture, serve to excite the emulation of producers and the desire of consumers.

In order to preserve the character of instruction, these exhibitions are being made permanent, under the name of industrial and commercial museums. The object of these institutions is to preserve the descriptions and designs of special industries, and to collect specimens of foreign and national productions. Industrial museums are a means of instruction for the industrial classes; commercial museums a means for the facilitation and combination of occupations. Both tend to make known our national products to the nations, to promote and expand exports, to collect specimens of foreign materials, which may be utilized in our own industries, and to the manufacture of samples for sending abroad. In addition to this, industrial and commercial museums and repositories afford an excellent means of information, by which our merchants and manufacturers can profit.

V. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT.

Importance of communications.—Communications and the means of easy and cheap transport are of the utmost importance for agriculture, industry and commerce, because the value of many sorts of goods, especially agricultural products, does not correspond to their volume and weight. Where means of transport are absent, industries languish for want of a market, and lands lie uncultivated. It is the duty, then, of legislators to provide for a good system of communications, calculated to promote every sort of industry. Communications may be by water or by land.

Water communications.—Waters are either public or private. "Public waters" include every permanent watercourse of such size and importance as to serve as a means of communication, or to excite the reasonable speculations of industry or agriculture, without distinction in the latter case of whether it is or is not navigable. It follows that we should consider as "private waters" all other streams of small volume and little importance. But even a public water can lose its public nature when once it has been drawn away in canals and channels by private persons for private use for more than thirty years.

Public waters form part of the public domain (art 458, Civil Code). As regards private waters and that portion of public waters, which exceeds public requirements, the law gives up the property or rather the use to private persons, on condition, however, of their not abusing the privilege or causing loss to others. Hence the owner of higher land, after using the water which rises therein and runs through it, must restore it to its ordinary course; he can neither divert nor waste the water to the detriment of others who may use it.

It should be remarked that the public character (*demanialità*) of the water only attaches to the water itself; the banks and, according to some, the bed belong to the riparian proprietors, who consequently have a right to alluvial accretions, and to islands forming in non-navigable rivers.[*] But in the case of navigable rivers, the rights of the State extend also to the bed and banks. Even the banks and beds of public non-navigable rivers, belonging to private persons, are public *quoad* the reasonable use of the water which runs through them: and therefore owners canno,t as a rule, make any change in them without the permission of the administrative authority.

Administration of Public Waters.—It is a duty of the Government to look after public waters and the works connected with them.[†] These works are of several kinds. The first class, in the exclusive charge of the State, are those necessary for the navigation of rivers, lakes and large canals connected in one system; the second class are in the charge of provinces, communes, and others interested with the help of the State, and comprise navigable canals, not connected with other water communications, and works of embankment, excavation, and straightening, such works being of great importance. The third and fourth classes are exclusively in the charge of those interested, and concern the protection of private property contiguous to rivers and torrents.

Navigation of Lakes, Rivers, and Canals.—The administration looks after lakes, rivers, and canals. All other objects are subordinated to the principal object of navigation. For this reason, no person is allowed to divert the water, nor to establish his own mills or other buildings, unless he has a legitimate title, or has obtained a concession from the public administration. Such a concession is not granted if the works are likely to be prejudicial to navigation; and in any case such restrictions and conditions are imposed as will prevent any impediment to free and safe navigation.

The banks of navigable rivers are subject to the servitudes of mooring (*alzaja*), towing (*attiraglio*) and foot-way (*marciapiede*), the width of which, in the absence of any regulation or custom, is presumed to be five metres. Without the special permission of the public administration,[‡] landing stages and jetties cannot be erected on the banks of lakes or seas; neither can steamers ply, nor wood be transported in dug-outs or rafts. It is forbidden to make any plantation in the beds of rivers, or to do anything or erect anything which will alter the condition of the banks, injuriously affect them, or lessen their power of resistance.

The transport of passengers is subject to special regulations.

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[*] Civil Code, arts, 453, 454, 458.

[†] Civil Code, art. 457.

[‡] See page 275 of article on District Boards and County Councils, No. CXC., *Calcutta Review* for October 1892? It was there remarked that the State seems to have abdicated its administration of public waters.

There are rules regarding the number of passengers which can be carried, the internal management of the vessel, the supply of provisions, &c.

Harbours and Lighthouses.—Harbours and lighthouses are of two classes: those which concern the security of general navigation, and serve solely or chiefly for the military defence and security of the State; and those which serve principally for commerce. The latter are subdivided into four classes according to their commercial importance. The ports which come within the first category, together with their lighthouses and jetties, are under the care of the State. The cost of works coming within the first, second, and third classes of the second category is shared by the State with the provinces and communes interested, while the fourth class is entirely under the charge of communes. At the same time communes are exclusively charged with the cost of any works which have for their object the convenience or adornment of a particular locality.

Diversion of public waters.—With a view to promote agricultural or manufacturing industry, the public administration can permit the use of public waters on payment, provided that free navigation be not injuriously affected. Such concessions are made without prejudice to the rights of private persons, or to the provisions of articles 602, 603, 605 and 615 of the Civil Code. They can only be given permanently by law, and temporarily by royal decree. Temporary concessions cannot be given for more than 30 years, but they may be renewed. Those who draw off the water of rivers or streams are obliged to strengthen or embank the mouths, so as to regulate the rush of water and prevent its exceeding the capacity of the channel. The annual rent payable for new concessions of public waters is 50 lira for every water-channel, without the obligation of repairing the same, or 25 lira with such obligation. This rent is reduced by one-half for the concession of hibernal waters only for irrigation. If the water is required for any motive power, a rent of three lira is paid for every nominal single horse power. The concession is gratuitous for communes and charitable institutions which require drinking water for gratuitous distribution among the inhabitants of the commune. Associations exist for the drawing off and use of waters for industrial purposes. These associations are regulated by the Civil Code (see articles 657 and 659) and by the law of the 2nd February 1888. The execution of all works is supervised by the Government Civil Engineer.

The concession of a public water is not an unconditional transfer of a State right. Such concessions are by their nature revocable.

Contraventions of the law on this subject are punishable with police punishment and with fine up to 500 lira. The Prefects can order the restoration of the former state of the waters at the cost of the offender, and in case of urgency, may do the work themselves. In every province a list is made of the public waters and published in all provinces which are interested in the course of the water. The lists are approved by a royal decree, after hearing the Provincial Councils, the Council of Public Works and the Council of State, and published in the official gazette. Lists of diversions and rights of user are also drawn up. Any person who has exercised a right for 30 years before the promulgation of the law of 10th August 1884 will have, as regards the public, a good title.

Public ways.—Public ways comprise ordinary roads, railways and steam tramways. Ordinary roads are (1) National, if maintained by the State; (2) Provincial, if maintained by Provinces; (3) Communal, if maintained by communes; and (4) Vicinal, if maintained by those who use them. In the first class come the principal military and commercial lines, which unite the largest cities and principal ports, or are connected with the principal trade routes of neighbouring states. If a railway is constructed along the route of one of these main roads, the latter becomes a Provincial road.

Provincial roads serve to connect the capitals of provinces with the capitals of the districts in them and of neighbouring provinces. As, however, the Provincial Councils were lukewarm in carrying out the law, the Parliament compiled a list of the roads considered most important, and made their construction obligatory, imposing half the cost on the State. All other public roads are *communal* or *vicinal*, that is, private roads subject to public easements, and therefore under the communal authorities.

Communal Roads.—The law of the 30th August 1868 made it obligatory on communes to construct roads which are necessary to connect the larger centres of population with the capital of the district, or with neighbouring communes or with railways and ports. To facilitate the construction of these roads there is a special fund formed by a tax on capital not exceeding 5 per cent. of the royal tax; by a special tax to be in force for not more than 20 years on proprietors of lands, mines, quarries, and manufactories; by tolls imposed on new roads for a period of not more than 20 years; by the State and Provincial subsidies; by loans at light interest from the Bank of Deposits and Loans and Postal Savings Banks; and finally by gifts of labour among the inhabitants of the commune.

Every head of a family, resident and owning property in the commune, can be compelled, if not exempted by the Communal

Council on the ground of poverty, to furnish annually up to four days of labour for himself, and for each male between the ages of 18 and 60 fit for work and for each beast of burden.* A list of all who are subject to this tax is prepared every year, but the obligation may be converted into a money payment or specified works. Every year, at the request of the Communal Council, the Prefect fixes the time within which the works to be done by contributions of labour must be commenced and finished, excluding the time required for the more important agricultural operations. The State every year sets apart a sum of not less than three million lira for distribution among those communes which have the fewest roads, and least resources. In substitution for this money payment, the Minister of War may, with the approval of the Minister of Public Works, employ in the construction of obligatory roads such portion of the troops as may be available, the arrangements being made by the Prefect in concert with the general commanding the troops stationed in the Province.

The approval by the Prefect of the construction of a new road is equivalent to a declaration that the road is required for public purposes (*dichiarazione di pubblica utilità*). The Commune is not bound to deposit the price of the lands which have to be acquired; but it has the option of postponing payment for ten years, paying interest at 5 per cent.

Police supervision over ordinary public roads.—Roads have the character of public property (*demanialità*), and no length of prescription can deprive them of this character.† No one can do any act which will in any way injure them or impede the free flow of water in the side drains. It is forbidden to drag loads of wood along the road, or graze cattle along the ridges, slopes, and side ditches; also, within a certain distance, to open channels or pits, to make excavations, build houses, or plant trees or hedges; to discharge waters into the side ditches; and, without the permission of the public administration, to make any structure or deposit anything even temporarily. If any proprietor wishes to cut down trees along any mountain road, he must give 30 days notice to the Prefect, who is empowered to prevent such cutting, if likely to cause an avalanche or landslip, and in any case to compel such precautions as will prevent danger. A good many obligations also are imposed on the lateral owners of ordinary roads. There are special rules for the regulation of wheeled traffic. For instance, it is forbidden to use wheels with nails projecting beyond the surface of the tires.

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* In the Madras Presidency Act I of 1858 legalizes compulsory labour for the prevention of mischief by inundation, and provides for the enforcement of customary labour on works of irrigation.

† Art. 430, Cod. Civ.

All vehicles, without any exception, must have a metal ticket affixed in front, showing the name and title of the owner; must be provided with suitable drags, must carry a light at night and so on.

Public and private Railways.—Private railways are those which are made in the interests of private persons for some commerce, industry, or other private purpose. The duty of the public administration as regards these is limited to what concerns the public health and security. But the plan of any private railway is subject to the approval of the administration, if the railway touches the property of others, public roads, water courses, habitations, or any public works.

Public railways are divided into four categories by the law of the 29th July 1879. But they really fall under two heads, *principal* railways, or those constructed for general, commercial, military or strategic purposes, and *subsidiary* railways, or those constructed for local interests. The first are generally made at the expense of the State: the second are made by provinces, communes, companies or interested private persons; and the Government only bears a portion of the expense.

The construction and use of a railway of the first class can only be granted by a law; but as regards subsidiary railways, the king was authorized by Parliament to make concessions by royal decree on the proposal of the Ministers of Public Works and Finance, in consultation with the Superior Council of Public Works and of the Council of State. The concession or grant is for a fixed time, generally 90 years, at the end of which the State becomes the owner. The Government of the King is authorized to give subsidies to these railways of so much per mile, provided they join large and populous areas; centres conspicuous for their industries and wealth of agricultural products; mineral regions; tracts hitherto devoid of any railway; capitals of departments or districts; or frontier communes with main arterial lines or with ports.

Construction and use of railways—The construction and use of railways is subject to rules and regulations. Public railways and private railways of the second class, that is, those which touch the property of others, public ways, &c., must be separated from the lands on either side by lining hedges or walls or other kind of strong fence. The ordinary roads must be crossed in such a way as not to interfere with their use or endanger the public safety; and bridges or subways must in particular be preferred to level crossings. The constructors must restore interrupted communications, and allow full waterway.

Every railway must have a telegraph line along it.

The concessionaires of public railways are obliged to carry passengers and goods with punctuality and promptitude, and without giving preference to any person; and they are prohibited from making any special agreement with any particular persons to carry at lower rates. They are also bound to conduct the telegraphic service along their lines free or at reduced rates, to carry on the postal service for all letters, postal packets, newspapers, the Indian mails; to transport troops, other classes of public servants, prisoners, stores and telegraph material for the Government. Rates of transport are fixed by a special tariff, which is in general accord with Government rates. The rate once fixed may be lowered, but cannot be increased.

There are police regulations relating to railways, such as that cattle may not be grazed in the vicinity except in charge of some person.

Steam tramways.—Steam tramways are especially suitable for passenger traffic. The plant being less costly, they are generally laid down on communal roads. They precede or prepare the way for railways. The drivers and firemen must be licensed as on railways: the speed must not exceed 18 kilometres (10 miles) an hour; and must be slowed down when passing through habitations to the pace of a man, and preceded by a servant of the company. A guard must always be on duty where the tramway crosses another road. The carriages must not exceed 20 metres in length, must not have more than six wheels, or carry more than a ton weight.

Acquisition of Land for Public Purposes.—Works of a public character, and especially the construction of railways, necessitate the taking of private property. Such works may be undertaken by the State, by Provinces, by Communes, by corporate bodies and private societies, and lastly by private persons. Immoveable property is ordinarily the subject of acquisition, as moveables can be easily and freely acquired in the market.

The State is authorized to demand the abandonment of property which has become necessary for the public good; individual interests are made to yield to general interests. There is, however, one difference between taxation and land acquisition. The citizen who pays the first satisfies a common obligation; whereas he whose land is acquired undergoes a special burden. It follows that three conditions are required for acquisition: (1) that there should be a declaration of public utility; (2) that the acquisition should not be greater in extent than is required for the public work; (3) that the person whose land is acquired be paid a fair compensation.*

Declaration of public utility.—When the work to be done is of general interest, and its execution must be approved by law (as the construction of railways and navigable canals, and the reclamation of lakes), or when it is necessary to impose a contribution on the owners of adjacent lands,—a contribution being a tax, and under the constitutional law only Parliament having the power to levy a tax—the public utility must be declared by law. It can be declared by a royal decree, when the work concerns reforestation, military fortifications or workshops, historical monuments or national antiquities, or plans for the enlargement or sanitation of communes. The order of the Minister of Public Works or of any Prefect is sufficient, if it refers to works of minor importance concerning the interests of a province or a commune.

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* Art. 438, Cod. Civ.

Compensation for the acquisition of immoveable property.—When it is necessary to acquire immoveable property, a notice must be posted up in the commune for 15 days. The person or body desirous of acquiring must make a plan of the work, must specify exactly the land he wishes to acquire, and also state the price he proposes to give. The plan is similarly published in the commune for 15 days; and the Prefect decides the matter after hearing the parties interested.

If the person acquiring *(l'espropriante)* and the person whose land is acquired *(l'espropriato)* agree as to the price, a writing is drawn up and given to the Sindac, who sends it to the Prefect. The Prefect directs the amount to be placed in the Bank of Deposits and Loans, and authorizes, according to circumstances, the payment in whole or in part to the owner, and permits the immediate occupation of the land. If there are other owners who do not agree, the Prefect makes a list of them and transmits it to the court, which nominates one or three experts with a view to fix the price, which the lands acquired would fetch according to the general conditions of the market, if the parties were free, the one to sell and the other to buy. Any increase or decrease in the value of the rest of the land, resulting from the execution of the work, is taken into consideration, either to diminish or enhance the compensation. But all erections and improvements made with the intention of enhancing the compensation must be excluded from consideration. Either party has the right to impugn the decision of the expert valuers before competent judicial authority. The transfer duty and other expenses are borne by the acquiror, unless it be otherwise agreed.*

Temporary occupation of private property.—Every private citizen is liable to have his lands occupied temporarily by the contractor of public works in all cases in which such occupation is indispensable for the execution of the work: such as, for deposit of materials, stores, or offices; for making new paths where present communications have been interrupted; and for making channels for the diversion of water. Such occupation may last as long as the works are in progress.

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* Arts. 1455 and 1947, Cod. Civ.

Those who carry out public works have also the right to take from the adjoining lands, if not enclosed with walls, materials necessary for construction or repairs, such as stones, gravel, earth or sand for making or repairing roads. The public interest, which demands the rapid and economical completion of the work, justifies the imposition of such an obligation on private property.* This, indeed, is a restriction on the right of private property or a public easement; in fine, an acquisition (*espropriazione*).

Occupation in cases of vis major.—In the case of breaking of river banks, the destruction of bridges by the rush of water and other cases of *vis major* and absolute urgency, Prefects and sub-Prefects can authorize immediate occupation; and even the Sindac can do so where a delay would be caused by a reference to the former. The Prefect fixes the compensation, saving recourse to the Courts. Railway companies are not liable to pay anything for the occupation of the banks of public waters, lakes and sea-coasts.

Acquisition for the purpose of the better arrangement and extension of communes.—Communes, containing a population of not less than 10,000 inhabitants, can, when it is necessary for the public good to provide for health and necessary communications, make a plan for the reconstruction of any part of the inhabited portion, in which the buildings are badly arranged. The plans must be deposited for 15 days in the office of the commune, and must be approved by the Council, with an appeal to the Provincial Council. Similarly, communes, in which the necessity for extending houses is demonstrated, can present a plan for extension, with a view to provide for health, and also to make the houses more secure roomy, and beautiful.

Acquisition of part of a Commune for purposes of sanitation.—When bad conditions of sanitation and drainage render the necessity clear, communes can get special assistance by a royal order, passed after hearing the Council of State. For instance, they can get loans on favourable terms, and the Sindac is given larger powers for the removal of the causes of bad water and unhealthiness of sites. Moreover, the compensation to the owner of the lands acquired is based on the average of the market value and the rents collected during the preceding ten years.

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* In some districts in Bengal difficulty has been caused owing to the zemindars of adjacent lands not permitting earth to be cut for the repair of roads.

The difference between acquisition and confiscation.—Acquisition must not be confused with confiscation. False weights and measures are confiscated; also treacherous weapons, tools of convicted persons, nets and implements for poaching, minerals extracted in defiance of the law relating to mines.

Between acquisition and confiscation there are the following differences: (1) confiscation is always the result of the violation of some law; not so acquisition; (2) in the case of acquisition the owner receives compensation, whereas none is given in the case of confiscation; (3) confiscation applies only to moveables, whereas acquisition for a public object generally affects immoveable property and the rights incidental thereto.

It is only in very rare cases that recourse is had to the acquisition of moveables, as of the rights of a deceased author in a work formerly published or which has never been published; of provisions or means of transport in time of war, siege, mobilisation of troops or sea voyages.

VI. STATE SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Duties of the State with regard to property.—It is the duty of the State to protect the property of its citizens. Such property must be protected not only against deliberate usurpations, such as theft and malicious damage, but also against losses, purely accidental, with a view to their prevention or mitigation, or to promote and watch over institutions which have this object, such as insurance companies.

Preventive Police.—With a view to protect property, and especially agricultural property, the law gives a right to every citizen, and imposes an obligation on the agents of public security, carbineers, rural, forestal and village guards, to denounce before the Prætor of the mandamentum, persons suspected of thefts from the fields, of abuse of pasturage, or offences against property. If the information is supported by sufficient proof, and even in the absence of any specific charge, when it refers to persons whom the public voice accuses of such offences, or are notoriously considered guilty of them, the Prœtor proceeds summarily. He calls the person indicated before him, and if he finds the accusation or suspicion to be justified, he warns him to behave better; and if he is in the habit of keeping a number of cattle, which notoriously he cannot maintain,* he fixes a date within which they must be reduced to such a number as is in conformity with his means. If, after such a warning, there are grave reasons to suspect that the person warned keeps wood, corn, or other products of the fields which he has come by dishonestly, the Prœtor or official of public security proceeds without other formality to a domiciliary visit. If then the person warned does not reduce his cattle, as he was ordered, the judge forthwith attaches the excess number, and proceeds to sell them by auction, the price realized, however, being paid to the owner. If a person, who has been warned as above, is surprised in the fields, the woods, or on the roads with wood, grain, or other agricultural products, and cannot show that he honestly came by them, he is forthwith arrested and placed at the disposal of the judicial authority. If the person charged or denounced by general repute is a minor under 16 years of age, the Prœtor calls before him the father, grandfather, mother or guardian, and severely reprimands them, warning them that the law makes them responsible for the acts of minors under their charge.

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* This is common in India. Owners of cattle purposely turn them out to graze to get a feed at the expense of other people's crops or grass. This habit led to the amendment of Section 26 of the Cattle Trespass Act of 1871 by Section 8 of Act I of 1891.

The officers of public security in every commune, except the Sindac, are obliged to keep a register of all idlers, vagabonds, able-bodied beggars, field thieves and suspected persons. Every month a copy of entries is sent to the sub-Prefect, who directs the preparation of a register for the whole district, divided into communes. Similarly the sub-Prefect sends extracts to the Prefect, who orders the preparation of a general Register for the whole Provinces.

Repressive Police.—The Penal Code prescribes severe penalties for offences against property, such as theft in general and, in particular, theft of animals, agricultural implements, produce of the soil, beehives, plants in nurseries, fish in fishponds, and things exposed for sale in fields, at fairs and markets. It also punishes every sort of damage to property, especially rural property.

Precautions against cattle-disease.—In order to prevent the spread of cattle-disease, it is provided that any person owning or in charge of cattle, as well as veterinary doctors, must give immediate information to the Sindac of any disease of an epizootic nature, or suspected to be such. The Sindac charges one of the members of the municipal health committee and a veterinary surgeon or the Government doctor to verify the nature and character of the disease, and take such steps as will prevent any spread of the disease. If the disease is epizootic, the Sindac gives immediate information to the Prefect; who, after hearing the Provincial Council of Health, will summon the veterinary adviser to examine the diseased animal on the spot, and take such measures as may be considered necessary. In grave cases, the Prefect refers to the Minister.

Precautions against the phylloxera.—With a view to prevent and check the great damage which the invasion of the phylloxera threatens to the vines, there has been constituted in Rome a special consultative commission, composed of 30 members, chosen by royal decree from among the most famous naturalists, vine-growers and wine-dealers, who remain in office for five years. The commission is consulted regarding proposed legislation dealing with the phylloxera. It annually co-opts a committee to assist the Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce in following deliberations of the same commission.

In order to keep the scourge at a distance, it is forbidden under penalty of fine, to import from abroad shoots, sprigs, leaves or any other portion of the vine, and even plants and vegetable and mixed manures.

When the presence of the insect has been ascertained, the Minister, after hearing the Phylloxera Committee, determines the measures to be adopted to prevent its spreading. The methods are two, curative and destructive. In the former case, a subsidy, not exceeding 100 lira per hectare is given to the owner of the vines on the condition of his adopting such measures as may be indicated by the Minister, after consulting the Phylloxera Committee. If, on the other hand, the infected vines are destroyed, an indemnity is given to the owner, half of which is paid by the State, and the other half is at the charge of the compulsory provincial association, unless it be proved that the owner had imported the phylloxera in his own estate by contravening the law, or that, being cognizant of an unwonted deterioration of the vines, he had failed to inform the Sindac. The importation of prohibited products is punished with fine, without prejudice to heavier punishment in cases of fraud by the sale of plants infected with the phylloxera.

On the 3rd November 1881, an international convention was signed at Berlin, in which Italy also joined,* with the object of protecting vines against the phylloxera.

Insurance against accidents.—Citizens can insure their property and the products of agriculture and industry against fires, hailstorms, phylloxera, epizooty and other disasters. But Government does not interfere with the contracting parties, and restricts itself to the exercise of a certain amount of supervision over insurance societies in the interests of the persons insured, and prescribes stated methods for the compilation of their balances.

ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Providential Institutions.—In these times of political equality and social inequality, providential institutions, which tend to prevent misery among the less well-to-do classes, are the safety-valve of our citizenship; and for this reason the public administration is careful to found and encourage beneficent institutions, such as mutual help and co-operative societies, Pension and Savings Banks, the national bank for accidents to workmen, life insurance offices and the like.

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* Art. 177, Cod. Comm.

National Bank of Insurance against accidents to workmen.—This insurance may be individual or collective. It relates only to accidents during work. But ordinary illnesses, and those which arise from the exercise of the particular industry, are excluded from the insurance; as also infirmities caused by the imperfection and physical state of the person insured, and which are not the direct result of accident; self-caused injuries; infirmities of a date prior to the contract of assurance. Deaf, dumb, and blind persons, epileptics and lunatics are generally excluded from insurance.

The insurance money can be paid in case of accident resulting in death; in case of accident followed by permanent incapacity to work, permanent or partial; in case of accident causing temporary incapacity for work, which must, however, exceed a month. In case of death the entire sum is paid to the heirs, or the persons in whose favour the insurance is made. In case of incapacity for work, the sum paid varies with the degree of incapacity, varying from 20 per cent. to 80 per cent. for absolute incapacity. In case of temporary incapacity, the payment used to begin from the 31st day of the incapacity up to a maximum of 360 days; but by a decree of the 24th July 1887, it was ordained that it should commence from the sixth day of the infirmity.

Every change in the profession of the person insured, which increases the risk or substantially alters the basis of the policy, must be made known to the Bank as early as possible, and in no case later than the 15th day after the change, under penalty of the suspension of the indemnity and even of refusal of payment. Especially favourable conditions are given to the Society of Mutual Help for collective insurance by reason of the number of its members and of the sums insured.

Privileges accorded to the Bank.—Divers privileges are accorded to the Bank. They enjoy the gratuitous services of the Post office for receiving applications for insurance, drawing præmia, sending the monies collected to their respective destinations, paying indemnities, and giving information called for; while their correspondence and remittances of money are sent free. They are also exempt from the stamp and registration duties on the deeds constituting the Bank, or modifying its statutes, rules, &c. Donations and largesses in favour of the Bank are also exempt from all stamp, registration, or mortgage duties.

Similar privileges are enjoyed by the Workmen's Associations of Mutual Help.

INSTITUTIONS OF PUBLIC BENEVOLENCE.

The duty of Charity.—Not content with preventing misery, the public administration is concerned with its mitigation, when it is not possible to prevent it. Assistance to poor sick persons, and to those who for any reason are unable to provide themselves with the means of subsistence is not merely an individual, but a social duty. The question is whether it should be fulfilled by the State or the Commune. It seems better to entrust the duty to the Commune, because it is in a better position to distinguish real from pretended poverty; because its succour will be more prompt and better adapted to the need; because being more interested it will know how to exercise a greater vigilance; and because, in fine, legacies and donations which benefit one's fellow-townsmen are more frequent and larger, the feeling of attachment to the Commune being livelier than that to the State. The system is generally followed by Italian legislation; the maintenance of poor lunatics only being assigned to the Province.

Charitable Institutions.—In the administrative laws of Italy the general term of "*opere pie*" is applied to those institutions of charity and benevolence, which have for their sole or partial object, the relief of the poorer classes. Charitable institutions are divided into two classes; those for the relief of infirmities, as hospitals, lunatic asylums, refuges for deaf-mutes and blind persons; and those for the relief of poverty, as refuges for beggars, and pauper asylums On the 31st December 1880 there were 21,726 charitable institutions, with a net capital of 1,271,582,260 lira, a gross income of 134,380,504 lira, and a net income of 62,517,543 lira.

Administration of Charitable Institutions.—The administration of charitable institutions is confided to corporate bodies, councils, colleges, &c.; and in default of any such institution, the Provincial Deputation is appointed by Royal Decree. There are certain rules as to the qualifications which must be possessed by those who administer such institutions. For instance, they must not take part in deliberations which concern themselves or their relatives up to the fourth degree. An exact record must be kept of all the acts, documents, registers and other papers of such institutions, and of their moveable and immoveable property. Two copies must be made, one to be kept with the Prefect, the other with the Minister of the Interior. Contracts of a value exceeding 500 lira must be made by public auction with all the forms prescribed for contracts made by State institutions.

Supervision of Charitable Institutions.—Charitable institutions cannot acquire immoveable property without being authorized by a royal decree after the Council of State has been consulted ; but their immediate supervision is entrusted to the respective provincial deputations, against whose decisions an appeal lies to the King. Even the communal councils have the right to examine the proceedings and to see the accounts and registers of local charitable institutions. They can also demand their reform, when they fail or fall short of the statutes constituting them.

It is the duty of the Minister of the Interior to watch over all charitable institutions ; and when part of their cost is borne by the State, the audits and accounts of the institutions must be approved by him. When an institution, after warning, fails to conform to the statutes and rules. and does not fulfil the obligations imposed on it by the laws and regulations, it can be abolished by a royal decree, after hearing the Provincial Deputation and Council of State.

Charitable Congregations.—Under the term of charitable congregations are meant the corporate bodies instituted in each commune for the purpose of administering all property left generally to the poor, and not assigned to a special charitable institution, or to some management indicated by the testator or donor. These congregations are composed of a President and four members in communes, the population of which does not exceed 10,000 inhabitants ; and of eight members in addition to the President, in larger communes. Their nomination is made by the communal council; and within the eight following days must be published and communicated to the Prefect. The Prefect can also take part in a charitable congregation, whenever it receives a gift or legacy.

The above is a sketch of the main provisions of the administrative law of Italy, and the writer ventures to think that some valuable hints may be derived therefrom, hints which may prove of use to the Legislative Councils of the Indian Empire, when they have to deal with matters falling within the domain of Public or Administrative Law.

H. A. D PHILLIPS.

ART. III.—MOROCCO AND THE FRENCH AFRICAN EMPIRE.

The writer of this article craves the indulgence of the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, should he appear to have exclusively drawn his information from a foreign source, which, however, he hopes may interest them by its greater novelty.

I.

THE treaty of Frankfort inaugurated a new era of international politics. It was no longer possible for a French army to cross the Rhine, fight a great battle, and rend a rival in twain. French arms and influence were not in the future to be all powerful in Europe.

As is the case with men, nations must either advance or decline, must gain or lose. But henceforth France could hope to acquire new dominions only beyond the sea, and so some of her most capable and energetic politicians, including M. Waddington and M. Ferry—it has even been reported that the new movement owed its origin to the present ambassador of the French Republic in England—encouraged their countrymen to greater activity in colonial enterprise; and soon a period of colonial conquests was commenced, which almost equalled in importance those that were effected in the 17th century.

Pretexts for acquiring fresh territory were soon found and eagerly seized. A quarrel with a tribe on the Algerian frontier offered an excuse for the permanent occupation of Tunis. The mere enforcement of a claim in Tonkin induced a war of aggression, which led to the annexation of half the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Old and superannuated treaties were pleaded, in order to establish a protectorate over Madagascar. Such have been the first steps towards the formation, beyond the ocean, of an Empire that the French can now scarcely hope to conquer beyond the Rhine and the Alps.

Within the last decade, Europe has seriously undertaken the task of administering Africa, where France has possessed, for more than half a century, one of the most magnificent domains in the world. This domain, it need hardly be said, is Algeria, and, with Tunis, has already become the nucleus of a new and vast Empire, to which Morocco stands much in the same relation as Turkey does to Russia. Like Turkey, too, Morocco resembles a sick man, who is jealously watched by rival doctors, of whom each proposes to cure the patient, were the latter confined to his sole charge.

The history of modern France has rendered Algeria familiar to the world; and hence, if Morocco be described as an Algeria on a grander scale, a fair, though rough idea, may be formed of the external aspect of the more Western country. The same lofty chain of mountains—the Atlas—divides Morocco into two parts, of which the Northern portion slopes to the Mediterranean, and the Southern to the Sahara ; but so elevated are the Moroccan peaks, that the littoral is protected from the sirocco, and the rain clouds are arrested and discharged. The climate of Morocco is superior and better adapted to Europeans, the soil is richer, the productions are more varied, the natives, who belong to the same races as those who inhabit Algeria, are braver, better workmen, and of greater ingenuity, and its mercantile and strategic position is superior.

Like her neighbour, Morocco consists of the Tell, or country between the mountains and the coast, the mountains of the Atlas and the Sahara. Of its five zones, which consist of the littoral, of inferior mountains, of intermediary plains, of the Atlas, and of the desert, the two first are perfectly adapted to Europeans, and the Sahara abounds in fertile oases that are fairly populous. The natural riches of Morocco are immense, but undeveloped, and it would need only good Government to become one of the most flourishing countries in the world, as it is unsurpassed in its situation and varied character.

But, in proportion to its great attraction, the position of Morocco as an independent power is precarious. For ages, European neighbours have contended for its fa Sultan dis During, and since the Middle Ages, Spain and even Portug com- have often been engaged in sanguinary wars in Moroccan territory, and we may recollect that Tangiers, its most ancient city, remained for a long time a Portuguese possession, till Catharine of Braganza bestowed it as a marriage dowry on Charles II, when she married that king in 1662. Spain formerly conquered important possessions on the coast of Morocco, and still retains valuable ports on the Mediterranean coast. These ports, of which some are called *presidios*, or places where prisoners are guarded, are eight in number ; they are composed of the port and territory of Ceuta, the island of Peregil, Penon de Velez, Albucemas, Neker, Melilla, the island of Jaffarine, and latterly she has added Igni on the Atlantic Coast. At present no other power has any recognized possessions within Moroccan territory, for Cape Juby, which was acquired by an English subject, a few years ago, can scarcely be considered to have belonged to the Sultan.

With regard to the government of Morocco we cannot fail to be struck by its many defects and discrepancies. The monarchy is absolute, but the Sultan only rules a third part of his nominal dominions ; the remaining two-thirds are occupied by tribes which either only partially obey him, or know no other law than the command of their chiefs. In consequence internal wars are frequent, and the Sultan is perpetually engaged in expeditions against aggressive and unruly tribes. When the present ruler, Moulei Hassan, commenced his reign, in 1873, his discontented subjects profited by the confusion which generally inaugurates a new reign at Fez, to excite a revolt that became a bloody civil war. As the laws of succession do not secure the crown to the eldest son of a deceased monarch, and it is a matter of agreement whether the latter's son or uncle should succeed him, such a war was easily fomented, and it was not terminated before several years had elapsed. Besides the frequent revolts of tribes against the rule of the Sultan, the former often wage war between themselves, and maintain hereditary feuds, resembling in this respect the Scotch clans of former times.

Of the immense territory which is called the Empire of Morocco, only two small strips are under the immediate authority of the Sultan ; one of these extends from Fez to Tangiers and Cape Spartel, leaving outside the Riff, a country adjacent to the Mediterranean, and enjoying almost complete independence ; while the other stretches from the town of Morocco to the Atlantic coast Apparently some 60,000 out of 314,000 square miles only are directly governed by the Sultan.

As in Algeria, the majority of the Moroccan population are Berbers or Kabyles, who chiefly inhabit the mountains : the Arabs are next in importance, and inhabit for the most part the plains, while the Moors whose exact blend of race has not been clearly defined, but who appear to be descended from Negroes, as well as Arabs or Kabyles, inhabit the towns. The number of pure blooded Negroes is considerable, and is yearly increased by means of caravans that cross the desert, coming from the interior of Africa. There are also many Jews in the large towns on the coast, and a certain number of Spanish immigrants, and Europeans, chiefly engaged in trade.

Almost the sole bond of union between the various races inhabiting Morocco is the Koran, and the Sultan's prestige is great only through his importance as a religious chief. He occupies, in the West, much the same position that the Khalif fills in the East, for Morocco is one of the chief centres of Musulman power and fanaticism, and perhaps takes the lead in the propagation of the faith of Mahommed. It possesses many religious congregations, sects and universities, which despatch their emissaries throughout Africa to convert the heathen and kindle the zeal of the faithful. It has many towns, that have a special reputation for sanctity, of which the principal are Fez, Ouezzan, Tetuan and Fignig. Through its holy reputa tion, the second has become a city of refuge, and its ruler, who enjoys the title of Sherif is so influential, that from a religious point of view he is considered the equal of the Sultan, whose election is apparently not confirmed without the former's approbation. The partiality of Moulei 'Taib, the late Sherif of this town, who died not long ago, for European customs had, it is said, somewhat weakened his authority among his countrymen, who were wont to make pilgrimages in crowds in order to receive his blessing. But the Sherifs of Ouezzan are habitually obeyed by hundreds of thousands of the religious orders of the Taibiya. They are the hereditary chiefs of this order, to which also the Sultan belongs; and if we would comprehend the relative position, of the ruler of this town and the Sultan of Morocco, we should compare the latter to a Jesuit, who is elected Pope, and the former to the General of the Jesuits, whose authority in this capacity is not controlled even by the reputed head of Christianity.

It has been affirmed that Moulei Taib once offered to place Ouezzan, and its small adjacent territory, under French protection, but that his offer was not accepted. He certainly travelled in Algeria and showed himself favourably impressed by French institutions; and his two sons, who are the issue of an English wife, have been educated, in the neighbouring French colony: the elder of the sons was destined by the late Sherif to be his successor, and doubtless will exercise considerable influence over the future fate of the country.

The independence of Morocco is compromised from many causes, among the most important of which are its innate elements of weakness. El Maghreb, the vernacular name of Morocco, designates an indefinite part of Western Africa, where the numerous tribes that inhabit its supposed limits are scarce aware that they nominally belong to an Empire, and do not even recognize the authority of the Sultan; they prefer their own freedom from restraint to any advantage their country, though it is threatened by aliens and Christians, might derive from their obedience to a common master.

The borders of Morocco and Algeria form a kind of no man's land, where wander Algerian tribes, that have either not submitted to French rule, or revolted against it. The latter country is often harried by hereditary foes, who organize attacks and foment insurrections in Moroccan territory, where an asylum is offered to common criminals as well as to rebels. In his entertaining work, "Across Algeria," M. Bourde* thus describes the situation on the Moroccan frontier, as it was only a few years ago, and as it continues to be at the present time. Referring to Fleincen, an important town and commercial centre in the department of Oran, and distant but a few miles from the border, he writes: "The neighbourhood of Morocco, which offers a refuge to every fugitive, stimulates the instinct of depredation among the natives. Along their frontier there is a band of marauders who live entirely by rapine at our expense. A few years before the arrival of the deputation, two soldiers belonging to the military train had been assassinated near Sebdon, a village in the vicinity. Hence one of the principal wishes which the inhabitants expressed, was that measures might be taken against Morocco. 'If that country cannot maintain a proper police, let us take this duty on ourselves there,' said an orator, who was the mouthpiece of the inhabitants. And M. Bourde continues afterwards: "it appears to me that far too much consideration is paid to a State where the sovereign possesses direct authority only over a few towns, and cannot go beyond his capital, unless he is escorted by an army of 10,000 men. Every time a grave offence is committed, he transmits his excuses and pays an indemnity, as he has just done for this affair of Sebdon. It is right for him to make amends for an injury by payment, but it would be preferable to prevent it." And further: "It is a notorious fact that at Ouchda (in Morocco), which is only a few hours distant from the frontier, there are two or three hundred Algerians who gain their entire livelihood by the booty they obtain in the French Province." Since the book of M. Bourde appeared there have been some changes, and certain tribes have submitted themselves to French rule, but the state of affairs on the frontier still remains nearly what it was at the time this author wrote. * M. A. Burdeau, the present French Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies, writes that the security of Algeria is compromised by the clandestine commerce of arms and by the excursions of the emissaries of religious fraternities, charged to stir up the fanaticism of French subjects against French rule; and these fraternities have their home in Morocco.

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* A Travers l'Algerie—Souvenir's d'excursion parlementaire (Septembre et Octobre 1879) par Paul Bourde-Charpentier, Paris.

Some thirty miles from the frontier of Algeria is the district of Fignig, inhabited by the powerful tribe of the Amours, who enjoy a semi-independence. This tribe believes that it still continues the war in which Moulei Abd el Rahman was defeated by the French at Isly in 1844, and as it has not met with actual defeat, concludes, through its own method of reasoning, that it is victorious. Fignig has a population of more than 10,000 souls and consists of 11 villages or *ksours*, that are surmounted by a clay or *pisé* wall possessing a circumference of about 11 miles and an altitude of two yards. It is both the seat of a university and the centre of a vast Musulman propaganda, whose missionaries are indefatigable in their efforts to excite revolt against Christian rule, and who are also supposed at the present time, to be preparing a general insurrection which doubtless would immediately break out in Algeria at the news of serious reverses to a French army in Europe. We may recollect that the formidable insurrection of 1871 broke out soon after the defeat of 1870.

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* L'Algerie en 1891—by A. Burdeau. 1 Hachette et Cie. Paris 1892.

The present state of affairs on the borderland according to recent accounts, will scarcely justify us in condemning, *à priori*, the desire of the French Government to rectify their unsatisfactory frontier; but the disadvantages that Algeria at present suffers, owing to the neighbourhood of Morocco, would scarcely be remedied, even if the French Government attained its wish; and, though the Algerian boundaries were forced far back on Moroccan soil, the empire of the Sultan would still remain the home of Musulman fanaticism and would still offer a shelter to conspirators, marauders and criminals. All that the French could possibly ask at present, where it was a question of the territories on their Western frontier, could not exceed a demand for this rectification of the frontier; but the question of Morocco is so involved, and the country is so jealously watched by rival powers, that, even were the Sultan disposed to surrender Fignig to France, he would soon be compelled to make concessions to other European powers, which have all some reasons for complaint against the proceedings of the Moroccan Government. Besides, one concession would induce another, and, were a frontier that gave Fignig to the French once conceded, it would not be long before a delimitation that gave them Fez would be demanded, while further claims of several European powers would be so hotly pressed, that within a brief interval no trace of Morocco would be discovered on the map. Already the conflicting interests of foreign nations in this country have conjured up a Western question that may imperil as well the maintenance of European peace, in only a less degree than the Eastern question does.

To understand adequately the present state of Morocco, and its reason, it may not be disadvantageous to glance at some of the most important phases of her past history.

In the third Moroccan dynasty, that of the Almohades, the Sultans of Morocco exercised authority, not only over the whole of Northern Africa, as far East as the confines of Egypt, but over the greater part of Spain. Under this dynasty Moroccan power reached its maximum. In the 15th century the Moorish Government was extirpated in Spain, the Spanish Moors were subdued, and millions of the latter are said to have then crossed the Straits of Gibraltar. In their turn Spaniards and Portuguese became aggressors, and conquered in Morocco certain ports and islands of which a few are still possessed by the former people. In the sixth Moroccan dynasty of the Daraonides (1550—1648) the return flood of Iberian invasion was checked, and at the battle of Ksar el Kebir (August 4th, 1648) Sebastian, King of Portugal, was completely defeated; but since this battle European Powers have scarcely made any progress in the way of conquest, within the real limits of the Moroccan Empire.

Under the rule of the Daraonides, Morocco recovered somewhat from the severe treatment she had received from the Spaniards, and the population was again increased, through the expulsion of about 900,000 Moors from Spanish soil by Philip III, between the years 1598 and 1610, when they found a refuge across the Straits of Gibraltar. The present dynasty of the Filalides succeeded the preceding in 1642 and its founder, as was the case with many previous dynasties, claimed descent from the Prophet, a fact which, though apparently trivial, is of considerable importance, if we would justly appraise the present influence of Moroccan Sultans. Before the Filalides became imperial, their family was settled at Tafilet. an oasis of the Moroccan Sahara, and here, according to Loti, who, in addition to his celebrated romances, it may not be perhaps so widely known, is the author of an interesting work on Morocco. Moulei Hassan, the present ruler, has prepared a retreat for himself and his family, as well as a place of concealment for his immense treasures, in case the pressure of European Powers should render his position as ruler of Morocco untenable.

In 1684 Moulei Ismael, the brother of the founder of the present dynasty, recovered Tangiers from the English. He was the first Moroccan prince to cultivate friendly relations with a foreign Power, and he even despatched an ambassador to the Court of Louis XIV, to demand the hand of the Princess de Conti, the natural daughter of the French Monarch and of Mademoiselle de Valiére. Moulei Soliman, one of the successors of the Princess de Conti's wooer, decreed the abolition of piracy in 1814, and sent an embassy to Napoleon I. Towards the end of the war that Abd el Kadir, the great Arab chief, waged during many years in Algeria against the French Government, Moulei Abd el Rahman, the Emperor of Morocco at that period, allied himself with Abd el Kadir; but the Moroccan army was completely defeated at the battle of Isly, by Marshal Buglaud in 1844, in which year both Tangiers and Mogadore were successfully bombarded by the Prince de Joinville.

The treaty of Tangiers in 1844 terminated the war, and on March 14th, 1845, General de la Rue, representing France, and Sidi Ahmid, as the representative of Morocco, by the treaty of Salla Maghnia, fixed the Eastern frontier of Morocco. It was then agreed that the new limit should commence at a point somewhat to the east of the river Molonia, and, leaving Oudscha and Fignig in the possession of the Sultan, should be prolonged to the Hauts Plateaux as far as *Tennet* (pass) *el Sarsi.* The French negotiator did not concern himself about the territory to the south of this point, as French rule had no sway below Tennet el Sarsi, and it was supposed that there were only deserts beyond the Hauts Plateaux. In the 6th article of the treaty of Salla Maghnia (or Maghonia) it is stated "as regards the country to the south of the *Ksours or villages, it has no water and is uninhabitable,—to speak properly, it is the desert, and hence its delimitation is surperfluous." Unfortunately for French interests, Fignig was not included in French territory, and, as we have said, it is precisely from this desert frontier town that "Algeria is harassed by raids and that rebellion is fostered" In 1847 Abd el Kadir remarked to General Lamoriciere, "You would only be able to preserve peace in the Sahara by the possession of Fignig." At that time Algeria included a very small part of the Sahara, and it has only been realised in recent years that French interests are most important there, and that there is something besides sand in the desert.

Since the treaties of Tangiers and Salla Maghnia, the relations of Morocco with foreign Powers have been far from smooth. In 1857, Salé, an important sea port of the Atlantic coast, was bombarded by a French fleet. in punishment for pillage of a French brig. In 1849 the Spaniards forestalled the French and occupied the Jaffarines islands of the Moroccan coast, which are situated some thirty miles to the west of Mellila. In 1860 Spain declared war against Morocco, as the latter refused to make amends for piratical acts committed by Moroccans, of which Spaniards complained. The war ended triumphantly for Spain, and, in return for the evacuation of Spanish troops from Tetuan, Morocco agreed to pay 4,000,000*l.*, and to surrender permanently a seaport on the Atlantic coast, and here it may be remembered that English diplomacy not only sought to prevent this war, but tried to terminate it as soon as possible, for even at that time the English Government was unwilling that Morocco should be weakened for the profit of a neighbour.

In 1867 a formidable revolt broke out among the Moroccans, who were discontented at the concessions made to Europeans, and soon after a severe famine desolated the country. Sidi Mahommed is said to have placed his Empire under English protection in 1873, in which year his son, the present ruler of Morocco, Moulei Hossan the 14th prince of his dynasty, was proclaimed Sultan. The commencement of the latter's reign was troubled by a disturbance. After the lapse of a few years, he triumphed over his enemies, and has since shown himself more disposed, *nolens volens*, to make concessions to European powers than most of his predecessors. By the treaties of 1844 and 1845 with France and England, the Moroccan Government had consented to grant strangers the right of trafficking and residing in certain ports, of building and constructing houses, and of occupying buildings and warehouses, though the Sultans reserved to themselves the right of prohibiting what exports they chose to prevent leaving the country, as well as to tax imports. Moulei Hossan has received the ministers of European Powers in his capital, where a French envoy was first accorded this favour, and, within the last few weeks, it has been rumoured that Count d'Aubigné has secured more important concessions than any previous foreign envoy.

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* Referring to the Ksours or villages of Fignig.

Like other Mahomedan States, Morocco is, of course, a country of capitulations, that alone can legally regulate the relations of believers and infidels. Through these capitulations the natives who place themselves under consular protection, enjoy the exceptional position of European subjects. But many of these privileged Moroccans make use of their advantages to perpetrate crimes, and, by pleading their immunity from trial by ordinary native tribunals, generally succeed in escaping the punishment that their misdeeds merit. At last the abuses occasioned by this system became so flagrant, as to necessitate a Conference of the Powers, which met at Madrid in 1880. It was then proposed to abolish the protection accorded to the agents of the few Europeans who reside in Moroccan ports; but the French Government rejected the Anglo-Moroccan proposition, and further negotiations produced no result.

Hence this most important question of consular protection still remains unsettled, and must continue to offer a facile means of interference in Moroccan internal affairs; and it may prove the immediate occasion of the fall of Morocco as a nominally independent Power, should a serious riot, like that which took place at Alexandria in 1882, result from the abuses the present system entails.

The germs of disaggregation are indeed strong in Morocco, intertribal wars continue, and scarcely is one revolt suppressed, than another breaks out. The Moroccan Government is still indisposed to introduce reforms, which the rivalry of European pwers does not contribute to promote. English and French influence compete for predominacy, and now, other Powers are almost able to put as strong a pressure on Moroccan rulers as the former.

The mission of Sir Euan Smith has, however, failed, where it is said that that of Count d'Aubigné has secured a certain success. Sir Euan Smith was credited by the French with designs which, if they could be executed, would reduce Morocco to exactly the same position as that at present occupied by several semi-civilized countries on the confines of English possessions. It was said to have been a brutal attempt to frighten a weak ruler and to make a diplomatic *coup de main*, which would have obtained the most important advantages for the English Government. The organ of Madame Adam, the gifted editor of the * "*Nouvelle Revue*," has paid great attention to English policy in Morocco, and thus expresses herself about the late events in that country: "It is held that Sir Euan Smith's check has altogether arrested English aggression. But this opinion is an error. Sir Euan plucked the fruit before it was ripe, and the English agents will soon return to the attack. Morocco is not yet disposed to accept English government; but the position of England still continues very strong in that country. The former country has had ground assigned it, for the ostensible purpose of building a semaphore, and the English propose to construct a fortification in order to command both shores of the Straits of Gibraltar. They have taken possession of Cape Juby, and the late ambassador, Sir Kirby Green, has compelled the payment of 1,200,000 francs in requital for a pretended aggression against the fortress, where the English have placed cannons. Nearly all the towns on the littoral are English: Saffi, Mogador, and Cassa Bianca are almost under their thumbs, through the English having acquired houses and marts in these places. At Saffi two or three English houses are in agreement with the Moorish authorities to practise smuggling. The sole way of saving Morocco from an English protectorate, is to revise the Convention of Madrid of 1881 by another Conference which would have reform for its object, and place Morocco in a position to resist a conquest." Madame Adam proposes that the Straits of Gibraltar should be neutralized as well as Morocco, and that the contracting Powers should guarantee the independence of the latter country, but at the same time permit a rectification of the frontier should France and Spain demand it. She also advocates some excellent measures, such as the abolition of usury, the reform of consular jurisdiction, and, above all, the suppression of slavery.

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* "Le Nouvelle Revue," September 1892.

With regard to the open sore of Africa, it must, however, be admitted that it will probably continue to exist in Morocco as long as that country retains its independence. Algeria and Tunis are no longer markets for slaves, and slavery is an institution which it will be difficult to eradicate from a great part of Central Africa, where caravans of slaves wend their way across the desert to Morocco, the sole market, with the exception of Tripoli, which is open to them on the Mediterranean coast. Slavery is a domestic institution of the greatest popularity in Morocco, and it would need the common pressure of all the Powers to prevent the traffic of slaves, not to speak of the suppression of the institution.

So dangerous to the tranquillity of the Algerian colonists is the presence of disaffected tribes and criminals on the borders of Morocco, that it is certain that France would not recoil before an attempt that promised any chance of success, of securing an improved frontier. Besides, the Arab population of Algeria is, as a rule, thoroughly disaffected, and in any rising, would find a most important *point d'appui* in Morocco. And though the territory of the latter country is not inviolate, even in times of peace, as French columns have repeatedly crossed its frontier, while they were pursuing disaffected and revolted tribes in 1852-1853, 1856, 1859, and 1870, yet Morocco offers, in general, a tolerably sure refuge for the hard pressed Mussulman.

But were France resolved to put an end to a state of things that she thought inconsistent with the maintenance of her rule in Algeria, not only would she be involved in disputes with the Native government and English diplomatists, but her present amiable relations with Spain would be imperilled. The latter Power regards her African neighbour as her rightful heritage, and her present weakness alone prevents her from taking the foremost part in the disposal of the fate of Morocco. She cannot hope now to create another Spain under shelter of the Atlas, but her influence may still thwart French designs.

To the acquisition of Tunis in 1880, France soon after joined that of the Congo, a province that is superior in size to her European territory. In Senegal she has extended her dominions along the river of this name into the Soudan, and she has taken possession of the upper course of the Niger, where she has established a virtual protectorate over Timbuctoo. Some of the most courageous French explorers have devoted themselves to winning new regions for France on the West Coast and interior of this part of Africa. Crampel lost his life in the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad, while he was pursuing this aim, M. Brazza and M. LeMaistre are at present proceeding in command of an expedition, which, starting from the French Congo, will pass through the territory of Adamona to the River Blime and Lake Tchad, where they hope to encounter M. Mizon, another explorer, who is himself journeying from the upper course of the Niger. M. Monteil* has set out from the lower course of the river, and also proposes to rally his fellow explorers near Lake Tchad. It is intended to establish permanent communications between this district and Timbuctoo, which the French design as the future capital of the vast territory vaguely denoted under the appellation of the Soudan. The latter possesses great undeveloped riches, and in certain spots is populous. If it were more accessible to European traders and the means of transport improved, it would offer an important resource to French trade. For centuries Timbuctoo has been the starting point and terminus of most of the caravans that cross the desert, and is therefore one of the most important centres of African trade. Under the Daraonides in the 16th century, it was conquered by a Sultan of Morocco, who garrisoned it and left a colony of his soldiers, whose descendants still rule in Timbuctoo, though they have long since thrown off their allegiance to Morocco. Nominally the latter dominion, even at present, includes a large but undefined part of the Sahara; but the tribes which inhabit its oases enjoy, with regard to Morocco, as much independence as they could wish for. As for France, their position is different, for it is one of the great objects of French policy in Northern Africa, to secure the control of the caravan routes, which it will not be able to do unless it can reduce the tribes of the desert to submission, and this task is the more difficult, as the interior of the desert is comparatively little known to Europeans. Major Laing, an English officer, is supposed to have been the first European who succeeded in crossing the Sahara. But he was assassinated on his return journey in 1826. The country immediately to the south of Algeria presents the greatest difficulties. It offers great physical obstacles, is full of rocky plateaux, of narrow passes, and scantily provided with water, not to mention the vast unbroken stretches of desert, destitute of sustenance, either for man or beast. The tribe of Touaregs inhabiting this district are the most turbulent, warlike and unreliable of the natives of the Sahara. Through their resistance the strong military expedition of Col. Flatters in (1880-1881), the object of which was to join the Soudan and Algeria, by opening up a safe route, was utterly defeated and its Commander slain. This check was a great disappointment to the partisans of French Colonial extension, and their chagrin was increased by the news of the terrible sufferings of the few survivors of the expedition.* Referring to the tribes of the neighbourhood of the Soudan, General Faidherbe, whom a long personal experience of Africa rendered an excellent authority on African questions, has emitted a curious opinion about the Touaregs : he maintained, that they are the descendants of Celtic immigrants, who, about 1500 B. C., crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and probably started from Gaul, pressed by Roman arms, they retired into the desert, and the truth of this assertion is attested by the presence of menhirs exactly resembling those of Brittany, that mark the sites formerly occupied by the Touaregs.

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* In "Le Temps" of the 16th November, it is stated that M. Monteil, after reaching Konka on the Lake Tchad, has made his way through the Sahara to the Fezzan in Tripoli, but apparently he has not met with other explorers.

The failure of Colonel Flatters' mission did not, however, discourage the French. Only a few years ago, the project of a railway across the Sahara was eagerly discussed, passionately advocated, and even received the approval of leading politicians. But the disastrous failure of the Panama enterprise has rendered French people less disposed to risk their hard earned savings in distant and hazardous adventures ; and it has been conclusively shown, that the natural course of trade from the Soudan to Egypt is not across the Sahara, but by the rivers Niger and Senegal to the Atlantic. Though the shortest route for trade with Europe from Lake Tchad would be across the desert, yet the countries near that Lake would have to develop considerably their natural riches before a Saharan Railway, constructed in their interest, could even pay a portion of its expenses.

The best route from the colony of Algeria to Timbuctoo is stated by good authorities to commence at Oran, to cross the Moroccan frontier above Fignig, and to pass to the westward of this agglomeration of villages It then proceeds by Igli to the Tenat, leaving the most difficult passes and most dangerous tribes of the Touaregs to the east. Opinions differ as to the actual distance across the desert, but the route by Fignig and Igli is considerably shorter than the route by Algiers or Constantine. General Faidherbe maintained that the actual distance between the Mediterranean and Timbuctoo cannot fall far short of 2,500 kilometres. The passage by Igli and the Tenat is the one which caravans take by preference ; besides, the abolition of the slave trade in Algeria, has almost destroyed the commerce between that country and the Soudan, while the commerce between the latter and

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* "Le Senegal"—La France dans l'Afrique occidentale—par le General Faidherbe. Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1889.

Morocco has much increased for the same reason. But were Igli and the Tenat both under French control, it is probable that the French would be able to secure a considerable part of the legitimate trade of the Soudan.

It is precisely the existence of this route, as well as the practical necessity of passing through the Tenat, when the Sahara is traversed, that has rendered the right of possession of this country the occasion of a conflict between France and Morocco. For several years the name of Tenat has seemed familiar to our ears, but probably only a small minority could describe its exact position, and we associate it chiefly with the rumour of the march of a French column in a distant and unexplored part of the Sahara.

According to M. Reclus, the Tenat is, properly speaking, only a narrow plain, bordering on the east bed of the Saoura, Messaoura or Messaoud, above the spot where its course is lost in the sand of the gorges of the mountains; but in ordinary language the name of Tenat, a Berber word, which signifies oasis, is applied to the whole of the palm groves which are scattered between the country of the Touaregs and the region of the great occidental dunes. The district of Gouvara, which sand mountains envelop on the north, is a part of the Tenat; the ribband of land that is moistened by the subterraneous waters of the Saoura from Kanzar to Tasurit, also belongs to the Tenat. Speaking generally, it may be said that the latter is a region of quaternary alluvions in the form of a crescent proceeding from the west to the south of the great chalk plains of Tademait. The natural limits of the plains of the Tenat are, on the north, the dunes of the western Erg; on the west the sands of Iquidi; the south is bordered by the Devonian plateau of the Mondis; and the desert of the Touaregs forms its frontier on the east.

Though it is probable that the name of Tenat is often vaguely applied to all the oases of the Northern Sahara, the country we have just described is the one whose possession is disputed between France and Morocco. It has seldom been visited by Europeans. Major Laing travelled through the Tenat in 1826. Colonel Colonieu and Burnow in 1861, and Rholfs, the well known German explorer, visited it in 1864. The inhabitants of the Tenat are pacific, but extremely fanatical; they dread to belong to a Christian Empire; and, to avoid such a fate, many years ago, they thought it was their best course to compound with the enemy and to declare themselves the vassals of France. They even went the length of sending an embassy to Algiers, but the envoy failed to secure any result. Afterwards they were alarmed by the military expedition of Col. Burnow in 1861, and they deemed it prudent to place their country under the protection of the Sultans of Morocco.

Till within the last few years, the latter have done little more than promise their support, and their authority has been unrepresented in the Tenat. Since 1885, however, agitation has prevailed in this country, and the French Government has somewhat tardily decided to take energetic measures to establish order, and at the same time, its supremacy. But, though French military columns have penetrated it on foot, the Tenat has apparently not been formally annexed. The present civil Governors of Algeria have more limited powers, and cannot act so promptly as their military predecessors; and since each of the three departments of Algeria desires to add the Tenat to its present territory, the resulting conflict of interests tends to defer the attainment of the desired aim. When new territories are added in the desert, more Arab chiefs are compelled to pay tribute; and, in the Tenat, particularly, the oases contain some comparatively important towns, among which is Tamentit, a place of several thousand inhabitants, and the seat of a relatively large trade, as well as of some excellent and remunerative industries. Palm trees, a great source of wealth, abound in the oasis, hence in the case of the Tenat, departmental rivalries are especially keen.

Apparently French claims to the possession of the Tenat can be based only on expediency and on the right of the strong, for though the limits of Algeria have been indefinitely extended towards the south, the extension is owing to the triumph of French arms and not to any positive right. Even before the French conquest of Algeria, the southern frontier was only vaguely defined, as indeed it is at present. Nor does it seem probable that its former rulers had a real control over the natives far to the south of the Atlas, while it is certain that the ruler of Morocco has also possessed Algeria, and has conquered at least once the territory between the former limits of the French province and Timbuctoo. Still the inhabitants of the Tenat seem in general to have enjoyed complete independence, for it is only within quite recent times that self-interest has induced them to claim the protection of Morocco, for fear they should be absorbed by the French. As the latter have even less claim to the possession of the Tenat, they can only plead plausibly, as an excuse for its occupation by their troops, the necessity which often constrains a civilized power to crush the independence of neighbouring countries that are still in a comparatively primitive state, and impede its legitimate progress and expansion. The French hope to repress the turbulent and revolted tribes which find a refuge in the Tenat, as well as to secure the best route across the desert, that they hope to have soon under their complete control. The Tenat is, in fact, the key of the Sahara, and of a considerable part of Northern Africa On the 14th of November, a deputation, composed of nine members of the Touaregs of Hoggar and of Azdjer, and including their grand Marabout Silarousy, reached Biskra on the confines of the desert. Their object in leaving their country was to express their good will with regard to French expansion on the Sahara. But it may be remembered that these Touaregs were precisely the Arabs who beguiled and defeated the mission of Col. Flatters The French authorities are placed in a dilemma, for if they ignore the crime perpetrated against Col. Flatters, they will certainly lose consideration in the eyes of the Arabs in general, while they can scarcely meet the advances of this embassy with severity. It is probable that the mission of the Touaregs is connected with the Tenat, which they wish to prevent the French from occupying permanently. They may reasonably feel anxious for their future independence should the fountains, on which the Arabs depend for their existence, be under the control of foes or foreigners. It is through the desert of which the Tenat is, as we have said. the key, that the French hope to stretch out the hand of friendship to the Copts in Egypt, whom they regard as their natural protégés and allies. A clever French lecturer, and Algerian Professor, lately emitted this opinion, though it need not alarm those who say that Egypt may one day fall again under the sway of the French, as the distance across the desert is too great for it to be possible for the French Government to make its influence felt overland from Algiers.

If it is probable that the French will soon succeed in establishing their rule over the latter district, it will prove more difficult for them to include Fignig or Igli within their territory. Any concessions that Morocco might make in regard to its Eastern frontier, would induce the claims of other Powers, that cannot afford to allow French influence to domineer in so important a country as Morocco. It may be recollected that a French aggression on the eastern frontier of Algeria changed a possible ally into a deadly foe, and it is probable that any ill-considered annexation on the Western frontier of Algeria would add another Power to strengthen the force of the Triple Alliance.

Morocco will possibly, for some time, retain its present independence, through the jealousy of rivals, in the same way that Turkey still continues to exist as an independent Power in Europe. The Alliance would not see with pleasure any extension of French territory or influence on the Mediterranean, and England naturally desires to retain her present commanding position in the Straits, not to speak of the preponderance of her influence and trade in the Moroccan seaports. But the latter Power is said to prefer the *status quo* to any great change, from which she would run considerable risk of losing some of her actual permanent advantages.* One French writer has accused English policy of playing an anti-civilizing rôle in Morocco, with a view to isolating that country from the rest of the world, and thus maintaining, with greater facility, the position which, in his opinion, the English already enjoy as virtual rulers of Morocco. But the late mission of Sir Euan Smith scarcely bears out such a view.

Doubtless Morocco will soon be forced to make great concessions to foreign Powers, among which France, through her possession of Algiers, and the large army she maintains in that colony, will be able to exercise increasing influence; but the absorption of Morocco by any one of the Powers would not be possible, unless the balance of power were completely changed in Europe.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

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* Le Maroc Moderne, par Jules Erckmann (Chef de la Mission Militaire in Maroc).

ART. IV.—THE HINDU MIND IN ITS RELATIONS TO SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

1. *Sharir Bignan.* Collected and Translated by Kalish Chunder Sen, Kabiratna. Calcutta, 1888.
2. *Bhava Prakasa, Part I, or Encyclopedia of Hindu Medicine.* Containing Anatomy, Midwifery, Physiology, Therapeutics, Hygiene, Pathology, and Treatment of Diseases. By Bhava Misra, with Bengali translations by Kaviraj Russic Lal Gupta, Calcutta. Printed and published by G. M. Doss, at the new Arya Press, 43-1, Bhowani Churn Dutt's Lane, Calcutta, 1883.

AT the very threshold of the study of ancient Hindu civilisation we are confronted with the perplexing phenomenon that Indian Science, after having advanced with rapid strides and attained to a state of considerable progress, came to a dead halt, and began to degenerate into fanciful fiction, not unmixed with superstitious folly. The keenness of perception, the accuracy of observation, and the acuteness of inductive reasoning, which marked the earlier stages of its growth, seem to have entirely disappeared after it reached its period of stagnation ; and the arrival at this culminating point in its career of development and its subsequent decline took place, it would seem, before the repressive influence of foreign rule had anything to do with the matter

The only probable solution of this interesting problem in the history of civilisation is to be found in the rise of the schools of philosophy, especially of the *Vedantic*, the most popular among them. That philosophy, rising to a height still unapproachable to Western wisdom, and inculcating truths, some of which have begun only lately to be dimly perceived by a few of the leading intellects of Europe, proved a curse to the country of its birth, so far as its material advancement was concerned. The supreme contempt it displayed for things of this world, and the perfect insouciance with which it taught men to view them, dealt a death-blow to the progress of science. The Vedantist was most imperatively enjoined to abstract his attention from the delusive appearances that were around him, and to concentrate it on the reality that underlay them, or at least on a relative form of it to be found in the microcosm within. The most solemn duty of a student of that philosophy was to abjure the objects of sense, and to learn to regard them with absolute indifference. The phenomena of the outer world, which, according to modern thinkers, are the only proper subjects of science, were attributed to *Maya* (illusion) and condemned as so many causes of needless distraction. Any close observation of them, therefore, would have been not only useless, but repugnant to its most cherished doctrines. The mind of man must be introspective, and must not be led away from its true pursuit by the unrealities of external nature. The Absolute Reality—that which has been relegated by Herbert Spencer and his followers to the domain of the Unknowable—formed the only fitting object for the *Jogee's* contemplation. A school of philosophy so obnoxious to material prosperity, so repressive of the habit of observation, took away at once the motive and the means for the growth of physical science. The habit, and, with it the power of observation gradually disappeared, and science, being deprived of its only legitimate nourishment, began to decline and lose itself in imaginary theories and quasi-theological maxims. Transcendentalism has nowhere been favourable to the growth of positive science, and India has been no exception to the rule.

Another serious impediment to the continued progress of science is to be found in the natural features of the country, and the productiveness of its soil. Dowered with the fatal gift of fertility, it did not, in order to wring out of the unwilling hand of nature the bare means of subsistence, call forth those efforts which have been the main precursors of the advancement of science. The natural features of the country and its climate presented few difficulties in the way of making it habitable and endurable. The fertility of the soil, the environments of the situation and climatic causes, all combined to minimise the severity of the struggle for existence and the contest with the forces of nature, which have in all ages furnished the true stimulus to the discoveries of science. It is a trite saying but none the less true, that necessity is the mother of invention Nature was cruelly benevolent to the Hindu, and his education accentuated the emasculating influences of this merciful malevolence. Nature supplied him all but gratuitously with the bare necessities of life, and his philosophy taught him to be content with the low standard of living that could thus be had without any serious cost of time or trouble. Nay, it went further—it inculcated on him, with all the earnestness it could command, the duty of self-abnegation and self-mortification, abandonment of the pleasures of life, and apathy to creature-comforts and physical conveniences. The initiation of a student in the esoteric knowledge of that school began by a course of strict asceticism and rigid austerities calculated to bring about the final liberation of the spirit from matter. Unhampered by considerations of family or friends, or even of his own personal comforts, he was left free to engage in an introspective examination of his consciousness and to devote his time and energies to the culture of his transcendental philosophy. Theology, metaphysics and ontology became his favorite pursuits, and his character received its shape from the mould in which it was cast. Apathetic, indolent and listless as his education had made him, his surroundings contributed to keep up that bent.

This indifferentism to matter and things material has been embedded in the nature of the Hindu, and has given a tone and colour to the subsequent history of his mental development. Even up to this day it makes itself felt in the want of originality in the speculations of the people. The loss, by disuse, of what may be called the scientific faculty is noticeable in the absence of any indigenous contribution, worth the name, to any branch of knowledge requiring independent research. And nowhere is this more strikingly manifest than in the fact that, though the Medical College of Bengal was founded in the year 1833, Medical Science has been hardly indebted to its alumni for any addition to the already existing stock of knowledge. The field for useful activity in this direction was an extensive one, and the opportunities were numerous. We need indicate only one way, among a hundred, in which they could enrich science, serve humanity and immortalise their names. They could at least introduce into their practice and observe the effects of the use of the thousands of indigenous drugs recommended in the Hindu books on medicine and daily prescribed by the Kavirajes, and register the results of their observation. They could thus verify ancient experience and try to assimilate it to the theories of modern pathology and therapeutics. But no attempt of the kind has ever been made.

Another indication of the permanent bent of the Hindu mind, impressed upon it by the conditions of its evolution, is traceable in the tastes and inclinations of the candidates for the University degrees, who, by a preponderating majority, evince a marked preference for the literary, and not the scientific course of studies prescribed by that learned body, though the chance of success, as appears from the results of the examinations, is greater in the latter than in the former. We are happy to notice that this predilection of the under-graduates has not escaped the attention of the present Lieutenant-Governor, and if the efforts of His Honor on this behalf, duly seconded by those of the University, succeed in weaning them from it, and create in them a taste for original research in scientific subjects, Sir Charles Elliott will have inaugurated a new era in the history of culture in Bengal, and established a claim to the lasting gratitude of its people. The healthiest offspring of the happy union of the energetic and material West with the lethargic and spiritual East, will then have been born. To borrow a metaphor from the Sankhya philosophy, the best evolute of the action of *Prakriti*, as represented by the West on the dormant *Purush*, as symbolised by the East, will then have been produced. A discussion of the adequacy of the means employed to serve the end in view is outside the scope of the present article.

The scientific spirit, stifled and diverted from its true channel, began to gratify itself with travesties of science which required neither physical exertion nor the observation of external nature. Astrology, *Swarodaya*, or the theory of breathing, and other cognate subjects, afforded scope for his mental activity and did duty for science in the curriculum of his studies. Grammar and Deductive Logic, which hardly stood in need of any practical basis, found favor with him, and were brought to a considerable extent to a state of maturity. Dr. Ballantyne has shown that Gautama carried the analysis of the syllogism to a greater perfection than Sir William Hamilton. But the premises of Ratiocinative Logic have to be supplied by Inductive Science; and the laws of reasoning, without the materials of thought to work upon, lead to no profitable results, and are apt to lose themselves in idle speculations, and some times even in wild chimeras. Logic met with the same fate in India as it had in mediæval Europe, and Jagadish, Gadadhar and Mathur found pleasure in occupations which had formed the intellectual diversions of the followers of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus.

The books which head the present article furnish apt illustrations of most of the foregoing remarks. One cannot rise from their perusal without a feeling of wonder, not unmingled with a sense of disappointment. The acuteness of observation and the faculty of generalisation displayed at times by the ancient Hindus, as evidenced by these treatises, challenge our admiration, while the crude theories, bordering at times almost on the ludicrous, and based mostly upon *à priori* reasoning and some times on semi-religious dogmas, present to the cursory observer the psychological puzzle how so much shrewd sense and scientific instinct could be combined with such a reckless disregard of easily ascertainable anatomical facts and occasionally a total absence of the desire or the power to take note of, or to weigh, evidence. Primitive religions or metaphysical doctrines about cosmogenesis and anthropogenesis have been mixed up with the truths of physiology and midwifery. The *Sharir Bijnan* opens with an introduction embodying the Sankhya hypothesis about the origin of the universe by the action of *Atma* (spirit) on *Prakriti* (matter). It goes on to a disquisition, mostly reproduced from Hindu Ontology, on the attributes of *Prakriti*, its relations to *Atma*, and the characteristics which are common to both and those which differentiate the one from the other. Then comes the theory of the subsequent course of evolution, for Hindu philosophy, in common with modern advanced thought, discards the idea of a creation. Even the early metaphysical doctrine of the evolution of the organs of sense and of the other members and faculties of the body from the five elements of earth, water, fire, air and ether has been pressed in to the service of science. It is confidently asserted, for instance, that the feet and the sense of sight owe their origin to fire, the skin to air, and the ear and the faculty of speech to ether, and this on no higher proof than that walking generates heat, that sight is only possible with the aid of light, that the skin is the organ of touch, and that the power of speech is one of the principal means for the generation of sound, while the ear is the medium for its conveyance. Even allowing that the elements here spoken of are not to be taken in their popular acceptation, of fire, water, &c.; but represent, in accordance with ontological technology, some subtle essence of the principle of matter, solid, liquid, and gaseous, of heat and of ether, still the theory continues to be as devoid of any foundation as it was when put in a less sophistical garb. The account which follows of the union of the soul and the body is no less grotesque than aprocryphal. Souls of the dead, it is said, descend with dewdrops and enter into the composition of grains, which, being partaken of by men, are transformed into the vital fluid which is the principle of reproduction.

It would not be fair to hold the present compiler responsible for this admixture of theology and metaphysics with science; for we find the same culpable practice, though in a less degree, in the Bhava-Prakash and other older works on the subject. That he had not the courage to depart from the traditions of his profession was only what was to be expected. But he has out-heroded Herod. He has not scrupled to lay the Bhagavat-Gita under contribution in a compilation professedly scientific.

In this confusion of science with metaphysics we find another indication of the overmastering influence of the schools of philosophy—an influence which was so pervading in its character as to have permeated through all the various grades of society and to have filtered down to the lowest strata thereof, and left its permanent imprint on the habits of thought and modes of speech, even of the common people. And more and more, as the schools acquired a mastery over the Indian world of thought, the more accelerated grew the pace of this hybrid combination of Fact and Dogma, of Faith and Knowledge. For, though even the *Susruta* is not wholly free from the effects of this potent factor in the intellectual life of the people, it has declared itself in a more unmistakeable manner in the works of Bagbhat and of Bhaba Misra, who flourished in later periods of Indian history.

The question naturally arise, to what was this overshadowing predominance of the schools of philosophy due? Why had the mysteries of our being and destination, and of the origin of things, such a peculiar fascination for the Hindu mind, or, in other words, why was the religious instinct so deep-rooted in it? The manners, customs, laws, literature and even the science of the people have been distilled through a religious alembic and are redolent of a metaphysical odour. All knowledge is either the *Vedas* or a branch of the *Vedas* (Vedanga). It may be said, and with some degree of plausibility, that at a time when the habit of obedience to the laws of health and hygiene was not sufficiently matured, when the organisation of civil society and the machinery for the maintenance of order was imperfect, when the urgency of ethical sanctions was not fully understood or appreciated, the aid of religion was indispensable for the due promotion of individual and social happiness. But this interpretation is not only partial, it serves to remove the difficulty only one step. Why was the religious sanction deemed so obligatory and found so effective?

Another solution of this problem that is commonly offered for acceptance, consists in the religious disposition of all primitive races. But this explanation also is only approximately true; for in no other ancient nation do we find the same preponderance of the Unknowable in all departments of thought and action as among the Hindus. Greek Art is essentially human. There is hardly any tincture of religion in that splendid system of Jurisprudence which the Romans have bequeathed to modern Europe. Nor can it be said that Orientalism is answerable for this predominance of Supernaturalism, for as M. Renan has pointed out, the Chinese have to a large extent escaped its influence, and the Arabs, before they came into contact with the Persians, were far from imaginative and superstitious. The real reason is to be looked for in the characteristics of the Indian mind, in its imaginativeness, and its love of the marvellous But then the question suggests itself—what causes contributed to produce in the Indian Branch of the great Aryan race this luxuriance of imagination and this passionate craving for the mysterious This is a large question and one beyond the purview or the limits of the present article to attempt to discuss But this opinion may be hazarded, that the comparatively greater prevalence and permanence of the theological supremacy in India was due in a great measure to geographical and physical conditions. The conception of immutable laws has always been positively antagonistic to the love of the supernatural and the faith in the occult. And "in practical life," as Comte observes, "men were led more and more clearly to the conception of invariable laws." "The objective tendencies and the stubborn realities of practical life" have always hindered the growth of imaginativeness and led to a clearer perception of the Reign of Law. And this recognition has been earlier and more far-reaching as the demands of practical life have been more obtrusive and peremptory. In India, as already observed, these necessities were anything but urgent, and consequently the dominion of the Unknowable was more lasting and extensive than in any other country.

With so many obstacles, subjective and objective in the path of the Hindu mind in the pursuit of science, the progress made by it in this department of knowledge is really wonderful, though it must be conceded that much of that advancement must be referred to a period when, as we have said at the commencement of this article, the deleterious influences had not fully developed themselves. It will not, we hope, be either irrelevant or unprofitable to note some of the salient points in the state of that progress in respect of those branches with which we are at present concerned, and to summarise some of those results of Aryan research which harmonise with the discoveries of modern physiology.

The Hindu scientists begin by an enumeration of some of the external organs and functions of the human body. The five organs of sense, the faculty of speech, the muscular faculty as represented by the hands and feet, and the excretory functions are specified, and the three last grouped together as the active faculties. And as the organs of sense and the faculties of action are entirely dependent on the mind for their exercise, the latter is indiscriminately classed with either the one or the other. There is, it is stated, something beyond the external organ which really causes the sensation and the action, and this, perhaps, is only a vague perception of the nerves which play such an important part in the acts of perception and the functions of the body. It would not be uninteresting to observe that the position of some of the principal internal organs, such as the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the liver, the pancreas, have been described by the Hindu anatomists with tolerable precision. The conical figure of the heart was observed by them, and its similarity in shape to the blossom of the lotus with its vertex downwards has been pointed out. The resemblance of the uterus to the head of the *Rohit* fish, with its capacious cavity and the comparatively small opening of its mouth, serves to show that it was actual observation, and not mere conjecture which suggested the comparison, however rough. The appropriateness of this description is further confirmed by the name of "*os tinci*," which was originally given to it by European anatomy.

These comparisons, though in many cases wanting in exactitude, were obviously of great service at a time when the use of diagrams and models was unknown as a means for the elucidation of the meaning of the author and for its comprehension by the student The resources of modern civilisation have placed at the disposal of the anatomist numerous artificial facilities for the illustration of his lectures, but the ancients had to trust only to their bare words for bringing home to their students an idea of the subject-matter of their discourse, and this they not unfrequently tried to do by means of a comparison, impressive, though often inexact, with some familiar object. It would be an agreeable surprise to many Hindus to learn that the fact that the development of colourless and also coloured corpuscles of the blood is one of the essential functions of the spleen, had been dimly perceived by their physiologists, who describe that organ as the root of the blood-carrying vessels, which again are distinguished from those which are charged with the conveyance of other kinds of animal fluids. And, in order to comprehend the full significance of this distinction, and thus to be able to discern the nature of the discovery made by the Hindus, it must be borne in mind that it is the corpuscles more than anything else that form the differentiating characteristic of blood. When, therefore, the spleen is described as the root of the blood-carrying vessels, it is to be understood that the corpuscles were first noticed by them in the blood when it emerged from the spleen.

The main outlines of the theory of digestion and assimilation have also been shadowed forth in Hindu physiology. The secretion of different fluids for the purpose of digestion was not unknown to it, and it enumerates no less than six varieties of such fluids. And so far as numerical accuracy is concerned it has nothing to fear from a comparison with its present Western analogue. The secretions from the various parts of the digestive apparatus, according to modern science also number six: being (1) the Saliva, (2) the Gastric Mucus, (3) the Gastric Juice proper, (4) the Bile, (5) the Pancreatic Juice, (6) Succus Entericus, being the secretion of the intestinal glands; one of these the Gastric Mucus, may be distinctly identified with the *Kledânâ* of the *Amasaya*, mentioned by Susruta, and the bile with the *Pachakâ Pitta*, recognised as essential in the process of digestion. The action of the latter in the *Grâhâni*, or small intestines, on the half-converted food, accords with the intestinal digestion of Western science. The location and function of these secretions, however, have not often, it must be admitted, been very definitively made, or precisely ascertained, by Hindu physiologists, and some of their deductions, therefore, from the facts available to them do not readily fall in with the more accurate observations of our own times. But at the same time it should not be overlooked that, but for the happy accident of the gunshot wounds of St. Martin and the gastric fistula of Catherine Kütt, human physiology would have still groped in the dark as to some of its more marvellous discoveries in this branch of investigation.

The importance of animal heat (*ûshmâ*) as one of the factors in the act of digestion, has been clearly realised both by Charaka and Susruta. The sequel of the process of alimentation, consisting in the excretory operations of the body, has also been indicated with a correctness sufficient for all practical purposes. It has been said by Susruta that the substantial part of the digested food becomes *Rasâ* (chyle) while the refuse is converted into fœces, the watery portion being conveyed by means of the vascular system to the kidneys, whence it is secreted in the form of urine. The presence of gases in different parts of the alimentary canal is equally noticed by both the ancient Aryan and the modern European doctors, and the former assign to them under the name of *Bayû*, a mechanical function such as the promotion of the acts of deglutition, defœcation, and generally the conveyance of the chyle and the other animal fluids from one part of the body to another. Modern physiologists also surmise that the purpose which these gases are intended to serve in the economy of the animal frame is mechanical in its nature, though they are far from clear as to the character of the specific work performed by them. They, however, ascribe the acts of deglutition, defœcation, &c, to the agency of the nerves. And it is rather remarkable that Indian scientists also designate the action of the nervous system by means of the same word *Bayû*. And this indiscriminate use of one word for two things so very dissimilar in kind, has given rise to a great deal of confusion, and to much of that uncertainty with which the physicians of the indigenous school are often confronted in the practice of their profession. It cannot therefore be positively affirmed whether the mechanical actions above specified are attributed by them to to the nerves or the gases in the alimentary canal.

There are passages in the works on Indian medicine, which go to show that Hindu physiology was trembling just on the verge of a discovery which has placed the name of Harvey in the foremost rank of European scientists. Here is one of them, and to satisfy the sceptical reader we quote chapter and verse. It is taken from *Bhabâ Prakash*, page 49 (edition of Kabiraj Russicklal Gupta of 1883.) After describing the excretory processes by which the refuse matter in the food taken, solid and liquid, is expelled from the body, the quotation made by the compiler goes on to add that "the substantial part of the converted food, *viz. Rasa* (chyle) is carried through the blood-vessels by the action of the *Saman Bayù* into the heart where it mingles with the animal fluid there, and then being conveyed [through to the blood-vessels] by the action of the *Byán Bayù* all over the body, it goes to nourish the several constituents (*Dhátu*) thereof, such as blood, bones, flesh, &c. As a river supports the vegetation of the tract lying on its banks, so does *Rása* promote the growth of the component parts of the human body."

The practical teachings of the Hindus with regard to other physiological functions silence the flippant criticisms of ignorant arrogance which delights to describe their state as only a shade removed from primitive barbarism. They have been very often twitted for their custom of early marriages, but the last census has shown that child-marriage forms the exception rather than the rule in India; and even its partial prevalence is opposed to the salutary lessons of the Hindu science. The proper age for maternity, and therefore of marriage, is, according to Susruta, sixteen for women; and a young man, in order to be a father, must at least be of the age of twenty-five. He says:—

উনষোড়শ বর্ষায়ামপ্রাপ্তঃ পঞ্চবিংশতি ।
যদ্যাধত্তে পুমান্ গর্ভং কুক্ষিস্থঃ স বিপদ্যতে ॥

It may be remarked *en passant* that the fury with which the controversy over the Consent Bill raged, disclosed the strength of Hindu feeling in favor of early marriage in sections of the community in which it prevailed, and that the only way to reconcile the prejudices of the people with the provisions of the Act, and the wise counsel of Susruta, would be to postpone the *Galná* or *Dwiragaman* ceremony till the young couple are fitted by their age to undertake the onerous duties of conjugal life. The *Galná* or *Dwiragaman* is the ceremony of the coming of the young wife for the first time to her husband's home, for her visit to it on the occasion of the marriage is only for a day or two. In certain classes of the people, and in some parts of the country, notably in Behar and the North-West, in which marriages are held at a very early age, this ceremony is generally put off till the wife comes to the age of sixteen or seventeen or more, and the husband gets correspondingly old. If this wholesome custom finds greater favor with other sections of the community, and is more generally introduced and recognised, the evils of child marriage may be reduced to a minimum, and the Consent

Act made more practically operative, without doing violence to Hindu sentiment which has been sanctified by time.

Another interesting deduction of Hindu physiology with regard to the reproductive faculty, and in which it is at one with European science, is about the duration of the recurring periods of possible conception. The possibility is confined to the first sixteen days on each occasion. But it is obviously beyond the purview of the present article to cite further illustrations of the accuracy of its generalisations from experience. We have shown enough, we hope, to convince our readers that science had made considerable progress in ancient India, and would have advanced with accelerated speed, but for the rise of the schools of philosophy. The earlier the age of the authority, the sounder are its teachings and the freer from the latter-day superstition that has encrusted round and obscured so many scientific truths.

ART. V.—THE DEHRA DUN.

VI.

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, 1858: Art. IX. The Dehra Doon as a seat of European Colonisation in India.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon. By G. R. C. Williams, B.A., Bengal Civil Service, Roorkee, Thomason College Press, 1874.

Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces. Vols. X. and XI.

Reports on Projects for the proposed Dehra Dún Railway, 1885-87.

Final Report of the Eighth Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dehra Dún District. Allahabad Government Press, 1886.

Reports of the Forest Department.

FISHES OF THE DUN.

THE Dún is a well-known resort of fishers, and something must be said about the fishing, although I cannot speak from experience of it. The only fish I have seen caught in the Dún was caught by a falcon, or eagle, in the stream where the Hardwár-Dehra Road fords the Suswa, just north of the Kans Rao camping ground, and I envied the bird his ability to scoop up a two-pound fish out of the rapid. Dark brown and white were the colours of the fisherman, but I cannot undertake to say what was his name, either vernacular or scientific. Nor am I responsible for the weight of that fish. I have not fished since early in the "fifties,"—when I used to ply the fly along the Stinchar, and other waters in South Ayrshire,—and, besides, the fisher above mentioned did not let me get near enough for a deliberate examination of his basket. Mr. Williams said, "the rivers abound in fish. *Mahdseer*, (properly, I believe, Mahashahr), a species of carp, generally frequent the large rivers, being commonly from 20 to 30 seers in weight, often exceeding that limit, some times attaining the almost incredible weight of 90 lbs. They are also occasionally found in the smaller streams, which swarm with trout."

Mr. Williams also enumerates the *soul*, (if this be pronounced *a l'Anglais* it will delusively call up reminiscences or anticipations of "fried soles," and lead only to disappointment), "the *chál*, the *giree*, the *rohoo*, the *kálabáns*, and the *goonch*, or fresh water shark, a repulsive brute of great size, with capacious jaws displaying several rows of saw-like teeth. The native authorities enumerate in all twenty-four species of fish, but there are certainly many more."

Mr. Williams' shot at the proper spelling of the first fish he mentions is rather a bad one, for "*Mahashahr*" would mean "big city," and how could such a name apply to a fish? The name *Máhasir*, shortened perhaps into *Máhsir*, and conventionally written Mahseer, says Mr. H. S. Thomas, of the Madras Civil Service, F. L. S. and F. Z. S., in his book 'The Rod in India,' is seemingly derived from the Hindustani words *maha*, great, and *sir* (pronounced seer) head, and, therefore, "big head" ought to have commended itself to Mr. Williams, as the translation of *Mahaseer*, rather than "big city." Mr. Thomas, in the second edition of his book, says the Máhasír is a carp, *i.e.*, a fish of the family Cyprinidæ, subfamily Cyprininæ, genus *Barbus*, and species *tor*. His scientific name is, therefore, *Barbus tor* (of various authors.) Among his synonyms are *Labeobarbus macrolepis*, *Barbus megalepis* and *Barbus macrolepis*, all of which allude to his large scales, and *Barbus macrocephalus*, which contains an unfeeling allusion to his big, or at least, long head. Mr. Thomas gives three coloured drawings of this fish, from specimens caught in the South Canara District of the Madras Presidency. They agree in everything but the colours, which are very various. The heads do not look big in proportion to the bodies, nor nearly so disproportionately large as those of the *máhasir* brought round for sale in Dehra. But Mr. Thomas adhered, in 1881, to the view he had advanced in 1873, that there are more Mahseer than have been named, and that if more accurate attention were given to them, it would be found that they would grow in numbers as had the Salmonidæ of Great-Britain, Europe and America. And he gives the drawings above mentioned, and another uncoloured one, taken from Dr. Day's "Fishes of India," as indications of differences. I think a drawing of a Dún *Máhasir* might show yet more distinct individuality. The wood cut of a Mahseer, given at p. 29 of General Macintyre's "Hindu-Koh"—a charming book—differs greatly in shape from any of Mr. Thomas' Madras fish, and is more like the Dún variety. A fifth plate of *Barbus* given by Mr. Thomas, as a perfectly accurate likeness of the fish found in the Bawanny affluent of the Cavery River in Madras, must surely be still more different from the typical "big head," for the head is comparatively small and pointed, and the body, as Mr. Thomas says, is much deeper and more high-backed than the other *Máhasirs*. Mr. Thomas says :—

> "The Mahseer having been more fished for in Bengal than anywhere else, it had grown to be the common idea that it was exclusively a Bengal fish, and at the time I wrote my first edition, there was a general impression that there were no Mahseer south of the Nerbuddah. That idea is now exploded.

> "People talk of *the* Mahseer, just as they talk of *the* carp, as if there was only one of them, whereas the name Mahseer is loosely used for many of the large carps of India, which differ with the counties in which they are caught, and, when fishermen who have caught Mahseer in the North of India, on the West Coast and on the East Coast of Southern India, get together and describe the redoubted Mahseer somewhat differently before a circle of eager listeners, and thence come to disputing with each other as to who is is most accurate, one is reminded of the old fable of the gold and silver shields which the two knights saw and fought about, and as a fisherman my advice would be, the less carping about it the better."

Regarding the size of the Mahseer, Mr. Thomas says, that certainly depends much on the size of the river, and possibly also on other circumstances. Here Mr. Thomas uses the very phrase he objects to in the passage just quoted, and we are left in doubt which *mdhasir* he is going to talk about. He says "there are rivers in which the Mahseer" (this must be plural) "do not run above 10 or 12 lbs.; there are others again in which 40 or 50 lbs. is by no means an exceptional weight. We hear of captures of fish weighing more or less about 100 lbs., and I have in my possession two heads of Mahseer that weighed approximately, by estimate, 90 lbs. and 150 lbs. each." These were caught by Mr. G. P. Sanderson with a night line in the Cavery river, and the record of the measurement and estimation of the weight of the larger fish is to be found in Mr. Sanderson's book—"Thirteen years among the Wild Beasts of India." The length, including tail, was 60 inches; greatest girth 38 inches, inside lips when open, circumference 24 inches. The skin and head are in the Bangalore Museum. It was "an astonishingly thick and heavy fish for its short length. I have caught them 5ft. 6 in. but not much more than 80 lbs. It had a shoulder like a bullock, steeply hanging over. I have caught about 50 of them, but my next largest was about 90 lbs. I have no doubt in my mind that they run over 200 or 250 lbs., as I have seen teeth and bones of them far larger than my 150-pounder." Mr. Thomas admits that for seven years he had been used to give the weights of these fish as 150 and 180 lbs. respectively, but afterwards discovered his error. Dr. Day writes;—"A noted sportsman in the N.-W. Provinces, writing to me says, his largest fish taken with a rod and line was captured in the river Poonch, 24 miles from Jhelum; it measured from snout to bifurcation of tail. 3 feet 11 inches, and weighed 62 lbs. General Macintyre says:—"As regards its weight, I am well within the mark when I state that the Mahseer reaches nearly, if not quite, 100 lbs. The largest Mahseer ever heard of as being taken with a trolling bait was 93 lbs.; and with fly, one that turned the scale at 62 lbs. But such monsters as these are very seldom landed with the rod. The 93-pounder was killed by

Mr. H. Vansittart, C. S., in one of the rivers of the Dehra Dún, the 62-pounder in the Poonch river in the Punjab, by the late General Sir Herbert Macpherson." The 62-pounder is evidently the fish mentioned by Dr. Day as having been caught in the Poonch river. A few years ago, Dr. G. G. MacLaren, late Civil Surgeon of Dehra, caught a *Máhasir* in the Ganges which, I think, weighed 57 lbs., and in 1892, Mr. W. W. Harris, managing owner of Mahokampur Tea Garden, caught one on the Song river at Lachiwala, (Eastern Dún) which was 41 lbs. in weight. This fish was caught with the rod, and the bait was a worm: its length was 39 inches, and it was very deep and broad in shape.

A correspondent of the *Pioneer* lately reported that two members of the Dehra Dún Fishing Association, living in the Western Dún, caught the following *Máhasir* at the junction of the Asan with the Jumna on the 24th and 25th January 1893; one 56 lbs., one 40 lbs., one 35 lbs., one 24 lbs., one 20 lbs., and another fish, about 20 lbs., was lost. It rained continuously on both of those days, and it was considered remarkable that the fish should have taken in such weather. The 56-pounder took over an hour and a half to land, and it said to have been "grand to see one sportsman legging it as hard as he could down the bank of the river, which is no child's play over those large boulders." The 56-pounder is said to have been nearly six feet in length: its head and skin are to be presented to the British Museum. General Macintyre tells a good story of a novice fishing in the Dún, who had got hold of a big *Máhasir*, which after some time broke the line, being overheard to say, with a sigh of relief—"Thank goodness, he's gone."

The writer of the Settlement Report of 1885 gives nothing new about the fishes of the Dún, but quotes Mr. Williams' enumeration of them, and stretches the weight of the Ganges and Jumna *Máhasir* to 100 lbs. He, however, spells the name of the second fish in Mr. Williams' list, "saul," instead of "soul," so that perhaps Mr. Williams, in his system of transliteration, ought to have written "sowl," the Irish for soul. General Macintyre writes of the "soulee," apparently the same fish as the "soul" or "saul." Mr. Thomas does not mention any such vernacular name, but, in a chapter on "Freshwater sharks," gives plates and descriptions of two very different looking fish belonging to the family Siluridæ, and one of these looks like the fish got in the Dún whose name seems such a puzzler to transliterators. This is the *Wallago attu* of science, and it does not look a bit like a shark; but I suppose it is so-called merely because of its predatory habits. Mr. Thomas says the Hindustani name for *Wallago attu* "seemingly, is

Goonch;" but he gives *Goonch* as the Punjab name also for *Bagarnis Yarrellii*, another predatory monster siluroid, his example of which, caught in the Jumna, at Okhla, was 5 feet 8 inches long to the end of the tail, and scaled 136 lbs. The *Silundia gangetica* is another so-called freshwater shark mentioned by Mr. Thomas, and I dare say all three species are to be got in the Dún rivers. I used to think the local name for *Wallago attu* was *Sahul*, but recent inquiry leads me to think that it may be *Sonr*, the *n* being nasal, and the *r* soft, or *Sohar*, or perhaps *Saunr*. I have not a good ear for picking up vernacular sounds; but I mean to try for the rest of my days in the Dún to get at the real name for this fish. General Macintyre (or is he MacIntyre.) (I can find his name only in capital letters, and do not know the correct transliteration), says:—

> "A coarse shark-like fish called a "Goonch" is occasionally caught when spinning for Mahseer. A monster of this kind was landed from one of the Doon rivers by that keen all round sportsman Mr. Hercules Ross, B.C.S. (of rifle-shooting fame), which scaled considerably over 100 lbs. Another member of the finny tribe which is sometimes taken in these waters is the "Soulee," a smooth skinned, dark olive-coloured fish, having a broad bull-head, and a fin extending round its caudal extremity, like a conger eel, in fact, it somewhat resembles an enormously thick and very short one."

This description suggests *Wallago attu*, and would lead one to think the fish was heavy, and yet General Macintyre says he does not think they often exceed the weight of 8 or 10 lbs. Mr. Thomas, however, says this fish attains to 6 feet or more in length, which would indicate a weight of perhaps 100 lbs. General Macintyre says the Soulee is better on the table than on the rod, being richer flavoured and less bony than the Mahseer. My friend, whom I mentioned in my first article as being a stickler for the old way of spelling Dún, has called my attention to the fact that General Macintyre always writes Doon, and that in a foot-note, at page 164 of his book, he says:—"I cannot bring myself to spell it Dún, according to the new fangled method; it deprives the name of half its old romance." I have not the faintest idea what General Macintyre here means; but I observe that his transliteration is generally curious, and sometimes misleading: for instance he spells "*Khair* (Acacia catechu), Kyer, which would lead an Englishman to pronounce "Kyerr;" and he talks of *putteyr* grass: what part does the "y" take in that spelling? I am glad, however, to see that the General spells "whisky" properly, and not "whiskey," as Sassenachs do, because they pronounce it "whiskay." The General, I believe, is a Scotsman.

Neither the *chál* nor the *giree*, mentioned by Mr. Williams as being Dún fish, can I trace in Mr. Thomas' book. The "*rohoo*" is, of course, the well-known large fish with a vernacular name something like that common all over Northern India, but, according to Mr. Thomas, not got in Madras nor on the West Coast. It also is a carp, sub-family *Cyprininæ*, genus *Labeo*, species *rohita* (*Labeo rohita*). Nor can I trace the "*Kálá-báns*," mentioned by Mr. Williams, in Mr. Thomas' book, but General Macintyre says of it:—

> "Another kind of fish common in the Himalayan rivers, is that called by the natives "Kalabans," dirty mud coloured creatures, which are found in immense shoals. On looking down from a height into the Surjoo, I have seen a shoal of them, which must have numbered thousands, lying along the bottom in a dark motionless mass. Their flesh is soft, muddy-tasted, and full of bones, and they never afford sport for the angler. The natives, however, net them in large numbers."

This must be what Europeans in Dehra call black fish, and as a rule, I think avoid eating.

One constantly hears of "trout" in the Dún, which is an instance of the perverse habit Europeans in India have of giving wrong names to things; but, strange to say Mr. Williams does not mention the common fish which goes by that name. Mr. Baker mentions "trout," but gives no hint that this is a misnomer. Perhaps I am singular in desiring to call things by their right names; but I cannot realise the state of mind of a man who, knowing what a trout is, habitually gives that name to quite a different kind of fish which he finds in India. Mr. Thomas, in his Chapter XI, entitled "Smaller Fly Takers," —which of course is a purely non-scientific grouping of fish,— treats of "The Indian Trout," and in so doing panders to the vice above alluded to; but he makes a sort of apology by saying—"I have called this fish the Indian trout, because it is commonly thus called in Northern India." "Of this fish I have no personal knowledge at all. But it is too important a sporting fish to be omitted on that account," and he therefore, in the interests of his brother anglers, makes use of a paper from the pen of Colonel J. Parsons. It seems there have been other competitors for the name, but *Barilius bola* seems to have the best title to be called the Indian trout. Mr. Thomas, therefore, solemnly proceeds to depose the other fish which seems to have less right to the honourable distinction, and he picks out *Oreinus Richardsonii*, which, according to Day, has been called the "Kemaon Trout," and *Oreinus sinuatus*, of which Dr. Day writes:—"Some have scattered black and occasionally red spots, and these have been termed 'trout.'" But, says Mr. Thomas, "this fish has a sucker with which it adheres to rocks, which is most untrout-like, and Dr. Day tells me it will not take a fly at any price, a piece of wrong-headedness for which, with your concurrence, it should be shorn of its brevet rank, in spite of its red spots." "Handsome is that handsome does" is the better rule, and as *Barilius bola* sports like a trout, as we shall see from Colonel Parsons, let us allow his claim, though he has no adipose dorsal fin like the true trouts (*salmonidæ*). We may have the less hesitation in confirming the honorific title, as there are no indigenous trout in India." Mr. Thomas gives a plate of this fish, taken from Dr. Day's "Fishes of India;" and the general outline reminds one of a member of the Salmonidæ family; but the extracts given from Dr. Day's work, also show that the Indian trout is but a carp after all. It is *Barilius bola*, and it is the last mentioned of 14 species of *Barilius* found in India. These 14 are sub-divided into three sections, A., with four barbels (or appendages from the lips), B., with two barbels, and C., without, or with only rudimentary barbels: *Barilius bola* is the last enumerated of Section C. Colonel Parsons says that the vernacular (Hindi ?) name for this fish is *Gulábí Machli*, rose-speckled fish, but in Dr. Day's description, the fish is said to be silvery coloured, with two or more rows of bluish blotches along the sides, and some spots also on the head. The uncoloured plate, copied from Dr. Day's book, shows blotches, and no spots. Colonel Parsons says that the Baril, (which, and not trout, would seem to be the proper English version of the name), "though not of the trout genus, bears some resemblance in outline to the European trout, but is of more delicate formation, and the more brilliant-looking fish of the two. Like the trout, it is very beautifully spotted." He says that the average weight of mature fish in streams where it best thrives is probably about ¾ lb., and maximum about 2 lbs.

> "The *Barilius bola* is taken with the fly, and likewise with small spinning bait; a small sized phantom is a very good bait to use. They are usually shy, and take the fly best at the close of the day, when a white moth (lake trout fly size) is perhaps the most suitable lure, the addition of white bead eyes to the fly I have known to be an improvement. Anglers fishing for Mahseer, with a good sized spinning bait, occasionally hook a good specimen of the *Barilius bola*, notably in the 'Sone' or 'Song,' a beautiful stream which joins the Ganges a few miles above Hardwar, on its right bank, and which is a grand place for Mahseer fishing.
>
> "The *Barilius bola* runs large in both the Ganges and the Jumna in the Dún; I have got them close on 2lbs at Dadapur, the head of the Western Jumna Canal, a few miles from Jagadri on the Sind Punjab and Delhi Railway. This fish is, however, difficult to catch in most localities where I have tried them, and I attribute this in great measure to the frequent presence of Mahseer in their vicinity. It is a marvel to me how any *Barilius* can escape at all from the rapid moving Mahseer, which is perhaps more partial to the *Barilius* than to the young of its own species, which, by the bye, the Mahseer swallows very freely, as I have repeatedly proved to my entire satisfaction in live bait fishing, when the devourer has full time afforded to consider the species of his morsel.

"The native fisherman at the Jumna on the hills between Mussoorie and Simla, use scarcely any other bait than the Barilius."

THE DEHRA DUN FISHINING ASSOCIATION.

The above notes as to the fishes of the Dún were made, while reading up the subject with a view to noticing the formation and efforts of the local Association which has assumed charge of their interests, as well as of those of the sportsmen who prey upon them. In the Report for the year 1891, which contains an account of the past history of the Association, as well as of its present condition, I found, beyond an incidental mention of Mahseer, no name of any fish given ; so I had to hunt them up in "Thomas," from the hints contained in Mr. Williams' Memoir. The Dehra Dún Fishing Association was the result of a circular issued by Mr. A. Smythies and Mr. G. H. Webb, in May 1887, to all sportsmen connected with Mussoorie and the Dún, in which they drew attention to the necessity of some effort being made to preserve the fish in the Dún rivers. They were encouraged to do so by the fact that the "North Punjab Fishing Club," formed at Rawalpindi but little more than a year previously, had already accomplished much good, and had a membership of 120 That Club had tried to move Government to pass a Fishing Act, but was met by the objection that no other province, except the Punjab, had expressed a desire for legislation, and further, that more data were required regarding the destruction of small fish. The Dún sportsmen could, by following the same course, contribute to the ultimate attainment of the object which all sportsmen must desire. They must be aware of the great destruction of fish by netting in the Song and Suswa rivers, and especially in the Asan. Recent writers in the *Asian* had alluded to it, and an inspection of the Dehra bazar would give evidence of the practice. In forming such an Association, the Dún sportsmen would have a decided advantage to start with, inasmuch as about 23 miles of the Song and Suswa (in the Eastern Dún), and half a mile of the Asan (in the Western Dún,) were already preserved by the Forest Rules : netting in such portions of these rivers was illegal, and was severely punished. The same protection should be extended, with the consent of the owners, to private waters. In consequence of many favourable replies being received, a public meeting was held in Musoorie, at which resolutions were passed for the formation of the proposed Association. Major General Sir G. R. Greaves, then commanding the Meerut Division ; was elected President, Mr. Wilmot Lane, C.S., then Commissioner of the Meerut Division (whose place has since been taken by his successor in office Mr. A. H. Harington, C S.) was elected Vice-President, and a Committee of Management was appointed consisting of the local officials and the principal resident sportsmen, Mr. A. Smythies of the Forest Department, now Deputy Director of the Imperial Forest School, being Honorary Secretary, a post he still continues to hold. In a short time after the meeting nearly ninety members were enrolled : the subscription was fixed at Rs. 10 per annum. The number of members at the end of 1891 was 54 ; but I believe more have since joined. Sportsmen who permanently leave the neighbourhood, or go home, cannot all be expected to continue to be members, and the number of members of the Association must therefore fluctuate.

The objects of the Association, as set forth in the original prospectus, were as follows :—

> "I. To collect and publish trustworthy evidence as to the wholesale destruction of fish by netting which now goes on. Not only are spawning fish netted in the rains, but small fry are ruthlessly destroyed throughout the year, especially in the Asan river. Definite evidence on this head, which may happen to full under the personal observation of members, is required. Fish are also destroyed by damming up the stream for irrigation." (The meaning of this last sentence is not clear.
>
> "II. To increase the stock of fish in the Doon as a source of food-supply for the people, by inducing the landholders and proprietors along the banks of the streams, to put a stop to netting, and, as far as possible, to give the Association control over the waters, so that fish during the breeding season, and the small fry may be preserved."

(How the increased supply of fish was to reach "the people," if all netting were to be stopped, does not appear ; but, as will presently be seen, the Association's views as to netting afterwards took more practical shape.)

> "III. To encourage rod fishing, and to give assistance and information to members in regard to all that appertains to fishing in the Dún. To collect and record notes regarding seasons, different kinds of fish, localities, bait, &c., to publish a map showing the main rivers, roads, camping places, &c., and generally to further angling as a legitimate sport, among Europeans and natives."
>
> "IV. To work in co-operation with the North Punjab Fishing Club in eventually pressing upon Government the necessity of legislation on the subject."

Regarding object I of the prospectus, I read that ample evidence has been collected regarding the wholesale destruction of fish in the rivers not protected by the Forest Rules. In the Asan especially, fish are netted throughout the year, casting nets and fixed nets both being used. During the rains, fish on their way up to spawn, and spawning fish, are caught, and the spawn is trampled under foot and destroyed. Pony loads of fish of all sizes are sent into the Dehra market for sale. These facts have repeatedly been reported to Government, and the Municipal Board of Dehra also have tried to prevent the sale of small fish : but the bye-law they proposed to enact, was vetoed by Government as being beyond the powers conferred by the Municipal Act, XV of 1883. Nothing, as the Secretary of the Association remarks, can show more conclusively the necessity for Imperial legislation on the subject. As regards object II., the Association tried to lease the riparian rights along the Asan, or at least along the lower part of it; but unfortunately the Honorary Secretary went on furlough and the opportunity was lost. The result was—

> "The various riparian owners have leased their fishing, principally to the fisherman of Sahispur, and the price realised by these proprietors has risen considerably, so that the aggregate sum paid for the fishing now is somewhat over Rs. 500 per annum. It can be well imagined that to enable the fishermen to recoup themselves by the sale of what they catch, they have to fish night and day; and this is what actually occurs. It is reported that the very stones of the Asan are smooth and white owing to the constant dragging of nets over them. It is perfectly clear that under such circumstances, the food-supply of the people cannot be maintained, and that it must diminish rapidly in a serious degree."

Hence, it was argued, the Association must, as opportunity offers, obtain absolute control of the waters, stop the destruction of spawning fish and small fry. But when the river should be once more well stocked, recognised fishermen could be allowed to pursue their trade under certain restrictions as to times and seasons, kind of net, mesh, &c. The wording of the Prospectus was thus toned down:—

> "It cannot be too clearly stated that the Association does not desire to stop netting altogether, but merely to control it; and the first step is to obtain leases of the waters from the various owners, and endeavour to get the river once more stocked with fish, by temporarily suspending netting, during certain seasons."

Nothing is said as to whether it is contemplated to allow fishermen to follow their trade in the rivers within forest boundaries, even under restrictions, with a view to maintaining or increasing the food supply of the people; and yet there is no reason why what is contemplated for the Western Dún should not be provided for in the Eastern Dún. The members of the Association cannot possibly catch, (with rods,) or eat all the mature fish in the Ganges, Suswa and Song. But, in thus criticising their utterances, I must not be supposed to be out of sympathy with the aims of the Association. Prevent destruction of spawning fish, and of spawn, by every possible means; and also regulate net fishing, in order to give the fish a chance of coming to maturity. I hope the members of the Association do not try to catch small fry, and that if, unfortunately, they ever land them, they religiously put them back into the water at once. I am quite as much in favor of fish preservation, and fish culture, as was Frank Buckland, whose life I have lately been reading.

The Association have published a map of the Dún on the scale of 1 inch to 4 miles, showing the camping places, roads, best fishing localities, &c. Three fishing guards have been appointed, and registers are kept at Rámpur Mandi on the Jumna, and at Kánsrao in the Eastern Dún, or Raiwála on the Ganges for the entry of fish caught. I presume that it is incumbent on members to enter particulars of their catches in these registers. The fishing guards have been equipped with uniform, and brass badges. One lives at Lachiwála in the Eastern Dún, and patrols the Song river from Kalamatti to the Banbaha: the second lives at Kánsrao and patrols the Song and Suswa from the Banbaha (a spill channel which connects these two rivers) down to the Ganges; and the third lives at Rampur Mandi on the Jumna. The services of these men are available for any member who shows them his silver fish token, and his card of membership. It was in contemplation, in 1891, to build a small bungalow on the Asan, near Rampur Mandi, but I do not know whether this has been done. And some money is annually spent in improving the bed of the Suswa below Kánsrao, by guiding the water into one main channel, thus increasing the amount of water in the chief runs and pools. A fish ladder "on Colonel Macdonald's plan" has been constructed experimentally in the weir of the Ganges Canal, at Maiapur, by the Executive Engineer of the head works Division; but it is said that the first trial was not quite successful, owing to the slope being defective. "The officers of the Irrigation Department take a keen and lively interest in all that pertains to fishing, and we may be quite sure that the question of fish ladders is safe in their hands." Arrangements have been made with certain well known tradesmen to supply members with fishing tackle at a discount. One firm has a shop in Dehra.

One of the first steps taken by the Fishing Association was to appoint a sub-committee of local members to present a petition to the Government of India through the local Government, praying for the enactment of a law for the preservation of fish, and this was done in the form of a letter in March 1888. The memorial of the Punjab Club to the Government of that Province was first set forth, and this was followed up by the assertion of the Dehra Dun Association's constitution and objects. Legislation was said to be absolutely necessary, because there was at present no check whatever on the destruction of fish by means which, in other countries, are considered illegal. Netting was carried on night and day; and streams were turned and dammed, with the inevitable result that not even the small fry could escape. "The direct and indirect loss to the people" at large in the matter of fish food is thus simply incalculable. The following suggestions were offered, as fitting to be embodied in an Act :—

1. That a close season for netting, *viz.* from the 13th June to the 13th October in each year, should be established.
2. That the use of nets, the meshes of which are less than two inches square, should be prohibited.
3. That no single part of a river or stream should be netted more than once in the twenty-four hours.
4. That the use of two series of nets, one behind the other in immediate succession, should be prohibited.
5. That damming, or turning aside a stream for the purpose of catching fish, should be prohibited.
6. That no explosive of any kind whatsoever, nor any poison should be allowed.
7. That no netting whatever, at any time or season, should be permitted in the larger streams, such as the Ganges or Jumna, within a distance extending from one quarter of a mile above the highest mouth, to one mile below the lowest mouth of " spawning tributaries."
8. That fish-ladders " should be introduced into the 'bunds' of the larger rivers wherever necessary." " The existing fish-ladders of Maiapur and Narora only allow small fish up to two pounds weight to pass.
9. That rod fishing be permitted in all streams and at all seasons."

This last suggestion looks selfish, and is opposed to home practice with regard to fishing for salmon ; but Mr. Thomas says that *Mahasir* spawn gradually, and do not, to a material extent, lose condition after the process is over and they fall back down stream.

The Dehra Dun Fishing Association was represented at a Fishery Conference, held at Delhi, early in 1888, by Captain A. W. Hearsey, who reported that it was then thought necessary to legislate at once on the following points :—(1) Dynamite, (2) Poisoning, (3) Fixed Engines ; but that further information ought to be obtained before legislating on other matters. Captain Hearsey made a suggestion that canal reservoirs should be constructed in the Dún and elsewhere, " which would have the effect of preventing the destruction of fish when the canals are allowed to run dry for repairs."

In October, 1887, the Fishing Association interviewed the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh when he visited Dehra, and explained the more important points which had already been laid before his Government in writing, and His Honour promised to consider the matter when it was referred to him by the Supreme Goverment. A draft Inland Fisheries Bill, prepared by Mr. Thomas, was then under consideration by the Government of India ; but nothing has yet been enacted on the subject. The Association made efforts to obtain a lease of the Giri, a tributary of the Jumna, from Maharaja of Náhan (Sirmur), and up to the end of 1889 were hopeful of success. "That they were not successful, and that the Giri has now passed into other hands, is a matter of history." The concluding paragraph of the Report for 1891, reads rather sadly; but still there seems to be plenty of life in the Association; and it is clearly worthy of support.

> "Lastly, it has been shown in the foregoing pages that we have not been slack in urging upon Government the necessity for legislation. The Punjab Fishing Club has, it is be regretted, ceased to exist; while they lasted, we worked in harmony with them, and now that they are no more, the burden will rest entirely on our shoulders. Let us remember the farewell words of our Honorary Member, Mr. A. S. Thomas, bidding us take up the subject of Fishery Preservation, and not let the Bill slumber on the Government shelves, but so to work that it might bear fruit in good time."

I have not been able to see the Report of the Fishing Association for 1892, but I believe the chief feature in it is an account of an attempt which has been made to import the ova of the British trout with the view of establishing that fish in the Dún, and I am sorry that the attempt has not yet been successful.

IMPERIAL FOREST SCHOOL, DEHRA DUN.

This institution was founded on 1st September 1878, but it was not until three years later that indoor instruction was given. The school seems now to have reached its full development. Major F. Bailey, R. E., now Professor of Forestry in the University of Edinburgh, was the first Director of the School, and he held the appointment along with that of Superintendent of Forest Surveys until a few years ago, though other officers frequently acted for him. At first there was no building in which teaching could be conducted, or the museum and laboratory be housed; and the staff of the School was not completed until about the middle of 1881, when Mr. W. R. Fisher, B. A., Deputy Conservator of Forests, Assam, was appointed Deputy Director, and also put in charge of the Dehra Dún Forest Division. Dr. H. Warth, Ph.D., then in the Forest Department, but now in the Geological Department, and Superintendent of the Madras Museum, was appointed Instructor in Natural Science; and instruction on some of the details of forestry, in mensuration, and in surveying, was given by officers of the School Circle Forests, and other gentlemen. Mr. Fisher is now Assistant Professor of Forestry in the Royal College of Engineering, Cooper's Hill. It was at first intended that forest officers of the upper controlling grades, who had not received professional training in Europe, should, to some extent, make up for that by attendance at the Dehra School, and for a year or two some officers, of many years practical experience, were thus sent to school, and were lectured by instructors perhaps younger than themselves; but this created great discontent, and the scope of the school was therefore limited to the training of executive subordinates and Sub-Assistant Conservators, now called Extra Assistant Conservators. But, in a Resolution published in October 1891, it was announced by the Government of India that the attempt to establish a separate course of training for the lower controlling staff had been abandoned, and that the estimate of allowances required by students during the course of instruction had been modified accordingly, and it was resolved that nominations to Sub-Extra Assistant Conservatorships should cease, and that those who aspired to such appointments must enter the service as Rangers, Local Governments being empowered to assist selected students by stipends not exceeding Rs. 50 a month, on the understanding that, if they passed the examination, they would enter the service as Rangers, and Local Governments might continue to depute to the school duly qualified officers of the subordinate staff.

The Resolution of the Government of India above referred to brought into force, in substitution for the revised Prospectus of the Forest School, dated 24th June 1890, a set of "Rules to regulate appointments and promotions in the Provincial Forest Service,' which it had been decided to constitute, as distinguished from the Imperial Service, and which was in future to be recruited solely by officers directly appointed by the Secretary of State for India, who receive their training at the Royal Engineering College, Cooper's Hill. The Provincial Forest Service consists of—

(a). Foresters who have obtained the Dehra Dún Forest School Certificate, Lower Standard.
(b). Forest Rangers.
(c). Extra-Assistant Conservators.
(d). Extra-Deputy Conservators.

Forest Rangers are appointed from passed students of the Dehra School, who have obtained certificates in forestry, higher standard, or certificates by the lower standard, supplemented by satisfactory service as foresters, for two or five years according as they may have passed with or without honours. But, should no officers of the above classes be available, appointments as Rangers may be given to subordinates who have not passed through the Dehra School, but have earned promotion by long, faithful and meritorious service, or to Native Non-commissioned officers of the army who entered the Department under certain orders passed in 1880.

Appointments to the class of Extra-Assistant Conservators, on salaries varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 350, may be given to Forest Rangers who have obtained the School Certificate, and have afterwards given satisfactory service as Rangers in executive charge for two years, if they passed with honours, and for five years if they passed without honours, or (in exceptional cases only) to Rangers who entered the Department before 1st December 1881, and have done specially good and faithful service, and have certain educational qualifications. But where there are no Rangers in a province qualified as above, the Local Governments and Administrations are empowered to appoint persons with certain other qualifications to be Extra-Assistant Conservators.

Appointments to the class of Extra-Deputy Conservators, on salaries which vary from Rs 450 to Rs. 600, are made by the promotion of officers of the Lower Controlling Staff, who hold the Higher Standard Certificate in Forestry of the Dehra Dún Forest School, and who have done good service of not less than five years as Exra-Assistant Conservators in either of the two upper grades (Rs. 350 and Rs. 300), of the latter class.

This new brand—"Extra"—seems as unnecessary as it is inappropriate. These Assistants and Deputies are not extra in any sense, unless it be that they are recognised as possessing practical experience of the working and management of Indian forests in a degree which is extra, as compared with the experience of the other Assistant and Deputy Conservators, in which case "superior" or "superlative" would be a good appellative. In my dictionary I find that "extra," when it is a preposition, means—beyond, or additional, but when the word is used as an adjective or an adverb it means—extreme or extraordinary. "Ordinary-Assistant Conservators," and "Ordinary-Deputy Conservators" would, therefore, appear to be the proper designations of the officers of the Imperial Branch. The eighth regulation regarding the Provincial Forest Service is as follows:—"The Provincial Forest Service" (this seems to mean, the members, or officers, of that Service) "will be allotted to the same six Provincial Lists on which the Imperial Branch of the Upper Controlling Staff is borne, and the members of the Provincial Service will be shown on those lists according to seniority in service." I interpret this to mean that in those Provincial lists the names of Imperial and Provincial Officers will be mixed up according to seniority in service. And I read in the same regulation, that "promotions will be made in each Provincial list as a whole, and not in respect of local Circles," which I take to mean that the claims to promotion of both classes of officers will be considered as if they belonged to one class. The only difference will, therefore, be in the rate of pay. A certain number of officers, in the grades of Assistant and Deputy Conservators are required for the controlling work of the Department; and partly for economy's sake, and partly in order to meet the demand for employment on the part of statutory natives of India (including Europeans born in India) a certain proportion of the whole are to belong to the Provincial Service; but one set is not more "extra" than is the other, and to call it so is clearly a misnomer which has been applied merely to mark inferiority of some sort, like "No. 2 Exshaw," which is newer and cheaper than No. 1. "Provincial Assistant Conservator" and "Provincial Deputy Conservator," or else "Assistant Conservator, (Provincial Service)." and "Deputy Conservator, (Provincial Service)" are clearly the proper titles to give; and I venture to prophesy that before many years this abuse of the word "extra" will be abandoned. Besides, the Imperial Service, and the Provincial Service, the Forest Service or Department comprises the Subordinate Service, consisting of Foresters, Forest Guards, and other subordinate officials, appointed locally from men who do not pass through the Forest School. In the Forest School, for admission to the Provincial Service, there are two courses of study—one in English (the upper class), and a second in Hindustani (the lower class). The former prepares students for the certificate in forestry by the higher standard; the latter for the certificate in forestry by the lower standard Candidates who are accepted, after satisfying certain conditions for the English Course, must, before admission to the School, pass an entrance examination in English, Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, and Mensuration, either at the School, or elsewhere, as the Local Governments may direct. These examinations are held simultaneously throughout India on three successive days about the 1st March, annually, on papers sent out by the Director of the Forest School, to whom they are returned in sealed covers, and who intimates the results. Local Governments may require that there be selected from the list of passed applicants such number as they deem desirable to admit into the Provincial Forest Department at the end of the School course. Such selected candidates will have a preferential claim to appointments. As already stated, Local Governments may grant to such specially selected candidates, not already in receipt of Government pay, stipends or allowances not exceeding Rs. 50 a month, and Local Governments may send Rangers to the School in order that they may qualify themselves for further promotion.

Candidates for the Hindustani course are admitted in a similar manner, but in lieu of passing the Entrance examination laid down for the English course, they must produce a certificate of having passed the Middle Class Examination in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, or an equivalent standard in another Province, as well as a certificate that they possess a competent knowledge of Urdu or Hindi. As many of the students come from Southern India, and it would be impossible to provide instruction for them in all the various languages there spoken, this is a necessary provision. In the course of time, perhaps, there will be only one course, an English one. Persons entering the Subordinate Forest Service with a view to being deputed to study in the Dehra School, as well as candidates granted stipends or scholarships, have to execute formal agreements, and bonds with substantial securities, to continue in the Government Forest Service for not less than five years after passing out. The obtaining of certificates by either standard does not, except as to selected and stipendiary candidates, constitute a claim to obtain service under Government; but, when vacancies occur, due consideration is given to the fact that certificates have been obtained.

The students in the Forest School have to supply their own note-books and stationery, and books are supplied to them only on cash payment. They have, if not already in the service of Government, to defray their own personal, including travelling, expenses, and, before allowing them to enter, the Director has to satisfy himself that the students are in a position to do so; and should they afterwards fail in this respect, he turns them out. The average monthly cost of living at the school is calculated at Rs. 22 to 28 for students living in native style, and at Rs. 35 for those living in European style; and the expenses of travelling and camping during the entire course of 21 months are calculated to come to about Rs. 130 for the native, and about Rs. 210 for the European class. The ordinary travelling allowances admissible to students already in the service of Government cover these expenses. All of this last-mentioned class of students must, unless specially exempted, live in the school quarters, and pay Rs. 2 a month each as rent. Private students may be given quarters, when available, on the same terms. I may mention that at present the quarters are occupied by the Native Class of students only, but that there will be superior accommodation in a second range now being built, which is to be double storeyed, and have larger rooms, and verandahs.

Candidates admitted to the school have to join at Dehra on the 25th June next after the date of their passing the Entrance examination. The spring camping season, during which practical instruction is given in the forests of the Dún, the hills of Jaunsár, and the Punjab, is then over, and the lecture season is then about to begin. The twenty-one months of the courses of training are spent as follows :—.

1st Year.			2nd Year.		
1st July ..	31st October..	At Dehra.	1st July ..	31st October	At Dehra.
1st November	22nd December	In Camp.	1st November	2nd December	In Camp.
23rd December	5th January ..	Vacation.	23rd December	5th January	Vacation.
6th January..	31st May ..	In Camp.	6th January	14th March ..	In Camp.
June ..	....	Vacation.	15th March ...	31st March ...	Final Examination.

The first-year students are therefore always in camp, out of the way, while the second-year students are undergoing their final examinations.

The directing and teaching establishment of the Forest School has been increased of late, to keep pace with the increase in the number of students, which is, at the present time of writing, about 120. At first, I think, there was only a Director and a Deputy Director. Now, besides these, there are two Instructors, selected from the Assistant Conservators of the Imperial Service, and one Instructor belonging to the Lower Controlling Staff, who teaches in the vernacular. But besides these, officers belonging to other Departments are annually deputed to give lectures on special subjects, *e. g.* botany, and entomology. As mentioned in a previous article, the Circle which comprises the Dehra Dún Forest Division, the Saharanpur Division, and the Jaunsár Division, is called the Forest School Circle, and the forests which it contains present an admirably varied field for practical instruction in forestry, some being of *Sál*, others of pine, others of fir, others of *Deodar* cedar, and others of mixed species of trees ; and much of the ground is rough and steep enough to test the physical ability of the students, and also to present difficulties to be overcome in surveying, which forests in some parts of India would not do. Partly because it is a comparatively small circle, and also for convenience sake, the School Circle was from the first, I think, placed under the control of the Director of the Forest School. Towards the close of the year 1889-90, a Conference was held at Dehra, by order of the Government of India, presided over by the Officiating Secretary in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, to consider questions which had arisen in connection with the direction and management of the school. I imagine these questions arose from the frequent changes which had occurred in the *personnel* of the Directorship, *cum* Conservatorship, and which must have greatly interfered with the efficient control and working of the school. Other questions, referred to in a Resolution of the Government of India on the Annual Report on the school, were—the establishment of a suitable Board of Control, the provision of an adequate Staff of Teachers, and the question whether it was desirable to place the school under an officer of the Educational Department. Who was the " crank " who raised this last-named question is not stated ; but it seems surprising that Government should have even allowed it to be discussed. The Conference recommended that the Director of the School should continue to be a Forest Officer, who should, as then, be the Conservator of the School Circle for the following reasons, namely—(1) a special knowledge of the objects of the school, and of the practical duties to be eventually performed by the trained pupils is essential ; (2) a Forest Officer of standing and capability would, in any case, be required for special instruction in Forestry. and it might be difficult to adjust the relations between him and a Director introduced from another Department ; (3) The Director of the School should be also Conservator of the Circle, in order to enable the practical out-door instruction to be properly carried out, and to enlist the co-operation of the Forest subordinates ; 4) the Divisional Officers under the Conservator of the School Circle, must be employed under the Director for teaching, and their having to serve two masters would give rise to difficulties ; (5) the Conservator might transfer these Officers within his circle in a way that would be inconvenient to the School.

The Conference of 1889 further recommended that, while the School Staff, as well as all questions of finance, should remain subject to the orders of the Inspector-General of Forests, a Board of Control should be constituted, of which some of the duties would be—to arrange for the conduct of the examination, by certain of its members, who would thus form an independent examining body separate from the teaching staff ; to decide in all matters connected with the curriculum, and advise regarding the prospectus of the school and qualifications for admission ; and to fix the relative number of marks to be given for the different subjects, the minimum number of marks for pass and honour certificates, &c., &c. This Board of Control should be composed of the Inspector General of Forests as *President*, the Director of Public Instruction, N.W.P. and Oudh, the Director of the School, one Conservator from each Province, with, as Secretary, the Assistant-Inspector General of Forests. A further recommendation made by the Conference was, that the staff of Instructors should be increased to meet the growing requirements of the school.

The recommendation that the Director of the School should be a Forest Officer, and be Conservator of the School Circle, was adopted by Government, and also those with regard to the constitution of a Board of Control ; but it was ordered that all Conservators should be appointed *ex officio* members of the Board, though only three should attend annually, in a rotation which would require each only once in five years ; and that the Board should ordinarily meet only once a year, in March, while the annual examinations are held. The proposal to increase the teaching staff was submitted to the Secretary of State, and sanctioned by him. In a scheme for the reorganization of the Forest Department submitted in 1890 to the Secretary of State, provision was made for the continuance of the joint appointment of a Director and Conservator, and Mr. J. Sykes Gamble, M. A., F. L. S., one of the Conservators in the Madras Presidency, who had previously been in Bengal, and had served in Burma and other parts of India, was selected for the office. Mr. Gamble was, I believe, about the first officer who was trained in France for the Indian Forest Department. The present Deputy Director of the school is Mr. A. Smythies, B.A., a Deputy Conservator of Forests, who has held charge of several divisions in the Circle.

As something like permanence has been provided for in the direction and control of the school, improved results in teaching and training may be expected. Special attention is now being paid to practical instruction, and when in the field, every student is made to learn to use the tools of a Forester, and to take actual part in sylvicultural operations. An arboretum is attached to the school, in which numerous varieties of forest trees are cultivated, and there is an excellent museum of specimens of fruits and woods of timber trees, forest products of various sorts, and insects which are destructive to vegetation. Other insects, birds and animals are represented by type specimens, and there is a collection of minerals and fossils. The museum is now partly accommodated in an *annexe* to the school, building which was built some two years ago, and the lower floor of which is occupied by a large lecture hall. One room in the main building is devoted to the *herbarium*, which Mr. Gamble is completing and making sufficient for the purposes of the school and in which outsiders also are admitted to study. There is an excellent and extensive library of professional and scientific books and periodicals, with ample accommodation for study ; and both this and the herbarium are, I believe, much appreciated by the students. During the lecture season, the Director of the Botanical Department in Upper India, Mr. J. F. Duthie, B. A., lectures on botany, and Mr. Cotes of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on entomology. I believe, also, that in future, lectures on chemistry will be given by Mr. Collins, who has lately come from England to take up an appointment as Assistant Agricultural Chemist under the Local Government. Such lectures have been always given, I believe, but there was no permanent or altogether satisfactory appointment of a lecturer. Encouragement is given to cricket and athletic sports, and a meeting is held annually in public, at which prizes are competed for by the students. Military drill is, I believe, compulsory ; many of the English Class are members of the Dehra Dun Mounted Rifles ; and those who do not join that corps as well as the Native Class, are obliged to attend foot drill during the lecture season.

The following are the numbers of students who have attended the Forest School, in each of the past eleven years, in the English and Hindustani courses respectively :—

Years.	English Course.		Hindustani Course.	
	Senior Class.	Junior Class.	Senior Class.	Junior Cl.
1882	...	20	...	...
1883	20	17	...	...
1884	22	11	...	5
1885	14	39	...	10
1886-87	32	22	10	12
1887-88	29	29	12	5
1888-89	29	25	5	3
1889-90	20	29	3	11
1890-91	34	30	8	7
1891 92	26	41	6	5
1892-93	41	48	4	9

The total number of students in both courses, and of all grades, during the past year, has thus been 102. The Hindustani course does not seem to grow in favour ; but I do not think this is to be regretted. Communication between the Control and the Executive must be easier, and work must be better done, when both use the same language.

On the annual Prize Day, held on the 29th March 1893, Mr. Gamble said, that for the next year he expected to have 120 students, there having been 150 candidates for admission to the school in both classes. Mr. Ribbentrop, the Inspector-General of Forests, in addressing Mr. Gamble and the Professors, said, he was convinced that there was no school of technical education, in or out of India, where a more practical course of studies was followed. And Sir Edward Buck, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, who presided at the distribution of prizes and certificates, said—

> " In one respect, independently of its value to the Forest Department, the School has proved, I venture to believe, a useful example to the rest of India. As Mr. Ribbentrop has remarked, it is a signal success as a Technical School. I go a step further, and would say that it is a signal success as a Practical School. What I mean is this. The student who passes through a technical school is usually fitted only for the technical profession which he is taught at the technical school. But the Dehra School teaching is of such a broad and useful character, that I believe its students, that is, the students who pass out of of it successfully, would be more fit for any kind of work requiring originality and practical treatment than the students of any School or College in India. It is the only important Educational Institution in India in which the student is taught more in the field and in the museum

than in the lecture room ; in fact, in which he is taught to observe, and how to draw conclusions from observation. The consequence has been that the only signal instances which have, to my knowledge, occurred of original research leading to position and useful results being accomplished by natives of India, have been those in which such results have been produced by ex-students of the Dehra School. Only recently the Government of India has been obliged to close apprenticeships attached to the Geological Department, because Natives of India could not be found qualified for original research. It is not that Natives of India have not in them the necessary qualifications ; it is that the power lies undeveloped within them ; and has not been brought out by a training in habits of observation, such as you, students, fortunately obtain here. The only regret is that you were not taught these habits still earlier in life, but it is hoped that the reforms now being introduced in the educational system of many Provinces will remove this reproach ; and that the Forest Student of Dehra, having been taught the habit of observation from early youth, will, as time goes on, not only take a lead in India, but will prove the equality of the native of India with the educated classes of all countries in scientific investigation and research "

The Indian Forester, a monthly magazine of forestry, agriculture, shikar and travel is printed and published in Mussoorie ; it is now in its 19th annual volume, and it has for many years been edited, honorarily, by officers on the Direction of the Forest School. Mr. Gamble is now again the editor, having, I think, been the original editor long ago. How he finds time for this work I cannot imagine. The contents usually comprise (1.) original articles on forestry and natural history in relation to forests, and translations from the French and German of such articles ; (2.) Correspondence ; (3.) Official papers and news ; (4.) Reviews of books and forest administrative reports ; (5.) Sporting notes, or notes on " Shikar," as the Indian term is ; (6.) Extracts and notes and queries on various subjects ; (7.) Timber and produce trade reports and notes, and (8.) Extracts from Official Gazettes, showing appointments, promotions, transfers and departmental orders for all India. Recently the Government of India has begun to contribute to the magazine by sending notes and reports on economic products, printed at its own press, for circulation with the magazine as an appendix series. A complete alphabetical index to the first 17 volumes, 1875 to 1891, of *the Indian Forester*, has recently been published, which occupies 40 pages of print. The magazine contains a mine of information on forestry and kindred subjects ; and no public or official library ought to be without a set of its volumes. The magazine is sold at half price to Forest Officers whose salary is Rs. 200 a month, or less.

C. W. HOPE.

ART. VI.—BENGALI LANGUAGE.

THE Bengali language is full of Sanskrit words, and it is, therefore, believed by some that it has taken its origin from the Sanskrit. But such is not the case. It has taken its birth directly from the Prakrit, which again sprang from Sanskrit ; so that, the Prakrit is the mother, and Sanskrit the grandmother of the Bengali language. I give below a number of words belonging to the Sanskrit, the Prakrit, and the Bengali languages, to show how one language made its contributions to the other :—

Sanscrit	*Prakrit*	*Bengali*
প্রস্তর ...	পথর ...	পাথর
গৃহ ...	ঘর ...	ঘর
স্তম্ভ ...	খম্ভ ...	খাম্বা
অদ্য ...	অজ্জ ...	আজ
মিথ্যা ...	মিচ্ছা ...	মিছা
বৎস ...	বচ্ছ ...	বাছা
চন্দ্র ...	চন্দ ...	চাঁদ
যষ্টি ...	লট্‌ঠী ...	লাঠী
স্নান ...	হ্নান ...	নাহা
সন্ধ্যা ...	সঞ্‌ঝা ...	সাঁঝ

The Bengali vocabulary has also received supplies from other sources. The Sanskrit was too difficult to become the colloquial language of the people : and it is probable that the Prakrit came into use throughout India. Before its adoption in Bengal, there were languages spoken by the aborigines of that country, and these languages contributed some words to the Bengali language. For we find in it such words as ঢেঁকি *dhenki* and ধুচুনি *dhoochooni.* The Persian—the language of the quondam rulers of Bengal—also contributed its quota to it. Such words as পঁহুছন *Pohoonchun* and কৈফিয়ৎ *Kaifyat* occur in it. The Hindi, which also sprung from the Prakrit, contributed not a little towards the formation of the Bengali language. In the writings of the earliest writers, Hindi words such as হাম *ham,* সোই *soui,* and ঐছে *aiche* are found in abundance ; but as the Bengali began to improve, it ceased to receive assistance from the Hindi language.

It is difficult to say how and when the Bengali language came into existence. But a language cannot be formed at once, so that the Bengali must have been in a crude state long before it developed into a language. Some tablets, with inscriptions on them, were found by an antiquarian in the Sunderbuns. One of them was deciphered and found to be a Firman by King Luxmun Sen granting some landed property to a Brahmin. It was written in Sanskrit, but the letters differed greatly from Devanagri; some resembling the Devanagri, and some the Bengali alphabets. Luxman Sen reigned in Bengal about 900 years ago, and it may be inferred that, in his reign an attempt was made to form a distinct alphabet for use in Bengal. It is probable that the Bengali language came into existence at this time; but it must have remained in a crude state for some centuries. We find no books written in the Bengali language until we come to the time when Vidyapati বিদ্যাপতি and Chandidasa চণ্ডী দাস, the Chaucer and Spencer of Bengal, flourished. These two poets lived about 500 years ago, and were contemporaries. From the style of their writings it may be inferred that the Bengali language had attained a stage of advancement which must have been the result of the labours of other writers who had preceded Vidyapati and Chandi Das. But no account is extant of either the writers, or their works. We must therefore accept Vidyapati and Chandi Das as the first writers in the Bengali language. It has been noticed that the early writers in a language give out their thoughts in poetry, and this is true of Bengali also. Vidyapati and Chandi Das composed songs. In some of these Hindi words are largely used, and in others, none are met with, a peculiarity which is seen in the works of later writers also. The writers who flourished a century after Vidyapati and Chandi Das, used Hindi profusely in their writings. Some of these words are Hindi, properly so-called, others are Brojo Bhasha or the dialect used in Brindabun. These writers had abundant opportunities of coming into contact with the people of Upper India. In the first place, Mithila or Tirhoot, was at that time the seat of Sanskrit learning. In fact it occupied the first place in India for its schools of the Naya philosophy. Pupils from different parts of India resorted to it: and Bengal, being its neighbour, sent it large numbers of pupils. These pupils, no doubt, learnt the language of the place: and, on returning to Bengal, when they wrote any thing, they naturally made use of Hindi words.[*] There can be no doubt that the language of Tirhoot influenced

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[*] It appears from his writings that Vidyapati knew Sanskrit, and it is probable that he went to Tirhoot to study that language.

Bengali to a great extent. Some of the Pothis, or Sanskrit books, three or four centuries old, are written in characters which are quite different from those now in use, and bear some resemblance to Devanagri characters. They are called *Tiroota*, and this shows that they were brought from Tirhoot. As regards the introduction of Brojo Boli into the writings of the early writers of Bengal, it should be borne in mind that these writers belonged to the Vaishnav sect, and they considered it to be a part of their religious duty to resort to Brindabun. In this sacred place they heard songs in praise of Krishna composed in Brojo Bhasha: and on their return to Bengal they tried to compose similar songs. Vidyapati and Chundi Das did not write any book, but they composed certain songs relating to Krishna, which were much valued by the Vaishnavs of the period and sung by them.

We do not meet with any other writings in Bengal until we come to the time of Chaitanya, the great religious reformer. who lived 400 years ago. Chaitanya and his followers gave a great impetus to the Bengali language. Up to the time of Chaitanya, the learned men of the time devoted themselves to the cultivation of the Sanskrit language: and they wrote some excellent books in that language. But they considered it beneath their dignity to write any books in Bengali, which was used merely as a colloquial language. The object of Chaitanya was to spread the blessings of religion among the people. The religion he promulgated was intended for the rich and the poor, the learned and the illiterate. He therefore had to resort to the language of the people Chitanya himself did not write any books in the Bengali language. But his instruction to the people in that language, and the hymns that were composed for the Sankirtun procession tended towards the improvement of Bengali literature. Chaitanya introduced dramatic performances for the promulgation of religion, and this, no doubt, gave an impetus to the improvement of the Bengali language. The followers of Chaitanya did much to enrich it. They published books relating to the doings of Chaitanya. Jeeb Goshwami (জীব গোস্বামী) heads the list of such writers. He published a small book giving an account of Roop and Sonatun, two of the principal converts to Vaishnavism. This book was written soon after the death of Chaitanya, and was followed by the publication of Chaitanya Bhagbut, by Brindabun Das. It is an elaborate work containing the life of Chaitanya. A short time after this, appeared Chaitanya Charitamrito This is also a life of Chaitanya by Krishna Das. Besides these, several other books were written by the followers of Chaitanya. All these books were written in poetry. Thus we see that Bengali poetry owed much to the Vaishnavs.

The example set by the Vaishnavs led to brilliant results. It exerted a great influence on the people of Bengal. The cultivation of literature did not long remain confined to the Vaisnav sect. Poets sprung up from different parts of Bengal. Kritti-basha wrote in verse the great epic poem Ramayun; Mukunda Ram wrote a poem called Chundi, containing an account of the doings of the deity Chundi, or Bhowani. Kshemananda (ক্ষেমানন্দ and Ketoka Dass (কেতকা দাস jointly wrote a poem called Munsar Bhashan (মনসার ভাসান.) It gives an account of a chaste woman, Bahoola (বহুলা) whose devotion to her husband satisfied Munsa Dabee, the goddess of serpents, so much that she forgave her relations, who had greatly offended her. From the time of the publication of this poem, the worship of Munsa became prevalent in Bengal. Kashiram Dass published the grand epic poem of the Mahabharat: a perusal of this book would show that, the Bengali language had made considerable progress at this time. After the publication of this epic poem, we do not meet with any book worthy of notice until we come to Ghanaram (ঘনরাম who lived about eighty years after Kashiram. He was a Brahmin of a Srotrya family, and wrote a poem called Sree Dharma Mangal শ্রীধর্ম্ম মঙ্গল. It was finished by him in the year 1710 of the Christian era, and is an epic poem in the Bengali language. Laosen লাউসেন, a relative of the King of Gour, is the hero of the poem. It has all the merits of an epic poem, depicting, in lively colours, the bravery of Bengali soldiers in the field, and the chastity of Bengali women. It gives an insight into the mode of Government at the time of the Bengali kings, and the manners and customs of the people. Above all, it places prominently before the reader the martial exploits of a Bengali woman. The example of a lady on horseback with armour on, fighting with a Trishool ত্রিশূল in hand, should instil courage into the people of Bengal.

It may be mentioned here that, this great work of Ghanaram came to notice about 22 years ago. A short account of Ghanaram first appeared in the *Shome Prokash*. His poem was then reviewed by the press. The *Sadharani* said that, the same advantages are derived from a perusal of Sree Dharma Mangal as can be obtained from the poems of Homer, Virgil, Milton and Valmiki. Much credit is due to Babu Jagendro Chunder Bose for having rescued this poem from oblivion. This gentleman took much pains in the publication of the work. The manuscript copies were incomplete; some were copied very carelessly, and portions of others were destroyed by insects. He secured six copies, and, after a careful examination of them, succeeded in placing the poem before the public in a complete state. Before the publication of Sree Dharma Mangal, portions of it used to be recited by beggars and street-singers. But this was confined to the district of Burdwan, in a village of which Ghanaram was born.*

Ghanaram was followed by Rameshwar Bhattacharjee. He wrote a poem called Sheva Sunkirtan, or Shevayana (শিবসংকীর্ত্তন বা শিবায়ন), which contains an account of Sheva and Parvoti. This poem was finished in the year 1712 of the Christian era. so that the poet was a contemporary of Ghana ram. We now come to the Augustan era of Bengal, when several eminent men flourished. Moharajah Krishna Chundra, who was then the King of Nuddea, or Nobodwipa, gave encouragement to men of talent. He was born in the year 1710 of the Christian era, and lived about 73 years. He himself had received a good education, and he considered it a pleasure to pass his time with men of learning and genius. Ramprasad Sen, the saint and poet, Baneshwara Vidyalankar, the Sanskrit poet, Sharun Turkalonkar the philosopher, Anukul Bachaspati. the astronomer, and the celebrated Bengali poet, Bharat Chunder Roy, flourished in his time and received encouragement from him. Besides these great men, there were poets of lesser note who received the Rajah's support The famous wits, Gopal Bhar and Hashyarnah, who pleased the Rajah with their effusions of mirth, had the honor of considering the Rajah their patron. Ramprasad, the saint and poet, wrote Vidya Soondar, Kali Kirtan and Krishna Kirtan. Vidya Soondar is a regular poem ; the other two consist chiefly of songs. Vidya Soondar is a work of great merit. His description of nature is vivid, but the versification is not smooth, and the poet has used some Hindi words in it. Ramprasad, however, is better known for his hymns, which attracted the great men of the time very much. One of his hymns affected his employer so much, that he gave him relief from his work, and granted him a pension of Rs. 30 a month, so that he might pass his time in devotion and prayer to God. As the saint declined the offer made by

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* Although Ghanaram's Sree Dharma Mangal has all the merits of an epic poem, it must be admitted that there are defects in it as regards language and versification. The Bengali language was then not formed, and Ghanaram made the best use of it. But much credit is due to him for having composed a poem of nearly 700 pages The Ramayan and Mahabharat written by Krittibash and Kashiram Dass, were no doubt voluminous works, but they were more or less translations from the Sanscrit poems of Valmiki and Vyasa. It is observed that, at this time, authors wrote in poetry. It is said that two books were written in prose. one on the Kings of Tripoora, and the other on Rajah Protap Aditya. But they cannot be found.

Rajah Krishna Chunder to pass his time in the palace, the Rajah himself used to come to him to hear his hymns; and, as a mark of appreciation of his merits, he gave him some landed property with the title of Kabi Ranjan. The hymns of Ramprasad are sung throughout Bengal; his biography has been written by several persons, and at his birth-place, Halisahar, a religious gathering is assembled in his honor every year.

We now come to Bharat Chunder, the poet laureate of Rajah Krishna Chunder. The great poem which made him famous and placed him on the throne of Bengali literature, is Annada Mangal. The principal parts of this poem are Annada Mangal and Vidya Soondar. Annada Mangal is an account of Shiva and Parvati. Vidya Soondar is a love tale. But, as the hero and heroine of this tale were devotees of Bhowanee, their doings have been incorporated with Annada Mangal. In this poem we find the language pure, the sentiments sublime, and the poem very soon became popular in Bengal The tale of Vidya Soondar was adopted in Jattras (country plays) and many songs were composed in connection with it. Bharat Chunder displayed a great insight into the nature of man, and his poem contains many apt expressions which are not only freely quoted by writers, but have become household words. Many utter them without knowing their origin. The only fault in the poem is, that the tale of Vidya Soondar contains some indecent expressions; but it is evident that they suited the taste of the community of that period. The fact of its popularity is a proof of this. Moreover, Annada Mangal was composed by Bharat Chundra at the request of Rajah Krishna Chunder and the poem, when completed, was handed over to the Rajah as a valuable present. The Rajah was so much pleased with Bharat Chunder for the excellent poetry he composed in his capacity of poet laureate, that, in addition to a payment of Rs. 40 per month, he gave him considerable landed property with the title of Rai Gunakar.

At this period, we do not meet with any other work of special merit. Durga Prosad Mookhopadhya wrote a poem called Gunga Bhakti Tarangini (গঙ্গা ভক্তি তরঙ্গিণী.) It is written on the well-known incident, mentioned in the Ramayana, of Bhagirath (ভগীরথ) having brought the Ganges from heaven for the salvation of his ancestors. The poem itself is not of any great merit, but being a religious work, it soon became popular. For some time we do not come across any work of merit. Between the years 1775 and 1833 of the Christian era, a class of writers made themselves famous by composing songs. The most prominent among them were Nidhiram Gooptu, Ram Bosu, and Haray Kristo Dirghari (হরেকৃষ্ণ

[illegible] known by the name of Huroo Thakoor. Nidhiram Gooptu composed chiefly love songs, which very soon attracted the attention of the public. Indeed, for a very long time, every lover of music delighted to sing them or to hear them sung.* Only lately, they are not much spoken of. This has arisen from the change in taste that has taken place among our countrymen. The spread of English education has raised the tone of morality among the educated classes, and their minds have been diverted into better channels. As of great poetical merit, they must have a place in the literature of Bengal. The songs composed by Ram Bosu and Horoo Thacoor were also principally love songs.

At this period some singing bands made their appearance. They were known by the name of Kabi-wallas. The two gentlemen named above composed songs for these bands. They were blessed with the power divine. The people of the time took great delight in the performances of these Kabi-wallas. Two parties were engaged, each trying to discomfit the other. The poet attached to one of the parties composes a song for the occasion, which is sung; whilst this is being sung, the poet attached to the other party, composes another song in reply. It must be quickly done, so that the song must be sung soon after the first party has finished its performance. If the reply given is suitable, shouts of laughter come from the audience. A rejoinder is given to the reply, and in this manner the singing parties continue to keep the audience enlivened for some time. There are Kabi-wallas to be found now, but they have ceased to exert the influence they did at the time under notice. It must be admitted that the Kabi-wallas did much to enrich Bengali literature, and it is satisfactory to find that the songs composed by the poets attached to these parties, have been collected and published.

At this period the British ascendancy was established in Bengal, and, through its influence, Bengali literature received a great impetus. It should be borne in mind that the writers in the Bengali language took delight in giving out their thoughts in poetry, and there was scarcely any attempt made to write any book in prose. There was no grammar at that time, and the utility of the printing press was not known. It is worthy of note that the first grammar in the Bengali language was written by a European gentleman, † who belonged to the Civil Service of the East India Company. A friend of this gentleman, Mr. Charles Wilkinson, established a printing press at Hooghly, and with a perseverance that cannot be too much commended, prepared a set of Bengali types; and, at this press, Mr. Hallhed's grammar was printed. This took place in the year 1778 of the Christian era, which should ever remain memorable in the annals of Bengali literature. The first dictionary in the Bengali language was also written by a European gentleman. His name was Mr. Forster. He rendered another service to Bengali. In the year 1793, Lord Cornwallis made a collection of laws: and this gentleman translated them into Bengali. These efforts, however, did not leave any permanent marks of usefulness.

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* They go by the name of Nedhu Baboo's Toppa.

† Named Mr. Hallhed.

We now come to a period when a body of philanthropists appeared in the field, and did much to improve the literature of Bengal. We allude to the Missionaries of Christianity.

In the beginning of the year 1800, Dr. Carey took up his residence in Serampore. He established a mission there, and inaugurated several schemes for the improvement of the natives of Bengal. He was associated in these works with two able coadjutors, Messrs. Ward and Marshman. A printing press was established at Serampore, and a portion of the New Testament, translated into Bengali by Dr. Carey, was the first work printed in it. Ram Basu, who acted at that time as an interpreter to the Christian Missionaries, wrote, under the auspices of Dr. Carey, a life of Rajah Protap Aditya. This was published in July 1801.[*] Dr. Carey himself compiled a grammar in Bengali and some colloquies, and, at his instance, the Chief Pandit of the college of Fort William translated the Hitopodesh from Sanskrit into Bengali.

The Missionaries of Serampore were indefatigable in their efforts to do good to the people of Bengal. They established a number of schools for the purpose of imparting education in the vernacular. This led to the compilation of several elementary works in Bengali in the different branches of knowledge. The next great step taken by the Missionaries for the diffusion of knowledge among the people was, the publication of a periodical in Bengali called *Somachar Darpan*. or the Mirror of News, which came into existence in the year 1818, A.D. The Bengali versions of the Ramayana, the Mahabharat and other works were printed at the Serampore press, and this tended not a little to improve Bengali literature. These books, especially the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, began to be largely read by all classes of the people. Although at the present day, they have lost their popularity, in consequence of the publication of correct and elaborate versions of the same works in excellent prose by Kaliprosonno Singhee, Hem Chunder Vidyarutna and Protap Chunder Roy, C.I.E., they may be still seen in use with ordinary shop-keepers and tradesmen, who take a delight in reading them in a sing-song tone. The Serampore Mission, which did so much good to Bengali literature, did not exist long. The bank in which funds of the mission were lodged in Calcutta collapsed in the commercial crisis of 1833, and the funds of the Mission disappeared. The Mission, however, continued in a lingering state till 1837, when it was amalgamated with the Baptist Missionary Society.

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[*] He wrote also another book called লিপিমালা Lipimalla (series of letters). In the next year was published কৃষ্ণ চন্দ্র চরিত্র or Life of Rajah Krishna Chunder in prose, by Rajib Lochun.

Besides the Missionaries of Christianity, there were some other European gentlemen who did much towards the improvement of Bengali literature. The College of Fort William having for its object the study of Bengali by the officers of the East India Company, was established in the year 1800. A number of books, to form the curriculum of that college, had to be published, and the tutorial staff of the college, European as well as native, undertook this work. Among the works published was the Probodha Chundrika (প্রবোধ চন্দ্রিকা), by Pundit Mrittyoonjoy Turkalonkar, written in prose. The style of the work is not good; but at that period nothing better could be expected. This Pundit wrote another book in prose, the Rajabali (রাজাবলী), which means a number of kings. These two books appeared in the year 1813. In the next year, Horo Prosad Roy published, for the use of the students of the College of Fort William, a translation of the Sanscrit work, Pooroosh Pariksha (পুরুষ পরীক্ষা) in prose. It was written in good language.

We now come to a great man who did much to improve the Bengali language. We allude to the far-famed Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. This is not the place to make mention of all that he did for his countrymen, and our remarks will be restricted to what he did for Bengali literature. After his arrival in Calcutta, which was in the year 1814, Ram Mohan Roy had to translate into Bengali several of the Hindu Shasters in connection with the religious reform he carried out. Besides this, the discussions he had to carry on with the Pundits, as regards both religious and social reforms, induced him to write several pamphlets. Among them were three treatises on the self-immolation of Hindu widows, which were published in the year 1819 In the year 1823, Ram Mohan published his পথ্য প্রদান *Pothya Pradan*, or diet for the sick. This was a pamphlet of 117 pages. It was written refutation of the arguments set forth in a book called পাষণ্ড পীড়ন *Pashanda Peeran*, or "A Check to the Irreligious," attacking the religious opinions and acts of Ram Mohan Roy. This was a pamphlet of 225 pages. In addition to books and pamphlets, Ram Mohan undertook to publish a diglot magazine in Bengali and English to refute the arguments advanced by the Missionaries of Christianity against the Hindu Shasters. This magazine was started in the year 1821. Ram Mohan's reformatory movement was many-sided. He sought the general welfare of his countrymen. In the year 1820, he started a periodical called সংবাদ কৌমুদী• Sombad Koumoodi, which contained articles of general interest. He also wrote a grammar in the Bengali language, which was considered to be the best grammar of that time, and was universally accepted. It reached its fourth edition; and was published by the Calcutta School Book Society in the year 1851. Above all, the hymns composed by Ram Mohun Roy are conspicuous to this day for their excellence. They are universally valued, and are sung by men of all classes and creeds.

The opponents of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy wrote many pamphlets, which tended not a little to improve the Bengali language. Among them Bhowani Churn Bondopadhya rendered signal service. To oppose Ram Mohun in his attempts towards the abolition of the self immolation of widows, he started a newspaper named *Chundrika*, which has done good service to the country. It was the first native effort towards journalism, and has only lately been amalgamated with the *Dainik*. At the period under notice, flourished Rughoo Nundun Goshwami, who published an elaborate poem named রাম রসায়ণ Ram Rashayan based on the Ramayana of Valmiki, which is of some merit. The writers of this period, who were not educated in English, indulged in indecent language, and it is, therefore, to the credit of this poet, who was a good Sanskrit scholar, that he avoided such language altogether. Various Kothuks, Kirtan-wallas, Panchali-wallas, Jattra-wallas, Kabi-wallas, and singing bands flourished at this time. The Kothuks are the expounders of the Poorans and other Shastras. They sit on a Vedi, or raised seat, and address the audience on incidents appertaining to the Shastras, supplementing the same with explanations of their own, and singing songs bearing on the subject treated. This is done by one individual among them. Shreedhur Kothuk was the most distinguished of these men and composed several songs of great merit. Kirtanwallas are those who take incidents from the life of Shree Krishna, and narrate them to the audience, the monotony of their recitations being broken by the singing of songs. Mudhoo Kan and Mohun Das composed excellent songs for these parties. The Panchali-wallas entertain their hearers by reciting in poetry striking incidents from the Poorans. Some rhapsodists flourished at this time who composed stanzas and songs for these parties, and, among them, Dasorothi Roi made himself famous by composing some excellent songs, which are more or less known throughout Bengal, and are sung by many persons to this day. The Jattra-wallas are dramatical companies. Their performances are based on the doings of gods and saints. No stage is put up, but the actors take the parts of the persons connected with the plays. Songs occupy a prominent place in these plays, which are intended for amusement as well as instruction. Among the Jattra-wallas, the parties formed by Modun Mastir and Gopulay Ooray made themselves famous, and the songs they composed were very popular. We have already said something about the Kabi-wallas, and nothing further need be mentioned regarding them. Besides these, there were at this time other singing parties, such as Chundi and Moonsha. All these contributed not a little towards the improvement of Bengali literature.

We now come to two great men, through whose exertions both poetry and prose writing received a great impetus. We allude to Madan Mohan Turkalonkar and Eshwara Chundra Goopta. Modan Mohan published two poems named Rasa Tarangini রস তরঙ্গিনী and Basub Datta বাসবদত্তা. The first was a translation from Sanscrit verse, and the other a tale based on the Sanscrit work of the same name.* These two books displayed the writer's poetical genius, but we must give him special credit for what he did with regard to prose writing. There were at that time no good primers for students. He published (শিশু বোধক) Shishoo Bodhuk and (নীতি কথা) Nitikhotha, which were written in chaste and simple language. They were in the first instance published for use in the female school established by the Hon'ble J. D. Bethune, member of the Governor-General's Council for Education, and were subsequently introduced into all the schools of Bengal. Besides these, he started a monthly periodical called *Sarba Soobhakari* সর্ব্ব শুভকরী, dealing with subjects of great interest. In this periodical appeared an article on Stri Shiksha (female education), written in so good a style, that it received commendation from the learned men of the time, and was considered a masterpiece of Bengali composition. In the year 1850, Madan Mohan left Calcutta for Moorshedabad as Judge Pundit, after which he discontinued his literary pursuits.

Something must now be said of Eshwara Chundra Goopta, the greatest poet of his time. He had a large measure of power divine. It may be said of him that he lisped and the numbers came. When only a boy of five years of age, a couplet came from his lips. Eshwara Chundra did not receive a good education, but the genius he possessed soon brought him to fame. He edited four periodicals, viz., The *Probhakar*, which was at first started as a weekly, but afterwards became a daily newspaper, the *Sadho Rungum* and the *Pashanda Peran*, weekly periodicals, and the monthly *Probhakur*. The *Pashanda Peran* existed only for a time. It was started simply to carry on a logomachy with Gouri Shunkur Bhuttacharjia, who, through the *Rosoraj*, cracked jokes with him. These two periodicals were filled with uncouth writing which did not speak well for the two editors. Poetry occupied a prominent place in the *Prabhakur* and the *Sadhoo Runjun*. But, as the space in these two journals was limited, Eshwara Chunder started the monthly *Probhakur*, which was set apart for general literature. His poetry held the people of Bengal spell-bound. He wrote also a good deal in prose. He rendered a signal service to Bengali literature by writing the lives of some of the eminent poets of Bengal, viz., Bharat Chunder, Ramprosad Sen and Mukoondu Ram. He published the hymns of Ramprosad and the songs of the Kabi-wallas, which were only in the mouths of the people, and would have been lost to the public had he not taken the trouble of collecting them. He took also great pains in collecting incidents connected with the lives of the ancient poets of Bengal, all of which appeared in the monthly *Probhakur*. The life of Bharut Chunder appeared only in the form of a book. But the accounts of the other eminent men that appeared in the *Probhakur* were greatly utilised by the writers who succeeded him Eshwara Chundra worked very hard. In addition to his writings in the journals, he composed short pieces of poetry and songs for the singing parties, viz., the Kabi and the Half-akrai. In this manner he gained a prominent place everywhere. But the greatest service rendered by him was his support of young men of talent, many of whom used to send him contributions in poetry and prose. It was his task to correct these writings and to give them a prominent place in his periodicals, with some words of encouragement. He used to convene a literary meeting every year, in the month of Byshak, to which the eminent men of the day were invited, and at which essays by young men were read and rewards were given to the writers of the best ones. Some of the eminent authors of the present era, contributed articles to the periodicals edited by Eshwara Gooptu, and were his pupils. Eshwara Chundra wrote a good deal in prose. But his prose writing was so full of alliterations and savoured so much of poetry, that it failed to give satisfaction to the literary public. Some of his pupils, however, used to write excellent articles in prose, and these appeared in the

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* Which was published in the year 1836.

Probhakur. Among them, those written by Akhoy Coomar Dutt were masterpieces in that branch. Eshwara Chunder, towards the close of his life, wrote some books. They were (1), Probodha Probhakur প্রবোধ প্রভাকর) a philosophical work in prose and poetry*. (2) Hita Probhakur (হিত প্রভাকর), a book on morality, in prose and poetry, based on the Sanscrit work Hitopodesh ; and (3) Bodhendoo Bekasha, a dramatical work based on the Probodha Chundradoya in Sanscrit, describing the war between the passions and the noble qualities of the heart. The last named work is the best of Eshwara Chunder's efforts. It contains some masterpieces of poetry which stand unrivalled to this day. This work appeared at first in the monthly *Probhakur*, and, after the death of the poet, his brother published the first part of it. It is a pity that, owing to the apathy of the educated public, the second part of this excellent work remains unpublished. Eshwara Chunder commenced an original dramatic work named কালি নাটক) Kali Natuk, but he did not live to finish it. He breathed his last in the year 1858 at the age of 49.

The poetry of Eshwara Chunder Gupta is elegant and mellifluous. It flows from the spring of nature. It passes through hills and dales, woods and plains. No canal is cut to carry it into fields that would yield a rich harvest. It is just like the precious metal in its original state. No art is applied to take the dross out of it. In fine, his poetry was natural and not studied. He wrote on any thing that came in his way ; on the late Sepoy Mutiny ; the Sikh, and the Burmese wars ; on New Year's Day, Christmas and all the festivals of the Hindus. He delineated the incidents connected with the domestic life of a Hindu Some of the poems of Eshwara Chunder are humorous. The poet had occasion to go to a place where he could find no suitable food, and had to pass the day on the flesh of a goat, and he wrote a humorous poem in eulogy of the animal. He wrote also on fruits and vegetables. Eshwara Chunder was also a satirist. His poetry was directed to exposing the hypocritical Brahmins who practised a show of religion, but scrupled not to perform in secret the most heinous deeds, and to ridiculing the English-educated young men who imitated the foibles of the Europeans, by giving undue liberty to women and by partaking of foreign food. In poems of this sort, he stands unrivalled to this day. Towards the close of his career, he wrote some excellent poems on religious and moral subjects. It will thus be seen that Eshwara Chunder Goopta has rendered invaluable services to his countrymen.

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* Only one part of the work was published. The poet did not live to complete it.

For some time the rush towards English education left him almost unnoticed. But it is satisfactory to note that Babu Bankim Chunder, the great novelist of the present day, who was the poet's pupil in his early days, has published two volumes of his poems, with a sketch of his life. After Eshwara Chunder, a number of poets sprang up, who were more or less the result of the great impetus which he gave to poetical composition.

Two poets flourished in East Bengal, who wrote some excellent poems. One of these was Hurish Chundra Mitra and the other Krishna Chunder Mozumdar. The former conducted a monthly periodical called *Mitra Prokash*, which was filled with poetical writings. He published also বিধবা বঙ্গাঙ্গনা Bidhoba Bungongona, and some other excellent poems. Krishna Chunder Mozumdar published an another poem called Sadbhab Satuk সদ্ভাব শতক, containing noble sentiments in religion and morality, and written on the model of the poems of Hafiz, the famous Persian poet. Pryonath Bose and Radhamadhub Mitra also wrote some good poems. The former published a poem called Prya Kabya, and the latter wrote some poetical primers for use in schools.

We now come to a period when poetry, as well as prose writing, attained a very high state of progress. We will call this the present time. Volumes might be written on the eminent writers of this period, but we will take only a short review of them, dividing our subject into two parts,—poetry and prose writing.

We have now come to a class of writers whose compositions are more or less influenced by the English style and method of composition. In poetical composition, Rungo Lall Banerjee set the example. The poets who preceded him composed poems on love fêtes and on religious and social subjects. They made use of indecent expressions. But Rungolal adopted a new plan. In his early days, he read a good deal of English poetry, and the patriotic and chaste composition of the English poets made an impression upon him. He published three excellent poems, namely, Pudmni Oopaikhyan, Karma Dabee and Shoora Soondari. These were historical tales based on Col. Todd's account of the Rajpoots in his Rajasthan. In them the poet has depicted in forcible language the patriotism of the Rajputs and their martial spirit. He has also shown to advantage the courage, patriotic spirit, and chastity of the Rajput women. He wrote besides a good deal in prose and contributed to several periodicals, and was the editor of some. But in the history of Bengali literature, he will be recognised as a distinguished poet.

We now come to the far-famed Modhu Soodun Dutt—who has called the Milton of Bengal. Modhu Soodun was a scholar of great renown. There was something peculiar in him. In the 16th year of his age he adopted the Christian religion. After completing his education in Calcutta, he went to Madras, where he distinguished himself very much by his writings and edited a journal in English. He had a great taste for poetry, and wrote some excellent short poems in the English language. Whilst at Madras, he married a European lady. After a few years, he came back to Calcutta. He adopted English costume and English food, and disliked the Bengali language. But a sudden change came upon him. His first poem তিলোত্তমা সম্ভব কাব্য, Tilottoma Sombhaba Kabya, appeared in the রহস্য সন্দর্ভ *Rahashya Sondarbha*—a magazine conducted by Rajendra Lala Mitra, and was written in blank verse. Modhu Sudun was the first poet to introduce this form of composition into the Bengali language. This poem was afterwards published in the form of a book. In two years, Modhu Sudun placed before the public twelve poems and dramatical works. His fame as a poet spread abroad, and some educated gentlemen went the length of assigning him the first place among the poets of Bengal. Meghnada Badha Kabya মেঘনাদ বধ কাব্য, the grandest epic poem in the Bengali language, will stand for ever as a monument of his genius His dramatical works are also of great merit, and are written after the mode of English dramas. In his after life he became so much attached to Bengali, that he wrote a poem during his sojourn in France. It is satisfactory to note that his countrymen showed their appreciation of his writing, by convening a meeting of the learned gentlemen of Bengal, at which they gave him a suitable present in recognition of the valuable services rendered by him to Bengali literature.

We will now give a short notice of two eminent men to whom the Bengali language owes much for their dramatical compositions.

We allude to Ramnarain Turkuratna and Denabundho Mitra. Ramnarain was the first to publish a dramatic work in the Bengali language. He wrote six dramas, of which two were against social practices. The first one, named (কুলীন কুল সর্ব্বস্ব) Kulina-Kulu-Sarbasya, was written against the Kulinism prevalent in Bengal, and the second, entitled নবনাটক Nabanatuk, depicted the evils of polygamy. The other dramas were either based on incidents related in the Pooranas, or were translations from Sanskrit works. The next dramatist was the far-famed Denobundho Mitra. His first dramatic work was Neel Darpan (নীল দর্পণ), or the Indigo Mirror. It was published in the year 1860. Though not of great merit, the good it did to the oppressed *ryots* of Bengal was immense. The oppression of the Indigo-planters touched the tender heart of Denobundho, and he published this work depicting the sufferings of the poor men in glowing terms. To attract the attention of kind-hearted European gentlemen, the great philanthropist, the Revd. J. Long, translated the work into English and published it. For this he was sentenced to imprisonment for one month, with a fine of one thousand rupees. The amount of the fine was paid by Kaliprosonno Singha, the publisher of the Mohabharut in Bengali. His second dramatic work (নবীন তপস্বিনী নাটক) Nobin Tapaswini Nataka spread his name throughout the country. This was followed by (লীলাবতী) Leelabati, Komola Kamini (কমলে কামিনী) and other dramatical works, which established his fame as the best dramatic writer of Bengal. Besides these he wrote some poems also, which are no doubt of merit. But it was dramatic composition in which he displayed his genius and achieved the greatest success.

After Denobundho, Monmohun Bose and Rajkissen Roy published some very good dramatic works. They are both living; and the former has written some good works in prose also. The latter is energetic in his literary pursuits Besides some good dramas, he has written several poems and novels, and also a History of Russia Noticing the immoral tendencies of the stage, he has organised a theatrical party on a new model. His religious dramas, such as (প্রহ্লাদ চরিত্র) Prohlad Charitra and (রামের বনবাস) Exile of Rama, have been acted on the stage. They have attracted the attention of the public, and will, it is hoped, succeed in instilling a religious and moral spirit into the young men of the day.

In connection with this subject, it must be said that the method of imparting religious and moral instruction through the stage originated with the late Keshub Chunder Sen. At his instance, Trailuckyanath Sanyal composed the Nobo-Brindabun Natuk (নব বৃন্দাবন নাটক) and its performance achieved a signal success. But for want of funds, the Brahmos have not been able to continue this mode of religious instruction. It must be admitted, however, that the example thus set has done not a little to improve the theatres of Calcutta.

Two other prominent names must be mentioned in connection with the theatres of Bengal. One is that of Keshub Chunder Ganguli and the other of Grish Chunder Ghose. The former flourished in the first epoch of the theatrical era, and did much in managing the work of the theatres and instructing the actors.

The latter is still doing the same work; but prominent mention must be made of him in connection with several dramatic works written by him. Among them, Chaitanya Leela (চৈতন্য লীলা), Budhu Deva Charit (বুদ্ধ দেব চরিত) and Bilwa Mongal (বিল্ব মঙ্গল) are worthy of notice. The enactment of these in the theatres of Calcutta excites the religious feelings of the people to such an extent, that they consider themselves at the time to be in the midst of a religious assembly. Girish Chunder is also a great humourist; and his farcical trials greatly amuse the audience.

Nobin Chunder Sen has acquired considerable fame as a poet. His poem (পলাশীর যুদ্ধ), the Battle of Pallasy, is well written. The description of the battle is vivid, and does credit to a native of Bengal of the present era, not influenced by military zeal. His Abokash Runjini (অবকাশ রঞ্জিনী) is also a good poem. It shows to full advantage the patriotism and courage with which our young men should be imbued. His Rongomati is filled with vivid descriptions of nature, and for his power of delineating natural scenes he deserves to take a prominent place among the poets of Bengal.

We now come to Hem Chunder Banerjee, the first living poet of Bengal. He has published several books, one of which is a drama, and the rest are poems. Britra Songhar (বৃত্র সংহার) an epic poem of great merit, is his principal work. Though written on the model of the Meghnada Bodha, Britra Songhar has, in certain respects, surpassed that grand epic Hem Chunder has, in a vivid way, pourtrayed the characters of the persons who played a prominent part in the exploits delineated in the poem, and has set forth instances of heroism and patriotism in brilliant colors. His Kabitabali (কবিতাবলী) contains some very excellent poems, which made him popular before Britra Songhar appeared. They are spirit-stirring and full of patriotism.

Among the poets of Bengal, Robindranath Tagore occupies a prominent place. He has published several books, some of them prose works and dramas; but his genius has chiefly manifested itself in poetical composition. His poetry is mellifluous, and he has composed a great number of songs, many of which are excellent. In lyric poetry, Robindranath holds the first rank. He is now in the fervour of youth, and we expect a good deal from him.

Miss Sen, a lady graduate, has published a volume of poems under the title of (আলো ছায়া) Light and Shadow. She has followed Rabindranath in the new path opened by him. The volume does her great credit, breathing throughout, as it does, noble sentiments touching on duty and universal love. Hem Chunder Banerjee, the poet, who has written a preface to the volume, has spoken of it in the most favorable terms, and a reviewer of it has said that, "if she continues in her art and matures it, she is destined to occupy in time the same position in Bengali poetry that Tennyson does in England."

There are many other poets of note; but it is not possible to notice all of them in a paper like this. We cannot, however, pass over this subject without mentioning the names of Pundit Shivanath Shastri, Trailokyanath Sanyal, Behari Lal Chuckerbutty, Gobinda Chunder Dass, Akshoy Kumar Bural, Nimai Chand Seel and Girindra Mohini Dasi who have written some excellent books. Among these authors, Trailokyanath has composed some very good hymns, and is known as the singing apostle of the Brahmo Somaj of India. He has made his appearance under the *nom de-plume* of Cheranjiva Sharma, and his last work (বিংশ শতাব্দী-আশা কাব্য) *i. e.*, a poem of hope of the 20th century, in which he has depicted, in vivid colors, the establishment of a religion of universal love, will undoubtedly make him Chiranjivi, *i.e.*, immortal.

We will now treat of prose-writing. A firmament of wide expanse, filled with luminaries, is now before us. Two stars of the first magnitude at once attract our attention. They are Pundit Eshwara Chandra Vidyasagar and Aksha Kumar Dutta. These two learned men have formed the Bengali language; and their names will, therefore, be remembered with gratitude for ever. It should be borne in mind that the writings of the present time are purified by English thought. They are free from the impurities which polluted the writings of the authors of the preceding period. Vidyasagara, so far as we know, has published thirty books, many of which have been introduced into the schools and colleges of Bengal. His Baital Puncho Bingsati (বেতাল পঞ্চ বিংশতি), Sakoontola (শকুন্তলা) and Sitar Bonobash (Exile of Seeta) are masterpieces of Bengali composition. He has translated Marshman's History of Bengal into the Bengali language, and has published the lives of some great men taken from Chambers' Biography. His Bodhodya (বোধোদয়) is based on Chambers' Rudiments of Knowledge. In fact, he collected all that he found good in the Sanscrit and English languages, and placed them before his countrymen. In connection with the movement regarding the re-marriage of widows and the abolition of polygamy among the Kulins of Bengal, he published some very able books. In these he displayed his vast knowledge of the Hindu

Shastras and great argumentative power. When his first book on the re-marriage of widows appeared, he was assailed with pamphlets written against it by the Pundits, filled with abusive terms. Vidyasagara thereupon wrote a second book, in which he not only displayed his great power of argument, but showed his countrymen that courteous language should be used in giving replies to questions put by others in an offensive manner. Although Vidyasagara was abused by the orthodox Hindus, blessings came to him from many persons and in various ways. Some composed songs in praise of him, which were sung throughout Bengal, others manufactured cloths with a motto on the border, blessing him for the great movement set on foot by him; and, above all, two dramas were written by two energetic gentlemen in connection with the movement.

Besides the publication of books, Vidyasagara rendered service to the Bengali language in his capacities of Principal of the Sanscrit College and Inspector of Normal and Model Schools. He proposed a scheme of instruction in Vernacular Schools, which was adopted by the Bengal Government. By his efforts, more than fifty girls' schools were established in the Hooghly and Burdwan Districts. Vidyasagara left the Government service in November, 1858, but he did not cease to write. He did not, however, continue long in this occupation, but devoted himself to the establishment of an institution, which met with great success. The Metropolitan Institution occupies a superb position among the schools and colleges of Bengal.

Consequent on his poor circumstances, Akshai Kumar had not the advantage of a good school education. It was by self-study that he became a great man. His principal object was to write on good subjects in his mother-tongue, and with this view he sought knowledge from all available sources. He read many English books at home; he studied French, in order to peruse some good books in that language, and he attended lectures on botany, chemistry and other subjects in the Medical College. The work he was thus enabled to write had the effect of warding off from young men the atheistic ideas which the study of European philosophies had engendered in them at that time: His articles used to appear at first in the *Probhakar*. He afterwards became the editor of the *Tutwabodhini Patrika* (তত্ত্ব বোধিনী পত্রিকা), which was conducted by him with so great ability, that it became the first monthly magazine of the time. His articles were so well written, that, notwithstanding the great rush towards English, educated men were seen anxiously expecting the arrival of the Patrika. His writings are philosophical. He was the first to place before the reader, the wisdom and goodness of God as manifested in the creation, and was thus the religious instructor of his countrymen. He published eight books which were chiefly reprints of the articles that had appeared in the *Probhakar* and the *Tatwabodhini.* His Dharmaniti (ধর্ম্মনীতি), an excellent book on Morality, his Constitution of Man (বাহ্য বস্তুর সহিত মানব প্রকৃতির সম্বন্ধ বিচার), based on Comb's work on the same subject, his natural philosophy (পদার্থ বিদ্যা) and his three volumes of essays, named Charoopath (চারু পাঠ) have done much good to the young men of the country. They are valuable contributions to the Bengali language and are read with pleasure by the educated. Some of them form a part of the curriculum in the schools and colleges of Bengal. His principal work is the Religious Sects of India (ভারতবর্ষীয় উপাসক সম্প্রদায়) in 614 pages, including an intoduction of 282 pages. In the introduction, the author has shown his great learning and power of research in his delineation of the manners, customs and religious views of the ancient Hindus and his comments on them. The exertions made by Akshai Kumar shattered his health to such an extent that he was compelled to retire from the world in the 37th year of his age. After this, he had a very miserable life from which he obtained relief a few years ago. In this unhappy state, however, he did not forget the mission of his life. It was at this period that he completed the second volume of his "Religious Sects of India."

We will now take a review of the writings of some other authors which did not a little to enrich the Bengali language. Nilmony Bosak wrote some excellent books, among which, Naba-nari (নব-নারী , "The Nine Women," occupies a high place. Pundit Tarasunker wrote a tale named Kadambari (কাদম্বরী), based on a Sanscrit work of that name. It is well-written, though the language of it is difficult. Bhoodeb Mukerjee published some good books. They are, Natural Philosophy, Essence of History, History of England, History of Greece and a historical tale. Besides books, Bhudeb Mookerjee undertook to edit the Education Gazette, which has done not a little to enrich the Bengali language, and he prepared a scheme for conducting vernacular schools which was adopted by Government. His tale, which is the first of its kind, depicts the great Shivaji's love with Roshinara, a daughter of Aurungzebe, and, in connection with it, gives vivid accounts of the patriotism, bravery and exploits of that great man.

At this time there was a great rush towards every thing that was English. The *Shastras* of the Hindus were regarded by educated young men as cunningly devised fables, and the manners and customs of the Hindus as the outcome of superstition. Rajnarain Bose placed before these young men two excellent books named (হিন্দু ধর্ম্মের শ্রেষ্ঠতা), "Superiority of the Hindu Religion," and (সেকাল আর একাল), "Past and Present Time." The former shows, by quotations from the Shastras, the superiority of the Hindu religion over all other religions; and the latter, by a comparison of society as it existed in ancient times with what it is at present, shows the extent to which Hindus have degenerated. These two books turned the tide towards Hinduism In addition to this, Rajnarain Bose, by his able lectures succeeded in creating, in the minds of young men, a love for Hindu religion, Hindu philosophy, and Bengali literature. One of his stirring lectures led to the establishment of the National Association of Calcutta. His Dharma Tatwa Dipika (ধর্ম্ম তত্ত্বদীপিকা) a book on religious enquiry, is an excellent work. Although he has retired from the service, his efforts towards the welfare of his countrymen are as earnest as ever, and he has at heart the establishment of a *Maha Hindu Samiti* (Great Hindu Union), for the advancement of the Hindoos in arts and sciences, trades and professions, &c., in connection with which he has published a very able pamphlet in Bengali

Although Maharshi Devendranath Tagore cannot be reckoned among literary characters, the mission of his life being the religious regeneration of India, the sermons delivered by him are so excellent, that they cannot be passed over in silence. His collection of sermons, a voluminous book, stands as a gem in the Bengali language. His Brahma Dharma, which from its name may seem to be intended for the Brahmos, is an excellent book, containing sublime thoughts of the sages of ancient India relating to the Divine Being and man's duties to his fellow brethren. The Maharshi's erudite explanations of the sayings of the sages greatly enhance the value of the work.

Pundit Ramgutty Nayarutna is a good writer in Bengali. He published a History of Bengal, a History of India, a book on the Bengali language, a grammar in Bengali, a tale, and some books for young readers.

Some magazines also appeared at this time ,and although they have ceased to exist, they did much good while they lasted. The *Vidya Darshan* (বিদ্যা দর্শন) appeared in the year 1842, and was edited by the far-famed Akshai Kumar Dutta. It lived for one year only. The *Surva Soovhakari* (সর্ব্ব শুভকরী) appeared in the year 1850. Pundits Eshwara Chunder and Madan Mohan contributed to this magazine. In the next year appeared the *Bibidhartha Sangraha* (বিবিধার্থ সংগ্রহ), an illustrated magazine. It was edited by Rajendra Lala Mitra and was conducted with great ability. It contained articles on general literature, history, zoology, geology, arts, &c. This magazine appeared afterwards under the name of *Rahasya Sondarbha* (রহস্য সন্দর্ভ). In 1854 appeared a magazine named *Masik Patrika* (মাসিক পত্রিকা), conducted by Peary Chand Mitra and Radhanath Shikdar. In 1864, Bhudeb Mukerjee started a monthly paper called *Shiksha-Darpana* or The *Mirror of Instruction.* It ceased to exist in the year 1869

We now come to two savants: they are Doctors K. M. Banerjee and Pundit Dwijendranath Tagore. The former, it is to be regretted, has closed his earthly career; but the latter is still in our midst. Doctor Banerjee, although a Christian, did much for the cause of Bengali literature. His elaborate work reviewing the six philosophical treatises (ষড়দর্শন সংবাদ) stands in the Bengali language as a monument of his vast learning. Pundit Dwijendranath has published a work on philosophy (তত্ত্ব বিদ্যা), Supna Proyan (স্বপ্ন প্রয়াণ), a poem, and some pamphlets criticising the doings of those who adopt foreign manners and customs. The Supna Proyan is a work of merit, but his Tutwa Vidya is a learned work which does great credit to him. He is now editing with ability the Tutwabodhini Patrika (তত্ত্ববোধিনী পত্রিকা), in which are published learned articles on philosophy from his able pen.

Pundit Dwarkanath Vidya Bhooshun holds a very high place in Bengali literature. But though the books written by him are no doubt of merit, they have not made him widely known. He is the author of a book of moral lessons for boys, in two parts, a History of Greece, a History of Rome, and a work, named (দেবগণের মর্ত্ত্যে আগমন), on the arrival of the gods on earth. The last was published after his death. It is the *Soma Prokasha*, however, that has made his name a household word in Bengal This journal was conducted by the Pundit with great ability, and held in Bengali the same position which the *Hindu Patriot* did in English.

Among the learned men of East Bengal, Kali Prosonno Ghose, the Emerson of Bengal, holds a high position. His writings are thoughtful. His Night Thoughts (নিশীথ চিন্তা) and Morning Thoughts (প্রভাত চিন্তা) are regarded as gems in Bengali literature. He edits a magazine named *Bandhub* (বান্ধব) with great ability and is an able lecturer.

Gopal Chunder Banerjee wrote many books, chiefly intended for schools, and has treated upon various subjects Among his works, (শিক্ষা প্রণালী) Mode of Instruction, (হিত-শিক্ষা Useful instructions, (পাটী গণিত) Arithmetic, and a dictionary in Bengali and English deserve notice.

We now come to Peary Chand Mitra, who deviated from the path followed by the preceding writers, and adopted the colloquial style of writing. He wrote several books. Two of them depicted the evils of society, one being didactic and two others treating of religious subjects. Notwithstanding the new style adopted by him, the books are of great value. One of his works (আলালের ঘরের দুলাল), The Spoilt Boy, has been translated into English. The new style became popular, and several writers who followed him adopted it, among whom, we may mention the name of Kaliprosonno Singhee, the author of the famous book (হুতম প্যাঁচার নক্সা), The Mysteries of Calcutta.

The great novelist of the present day, Bunkim Chunder Chatterjee, now appears before us. A better painter of human nature has never appeared in Bengal. Although he has followed the style of Peary Chand to a certain extent, Bunkim Chunder has made a considerable improvement on it. He has written several novels in Bengali. Two of them, named (দুর্গেশ নন্দিনী), The Chieftain's Daughter and (বিষ বৃক্ষ), The Poison Tree, have been translated into English. Most of these novels dealt largely with love passages. His *Ananda Matha* (আনন্দ মট) is in another vein. Latterly he has come forward as an advocate of the cause of the Hindu religion, and has written a book on religion, named Dharma Tutwa (ধর্ম্ম তত্ত্ব), and has published a life of Krishna, describing him as the greatest among the great men of the world. Some time ago he undertook to translate the Bhagbut Geeta (ভগবদ্ গীতা), but we have not heard of its having been completed. For many years he edited a monthly magazine named *Banga Durshana* (বঙ্গ দর্শন , which contained his own writings as well as those of other learned men, and did much to enrich the Bengali language.

A number of novelists followed Bunkim Chunder. Devi Prosonno Rai Chowdry has written several novels the object of which is to reform society. He has also written some other books on general topics, and is the editor of a monthly magazine called *Nabya Bharat* (New India), which is well conducted. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.S., C.I.E. has written some excellent novels based on the exploits of the Hindoos, and has translated the Rig Veda into Bengali, which is a gigantic task Chundi Churn Sen has written three very good novels based on some stirring events connected with the history of India: they are Maharaj Nandocoomar, Gunga Govindo Sinha and the Begum of Oudh. It would fill a volume to notice all the novelists of Bengal. We may, however, mention Taruk Nath Ganguli, whose Sarnolota (স্বর্ণলতা) has been translated into English, Gopal Chunder Mukerji, author of (যৌবনে যোগিনী) Young Female Ascetic, Horo Lal Roy, author of (হেমলতা) Hemlata and four other novels, Moti Lal Bose, author of (দুঃখ কাহিনী), A Tale of Sorrows, and other novels, and last, though not least, Sarna Kumari Devi, the authoress of (দীপ নির্ব্বাণ) Deepanirvana and other excellent works. The last is an ornament to her sex, and is editing the (ভারতী) *Bharati*, a monthly magazine, with great ability. She also writes on astronomy and other scientific subjects in a masterly manner.

Indronath Banerjee has written some novels, but is better known as a wit. His satires on the reformers of the present day are incisive. The tendency of his writings is to ridicule every movement set on foot to reform Hindu society. This is not what it should be. We admire him for his criticisms on the so-called reformers, who see nothing good in Hindu society, but at the same time we cannot support him when he advocates keeping it in its present state. Every well-wisher of his country, whilst endeavouring to preserve what is good, must admit that certain evils have found a place in Hindu society, and that every endeavour should be made to remove them. Panchoo Thakoor (পাঁচু ঠাকুর) and Bharat Oodhar (ভারত উদ্ধার) are his two famous satirical works.

We now come to the great historian of Bengal—Rojoni Kanto Gupta. He has written a History of India, of the Hindu, Moslem and English periods, and an elaborate History of the Sepoy Mutiny. His Exploits of the Ancient Hindus in five parts is also an excellent work. He has published another historical work, named Bharat Kahini (ভারত কাহিনী), or Indian Tales, and some books on general subjects. At the request of Mr. Malabari, he has translated Professor Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures into Bengali. The (ক্ষিতীশ বংশাবলী চরিত), History of the Krishnagar Raj Family, by Kartikaya Chundra Roy, as also the Annals and Chronicles of Tripura and the History of the Sen Kings of Bengal, by Koylash Chunder Sen, deserve mention.

From the historians, we pass naturally to the biographers.

Among them, Trailokyanath Sanyal, who has published the lives of Jesus Christ, Chaitanya Deva and Keshab Chunder; Krishna Kumar Mitra, who has published the lives of Buddha Deva and Mahomet, and a collection of the lives of some eminent persons of the West; Nogendranath Chatterjee who has published the lives of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy and Theodore Parker; Abinash Chunder Dass who has published a life of Seeta Davee, and Jogendronath Vidya Bhooshun, who has published the lives of Mill, Mazzini and Garibaldi, are worthy of notice. We must also mention the name of Jagadishwara Gupta, the author of an elaborate and well-written life of Chaitanya Deva. This worthy son of India has, to our misfortune,* lately breathed his last. An elaborate life of the Empress Victoria, the author of which is not known to us that of St. Paul by Debendronath Mukerjee† and that of Ram Krishna Parama-hansa, by Ram Chundra Dutta, are also works of merit.

Among other writers of note are Doctor Ram Das Sen and Prophulla Chunder Banerjee, who have written some excellent books The Aitihashik Rahashya (Secrets of History) by the former, and the Greek and Hindu by the latter, display a great power of research. The former who died a few years ago, was a zemindar, and it must be said in his praise that, by devoting himself to Bengali literature, he set a good example to the rich men of Bengal Kherode Chunder Rai Chowdhry has appeared with an erudite work on the Evolution of Man, based on the writings of Darwin, Spencer, Huxley and other savants.

Two other well-known writers are Akshai Chundra Sirkar and Chundranath Bose. The former edited the *Naba Jeevana*, a monthly magazine, and the *Sadharani*, a weekly paper, with marked ability for several years, and he has rendered further service to Bengali literature by publishing the works of the ancient poets of Bengal, Vidyapati, Chandi Das and others. The latter is a good essayist, and his contributions to the magazines of the present day are of great merit. He is the author of some excellent books also.

A laudable endeavour has been made by several educated gentlemen, to place before the public the philosophical and religious literature of ancient times. Among them, some have made selections from, and others versions of the Sacred Books. Among them, the names of Chundra Shikhar Bosu and Bipin Behari Ghosal deserve mention. Chundra Shikhar has published Vedanta Prokash, Vedanta Darshana, (সৃষ্টি Creation, (প্রলয়

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* 8th July 1892.

† That of Dwarkanath Mitra by Kaliprosonno Dutt.

তত্ত্ব) Destruction, (পরলোক তত্ত্ব) the Next World and (হিন্দু ধর্ম্মের উপদেশ) Teachings of the Hindu Shastras. They are all based on the Hindu Shastras, and contain valuable comments by the author on the subjects treated. His original work (অধিকারতত্ত্ব) Adhikar Tutwa, in which he shows that the Hindu family places no obstacles in the way of one who wishes to worship God in spirit and in truth, and his volume of religious lectures are also of great merit. Bipin Behari has done good service to his Hindu brethren by placing before them two very useful compilations—one on "Salvation and How to Obtain it," and the other on the Hindu Shastras. His compilations are based on the Vedas, the Smritis, the Pooranas and the Tantras, and have been made in a systematic manner. He has also tried to reconcile the discrepancies found in the different Shastras, and has shown that they contain injunctions of various natures to suit men in different stages of religious progress.

Among those who have published translations of the religious books of the Hindus, Protap Chunder Roy, C.I.E., the translator of the Mahabharat and the Ramayana, Mohesh Chunder Pal, the translator of the Upanishads, and the proprietors of the *Bungobashi*, the translators of the Smritis, Pooranas and Tantras, deserve special mention. But, while speaking of these writers, we must not forget to mention the names of the late Kaliprosonno Sinha, a zemindar of Calcutta, and Maharajah Mahatab Chand of Burdwan, who, by translating the Mahabharat, through some able Pundits, set an example to others. It is worthy of notice that no less than six versions of the Sanskrit Bhogabat Geeta have been made in Bengali, among which, that by Shrikrishnanda Swamia, *alias* Shree Krishna Prosonno Sen, with commentaries and explanatory notes, is the best.

Endeavour has also been made to translate into Bengali works of foreign nations. Girish Chunder Sen has translated the Koran Sheriff, the Hadish, or instructions by Mahomet regarding prayer and the Tejkaratuloulia, or lives of Mahomedan Saints. The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, by Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, have been translated into Bengali, and the translation of the five volumes of the Statistical Accounts of Bengal, by Dr. Hunter, has been undertaken by a Bengali gentlemen, while, in the department of light literature, translations have been made of the Arabian Nights, Persian Tales and Reynolds' Mysteries.

Besides translations, some original works on religion have been published. Among them, Dharma Bakhya, or Explanations about Religion, by Pundit Shoshodhara Turko Chooramoni, and Dharma Bijnan Beeja, The Roots of Religious Knowledge, deserve notice.

Prominent mention should be made of the religious reformers who, by their sermons and lectures, have done not a little to enrich the Bengali language. Among them, the names of Sreekrishna Prosonno Sen, Nogendranath Chatterjee, Pundit Shivanath Shastri, Pundit Ramkumar Vidya Rutna, Pundit Shashadhar Turko Chooramoni, Keshub Chunder Sen and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar are conspicuous

Several books, advocating the cause of temperance, have appeared. Among them, one under the title of Soorapana ba Bisha-pana, *i.e.* Wine Drinking or Poison Drinking, by a member of the Band of Hope of Calcutta, is the best. It is a work of 245 pages, and deserves praise both for its style and for the good cause it advocates.

There are some books on travelling in India and other parts of the world Among them, Mishar Yatri Bengali, *i.e.* A Bengali Pilgrim to Egypt, by Sham Lal Mitra, is worth mentioning.

Some medical works of great merit have also been published. Among them, Chikitsha Tutwa Baridhi, by Ambika Churn Gupta, takes a prominent place. It deals with allopathic, homæopathic and Native methods of treatment, and the fact of its having reached a fourth edition shows its popular In addition to original works, the Sanskrit medical works of ancient times have been translated into Bengali.

The field of Science is not left untrodden. Books on surveying, mensuration, geometry, trigonometry, arithmetic and algebra, too numerous to mention, as also natural histories and natural philosophies, have appeared in the Bengali language ; and many works on law have also been published,

There are some good dictionaries in the Bengali language. Among them, the Prokritibad, by Pundit Ram Komul Vidyalonkar, takes a prominent place. It is an illustrated dictionary of 1,108 pages, and contains the root, inflection and literal meaning of every word, as also the gender of every substantive. Whilst on this subject, mention must be made of a gigantic work named the Vishwa Kosha, or Universal Dictionary of the Bengali Language. This work was at first undertaken by Rungo Lal Mukerji, and Trilokyonath Mukerji, but it has now been taken over by Nogendronath Basu and Woopendro Chundra Bosu. It contains the meanings of words in Sanskrit, Bengali, Arabic, Persian, Hindi and other dialects, as also historical, geographical and scientific terms, with accounts of distinguished men and the religious sects of ancient and modern times. In fact, it is an encyclopœdia of the Bengali language. Three volumes of the work have already been published, the first volume being of 696 pages, the second of 576 pages and the third of 640 pages. The fourth volume is being issued in parts, 128 pages of it having already appeared. The vowels are finished, and the consonants have only begun. It can be inferred from this what a voluminous work it will be when completed.

The periodicals have done not much to improve the Bengali language. It would fill many pages to notice them all, but we will say something about the cheap papers. The first cheap paper was the *Sulabha Samachara.* It introduced a new era into the literature of Bengal. Started by Keshub Chundra, soon after his return from England, as a pice-paper, it became very popular, and did much good to the people : but unfortunately it has ceased to exist. The *Sulabha Samachar* was followed by other pice-papers, but they did not last long. At length some two pice-papers came into existence. Among them, the *Bungobashi*, the *Sanjivani* and the *Hit-badi* are worthy of notice. The *Bungobashi* represents the orthodox class, the *Sanjivani* the reformed party, and the *Hit-badi* opens its columns to both parties It advocates the cause of reform in a cautious manner. The first mentioned paper has upwards of twenty thousand subscribers. A pice-paper, named *Prokriti*, has also come into existence, and is the cheapest of all the cheap newspapers.

conclusion we would remark that the state attained by Bengali literature is chiefly due to the laudable exertions of those who are among the best scholars in the English language. It is satisfactory to note that they have come to recognise the fact that, in order to do real good to the country, its vernacular should be improved.

DENONATH GANGULI.

ART. VII.—ARMENIANS IN INDIA.

Christianity in India. Hough.
History of the British and Foreign Bible Society.
Christian Researches. Buchanan.
India Tracts, Holwell.
History of British India. Mill and Wilson.
India Office Records.
Memoirs of Asiaticus.
Monumental Register.
Bengal Obituary.
Census of Armenians in Calcutta. Avdall.
Journal in India. Heber.
Calcutta Monthly Journal, 1836.

> The wind blowes out, the bubble dies,
> The spring intomb'd in autumn lies;
> The dew's dry'd up, the star is shot,
> The flight is past, and man forgot.
>
> BEAUMONT & FLETCHER.

A HISTORY of Armenians in India should be a volume full of interest. But hitherto no effort seems to have been made to gather materials for such a work. Nor is the reason for the omission far to seek. In the absence of written records, considerable difficulty is to be anticipated in gleaning reliable data for an unbroken chronicle of events. The earlier histories of this country are at best but scantily furnished with facts, as distinguished from fiction. Such records as do exist found no special interest attaching to a mere handful of traders hailing from the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. Indeed, the circumstances under which the pioneer Armenians tarried in Indostan, earned for them no recognition beyond that due to a class of industrious dealers. What though they rendered valuable commercial service to the land, by finding abroad a market for Indian merchandise? Was it not for self-interested motives that they exchanged their silver for pepper and cloves, and their gold for muslins and precious stones? The science of Political Economy was little, if at all, known to Gangetic historians, and they failed to rightly estimate the important work which was being done by Armenians. It went for nothing that they brought an increase of wealth to the country; that they widened the horizon of its fame; that they, by their sagacity and bold enterprise, gave a distinct impetus to its trade. Had they been mighty invaders, demolishing empires and pillaging citadels, their deeds would have been preserved in the annals of the land. But, as it was, they had made no conquests. They had set up no dynasty. No city was called by their name. They were only in a land of sojourn. Their place therefore was not in history, but in the bazar. So thought Indian chroniclers; and hence we, in the nineteenth century, vainly search the faded pages of Sanskrit and Arabic writs for references to Armenians who lived, and perchance died, in the country.

For some time past the writer of these pages has been much interested in the subject of this paper. He does not here offer anything approaching a continuous history; for all he has so far succeeded in unearthing, is for the most part of a fragmentary nature. But, such as it is, he endeavours to preserve it from threatened oblivion.

When Armenians first came into India, it is impossible to tell: but in 780 A. D., Thomas Cana landed on the Malabar Coast. He is better known by the name Mar Thomas, and was led into Indian waters by his commercial pursuits. Sheo Ram was then the native Ruler of Cranganore. The Raja was at first alarmed at the advent of a foreigner in his territories; but when Thomas explained that he had ventured so far from home only for spices and muslins, Sheo Ram dealt kindly with him, and permitted him to settle down in his capital. The Armenian trader trafficked with the mainland, and prospered beyond his highest expectations. He basked in the favour of the Indian Chief, and within a few years won his entire confidence. Wealth flowed into his coffers, and, with the growth of his riches, he acquired much dignity and power. Realising that display was a potent factor in the eyes of an oriental people, he lived sumptuously and with lavish ceremony. Contemporary writers describe his honors and hoards of gold in magnificent terms. And this was not without excuse; for his commercial enterprises expanded so considerably, that he found it necessary to maintain a head-quarters in the north as well as in the south. Cranganore sufficed for the transactions of the Coast; but it was inconveniently far from new centres of trade which were developing towards the interior of the Peninsula. He accordingly acquired lands at Angamale, and there established himself within easier command of the markets of higher latitudes. In Eastern lands it is assumed that a man's worldly prosperity must be accompanied by a plurality of wives. Nor was the expectation different in the case of Mar Thomas. The existence of houses of business both at Cranganore and Angamale gave occasion to the belief that he had a spouse at each station. His first and lawful consort was reputed to preside over his home in the south, while his inferior wife was said to be supreme in the north. The latter was a native of the country, and boasted of belonging to the Naire or military caste. She had exchanged her heathen creed for the Christian Faith, and had, in consequence, incurred the relentless hatred of her father's people. But there is ample evidence in support of the view that Cana did not adopt the prevalent custom of polygamy. There was assuredly a time when he had a wife at Cranganore and a time when he had wife at Angamale: but the second was not installed in the north till her predecessor had died in the south. At the time that Thomas came to Angamale, the neighbouring people knew of his home in Cranganore, and when he re-married at Angamale, they fell into the error of supposing that his southern wife was still alive. And hence arose the current belief that he indulged in the luxury of two wives.

By each of his marriages Mar Thomas had a numerous family, and on his death his children in the south inherited his possessions at Cranganore, while his property in the north was shared among his heirs at Angamale. Both branches of the family increased rapidly in point of numbers and freely intermarried with the converts to Roman Catholicism who resided in both localities. Thus in process of time it came about that the native Christians of both regions began to claim Mar Thomas as their common ancestor.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century the splendours of the Mogul Court had acquired a fabulous reputation throughout the far West, and to share in its prosperity, there crowded to it merchants from every clime. Among the motley throng that flocked thither, were numerous adventurers from Armenia. For many a year they throve; and, by carrying on a lucrative trade by land, brought much wealth into the mother country. But the time came when Shah Abbas the First,* a scion of the Royal House of Persia, determined upon making himself master of the uplands south of the Caucasus mountains. He accordingly led his war-men against the Turks, who then held sway over the country around Ararat, and redeemed Armenia from Turkish bondage. Arakiel Vartabid, in his *Contemporary History*, gives a graphic account of the conflict, and relates how Shah Abbas put to death the Haikan Prince. Not content with his conquest, the victor thrust twelve thousand Armenian families out of Ararat or Old Julpha, and compelled them to settle down in the outskirts of Ispahan. He committed them to the care of the Queen Mother in 1605, and called their suburb New Julpha.

But this act of tyranny had a commercial significance for

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* The exclamation "Shahbas!" is a corruption of Shah Abbas, and testified to the terror which the name of that monarch inspired. After the last Crusade, it will be remembered, the name of Richard, the Lion-Hearted, was used to intimidate children. "Hast thou seen the spirit of Richard?" enquired the Saracen of a horse that shied.

Shah Abbas. He rightly appreciated the mercantile instincts of his captives, and encouraged them to trade with India. Nor was he disappointed of his expectations; for when he died in 1629, he had the gratification of seeing that the glory of his reign, and the opulence of Ispahan, had been materially increased by the unwearying industry of his Armenian subjects.

Indeed, Shah Abbas' cupidity had been excited by the circumstance that, even while under the crushing power of the Turks, the Armenians were engaged in profitable traffic with the valley of the Indus and the basin of the Ganges. He saw with envy that they traded with the Malabar Coast on the one side, and with Venice on the other.[*] Such a race he knew would be a valuable acquisition, and he accordingly set himself to become their master. To what extent he succeeded has already been related.

When the East India Company set foot on Indian soil in 1601, they found that the Armenians who had sailed from Gombroom[†] were the most prosperous of foreign traders. They therefore welcomed the Armenians when the latter volunteered to connect themselves in commercial enterprise with the British at Surat.[‡] This Factory had been granted to the Company by a *firman* of the Emperor Jehangir, which was issued in January 1612. Having been in India for many years, and knowing the vernacular and current prices of products, the Armenians were invaluable agents, and, consequently, the servants of the Hon'ble Company were ever eager to engage them to negotiate business for them with the natives of the country.

Here must be interposed an account of Stephen, who belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Italian author of *Giuseppe de S Maria* relates that, in 1659, a Portuguese pinnace, returning from Mocha, brought to Cochin an Armenian merchant by name Stephen. His object in seeking the Malabar Coast was to invest in a cargo of pepper. His business took him into the interior of the Papist diocese of Cranganore, and it was in these parts that the *Cattanar*, Iti Thomas, found him. This functionary conducted the stranger to the Archdeacon, and, to serve a secret purpose, it is said they prevailed upon Stephen to announce that he was a deacon, and nephew to the Pope. Stephen, however, grew weary of the disguise, and determined upon returning to Mocha. He accordingly intimated his design to the Archdeacon, and asked him for the sum of money which he had entrusted to him. The prelate refused to restore the money. This angered Stephen, and he promptly threatened to disclose the deception which had been practised on the diocese. For this Iti Thomas was not prepared, and he speedily came to terms. He pacified Stephen with a liberal present of pepper and cinnamon, and bade him depart with his money. La Croze questions the veracity of this narrative, and regards it as a spiteful exaggeration of some trifling circumstance

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[*] In Venice the Armenians found a ready market for their Indian wares; so much so, that even to-day Indian manufactures are in Venice called 'Persiana."

[†] Gombroon, better known to navigators as Bunder Abbas, lies on the northern shore of the Gulf of Ormuz, latitude 27° 10″ N., and longitude 56° 17″ E. It is still the port of Shiraz

[‡] Surat still holds the ruins of some large and pretentious erections, the the largest of which is a pyramid thirty feet high. There are no inscriptions whatever to be seen. The remains of the ol[illegible] English factory in India can never cease to be full of interest.

But to resume the thread of this chapter. From Surat and Guzerat, the Armenians followed in the wake of the English to Benares and Patna. Their commercial intimacy with their British patrons obtained for them various indulgences at the hands of the Court at Delhi. Some of them were appointed to high offices in the Mogul Empire. Others became opulent merchants, and exercised no little influence over the *Umras.* In 1645, under the leadership of the Markar family, they attached themselves to the Dutch at Chinsurah. Twenty years subsequently to this date, the Emperor Aurungzeb issued a *firman* by which he granted them a tract of land at Sydabad, and gave them permission to form a settlement there. In course of time Sydabad grew to be a city of some importance, and in it was built the first Armenian Church.

The most trusted Armenian agent of the Hon'ble East India Company was Coja Phanoos Kalendar. Nothing is known of his birth or death; but that he came from New Julpha is very nearly certain. By personal ability and force of character, he came to be regarded as the representative of his fellow-countrymen; and on their behalf in 1688, he made political advances to the English. Hitherto the life and property of Armenians had been unprotected, and they suffered many serious disabilities. They did not participate in the benefits derived from compacts with Indian potentates. They were excluded from the application of Mahomedan Law, and were denied the assistance of civic authority. Their injuries they were powerless to resent, in as much as their position in the country was not supported by men-at-arms. Coja Phanoos Kalendar was quick to perceive that the only way out of their difficulties was to identify themselves with the British so completely that they should participate in all the concessions which the Great Mogul should grant the English. He made the accomplishment of this great scheme the one aim and object of his life; and he was rewarded with success. As a result of his representations, the Court of Directors conferred on him certain important personal privileges, and, while bestowing other benefits on the Armenians, issued the following order :—

> "Whenever forty or more of the Armenian Nation shall become inhabitants of any garrison, cities, or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall also be allotted to them a parcel of ground to erect a Church thereon for worship and service of GOD in their own way. And that we also will, at our own charge, cause a convenient Church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone, or other solid materials, to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein."
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> Given under the Company's Larger Seal, &c, June 22nd, 1688.

About this time the Company experienced much difficulty in obtaining soldiers for its Indian army, and many schemes were suggested for its recruitment. The following communication, which bears the date of February 29th, 1692, from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to "Our Deputy and Council of Bombay," testifies to the respect with which Coja Phanoos Kalendar was regarded, and to the extent to which the Armenians were trusted by the English :—

> "Stores of all kinds wee have sent you by this ship, the Modena, and what souldiers we could possibly procure. But it's very difficult to gett any at this time, while the King has occasion for such vast numbers of men in Flanders.* Among those we send great mortality has happened, as well in their passage out as after their arrival ; which has put us on discourse with the Armenian Christians here, to see if by their means wee could procure some private souldiers of their nation from Ispahan, which we should esteem, if we could gett them as good as English. Not that they have altogether the same courage which Englishmen have, but because by their conduct, they are now so united to the English nation, and particularly to this Company, that in effect, we and they have but one common interest. They are very near to our national and reformed religion, as sober, temperate men ; and know how to live in health in a hot climate. Coja Panous Kalendar tells us it will be difficult to gett any considerable number of them to be souldiers, they are so universally addicted to trade ; but some few, he thinks, may be picked up at Suratt, and he will write to his friends at Julpa to see if they can persuade any from thence to come to you, to make an experiment of their entertainment, and of their liking or dislike of the service."

The same letter, in another part, continues :

> "If you can procure any Armenian Christians to be souldiers, we doe allow you to give them the same pay as our English souldiers, and Forty shillings gratuity and the charge of their passage from Gombroon to Bombay. We would not have above fifty or sixty in our pay at one time ; and if you had the like number of Madagascar slaves to teach the exercise of arms and to do some inferor duty

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* King William III was at this time engaged in a war with France. The struggle was chiefly carried on in the Spanish Netherlands. Peace was restored in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick.

> under our English souldiers, being listed upon an English Captaine, kept in a Company by themselves after the Dutch manner, and allowing them a competent proportion of rice, a red capp and red coat, and some other trifles to please them, not having above fifty or sixty at a time, and they never to have the custody of their own armes, we hope such a contrivance might be a good auxiliary aid to our garrison, especially when English souldiers are scarce, and some Ballance of power. For take it as an infallible constant rule, that the more Castes. the more safety and the less danger of mutiny . . . . . We know there is a necessity for increasing our English souldiers, and we will do it as soone and as much. as we possibly can. In the mean time Armenian Christians, if you could have them, are the very best men to be trusted; and, next to them, Madagascar Coffrees."

The East India Company was ever anxious to keep on the best of terms with the Amenians, as it was through them that English goods were pushed into remote regions. In 1694 the Indian Governor made a propo al to the Court of Directors for starting purely English Agencies in various parts of the country. The following extract from the reply furnished, plainly concedes that Armenians were essential to British success:

September 13, 1695.—" Multan and Scindy are brave provinces for many sorts of extraordinary, good and cheap commodities; but whenever the Company shall be induced to settle factories in those provinces, or any other way think to arrive at trade with them, otherwise than by Armenians, they should infallibly come off with great loss."

Meanwhile the Armenians in the Dutch factory at Chinsurah continued to flourish. In 1695 Johannes Markar laid there the foundations of a National Church, and the sacred building was completed by his brother Joseph, in 1697. A mural tablet near the altar bears an inscription in the Armenian language, which may be thus rendered into English:

Interred here lieth
CATCHICK,
Son of Petrus, an Armenian of Julfa of the land of Sosh. He was honored by the favor of Kings Before dying in this alien clime, to perpetuate his memory, he raised this
Holy Church,
And dedicated it to St. John the Baptist, 1697.

Another *In Memoriam* marble, to Johannes Markar, the pious founder of the Holy Church of St. John, is worthy of transcription:—

Buried here lies the famous Garib
COJA JOHANNES
Son of Markar, an Armenian of Julfa, of the town of Sosh.
He was a considerable merchant,
And was honored by the favor of Kings and of their Viceroys.
He travelled north, south, east and west,
And died suddenly at Hugli in Hindustan,
November the 7th, 1697.

When, in 1689, Job Charnock founded Calcutta, he invited Armenians to the new factory, and promised them the full accomplishment of the concessions of 1688. Many responded to his overtures, and congregated at the northern extremity of the settlement. This circumstance is still chronicled in the names "Armenian Ghaut" and "Armenian Street." Here they made themselves extremely useful to the British, and afforded an excellent medium through which the English reached the native markets. They enjoyed the privileges of British citizens, and several of them rose to positions of wealth and influence.

About the year 1720, Kenanentch Phanoos, in all probability a son of Coja Phanoos Kalendar, was permitted by letters patent to purchase the ground in Calcutta, whereon the Church of St. Nazareth now stands. Hitherto the Armenians had worshipped one hundred yards to the south of this spot, in a Chapel, which, in 1689, had been built for them by the Hon'ble Company, in accordance with the agreement of 1688 already alluded to. The land purchased by Kenanentch was originally used as a cemetery. But in 1724 it became evident that the old Chapel was too small for its increased congregation, and subscriptions were raised for the erection of a more enduring and commodious edifice. Aga Nazar took the lead in this pious work, and summoned from Persia an architect by the name of Gavond, to design and complete the sacred edifice. The site chosen was the land purchased by Kenanentch, and before long the Church of St. Nazareth was ready for consecration. The Dedication Service was conducted with much ecclesiastical ceremony, and was made the occasion of great national rejoicing. The building fund did not permit of a steeple being erected, but this deficiency was in 1734 supplied by the Huzurmal family.

Previous to this date the Armenians had rapidly grown into importance by reason of their aptitude for commerce. They were indispensable to the English in every matter involving transactions with the natives. They had an excellent understanding with the people of the country, and were entirely familiar with the local vernaculars. Their mode of living brought them into friendly contact with bazar dealers and produce brokers. Their knowledge of the geography of the country, coupled with their shrewdness in business, rendered them valuable allies in political and commercial measures. For instance, in 1715 it was found expedient to make certain overtures to the Mogul Emperor. Two of the Company's factors, Stephenson and Surman, were entrusted with the negotiations, and set out on their mission to Delhi. They were conducted to that city by Coja Sarhaud, an Armenian merchant of eminence, who was associated with them in the important embassy. The envoys reached their destination on the 8th of July, after a journey of three months. But the way to the throne was by no means easy. They experienced many difficulties, and were particularly distressed by delays arising from the unwillingness of Mogul officials to present them to the Emperor Ferok Shah. The bribes the courtiers required for arranging for an interview were considerable. But what money failed to accomplish was brought about by an unexpected cause. The Emperor fell dangerously ill, and sent for Dr. Hamilton—the physician who had been attached to the embassy—to treat him. The English doctor effected a cure, and this happy circumstance not only expedited the presentation of the Company's Petition, but also inclined the Great Mogul to consider it favourably. It prayed that "the cargoes of English ships, wrecked on the Mogul's coast, should be protected from plunder; that a fixed sum should be received at Surat in lieu of all duties; that three villages, contiguous to Madras, which had been granted, and again resumed by the Government of Arcot, should be restored in perpetuity; that the port of Diu, near the port of Masulipatam should be given to the Company for an annual rent; that all persons in Bengal who might be indebted to the Company, should be delivered up to the presidency on the first demand; that a passport (*dustuck*) signed by the President of Calcutta should exempt the goods which it specified from stoppage or examination by the Officers of the Bengal Government; and that the Company should be permitted to purchase the Zemindarship of thirty-seven towns in the same manner as they had been authorized by Azeem-oos-Shaun to purchase Calcutta, Suttanaty and Govindpore." In the presentation of the petition, Coja Sarhand rendered important services. He acted as interpreter, and explained the various points in the document which the Emperor desired should be elucidated. After some further delay the patents were issued under the highest authority, and the envoy took leave of the Emperor in the month of July 1717.

In Southern India we find traces of Armenian prosperity. One of the foremost public men of Madras in the first half of the last century was Coja Pogose. This eminent patriot was deservedly celebrated for his liberality towards his countrymen, and for the active share he took in every good work. He left his native town of New Julfa while yet a young man, and engaged in trade with the Malabar coast. He acquired great riches, and settled down in Madras as his head-quarters. He was deeply touched by the many trials which fell to the lot of the poorer Armenians that had ventured into India, and his most cherished desire was to devise means for their succour. The full measure of success with which his commercial efforts had been blessed, placed him in a position to give whatever aid could flow from largesses, and his charity was literally without stint. He established a feeling of brotherhood between the rich and poor from the home country, and by many labours of love he earned for himself the enviable surname of Father. He zealously worked for the spread of Christianity, and was largely instrumental in building the Armenian Church at Madras. He died in the seventieth year of his life, and his tomb may still be seem in the churchyard of Vepery in that city. The grave is covered with a single slab of stone, and beneath carvings of two skulls, with a heart between them, may be read this inscription :—

> Elata ſama in auras, interque nubila caput condens, hic ingressus solo, Iacet discordium Conciliator, iurgiorum Placator, Armeniorum Fautor, Columenque firmum, indigentium Præsidium, fervidumque Tutamen, Impendiosus, largusque Refector, in Divina, Ædesque sacras propagando haud perparci strenuus impense
>
> PETRUS USCAN DE COIA POGUS.
>
> Armenius, Cuius cor, Iulſæ. Annos natus 70, evicta cecessit, 15 Ianuarii, 1751.

When the Nizam-ul-mulk left the Court of Delhi, and returned to his own Government of the Deccan, he found himself called upon to settle the troubled affairs obtaining in the Carnatic. He arrived at Arcot, his capital, in March 1743, and determined upon restoring order, by appointing a man of strong personality and decision, Governor of the province. Casting about for the fittest man to rule the district, his choice fell on Coja Abdulla. This Armenian soldier had already distinguished himself in the Nizam's army, and had been promoted to the rank of General. But the warrior-statesman died suddenly—it is suspected of poison—before he could enter upon his high duties in the Carnatic.

Certain Armenians—accredited leaders of their community—appear to have played an important part in the incidents that gathered round the eventful years 1756-57. It is not necessary here to relate the tale of the conflicts which culminated in the terrible tragedy of the Black Hole. But Holwell tells us that he was careful to cultivate the friendship of Coja Petruse, who was a man of wide influence. Holwell conferred with him on the 24th September 1756, and urged him to win over the hostile Kasim Ali Khan. By his mediation this dangerous Nawab was conciliated to the English, and was by them created Diwan in succession to Mir Jafir Ali. Petruse, however, for some reason yet unknown, changed his attitude, and went over to the camp of the enemy. This was the more to be regretted at a time when a crisis was drawing on. He was intimately acquainted with every particular regarding the strength designs and difficulties of the English, and his presence in the ranks of their foes was far from re-assuring. Of him Holwell writes—"The Armenian ministers of the revolution, Cojah Petruse and Kojah Gregory, are in the highest degree of favour with the Nabob and his adherents; the former resides in Calcutta, retained by Kasim Ali Khan, a known spy upon upon every transaction of the English, of which he never fails to give his master the most regular intelligence, as was too apparent to both Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, when they were at Patna. The latter of these Armenians has posts of the greatest trust near the Nabob's person; and through the means of these men, the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in this country, and carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts, and commit daily acts of violence, which reflect no small odium on the English, who are supposed to encourage their proceedings."

It is pleasant to know that the bulk of Armenians remained loyal to the English during the disasters of 1756—disasters which were materially hastened by such men as Petruse and Gregory. Their Church of St. Nazareth was much disfigured in the general pillage that marked the sack of Calcutta by Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah. Indeed the Armenian settlers in the factory—on account of their reputed riches—became the especial prey of the Nawab's rapacity, and many of them purchased their lives dearly by opening their coffers to the Subha. They were tortured to extort from them treasures that were concealed; but none of them were thrust into the Black Hole. When, however, Clive and Watson avenged the massacre there perpetrated, and turned the tide of battle against the tyrant of Bengal, a sum of Rs. 70,00,000 was wrung from him, and given to the Armenians as compensation for the serious losses they had sustained while under the protection of English colours.

During the interval between the sack of Calcutta and the arrival of the Army of Retribution from Madras, Holwell and his fellow-captives were taken under durance to Murshidabad. The Armenian residents of the city, and particularly Aga Manuel Satoor, treated the unfortunate prisoners with kindness, and did much to exhibit their sympathy.

There was yet another traitor. Coja Wazeed—a man of good family and rank. and with the reputation of a blameless character—was detected in an intrigue against the Company. He possibly thought that the capture of Calcutta had for ever doomed the prospects of the English in Bengal, and that he had better, before it was too late, throw in his lot with the winning side. At any rate he actually negotiated with Siraj-ud-Dowlah a scheme by which the Nawab was to obtain the marched from Murshidabad to Chinsurah, and captured, on the way, the recreant Coja Wazeed. He was brought to Fort William under a strong guard, and incarcerated, and before long he died under his confinement.

In 1790 the Church of St. Nazareth at Calcutta was considerably embellished and improved by Aga Catchick Arakiel, a great grandson of Phanoo Kalendar. It is recorded of this eminent man, that when he heard of the recovery of King George the Third, in 1789, from an ailment that had threatened to be fatal, he celebrated the occasion by releasing from the presidency gaol all prisoners incarcerated for debt, by paying the amounts for which they had been imprisoned. The incident was brought to the notice of the King, and he marked his appreciation of the loyalty and devotion of his Armenian subject, by sending him through the Honorable Court of Directors, a portrait of himself in miniature. Aga Catchick Arakiel was reasonably proud of the royal gift, and wore it suspended at his breast for the rest of his life. In later years his son was in the habit of decorating himself with the treasured heir-loom, whenever he attended the levee of the Governor-General. Arakiel died in 1790, and the following inscription, on a black marble tablet in St. Nazareth's Church, bears ample testimony to his private virtues and public benefactions :—

Sacred to the Memory of the late
CATCHICK ARAKIEL, ESQ.
Whose patriotism endowed this Church with a splendid clock
The parochial building, and the surrounding walls.
Gratefully inscribed by the
Armenian Community of Calcutta,
Anno Donimi, 1837.

Exegi monumentum ære perennius.

On Sunday, the 25th July, 1790,
Departed this life that highly respectable and worthy character,
MR. CATCHICK ARAKIEL,
An Armenian merchant of the first rank and eminence in Calcutta,
And the head and principal of the Armenian nation in Bengal.
The goodness, humanity and benevolence of this man towards all mankind,
His liberal spirit in contributing to the public welfare on every occasion,
The affability of his deportment, and friendly disposition to all,
Were distinguished traits of his character;
And he was so warmly and gratefully attached to the English nation,
That he was continually heard to express his happiness, and a sense of his
Fortunate lot, in living under their Government.

He possessed the regard of the whole settlement, unsullied by the enmity
Of a single individual.
Among his own beloved nation, the Armenians, he was looked up to as a
Guide and director in all their difficulties and disputes, which he
Was ever studious to settle with paternal affection,

A curious light is thrown on the condition of Armenian literature in India by a letter written by Johannes Lasser in 1814; "At Calcutta," he writes, "an Armenian Bible cannot be purchased under 60 or 70 rupees; and so great is the scarcity, that it is not procurable even at that price, except on the decease of a gentleman, and the sale of his books. The copy which I possess could not be purchased under 120 rupees."

About this time it began to be generally felt, that something should be done in the direction of establishing a school for the exclusive benefit of Armenian children. Hitherto they had been but little instructed in their mother-tongue, and were, for the most part, ignorant of the history of the country from which their ancestors came to India. These evils it was determined to remedy. Funds would, of necessity, be needed to open a seminary, but there already existed a convenient nucleus of Rs. 8,000, which had been bequeathed by Astwa-chatoor Mooratkhan in 1797. All that was now requisite was that some one should seriously take in hand the collection of subscriptions. To this work Manatsaken Varden applied himself, and early in 1821 he had raised a sum exceeding Rs. 2,00,000. Accordingly the Armenian Philanthropic Academy was set on foot "for the education of our youth, both rich and poor." It was located at 358 Old China Bazar, and had both a boys' and a girls' department. The girls' branch was subsequently closed; but the Academy still continues its useful work at 39 Free School Street. The following is copied from a marble tablet* in the school:—

Sacred to the Memory of MANATSAKEN VARDEN, Esq.,
This Tablet is erected by the
Members of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy at Calcutta,
in acknowledgment of the high esteem and veneration in which he was held by their community, for his virtues in social life, and zeal in behalf of the education and welfare of his countrymen, and in which he was at all times ready equally with his purse and heart, and by his means, as well as the donations of other benevolent Armenians
FOUNDED THIS PHILANTHROPIC ACADEMY,
Which dates its existence from the 2nd April 1821.
Born at Julpha in Ispahan, on the 6th September 1772.
Died at Sydabad in Moorshidabad on the 14th October 1823.

Care was also taken to provide locally for the publication of Armenian books. A quantity of type was imported, and a printing press was attached to the Academy. Among other books that issued from it were "A Catechism of the Church of Armenia," of which two editions were prepared in 1827; "A Short History of the Bible," in twenty-two parts, being a reprint of the St. Petersburg edition of 1785. In 1843 the press printed a book of 85 pages, entitled "Rules and Regulations of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy," which is of special interest, from the "Forms of Prayer for the Pupils of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy" which is appended to it. It should here be mentioned that the printing press of Bishop's College published, from 1835 to 1845, several works in Armenian.

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* When last seen by the writer, this tablet, as also that to the memory of Astwachatoor Mooratkhan, lay on the floor of a *godown* pertaining to the Academy, to which both had been relegated with a quantity of damaged school furniture.

On the 7th of April 1828, "The Araratian Library"* was inaugurated at the Philanthropic Academy. It was open to the Armenian community, and for many years was in a flourishing condition. In 1842 it had on its shelves "one thousand standard works in Armenian, Greek, Latin, French, Dutch, Persian, Chinese, and other Oriental and Occidental languages." The Armenian books were enriched by some valuable manuscripts of ancient authors.

In 1820 the charitably disposed among the Armenian community, provided an Alms House for the shelter of their indigent co-religionists. Large sum of money have from time to time been bequeathed to it, and it still continues to perform the eleemosynary duties for which it was designed.

The Armenian population of Calcutta has been irregular:

Year.	Males.	Females	Total.
1815	272	208	480
1835	?	?	505
1837	465	171	636
1891	142	88	230

• These figures have been obtained, for 1815, from an official record, for 1835 from Avdall's reckoning, for 1837 from the Census by Captain Birch, Superintendent of Police, and for 1891 from the Government Census of that year. It will be observed that there is a marked difference between the Armenian population of 1815 and 1891. The falling off is to be accounted for by the fact that the people concerned have dispersed themselves in outlying stations. The decrease in their numbers in Calcutta represents a corresponding increase in the rural districts, and here, by being merchants and petty traders, they continue to follow the traditions of their ancestors.

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* These dates bring the account of Armenians in India into dangerous proximity to the present time. But it should be stated, that, as a matter of fact, there are now in the Academy only faint traces of both the Printing Press and the Araratian Library. A few pounds of Armenian type remain, but not a single manuscript. The books that had outlived the ravages of vermin were, when last seen, in a pitiable state of neglect.

The years between 1829 and 1836 were filled with a feeling of insecurity as to rights and privileges. In 1830, J. W. Ricketts sailed to England with the East Indians' Petition to the House of Commons, in which the Memorialists explained the serious disabilities under which they laboured in respect of the most important needs of every-day life. They were entirely destitute of any rule of civil law. They were not included in the term "British subject," and consequently were denied the benefits of the laws of England. By professing the Christian religion they were excluded from the protection of Hindu or Mahomedan civil law, while they were visited by the rigours of the Mahomedan criminal code. They were debarred from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine service of the East India Company. They were disqualified from holding Commissions in the British Indian army, and were shut out of even subordinate employments in Judicial, Revenue and Police Departments. From these hardships the petition begged for release. In reply to its prayers—when in 1832 a new Charter was granted to the Company—the *Lex Loci* Act was passed, and in the Charter was inserted a clause, that no one should be excluded from any office because of his creed or colour. This was so far a satisfactory result of what is known as the East Indian Movement of 1829 By the Armenian settlers in India the *Lex Loci* Act was regarded as a distinct gain, for in the rights and liberties which the East Indians had secured they expected that they too were included. But between that community and themselves there was still a vast difference. East Indians were descendants of the British, and as such continued to have many advantages. Armenians were aliens in the land, and were under the penalties arising out of the Alien Law of England. The most serious consequence to them was that, as aliens, their land and houses were not conveyable by Deed or Will to heirs, but might be resumed by the Company from whom their property had originally been purchased. This was a condition of things far from desirable. Not that the Alien Law had, in any instance, been put into force; but the possibility of its being brought into operation, whenever convenient to the English, was not pleasant to contemplate. Indeed, the Armenians were justified in regarding their danger in this direction as something more than a simple grievance. They viewed it in the light of a glaring breach of the promises made to them at a time when the earlier factors of the Company were eager to offer them every inducement to join the English in their factories and garrisons. It was not a case of a mere verbal understanding, for there had been given to them a written treaty and contract. The same compact which in 1688 granted them a site upon which to build their church in English settlements, further stipulated in its third Article: "That they (the Armenian nation) shall have liberty to live in any of the Company's cities, garrisons or towns in India; and to buy, sell and purchase land and houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments, in the same manner as if they were Englishmen born; and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare that we will not continue any Governor in our service that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them; neither shall they pay any other greater duty in India than the Company's factors, or any other Englishman born do, or ought to do."

On the strength of these solemn assurances, and with a confidence in the integrity of the English nation, the Armenians had liberally invested the profits of their commerce in lands and houses. True, the Treaty of 1688 did not forensically possess all the binding force of an International Act, for it had been negotiated with a single individual of a race which had ceased to exist as a political nation. But it had gathered validity by the sanction of usage. It had, for nearly a century regulated the scale of duty on the trade of Armenian merchants at the Company's settlements and dependencies. It had never been called into question by any of the Company's officers. Whether binding or not as a treaty, this much at any rate was certain, that it had been held out by the Company to encourage the resort and settlement of Armenian traders. Upon such an invitation and guarantee they had begun, and continued to emigrate to British Indian towns and garrisons from various parts of Asia. They had there traded and tilled the land. They had become builders and proprietors. They acknowledged with gratitude the uniform protection and kindness which they had ever received under the Company's rule. Yet they hoped that they had shown themselves not unworthy of the favours that had been shown to them. Of the numberless tribes and races that had successively placed themselves within the pale of British dominion, none, they trusted, had evinced more loyal attachment, or given less occasion for the exercise of either coercive or penal measures. They had gained for themselves the reputation of a peaceable people, and had, on no occasion been a source of anxiety to the Company. They felt that they had something of a claim on the good will and consideration of the English, for the resort of Armenians to the British settlements in the various parts of India was coeval with the very establishment of those settlements. They did not forget that the first important Firman of the Imperial Court of Delhi to the East India Company, had been procured by the agency of Sarhaud. The connexion, thus begun with a sense of mutual obligation, had been cemented by the instrument of solemn compact with Coja Phanoos Kalendar—a compact that had been ratified under the hands of the Governor and Directors, and by the common seal of the Company. Entirely trusting in the *bona-fides* of that treaty, they had, without restriction or question, purchased, enjoyed and transmitted real property within British territories and settlements, never doubting their legal right so to do—pinning their faith, as they did, to the treaty with Kalendar.

But now, in 1826, they were rudely awakened from their dream of security. The blow came from the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and was delivered, on the 29th December 1826, in the judgment in the common law case of Doe on the demise of Panchelette *vs.* Stansbury. Six years later the note of warning was sounded more distinctly, by the decree in the consolidated equity suits respecting the Will of Lieutenant-General Martin. This decree—after two laboured arguments—"solemnly determined that the Alien Law of England, attaches to all lands within the local limits of Calcutta." But what finally roused Armenians to realize the slender hold they had over their property, was a later decree, pronounced on the 10th of May 1836, in the same Martin causes, by which the principle as to Alien Law was declared to regulate land, not only in the local limits of Calcutta, but also in the provinces.

Under these circumstances the leaders of Armenian society in Calcutta, met in consultation as to what steps should be taken to improve the conditions under which they held their valuable properties in English possessions. But one course seemed open, and that was to represent their grievance to the Governor-General, and seek at his hands an alteration in the laws which pressed so unfairly upon them. Accordingly, in November of 1836, a deputation, consisting of Messrs M. C. Arrakiel, A. Apcar, M. Gasper, I. H. Arathoon, I. G. Bagram, and Johannes Avdall, waited upon Lord Auckland with "The Armenian Petition." Mr. Arathoon was spokesman, and, in presenting the memorial, he introduced it with a few relevant remarks. The opening clauses of the Petition referred in general terms to the cordial relations that had always existed between Armenians and the English, and described under what circumstances they had been drawn to the English, and rehearsed the various specific agreements which had been made with them by the Company. For over a century and a half they had lived in British towns and garrisons without any fear or uncertainty regarding the degree to which they had claim to their real property in the settlements. But now, they continued, grave misgivings had been caused them by the fact, that the Supreme Court of Calcutta had decreed that the Alien Law of England had force in India. The Petition then went on to explain :—

> "The above principle, if acted upon, must inevitably throw into jeopardy nearly the whole of your Petitioners' real property For your Petitioners are advised, that by the English Alien Law, real property, originally purchased by an alien-born, is claimable by the Crown though it may have passed through several successive generations or purchases—moveover, that your Petitioners are liable, out of the rest of their property, to indemnify purchasers for the whole value of all real property acquired and subsequently sold by their fathers or forefathers of alien-birth. Thus, not only their real property is brought into hazard, but their personality is also in serious danger. On the part of the Crown the proof will be simple, for the fact of the alien-birth will in most cases appear on the face of their Wills or Title Deeds ; and even should the forebearance of the Crown leave them in the enjoyment of their real property, yet the defect of title, unless remedied by some legislative Act, will render that property altogether unsaleable, and disable your Petitioners from ever enforcing a contract of sale against a purchaser.
>
> Your Petitioners are indeed advised, that all persons, wheresoever born, who were actually settled in the territory at the time of its conquest or acquisition by the Crown of Great Britain, became immediate denizens, and capable of holding, and thereafter acquiring and transmitting lands of inheritance to others, who were themselves either natives of the territory or denizens—and in this right, so much of your Petitioners' real property as may have been derived from persons entitled to such right of denizenship, would be protected against claims of the Crown. But the proportion that could be traced to such a source is very inconsiderable, and even this ground of protection is involved in the greatest doubt and uncertainty by the absence of any declaration or adjudication of the precise period at which each portion of territory was acquired by the Crown of Great Britain ; which makes it utterly impossible to ascertain, with any certainty, whether a father or forefather was a denizen or not.
>
> That your Petitioners are fully aware, that this newly-declared Alien Law affects other classes as well as themselves ; and that the lands of Jaghirdars, though granted by the Government itself for actual services in war, or otherwise, are obnoxious to the claim of the Crown, whenever the first grantee was alien-born—that lands acquired by an alien-born Arab or Persian, by a native of Lucknow or of Hyderabad, are equally claimable by the Crown as those of alien-born Armenians ; in short that the ruin which hangs over their own heads is equally imminent over most of those around them. For, as to the lands within Calcutta, it will be found, that there are very few parcels which have not at some time, within the last sixty years, been owned by persons of alien-birth. But your Petitioners humbly submit, that Armenians alone can appeal to the terms of a solemn compact or agreement, which induced them to become settlers, and of which this doctrine is a direct violation :—they alone, in addition to the plea of hardship and surprise, can urge that of the plighted faith of the Company in India and in Europe also, and can appeal for relief on the double ground of justice and compassion.
>
> That besides the alarm and perplexity into which the promulgation of the English alien law has thrown your Petitioners, they beg to submit to your Lordship's consideration the precarious condition in which

they stand with respect to the law of inheritance and succession to property. Within the limits of the jurisdiction of the King's Court, they have hitherto been uniformly dealt with, in this particular, by the rules of English law. In cases of intestacy, their property has been administered to by next of kin, by creditors, and by the Registrar of the Court, like that of deceased British subjects ; dower has been assigned to widows of Armenians, out of lands both within and without the local limits of the Court's jurisdiction, and the law of primogeniture has been acted upon invariably. But, in the Courts of the Company, no settled rule of law whatever has prevailed in respect to the inheritance and succession to property of deceased Armenians. While some of the Company's Judges follow the course of the King's Court, and adopt the rules of English law, others hold themselves bound to act upon their individual notion of equity, pursuant to the terms of Regulations VII of 1832, section 9 ; and others bewilder themselves in the vain endeavour to discover the law of Armenian ecclesiastics, whose legal knowledge, where they have any, is limited to the bare rudiments of the canon law. Your Lordship will readily conceive what insecurity and litigation must ensue from the want of a common standard, and from the admission of many conflicting principles to act upon property situated within the same dominion. Although the rule of natural equity, administered by common sense and integrity, may be competent to the adjustment of most matters of dealing, and contract between man and man, the inheritance and accession to property has in all civilized nations been made a matter of positive law whether written or traditional. And, as Armenians have ceased to be a nation since the year of our Lord 1375, and no trace of their own law is now to be discovered, your Petitioners humbly submit that the law of England is the only one that can, upon any sound principles, be permitted to prevail, and that it is moreover the law which was promised to Armenians at the time of their settlement in the country.

That—in addition to the two important particulars above-mentioned, the one of which endangers the very existence of their property, the other throws into confusion the succession and inheritance to it—your Petitioners have daily experience of the anomalous position in which they are regarded by the Courts of the Presidency. In the course of the present year, an attempt was made in the Zillah Court of Dacca to annul a marriage between two native born Armenians, though it had been duly solemnized in the face of the Armenian Church, with the consent of relatives on both sides. (The proceedings in that matter will show in the Sudder Dewanny Adalut.) Your Petitioners have no security against the recurrence of similar experiments in other Zillahs, and are totally unable to obtain any information by what, if any, rule of law their marriages will be adjudicated upon in the Courts of the Mofussil, when the English law is by Regulation VII of 1832 expressly reprobated. Even in the King's Court a case is now pending as to lands in the Mofussil, of which an Armenian lady, a native of Bengal, and the wife of a British subject, died possessed ; in which the question is, whether they are subject to the English rules of descent, or to any, and what other. In matters of contract and of criminal jurisdiction, Your Petitioners are in the Courts of the Mofussil dealt with on the principles of Mohammadan law, though in some particulars quite at variance with the habits and understanding of Christians.

In fine, Your Petitioners although so warmly and gratefully attached to the British rule under which they have prospered now for a century and a half, and utterly unconscious of having done anything to forfeit the good opinion that prompted the flattering terms of invitation under which Armenians came into the country, and continued for upwards of a century to enjoy all the consideration that a party of civil rights with natives of Great Britain was calculated to give, find their confidence of security suddenly disturbed; their property exposed to imminent hazard; and their civil rights involved in the greatest perplexity; and they have no hope of remedy, but from the wisdom and justice of Your Lordship in Council To these they present their earnest prayer—

That some measures in consistence with the compact or treaty hereinbefore mentioned, may be devised without loss of time, to secure Your Petitioners from the ruinous consequences of the introduction of the English Alien Law into India without qualification; to fix the law of Aliens for the future upon definite principles, and such as are suitable to the country and of society; to declare the right in which the Armenians, whether born within the territory or mere settlers in it, shall in future stand before the law, specially in the important particulars of marriage, inheritance and succession to property; and to restore them the enjoyment of their rights and privileges held out to them by the treaty and compact above-mentioned and of which, for a long course of years, they were prevented to avail themselves; or that, if your Lordship in Council does not feel competent to grant the prayer of Your Petitioners without a reference to authorities in England, that you will be pleased to give that reference all the weight which the previous sanction and recommendation of Your Lordship in Council will confer.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

The Governor-General gave the deputation a patient and courteous hearing, and observed that it was beyond the power of his Government to interfere in a matter such as the Alien Law of England. Still he hoped that in the course of a few months that question would be settled to the satisfaction of the Memorialists. As to the other grievances set forth in the Petition, he was bound to say, that a representation from so respectable a class as the Armenians of Calcutta was entitled to every attention, and he was sure that his Council would give due consideration to the several plaints which it embraced. What the ultimate and practical result of the Petition was, it is not easy to discover.

With this incident in the history of Armenians in India, the present paper must conclude. There are now in Calcutta and elsewhere many well-to-do families whose ancestors came from New Julpha. To tell the story of how, by personal merit and unwearying effort, they have attained their position of opulence and honor, would be to relate much of a deeply-interesting nature. But the delicacy of the task forbids its being essayed, and so

> "The torch shall be extinguish'd which hath lit
> My midnight lamp—and what is writ, is writ,—
> Would it were worthier!"

HERBERT A. STARK, B. A.

ART. VIII.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

X.

(Continued from the Calcutta Review for October 1893.)

HOOGHLY DURING THE TIME OF THE QUEEN'S RULE.

THE storm of the Mutiny was followed by a calm. No retributive measures were adopted to avenge the shocking cruelties which had been perpetrated by the rebels. The divine spirit of forgiveness prevailed, and peace was proclaimed throughout India on the 8th July 1859. This peace, heralded as it was by trophies of war, had also trophies of its own to boast of. Several important reforms were effected in the matter of the general administration of the country. The hitherto unsettled relation of landlord and tenant was placed on a permanent basis. The procedure for the trial of Civil Suits was improved and arranged in logical order. People, with old claims, were roused from their lethargy,* and, as a consequence, the Courts were flooded with suits, so that even the humblest member of the legal profession was agreeably surprised at the sudden increase in his income. An old friend of ours, who has deservedly led the local bar for a considerable period, tells us, that, although it was only the beginning of his forensic career, he made a mint of money during that millennium for Bengal lawyers, and laid the foundation of his future fortune. In the midst of this unprecedented activity, the Collector had his burden of business considerably increased. Hitherto the offices of Magistrate and Collector had been held by two different persons ; but this being found neither necessary nor convenient, the two offices were combined. The order sanctioning the union was passed in 1859, but it was not carried into effect till the year following, when Mr. C. S. Belli, † the son of Mr. W H. Belli, was appointed to the dual office. The Bellis are not likely to be forgotten in the district, the one heading its Collectors, the other its Magistrate-Collectors. This time, Mr. Belli was in charge of the District only for a year and odd months, but he did not leave it for good, as he again came to rule it in the same capacity a few years later. The people loved him, especially for the sake of his father, and he, on his part, took good care not to abuse their love. Indeed, if the son was not equally popular with the sire, he was only second to him in that respect.

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* The Mahomedan statute-book does not contain any law for the limitation of actions. According to it, lapse of time, however long; does not bar any claim which is otherwise good.

† This gentleman rose to be a District Judge, in which capacity he distinguished himself in Rajshye, and earned well-deserved popularity. While he was in Hooghly, he was commonly known as "Chota Belli."

While Mr. C. S. Belli was in charge of the District, a great change came over the criminal administration of the country. This was the passing of the famous Act XLV[*] which is better known as the Indian Penal Code. It had been drafted by the celebrated Thomas Babington Macaulay as far back as 1837[†], but it did not receive the assent of the Governor-General till the 6th October 1860. Hitherto, the Mahomedan law, bristling as it did with barabarous punishments, had been in force. The new Code did not come upon the public as a very agreeable surprise, but even its bitterest opponent could not deny that it was leniency itself compared with the cruel law which it superseded. Severe as some of its provisions were, it was principally a preventive measure, as criminal codes generally are, the object of the Legislature being that, except in extreme cases, which crop up only rarely, the maximum punishments provided for by it should not be inflicted. It was intended to be viewed rather in the light of a Damocles' sword than that of a Procrustes' bed : it is something like a scarecrow set up more to prevent a breach of the law, than to punish it to its fullest extent.

President Washington used to say, 'that to be always ready for war is the best way of preventing it.' The object which the wise code-makers had in view was something of the same sort.

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[*] This Act, although it was passed in 1860, did not take effect until the 1st May 1861.

[†] The Bill, on its first promulgation, met with bitter opposition from the Press. A writer in the *Hurkaru* thus begins a letter, bearing date the 19th January 1838. "The Code of Penal Law just promulgated, is so replete with absurdity, that one would suppose it to be rather a burlesque on legislation than a reality." Then, pointing out some supposed absurdities, he concludes his tirade with a final fling at "lucky Tom's" departure from India. As the conclusion is quite of a piece with the commencement, we will quote it also for the delectation of our readers: "Truly," says this Thersites, "Mr. Macaulay does wisely to run away from his Code; a more childish piece of insanity was never put together. He had 'done his job,' and the Macaulay job is the most flagrant. A code of law ! a legislator !

Little Bo—peep
Has lost her sheep,
And cannot tell where to find him,
Let him alone,
He'll soon go home
And leave his Code behind him."

But, condemned and laughed at as it was in the beginning, Macaulay's code has proved to be an excellent piece of legislation. He, however, did not live to see it permanently placed on the Indian Statute-Book, as he was cut off, in the midst of his brilliant career, in 1859, a year which deprived English literature and Indian history of two other most worthy workers in Washington Irving and Mountstuart Elphinstone.

But although the code was passed in 1860,* it took some time for the general public to learn that such a terrible instrument had been introduced into the legal arsenal. The Mofussil people being for the most part ignorant, and law being quite foreign to their ordinary pursuits, it is no wonder that it was long before its stringent provisions came to the notice of the villagers† ; the criminal list of the district for the year was a heavy one and contained offences of divers descriptions. But there was one case which was unique in its character. It was a charge of culpable-homicide brought by a native named Hoshein Buksh against one Mr. T. Morrel. The accused was committed by the Joint Magistrate, Mr. R. V. Cockerell,‡ and was tried by the then Sessions Judge, Mr. C. P. Hobhouse. The charge was brought home to the prisoner by good legal evidence, but the Judge did not think it necessary to inflict a severer punishment than a fine of Rs. 500.

Reforms in criminal law were followed up by reforms in other directions. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1861, establishing High Courts of Judicature in India. In pursuance of this Act, Letters Patent were issued on the 14th May 1862, constituting the High Court of Judicature for the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William in supersession of the old Supreme and Sudder Courts. The new

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* This memorable year also witnessed the well-known Indigo crisis, in which the founder and first editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* so much distinguished himself by his able advocacy of the cause of the weak ryots as against the powerful Planters.

Surely it would be sheer cruelty to apply the well-known legal maxim about the non-excusableness of the ignorance of law to the common people of this country.

† To add to the sufferings of the people of Lower Bengal, the much dreaded Burdwan Fever, as it was called, appeared with all its horrors this year. It visited Chakdaha, whence it extended along the east bank of the river, in a southerly direction down to Kanchrapara, Halishahar, Naihati, and other places. Then, suddenly appearing at Tribeni on this side of the river, it spread like wildfire along the west bank to Kalna in the Burdwan District. In 1861, it broke out with redoubled fury : Dwarbashini was nearly depopulated, Santipur and Ulla suffered most severely, Hálishahar as well as Kanchrapara lost most of its inhabitants. In 1862, the same harrowing scene was repeated. But in the following year, there was a slight abatement in its virulence. The Epidemic Fever Commission was appointed, and by the 31st March 1864 they were ready with their Report, in which they ascribed the fever to sub-soil humidity caused by obstructed drainage. The drainage theory originated with Dr. Dempster in 1845, but it was the late Raja Degumber Mitter who discovered that impeded drainage, generating dampness, was caused, not by silted-up *khals* and rivers, as had been hitherto supposed, but by the Railways and their feeders.

‡ This gentleman was the younger brother of Mr. F. R. Cockerell, who was Magistrate of Hooghly in the Mutiny year.

Court consisted of a Chief Justice and fourteen Puisne Judges, the first Chief Justice being Sir Barnes Peacock.* Simultaneously with the passing of the High Courts' Act was passed the Indian Councils' Act, which brought about a great change in the Legislative power. Previous to 1834, when the Legislative Council of India first came into existence, each Presidency Government had power for itself to enact what were called *Regulations;* but in that year this legislative power ceased, and until the coming into operation of the India Councils Act, which received the royal assent on the 1st August 1861, the Legislative Council of India was the sole body. Since that Act came into force, the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras have each had power, subject to certain restrictions, to pass *Acts.* While these reforms were being introduced into the two highest departments in the land, the subject of criminal administration was not lost sight of. The Indian Penal Code had been passed in the previous year, but as such substantive law requires for its full operation the aid of adjective law, the Criminal Procedure Code (Act XXV)† was passed in the year under notice. Both these Codes are excellent in their way, and it is not at all to be wondered at that they still substantially retain their place on the Indian Statute Book. A Police Act was also passed, whereby the District Superintendent of Police was invested with authority over village watchmen, subject to the general control of the Magistrate. But, though these measures were initiated with a view to the repression of crime, still they did not appear to exercise a wholesome influence over the Hooghly District. True, no dacoity or murder was brought to light; but offences of a deeper dye, so far as the morals of the people are concerned, were committed. In proof of this, we would mention two important trials which were held in the Sessions Court, and ended in the conviction of the parties accused. The one was the case of Babu Joykissen Mookerjee of Uttarpara, and the other that of Ramji Ghose of Hooghly. The Babu, who had had a chequered career, was charged with having been privy to the forging of certain leases relating to the Mukla talook, the Debuttar property of the Dhurs of Chinsura. His brother, Babu Rajkissen Mookerjee, who, from a devoted friend, had become his deadly enemy, being interested in the same estate, took up the cudgels against him and fought with might and main. The preliminary enquiry was held by Mr. G. P. Grant,* Joint-Magistrate of Serampore, who, being of opinion that a *primâ facie* case had been made out, committed the accused to take his trial in the Sessions Court. The trial came on before Mr. F. E. S. Lillie, who, according to the practice then in vogue, was assisted by a Mahomedan officer of law. The prosecution was conducted by Messrs. R. V. Doyne and L. Clarke, while the prisoner was defended by Messrs. A. T. T. Peterson and W. Newmarch. The trial lasted for some time. Very strenuous efforts were made by the counsel for the defence to get the Babu off, and it seems that their great forensic powers, more especially those of Mr. Peterson, had produced considerable effect on the mind of the Judge. The latter held that there was no sufficient evidence to bring home the charge to the accused, and that he would not at all be justified in convicting him. But the native Kazi was of a different opinion, and thought that the offence had been satisfactorily established against the prisoner. As the law then stood, in case of difference of opinion between the Judge and the Kazi, a reference was necessary. Accordingly, a reference was made to the Calcutta Court, which, unfortunately for the accused, upheld the views of the Kazi, and the result was that he was convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for five years and a fine of ten thousand rupees. He lost no time in sending his counsel, Mr. Newmarch, to England, where an application was made to the Privy Council for leave to appeal from the sentence of the Court in India. This application was heard on the 16th July, 1862, by four Judges, of whom two, Sir Lawrence Peel and Sir James William Colvile, had been long Chief Justices of the Supreme Court. There were two questions for the decision of their Lordships: *first*, whether there was a prerogative right of appeal to the Privy Council in matters of Criminal Jurisdiction; and *secondly*, whether the case in question was one in which the authority of the Crown could properly be interposed in the interests of justice.

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* Sir Barnes was Law Member of the Supreme Council before he became Chief Justice. In both capacities, he highly distinguished himself; but it seems that his reputation as a Judge has eclipsed his reputation as a legislator. After his retirement from Indian Service, he became a member of the Judicial Committee. His son, Mr. F. B. Peacock, was Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He has since retired on pension. Mr. F. B. Peacock's son, Mr. F. Peacock, is a rising member of the Calcutta bar.

† The draft was ready by January 1857, and the Bill was introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Peacock, then at the head of the Law Commission. But it did not become law until 1861.

As regards the first question, the Judicial Committee held that the Crown had such a power. But the second question their Lordships answered in the negative. They, however, gave it as their opinion, that justice had not been very well administered, and that if it had been a Civil case, they would certainly have recommended Her Majesty to admit the appeal. But the case before them, they continued to observe, was a criminal one, and was subject to very different considerations. Then, showing how, if the appeal were admitted, "not only would the course of justice be maimed, but in very many instances it would be entirely prostrated," they rejected the application. But, as their Lordships believed that justice had not been done, they suggested that an application might be made to the Sovereign in Parliament, who, they had no doubt, would examine into the peculiar circumstances of the case and do that which justice might require. * Accordingly, an application was made *ad misericordiam*, and was attended with its expected result. Considering all the circumstances of the case, and keeping in view the many good and charitable acts which the Babu had done for the public good, and which on this occasion pleaded for him with that silent eloquence that is sometimes more effective than the thunders of a Demosthenes or the persuasions of a Cicero, Her Majesty, in the exercise of her Royal mercy, pronounced the defendant's release from prison.

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* This gentleman is the son of the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Peter Grant. Mr. Grant distinguished himself in the honourable service to which he belonged. He became Judge of Hooghly, and, while serving in that capacity, officiated for some time as a Judge of the High Court. He has since retired on pension.

Mr. C. S. Belli, as we have already stated, was in the District for a little more than a year. After he left it, his place was taken by Mr. A. V. Palmer. † Notwithstanding his eccentricity, Mr. Palmer was an able officer, and he signalised his rule by some important acts, of which the most important was his bringing to justice Ramji Ghose aforesaid. This notorious rogue was in the habit of forging deeds and documents, and his skill in this black art was such that in many instances his forgeries had escaped the vigilant eyes of very able and careful judicial officers. As zemindars who profited by his malpractices, used to countenance him, he thought himself out of the reach of danger. But, at length, his fancied security proved his greatest enemy, and he was ruined for life. One Ram Chandra Mookerjee, having got scent of his evil doings, after he had made sure of his ground, informed Mr. Palmer of the matter. That wary Magistrate took it up in right good earnest, and, availing himself of a favourable opportunity, of which he was duly informed by Ram Chandra, came upon the forger unawares, and caught him red-handed, as it were, with all the appliances of his foul practice. A formal enquiry was held, in accordance with the provisions of law, and the accused, with some others, was, committed to the Sessions on the 31st October, 1861. Baboo Ramkrishna

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* 1 W. R. Priv. C. Rulings, pp. 13, 14.

† This officer rose to be a District Judge, in which capacity he distinguished himself in Shahabad in South Behar.

Tarkálankár,[*] the then Peshkar of the Criminal Court, conducted the prosecution, while the principal accused, Ramji Ghose, whose cause was espoused by the zemindars who had benefited by his misdeeds, was defended by some able pleaders. The case created an immense sensation, and the Court-house was full to over-flowing while the trial lasted. Every endeavour was made by his pleaders to get Ramji off, but the charge was so clearly proved that the Judge felt no hesitation in convicting him, and an order was passed on the 31st January, 1862[†], whereby he was sentenced to transportation for a period of seven years.

Mr. Palmer left the District in 1864,[‡] and was succeeded by Mr. R. V. Cockerell [§], who held charge of it for a considerable period, not bidding it final farewell until 1870. A few months after he joined office, a terrible cyclone swept over the land, spreading ruin and desolation in its way. The wrath of Æolus was followed by the wrath of Indra. The clouds forgot to rain, and mother Earth was scorched up. Famine made its appearance early in the next year, and there was wail and woe all round. The "meagre Fiend" stalked over the length and breadth of Bengal, but her malignant influence was most severely felt in the districts of Burdwan and Midnapore. When it was fouud that people were dying of sheer starvation, relief centres were opened on the part of Government, and a few rich folk also came forward to invest some portion of their surplus money in works which make the ascent to heaven much easier. We know for certain that in this town not a few middle-class people, whose peculiar social position did not permit them to partake of charity, somehow managed to keep body and soul together on only one poor meal a day. In the matter of providing relief for the many, the Magistrate did his utmost, and he is deservedly held in love and esteem for his good work at this trying time.

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[*] This gentleman distinguished himself as Sherishtadar of the Hooghly Collectorate. He retired on pension in the time of Mr. Cooke. The title of *Roy Bahadur* has since been conferred upon him in recognition of his meritorious services, and, as a further mark of special favour, the office of Sub-Registrar has been given him, in which capacity he is now serving in Serampore.

[†] In this year, Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Canning in the Viceroyalty, but died at a Himalayan station in the year following.

[‡] In the commencement of this year Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence took charge of the Viceroyalty ; and towards its close, the Great Rent Case was heard by the full complement of the High Court Judges under the presidency of Sir Barnes Peacock in which Dwarka Nath Mitter so ably succeeded in defending the cause of the ryots, and thus paved his way to a seat in the same high tribunal. The Whipping Act (Act VI) was also passed in 1864.

[§] This gentleman rose to be a District Judge. He officiated for some time as Additional Judge of Chittagong in 1867.

But while this life-and-death struggle was going on, Mr. Cockerell did not forget to look after the improvement of the town, into which the Municipal Act (III of 1864) had now been introduced. As its first Chairman under the new Act, he tried to supply its wants. The first thing he put his hand to, was the making of a road, running from the Hooghly Railway Station to the side of the river at Baboogunge. This road was commenced in 1865, as appears from his report to the Divisional Commissioner, dated the 2nd June, 1866. But, though it was proceeded with without intermission, it was not finished before 1868. The road cost, in round numbers, eighteen thousand rupees. In connection with this improvement, it may be mentioned that some portions of private lands which fell in the road were given free of charge by the benevolent gentlemen of Hooghly and Chinsura who were the owners thereof. As this road, which forms, as it were, the girdle of the town, owes its existence to Mr. Cockerell, it justly bears his name.

While Mr. Cockerell was thus ingratiating himself into the favour of the people by his good acts, Mr. Arthur Pigou was discharging the duties of head of the Civil Department. He joined his office early in 1864, and soon made his mark as a good judge.

During his incumbency, Mr. Pigou had to try several dacoity cases, of which we shall notice only one, to wit, the Kurtapook dacoity. This dacoity was committed on the night of the 9th November, 1866. Early the next morning, six of the dacoits were caught at the neighbouring village of Chandipur. Jogeswar Bagdi and several others were committed to the Sessions, and were tried by Mr. Pigou. The Judge, concurring with the Jury, convicted all the prisoners. On appeal to the High Court, the sentences were upheld except as to Sadoy Mitia, whose sentence was amended. The final order passed by the Court of Appeal is dated the 28th May, 1867.* Perhaps, this was the last criminal trial held by Mr. Pigou, and hence its painful significance.

Mr. Pigou died, somewhat suddenly, on the 17th April, 1867, and was buried in the crowded cemetery at Dharampur in Chinsura, which contains the bones of many a European, including some Dutch Governors of the place.

He was succeeded by Mr. G. Bright, who came by transfer from East Burdwan. The new Judge, like his lamented predecessor, was an able officer, and he soon gained a good name in the district by his just and equitable decisions.

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* 7 W. R. Cr. Rulings, p. 109.

Several important trials were held by him in his capacity of Sessions Judge, one and all of which created considerable sensation at the time.

Towards the close of the year 1868, a Mahomedan of Pahárpur preferred a complaint against Bahirdas Sircar and Dharmadas Sircar, two powerful zemindars of Peáshárá, charging them with having, by their labourers and *lathials*, forcibly cut and carried off his paddy and beaten him and his people, they themselves being present on the spot and giving orders. Mr. W. H. Ryland, the Sub-Divisional officer of Serampore, within whose jurisdiction the offence was said to have been committed, held the preliminary enquiry, and, being convinced that the case was a true one, committed the accused to the Sessions. Mr. Bright held the trial. The Government pleader, Baboo Eshan Chandra Mitter, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. Peterson, the then leader of the Calcutta bar, defended the prisoners. Mr. Peterson had the reputation of being a first-class cross-examining counsel, and so he certainly was. Indeed, he was a terror to the witnesses. The witnesses for the prosecution could not stand the brisk fire of his cross-examination, and the result was that the evidence lamentably broke down. The jury, headed by Baboo Gopi Krishna Gossain of Serampore, returned a verdict of "not guilty," and the Judge, concurring with them, acquitted the prisoners. This order, which, however, was not received by the public with unmixed satisfaction, was passed in February, 1869.

The case against Baboo Purna Chandra Banerjee * was even more important than the Peáshárá affair. The Baboo was a well-known Zemindar of Allá, a village within the limits of the Dhaniakhali Thana. The offence with which he was charged was of a very serious character, the complaint being that he had killed a poor man of the weaver class with a double-barreled pistol. The defence set up was, that the fatal shot which was intended to kill a rabid dog, missing its aim, hit the deceased by the purest of accidents. The Government pleader, Baboo Eshan Chandra Mitter, as usual, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. J. W. B. Money, Barrister-at-law, defended the prisoner. After the evidence had been gone into, it was found that the charge of murder or culpable homicide was not sustainable. However, the prisoner could not be allowed to go scott-free, seeing that he confessed to having caused the death of a human being, though by pure accident. Accordingly, he was found guilty under Section 338 of the Indian Penal Code, and was punished with the maximum fine of one thousand rupees provided by law.

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* This gentleman had long been a member of the Subordinate Executive Service, but, for some gross misconduct, afterwards lost his appointment.

Two things are necessary for the good administration of a District: first, that its two chief officers should be able and honest men; and, secondly, that they should not be antagonistic to each other. At the time of which we are speaking, Hooghly was very fortunate in this respect. Both Mr. Cockerell and Mr. Bright were able and honest officers, and they were also on the best of terms. But, in the discharge of their respective duties, their intimacy, warm as it was, was never allowed to influence their conduct. Cases happened, though their number was not large, in which the Judge, having found fault with the orders of the Magistrate, did not fail to invoke the aid of the High Court for their reversal or modification as the cases in his opinion required. In this connection we may mention two typical cases, *viz.*, Shanta Teorni *versus* Mrs. Belilios, and Mr. Larrymore *versus* Baboo Purnendra Deva Roy.

In the first case, the woman Shanta brought a charge of theft against Mrs. Belilios. The District Magistrate made over the matter for disposal to the Deputy Magistrate, Mr. Godfrey, who, deeming a Police enquiry necessary, requested the Magistrate to order it. The Magistrate, in compliance with the request, directed the Superintendent of Police to make the necessary enquiry. The latter reported that the charge was utterly false, and he also recommended that the complainant should be summoned for preferring a false charge. The Magistrate, in his order upon the Police Superintendent's report, passed no decision on the original complaint; he merely stated that he could not encourage the bringing of charges of "false complaint," but that the injured person might appear and swear on information, if she chose, under section 200. A day or two after this, the complainant again made a petition, praying that her witnesses might be summoned, who were to prove the charge of theft. She also objected to the Police proceedings as being irregular, and asked that the Police report, together with the other papers in the case, might be sent back to the Deputy Magistrate by whom the case was first entertained. But the Magistrate rejected her prayer, saying that her case had been dismissed as false. The Sessions Judge, on being moved in the matter, made a reference to the High Court, mainly on the ground that, as the case had been made over to the Deputy Magistrate, the Magistrate had no jurisdiction to do anything more in it so long as the transfer to the Deputy was in existence. The reference came on for hearing on the 16th September 1869 * before Mr. Justice Glover and Mr.

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* Dr. Thompson, in his Report of the Hooghly District for 1869, states that there was a hurricane on 9th June, which was followed in the next day by an earthquake, causing oscillation of buildings. Beyond causing cracks in some old ricketty houses, no substantial damage was done by the earthquake, but the fury of this visitation proved fatal to some trees which were blown down.

Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, who, agreeing with the Sessions Judge, quashed the proceedings of the Magistrate as bad in law, and ordered that the case, as brought by Shanta against Belilios, should be returned to the Court to which it was originally made over for final disposal.*

The facts of the other case were as follows: One evening, about the middle of the year 1870, Mr. A. W. Larrymore, the Superintendent of Police, was riding along a narrow road, when Baboo Purnendra Deva Roy, the head of the renowned Mahasaya family of Bánsberià. was coming in a carriage from the other side. Mr. Larrymore called the coachman to stop, but, for some reason or other the latter did not do so, and the result was a collision, in which Mr Larrymore was injured. The Joint Magistrate, at the instance of the Magistrate, tried the case. He held that as the Baboo did not interfere, he was liable under Section 279 of the Indian Penal Code, and he accordingly inflicted a fine upon him. The Baboo then applied to the District Judge, Mr. Bright, and he, thinking that as Mr. Larrymore did not address himself to the Baboo inside the coach, and as there was no ground for assuming that, although hearing Mr. Larrymore's calls to the coachman, he, the Baboo, who, by the bye, was sleepy at the time, tacitly assented to the coachman disregarding them, referred the matter to the High Court under Section 434 of the Criminal Procedure Code, with his opinion that the conviction and sentence were not good in law. On the 13th August, Mr Justice Kemp and Mr. Justice Bayley heard the reference, and, after considering the arguments addressed to them by the pleaders on both sides, held that the coachman, and not the Baboo, was liable, under Section 279, and accordingly quashed the conviction and ordered the fine to be refunded to the Baboo.†

Fast friends as Messrs. Cockerell and Bright were, the stern exigencies of Government service brought about a separation between them in 1870. Mr. Cockerell was transferred from the Hooghly District, and his place was occupied by Mr. F. H. Pellew. After the latter had joined office, the Village Chaukidari Act (VIII, of 1870)‡ was passed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, thereby giving large powers to the District Magistrate. True, the chowkidars were placed under the direct control of the village punchayet, but the thread of their destiny was in the hands of the Magistrate. Mr. Pellew exercised his powers of superintendence with great care and discretion, and the result was a considerable improvemement in the character and efficiency of the village watchmen. Dacoity, which had again reared its head, was considerably repressed. The number of dacoities previous to 1870 averaged forty a year, but in 1871 * it was reduced to ten. Thus the District became comparatively quiet and peaceable. But, though it was fortunate in the matter of the repression of crime, it was very unfortunate in another respect. Fever, which had begun to rage in 1860, went on increasing, and reached its height in October 1871.

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* 12 W. R. Cr. Rulings, p. 53.

† 14 W. R. Cr. Rulings, p. 32.

‡ This Act is still in force, being only a little modified by Acts I of 1871, and 1886 of the Bengal Council.

While Mr. Bright was Judge, a very important suit was decided in the Civil Courts. The Deputy Magistrate of Jehanabad, Baboo Issur Chunder Mitter, having cut away a *bund* which had been erected on the Mundeswari river for *boro* cultivation by Baboo Taruck Nath Mookerjee of Jonai, the latter brought a suit for damages as well as for declaration of prescriptive right to erect the *bund*, making the said Deputy Magistrate and his two subordinates, *viz.*, the Ferry Fund Overseer, and the Police Inspector, defendants. The Government had not been made a party, but it elected to interfere in the matter, and was, agreeably to its prayer, placed on the record. The suit was brought in the Court of the Sub-Judge. Mr. Money, of the Calcutta bar, led the plaintiff's party, while the Government pleader, the well-known Baboo Eshan Chundra Mitter, led the defendant's party. The fight was a tough and obstinate one, and continued for days together. The Subordinate Judge, in an elaborate judgment, gave his decision on the several issues which were raised in the case, and finally passed the following order: "The plaintiff's prescriptive right to erect the disputed *bund* is declared, and the claim for damages is dismissed, and in the circumstances of the case, each party will bear his own costs." As such an order failed to satisfy any of the parties, there were no less than four separate appeals to the Judge. The plaintiff appealed as a matter of course, his claim for damages having been dismissed. The Government appealed, being dissatisfied with the declaration of right which the plaintiff had obtained. The other two appeals, which were preferred by the Deputy Magistrate, and the Ferry Fund Overseer respectively, were not of much importance. All these appeals were heard by Mr. Bright, and he, too, like the Sub-Judge, passed an elaborate judgment. He upheld the order of the Lower Court as far as the dismissal of the claim for damages went, and modified its decree as to the rest. The case then went up in special appeal to the High Court, and a Division Bench, composed of Mr. Justice L. S. Jackson and Mr. Justice Macpherson, decided it on the 5th January, 1870.* Their Lordships held that the plaintiff was entitled to recover damages from the defendant, Issur Chunder Mitter, in respect of an act done by him in his official capacity as Deputy Magistrate of Jehanabad, and that he was also entitled to a declaration of his right to erect and maintain a certain *bund* as regards Issur Chunder Mitter and the Government. Here, however, this litigation, which had dragged its slow length along for such a long period, did not end. The Government applied for a review of judgment,† mainly on the ground that the Honourable Court's judgment was defective, inasmuch as it did not decide whether the Deputy Magistrate, in removing the *bund*, acted judicially and with jurisdiction. This ground was held to be good and valid; but as the petition of review had been made by the Government, and not by the Deputy Magistrate, it could not be admitted as it is stood. The High Court, however, deeming it proper to deal with the matter leniently, allowed the petition to be amended by adding the Deputy Magistrate's name as a petitioner. Having done so, the Court dismissed the plaintiff's suit as against the Deputy Magistrate altogether, and declared the plaintiff's right to erect and maintain the *bund* as against the Government. Thus this protracted and expensive law-suit, in which the Government, having once made a blunder at the outset, went on blundering to the very last, ended in its total discomfiture by being made to pay full costs to the plaintiff.

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* The Hooghly and Burdwan Drainage Act (V of 1871) was passed this year. The great Mathamatician, Sir John Herschel, died in the same year. His title descended to his son, William Herschel, who, some time after, became Magistrate of Hooghly.

In the year 1871 ‡ a very important case was decided by the second Sub-Judge in connection with the local Imambara. Moonshee Abdool Waheb, who had served as *Khajanchi* treasurer) of the Imambara from the 22nd November, 1860, was, on 6th March 1869, found to have embezzled seventeen thousand odd rupees. A criminal prosecution was in the first instance instituted against him, and he was committed to take his trial before the Sessions Court. Mr. Wauchope, the Additional Sessions Judge, who held the trial, however, acquitted the prisoner. Afterwards, Syed Keramat Ali, the Matwali of the Imambara, brought a civil suit for the amount so misappropriated, making Abdool Waheb and his sureties defendants. The case came on for hearing before Baboo Jagabandhu Bannerjee, the Sub-Judge. The hearing lasted for several days, and did not come to an end until the 27th January. 1871. The learned Sub-Judge, after disposing of the preliminary objections in favour of the plaintiff, held, on the merits, that Abdool Waheb had really misappropriated the amount claimed, and accordingly passed a decree for the entire claim with costs against him, and, as regards the sureties, he held that they could not be rendered liable for more than was covered by the stamp paper on which the surety-bond was engrossed, and accordingly passed against them a decree for Rs. 1,000 only with proportionate costs. Three appeals were preferred to the High Court, of which the one made by the plaintiff had reference to that portion of the decree of the Sub-Judge which held the sureties liable only to the extent of Rs. 1,000. All these appeals came on for hearing before Justices F. B. Kemp and E. Jackson; and their Lordships, agreeing in the main in the conclusion arrived at by the Lower Court, dismissed them on the 9th January 1872. In dismissing the appeal of the sureties, the learned Judges remarked that, although there was gross neglect on the part of the Matwali in looking after the affairs of the trust committed to his charge, yet, as there was no evidence of fraud or virtual connivance at the delinquency of the treasurer, the sureties could not be allowed to go scot-free.* The decree as against Abdool Waheb was only partially satisfied, as the dishonest judgment-debtor had fraudulently disposed of the main *corpus* of his property before it could be attached and sold in execution. Thus there was a considerable loss to the trust estate. As for the Matwali, he was, it is true, not called upon to make good the balance, but such was his high sense of honour that the censure of the High Court greatly affected him, and before long brought on a disease which only left him with his life.

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* 13 W. R. p. 13.

† 16 W. R. p. 63.

‡ In this year, Sir William Grey retired, and was succeeded at Belvedere by Sir George Campbell, who, like Sir John Peter Grant, had been a Puisne Judge of the highest tribunal in the land.

Mr. Bright was Judge of Hooghly when the embezzlement of the trust funds was first brought to light, but he had left it before the civil suit which arose out of it, was finally decided by the High Court. In fact, he bade adieu to the District towards the close of 1871, when he was succeeded by Mr. H. T. Prinsep.

The year 1872† is a memorable year. In it, a census was taken of the Hooghly District, at which it was found that the town contained a population of 67,538 souls, against 70,025 in 1837. This decrease in population might very well be attributed to the fearful mortality from the epidemic fever which had raged in the District for such a long period.

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* 17 W. R. page 131.

† In January of this year, Lord Mayo in a luckless hour started on a visit to the convict Settlement at Port Blair in the Andamans, but he landed in it only to fall a victim to the dagger of a ruthless ruffian. Lord Mayo was succeeded in the Viceroyalty by Lord Northbrook.

During Mr. Prinsep's time a very important case was instituted in the Criminal Court, though he was away from the District when the trial was held in the Sessions Court. We refer to the ugly affair in which the Mohunt of Tarkeswar stood charged with a most infamous offence. The Tarkeswar adultery case marks an important epoch in the annals of Hooghly. It would have been very strange indeed, if it had not created the sensation which it did, and the reason for it was not far to seek. The accused, Madhab Chunder Giri, was the premier priest of a very rich Hindoo shrine, perhaps the richest in all Bengal. It was not, however, for his immense wealth, but for his supposed superior sanctity that he commanded so much respect. Among his brother Mohunts, he passed for a Maharaja, and was looked upon as their spiritual liege lord. As for the reverence which he received from the Hindoo community at large, it was almost without a parallel. Even high caste Hindoo ladies did not hesitate to appear before him for the purpose of making holy salutation. When it was reported that such a highly venerated saint, who was enjoined by the rigid rules of his holy order to observe strictly the vow of celibacy,* when people said and believed that such a vicegerent of God, whose very touch had a talismanic effect in the spiritual concerns of mankind, and whose very word could raise a mortal to eternal bliss in Heaven, or doom him to perennial punishment in Hell,—when it got abroad that such a human divinity had gone wrong with a beautiful girl of sweet sixteen, it was only natural that there should be a terrible uproar and agitation in Hindu society. One and all were anxious to know what the facts were, and the facts soon became public. Indeed, the facts lay in a nut-shell. The young woman who created this unprecedented strife and commotion in the minds of the Hindus, was a daughter of one Nilkamal Chakravarti of Kumrool, a village in the vicinity of the Tarkeswar temple. When a mere infant, Elokeshi, for that was her name, was married to a high caste Brahmin, named Nobin Chandra Bandopádhyá. Nobin was an employé in the Government Printing Office at Calcutta, and, as usual with such men, generally resided in his place of business, occasionally paying visits to his wife at his father-in-law's. In 1873, having obtained leave on the Queen's birthday and for some days subsequent thereto, he came to Kumrool on a visit to his wife. As people are generally fond of publishing their neighbours' shame, he before long heard slanderous reports of his wife's misconduct. Suspicion soon passed into certainty. On the fatal night of the 27th May, the much-afflicted, but not the less enraged, husband, stung by the hornets that were tearing him within, suddenly asked his wife point-blank what the real state of the case was, and, on her repudiating the imputation, though not with the bold consciousness of offended innocence, made her pay the penalty of her guilt with her life. This brutal murder was soon bruited about in the village, and the result was that the culprit was caught red-handed by the Police, or rather be it said to his honour, he, of his own accord, surrendered himself to them. He was brought up before the Joint-Magistrate of Serampore, who ordered him to *hajut*. While there he preferred a charge of adultery against the Mohunt, under section 497 of the Indian Penal Code, and accordingly in August a preliminary enquiry was held by Mr. William Fitzpatrick Meres,* the Joint-Magistrate of Hooghly. The Mohunt, who had disappeared after the murder of Elokeshi, did not appear in Court until the 1st August.† The enquiring officer, Mr. Meres, thinking that a *primâ facie* case had been made out against him, committed him to the Sessions. This commitment, however, was quashed by the Sessions Judge of Hooghly, Mr. Prinsep, purely on the technical ground of non-jurisdiction, he being of opinion that the preliminary enquiry should have been held by the Joint-Magistrate of Serampore, within whose jurisdiction the offence was said to have been committed. But Nobin was a very determined opponent. He renewed his complaint, upon which a second enquiry was held by the same Magistrate, especially empowered in this behalf, and the result, as had been expected, was a second commitment. This time, the trial came on before Mr. Charles Dickinson Field, who was then officiating for Mr. Prinsep in the District Judgeship. The Judge was assisted in the trial by two native Assessors, Baboos Shib Chandra Mullick and Shumbhoo Chandra Gargory, both residents of Chinsura. The trial commenced with considerable "pomp and circumstance," quite befitting the rank and respectability of the accused person. The crowd that used to assemble during the period that it lasted was immense. There was a sea of human heads in and about the suffocated Court-house and the place looked, indeed, like a great *mela*. Baboo Eshan Chandra Mitter, the able Government pleader, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. W. Jackson and Mr. (now Sir) G. H. Evans, who are still practising at the Calcutta bar, defended the prisoner. The main points for determination were, *first*, whether the accused Mohunt had intercourse with Elokeshi or not; and *secondly*, whether at the time he had such intercourse, he knew or had reason to believe her to be the wife of another man. There was no question as to Elokeshi having been the wedded wife of Nobin, or of consent or connivance on the part of the husband. Gopinath Sing Roy was the most material witness in the cause. He was in the employ of the Mohunt as durwan, when the adultery was said to have been committed. His evidence disclosed certain circumstances which raised a strong presumption of the Mohunt having really played the gay Lothario. The prisoner's counsel fought tooth and nail to demolish the testimony of Gopinath, but truth triumphed in the end, and the Judge fully believed him. There were some other material witnesses, but before the second enquiry began they had somehow or other disappeared from the scene. Only Gopinath clung fast to the post of honour. Some attempts would seem to have been made to buy him over, but he stood firm and unmoved, and his evidence turned the balance in favour of the prosecution. The Judge, after a very patient and careful consideration of the evidence and the surrounding circumstances, found the prisoner guilty on both the counts. Baboo Shib Chandra Mullick concurred with him, but the other Assessor, Baboo Shumbhu Chandra Gargory, gave a different opinion, on the ground that there was no direct evidence as to sexual intercourse, quite forgetting that in such a case, such evidence could hardly be expected to be forthcoming. Indeed, if the direct fact of adultery were necessary to be established before a conviction could be had, "there is not" as remarked by Lord Stowell in Loveden, *versus* Loveden, "one case in a hundred in which that proof would be attainable."[*] The Judge, disregarding the opinion of the dissenting Assessor, convicted the accused under section 497 of the Indian Penal Code and sentenced him to undergo three years' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 2,000.[†] This order, which gave general satisfaction to the country, it was passed on the 20th November, 1873.[‡]

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* A Mohunt has no zenana, and ought not to have any intercourse with women whatsoever. Thus he resembles the Roman Catholic priest, and like him, unfortunately, often goes wrong.

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* This officer, who earned great popularity in Hooghly, rose to be a District Judge. He was the son-in-law of Mr. R. Thwaytes, the then Principal of the Hooghly College.

† A warrant for his arrest had been issued as far back as the 16th June.

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[*] 2 Haggard's *Consistory Reports*.

[†] The maximum punishment as provided in the Code, is five years' imprisonment, with or without fine.

[‡] In June, there was an agrarian rising in Pubna, the ryots of that district having broken out into a serious revolt. Moving in hundreds and thousands from place to place, headed by three ringleaders, they not only

There was, of course, an appeal to the High Court, but the Mohunt was not enlarged on bail. He was made to put off his holy canonicals, and put on the ignoble dress of a convict. The Jail is a great leveller; it makes no distinction between a pariah and a priest. As was the case with convicts of his class, he had to play the meanest part of the bovine companion of his deity, being yoked to the oil-mill and made to tread the rounds.

The appeal of the Mohunt was heard by a Division Bench, consisting of Mr. Justice Markby and Mr. Justice Birch, on the 15th December, 1873. His counsel, Messrs. Jackson and Evans, fought hard to get him off, but their Lordships held that the conviction was good and valid. As regards the sentence, they observed that, speaking generally, though it might be considered to be severe, still, taking the peculiar position of the accused into consideration, it ought not to be mitigated. The observations of Mr. Justice Birch on this point being very proper and pertinent, we insert them here. His Lordship said: "To my mind the offence of which I find the accused guilty is considerably aggravated by his position as head of a venerated shrine, by virtue of which he is regarded by his co-religionists as an impersonation of the Deity whose shrine is in his charge. A man in his position has immense power and influence in this country. If he is faithless to his trust, and if under the cloak of religion, and regardless of the decided prohibition of such conduct in the writings which he holds sacred, he employs his opportunities to debauch married women, he merits condign punishment." * Surely, if persons, who from their peculiar position are supposed to possess special sanctity, so far forget themselves as to commit foul offences, the Court ought to inflict exceptionally severe punishment upon them.

The Mohunt's senior disciple, Sham Chand Giri, took his place on the *guddee* at Tarkeswar, while he himself passed his hard and laborious days in the local jail. The term of imprisonment, however, at last expired, and he was released in the latter part of November, 1876. His *locum tenens*, Sham Chand Giri, having refused to vacate the *guddee* in his favour, he forcibly re-entered the temple premises and resumed possession of them and of the landed property. Sham Giri brought a

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looted goods and chattels, but sometimes cruelly took men's lives and ignominiously committed outrages on females. The young widowed sister of a zemindar was taken away by force, and treated most brutally. In fact, no one in the District considered himself safe. In this trying time, Sir George Campbell, who had, as we have already stated, succeeded Sir William Grey, was the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

* 21 W. R. pp. 13-21.

summary suit for recovery of possession under Section 15 of Act XIV of 1859, in the District Court at Hooghly. Mr. G. P. Grant, the Judge, decreed the suit on the 28th August 1877. On the 3rd September, the defendant, Madhab Giri, moved the High Court under Section 15 of the Charter Act, whereupon a rule was granted, calling upon the other party to show cause why the order of the District Judge should not be set aside. This rule was heard by a Division Bench consisting of Mr. Justice R. C. Mitter and Mr. Justice W. Markby on the 24th November 1877. Their Lordships, while finding fault with the Judge as to the way in which he tried the suit, held that they could not interfere with his decision under their general powers of superintendence, and they accordingly dismissed the application. Thus defeated, Madhab Giri brought a civil suit for declaration of title and recovery of possession, and in this he was signally successful. He was restored to the *guddee*, which he occupied up to the time of his death, which took place only lately in Calcutta.*

As for poor Nobin, he was tried for the murder of his wife, and was convicted and sentenced to transportation. He was deported to a lonely and desolate island; but, in view of the peculiar character of his offence, he was released in 1877, on ~~the~~ occasion of the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress, when, according to a time-honoured custom, upwards of three thousand prisoners were set at liberty before the expiry of their term in the exercise of royal mercy.

Orissa had, as we have already stated, been depopulated by a terrible famine in 1866. Before seven years elapsed, a similar visitation overtook the two other Provinces of the Bengal satrapy. Taught by bitter experience, the heads of Government were on the alert this time. Relief measures were promptly adopted, and the result was, that there was not much distress or death. Only a little scarcity was felt in Hooghly, and it was of a short duration, the price of food-grains soon coming down to its normal rate.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

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* Since his death, there has been a scrambling for the *guddee*. True it is, Satish Chandra Giri has taken possession of it upon the strength of an alleged Will of the late Mohunt, but his position is anything but secure. The fight is raging high, and is likely to continue for some time.

ART. IX.—LIFE OF MICHAEL M. S. DUTT, IN BENGALI.

BY BABU JOGINDRA NATH BOSE, B.A.

IT is a standing blot on Hindu literature that it does not possess a good history. It may also be observed that it is equally deficient in point of individual biography. Sanskrit literature, voluminous as it is, cannot boast of a single work like Boswell's Life of Johnson. In later times Abul Fazl wrote a book which distances all others of its kind in any Oriental language, but he and his subject were not Hindus. The neglect of biography among the Hindus can be accounted for only by the fact that the study of the history of a great man's public or private life was not considered to be of importance as a help towards educating and forming the principles and character, and guiding and regulating the lives of posterity, so much as the study of the works left behind by the sages. With the advent of Western literature this current of thought has undergone a complete change. But while gratefully tracing the innovation to the influx of Western ideas and modes of thinking, we must not omit to mention a solitary exception. The earliest biographical work in Bengali, or rather a series of works, were written more than 300 years ago, all celebrating the deeds of that wonderful man, Chaitanya, who has received the worship of his followers as an Avatar; and consequently his memoirs have passed from secular into theological literature. Of late years a few books have been published recording the life-histories of our great men, but we have to confess sorrowfully that, without exception, they are all disappointing. The short sketches that have appeared of the lives of even such men as Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarka Nath Tagore, the like of whom Bengal will not look upon for many a long day to come, are all unsatisfactory. We, therefore, cordially hail the appearance of a seemly memoir of the late Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt, the author of the greatest epic poem in Bengali. We have read this book with unfeigned delight, and we really wonder at the immense fund of valuable information brought together by the author, Babu Jogindra Nath Bose, Head Master of Deoghar School. It may safely be said that the book before us is the only good biography in Bengali; and as such it deserves special notice.

Madhu Sudan Dutt was born at Sagoredandy, an obscure village in the district of Jessore, on the 25th January, 1824. The same year another eminent man, who has left an enduring mark in the annals of his country, Harrish Chunder Mukherjee, was born. Madhu came of a very respectable family. His father, Rajnarayan Dutt, was a Vakeel of the Sudder Dewany Adawlat, and was renowned in the profession; and Madhu's mother was a daughter of the zemindar of Katipara. The Dutts were a family of single-minded, charitable and hospitable individuals, who had earned a reputation in the district by their acts of piety and liberality. There was also a vein of poetry ingrained in the family, and a pretty anecdote is told of one of Madhu's ancestors stealing the heart of a Mahomedan damsel of rank, by his skill in writing verses in Persian.

The boy Madhu was sent to the village *Patshalla* or Grammar School, and at the age of 12 or 13 was brought down to Calcutta and at once admitted into the Hindu College, the best educational institution of its kind at the time. As the Hindu College has turned out some of our ablest men, such as Ram Gopal Ghose, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Peary Churn Sircar, and many others, it would not be uninteresting to turn our attention for a moment to its status at the period of Madhu's entrance. A discussion had been going on amongst Government officials as to whether the Western or the Oriental system of training was best for the youth of India. One party held that the endless stores of Western thought and learning, science and philosophy, should be opened up to the Indian youth through the medium of English; the opposite party contended that to the moral and intellectual advancement of the Indian races, the cultivation and development of Eastern literature and philosophy was the most conducive. The divergence of opinion on the subject was widespread, and there were a great number of highly learned and intelligent men ranged on either side; amongst others we may note the names of Dr. Alexander Duff, who sided with the first-named party, and the famous Orientalist, Horace Hayman Wilson, who espoused the cause of the latter. The controversy raged with some warmth for a considerable time, until Lord Macaulay took up the cudgels on behalf of the Western party; and his appearance in the arena decided the contest in favour of English education. The decision arrived at was proclaimed to the world by a Resolution of Lord Bentinck, dated 7th March, 1835. The results of this Resolution have been incalculable; it is needless, however, to attempt to enumerate them here. Suffice it to say that, under its auspices, the reflection of the learning of the West on indigenous literature has been immensely beneficial. But the immediate result of the impetus thus given to English education was to ripen the seeds of repugnance towards Sanskrit literature and philosophy, and hatred of all national customs and practices in the minds of the students of the Hindu College, which had been already sown there by the teachings of DeRozio. This extraordinary young man, an East Indian, held wonderful sway over the minds of his young pupils, and that justly; for DeRozio's mode of teaching was excellent, and his treatment of his boys affectionate. The reign of cram had not yet dawned upon the young hopefuls of Bengal; and DeRozio taught his pupils to think and judge for themselves and not take anything upon trust. In short, he infused into the minds of his pupils a scientific turn. Himself, an ardent poet, of much promise, and a true well-wisher of India, which he loved as his mother-country, his popularity may be well conceived. The defect of his method lay in his oversight of the essential truth, that the transition from one system of established beliefs to another, if not based upon and accompanied with adequate moral instruction, involves, and generally ends in, the most undesirable and unexpected results. The present case was not an exception to the general rule. The pupils of DeRozio attacked whatever is considered most sacred upon earth with their new-fangled ideas, and, following out their peculiar, and, it may be said, most fallacious course of reasoning, came to the conclusion that the Hindu Scriptures were a series of hyperbolical and worthless poems out of which no good could be evolved, and snapped the bonds of society, religion, and morality. Their attitude of enquiry gradually gave place to one of wholesale mistrust, which induced scepticism, if not atheism. Freed by their own hands from the trammels of religion, which they had never been taught to regard as salutary, and drunk with joy at the publication of the Government Resolution, which they probably regarded as a triumph of their own overfoolish Sanscritists, the young students committed untold excesses. Drinking was to them an index of the new civilisation, and became a common vice. We will not trouble our readers with a record of all the follies the young collegians indulged in. It is more our duty to state that, in spite of this general moral depravity which prevailed in the Hindu College for some time, and which deterred many people from sending their children to it, these young men made, in after life, when their misplaced enthusiasm had cooled down, most useful citizens. They held expanded ideas about social questions which they could express boldly, and grappled with political problems in a masterly and fearless manner; and they have had the satisfaction of their services being honoured with recognition by Government. They were indisputably the most learned body of men turned out by any Indian College. To DeRozio, therefore, much praise is due, for it was he who inaugurated a new era in the history of the progress and development of thought in the country; he who sowed in the minds of young men of his time the seeds of a love of right judgment, a love of justice, a love of learning, and a love of unshackled thought, although he failed to pour the water of righteousness over the prepared soil,—seeds which grew into handsome trees that in course of time bore ripe fruit. But our duty would still be scarcely done if we withheld our praise from the other lights among the galaxy of teachers who illumined the old college. Our space will hardly permit us to pay due tribute to all of them, but there is one other amongst them who stands prominently above the rest and urgently demands notice. If DeRozio was extremely popular with his pupils, D. L. Richardson was their idol. Never, perhaps, in the annals of Indian Colleges was master more honoured or better loved by his pupils. A ripe Shakspearian scholar, a judicious critic, and a literary man in every sense of the term, he loved learning for its own sake, strove to engender a similar sentiment in others, and by precept and example encouraged original composition to the best of his power. He was connected with all the principal literary journals of his time; and his famous "Selections" and "Literary Recreations" testify to his fine taste and judgment. It is impossible, however, to do full justice to "the Captain" or his compeers within the limits of this paper, and we must tear ourselves perforce from this pleasant task.

DeRozio had left the college two years before Madhu entered it; but the good as well as the bad influence of his teachings still pervaded the college precincts like an ambient atmosphere. In about six years Madhu rose from the lowest form to the highest classes of the college,—no man progressed and made himself famous by acquiring within so short a period a wonderful command over the English language. He was a voracious reader, and at the age of 17 began to try his hand for a literary journal. At the same time he threw himself headlong into the vortex of the vices in which his fellow-collegians had learned to wallow. Nursed in childhood and early boyhood in the lap of luxury, and petted by his fond parents, Madhu had been accustomed to see all his boyish whims gratified, and had never been taught to check and control his passionate temperament. He always lived in a romantic world of his own creation, and the sad experiences of mature age, did not suffice to dispel the illusion. The aspiring boy, who had already sent certain poems to Blackwood's Magazine, dedicating them to "William Wordsworth, Esquire, the Poet," now took Byron for his model, and poured out his heart in verses after the manner of his original. We have endeavoured to show above, how Madhu had his moral and intellectual character formed for him by his surroundings. It was Captain Richardson who, with his fine sense of appreciating merit in others, detected something in Mádhu, and encouraged his versifying proclivities. But, ever unstable, Madhu did not stay to complete his career at the Hindu College. A little before his full term was up, in February, 1843, he suddenly and most unexpectedly embraced Christianity. He then removed to Bishop's College, Sibpore, and there continued his studies for four years.

The subsequent facts of his life, his estrangement from his father's affections, his journey to Madras, his struggles and ultimate return, are still in the memory of living men. He remained eight years in Madras, and during that period developed an astonishing facility for penning verses. But "The Captive Ladie" was out of the ordinary run of poems, and showed unmistakeable signs of much talent, power, and even that rare thing, inspiration. It at once brought fame home to poor Madhu, and realised for him the poet's dream. It also gained him powerful friends, one of whom was Mr. George Norton, the Advocate-General.* A reviewer in the *Athenæum* wrote that the poem contained passages, which "neither Scott nor Byron would have been ashamed to own." This was no small praise for a young man of twenty-five, writing poetry in a foreign tongue. Want and poverty, due to his careless and intemperate habits, coupled with the fact of his father's death, compelled him to return to Calcutta, where he hoped to recover by litigation his paternal property which had been usurped by distant kinsman during his absence.

Many of his countrymen are not aware that it was after his return from Madras that Madhu took a fancy to the Bengali language. The occasion was singular. The *Ratnavali* (a drama) was being represented on a magnificent stage constructed for the purpose at the Belgachia villa of the Rajas of Pikepara; but the piece was not worth the immense amount of labour, trouble and money devoted by the Rajas to getting it up. Madhu had, at their request, translated the piece into English, in order to make it intelligible to the European portion of the audience, which was composed of the most influential persons of the day—Sir Frederick and Lady Halliday included. The translation was creditably done, and henceforward Madhu became a constant visitor at the Belgachia Theatre. But the rest of the story we will relate in the words of Babu Gour Das Bysack, an intimate friend of the poet. "Here it was that Madhu's muse was roused to a sense of the duty he owed his country, and here it was that Madhu received his first inspiration to sing in his mother-tongue. After his admission to the first rehearsal, and before he had entered upon his task of the English translation of the *Ratnavali*, Madhu . . . . exclaimed to me 'What a pity the Rajas should have spent such a lot of money on such a miserable play. I wish I had known of it before, as I could have given you a piece worthy of your theatre?' I laughed at the idea of his offering to write a Bengali play, and chaffingly asked, if it was his wish to see us introduce a wretched *Vidya Sundar* * on our stage. Conscious of the dearth of really good plays in our language, he could not but feel the sting of my remark as a home-thrust, and simply muttered, 'We shall see, we shall see.'

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* It was through the kind intercession of Mr. Norton that Madhu succeeded in winning over the friends and relatives of an English lady to give her in marriage to him.

"The next morning he called on me at the rooms of the Asiatic Society for the loan of a few vernacular and Sanscrit books, dramas specially; and in the course of a week or two, read to me the first few scenes of his *Sarmistha*, which struck me as having the ring of the true metal. I wished to take the MS. with me to Belgachia, but he said I must wait till he had finished the first act. It was, I believe, the very next week, that he handed me the MS., with a request to show it to my friends the Rajas and Babu (since Maharaja) Jotindra Mohun Tagore. On my reading out to them the first few MS. leaves, they were not a little astonished and delighted at the proofs of his poetical genius and power of writing in the vernacular, and told me to encourage him in his attempt."

Samistha was performed on the boards of the Belgachia Theatre in 1859. Madhu translated his own piece into English for the foreign section of the audience. Public enthusiasm for this novel kind of entertainment rose to the highest pitch. But Madhu was destined for higher honours. Another play followed quickly. "Now that I have got the taste of blood, I am at it again," Madhu wrote to a friend. It was while conversing with the Maharaja one day, that Madhu gave out as his opinion, that, until blank verse was introduced into the Bengali drama, there was very little hope of its improvement. The Maharaja, who had himself courted the muse with success, expressing a doubt as the capacities of the language and the practicability of the proposition, Madhu was provoked to undertake the task himself. The outcome of his efforts was the publication, in May 1860, of the *Tilottama Sambhava*, the first Bengali poem in blank verse. We shall quote Babu Gour Das once more :—

"Madhu's muse created a new era. How a trifling incident roused her to warble to the tunes of our *Vina*, has been described by you * at length. It is one of the instances of what mighty things from trivial causes rise. The memorable Belgachia Theatre, with Rajas Pratap Chandra Singha and Issur Chandra Singha, Moharaja Jotindra Mohun Tagore, and myself (the decrepit Yogandharayan of the Ratnavali stage, with tottering limbs), are inseparably associated with Madhu's writings. Blank verse, once the target of wiseacre Pandits and carping critics, has, notwithstanding their ominous head-shakings and gloomy vaticinations, come forth bodied in 'flesh and blood,' to mark a new epoch in the annals of our literature—a literature that, nurtured in its rich native soil, is destined like the gigantic banian to spread out its umbragious branches over the vast Province of Bengal, though not to strew its leaves, like 'the leaves of Vallambrosa' over the world. Blank verse, like the stately steed, has out-stripped the trotting jennet of rhyme that capered and cantered with jingling bells, for ages past."

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* An infamous play.—S. C.

Let it not be imagined that the novelty of the metre was the only recommendation of the *Tilottama*. As purity of sentiment and diction and ability of characterisation at once put his dramas above those effusions which had taken that name before, so, grandeur of conception and an abundance of stately and poetically picturesque passages, which readily possess the imagination, placed the poem in an elevated rank. The public had become disgusted with the flat and uninteresting poems of a corrupt kind, which then possessed the field, and so Madhu's refined productions found a ready and eager welcome. Madhu hit upon classical, *i. e. Pauranic* subjects for his theme. Thus his manner and his matter both considered, the appearance of Madhu's works marks a new epoch in Bengali literature. It is also worthy of note that, while the *Tilottama* was in course of preparation, its author was engaged in writing a farce on the European model. "The farce is exquisite," commented Dr Rajendra Lala Mitra, "and it is a wonder to me how the author could paint so humorous a picture with one hand, while the other was busy with depicting the Miltonic grandeur of *Tilottama*." Similarly again, when Madhu was employed on his greatest work, the *Meghnada* (an epic), he was composing, along with it, a tragedy (the best of his dramas) and a volume of odes "If I deserve credit for nothing else, you must allow that I am at least *an industrious dog*," was Madhu's explanation of his versatility.

I will not follow Madhu to the Inner Temple. The great yearning of his heart from an early age was to visit 'England's glorious shore,' and it at last pleased Providence to gratify it. I make no apology for quoting the following letter:—

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* These passages are transcribed from Babu Gour's Reminiscences of the poet, originally addressed in the form of a letter to the author of the Memoir under review.—S. C.

"My dear Rajnarain, " *Wednesday, 4th June,* 1862.

"You will be pleased to hear that I have completed my arrangements, and, God willing, purpose starting on the morning of the 9th instant per the steamer 'Candia.' You must not fancy, old boy, that I am a traitor to the cause of our native muse. If it had not been for the extraordinary success the new verse has met with, I should have certainly delayed my departure, or not gone at all; I should have stood at my post manfully. But an early triumph is ours, and I may well leave the rest to younger hands, not ceasing to direct their movements from my distant retreat. Meghnada is going through a second edition with notes, and a *real* B. A. has written a long critical preface, echoing your verdict—namely, that it is the first poem in the language. A thousand copies of the work have been sold in twelve months.

"Well—I am off, my dear Rajnarain! Heaven alone knows if we are to see each other again! But you must not forget your friend. It's a long separation;—four years! But what is to be done? Remember your friend and take care of his fame.

"Being a poetaster I would not thing of bolting away without rhyming, and I enclose the result and I hope the thing is—if not good, at least *respectable.*"

I will not soil my hand with depicting the conduct of certain 'friends,' his constituted agents, which threw poor Madhu into infinite trouble in that distant land.

For the story of his visit to France, his troubles and return as Barrister-at-law, and his subsequent career, I must refer the reader to the book before one. His end, like that of *Meghnada* and *Krishnakumari,* was tragic in the extreme. The tale is told in painful detail in the "Reminiscences" of his friends appended at the end of the book. It is exceedingly to be regretted that, with such rich and influential friends as Madhu possessed, he should have been allowed to die the death of a pauper in a charitable hospital.

Madhu had a natural aptitude or acquiring languages, and was conversant with six European languages. French, he might be said "to have completely mastered," says Babu Rasbihari Mukherjee,—himself a scholar of no mean attainments,—it was "the vehicle of conversation with his (second) wife and children." A sonnet in French and Italian, sent to the King of Italy, on the occasion of the celebration of the third Centenary of Dante's death, brought Modhu the cordial thanks of his Majesty.

He added Latin, Greek and German to his stock. Sufficient time has now elapsed since the first appearance of *Meghnada,* by far the greatest of M. S. Dutt's works, to allow the first ebullition of enthusiasm in favour of the poem to subside, and the sediment of rancour and hollow opposition of the rhyming school of poets to settle at the bottom. It is time that sober judgment should be passed on the poet and dramatist; and the unanimous verdict of his countrymen has accorded him the highest place in modern Bengali poetry; and, if not the first, a high rank in the field of dramatic composition. In grandeur, in sublimity, grace and imagery, no other Bengali poet, either before or since, has surpassed him. Blemishes there are, some of them undeniable and glaring, in his life as in his life's work; yet, with all his faults we love him still, and we return to his books again and again. Yes, we love the man: he has an indefinable but irresistible charm about him; his eyes and his talk fascinate you; the warmth of his soul diffuses itself over the company, and wins its way into the heart of the most cynical amongst his hearers. His wit, ever-bubbling up makes you burst in merriment, while, mingled with it, the genuine and refreshing poetry of his heart involuntarily calls up the sentiment of admiration; his misfortunes and his follies invest him with a tinge of romance. And you must remember that whilst this child of fancy strikes his guitar and caters for your amusement, whilst you weep with *Seeta*, or witness the grand pageantry of the march of gallant armies at Lanka, or, soaring higher, explore the mysterious regions of heaven and hell,—grim care sits lowering at his elbow, eating his very vitals imperceptibly away.

To the great credit of Madhu's biographer, be it said, he has shown us the inner man as faithfully as we know the outer man. The materials at his command have been cleverly welded together, and our sincere gratitude is due to the author for the infinite pains he has been at, to make his story unexceptionably authentic. His criticism of Madhu's works is perfectly just and appreciative, and has saved us the responsibility of speaking on them. The letters of the poet that have been published are a study in themselves. The book is written in a highly attractive style; and the get up is excellent. One remarkable feature is a number of handsome lithograph portraits of Madhu and some of his dearest friends; the best picture of all is Raja Issur Chandra Singha in riding apparel, with his favorite horse "Eclipse." We cannot help noting a few omissions of a trifling nature in the book. One could wish to know something about the children of Madhu, and something about the copyright of his works and the different editions through which they have passed. With this slight reservation, it may be said, the volume is all that could be desired by the most fastidious.

SARAT CHANDRA CHATURJEE.

THE QUARTER.

THE most noteworthy event of the past three months, and the most important that has occurred in connexion with the administration of our Indian Empire since the annexation of Upper Burmah, is the mission of Sir Mortimer Durand to Kabul.

It is no disparagement to Lord Roberts to say that the Government of India is to be congratulated on the series of accidents which frustrated its original intention of entrusting the charge of the mission to him. The success of such negotiations with an Oriental sovereign, and especially with one of the type of Abdul Rahman, depends largely upon personal sympathy—much more largely, perhaps, than upon mere argument. Between Lord Roberts and Abdul Rahman no such sympathy existed, while the part taken by the late Commander-in-Chief in recent events in Afghanistan would have made his very presence at Kabul a source of embarrassment, if not of positive danger, to the Amir. Sir Mortimer Durand, on the other hand, was eminently a *persona grata* at Kabul, and there can be no doubt that it is to the friendly feelings existing between him and the Amir, as well as to his tact, and suavity of manner, and to his knowledge of Orientals, that the success of the mission is mainly attributable.

The assumption by the Russian Press that the tightening of the bonds of friendship and mutual interest between the Government of India and the Ameer is directed against Russia, is evidence that, in that country at least, the favourable results that have attended the mission are viewed with anything but complacency. But upon what grounds Russia can pretend that an alliance which is purely defensive, implies any menace to herself, it is difficult to conceive. She may, and probably will, find herself checkmated in any design she may entertain of establishing a commanding position on the Pamirs by extending her out-posts beyond the Kara Kul; but, in any case, this would have been an Imperial question, and the mission has only served to show that the Pamir question, according to Russian ideas, may present difficulties not hitherto counted upon by the Northern Power. The doubt so frequently thrown upon the reality of the alliance between ourselves and Afghanistan should be dispelled by the favourable reception accorded to Sir Mortimer Durand's mission. We are told that, apart from the hospitable treatment they received as guests of the Ameer, the members of the mission were much struck by the reality of the friendly feeling displayed by all with whom they came into contact; a feeling that would have been thought barely possible a few years ago.

It is probable, however, that when the mission was first projected, it was more with a view to a settlement of our own relations with the semi-independent tribes on our frontier, between Quetta and Peshawar, and our control over Chitral and other States of Yaghistan, than with an eye to what Russia might attempt on our northern frontier—although, of course, the moral effect, of a definite understanding with the Ameer with regard to the disputed Afghan claims to territory abutting on the Pamirs would not have been overlooked. The settlement with Russia regarding these claims still remains in abeyance, and although no full details have yet been made known, it is probable that the hitch to which she evidently looks forward with apprehension will occur, if it occurs at all, over the disputed ownership of Shignan and Roshan. It was probably to some misunderstanding in this connexion that Lord Rosebery alluded in his recent speech, when he said that "The negotiations at St. Petersburg are not proceeding so favourably as his more sanguine colleague at the India Office imagined." The understanding between the Indian Government and the Ameer is, we have reason to believe, in accordance with the claims put forward by the Afghans to the disputed territory; but this is an Imperial question in no way connected with the success or non-success of the mission, and no apprehension on this score need detract from the satisfaction felt at the success of the negotiations conducted on behalf of the Indian Government.

What we in India have to congratulate ourselves upon, is the fact that many misunderstandings previously existing between the Government of India and the Ameer have been cleared up in a manner satisfactory to both parties. Our relations with the Ameer have been placed upon a more satisfactory footing than they have ever been on before. On his part, the Ameer renounces all pretension to a right of interference with the Waziris and other border tribes, and accepts British control over Chitral and adjacent States. He cancels his objections to the railway station at New Chaman, on the Candahar side of the Khojak Pass, and he withdraws the soldiers and officials sent to Chagar, in Northern Beloochistan. In return, the Indian Government increases the subsidy of twelve lakhs of rupees paid to the Ameer annually, by an additional six lakhs, and undertakes that, in future, no embargo shall be laid on arms, ammunition, and military stores imported into Cabul through British India. Of these two undertakings, the latter will have the greater influence with the *Afghans*, for our rules in this respect have been somewhat arbitrary and exacting from the Afghan point of view. It is well known that the Ameer has established extensive workshops and gun-factories under the supervision of Mr. Pyne, who for the past eight years has been mainly instrumental, by teaching the Afghans the uses of machinery, in converting a city of intriguers and murderers into an industrial centre. But hitherto the restrictions imposed by the Indian Government have had a somewhat deterrent effect in limiting the development of the new industries.

But these are only a few of the questions which, apart altogether from Imperial considerations, the mission had to discuss with the Ameer. The matters of detail may well be left for future settlement, so long as the broad fact remains, that, in the Ameer, we possess an ally capable of controlling his subjects, and ruling with an authority and power hitherto unknown to the Afghans—who, above all things, respect power and the rule of the iron-hand. A man less strong, and less inclined to use his strength as occasion demands, would probably have plunged Afghanistan into civil war long ago, and this probability should be taken into consideration when Exeter Hall advocates denounce the Ameer as a " human tiger."

To turn to the other extreme of the Empire, the difference which has arisen with France, as a consequence of her recent annexations of Siamese territory, has been the subject of prolonged negotiations with that Power, the result of which is not yet accurately known to the public. According to a recent extra official Ministerial utterance, the negotiations, which are understood to concern the establishment and neutralisation of a buffer State, between British and French territory, had not proceeded so satisfactorily as was expected. It is believed, however, that the principle of a buffer State has been accepted by both nations, and it has since been reported that a Commission, on which the Government of India, strangely enough, will not be represented, is to be appointed for its delimitation.

Next to the Kabul Mission, perhaps, the most important event of the past three months, has been the speech delivered by the Viceroy at Agra in reply to an address presented to him by the Municipal Board of that city on the 10th ultimo.

The first subject dealt with by His Excellency was the results of the magnificent works for the water-supply of the city, the opening of which has been followed by a remarkable reduction in the death rate. Adverting to the heavy pecuniary burden, which the works had imposed on the people of Agra, Lord Lansdowne expressed his regret at the inability of the Imperial Government to come to their relief. "In the first place," he said, " I am bound to point out to you that the practice of assisting purely local enterprises from Imperial funds, would be an extremely dangerous one. If the Government of India once commenced it, I do not quite know where we should stop. The result would, I am afraid, in the end, be that we should have to take a great deal more money out of the pockets of the tax-payers of India in order to give it back to them, or to the more favoured portion of them, in the shape of local subventions and subsidies. In the next place, I am afraid I must confess to you that. to the best of my belief, the state of our finances during the next year or two will be such, as to make it necessary for the Finance Minister to resist strenuously any attempts to introduce new and unforeseen items of expenditure; and, in the third place, I must remind you that a Viceroy who is, as I am, on the eve of his departure, will be wise if he avoids making promises which he must obviously himself be unable to fulfil." And he added: "Whether your prayer, when it comes to be made, falls upon deaf or willing ears, I am convinced that these works will so greatly add to the comfort and convenience of your citizens, and to the health of the city, that you will never regret the sacrifices which they may involve. And I feel bound to express my admiration for the manner in which, throughout these provinces, no doubt, in a great measure, owing to the personal influence of Sir Auckland Colvin, but also owing to the public spirit of the Municipalities, these great sanitary improvements have been carried out in most of the principal cities."

But even the blessing of pure water may be purchased at too great a sacrifice; and it is more than questionable whether works on this magnificent scale are adapted to the needs of a people with so low a standard of living as the population, even of a comparatively wealthy Indian city like Agra.

This, however, was not the most important part of the Viceroy's speech; nor, had it stood alone, should we have thought it necessary to refer to it here. After disposing of the water-works, Lord Lansdowne went on to deal with the politically far more momentous question of the recent cow-killing riots; and much of what he had to say on this subject was worthy of the highest statesmanship, and deserves to be pondered deeply by every native subject of Her Majesty in India. Unfortunately, as it seems to us, he spoke with a double voice, and said some things which, though they are true enough, might have been more appropriately reserved for a different occasion, or at all events would have been better left unsaid on this occasion. After congratulating the people of Agra on their having kept themselves free from the disgrace of these riots, he said: "It is not my intention, upon an occasion of this kind, to attempt to distribute blame amongst those who have been concerned in these occurrences. There is a familiar English proverb which says, 'it takes two to make a quarrel,' and it is fair to suppose, and, indeed, all evidence points to this conclusion, that it is in some cases the Mahommedans, and in others the Hindus, who have been to blame for the conflicts which have taken place in different parts of the Empire. It would, indeed, probably be difficult to find a case in which the fault was entirely on one side. But, on whichever side it may be proved to lie, we shall not be afraid of bringing the offenders to account, because of accusations of partiality, which we may thereby draw down upon ourselves. Let me tell you in the plainest language that the Government of India has no intention of permitting these exhibitions of lawlessness to be renewed. Our policy is one of strict neutrality and toleration; but that toleration does not extend to disorder and crime, and, whoever is at the head of affairs in India, depend upon it that disorder and crime will be put down with a strong and fearless hand. The Government of India is under a two-fold obligation. We owe it to the whole community, British and Indian, to secure the public safety, and to protect the persons and property of the Queen's subjects from injury and interference. We are also bound to secure to both the great religious denominations freedom from molestation or persecution in the exercise of their religious observances. The law secures to Mahommedans the right of following the ritual which has been customary for them, and for their forefathers, while it secures to Hindus protection from outrage and insult, and for this reason it forbids the slaughter of cattle with unnecessary publicity, or in such a manner as to occasion wanton and malicious annoyance to their feelings. Let both sides understand clearly that no lawless or aggressive conduct on their part will induce us to depart by an inch from this just and honourable policy. Do not let it be supposed that the slaughter of kine for the purpose of sacrifice, or for food, will ever be put a stop to. We shall protect the religions of both sides alike, and we shall punish, according to law, any act which wantonly outrages the religious feelings of any section of the community. Let it also be clearly understood that we shall not permit any disturbance of the peace, and that, wherever violence is exhibited, we shall not be afraid to put it down by force. In acting upon these lines, we shall merely give effect to principles which have again and again been affirmed by the Government of the Queen, and which have received the sanction of successive Acts of the Legislature. Let it not be forgotten that in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which people in this country, with good reason, regard as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties, it is laid down that throughout the Indian Empire none are to be in any wise favoured, molested, or disquieted by reason of their religious faith, or observances, but that all shall enjoy alike the equal and impartial protection of the law. Let it not be forgotten that practical effect is given to these great principles in the provisions of our Codes, which render liable to severe punishment, without distinction of creed, those who desecrate places of worship, or disturb religious assemblies, or who, by their words or acts, deliberately wound the religious feelings of their neighbours. Do not let it be imagined that under pressure of an agitation like that which has lately taken place, we are going, in the face of these sanctions, to take away from one side, or the other, rights which they possess under the law. or that we shall allow one creed to persecute, or to terrorise another, merely because it happens to be numerically strongest in a particular part of the country. Let those who form the majority in any town or district, remember that, if their co-religionists are the stronger party in one place, there are other places in which they are few and their opponents numerous, and that both sides are interested in securing the protection of the minorities."

The last sentence seems to us to strike a distinctly false note; and we think it is to be regretted that it was uttered, and that the Viceroy did not content himself with appealing to the terrors which the strong arm of the British Government holds in reserve for the peace-breaker, instead of also appealing to their fear of the vengeance which, under certain circumstances, they might draw down upon themselves at the hands of their antagonists.

But it is more especially in what followed that we trace the other voice to which we have referred, and the expression of which, at such a juncture, we regret, because, it is certain that it will be interpreted as a sign of weakness. "There is one other observation," said Lord Lansdowne, "which I should like to make When I tell you that the policy of the Government of India is one of neutrality and toleration, I entreat you not to believe that our attitude towards these questions is one of mere indifference—that is not by any means the case. We know well that the religious feelings of the people of this country are strong and deep-seated; we recognise the fact that, in the eyes of a majority of the inhabitants of this country, the cow is a sacred animal, regarded with a feeling of affection and veneration, the intensity of which we can scarcely fathom; we know that they worship the animal, not only as an emblem and embodiment of their faith, but on account of the place which it occupies in the economical system of India. We have never sought to dwell upon what may seem to us the incongruities and inconsistencies of their creed. We accept the fact that it is the creed of more than 200 millions of the Queen's Indian subjects, and we are determined that nothing shall be done to outrage it gratuitously. We know also how deep is that faith which carries Mahommedan pilgrims from the remotest parts of this Continent to Mecca, which leads them to face sufferings, privation and disease in order to fulfil a religious obligation, and which causes Mahommedans to adhere to the ritual of their religion even at the risk of life and limb. I can well understand that the religious feelings of men whose convictions are so strong should at times be difficult to control; but it is the business of the Government of India to see that these feelings are not wantonly outraged, and you may depend upon it that this duty will not be neglected. The law is clear. It is our duty to enforce the law: it is yours to obey it. I appeal then earnestly to those gentlemen whose position in the Indian community enables them to exercise influence over their neighbours, and I would implore them to impress upon those who are less well informed than themselves, the folly and disastrous consequences of such acts as those which have lately taken place in these provinces and elsewhere."

Never, surely, was so apologetic a tone so unfortunatly timed, and the same remark applies equally to some of the remaining sentences of the speech, which need not be quoted here.

The Royal Commission on Opium, after holding some sixteen sittings in Calcutta, between the 19th ultimo and the 8th instant, and examining a large number of witnesses, European and Native, official and non-official, members of the medical profession and laymen, adjourned on the latter date, to the 20th instant, certain of the members having in the interval, proceeded to Rangoon, to take evidence there on the question as it affects Burmah. The evidence has disclosed an extraordinary conflict of testimony not only between lay, but also between professional witnesses. But the balance of the evidence, whether as regards the number of the witnesses or the weight of their testimony, is strongly in favour of the view that, taken in moderation, the use of the drug is unattended by any serious ill effects, moral or physical; that it is extensively and beneficially employed for medicinal purposes throughout the greater portion of the country; that the tendency to excess in its use is less frequent than in the case of alcohol; that any attempt to restrict its use to medicinal purposes, would probably be unsuccessful, and, so far as it might be successful, would lead to the substitution of more injurious stimulants or narcotics, and that the loss which the suppression of the trade would entail on the Government, could not be made good by any other form of taxation which would not be intolerably oppressive, or compensated by any economy consistent with efficient administration. Much of the evidence has been of an irrelevant or otherwise wholly worthless character, and there does not appear to be the smallest prospect of the result of the enquiry being such as to justify the appointment of the Commission, or of its adding anything of importance to the information on the subject which previously existed, and might readily have been made available to the Home Government or the public without recourse to any such elaborate and costly device.

The course of exchange, since the date of our last retrospect, though it does not justify despair, creates very serious apprehension as to the ultimate result of the closure of the Mints. Except for a few days, towards the end of November, during which Council Bills to the amount of about half a million sterling were sold at 1*s.* 3¼*d.*, rates have ruled steadily below the Secretary of State's minimum, the wants of the trade having been amply supplied from other sources. Had these consisted entirely of rupees accumulated previous to the passing of the Currency Act, and awaiting investment, or of such rupees, plus the proceeds of the silver which was in transit at the time of the passing of the Act, and which the Government took over, the result might be regarded with comparative equanimity. Its real gravity arises from the fact that, almost throughout the period, indeed, ever since the closing of the Mints, a continuous importation of bar silver, far in excess of previous conceptions of the normal consumption, has been in progress. For a short time last month, there was a slight pause in these transactions, and hopes were raised that the extraordinary demand had at last come to an end. But at this point a fresh stimulus was imparted to it by a widespread rumour, that the Government was about to impose a heavy import duty on silver, and the importations were immediately renewed on an increased scale.

To what extent the importations are required for the ordinary purposes of consumption; to what extent they depend upon the profit which, for the time being, the Native States find themselves in a position to make by coining rupees, and to what extent they are attributable to the speculative demand created by the rumour in question, it is impossible to say. It is, of course, only so far as they are justified by the normal demand, that they can be permanent; but, unless steps are taken, on the one hand, by closing the Native Mints, and on the other, by making the intentions of the Government in the matter of an import duty clear, to arrest the extraordinary demand, it may continue quite long enough to wreck the Government scheme, through the injury that will be done to the trade of the country in the interval. The effect on exchange has already been so great as entirely to neutralise the rise that must otherwise have been caused by the application of the Secretary of State for power to raise a sterling loan of ten millions, to enable him, if necessary, to meet the balance of the Home charges for the current year without recourse to Council Bills.

There are overwhelming arguments against the imposition of a duty. But even the imposition of a duty would be less fatal than a prolongation of the present uncertainty ; and, unless the Government can make up its mind definitely to impose one, it should disavow the intention imputed to it without further delay.

The difficulty created by Sir Henry Norman's withdrawal of his acceptance of the Viceroyalty, has been met after a prolonged period of supense, by the appointment of Lord Elgin, who leaves England, to assume charge of his high office, on the 5th January. Lord Elgin will bring with him the heritage of a great name, won by his father ; and, from the little that is known of him, there is reason to hope that it is associated with some share of his father's resolute and independent character.

On the 15th ultimo the Viceroy left Calcutta, in the I. M. S. *Warren Hastings*, on his last Indian tour, and his first visit to Burmah. Landing at Rangoon, where he met with a magnificent reception, His Excellency extended his journey to Mandalay and Bhamo, and returned to Calcutta on the 14th instant.

Mr. James Westland, the newly-appointed Finance Member, assumed charge of his office, in succession to Sir David Barbour, on the 27th ultimo ; and on the 30th of the same month Sir Charles Elliott returned to Calcutta and resumed his duties as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal ; while the seat in the Viceroy's Council vacated by Sir Philip Hutchins has been conferred on Sir Antony MacDonnell.

The obituary for the quarter includes the names of Prince Alexander of Battenberg ; Marshal Macmahon ; M Gounod, the celebrated musical composer ; Sir Andrew Clarke ; Sir Robert Morier, long our Minister at St. Petersburg ; Dr. Jowett, the late Master of Balliol College, and Lord Ebury.

December 12th, 1893.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Annual Report on the Police Administration of the town of Calcutta, and its Suburbs, for the year 1892.

FROM the Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs for the year 1892, it appears that in the town 27,352 cognizable cases were tried, of which number 25,031 ended in convictions in the Magistrates' Courts, and 19 in the High Court. In the suburbs 6,890 cognizable cases were tried, of which 6,518 resulted in convictions before the Magistrates, and 28 in the Sessions' Court. There has been a satisfactory decrease in serious crime, which fell below the average recorded for many years past, while there was an improvement in dealing with serious offences, in respect of the number of both cases detected and persons convicted, as well as in the amount of stolen property recovered. The number of cognizable offences under the Penal Code shows a decrease of 558, as compared with 1891, while in non-cognizable cases under the Penal Code there is a decrease of 226 in the same period.

Sixty-two false cases are adjudged to the town and 27 to the suburbs, against 58 and 18, the corresponding figures for 1891. Out of 22 town prosecutions instituted under the Penal Code for bringing false complaints, convictions were obtained in 11 cases, in two of which the offenders were sentenced to imprisonment. In the suburbs prosecutions were instituted in 16 cases, of which 9 resulted in convictions, and in 6 of these the complainant was sentenced to imprisonment.

The value of the property stolen in the town was Rs 1,13,974 against Rs. 1,17,901 in 1891 There was a satisfactory increase in the percentage of property recovered from 57·82 in 1890 and 58·05 in 1891 to 72·02 in 1892.

The number of cognizable cases reported as true was 28,472 against 28,356 in 1891. There were five cases relating to coin against seven for the preceding year, but all were unimportant, and the maximum sentence imposed was only six months' rigorous imprisonment. There were six cases of murder against four in 1891. In two of these cases the accused were convicted and executed, one resulted in an acquittal, and in another the accused was found to be insane and was ordered to be confined in an Asylum. In the fifth case no clue to the murderer could be obtained. In the remaining case two men were committed to the Sessions for having murdered and robbed an old woman, and although they each made incriminating statements before the Magistrate which led to the recovery of some of the stolen property, they were acquitted by the jury, mainly on account of some discrepancies in the police evidence. There was no case of murder by poison, and only one of attempt at murder, in in which the accused was convicted and sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. Of the four cases of culpable homicide reported, one should not have been shown in the return, as it was found by the Coroner's Jury and by the Magistrate who held the euquiry, that the death was the result of natural causes. Of the other cases, the conviction in one was for simple hurt only, under section 323, Indian Penal Code, while in the remaining two the accused were convicted of culpable homicide and sentenced, one to transportation for life, and the other to rigorous imprisonment for seven years. There was one case of unnatural offence against three cases in 1891, and in this the offender was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life. There were 31 cases of grievous hurt in which 38 persons were sent up, of whom 16 were convicted, 21 were discharged, and one was under trial at the close of the year. There were four cases of administering stupefying drugs, of which three ended in the conviction of the accused, who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from three to seven years. The remaining case should not have been returned as true, as no trace of any poison was found, and the accused was discharged by the Magistrate There were 14 cases of kidnapping against 22 in 1891. In the 51 cases of hurt by dangerous weapons reported, 80 persons were arrested, of whom 41 were convicted and 29 acquitted. The number of true cases of burglary and lurking house-trespass was 106, the same as in the preceding year, but the number of cases detected rose from 79 to 92, and that of convictions from 93 to 97. The number of thefts reported as true was 1,382, being a decrease of 113 as compared with 1891, and of 236 as compared with the average of the past four years. The number of cases detected and of convictions increased by 58 and 87 respectively. These results are very satisfactory.

There were 87 cases of suicide in the town and suburbs against 66 in 1891, and an average of 90 in the preceding five years. Over 87 per cent. of the suicides were Hindus. Fifty-four per cent. of the total number of suicides during the year were due to opium poisoning and 29 per cent. to hanging. The number of accidental deaths was 276 against 308 in 1891. Of these deaths, 28 were those of persons run over by vehicles, but no case occurred in which there was evidence of rashness or negligence. Out of the 99 persons prosecuted for rash and furious driving, 85 were convicted.

The number of vagrants admitted into the Government

Workhouse rose from 41 to 56, and 4 were left in the Workhouse at the close of 1891. Thirty-six were discharged on obtaining employment, 5 were deported from British India, and 6, for whom no employment could be found, were released under the first clause of section 16 of the Act. Two inmates of the Workhouse absconded and 6 were imprisoned, the corresponding figures for 1891 under these heads being 5 and 1 respectively.

The fire-brigade was employed at 34 fires against 26 in 1891, and of these 10 occurred in the town, 13 in the suburbs, and 11 at Howrah. There were 17 other small fires, at which assistance was rendered by the manual engines belonging to the out-stations. The most serious fire in the town occurred in the port of Calcutta on board the ship *Dumbarton Rock*, the value of the cargo destroyed, which consisted of gunny-bags, jute, &c., being estimated at several lakhs of rupees. At a fire at Balliaghatta in the suburbs, 86 houses, containing 2,00,000 maunds of rice and grain, were destroyed, the loss of property being estimated at 9 lakhs. At a fire which broke out at the Sibpur Jute Mills in Howrah, the value of the jute and other property destroyed is estimated at Rs. 3,35,000. The total loss of property from fires, excluding that on the ship *Dumbarton Rock*, is estimated at Rs. 12,95,045 compared with Rs. 1,97,100 in 1891. Two of these fires were attended with the loss of three human lives.

The actual strength of the police force employed in the town and suburbs was 2,873, the number being the same as in 1891. Of the subordinate police only 168 were Bengalis, and 1,936 were up-countrymen. Among native officers, however, the proportion of Bengalis is large and exceeds the number of up-countrymen. The percentage of casualties in the force was 8·38 against 11·69 in the preceding year. Sixty-seven men were dismissed, one deserted and 26 died, the rate of mortality being 9·49 per mille against 11·48 in 1891. The total cost of the force was Rs. 6,30,767 against Rs. 6,22,254 in 1891.

Report on the Calcutta Medical Institutions for the year 1892.

FROM the Report on Calcutta Medical Institutions for the year 1892, we gather that during the year the public health was slightly better in the town of Calcutta and the amalgamated area than in the previous year, which was one of unusual mortality throughout the province; the general death-rate in those two areas having been 27·1 and 34·8 respectively, against 27·9 and 39·4 in 1891. In Calcutta the numbers of deaths from cholera, bowel-complaints, and fever show a decrease, while those from small-pox and other causes show a slight increase. In the amalgamated area also cholera, fever, and small-pox appear to have been less prevalent, but mortality from bowel-complaints and other causes was greater than in the previous year. In Howrah the recorded death-rate has risen from 18·29 to 23·68, the increase being distributed over all the heads except small-pox and other causes. The deaths from cholera and fever increased by 281 and 369 respectively, the number of deaths from cholera having been greater than in any of the previous ten years.

Of the total number of persons treated during the year, 1,54492 were adult males, 37,707 adult females, and 59,784 children, against 153,705, 34,678, and 56,753 respectively in 1891. The statistics according to race show that there was an increase of all classes of patients except Hindus. The increase of European patients is said to be due chiefly to the increased population of the port, brought about by the stagnation of trade and the large number of vessels detained in the river, and to the popularity of the out-door department of the Eden Hospital.

The rate of mortality among the inmates of the Medical Institutions was practically the same as in several past years, *viz.*, 12·7 per cent. The death-rate, as usual, was highest in the Campbell and Howrah Hospitals, where pauper and moribund cases are sent for treatment. The death-rate among children was lower than that among adults which is 60 per cent. higher than the average rate of English Hospitals.

There was a slight increase in the small-pox cases treated in the hospitals, the numbers being 35 against 21 in the previous year. All of these cases were admitted into the Campbell Hospital and 10 of them proved fatal This the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals thinks is indicative of the absence of protection by vaccination in at least half the number of cases. Seven hundred and nine persons were admitted to hospital during 1892, suffering from cholera which in 425 cases proved fatal, giving a ratio of mortality of nearly 60 per cent. The mortality among European patients treated for this disease was higher in the General Hospital than in that attached to the Medical College. The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to find that there were no cases of cholera among the patients in the Presidency, General and Campbell Hospitals, but the Medical College and the Howrah General Hospitals did not enjoy this immunity, 6 and 4 cases respectively having occurred in those institutions. These cases are said to have been due chiefly to contaminated food obtained by the patients from outside the Hospital. There was a considerable decrease in the admissions for dysentery and diarrhœa, but the mortality shows a higher percentage. Malarial fever also was responsible for fewer admissions than in the previous year, though it is by far the most common disease in the Lower Provinces. The number of cases of venereal disease rose from 11,886 to 13,072. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals remarks that the "statistics of the Presidency General Hospital are significant of the greater prevalence of syphilis in the quarters frequented by European sailors." The figures produced in the report, however, show that the increase is slight, and there is a decrease in cases of secondary syphilis compared with the average of the last five years. The admissions for leprosy fell from 134 to 94, of whom all but six were received in the Campbell Hospital. Dr. Pilcher very properly objects to the treatment of lepers in the same ward with other patients, chiefly, it is understood, on account of the loathsomeness of the disease, for the danger of contagion, according to the conclusions of the Leprosy Commission, is very small, and he suggests that, when the new Leper Asylum is opened, they should not be admitted to the hospitals. The difficulty in the way is, that if they were all forced into the Leper Asylum, the accommodation which it is proposed to provide in that institution would be quite insufficient. The absence of enteric fever from the institutions, where only native patients are received, is noticeable, especially in connexion with the belief entertained by some that the natives of this country are to a great extent free from this disease. But Dr. Pilcher remarks that this does not set aside the conviction of many careful European and Native observers that enteric fever often attacks natives of this country. The difficulty of distinguishing it from remittent fever renders any definite opinion on this subject at present impossible, any pœans in praise of vegetarianism are premature. Turning to Surgical cases, it is satisfactory to notice the general reduction in the percentage of death after operation from 4·5 to 3·78, and the fact that in the Howrah General Hospital it fell from 8·23 to 3·01. This result is said to be due to the care and thoroughness with which the details of antiseptic surgery have been carried out. The number of dental operations performed was 2,362 against 2,275. There was a considerable increase in the number of Europeans who sought relief for dental diseases, while the number of Eurasians fell from 894 to 760. This result hardly bears out the remarks made in paragraph 45 of the report for 1891, that the teeth of mixed are more prone to decay than those of unmixed races.

In the Eden Hospital 1,609 women and children were treated, against 1,811 in the previous year. Of these, 832 were Europeans, 746 Hindus or Mussulmans, and 31 belonged to other classes. The daily average attendance of Europeans shows the large decrease of 33 per cent. The reduction in the number of admissions of European and native patients is attributed by Dr. Joubert to the opening of the out-door department. There were 28 deaths among Europeans and 67 among natives, as compared with 32 and 65 of the previous year. The number of confinement cases rose from 501 to 542, the mortality among this class of cases being 26 against 21 in 1891. The number of cases of septicæmia also rose from 24 to 31, giving a percentage of 5·7 on confinements as against 4·7 in 1891: of these 21 proved fatal. These figures show that the precautions reported as having been taken against the occurrence of this disease have unfortunately not had much effect, and the Lieutenant-Governor would again dwell on the necessity of using all possible means to minimize the chance of its appearance or extension in the hospital. His Honour has already suggested that isolation is the best way of treating it, and if funds can be provided, the necessary steps will be taken to erect a separate ward for the treatment of this disease.

The steady increase in the number of out-patients treated in the Shama Churn Law Eye Infirmary, points to the growing popularity of the Institution. The principal operations performed were extraction of lens, iridectomy and excision of the eye-ball. The operations for cataract were successful in 61 per cent. of the cases, which compares unfavourably with the results in the Howrah Hospital, where the operations were successful in 87 per cent. of the cases treated.

In the Ezra Hospital, which is intended chiefly for the sick of the Jewish persuasion, 1,555 out-patients and 350 in-patients were treated, the daily average attendance being 10·6 and 16·91 respectively against 12·63 and 16·73 in 1891. These low figures, in Sir Antony Macdonnell's opinion, hardly bear out the Inspector-General's remarks that the Institution has fulfilled the beneficent objects of its founder.

Sir Antony is made to say in the Resolution accompanying Dr. Pilcher's Report: The nursing arrangements of the Medical College and General Hospitals continue to work satisfactorily; grateful testimony to the efficiency and skill of the nurses is frequently received, and the Lieutenant-Governor desires to place on record his appreciation of the good work done by them. The encomium only proves to us that neither Sir Antony nor his Secretary has ever had the misfortune to be a patient in a Calcutta Hospital.

Mention is made that the existing provision for meeting the medical wants of the town has more than once been declared to be insufficient by the Local Government, and this opinion was endorsed by the Government of India in July 1892; that accordingly, after the close of the year under review, a Committee was appointed to report on the necessity for providing further accommodation, and the localities where it should be afforded, and that it has suggested the establishment of a hospital at Bhowanipur, and four out-door dispensaries in Wards Nos. 3, 19, 20, and 22 respectively—proposals which have received the full assent of Government. The difficulty of providing funds for the work alone retards its commencement.

The report brings into striking prominence the insignificant extent to which the medical charities of Calcutta are supported by voluntary contributions. Out of a total income of rather more than five lakhs of rupees, as much as Rs. 3,15,000 were contributed by Government, while the subscriptions from Europeans and Natives aggregated only Rs. 11,818 and Rs. 1,371 respectively. In other words, out of every Rs. 100 spent in 1892 on the Medical Institutions of Calcutta, the proportion voluntarily contributed by those whose countrymen form 81 per cent. of the patients treated was less than five annas.

Annual Report on the Sansia Reformatory School at Fatehgarh for the year 1892.

THE only portion of the miscellaneous exhibits that have gone to the making up of the Annual Report on the Sansia Reformatory School that is worth special notice, is the following pronouncement, by Mr. E. Rose, the District Magistrate :—

> My own impression is that if anything like personal freedom is allowed to these Sansia men and women when they leave the Reformatory, they will sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, return to the criminal gangs from which we have endeavoured to dissociate them. It is not a question of their training and discipline, it is not even a question of their own wishes and tendencies, but it is altogether a question of their future environment and the pressure of the conditions in which they will be placed. I am not myself sanguine enough to suppose that the discipline the children have received in the Reformatory will eradicate their hereditary tendencies, or that it will altogether obliterate the lessons of their earlier life. I do not for one moment believe that it will, but even assuming that it does (and some of my colleagues on the committee seem to think so), you will have a few married couples among a community where, if they are not altogether avoided, they will suffer more or less from their comparative isolation. They may be able to earn a living, but they cannot expect to be more free than other persons are from the struggle for life. When, therefore, they find that life outside the Reformatory is by no means so easy and pleasant as life within its walls, and when, in all probability, before they have been twenty-four hours beyond the Reformatory gates, they will have been met by other members of the criminal tribe to which they belong, or of criminal tribes so closely allied to it, as to make it difficult to distinguish where the difference lies, and when every inducement and temptation which can be brought to bear will have been sedulously applied for the return of the converts to the old life and the old pleasures, I, for one, doubt very little in which direction the choice will be. Respectability is a most uncom-

fortable garment to a person unaccustomed to wear it, and, as I think, these Sansias will certainly return to their old associations unless it is made *physically impossible for* them, this object would not be gained in any of the ways suggested by the members of the committee. The only approach to its attainment is made by the suggestion that the men should be recruited in the army. I see no objection to this if the military authorities will give their permission. The training which the boys have undergone admirably fits them for military employment, but will military authorities accept the men of a criminal tribe, however good their character may be, more especially, if they have wives to accompany them? I am afraid that it will be difficult to give practical effect to the suggestion. I doubt whether social pressure might not even make a career of this kind distasteful to the Sansias; it certainly would if they were enlisted in the police, and once their lives become disagreeable in this way, they will easily find a way of changing them. We must ensure first, entire dissociation from the criminal gangs, Sansias and others, who now wander about the country, and secondly, we must give them occupation. In my opinion, the first of these objects can only be gained by removing the Sansias beyond the limits of British India. I doubt whether within these limits complete dissociation from the criminal tribes could be ensured. Possibly their employment in the Bombay or Madras Presidencies might be safe, and in this connection the Bombay Mills may be worth attention. It is also possible that occupation might be found for them *under engagements of at least five years* in the tea plantations of Ceylon. But I can myself see no reason why they should not be sent as emigrants to the Mauritius, or some other colony to which emigration is sanctioned. The life they would lead there and its conditions would be suitable for them, and they would be surrounded by members of their countrymen. The training they have received in the Reformatory—and this remark applies to both boys and girls—has been an excellent one for the life they would lead in a colony. The boys have learnt agriculture, gardening, and shoe-making, and the girls sewing, knitting, spinning, and so forth, and, in their colonial home, these are just the qualifications they would find most useful.

Seeing that large numbers of respectable agriculturists (in the eastern part of the Benares Division, for instance) are constantly leaving India for the colonial plantations, that the life is comparatively easy and the pay good, it seems to me that no more suitable occupation could be found for the converted Sansia, than this life in a new home with surroundings which must thoroughly dissociate him from his tribe and their practices.

There is no reason why, after fulfilling their engagement with the colonial authorities, the Sansias should not return to India. Their residence, without restraint in India, would be a very different matter then.

Report on the Excise Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September, 1892.

THE "outstill" and "farmed" area decreased by 370 square miles in the districts of Bijnor, Pilibhit and Gorakhpur. In each case the facts were carefully considered by the Government before accepting the proposals made by the local officers and the Board. In Bijnor it was thought desirable to exclude the important towns of Sherkot and Najibabad from the outstill area: in Pilibhit outstills approached the head-quarters town so closely, that smuggling into it was very easy: in Gorakhpur the retention of outstills in the sadar tahsíl was considered inexpedient by the Board, in view of increasing facilities of communication, and the general development of the district. In each case a loss of revenue was accepted as unavoidable. The Commissioner of Excise reports that this loss exceeded Rs. 17,000 in 1891-92. But, as the Board point out, this calculation is based on the receipts from the actual areas from which outstills were withdrawn, and does not take account of improved receipts in the adjoining tracts which formerly drew illicit supplies from the suppressed outstills.

The increase in the still-head duty on country spirit in 1891-92 was due, not to increased consumption, but to the higher rates in force from the 1st October 1891. The decrease in the license fees for vend of country spirit was due to the same cause, the licensed vendors, in anticipation of smaller sales and reduced profits, having bid less for their licenses. Under other heads the receipts for 1891-92 were much the same as in the preceding year, though, on the figures for the previous four years, a marked decrease under "farms of country liquor," and an increase under "rum," "hemp drugs," and "opium" are noticeable.

The real receipts for 1891-92 were virtually identical with those of 1890 91, though the gross receipts were larger by 1½ lakhs.

With regard to the effect of revised still-head duty, a noticeable point in the figures quoted for the year under report, is the close correspondence of its real receipts with those of the preceding year, and the considerable deficiency which the receipts of these two years show on the average receipts of the previous five years. In 1890-91 the deficiency was attributable wholly to hard times and the high price of raw materials. In 1891-92 the seasons were good and the prices of raw materials moderate. That the receipts failed to rise to the level of former years must be mainly attributed to the changes in the excise system, which were introduced from the 1st October, 1891. The first effect of these was a decrease of Rs. 4,23,737, or 33 5 per cent., in the sums paid for retail licenses, compared with the payments for the year immediately preceding. The second was an increase of Rs. 5,04 000 in the still-head duty receipts on account of country liquor, conjoined with a decrease of 75,000 gallons in the quantity of liquor on which the duty was paid. On these figures the still-head duty paid in 1891-92 averaged Rs. 1·42 a gallon against Re. 1 in 1890-91. But as the Commissioner shows, the real rise in the still-head duty was much higher than this comparison indicates. In 1891-92 no country liquor of strength exceeding 25° under proof was allowed to be issued, and of the issues, 13 per cent. were of a strength of 50° below proof. In 1890-91 no such restriction was in force, and it is believed, on good evidence, that the average strength was as high as 15° below proof. Reduced to proof spirit, the comparative gallonage of the two years would therefore give a decrease of 200,000 gallons, or 20 per cent., in 1891-92 on the consumption in 1890-91, and an increase of 70 per cent., or from Re. 1·17 to Rs. 2, in the still-head duty per gallon of proof spirit. If to the still-head duty the incidence of the license fees in each year be added, the total tax on each gallon of proof spirit is represented by Rs. 2·8 in 1891-92 against Rs. 2·1 in 1890-91. The reforms introduced were not made in the interest of the revenue, but for the sake of sound excise administration. The improved methods of distillation practised by country distillers, the increasing strength at which liquor was issued from their stills, the high profits made by retail vendors, through the opportunity thus afforded of watering down liquor before its sale to the consumer, and the gambling element thereby introduced into the competition for retail licenses at the annual auction sales, led the Government to recast the system, whereby a uniform still-head duty of Re. 1 per gallon, irrespective of strength, was levied on all issues of country liquor. The soundness of the principle that still-head duty should be proportioned to strength is recognised by the Board and the Commissioner, and is self-evident. That its novelty in its practical application to country stills should have given rise to difficulties in making the license settlements for the year under report, and should have resulted in many districts in a heavy fall of income from this source, is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that, in the effort to pass on the higher still-head duty to the consumer, through the time-honoured method of watering down liquor, or by raising prices to an extreme height, the licensees not unfrequently have over reached themselves, driven their customers away, and considerably reduced their turn-over in the year. These matters will gradually find their own solution. The Government agrees with the Board and the Commissioner that it would be a most mistaken policy to so enhance the price of country liquor as to turn the people in considerable numbers to hemp drugs or opium, or to encourage illicit distillation. But it is by no means clear that this will result from a still-head duty of only Rs. 2 the gallon of proof spirit, especially when the increase in the duty is accompanied by a large fall in the speculative outlay which the retail dealers have hitherto incurred on licenses.

The numbers of retail shops was 5,315 against 5,427 in

1890-91. Including outstills and farmed shops, there was one shop for retail vend of country spirits to every 6878 persons. According to the Excise Commissioner, the corresponding figures for Ireland are one shop for every 300 inhabitants.

Could Mr. Caine, Mr. Evans, and other blatant fanatics be induced to make a note of this suggestive parallel, to read it in connection with preceding paragraph, to discover that charity begins at home, to acknowledge that the Indian demon of drink is not 10 per cent. as black as they are so fond of painting him?

On a cognate subject Mr. Stoker's conclusions are (1) that, with the possible exception of the class of mendicants and religious devotees, excessive indulgence in hemp drugs does not prevail among the population of the N. W. P. and Oudh; (2) that there is, however, a slow and irregular tendency towards the use of hemp drugs in preference to spirituous liquors, fostered partly by the pressure of high food-prices on the poorer classes of society, and partly by the increased stringency of the excise on country spirits; (3) that, too much of the drug revenue is at present left to the mercy of competition: but that, defective though it may be in this respect, the present system cannot be accused of encouraging the use of the hemp drugs by making them procurable at a low price. Compared with the cost of production, the retail price of drugs is enormously high.

The real receipts from opium license fees were about the same as in 1890-91. The number of opium shops was reduced from 1,140 to 990. The total quantity of opium taken was 1,703 maunds against 1,649, in 1890-91.

The number of licenses for sale of *madat* and *chandu* stood at 26 during the year, but has since been reduced to 14; and consumption on the premises of the licensees has now been absolutely prohibited. The Commissioner considers that the prohibition was an eminently right and beneficial measure; but apprehends that, for some time to come, chandu smoking will be carried on in private unlicensed houses under conditions which do not create an offence against the existing law. The legal question involved has already engaged the attention of the Government.

The incidence of revenue per head of the population was very much the same as in years immediately preceding, being 1·79 annas per head against 1·74 in 1890-91, and 1·96 in 1889-90. The consumption of country liquor was considerably less than in former years, and represented little more than one wine-glass per head. The Commissioner of Excise inclines to the opinion that the new system has swung too far in the direction of repression, and in causing liquor to be dear and bad.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st December 1892.

EXCLUDING sanitary offences, which have little to do with police working, the returns show a decrease of 1,120 cases from 1888 and of 31,797 cases from last year.

The bulk of the decrease in cognizable crime has been in classes III and V. In the former class there has been a falling off of 15,903, and in the latter of 14,508 cases. Looking further into details it will be found that in class III the decrease has been entirely under Serial Nos. 36 and 37, burglary, and in class V under Serial Nos. 44 and 46—theft, and receiving stolen property.

Under cattle theft, the decrease is said to be real and to be due to the very stringent repressive measures which have of late years been adopted in dealing with this class of crime.

With regard to burglaries and thefts (ordinary), the decrease is attributed (1) to better harvests, (2) especially in the case of burglaries, to the incarceration of the Sansias and the preventive measures taken under the bad livelihood sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, which, during the last three years have resulted in the consignment to jail of between four and five thousand habitual criminals, and (3) to the removal to some extent of the practice which has been yearly growing stronger, of requiring from station officers a certain number of reports per 10,000 of population,

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Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab, during the year 1892-93.

FROM the report on the Excise Administration in the Punjab for the official year 1892-93, we gather that the increase of the income from drugs has been in round numbers Rs. 30,000. Of the receipts from license fees about two-thirds are put down to opium and one-third to preparations of hemp. But as the licenses for retail vend of opium and hemp drngs are usually sold together, it is impossible to base any definite conclusions on these figures as to the comparative popularity of these two kinds of drugs. In the current year there has been a rise of Rs. 10,000 in the bids for drug licenses, which may be due in part to the cheapness of imported charas in the year under report. According to Provincial Statement C, the sales of opium, charas, and bhang effected by licensed vendors were less in 1892-93 than in the previous year.

There has been a great decline in the proceeds of the acreage duty on poppy cultivation. This is due in part to a falling-off in the area put under the poppy, in those districts in which the duty was doubled in 1889 and 1891. In six districts the tax has been kept at its old rate of 8 annas per quarter acre. Four of these are the great opium-producing districts of the Province, where the cultivators really grow the poppy for sale and not for their own consumption. Mr. Walker has suggested that the "exceptional treatment" of the area under poppy in the other two districts, Simla and Gujrat, may now cease in view of their very small outturn of opium. But there was nothing exceptional in the treatment of Simla, where opium is manufactured for export. The total outturn is necessarily small, amounting to only some 20 maunds yearly, but the poppy is, relatively to the cultivated areas of the two districts, a much more important crop in Simla than in Umballa, which produces 700 or 800 maunds. The case of Gujrat is different. The acreage under the poppy there is small, and the outturn of opium in the year under report was only between three and four maunds.

Reports regarding the effect of the measures adopted against opium-smoking are satisfactory. In suppressing the establishments in which, as a matter of business, facilities were provided for those already disposed to smoke opium and temptations were held out to others to acquire the practice, and limiting to one tolah the amount of any preparation of opium which a private person may possess, we have gone as far as, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, it is legitimate for a Government, and especially for a foreign Government like ours, to go towards repressing a vice of this kind. If, as has been suggested by some, we were to attempt to interfere with the smoking of opium in private houses, the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease. Messrs Caine and Evans, and obscurantists of that sort, are invited to consider and distort the plain meaning of this Gubernatorial deliverance.

Review of the Trade of India in 1892-93.

Mr. O'Conor inclines to pessimism, and is fonder of infructuous retrospects than beseems a man of demi-officially settled convictions.' In his Report for 1892-93 he tells us essentially that the trade of India has been very unfavourably affected in the last three years. Because in 1890-91 its course was violently interrupted by a sudden and rapid rise in exchange followed by an equally sudden and rapid fall; because in 1891-92 exchange fell still further and heavily, and a reaction in the import trade followed the temporary stimulus given to it by the rise in exchange in the preceding year; because, thirdly, trade generally was depressed, except in wheat and seeds for which there was a large demand arising out of the failure of the Russian and other European harvests. In 1892-93 this demand no longer existed and the depression of trade continued, accompanied by a further fall in exchange, so continuous and persistent as to create grave anxiety. Imports were greatly reduced in volume, merchants being reluctant to import and dealers to buy, while exchange remained in such a condition that transactions might involve them in the most serious embarrassments. Exports also were restricted, by reason partly of lack of demand in Europe, where trade was generally much depressed, partly of abundant supplies from other countries, and partly of more or less unfavourable harvests in India.

Mr. O'Conor states that a large number of our staple imports declined either in quantity or value, or in both, during the year of report a decline being visible in such important items as cotton yarns and piece goods, woollen goods, apparel, copper, iron, steel, tin, zinc, railway materials, coal, salt, sugar, tea, spices, raw silk, hardware and cutlery, glassware, and paper. There were increases in beer, spirits, provisions, machinery, mineral dyes, mineral oils, manufactured silk, matches, umbrellas, and some other items ; but they were of no importance in comparison with the decline in the articles mentioned above. No mention is made of potato engendered whiskey, shipped from Hamburg, or of other deleterous compounds, known to the Trade and the Law Courts as colourable imitations.

It is written that in the export trade the articles which declined either in quantity or in value, or in both, were : coffee, rice, wheat, other grains and pulse, provisions, sugar, tea, opium, myrabolams, castor oil, hides (raw), linseed, poppy seed, earthnuts, coir, shell and button lac, and that there were, on the other hand, increases in raw cotton and cotton yarn and piece goods, in jute and jute goods, indigo, castor, rape, and til seed, silk and wool, teak, and skins (raw). The increases in these articles, however, did not suffice to counterbalance the decline in other staples, especially in wheat, and on the whole the export trade was less by 1½ per cent in value than the trade of the preceding year. In 1891-92 the failure of harvests in Europe caused such an expansion of the wheat trade as to save the export trade generally from showing an appreciable decline. Last year the position was reversed, for the export trade generally would have shewn an appreciable increase but for the restriction of the wheat trade within normal limits.

Triennial Report on the Working of the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for the years 1890, 1891, *and* 1892. By J G. PILCHER, ESQ., F. R. C. S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal. Bengal Secretariat Press. 1893.

THE number of dispensaries increased from 261 on the 31st December 1889, to 310 at the end of 1892. Almost all the new institutions belong to classes II and III, *viz.*, other than purely State dispensaries—a circumstance which possibly indicates that local bodies and private individuals have shown greater interest in affording medical relief to the people. The Lieutenant Governor is constrained to animadvert, nevertheless, that, looking to the large population of the Province, the number of dispensaries are still far too small to meet the acquirements of the people. The remedy is easy. A few more creations of Maharajahships, a few more inductions into the Companionship of the Order of India, will obviate any existent obstructions to the flow of charity. Meanwhile, we note that of the 299 dispensaries from which returns have been received, 193 were under the immediate charge of medical subordinates of the Government establishment, and 106 were under local native doctors, so that on the 31st December 1892, Government medical officers held charge of about two-thirds of the institutions, and that local bodies generally prefer to employ medical subordinates of the Government establishment in their dispensaries, and that it is only when they are unable to meet the pay of these officers that they appoint their men locally under rule 9 of the Dispensary Manual. In plain words—it is idle to expect Bengalis to disburse one pice for any object short of a Rai Bahadurship, or a Companionship of the Indian Empire, until they are obliged to do so. The old Delhi Emperors understood Bengali character a deal better than we do, and, what is more to the point, were, for their straightforwardness, *liked* a deal better than we are.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

Rulers of India. Aurangzíb. BY STANLY LANE-POOLE, B.A., Author of the Catalogue of Oriental and Indian Coins in the British Museum, the Life of Viscount Stratford De Redcliffe, etc., Oxford : at the Clarendon Press : 1893.

IN the "Rulers of India" scheme of publication, as at first contemplated, Sir W. W. Hunter was to have undertaken the account of Aurangzib's reign. In the *Nineteenth Century* for May 1887, he had put forth a tentative sketch—"The Ruin of Aurangzib," and he had been at pains to collect materials for a matured history of the period. Something intervened to hinder or prevent him from the fulfilment of his initial intention. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has taken up the work ; and his name is ample guarantee that it has not suffered because of the exchange. Sir W. W. Hunter made over to the author the data he had collected, and the debt is handsomely acknowledged in a "Note on authorities" that serves as a preface.

The keynote of the monograph is an exemplification of the ruin following on the reversal of Akbar's policy of religious toleration, and welding together of race differences. Akbar's concept was a great nation, powerful, because united. His great grandson subordinated statesmanship to bigotry—according to oriental lights, a capable sovereign in other respects besides that, dissimulating, crafty, treacherous, ungrateful, with always an eye open for what seemed to his selfish outlook, the main chance. Mr. Lane-Poole's chapters are well arranged. Introductorily there is a *resume* of immediately bygone history, an elucidation of "The Heritage of Akbar," an appraisement of the prince's character, *quâ* prince, and his claims to the throne, and then "The fight for the Throne."

> A singular light is cast upon the instability of the imperial organization when it is remembered that no Mughal King dared to absent himself from the public levees for more than a day or two, for fear of a general rebellion. The people were satisfied only if they could see their king : if he were not seen he must be dead. Even Jahángír, after his nightly debauch, had to 'pull himself together,' *coute que coute*, and make his punctual appearance at the levee window. Sháh-Jahán's absence from his accustomed seat overlooking the great Hall of Audience could not fail to arouse suspicion, and the rumour that he was dead, in spite of Dárá's assurances, spread rapidly throughout the provinces, and every man looked to his weapons and made ready for the fray. Bernier describes the tumult of this anxious time :—
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> > The Mughal's illness filled the whole extent of his dominions with agitation and alarm. Dárá collected powerful armies in Delhi and Agra, the principal cities of the kingdom. In Bengal, Sultán Shujá' made the same vigorous preparations for war. Aurangzíb in the Decan and Murád-Bakhsh in Gújarát also levied such forces as evinced a determination to contend for empire. The four

> brothers gathered round them their friends and allies; all wrote letters, made large promises, and entered into a variety of intrigues . . . Meanwhile the King's distemper increased, and it was reported that he was dead. The whole Court was in confusion; the population of Agra was panic-stricken; the shops were closed for many days; and the four Princes openly declared their settled purpose of making the sword the sole arbiter of their lofty pretensions. It was, in fact, too late to recede: not only was the Crown to be gained by victory alone, but in case of defeat, life was certain to be forfeited. There was now no choice, but between a kingdom and death.'

"Kingship counts no kinship." The oriental universality and popular acceptance of this proverb appears to Mr. Lane-Poole to justify the murders that paved Aurangzib's way to the Throne, and lie at the root of the denunciations of his detractors. Aurangzib was lucky, in short, sucessful to the end. An oriental prince, says our historian, cannot be happy without a throne, and so "it becomes a matter of sheer necessity, and not a question of jealous suspicion, to make it impossible for him to attain his ambition. In the present day this is done by imprisoning him in the *seraglio* till he becomes idiotic. The old, and perhaps the most merciful way, was to kill him outright." On like lines of arbitration successful treason is no longer treason, and the "elect" of some dissenting Christian denominations can commit no sin, whatever the criminal law of the country they are domiciled in, may declare adversely to that assumption. In short, everything is for the best, in this best of all possible worlds. We do not see our way to sharing this comfortable belief, even with respect to the teachings of history.

Worthier moral may, we think, be derived from study of the following passage, in judicious comparison with the known effects of getting religion amongst European potentates of the same period—Charles the ninth of France, and Philip the second of Spain for instance.

> Aurangzíb was, first and last, a stern Puritan. Nothing in life—neither throne, nor love, nor ease—weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam. For religion he persecuted the Hindús and destroyed their temples, while he damaged his exchequer by abolishing the time-honoured tax on the religious festivals and fairs of the unbelievers. For religion's sake he waged his unending wars in the Deccan, not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his great empire, as to bring the lands of the heretical Shí'a within the dominion of orthodox Islâm. To him the Deccan was *Dár-al-Harb*: he determined to make it *Dár-al-Islam*. Religion induced Aurangzíb to abjure the pleasures of the senses as completely as if he had indeed become the fakír he had once desired to be. No animal food passed his lips, and his drink was water; so that, as Tavernier says, he became 'thin and meagre, to which the great fasts, which he keeps, have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet [four weeks, in 1665], which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzíb only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him; and since that time he has never had perfect health.* Following the Prophet's pre-

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* Tavernier's *Travels*, transl. Dr V Ball (1889), vol. i. p. 338.

> cept that every Muslim should practise a trade, he devoted his leisure to making skullcaps, which were doubtless bought up by the courtiers of Delhi with the same enthusiasm as was shown by the ladies of Moscow for Count Tolstoi's boots. He not only knew the Koran by heart, but copied it twice over in his fine calligraphy, and sent the manuscripts, richly adorned, as gifts to Mecca and Medína Except the pilgrimage, which he dared not risk, lest he should come back to find an occupied throne, he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim. Even the English merchants of Súrat, who had their own reasons for disliking the Emperor, could only tell Ovington, that Aurangzíb was a zealous professor of Islám, 'never neglecting the hours of devotion nor anything which in his sense may denominate him a sincere believer.' *

A contemporary native historian declared that he never put on clothes prohibited by religion, or used vessels of silver and gold. Tavernier has left it on record that he *saw* the Emperor drink out of a rock-crystal cup, with a gold cover and saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. Apart from his religious fanaticism, Aurungzib is adjudged to have displayed in state concerns, the wisdom and judgment of a clear and thoughtful mind. It is confidently asserted that, "according to the law of Islam," no act of injustice has been proved against him, and that, although avaricious and niggardly, he could on an emergency be generous to his poorer subjects.

> Soon after his accession to the throne, he found that the late devastating movements of the contending armies, combined with a drought, had produced a famine in the land. He at once established houses for the distribution of free dinners, and ordered the remission of about eighty taxes, including the vexatious highway and ferry tolls, the ground cess on houses and shops, &c. Other taxes, such as those on Hindú and Muhammadan fairs, licences for spirits, gambling-hells, and houses of ill-fame, were probably abolished from religious motives: the Puritan King would not take toll for iniquity. But the rest could only have been remitted for the sake of helping a necessitous population. Aurangzíb had too strong an army at his back to be obliged to cultivate popularity at the cost of a serious loss to his exchequer. It is true the remission of many of these taxes was evaded by the local officials and landowners, who continued to collect them with the connivance of the imperial inspectors; but this was the fault of a defective or corrupt executive, not of the Emperor's good intention. When such infractions of his orders came to his knowledge, the offenders were fined; but the royal anger was shortlived, and the culprits were too soon forgiven, and returned to their old ways of oppression.

Cynical critics have explained Aurungzib's ineffectual generosity as an ingenious contrivance to curry favour with the people, without impoverishing his Imperial Treasury. One commentator on his reign. Dr. Careri, seems to incline to the opinion that he connived at his Amirs' misdeeds in order to gain their support. "The plain interpretation, however, of the remission of taxes as an act of bounty, dictated by the Koranic injunction of benevolence to the needy, and the son of the road, is simple, and more consistent with all we know of the Emperor's disposition." At the same time his abnormally suspicious disposition should be taken account of in State business as well as in his private life. He had, of course, a taster—some say his daughter—to test the wholesomeness of his food, and, if he took medicine, his physician had to give him a lead, and take pill for pill, dose for dose, in order that their operations on the *corpus vile* of the medico, might be apparent before he ventured on swallowing them.

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* Ovington's *Voyage to Surat in the year* 1689 (Lond. 1669), p 195.

Mr. Stanley Poole throws no new light on the acts, the facta of Aurangzib's reign, and no useful purpose would be served by following him step by step through the two hundred and odd pages of his careful history. The pith of it lies in his analysis of the monarch's character and its disintegrating effects on the Empire which Akbar had built up and consolidated. As, of course, severely orthodox Muslims of his own and of later days have sung his praises, and extolled his virtues abundantly. His courtiers and other of his subjects who knew him, lived in constant dread of awakening his suspicions, and thereby ruining themselves, and, while they feared, resented his prying distrustful scrutinies. He was, as Emperor, universally respected, but never loved.

> The very loftiness of his nature kept his people at a distance, while his inflexible uprightness and frigid virtue chilled their hearts.
>
> This cold austerity of Aurangzíb destroyed his influence Few kings have had better intentions, but the best will in the world will not bring popularity, or make men do what you think right, merely because they know you think it so. The people saw through the suave manner and placid amiability of the judge who listened so indulgently to their petitions, and perceived a bigot's atrophied heart behind the gracious smile. It has been usual to call the character of Aurangzib a puzzling compound of contradictions. Yet there is no inconsistency in his acts or words. His character is that of the Puritan, with all its fiery zeal, its ascetic restraint, its self-denial, its uncompromising tenacity of righteous purpose, its high ideals of conduct and of duty ; and also with its cold severity ; its curbed impulses, its fanaticism, its morbid distrust of 'poor human nature' its essential unlovableness Aurangzíb possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues ; but he was lacking in the one thing needful in a leader of men : he could not win love. Such a one may administer an empire but he cannot rule the hearts of men.

The Life and Enterprises of Ferdinand De Lesseps. By G. BARNETT SMITH, author of "The History of the English Parliament," "Victor Hugo, his Life and Work," "The Biographies of Gladstone and Bright." London, W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 13 Waterloo Place, S. W., 1893.

IN our ignorance we had hitherto supposed that the author of the Suez Canal scheme was a Civil Engineer professionally, as well as by temperament—a mistake we have shared, we take it, with not a few of the genus, general reader. It appears, however, from Mr. Barnett Smith's story of the life and enterprises of Ferdinand de Lesseps, that the grand old Frenchman began life, like his father before him, in the Diplomatic

Service, and was in 1825, when he was twenty years of age, appointed *Attaché* to the French Consulate at Lisbon. Thence he was tranferred to Tunis, and shortly afterwards to Algiers. Seven years—1832 to 1838 inclusive—he spent in Egypt. For a time he officiated as Consul General at Alexandria, where he acquired influence and popularity with Mehemet Ali and his court. The knowledge of the country and the people at this time secured stood him in good stead when he undertook the great achievment of his life. Meanwhile, he went as Consul to Rotterdam, to Malaga, and Barcelona; thence as Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid; after a year there, to Rome, accredited to the newly constituted Republican Government of Italy. Louis Napoleon was then Prince President, and played a double part at one end of the wire; Mazzini doing the same at the other. The first time the latter was unmasked, he "threw himself into his visitor's arms, and they continued their negociations," a more strict regard for promises being guaranteed by the Italian. Next day DeLesseps learnt that Mazzini had on his table several small sheets of very thin paper, upon which were written appeals to the French soldiers to mutiny. He promptly went to the palace of the consulate, as if paying a call, and was able in the course of an interview to lay hold of one of the incriminating documents and to secure it in the crown of his hat. Here is the rest of the story.

> He then said to the Triumvir, "Do you know what I am told? You were twice led away by your friends, conspirators by habit, and you have twice tried to deceive me. This is the third time. I am informed that you have meditated sending proclamations to the French troops. The French soldier would burn down his mother's house if he received orders to do so. Despite your experience, you do not know the French soldier, and you have consequently made a great blunder." He denied the accusation. Whereupon I said, taking the proclamation out of my hat, 'What do you mean by No? I have done to-day a thing that I will never do again, and that is, to lay my hands upon this sheet of paper." Again Mazzini embraced his accuser, and again they vowed a vow of eternal friendship—as in the comedy—, and the negotiations were resumed.

Straightforwardness seems to have been impossible to Mazzini—even when he was conscious that want of candour had an injurious effect on his plottings. The end of the diplomatic duello was that DeLesseps was discredited, recalled, put on his trial before the Council of State, condemmed, "for reasons of State", and driven out of the Diplomatic Service. Retiring into private life, he became land-agent to his mother-in-law, who owned a considerable estate. Son-in-law. Ferdinand, built a model farm on it, and restored an ancient castle which had belonged to Agnes Sorel. He was always an odd amalgam of practicality and sentiment.

Farming leaves abundant room in a man's head for extraneous thought. In the comparative leisure of his life on the farm in Berry from 1849 to 1854, DeLesseps conceived the idea of the Suez Canal. Studying every thing connected with the flow and returns of trade between the worlds, of the West and East, he noted that the traffic was doubling itself every ten years: and came to a conclusion that the time had arrived at which the formation of a Company for canal construction could develope that traffic in a marvellous manner.

In 1852 he submitted his views to the Sublime Porte, but was snubbed for his pains. Two years afterwards Saïd Pasha became Viceroy of Egypt and invited the Canal Projector to draw up a formal memorandum on his scheme. This was done, the total estimated cost for the Canal being set down at £200,000, and for the port and harbour of Suez, £500,000. The scheme was approved of, and an Act of Concession for the land, etc., required, legally executed on the 30th November 1854.

> Once in possession of his concession, M. de Lesseps said to the Viceroy, "I am not a financier, or a man of business. What do you think I had best do?" The engineer had many colleagues and friends who were rich, so he got a hundred of them to join him, and proposed to found a Company with them. Each put in a share of £200, which share by the year 1887 was worth £40,000. This sum served for the preliminary investigations which were made by engineers brought from Europe to examine the ground. This had never before been done, as no one had ever dreamt that the canal could be made. But DeLesseps had always been of opinion that, as the two seas were on the same level, the work to be undertaken must be a purely maritime one. He never wavered from this, and his perseverance had its reward. When the money subscribed by himself and his friends had all been spent, he said to the Viceroy—"The question as to the possibility of making the Canal settled, would you like me to put myself in the hands of financiers at Paris, who would probably get the better of me?" Saïd replied that he had a good reserve fund,—Egyptian finance being not then in the terrible condition into which it afterwards fell,—and he would bear all the cost. In forming his Company, De Lesseps introduced a clause according to which a certain percentage of the profits was to go to the Egyptian Government. Matters being arranged, the engineers set to work, and began to make their surveys for the Canal. The opposition of England, however, was for a time so pronounced and persistent, that the Viceroy was almost at his wits' end.

At the head of that opposition was Lord Palmerston, then the Premier: at Constantinople again, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the all powerful ambassador, was a vehement opponent. DeLesseps had many adverse influences arrayed against him, but was not without friends and supporters, even in England—notably Mr. Roebuck (Punch's dog Tearem) Mr. Rendel, the leading Hydraulic Engineer in England, Mr. Thomson Hankey, Governor of the Bank of England, Messrs Anderson Wilcox, and de Zuluela, Directors and Founders of the P. and O. Steam Company, Captain Welch, R. E, Secretary of the Admiralty, &c., &c. Napoleon the third and his countrymen in France from the first looked with a favourable eye on the project. The Porte was not averse to it, but considered its interests in the matter bound up in those of England, which country—it was just after the Crimean War—it felt bound to consult before committing itself to action. Finally a subscription list was started in France. Some amusing incidents are recorded with reference to it thus:—

> "I had rendered M de Rothschild some services while Minister at Madrid, and he was good enough to recognise them.
>
> "'If you wish it,' he said, 'I will open your subscription at my office.'
>
> "'And what will you ask me for it? I answered, enchanted.
>
> "'Good Heavens! It is plain you are not a man of business. It is always five per cent.'
>
> "'Five per cent on two hundred million (£8,000,000); why, that makes ten millions! (£400,000,). I shall hire a place for 1200 francs, and do my own work equally well' (*Approving laughter*).
>
> "Well, the Grand Central had just left the Place Vendôme. There I established my offices, and thither the capital flowed in in abundance.
>
> "By the advice of the Viceroy, I had reserved for foreign Powers a portion of the shares. But France alone took of the whole amount 220,000, the equivalent of 110,000,000 francs (£4,400,000).
>
> "I witnessed in the course of the subscription some curious facts full of patriotism. Two persons in particular wished to subscribe. One was an old bald headed priest, doubtless an old soldier, who said to me—
>
> "'Oh, those English!—(*Laughter*)—I am glad to be able to be revenged on them by taking shares in the Suez Canal.'
>
> "The other who came to my office was a well-dressed man, I know not of what profession.
>
> "'I wish,' said he, 'to subscribe for the railway of the island of Sweden' (*le chemin de fer de l'île de Suede*).
>
> "'But,' it was remarked to him 'it is not a railway, it is a canal;' it is not an Island, it is an isthmus; it is not in Sweden, it is at Suez.
>
> "'That's all the same to me'—(*Renewed laughter*)—he replied; 'provided it be against the English, I subscribe.'
>
> "The same patriotic eagerness was found in many priests and military men. At Grenoble a whole regiment of Engineers clubbed together to have its share in a work so eminently French. Even men of letters, and retired public servants, who generally do not invest a sou in business, showed their desire to encourage our efforts.

The close of the year 1858, saw the Universal Company of the Maritime Suez Canal in full swing; considerably over half the capital had been raised in Europe, chiefly in France: the Khedive contributed the remainder.

The National Review. W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, Publishers to the India Office, 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, London, S. W, November, 1893.

TO all well-wishers of India, we would recommend study of an Article in the *National Review* for November by Mr. H. E. M. James. After nearly thirty years of administrative experience, he, while reluctant to assert that "any direct connection between political agitation and the Hindu revival has as yet been traced," unburdens his mind after a manner that may be gleaned from the following excerpts:—

> Agitators, themselves eating beef and drinking brandy, utilize Hinduism as a means for attacking the Government, on the ground that it is interfering with religion. Witness the outcry against the "Age of Consent" Act. One would have thought that enlightened Hindus would have been shocked at the revelations; but no, they raised a long-drawn howl of religion in danger, not because they believed it, but merely because they hated the Government. Recently the barbarous practice of hook-swinging, which was stopped thirty-five or forty years ago by executive order, has been revived in defiance of the known wishes of the Government, and affords another instance of growing disrespect for authority.
>
> That the heart of the masses is sound, I have no manner of doubt. That the best of them, whether advanced or conservative, regret religious excesses or silly political scheming, I make no question. As a race they would protest with terror against any proposal to diminish the number of their English rulers and to hand them over to their own ambitious countrymen. Nor do I look on any connection with the Congress or similar meetings as a crime. One of my most valued old friends, an excellent and useful citizen, once attended a congress, and read papers on reducing drunkenness and the institution of more model farms, which being non-political subjects, were scarcely noticed by the more ardent spirits. But I repeat that danger comes from the windbags. With a few rare exceptions the principal result of Lord Ripon's local self-government experiments has been the production of the thing by the hundred, and ill-informed people in England are inclined to trust them. Yet I make bold to say that there is not one municipality or local board out of twenty in which, if the English or official members left it, any progress would be made save a job now and then. How often have I entreated English business men to join such bodies, and been told that they cannot stand the talking, the waste of time, the perpetual adjournments of questions, instead of coming to a business-like decision, and the cliques. If a rate has to be imposed, say for a new water supply, the ordinary native will always propose octroi on some necessary of life, or if forced into a rate on property, fashions it so that the poor pay much more in proportion than the rich. However he may bluster against his rulers, he is timidity itself when he goes amongst his caste-people and his women-folk, for he dare not face unpopularity. The British officer, perhaps, does not always make sufficient allowances for the local pressure that is brought to bear on native members by people who are conservative to the backbone, and want to stew in the same juice as their forefathers, and he expects too great sacrifices. On the other hand, paradoxical though it appears, if you handed over a province to the control of a native administration, entirely free to follow their own traditional methods, they could raise two or three times the revenue that we do. They would double the land revenue and the income-tax, cover the country with shop-taxes, transit-duties, customs, cesses, and monopolies, and would grind the poor tax-payer, as distinguished from their own neighbours and rate-payers, to their hearts' content.
>
> Windbags do especial harm by retarding true progress and the efforts made by British officers and sensible natives to develop local self-government. But, in Bengal, there is a worse class than windbags. A certain number, as I have already said, are animated by genuine

spite against the British. In Lower Bengal, when I was there, a few individual officers were marked men, and the slightest slip was sure to be followed by an attempt to ruin them.

The November number of the *National Review* is both bright and solid, although bright is a very inadequate epithet to bestow on Alfred Austin's charming prose idyll, "The garden that I love," and solid is hardly the right word in connection with H. D. Traill's pithily humorous "In Cabinet Council." Of the dozen articles contained within the yellow covers of No. 129 not one need be skipped; and an Irish Girl's letter, "The Silver Lining" is fully as good as the articles. Mr. Arthur James Balfour's on Golf is sure to attract attention.

Essays on Indian Social Reform.—By an Indian with which is presented, for the consideration of the Indian people generally, a very easy Practical Beginning of a most important Social Reform comprised in the scheme, of the New India Association. Bombay: Printed at the Ripon Printing Press, Kalkadevi, 1893.

A TRACT has been sent us from Bombay, entitled *Essays on Social Reform, by an Indian,* who propounds "three processes by which really useful social reforms can be brought about in the country." To wit :—

1*stly*—by legislation, which will be the most expeditious in its results; or

2*ndly*—by empowering and recommending Municipalities to bring them about; or

3*rdly*—by a voluntary movement of the people themselves.

As to the first process, we may remark that Legislation is not a God, and cannot affect the workings of men's and women's souls.

As to the second process, we would suggest for the author's regard, consideration of the fact that Municipalities have not hitherto shown capacity for the management of their own petty vestry business.

As to the third process, the author, in his "1stly," more than implies that he himself has no faith in the saving virtues of his "3rdly."

The "Essays" are prefaced by advertisement of a New India Association, "with ramifications all over the country," anyone desirous of "enlisting" a sa member of which, is required to affirm as follows :—

> If a married man, he has to affirm that he will not marry at least one of his sons, if he has more than one, till he has an income of his own sufficient to provide for all the wants of a family.
>
> If a single man, he has to affirm that he will not allow himself to be

> married till he has competence of his own sufficient to provide for all the wants of a married state.

For two generations past postulants for notoriety have from time to time promulgated similar requisitions. Nothing came from them save backslidings, scandals, more pegs for the coffin of the simulacrum styled Social Reform.

The Rival Powers in Central Asia.—Or the Struggle between England and Russia in the East. Translated from the German of Josef Popowski, by Arthur Baring Brabant, and edited by Charles E. D. Black, late in charge of the Geographical Business of the India Office, with a Map of the North-Western Frontier of India, showing the Pamir region and part of Afghanistan. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co. Publishers to the India Office, Parliament Street, S. W. 1893.

MORE than seventeen years having gone by since the publication of Sir Henry Rawlinson's *England and Russia in the East* awoke public opinion in Great Britain to a livelier sense of the responsibilities and dangers attaching to our Empire in India and the Pamirs question, and Sir Mortimer Durand's embassy to Kabul having accentuated the importance of the subject, this has seemed to Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co., publishers to the India Office, fit time for the issue of a translation of Herr Popowski's work, *England and Russia.* * The work is valuable as being a Continental expert's analysis of the Central-Asian imbroglio. Here is a sample of the author's style:—

> The English, according to their own report, are above all things practical people, and not, like the French, disposed to sacrifice themselves for humanitarian objects. Consequently, they left both the Poles and Circassians to their fate. They hoped that the tenancity and patriotism of the Poles would create difficulties for the Russians for long years to come; and that the savage courage, fanaticism, and love of home of the Circassians, would enable them to defend their inaccessible mountains. Lastly, they hoped that the Russians would not be able to cross the extensive, arid Kirghiz and Turcoman deserts. In so doing, they overlooked the fact that the result of an unequal contest must prove disadvantageous to the weaker, if the stronger has time enough to complete his preparations unmolested. The English regarded Poland as a ball at Russia's feet. The resistance of the Poles may possibly act as a hindrance to Russia's internal development, but it is of no importance to the external policy of the Tzar's Empire. The Poles paid their taxes just like the Russians, and fought under the Russian flag both in Europe and Asia, just as they fought in France under the German flag in 1870. The resistance of the

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* The German title of his book Is Antagonismus der Englischen and Russichen interessen in Asien Eine Militair-politische Studie. Vienna William Frick. 1890.

Circassians was overcome, and on their refusing to migrate to the country allotted to them, the great majority of them were expatriated, and the Caucasus lost to its heroic defenders. The Russians succeeded at length, with great perseverance and small expenditure of power, in possessing themselves piecemeal of the deserts of Central Asia. But a few years have elapsed since the Peace of Paris which ended the Crimean war, and England's position confronting Russia in Asia, has become a much more difficult one.

A further motive for England's policy is to be found in the mistaken idea that Russia is very weak in Asia, and in the exalted opinion of the defensive power of the Mahommedan races. The small force with which Russia operated against Persia both in 1811 and 1826, gave rise to the opinion that she was unable to place large armies in the field in Asia. In forming this opinion, the fact was overlooked (1) that since the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia's forces in the Caucasus have continually increased. They amounted in 1800 to 3,000, in 1804 to 15,000, and in 1853 to 280,000 men ; (2) that Russia retains the bulk of her troops in Europe in readiness for objects of European policy, whilst in Asia she endeavours to do with forces numerically as small as possible, though in an emergency she can considerably increase them ; (3) and lastly, that after the conquest of the Circassians, the Caucasian army must become available for employment elsewhere. Further, the defensive power of the Mahommedan races was judged by that of the Circassians and Algerians. It must, however, be observed that the military value of Asiatic races varies very considerably The English themselves rule over more than fifty millions of Mussulmans in Asia who are far from being a match for either Circassians or Algerians. And even these latter only rouse themselves to any considerable exhibitions of strength when led by able men.

The Channel Islands. By the late DAVIT THOMAS ANSTED, M.A., F. R. S. etc late Fellow of Jesus' College, Cambridge, and the late Robert Gordon Latham, M.A., M.D, F.R.S, etc. late fellow of King's College, Cambridge, revised and edited by E. Toulmin Nicolle, London : W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W.

INTEGRALLY, the book before us is a reprint of a lapsed treatise on the Natural History, Ethnology, Archæology of the Channel Islands, put forth (somewhere in the fifties, if we remember rightly) by the late Professor Ansted and the late Dr. Latham, the former a scientist, the latter a pioneer in the since become fashionable study of early Norse language and literature. Its first part treats of the physical geography of the islands, its second of their natural history. Part III contains an epitome of their civil history, Part IV is devoted to economics and trade. All are lucid and informing. Illustrative woodcuts and photogravures abound. The list of authorities cited to buttress the positions taken up in Part III, is a formidable one.

The scenery of the islands has picturesque affinity with that prevailing on the Cornish coasts. Thanks to a more equable temperature than almost any other part of the western shores of Europe enjoys, and no larger rainfall, they afford unique facilities for the development of delicate plant life. Although there is no intense heat in summer, still the absence of cold in winter is sufficiently marked to admit of orange trees bearing fruit in the open air, and the camellias, in sheltered garden, are loaded with flowers from December to March. 'Tis a pity Charles Kingsley never visited them, and wrote about them in his inimitable style, for, "owing to their geographical position, they are rich in certain departments of natural history. They are surrounded by shallow water, and sands at a temperature very favourable for animal life. The water is always well aerated, there is abundant vegetation, and plenty of shelter in little caves and nooks. In this respect few parts of the coast of Europe, or its adjacent islands, are more rich. Zoophytes of almost all kinds, crustaceans, molluscs, and sponges, may be studied to perfection in natural rocky basins and caverns, and may be easily removed for study; while the seaweeds and lichens are equally abundant, and equally available for natural-history investigation."

Part III is a historico-ethnographic mine, well worth the students investigation. He may not—probably, he will not—find himself in agreement with all the conclusions arrived at, but where he dissents, there will be no angry dissonance over the fracture, and it will be odd if he does not gain something from his quest.

The polyglot authors of the book summarise the early history of the islands thus :—

1. At first, the occupants were Bretons; few in number, pagans, and probably poor fishermen.
2. Under the Romans, a slight infusion of either Roman or legionary blood may have taken place, more in Alderney than in Jersey, more in Jersey than in Sark.
3. When the Litus Saxonicum was established, there may have been on them lighthouses for the honest sailor, or small piratical holdings for the Corsair, as the case might be. There were, however, no emporia or places either rich through the arts of peace, or formidable for the mechanism of war.
4. When the Irish Church, under the school of St. Columbanus, was in its full missionary vigor, Irish missionaries preached the Gospel to the island, and among both the missionaries and the islanders there may have been a few Saxons of the Litus.
5. In the sixth century, some portion of that mixture of Saxons, Danes, Chattuarii, Leti, Goths, Bretons, and Romanised Gauls, whom the Frank kings drove to the very coasts of the ocean, may have betaken themselves to the islands opposite.

Apropos of kings, these said polyglot authors have begun the whitewashing of King John, of Runnymede renown, and predict for him eventual canonization, as assured as that which Mr. Froude has bestowed on Henry the Eighth. They have no faith in the ultimate triumph of " the tendencies of the modern school of what is called history, too often the narrative of events which never happened." Neither have we; yet in this the present day of their triumph we, too, would fain deprecate and condemn their growing itch for superimposing their own glosses on, or incorporating their own characterizations into the existent record of past events. Not to deprive King John of such benefit of clergy as may now be available for him, we may mention that, liberal municipal charters are said to have been granted by him *of his own free will* to Jersey and Guernsey.

Here follows a Breton legend from the "*Livre Noir de-coutances*," redolent of the soil and its queer interminglings of sentiment and the main chance; of survivals of snake worship, side by side with mediæval Mariolatry; of Scandinavian eddas and Zolaesque sentiment.

> In the island of Jersey, there was a moor or fen, which took its name from that holy man St. Lawrence, and in this fen lay a huge serpent, which did great mischief to flocks and herds, but which no man dared to attack. A brave Norman seigneur, hight De Hambye, undertook to rid the island of the pest, and ventured across the raging seas from Normandy taking with him a single servant. The knigh of Hambye slew the serpent and cut off its head. The wicked servant, seeing this, thought, that if he killed his master and vaunted himself as the slayer of the dragon, he might woo the widow. All which he did. He murdered his master in his sleep, and then told his lady that the terrible serpent had destroyed her lord, but that he, the faithful servant, had killed the dragon. The knight, he added, had, with his last words, praised the valour and fidelity of his servant, and sent by him a message to his lady, enjoining her, as she loved his memory, to become the wife of so true a follower. So the wife gave her hand to the knave, to whom speedy retribution was to come. As the varlet was sleeping, he was disturbed by a dream, and he cried out in his sleep, "*Oh! wretch I am; I have killed my master!*" This he did, night after night, till the lady suspected his crime and took him to trial, where he was condemned. Then, on the spot where her true husband was killed, she had him buried, and over his remains, in token of her affection, caused this mount to be raised—and herself retired to a convert.

Here and there in Italy and over the Border. By LINDA VILLARY, Author of "Tuscan Hills and Venetian Waters," "When I was a Child," etc., London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13 Waterloo Place, S. W., 1893.

A CHATTY, sensible, companionable book. Here is a quotation:—

> Magnified Sussex downs spread in huge billows about us, sink into wooded hollows, and rise eastward to a lofty ridge, capped by the cone of Purga di Velo. In spite of the Italian sky, Lombard plain and the grand bulwark of Garda's mountains climbing in slow curves to misty summits, downs, chalk-pits, and oak copses give a familiar English aspect to the landscape. So on for miles; then the way is steeper, pines are taller and the bones of the world break through the turf in limestone reefs. There is a glimpse of grey peaks to the north above an amphitheatre of forest, houses gather near the gaunt, white barracks of the "Alpine regiment"; and here at last is Chiesanuova, the

> capital of the "Thirteen Communes," formerly known as "I Monti del Carbon," or Charcoal Mountains.
>
> It is an untidy townlet, with a fringe of raw new houses, loose stones, and timbers; but it is enchantingly placed on a height commanding half Lombardy, clasped by rocks and woods, and backed by the Lessini range, which divides this corner of Italy from Austrian Tirol. To the west, beyond broken land scored by the limestone gullies peculiar to the district, long-flanked Monte Baldo rears its bulk; and at the root of this noble mountain a stretch of Lake Garda is seen; and the Peschiera forts, and the tip of Catullus's island home thrust forth like a tongue in the blue water. It is the Lombard plain that gives life and variety to the propect. The glory of it, and the vastness, seem to widen one's mental horizon and sweep petty cares away. Ever-changing effects and colours play over its surface (on clear mornings even the far-distant Apennines are visible); the Adige and lesser streams on their way to the sea, inscribe the great green level with a hundred silvery scrolls; and rice-fields and lagoons gleam like mirrors beyond.
>
> On the plain of historic fights, these watery arabesques might be runes recording the deeds of the dead on a grander scale than the memorial tower—that white speck away to the right—raised to the heroes of Solferino and San Martino.

Here is another instance attuned to a different key:—

> The men are packed apart in choir and transept, for the old custom of dividing the sexes still obtains in Chiesànuova. High mass is always accompanied by brisk operatic airs, and the "Traviata" drinking song is thought appropriate to the elevation of the Host. When the preacher appears in the pulpit, the congregation compose themselves for the sermon by turning down the seats of their praying stools; during this clatter the orator has time to blow his nose, and his acolyte to settle comfortably on the pulpit stairs. From the enlightened parish-priest one is sure to hear kindly, well-delivered teachings suited to the needs of his flock; but sometimes a burly Capuchin, with dramatic gesticulation and rhetoric, takes his place, or a Jesuit missionary calls sinners to repentance by declaring that recent floods, earthquakes, and hailstorms had been sent to punish them for taking God's name in vain.

Chiesanuova is the Italian town that Linda Villari delights to honour. Its worst fault, one that some of us who have lived long in India, are able to sympathise with, is a scarcity of water. In Chiesanuova there are "no beggars, no tramps, and, seeing that all the doors are left on the latch, apparently no thieves." Thirty years ago, Helston in Cornwall was just such another town, front door locks as unknown to it as pilfering.

Popular education and the spread of libéral ideas have deprived Helston of that liberal expansiveness; radical distrust reigns there in its stead. It is refreshing to find that there is still left in Italy some healthy primitiveness of life, not yet adulterated with Board schools. Albeit, "a world of dreams," in which "mists suddenly floated from below, and half veiled the lovely scene, and swung up in filmy traits over the opposite crags and fields"—delightful spurs to imagination. Do you incline rather to the prose of butter and eggs and a pound of cream? Here they are:—

> The diary farms scattered about are different from the picturesque woodland "Maighè" of South Tirol. These of the Lessini are rough stone shanties on treeless slopes, with internal arrangements of a primitive sort; but their cream and curds are delicious, and send us on refreshed to the Croce di Malera.

Here is a different sort of vignette.

> Then for eleven years, from A.D. 26 until he went to his death at Misenum, A.D. 37, Tiberius made this lonely rock the seat of the Roman Empire, centre of the world's power. Scornfully rejecting the usual machinery of Government, the Emperor reduced his official suite to one senator, a few knights, and several Greek pedants, while keeping a host of slaves and concubines to minister to his wants. Thus Tiberius asserted his personal rule, and boldly showed Rome and the world that he was the State, his coadjutors mere puppets danced by the strings in his grasp.

Hindústáni as it Ought to be Spoken. By J. TWEEDIE, Bengal Civil Service. Calcutta Thacker, Spink & Co. London: W. Thacker, & Co., 87, Newgate Street. 1893.

GOOD wine needs no bush, and Mr. Tweedie's *Hindústáni as it ought to be Spoken* stands in need of no advertisement from us. The first edition went out of print in no time; a second meets a real demand. Mr. Tweedie has improved the opportunity, added to the number of exercises, and revised glossaries and indices. But a preface informs us :—

> The chief new feature of this Edition is "The Reader," which contains a collection of modern extracts of fable, story, dialogue and oratory. These should be enough to satisfy all those who have ventured to ask for more.
>
> As the First Edition was complete in its exposition of the grammatical structure of the language, much could not be added on this subject. Some sections however have been now more fully treated than before; as for example, the Pronoun 'apna,' on page 30.
>
> Thus has the Author endeavoured to give some return to the public for its kind reception of the First Edition, by making the Second Edition more copious, more complete, and more convenient than the First.

Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies, contained in the Archivo Da Torre, Do Tambo, and the Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora, by F. C. Danvers, Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office, London. 1892.

APPENDED to Mr. Danvers' Report is a voluminous index which may perhaps prove of use for reference to students interested in the bye ways of Colonial Portuguese history. Readers not thus charitably disposed will find but little in his exercitation to repay them for the trouble of reading it. The only item in it worth thinking about, that we have been able to light upon, is contained in a footnote to page 21. It reads :—

> The application of the term "rebeldes" to the Dutch can be easily understood, as Holland was at this time in rebellion against the King of Spain, who

then also ruled Portugal. I have been unable to discover the origin of the term "piratas" as applied to the English. Their system of maritime commerce at this time was not such as would have been countenanced at a later date, but in this respect they were no worse than the Dutch or the Portuguese themselves. It is a curious fact that during the recent strained relations between England and Portugal, the term "piratas" was revived towards the English as a term of contempt. It was also subsequently applied to the English sovereigns, which constitute the principal currency in Portugal.

The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana.—By WILLIAM WILFRID WEBB, M. B., Surgeon Captain, Indian Medical Service, Bengal Army. Illustrated by a Map and by twelve Plates of Coins, after Drawings made by the Author from Specimens in his Collection. Westminster. Archibald Constable and Co., Publishers to the India Office, 14 Parliament Street, S. W., 1893.

TO the bookshelves of numismatists and men enamoured of archœological bye-ways, Surgeon Captain Webb's exhaustive monograph on the currencies of the Hindu States of Rájputana should prove a worthy and acceptable addition. As far as we are capable of judging, the information it contains has been well-found, digested in scientific, scholarly spirit, furnished with pertinently elucidatory commentary, which steers clear alike of the Scylla of dillettantism and Charybdis of dryasdust. Instead, we get common sense suggestions for a reform in the direction of uniformity with Imperial standards, avoidance of base metal debasements, consequent check upon forgery and dishonest dealing, and simplification of native traders' book keeping and adjustments of accounts.

Several plates accompany the letterpress, and they reflect credit on the publishers, Messrs Archibald Constable and Co.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Kurskshetra Kávya. By NABINA CHANDRA SEN, Publisher, Sannyal & Co., 26, Scott's Lane, Calcutta.

BABU Nabina Chandra Sen is undoubtedly *the* poet of the Hindu Revival. He is doing in his province the same work which Babus Bamkim Chandra Chatterji, Bhūdeva Mukharji and Chandra Nāth Basu are doing in theirs. The Babu's facility in versification is wonderful. Not a year passes in which he does not present his countrymen with a neat and handy volume, either of original matter, or of translation. He is now writing on Jesus Christ, now translating the *Gitá*, now making a Bengali version of *Márkandeya Chandi*; and one absorbing purpose runs through all these works, namely, that of reviving in the minds of his educated countrymen a respect for Hinduism. Before this movement was set on foot, Babu Nabina Chandra distinguished himself by writing poems on artistic models, such as *Paláshir Yuddha*, *Rangamati*, and so on—not to speak of his exquisite short pieces—works which would have given him a very high place in Bengali literature. But powers like those of Babu Nabina Chandra should not be wasted in aimless works of mere art, which are admired and then forgotten. The Babu wanted an aim and a purpose, and that has been supplied to him by the Hindu Revival movement. His new works possess a deep moral purpose of abiding and absorbing interest to his countrymen, and are likely to last as long as the language. The present volume is only a sequel to his other work, the *Raivataka*, with which this is to be read together.

The *Bhagavadgitá* is the gospel of Hindu Revival, and in his works entitled *Raivataka* and *Kurukshetra*, Babu Nabina Chandra shows how the liberal and philosophical doctrines of the *Gitá* supplanted the illiberal preachings of the Aryan conquerors on the one side, and the wild and meaningless fetishism of the conquered non-Aryans on the other. He interprets the story of the Mahábhárata, and that of the great war at Kurukshetra, as signifying a successful attempt at fusing the contending nations in India into one great nationality on the bases of a catholic religion and a liberal social organisation. Krishna is the central figure in this new dispensation, Vyása is the great preacher, and Arjuna is the great organiser. Krishna represents the moral, and the other two the intellectual and physical powers necessary for any great movement for guiding the action and regulating the conduct of large masses of human beings for long generations in any wide tract of land. Durvásá, the embodiment of Aryan narrowness, would sooner agree to ally himself with Vásuki, the last representative of independent non-Aryan life than accept the liberal principles of the *Gíta*. He and his followers were gradually being driven to the wall; but to the last their aim was to arrest the march of progress for their own selfish ends by every means in their power, fair or foul. But they are doomed to failure. Their wicked plots only rouse popular hatred against them, and they perish without being in the least regretted. The result of their last plot was the inhuman slaughter of an innocent lad, by the combined efforts of seven of the greatest warriors in the Kaurava army, simply because he was the darling of the Pándavas and had all the benefits of a liberal and catholic training under the guidance of his uncle, Krishna, who designed him to be the first great king under the new creed. But this wicked act roused the Pándavas and Krishna to renewed activity, and the war, which was dragging its slow length along, was vigorously prosecuted and put an end to in five or six days more. Yudhisthira begins the war with great reluctance. He would gladly exchange his share of the Kaurava Empire for five villages. But the Kauravas would not give him even this, and so a war became an absolute necessity. At the commencement of the fighting Arjuna refused to bear arms against his own kith and kin, and he was prevailed upon to engage in the war by Krishna's demonstrating to him, that it was duty's imperious call. The Pándavas fight, but in strict accordance with the rules of Hindu chivalry. They bow down to an aged warrior, they embrace their equals, they pronounce benedictions on young soldiers before they engage in fight. To such chivalrous heroes and conscientious men, the Aryan and non-Aryan conspirators oppose all that is mean and detestable. The Pándavas bear everything with patience, but the murder of their son rouses them to vigorous action.

It would carry us beyond the limits of a critical notice in a quarterly review, if we were to enter into a detailed examination of the characters in the poem. They are all ideals. The ideality of Krishna, Vyása and Arjuna has already been explained. But the most charming figures are *Subhadrá* and her son *Abhimanyu*. *Subhadrá* organises a party for the relief of the sick and the wounded, and works day and night, affording whatever comfort men can enjoy at their last moment. At the death of her son, while the whole camp was in the deepest mourning, she alone was perfectly composed and perfectly resigned. She is the embodiment of the spirit of the *Gítá*. She is the impersonation of duty: tender to others, but stern to herself.

Abhimanyu was designed for an ideal Kshatriyá sovereign under the new cult. He was only sixteen, but he had already mastered the sciences of the time, and was such an adept in martial exercises, that he regarded the Kurukshetra as his playground, where he could go and play the warrior at his pleasure. In drawing up these characters the poet has introduced the ideas and notions of the nineteenth century into the Mahábhárata, and so the reader is asked not to be disappointed if his idea of Subhadrá or Abhimanyu, or of any other Mahábhárata character, does not agree with that of Babu Nabina Chandra Our poet's characters are to be appreciated on their own merit, and not in reference to those in the Mahábhárata.

We stop here in order to look at the work from another point of view. This is, we believe, the first attempt to write a great poem, embracing the events of the whole of the Mahábhárata, and to work up these events into a work of art for a definite purpose. Western philosophers are of opinion that the stupendous mountains and grand rivers of India have contributed greatly to mould the characters of the Indian people. If that is true, the stupendous works of art, the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata have also contributed greatly to the same end. The Rámáyana has had endless imitators. There is scarcely a poet of note in India, writing either in Sanskrit or in any of the vernaculars, who has not tried his hand at the Rámáyana and culled a poem or two out of it. The episodes of the Mahábhárata have also been utilised by poets from very remote times. But none had, up to this time, ventured to compress into one or two volumes the events of the whole Mahábhárata, and Babu Nabina Chandra Sen has made a bold venture. How far he has succeeded, posterity will judge. All that we can say is that, it is a bold venture—verging on audacity.

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General Secretary for India and the East.

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April 1894.

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

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ART I.—PERSIAN POETS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATORS.

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PERSIA, which was the second of the four great military monarchies that succeeded, one after the other, to the Empire of our ancient world, still preserves her national existence and popular characteristics, though now wofully shorn of her former power and glory. Her people are one of the Aryan nations of the East, whose natural political growth and development, less favoured by fortune than that of their European brethren, has been checked and diverted by the successive imposition of the yoke of foreign conquerors of Semitic and Turanian race. Her geographical situation between the Caspian Sea and the Indian Ocean, on the highway of national migration, has made it impossible for her to maintain the original purity of her Aryan blood and language ; and she has been for centuries the battle-field and the debating-hall of the Arab from the South, and of the Tartar from the North. The physical appearance of the modern Persian displays the marked features, the lustrous eye and the flowing beard which are characteristic of the Semitic type, and his mental qualities betray a corresponding change : while the structure of his original Aryan speech is now imperfectly interpreted by the Arabic alphabet, and enriched or over-loaded by an Arabic and Turkish vocabulary. Yet the tendency to revert to an original type, so strongly insisted on by our modern physiologists, is continuously shown by the Persians, whose intelligence and vivacity, piercing through the veil of Arab gravity and the crust of Turkish stolidity, which their adverse surroundings have imposed on their nation, have caused them to be aptly described as "the French of Asia." Henry Martyn writes in his diary, kept during his last fatal journey :—"These Persians seem quite brotherly after the Turks." The dwellers in "Irán," the original "Aryan-land," have from time to time thrown off the incubus of an alien culture by national insurrections ; and at the present day the Turkish ruling classes of Persia are as completely Persianized, as the Norman invaders have been Anglicized in England. Even the monotheistic religion of Semitic Islam has been metamorphosed in Persia into the Shiya heresy, in which the anthropomorphic instincts of an Aryan race have elevated 'Ali into a patron saint in the guise of a perfect type of humanity.

The Persian of the present day still traces back with pride his national descent to the warriors of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, and still laments the overthrow of the ancient kingdom of Irán by the arms of Alexander.

Of ancient Persian literature we know next to nothing : the only fragments that have come down to us are the rock-cut inscriptions of Persepolis and Behistun, and the Zend Avesta, or sacred book of the Zoroastrians, preserved to us by the pious care of the Parsis of India. Whatever other literature there may have been in existence, was utterly and irremediably destroyed in the Arab Conquest. The Persian King, Kisra or Chosroes, had contemptuously torn up the letter of the Arabian prophet, inviting him to embrace the true faith ; and Muhammad, when he heard of the fate of his missive, had exclaimed "God will so tear the kingdom of Kisra !" a prediction which his fanatical followers took care to fulfil to the letter. As the Poet Firdausi says, in the Sháh Náma :—

Za Shír-i-Shutur Khwúrdan o Súsmár
Arab rá ba jáí rasída'stkár,
Ke takht i Kaiyáni kunand árzú ;
Tufú, bar in charkh-i-gardún, tufú !

The Arab that the flesh of lizards ate,
And drank the camel's milk, hath grown so great
He now pretends to the Kaianian throne ;
Shame on thee, Fortune ! that so false has grown.

The conquerors imposed the Musalman religion and the Arab language on the conquered ; and for three hundred years Persia was a satrapy of the Arabian Caliphate.

In the decline of the Empire of the Saracens, the provincial governors in Persia asserted their independence of Baghdád, and, with a separate political life, the national genius of the land revived. The Persian language again became the vehicle of composition : and the famous Rúdaki, who may be called the Father of Persian Poetry, was the chief star in a galaxy of poets who flourished in the tenth century of our era ; and whose works are read with pleasure at the present day.

Poetry was studied by the Persians as an art, and the science of it was soon reduced, with the passion for codifying which is characteristic of the Arab mind, to fixed and unvarying rules.

The Persians reckon ten different kinds of versification, of which the principal are the Mathnawi, or narrative poem in rhymed couplets, which is used for epic poetry : the Kasida or ode, a short poem of a descriptive, eulogistic, or elegiac character : the Ghazal ; a shorter ode, generally not exceeding twelve couplets, amatory, lyrical, or anacreontic : the Rubái, or quatrain ; and the Kita'a, or sonnet. The prosody of the Persians is borrowed from that of the Arabs, with which it is almost identical. There are nineteen metres, of which some are peculiar to Persian, others to Arabic, while the majority are common to both languages. The examples which we shall here produce will give a better idea of the form and manner of Persian metrical composition than any detailed dissertation of a technical kind.

With the revival of Persian literature, the mind of the Persian nation awoke to a dim remembrance of its ancient glories, and the poets of the Renaissance were fain to celebrate in song the long-forgotten splendours of the Kaianian and Sassanian dynasties of kings. The poet Dakiki began a metrical version of Persian history, but death interrupted his labours. The famous Sháh Mahmúd of Ghazni, the conqueror of pagan Hindustán, was a munificent patron of the Arts, and his liberality had attracted a number of poets to his Royal Court. He proposed to them the continuation of the work of Dakiki, and selected seven of them who were to compete for the honour and profit of the task.

When their compositions were submitted for the king's judgment, an eighth was included, by the favour of the Court poet Ansari (himself one of the selected seven) from the pen of an unknown outsider ; and this eighth essay was awarded the prize by universal acclamation. It was by a young aspirant to poetic fame, named Abul Kásim Mansúr, surnamed Firdausi, because his father was a gardener in the Firdaus, or Pleasance (Greek Paradisos), of the Governor of the city of Tús. He was born A. D. 937 ; and it is related how, at the time of his birth, his father dreamt that the infant went up on to the house-top, turned towards Makka, and uttered a loud shout, which was answered by voices from all sides. On the following morning he applied to a famous interpreter of dreams, who told him that the child would become a great scholar, whose fame would reach all the four quarters of the earth.

Sháh Mahmúd commissioned the newly-discovered poet to write a poetical history of Persia from the earliest times, at the remuneration of a thousand dirhems of gold for every thousand couplets. Firdausi resided at the Court of his royal patron for many years, and at last completed, in sixty thousand couplets, the immortal Sháh Náma, or Book of Kings, " that glorious monument of Oriental genius and learning, which," in the words of Sir William Jones, " if it should ever be generally understood in its original language, will contest the merit of invention with Homer itself." And, in truth, the history of the Sháh Náma is as mythical as that of the Iliad. It relates at great length the story of the successors of Cyrus, and the continual wars between Irán (Persia) and Turán (Tartary), and the miraculous exploits of the champion Rustum, the Achilles of this Persian Iliad. The sources from whence Firdausi drew his inspiration are unknown : they are supposed to have been mostly popular legends. There is no correspondence between his accounts and those of the old Grecian contemporary historians, save in a proper name here and there, such as Hashtasp (Hystaspes), Dárá (Darius,) and Ardeshir Dirázdast (Artaxerxes Longimanus). A great part of his work is evidently pure invention ; but it is accepted by the Persians as authentic history. The book is a classic throughout the Muhammadan world, and was, until lately, the foundation of all Musalman ancient history, even in Turkey and in India.

When the work was finished, after Firdausi had spent the best part of his life over it, he eagerly expected the promised reward: but Mahmúd sent him only sixty thousand silver dirhems, instead of gold.

Firdausi was so enraged that he gave twenty thousand at once to the messenger as his reward, and bestowed the rest in charity then and there: he then fled from the capital and escaped into a foreign land, where he penned a scathing satire on the king's avarice and ingratitude, which is now always appended to copies of the Sháh Náma. It begins:—

Aya! Sháh Mahmúd, kishwar kushá
Za má gar na tarsí, batars az Khudá
Ke pesh az tu Sháhán firáwán búdand,
Hama Pádisháhán i Gaihán búdand.

Oh Mahmúd! thou King of the conquering sword,
If thou fearest not the people, at least fear the Lord!
For many a Monarch before thee there came,
The Rulers of Realms and the Favourites of Fame.

He touches the miserly monarch on a sore point, where he alludes to his mean extraction:—

Kanizak na záyod baghair az ghulám

* * * * *

Agar Sháh rá Sháh búdi Padar
Ba sar bar nihádi mará táj i zar.

A slave girl will only give birth to a slave.
If the king from a lineage of kings had been bred,
The crown of a king he had placed on my head!

The king was at first furious, but his anger cooled in time, and the poet was permitted to return in his old age to his native Tús, where he died at the age of 83. It is said that Mahmúd repented and sent him the promised reward, but the messenger, arriving at Tús, met Firdausi's funeral procession; and the money was afterwards expended, according to the poet's dearest wish, for the benefit of his native town.

One peculiarity of the Sháh Náma is that it is composed almost entirely in Persian, with hardly a single Arabic word. To realise this feat one must imagine an English poem of sixty thousand couplets without a single word of Latin derivation in it. It is true that in one line of the Sháh Náma Arabic words "Malak" and "Ahsan" occur.

Malak gufta "Ahsan"! Falak gufta "Beh"!
The Angels cried "Well done"! the Heavens cried "Grand!"

When this was pointed out to Firdausi, and objection taken to the Arabic words, he replied, "I did not use that Arabic word. It was the angels used it;" for the Musalmans suppose the language of the Korán to be also the language of the angels.

Many attempts have been made at translating episodes from the Shán Náma into English, but none give any adequate idea of the spirit and fire of the original. The late Doctor J. Atkinson of the East India Company's service, and Miss Helen Zimmern, have been the most successful, and we will here give specimens from both of them. From the former we will take the description of Rudába, the mistress of the fair-haired Zál and the mother of the champion Rustum. It is to her wooing by Zál that Moore alludes in his fire worshippers in the lines—

> " In the dead of night,
> The bridegroom with his locks of light,
> Came in the flush of love and pride
> And scaled the terrace of his bride.
> And when she saw him rashly spring,
> And midway up in danger cling,
> She flung him down her long black hair,
> Exclaiming breathless, " There, Love, there !"

Not a bad imitation of the rhythm and style of the Sháh Náma. Atkinson's translation of the description of the charms of this heroic mother of heroes, will serve as a sample of the invariable heroines of Persian romantic poetry, which never wearies of the theme of the loves and sorrows of Wámik and Azrá, Khusrau and Shérín, or Majnún and Laili.

> " If thou wouldst make her charms appear,
> Think of the sun so bright and clear.
> With brighter, but with softer light
> The maiden strikes the dazzled sight.
> Her skin to what shall I compare ?
> Ivory was never half so fair ;
> Her stature like the cypress tree ;
> Her eyes so full of witchery
> Glow like the Nirgis tenderly.
> Her arching brows their magic fling
> Dark as the raven's glossy wing.
> Soft o'er her blooming cheek is spread
> The rich pomegranate's vivid red.
> Her musky ringlets unconfined
> In clustering meshes roll behind.
> Love ye the moon ? Behold her face,
> And there the lucid planet trace.
> If breath of musky fragrance please,
> Her balmy odours scent the breeze ;
> Possessed of every sportive wile
> 'Tis heaven, 'tis bliss to see her smile !

The above is an example more illustrative of Atkinson than of Firdausi, but we have taken it in default of a better.

From Helen Zimmern we take one of the riddles put to test Zál by the wise men, and the hero's reply.

> " See a green garden full of springs :
> A strong man with a sickle keen
> Enters and reaps the dry and green."

ZAL'S REPLY.

"Thy word was of a garden green;
A reaper with a sickle keen
Who cuts alike the fresh and dry,
Nor heedeth prayer nor any cry.
Time is the reaper, we the grass;
Pity nor fear his spirit has,
But old and young he reaps alike;
No rank can stay his sickle's strike;
No love, but he will leave it lorn,
For to this end all men are born.
Birth opes to all the gates of life,
Death shuts it down on Love and Strife,
And Fate, that counts the breath of man,
Measures to each a reckoned span."

These extracts give a very unfair idea of the muse of Firdausí, which, like that of Homer, revels in carnage and strife; but then his translators take refuge in prose. It is evident that the ordinary difficulties of metrical translation must be greatly increased when we are dealing with the works of Orientals, whose habits of thought and standard of taste are widely different from, and sometimes diametrically opposite to ours. A good translator is almost as rare as a good poet; and yet, to give any adequate idea of Persian poetry to an English audience, both of these characters must be combined in one individual: a combination which, so far as we are aware, has hitherto been observed in only two, Edward Fitzgerald and Edwin Arnold. Edward Eastwick we can hardly call a poet, but he was a clever versifier and a clever translator, and his versions of the Gulistán of Shekh Sa'di, and the Anwár-i Suhaili of Husain Váiz al Káshifi, are among the best examples of Persian literature in an English dress that we possess.

Sir William Jones was an eminent orientalist, and a poetaster of some merit, but the wine of Sheráz is diluted beyond all measure in his renderings of Háfiz.

The celebrated couplet:—

Bideh, Sáki, mai báki, ke dar Jannat na kwáhi yáft
Kinár i ábi Ruknabád o, gulgasht-i Musalla ra:
Give me, cup-bearer, the wine that is left, for in Heaven thou wilt not find
The brink of the stream of Ruknabad, nor the rose bowers of Musalla.

Becomes in the mouth of Sir William Jones' muse,—

Boy, let the liquid Ruby flow,
And bid thy pensive heart be glad,
Whate'er the frowning zealots say:
Tell them their Eden cannot show,
A stream so pure as Ruknabad,
A bower so sweet as Mosellay.

Dr. J. Atkinson was a diligent and painstaking translator; but he was not a poet, and his metrical versions of the Persian poets fail to convey any adequate idea of the original : and the same may be said of Doctor G. S. Davie, whose laborious, and very literal translation of Sádi's Bustán, published some ten years back under the little of " The Garden of Fragrance, " resembles the original in nothing but in being in rhyme. The late lamented Hermann Bicknell's translation of the odes of Hafiz is admirable as a work of scholarship, but it makes very indifferent poetry, and the dancing muse of the Persian Anacreon seems to actually waddle in her clumsy Western garb. But both the late Edward Fitzgerald, and Sir Edwin Arnold have succeeded in giving the spirit, as well as in repeating the thoughts of the authors whom they rendered into their own tongue, and a Persian student can read their translations with as much pleasure as the original master-pieces of Sádi and Khayyám. The art of translation consists in giving the spirit of the original ; the letter profiteth nothing : and perhaps only a poet can adequately interpret a poet's utterance. When we hear Persian scholars objecting to the versions of Arnold and Fitzgerald as not being sufficiently literal, we always think of the pedantic schoolmaster, who objected to the school-boy translating " Est mihi, "* by " I have." " Where's '*I*' ?" he said triumphantly," and where's '*have*' ? " We confidently pronounce Sir Edwin's translations from the Bostán of Sa'di, and Fitzgerald's version of the Rubá'iyát of Omar Khayyám to be the most faithful as well as the most elegant renderings of an Oriental poet into the English language that have ever been seen.

Next to the Sháh Náma of Firdausi, the most celebrated epic poem in the Persian language is the Iskandar Náma, or Alexandriad of Abu Muhammad Bin Yusuf Bin Mu'id Shekh Nizám-ud Din, who wrote under the Takhallus, or *nom de plume*, of Nizámi. His Iskander, or Alexander, is an Oriental Sovereign like Sháh Mahmúd, or Sálih-ud Din, and the world which he subdues is the world of Nizámi's own day. Among other countries he conquers Russia, whose fur-clad warriors used to come down the river Volga, or Itil, in boats and plunder the Persian shores of the Caspian in Nizámi's own life-time. In describing the battle of Alexander with the Russians, he says—

> Za Digar taraf Surkh rúyán-i-Rús,
> Farozinda chun Kibla gáh-i Majús !
> Opposed, the red-faced Russian's line
> Shines like the fire on Magian shrine.

Nizámi's tomb is still to be seen at his birth-place of Ganja, now the Russian town of Elizabetpol. The Iskandar Náma is only one of the five famous poems by him known to the Persians as the " Panj Ganj," or Five Treasures. Another of them, which relates the story of the typical lovers, Laili and Majnún, has been translated into English verse by Dr. Atkinson. We will give the prologue and epiloque of the poem as examples.

PROLOGUE.

Sáki, thou knowest I worship wine,
Let that delicious cup be mine:
Wine! pure and limpid as my tears,
Dispeller of a lover's fears;
With thee inspired, with thee made bold,
Midst combat fierce my post I hold;
With thee inspired I touch the string,
And, rapt, of love and pleasure sing.
Thou art a lion, seeking prey
Along the glades where wild deer stray;
And like a lion I would roam,
To bring the prize I seek for home;
With wine, life's dearest, sweetest treasure,
I feel the thrill of every pleasure.
Bring, Sáki, bring the ruby now,
It's lustre sparkles on thy brow,
And flushing with a tremulous light
Has made thy laughing eyes more bright;
Bring, bring the liquid gem, and see,
It's power, its wondrous power in me.

In the epiloque, after the poet has left Majnún and Laili, enjoying bliss in each others society in Heaven, he concludes as follows:—

Oh ye who thoughtlessly repose
On what this flattering world bestows,
Reflect how transient is your stay!
How soon e'en sorrow fades away!
The pangs of grief the heart may wring,
In life, but Heaven removes the sting;
The world to come makes bliss secure,
The world to come, eternal, pure.
What solace for the human soul
But everlasting rest;—virtue's unvarying goal.
Sáki! Nizámi's strain is sung,
The Persian poet's pearls are strung;
Then fill again the goblet high!
Thou woulds't not ask the reveller why?
Fill to the love that changes never!
Fill to the love that lives for ever!
That, purified by earthly woes,
At last with bliss seraphic glows.

Nizámi was still living at Ganja when Sa'di was born at Shiráz in A. D. 1193. He is thus alluded to by Háji Lutf Alí, the author of the "Atash Kada-i Fárs," or "Fire-temple of Persia," which contains the lives of all the most celebrated poets of Persia, with selections from their works.

"Shekh Maslih-ud Dín, surnamed Sa'di, is the most eloquent of writers, and the wittiest author of either modern or ancient times, and one of the four monarchs of eloquence and style." He was as great a traveller as he was a poet, and, in the course of his long life (he is said by his countrymen to have lived for 120 years lunar), he travelled over all Central Asia to Kashgar and India, and visited Egypt and Barbary, and made the pilgrimage to Makka more than once.

In the preface to the Gulistán he relates the reason of his leaving home :

Knowest thou not, in distant lands,
Why I made a long delay ;
I through fear of Turkish bands,
Left my home and fled away :

Earth was ravelled by those bands
Like an Ethiop's hair, and they
Slaughter seeking, stretched their hands,
Human wolves, towards the prey.

* * * *

During his travels he was made prisoner by the Crusaders, who were then in occupation of the Holy land ; and his adventure with them is thus related by himself in the famous book called the "Gulistán," or "Rose-garden," which is still read as a text-book throughout Islam, in the village school of Bosnia in the Austrian dominions, as well as in the Government Colleges of Calcutta and Bombay. Our extract is taken from the admirable translation made by Sir Edward Eastwick some forty years ago.

"Having become weary of the society of my friends at Damascus, I set out for the wilderness of Jerusalem, and associated with the wild beasts, until I was by chance made prisoner by the Franks, who set me to work along with Jews at digging in the fosse of Tripolis, till one of the principal men of Aleppo, between whom and myself a former intimacy had subsisted, passed that way and recognised me, and said, "What state is this ? And how did you come here ?" I replied—

STANZA.

From man to mountain and to wild I fled,
    Myself to heavenly converse to betake :
Conjecture now my state, that in a shed
    Of savages I must my dwelling make.
Better to live in chains with those we love
    Than with the strange 'mid flowrets gay to rove,

He took compassion on my state, and with ten dinárs redeemed me from the bondage of the Franks, and took me along with him to Aleppo. He had a daughter whom he united to me by the marriage-knot, with a portion of a hundred dinárs. As time went on, the girl turned out of a bad temper, quarrelsome and unruly. She began to give loose to her tongue, and to disturb my happiness, as they have said—

DISTICHS.

"In a good man's house an evil wife
Is his hell above in this present life :

From a vixen wife protect us well,
Save us, O God ! from the pains of hell :"

At length she gave vent to reproaches, and said : " Art thou not he whom my father purchased from the Franks' prison for ten dinárs ?" I replied : " Yes, he redeemed me with ten dinárs, and sold me into thy hands for a hundred."

DISTICHS.

I've heard that once a man of high degree
From a wolf's teeth and claws a lamb set free.
That night its throat he severed with a knife,
While thus complained the lamb's departing life :
" Thou from the wolf didst save me then, but now
Too plainly I perceive the wolf art thou."

The Gulistán has been translated into most European and Oriental languages, and there are several versions of it in English, but for fidelity to the original and literary merit generally, none can compare with Eastwick's translation. Though a prose work, it is full of verses, not quotations from Sa'di's other books, but composed expressly for this one ; and the author prides himself on not quoting from the works of any other poet, as was the usual custom in Persia ; for most Persian prose works, besides being couched in poetical and high-flown language, are stuffed full of metrical quotations illustrating the context.

The Gulistán comprises eight chapters, or books, under the following headings (1) On the Manners of Kings. (2) on the Qualities of Dervishes. (3) On the Excellence of Contentment. (4) On the Advantages of Taciturnity. (5) On Love and Youth. (6) On Decrepitude and Old Age. (7) On the Effect of Education. (8) On the Duties of Society. To give an idea of Sa'di's style and subjects, we shall here reproduce a couple of stories from the Gulistán, grave and gay, as translated by Sir Edward Eastwick.

The first is from the chapter on the qualities of Dervishes.

" I once saw a Dervish, who, with his head resting on the threshold of the Temple at Makka, called the Ka'aba, was weeping and saying : ' Oh Thou merciful and compassionate One ! Thou knowest what homage can be offered by a sinful and ignorant being, worthy of Thee !'

STANZA.

For my scant service I would pardon crave,
Since on obedience I can ground no claim :
Sinners of sin repent ; but those who have
Knowledge of the Most High, at pardon aim
For worthless worship, which they view with shame.

The pious seek the reward of their obedience, and merchants look for the price of their wares, and I, thy servant, have brought hope, not obedience, and have come to beg, not to traffic. ' Do unto me that which is worthy of thee, and not that of which I am worthy.'

Whether Thou wilt slay or spare me, at thy door my head I lay;
To the creature will belongs not, Thy commandment I obey."

The second story is from the chapter on love and youth :—

"They shut up a parrot in a cage with a crow. The parrot was distressed at the ugly appearance of the other, and said, 'What hateful form is this, and detested shape, and accursed face, and unpolished manners? O crow of the desert! Would that between thee and me were the space 'twixt East and West!'

STANZA.

Should one at dawn thy face arising see,
'Twould change to twilight gloom that morning's mirth;
Such wretch as thou art should thy comrade be,
But where could such an one be found on earth?

But still more strangely the crow, too, was harassed to death by the society of the parrot, and was utterly chagrined by it. Reciting the deprecatory formula, "La haul wa la kuvvat ila ba Allah!" "There is no power nor strength but in God!" It complained of its fate, and, rubbing one upon the other the hands of vexation, it said: "What evil fate is this, and unlucky destiny, and fickleness of fortune? It would have been commensurate with my deserts to have walked proudly along with another crow on the wall of a garden."

COUPLET.

'Twill for a prison to the good suffice
To herd them with the worthless sons of vice.

What crime have I committed in punishment for which my fate has involved me in such a calamity, and imprisoned me with a conceited fool like this, at once worthless and fatuous?

STANZA.

All would that wall with loathing fly
Which bore impressed thy effigy:
And if thy lot in Eden fell,
All others would make choice of Hell.

I have brought this example to show that how strong soever the disgust a wise man may feel for a fool, a fool regards with a hundred times more aversion a wise man.

The "Bostán," or "Flower Garden," is very similar to the Gulistán, but is entirely metrical. A complete translation of it has been made by Surgeon Major G. S. Davie, which has but little poetical merit, but parts of it have been most fortunately rendered into English by Sir Edwin Arnold in his exquisite little volune entitled "With Sa'di in the Garden." Every Persian book opens with an invocation to the Deity, to which succeeds a panegyric on the Prophet, and a fulsome dedication to the royal patron of the author: and literature in Persia, where there is no printing press, still depends on the patron for encouragement, and not on the public. The invocation to the Almighty at the commencement of a poem, often contains the choicest utterances of the author's muse, and the opening lines of the Bostán are particularly admirable :—

"Ba Námi Khudáwand-i jān afrín,
Hakím-i Sukhan dar zabán áfrín ;
Khudáwand-i bakh-shinda o dastgír,
Karím-i khatá bakhsh púzish pazír ;
Azízi-ke hur k'az darash sar bataft,
Ba har dar keshud hich izzat na yáft ;
Sar-i pádsháhán-i gardan faráz,
Ba bárgáh-i o bar zamin-i niáz."

Surgeon Major Davie has rendered this passage very literally as follows :—

"In the name of the Life-giving Guardian of Earth,
The most Wise ! causing speech from the tongue to have birth ;
The bountiful Giver ! who aids when implored,
The kind sin-forgiving, excuse-taking Lord ;
So mighty, that all from his door who retired,
And went to another, no honour acquired :
The heads of great monarchs, uplifted on high,
At his court on the ground of petitioning lie."

Compare with the above the following version by a real poet, Sir Edwin Arnold, whose lines, while equally true to the letter, breathe the fervent spirit of Sa'di's own words :—

In name of God ! who maketh life to live ;
Of God All-wise, who speech to tongue did give
Of God most Bountiful, whose hand upholdeth,
Whose mercy doth the offender's plea receive ;
King of all king's, at whose wide Palace door
Who enters not finds Majesty no more ;
For in that court the stiff-necked lords of realms
Lie low and crownless on his praying-floor !

In the above passage the English poet has departed from the metre of the original, but in the following one he has preserved it successfully : it is Sa'di's preface, explaining to his readers his reasons for writing the book, and Sir Edwin's translation gives a marvellous reflection of the words and the rhythm of the Persian poem :—

"In many lands I have wandered, and wondered, and listened, and seen;
And many my friends and companions and teachers and lovers have been :
And nowhere a corner was there but I gathered up pleasure and gain,
From a hundred gardens the rose-blooms, from a thousand granaries grain ;
And I said to my soul in secret, 'Oh, thou who from journeys art come,
It is meet we should bear some token of love to the stayers at home ;
For where is the traveller brings not from Nile the sweet green reed,
Or Kashmiri silk, or musk-bags, or coral, or cardamum seed ?
I was loth from all that pleasance of the sun, and its words and ways,
To come to my country giftless, and showing no fruit of my days :

But if my hands were empty of honey and pearls and gold,
There were treasures far sweeter than honey, and marvellous things to be told ;
Whiter than pearls and brighter than the cups at a Sultan's feast,
And these I have brought for love tokens, from the Lords of Truth, in my East."

The following is another passage in the Bostán, by the same translator :—

"Say not Sultans are mighty ! Think not largely of thrones !
The realm of the beggar is safer than the kingdoms of diademed ones :
The lighter the wallet is loaded, the farther the traveller goes ;
And the crown is a heavier headgear than felt, as the Dervish knows.
The woe of a Dervish is measured by his want of an oaten crust :
On the heart of a king sits always his empire's toil and trust.
When the Dervish has munched at sunset his hunk of yesterday's bread,
He sleeps in his rags more sweetly than the king on a golden bed.
Be grieved for whoso ruleth, and pity his sorrowful fate ;
The beggar is verily monarch, though he hides with a clout his state.
I heard it told of a Dervish, long ago in a distant land,
How a skull spake these words to him, as he held the thing in his hand :
"The pomp of the giving of orders, and the power to save and to slay,
Were mine ; and a turban of greatness on the brow that is bone to day.
God's will and the glory of battle brought harvest to edge of my sword ;
I was king of the two great rivers ; I was Babylonia's Lord :
I had in my heart the purpose to seize Karamania's plain ;
When lo ! in the wink of an eyelid—the worms were eating my brain !
From the ear of wisdom, Dervish ! the cotton of carelessness pluck !
That counsel of dead men, Dervish ! may bring thee, by lowliness, luck !"

The following three stories from the Bostân are also translated by Sir Edwin Arnold, and are fair samples from Sa'di's abundant store. The first is in praise of Humility, the second of Charity, the third illustrates the advantage of Good Humour. The poet's own words will show the tendency of his teaching better than any explanation that we could afford :—

"A drop of rain was falling from forth a summer cloud,
It saw the ocean under it roll billows large and loud ;
And all ashamed and sore-dismayed, it whispered, 'woe is me !'
'By Allah ! I am nought ! what counts one rain drop in the sea ?'
But while it mocked and mourned itself for littleness forlorn,
Into a sea-shell's opened lips the drop of rain was borne,
Where many a day and night it lay, until at last it grew
A lovely pearl of lucent ray, faultless in form and hue ;
And God our Lord, who knoweth best how sea fish make His gem,
Caused those that dive to bring it up ; so in the diadem
Of Persia's king they set that pearl, and so the rain-drop came
To be a Sultan's pride and wealth, a jewel of great fame.
In that it fell, for loftiness that rain-drop was designed ;
It rose to majesty and worth, because of modest mind :
Oh Sa'di ! here thou singest sooth ! who waits at door of Fate,
With lowly heart and humble voice, finds unexpected state."

* * * * * * *

The second story relates the kindness of a saint to an ant :

" Who is so small but, when he suffers, sighs ?
Who is so great but mercy dignifies ?
Shibli, from grain bazaar, upon his back,
With toilsome steps, took home a loaded sack :
Arrived—a red ant in the wheat he spied,
Her troubled feet running from side to side.
' I to my house, and thou to thine !' quoth he,
' Testify at the judgment this of me."
For pity of her woe all that long way
He bore her to her people of the clay :
And Firdausi this gentle verse did make
' Peace be to his pure tomb for that Ant's sake."

The third apologue which we select shows the advantage of Good Humour :—

Was a maid sold honey-comb ;
    Sweeter ran her tongue than honey ;
Sweet indeed, as sugar reed,
    Buyers flocked to her with money !
If 'twere poison she had cried,
    All the town had bought and died.
One of bitter heart and face
    Marked her custom, envied her ;
He'd sell honey in her place,
    Gain the dirhems, cause the stir !
With his honey-pots he went,
    And his looks of ill-content,
Up and down the thronged bazar
    Still he shouted, ' come and buy !'
But he found no customer,
    Not so much as one blue fly !
Some one spake at evening's hour
    ' Sour mouth maketh sweetness sour ! "

Shekh Sa'di is esteemed as a saint by the Persians, and many marvellous tales are related of him, of which the following will serve as a sample :—

One night, in a dream, one of his admirers was transported to Paradise where the souls of the blessed were singing the praises of the Almighty. He heard them chaunting a verse of Sa'di's composition, which they said was more acceptable to God than one year's adoration of the whole choir of angels. He afterwards awoke and went to the Shekh's house : great was his surprise to find him arisen, and in the act of chaunting in holy ecstacy the identical couplet which he had heard in his dream :—

" Birg-i darakhtán i-Sabz dar nazar-i hushyár
Har warqi daftar ist ma'arifat-i Kirdigár.
The wise learn their Creator's ways from the green forest ways,
In whose foliage each leaf's a volume to proclaim His praise."

The following couplets by Sa'di are further specimens of Eastwick's translation :—

What will it avail the creature, to stretch forth his hand in grief?
Raised in prayer to God in peril, but withheld from man's relief.

* * * * * *

Sit not sad, because that Time a fitful aspect weareth,
Patience is most bitter, but most sweet the fruit it beareth.

Another well-known Persian classic, translated by Sir Edward Eastwick, was the voluminous work of Husain Vaizal Káshifi, entitled the Anvar-i Suhaili, or Lights of Canopus, one of the Persian versions of the Sanskrit fables of Pilpay, the Oriental Esop. The book is greatly admired for the intricacy of its style and the luxuriance of its imagery, the chief points of excellence to a Persian student, who takes a purely literary interest in literature, and troubles himself much more about the manner than the matter of what he reads. The Lights of Canopus, like most Persian titles of books, affords absolutely no indication of the contents of the work: it was chosen for the recondite reason, that Canopus is a star in a southern constellation, and appears to the Persian gazer to rise over the Holy Land of Arabia.

Wisdom cometh from Canopus, so the Prince of Arabs said;
Who can wonder if Canopus then hath wisdom o'er us shed!

The book opens with an eloquent apostrophe to the Almighty Creator:—

Secret teacher of the reason that can measure subtleties!
Giver of perceptive powers to the spirits of the wise!
Gem bestower, Thou! of knowledge too refined for grosser sight,
Back to gradual day thou bringest the decreasing shades of night.

The wisdom shed by the Lights of Canopus is inculcated in the form of apologues, the actors in which relate illustrative stories about personages who relate other stories, until the series of story within story resembles the series of carved ivory balls, one within another, of a Chinese puzzle. The titles of some of the stories are very quaint: for instance—

"The story of the goose, who mistook the moon for a fish; and. discovering it's error, abandoned the pursuit of fish."

"The story of the solitary gardener, who formed a friendship with a bear; illustrating the evils of incongruous friendship, or companionship with the ignorant."

"The story of the greedy cat; showing that he who is not content with a sufficiency, will suffer by it."

This last is a tale of a starveling cat, which belonged to an old woman who was too poor to feed it properly, so that it had to subsist on occasional mice; and when it was lucky enough to catch one, used to say.

In ke mi bínam dar bedár í'st, ya Rab, ya dar khwáb?
Kwishtan rá dar chunin ni'amat, pas az chanden azáb!
Is it in sleep I see, my God! or with my waking eyes?
Myself in plenty such as this, after such agonies!

In an evil hour a chance acquaintanceship with a fat cat leads it to attempt the plunder of the flesh-pots of the Sultan's kitchen, and it is shot by an archer of the palace guard. "Hardly had the appetite-exciting morsel tickled it's palate, when a heart-piercing arrow quivered in it's liver."

> "From its side trickling flowed the sanguine tide
> In terror of its life it ran, and cried!
> Could I escape this archer's hand, I'd dwell
> Content with mice, and the old woman's cell!
> Dear friend! the honey pays not for the sting;
> Content with syrup is a better thing."

The opening passage of the "Story of the Patriotic Monkey," showing that some will surrender even life for their friends and country, will give a fair idea of the picturesque style of the book, its wealth of trope and metaphor, and of the immense labour which it must have cost Sir Edward Eastwick to translate it into readable English. To European readers it appears more provocative of mirth than worthy of the admiration which the Persians lavish upon it.

"They have related that a troop of monkeys had their abode in an island where there were fruits, fresh and dry, in abundance, and the climate agreed with them perfectly. One day a party of the elders of the tribe were sitting under the shade of a tree, and were talking on all sorts of subjects. At one time, with laughing lip like a pistachio, they discoursed of the impervious nut, and at another they would not open their eyes, which resembled fresh almonds, save to gaze on the beauty of the dry fig. On a sudden a bear passed by them, and was excessively chagrined by their composure. He said to himself: 'Is it to be borne that I should pass my time in the midst of stony mountains, with a saddened heart, and with a hundred thousand efforts get possession of a thorn-top, or a root of grass, while these monkeys, in this pleasant spot and agreeable station, feast on fresh and juicy fruits, and make their repasts on herbage softer than green silk.'

COUPLET.

> My rivals, rose-like, flourishing in the fair spring of converse, see,
> Why should, in autumnal absence, I all leafless withered be?

He then resolved to enter among that crowd, and overthrow with the axe of cruelty, the pedestal of their tranquillity. The monkeys, accepting battle, assembled to the number of nearly a thousand, and, making a rush, overthrew and wounded the bear with their blows.

The unhappy bear, of vain schemes, had not as yet tasted the fruit of his wishes from the plant of desire, when he found the tree of his enjoyment withered, and, the cell of his nature not being illuminated by the radiance of the taper of repose, the lamp of his strength went out.

COUPLET.

When I from the bowl of gladness one short draught of joy would sip,
Cruel fate dashed down the goblet ere it yet had reached my lip.

* * * * * * *

This short extract from a very voluminous work must satisfy our readers, who will not fail to have observed the profusion and extravagance of Persian similes, most of which appear ridiculous to a European mind.

A Persian poet describing his mistress' eye, says—

On the white tablet of that beauty's eye, 'twere due
That Heaven's scribe should trace its pupil's inky hue.

Another, alluding to the sunrise, likens the orb of the sun to the disc of a padlock!

When the warder of the dawning, who a key of silver bore,
Had unlocked the golden padlock from Heaven's palace door.

Hafiz compares the calyx of the tulip to a wine-cup:—

'Twould seem as if the tulip knew full well this world is base,
For all its life the goblet holds in its hand its place.

The scratching of the reed-pen (calamus, قلم), with which the Persians write, is thus poetically interpreted by Mauláva Jalál-ud-Dín Rúmi, in the opening lines of the Mathnawi:—

" Hear the reed's complaining wail!
Hear it tell its mournful tale!
Torn from the spot it loved so well
Its sighs, its groans, our tears compel."

This holy man is the greatest of all the Súfi poets of the East, and his long and rambling poem, called *the* Mathnawi *par excellence*, is looked on by the Moslems as divinely inspired. The Súfis are a philosophical sect whose real or esoteric religion is Pantheism, while they outwardly conform to the creed of Islam. The ultimate aim of the soul they hold to be reabsorption in the Deity or Universal Being, and this bliss is to be attained only through many successive stages of probation, culminating at last in Sulah-i-Kul, or Perfect Peace.

The deep, long rapture, the chosen know
Who forsake for Heaven vain joys below;
Who desire no pleasure, and fear no woe.

The Súfi sees God in everything, and feels Him in his own soul:—

God is a spirit, they say, and spirit with spirit may meet,
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.

One of the earliest Súfis was Mansúr Halláj, whose faith and fate is a common theme of the Persian poets. He used to go about exclaiming 'An al Hakh;' 'I am the Truth;' and when he was executed as a heretic, by the order of Sultán Sálah-ud-Dín, it is fabled that his blood, as it ran out, upon the ground, formed the letters of the Arabic words 'An al

Hakh.' Persia has been the birth-place and the chief home of Sufi-ism, another evidence of the attempt of the Aryan mind to escape from the uncongenial fetters of Islam. The word 'Súfi' is derived from the 'Súf,' or white woollen stuff of the robes worn by devotees, emblematic of purity: but we incline to believe that it is derived from the Greek—Sophia, Wisdom. The Baptist Missionary hymn says—

Light for the Persian sky!
The Sophi's wisdom fades;
And the pearls of Ormus are poor to buy
Armour when death invades:
Hark! 'tis the sainted Martyr's sigh,
From Ararat's mournful shades.

The Súfi poets are wont to hide their esoteric doctrines under the vulgar veil of amatory and anacreontic poetry. Thus the Lover and the Beloved mean the Soul and the Divine Essence, the Wine means Grace, Kisses mean Glimpses of Heaven, and so on, much as the interpreter pleases. Pious Persians, who wish to reconcile flirtation and conviviality with the strict sobriety of Islam, translate all poetry in the Súfi fashion, and so satisfy at once their tastes and their consciences; and for their pains are held up to ridicule by the poets as kushk (dry as dust) and khor-sálik (pious donkey).

Háfiz and Omar Khayyám, who are both idols of the modern Súfis, lost no opportunity of railing at them. Háfiz sings—

An talkhwash ke Súfi Umul khabáyithash khwand
Ashaliná wa ahlá min kublat al 'azár há!
That sour-faced one (*wine*) which the Súfi calls the mother of vices and woes,
Is sweeter far than the kisses are of maidens with cheeks like the rose:

And Omar Khayyám says—

"Let the Súfi flout;
Of my base metal shall be filed a key
That shall unlock the door he howls without.
And this I know: whether the one true Light
Kindle to love, or wrath consume me quite,
One flash of it within the tavern caught
Is better than in temple lost outright.

The Súfis and the Puritans of Persia interpret the poets much in the same way as Christian divines have been accustomed to interpret the Song of Solomon: in fact the explanatory headings to the Song of Songs in our authorised version are an exact parallel to a Súfi commentary; as the song itself is the ordinary type of an oriental love-song, or ghazal.

Under the guise of religious mysticism many of the Súfi poets themselves do not hesitate to openly avow infidelity. Shams ud-Dín Tabriz (the Sun of the Faith of Tauris) a companion and friend of Maulana Jalál-ud-Dín Rúmi, sings of his quest of the Truth;

"I've searched through the Gospels, the Koran explored,
But in neither discerned I the Court of the Lord;
I gazed in the Cross, and the Magian shrine,
But my eye caught no glimpse of a glory divine;
I questioned the pen and the tablets of Fate,
But they whispered not where he pavilions his state."

And another of the brotherhood exclaims—

Na Múminam, na Nasárá, na Káfiram, na Yahúd;
Ba hairatam ke saranjám-i-ma che khwáhad búd!
I am not a Moslem, nor a Christian, nor a Pagan, nor a Jew;
I wonder in the future life, what place shall I go to!

One of the most famous Súfi poets was Faríd-ud-Dín 'Attar (the druggist), who forsook his trade for poetry and mysticism. "When Changhiz Khan over-ran Persia, one of his soldiers seized upon Faríd-ud-Dín 'Attár, and was about to put him to death, when another Mongol, pitying the aged man, and interested by his unaffected piety and resignation, offered to purchase his life for a thousand dirhams. The offer would have been gladly accepted, but that the Attár, anxious that the bird of his soul should be emancipated from the cage of his body, advised his captor to refuse the price offered, as he might depend upon meeting with a better customer. After some time another Mongol came up, and, adverting to the great age of the captive, offered for him a bag of horse-fodder. Attár, smiling, said: 'This is my full price, sell me;' when the Mongol, annoyed at having refused the first good offer, in a passion immediately murdered him."

After his death an eminent Súfi was asked, to whom he ascribed the more profound knowledge in his mystic doctrine, Jalál-ud-Dín Rúme, or Faríd-ud-Dín 'Attár? He answered: "The former like an eagle flew up to the height of perfection in the twinkling of an eye; the latter reached the same summit, but it was by crawling slowly and perseveringly like an ant."

Another famous Súfi poet was Núr-ud-Din Abdur Rahmán Jámi, born at Jám, near Herát, about the middle of the fifteenth century. His most famous poem is the story of the love of Zulaika, the wife of the Aziz of Misr (Potiphar of Egypt,) for the captive Yusuf: another poem of his describes the yearning of the soul for absorption into the Divinity, or the universe, under the disguise of the mortal loves of Salaman and Absál. This has been translated into English verse by Edward Fitzgerald, but, owing to the strangeness of the Súfi doctrine to European ears and minds, the translation never "caught on," as did the quatrains of the free-thinking Omar Khayyám by the same translator. The following are two of the parables which 'Attár has interpolated in the thread of his main narrative:—

When before Shirúyeh's dagger
Kai Khusran, his father, fell,
He declared this parable :—
" Wretch ! there was a branch that waxing
" Wanton o'er the root he drank from,
" At a draught the living water
" Drained, wherewith himself to crown ;
" Died the root—and with it died
" The branch, and barren was brought down ! "

The following conveys the lesson of the good Samaritan, that righteousness is not dependent on the profession of creed :—

God said to the Prophet David—

" David, whom I have exalted
" From the sheep to be my people's
" Shepherd, by your justice my
" Revelation justify :
" Lest the misbelieving—Yea,
" The Fire-adoring Princes rather
" Be my Prophets who fulfil
" Knowing not my Word, my Will."

Shams-ud-Dín Muhammad, nick-named Háfiz, was like Shekh Sa'di, a native of Shiráz, and flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century : so that Sir Walter Scott committed an anachronism, when, in his novel of the Talisman, he put a verse of Hafiz into the mouth of an Arab Amir at the time of the Crusades. Háfiz was in Shiráz when it was taken by Amir Timur, the Tartar, who put the poet's royal patron, Shekh Mansur, to death. Timur sent for Háfiz, and said to him, ' I have taken and destroyed with the keen edge of my sword the greatest kingdoms of the earth, to add splendour and population to the royal cities of my native land, Samarkand and Bokhara, yet you dispose of them both for the black mole on the cheek of your beloved, alluding to the couplet in a famous ode of Hafiz—

" If that girl of Shiraj would take my heart into her hand,
I would give for the black mole of her cheek Bokhara and Samarkand.

Hafiz, nothing daunted, replied, Yes, your majesty, and it is by such acts of generosity that I am reduced, as you see, to my present state of poverty." It is said that the monarch took the hint, and amply made good to Háfiz the loss of his former patron.

Háfiz is almost adored by the Persians, who call him the Lisán-ul-ghaib (Voice from the Unseen) and Tarjumán-al-Asrár (the Interpreter of Secrets). They consult his Diwán, or collection of odes, after the fashion of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, in the belief that they discover the hidden secrets of Fate like an oracle. When the Turkish Sultan, Ahmad the Third, was marching to expel the Venetians from the Morea in 1715, the grand Vazir Damád 'Ali Kumurji, "the dauntless Vazir" of Byron's "Siege of Corinth," took a Fál, or omen, from the Diwán of Háfiz, and lighted on a passage to the effect that, "Heaven assists the pomp and parade of the Sháh" which was looked upon as an auspicious answer.

During the anarchy that followed the overthrow of the Suffavi dynasty in Persia, the Turks, under the Pasha of Baghdad, occupied the western provinces, including the town of Tabriz. After the hero, Nadir Shah, had expelled the Afghan invaders from Ispahán and Shiráz, he resolved to march against the Turks, and, before setting out on his expedition, consulted the Diwán of Háfiz; when the book, with rather suspicious appositeness, opened at this passage—

Irák o Fárs girifti ba sha'r i khwísh, Háfiz;
Biyá, ke naubat-i Baghdád o waqt-i Tabriz ast!
Irák and Fárs, O Hafiz, with thy verse thou has made glad;
Come! 'tis now the time for Tabriz and the hour for Baghdad!

The odes of Háfiz have been translated into English by Herman Bicknell faithfully, but not poetically, and their perusal conveys no idea of the beauty of the original. The odes, or ghazals, are arranged in the Diwán alphabetically according to the last letter of the rhyme, which runs through the whole ghazal; the Radíf of Alif, the Radíf of Be, &c. As an example of Bicknell's translation, we give here four odes, the first two in the rhyme of Alif, the third in that of Wao, and the fourth in that of Ye.

The English reader will probably think that the Pierian spring of Háfiz is as difficult to fathom as that of Browning. The following is the oft-quoted opening ode of the Diwán:—

Ala! ya ai ho as Sáki! Adir k'asan wa náwilhá:

Ho! hearken to me, cup bearer! pass round and offer thou the bowl;
For love that seemed at first so easy, has now brought trouble to my soul.
With yearning for the musk's aroma, which from thy head thy locks
have spread,
For that crisp curl of musky odour, how plenteously our hearts have
bled!
Stain with the lees of wine thy prayer-mat, if thus the ancient Magian
bid,
For from the traveller of the pathway, no stage nor usage can be hid.
Can my beloved one's house delight me, when issues ever and anon
From the relentless bell the mandate "'Tis time to bind the saddles on?"
The waves are wild, the whirlpool deep, the shadows of the night steal
o'er;
How can our fate excite compassion in the gay travellers on the shore?
Each action of untroubled heart has won me an opprobrious name;
Can any one conceal the secret which the assembled crowds proclaim.
If joy be thy desire, O Háfiz, from Love far distant never dwell;
As soon as thou hast found thy loved one, bid to the world a last
farewell.

The next is one of the favourite odes for quotation and recitation: it was first translated into English by Sir William Jones:—

Agar an Turk-i Shirázi ba dost árad dil-i márá :

If that Shirázian girl would deign to take my heart within her hand
To make her Indian mole my own, I'd give Bokhara and Samarkand.
Sáki, present the wine unspent; in heaven thou shalt never gaze
On Ruknabada's water marge, nor on Muralla's bloomy ways.
Alas, that these sweet mistresses whose blandishments the town embroil,
Should have borne off my heart's content, as do the Turks their trays of spoil.
My loved one's beauty has no need of an imperfect love like mine;
By paint or powder, mole or patch, can a fair face more brightly shine?
Of minstrels and of wine discourse; and care not how the skies revolve;
By wisdom no one has solved yet, and shall not this enigma solve.
I from those daily growing charms which Joseph once possesed, foresaw
That from the screen of chastity Love would Zulaikha's footsteps draw.
Thou mockest me, yet pleased am I! God pardon thee, thy words were meet:
A bitter answer well becomes those rubies which are sugar sweet.
O Soul, give ear to my advice: for one who is in youth time sage
Deems his own soul of lighter worth than the monition of old age.
Thy lay is versed, they pearls are pierced, come, Hafiz, sing it us and please;
That Heaven upon they poetry may fling her clustered Pleiades.

Taza ba taza, nau ba nau:

Sing me a lay, sweet bard, I sue: once and again, anew, anew!
Seek for me wine's heart-opening dew; once and again, anew, anew!
Close to some sweet and doll-like fair, sit thou apart with cheerful air;
Steal from that cheek the kiss that's due, once and again, anew, anew.
Sákí who steps on silvery limb, nor has recrossed my threshold's rim,
She shall my cup with wine imbrue, once and again, anew, anew.
How shall life's fruit by thee be won, if thou the wine-filled goblet shun?
Quaff, and in thought thy loved one view; once and again, anew, anew.
Ravishing hearts, the girl I choose, eager to please me, well doth use
Gauds and adornment, scent and hue; once and again, anew, anew.
Breeze of the morn that soon shall fleet hence to that fairy's blissful street.
Tell her the tale of Háfiz true, once and again, anew, anew.

The above is commonly sung by the Nách-girls in India, with whom it is a favourite on account of its lilting tune, familiar to the ears of Anglo-Indians.

In the following Mr. Bicknell's English version is more musical as well as more intelligible:—

Raftam ba bágh tá ke bachín am sakr guli:

I went for a rose to the garden at morn
When towards me the note of the bulbul was borne.
Emamoured as I of the charms of a flower,
Unhappy it poured forth its plaint in the bower.
Full oft to the queen of that garden I went,
My thoughts on that rose and that nightingale bent.

The rose has its thorn, and the bulbul its pain,
This aye to continue, and that to remain.
So thrilled to my heart that sad nightingale's air
That, mastered by feeling, no more I could bear.
Though many a rose in this garden is born,
No mortal who culls one escapes from the thorn.
From life's home, O Háfiz, what joy can be won?
Defects it has thousands, but excellence none.

Doctor Atkinson has thus translated a Sáki-Náma or Drinking song of Háfiz :—

'Sáki! ere the sun decline
Bring the ruby tinted wine:
Sorrow on my bosom preys
Wine alone delights my days.
Bring it! let its sweets impart
Rapture to my fainting heart.
Sáki! fill the bumper high,
Why should I unhappy sigh?
Mark the glittering bubbles swim
Round the goblet's smiling brim:
Now they burst, the charm is gone,
Fretful life will soon be done:
Jamshíd's regal sway is o'er,
Kaikobad is now no more:
Fill the goblet, all must sever,
Drink the liquid gem for ever!
Thou shalt still in realms divine
Quaff the soul expanding wine!

This curious oriental expectation of drinking wine in the future life is, perhaps, alluded to in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter XXVI. 29.

'Omar Khayyám, the astronomer poet of Persia, was born at Naishapúr towards the end of the eleventh century, and was a school-fellow of Nizám-ud-Dín, who afterwards became Vazir, or minister, to Jelál-ud-Dín Málik Shah, and of Hasan Sabah, afterwards notorious as the chief of the Sect of Assassins, who was known to the Crusaders as the "Old Man of the Mountain." Through the friendship of the former, he became Astronomer Royal to Málik Sháh, and compiled for him the Jalalian Calendar, "a computation of time," says the historian Gibbon, "which surpassses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style." 'Omar himself alludes to this, where he says :—

Up from earth's centre through the seventh gate
I rose, and on the throne of Saturn sate;
And many a knot unravelled by the way,
But not the master knot of human Fate.
Ah, but my computations, people say
Reduced the year to better reckoning? Nay,
'Twas only striking from the calendar
Unborn to-morrow, and dead yesterday.

'Omar's rambling poems are written in Rubaiyát, or quatrains, of which the first, second and fourth lines rhyme, the third being blank. Their metre and rhythm are admirably imitated by Fitzgerald: for example—

Wake! for the Sun has scattered into flight
The stars before him from the field of Night;
    And lo! the hunter of the East has struck
The Sultan's turret with a shaft of Light.

* * * * * * *

Whether at Naishapúr or Babylon,
Whether the cup with sweet or bitter run,
    The Wine of Life keeps oozing, drop by drop,
The Leaves of Life keep falling, one by one.

The worldly hope men set their hearts upon
Turns ashes; or it prospers; and anon,
    Like snow upon the desert's dusty face
Lighting a little hour or two, is gone.

Ah, my beloved, fill the cup that clears
To-day of past regrets and future fears!
    To-morrow? Why, to-morrow I may be
Myself with yesterday's seven thousand years.

For some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That from his vintage rolling Time hath prest,
    Have drunk their cup a round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest.

Why all the Saints and Sages who discussed
So learnedly of the two worlds, are thrust
    Like foolish Prophets forth; their Words to scorn
Are scattered, and their mouths are stopt with dust.

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Sages and Saints, and heard great argument
    About it and about: but evermore
Came out by the same door wherein I went.

With them the seed of Wisdom did I sow,
And with my own hand wrought to make it grow;
    And this was all the harvest that I reap'd,
I came like water, and like wind I go.

When you and I behind the Veil are past,
Oh, but the long, long time the world shall last;
    Which of our coming and departure heeds
As the Sea's self should heed a pebble-cast.

Oh threats of Hell and hopes of Paradise!
One thing at least is certain; *this* life flies;
    One thing is certain and the rest is lies;
The flower that once has blown for ever dies.

Strange, is it not? that of the myriads who
Before us pass'd the door of Darkness through;
    Not one returns to tell us of the road
Which to discover, we must travel too.

The Revelations of devout and learned,
Who rose before us, and like prophets burned,
    Are all but stories, which, awoke from sleep,
They told their fellows, and to sleep returned.

The moving finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: not all your piety and wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out one word of it.

Yesterday this day's madness did prepare,
To-morrow's silence, triumph, or despair;
Drink! for you know not whence you came, nor why:
Drink! for you know not when you go, nor where.

The sum of 'Omar Khayyám's epicurean philosophy is "Eat, drink and be merry: every thing else is nothing." Himself a moral and a sober man, his muse is as great a votaress of the wine cup as that of Háfiz, who wrote—

Kuzil jám wa la takhsha fi h'il gunáh
Ke dar bagh-i-Jannat buwwad mai mubáh.
Come, crush me the wine-cup, nor deem it a sin,
For we'll drink the bright vine-juice, the high Heaven within.

And even the sober Sádi exclaims—

Even the Kadhi would applaud us, could he of our party be;
Thou Mohtasib! quaff the wine-cup, and thou'lt set the drunkard free.

And 'Omár Khayyám thus incites to revelry and winebibbing:—

Waste not your hour, nor in the vain pursuit
Of this and that endeavour and dispute:
Better be jocund with the fruitful grape,
Than sadden after none or bitter fruit.

You know, my friends, with what a brave carouse,
I made a second marriage in my house;
Divorced old barren Reason from my bed,
And took the daughter of the Vine to spouse.

Why, be this juice the growth of God, who dare
Blaspheme the twisted tendril as a snare?
A blessing, we should use it, should we not?
And if a curse, why then, who set it there?

Indeed, the idols I have loved so long,
Have done my credit in this world much wrong:
Have drowned my Honour in a shallow cup,
And sold my reputation for a song.

Yet much as Wine has played the Infidel,
And robb'd me of my Robe of honour; well,
I often wonder what the vintners buy
One-half so precious as the stuff they sell.

The anonymous preface prefixed to the common Persian version of 'Omar Khayyám's poems relates the following story: "It is written in the chronicles of the ancients, that the King of the Wise, 'Omar Khayyám, died at Nishápúr in the year of the Hegira 517 (A.D. 1123); in science he was unrivalled; the very paragon of his age. Khwájah Nizámi of Samarkand, who was one of his pupils, relates the following story: "I often used to hold conversations with my teacher

'Omar Kháyyám, in a garden: and one day he said to me, 'My tomb shall be in a spot where the north wind may scatter roses over it.' I wondered at the words he spoke, but I knew that his were no idle words. Years after, when I chanced to re-visit Nishapúr, I went to his final resting-place, and lo! it was just outside a garden, and trees laden with fruit stretched their boughs over the garden wall, and dropped their flowers upon his tomb, so that the stone was hidden under them."

The 'Omar Khayyám Club in England has lately caused to be planted on the tomb of Edward Fitzgerald, at the little village of Boulge, near Woodbridge in Suffolk, two rose-bushes grown at Kew from cuttings obtained at the tomb of 'Omar, by Mr. William Simpson, the veteran artist of the "Illustrated London News," who visited the tomb of the Persian poet at Nishapúr, when proceeding to join the Afghan Boundary Commission in the year 1884. Mr. Edmund Gosse composed the following quatrains for the occasion—

Reign here, triumphant rose from 'Omar's grave,
Borne by a fakir o'er the Persian wave;
    Reign with fresh pride, since here a heart is sleeping
That double glory to your master gave.

Hither let many a pilgrim step be bent,
To greet the rose re-risen in banishment.
    Here richer crimson may its cup be keeping
Than brimmed it ere from Naishapúr it went.

The four centuries from the time of Firdausi to that of Háfiz are the golden age of Persian poetry, but the great poets of that epoch have found worthy successors in both Persia and India, in a chain of talent which has reached to our own times:—Hátifi, Ghazáli, 'Urfi, Faizi, Zuláli, Sáib, and Hátif Isfaháni, who flourished at the end of the last century; down to Kaáni, the late lamented poet laureate of the present Sháh, who may be said to occupy in the modern Persian world of letters the place of Tennyson in England. We subjoin some stanzas from a Mukhammas, or poem of five lined stanzas, by him. In this species of composition the first four lines rhyme together, while the rhyme of the fifth is carried through the whole poem:—

Binafsha rusta az zamún ba tarafi júibárhà,
Va yá gusista Hur-i ín za zulfikhwísh tárká.
Za sang agar na dídaf che sán jahad sharárhá,
Ba birghái lala bín miyan-i lálazárha,
    Kechun sharara míjahad za sang-i kohsárhá.

Ná dánamá za kúdaki shigúfa az che pír shud,
Ná khwúrda shír 'árizásh cherá ba rang-i shír shud;
Gumán baram ke ham chu man ba dàm i gham asír shud,
Za pá fikanda dilbarash chu khúb dastgir shud
    Bale, chunín baranda dil za 'áshikán nigárha!

Bahár rá che míkunam ke shud za bár bahár-i man ;
Kinára kardam az Jahán chun ú shud azkinár-i man ;
Khushá va khurram án damí kebúd yár yár-i man,
Do zulfi mishk-bár-iú ba chashm-i ashkbár-i man
Chu Chashmai ke andar ú shaná kunand márha.

This last simile reminds us of the Song of Solomon, Chap. VII. v. 4.—"Thine eyes like the fish pools of Heshbon, by the gate of Beth-rabbin."

Ala! che sálhá ke man mai o nadím dáshtam ;
Chu Sáltáza míshudí mai-i kadím dáshtam,
Piyálahá va jamhá za zar o sím dáshtam,
Dili javád-i pur hunar, kafiíkarím dáshtam ;
Che khurh ba nazo ni'amatam guzasht rozgarhá !

* * * *

If the poets of Persia are numerous, the poetasters are innumerable. Prosody is a requisite of a liberal education, and every educated man in Persia and in Persian speaking countries, scribbles verses, with which he afflicts his acquaintances and friends, who endure the infliction in order to get a hearing in turn for their own. The passion for versifying in Persian society reminds us of the Elizabethan age in England ; and the conversation of the Persian man of letters or of the world, much resembles the stilted address of the Euphuists of the same time. Hackneyed quotations from well-known poets, are freely introduced to give point to the most common-place remarks and are often cleverly applied, so as to give a happy or unexpected turn to the conversation. There are innumerable stories current of the *impromptu* application of a happy quotation or invention to unforeseen circumstances. When Ghaiás Beg 'Itimád-ud-Daula, the aged father of the famous Empress Núr Jahán, whose splendid mausoleum at Agra is an enduring instance of filial piety, lay upon his death-bed, the Emperor Sháh Jahán came in to bid him a last farewell ; and Núr Jahán asked her father whether he recognised His Majesty. The dying Minister replied :—

"Even if the mother-blind man happened to be present now
He himself would surely know thee by the splendour of thy brow."

When Mirza Mahdi, the learned and eloquent Vazír of Nádir Sháh, had, by his awkwardness, broken the priceless China bowl from which the king was wont to drink, he apologised for his awkwardness in this couplet :—

"In kása ra pindáshtam, táj i Fajhfúr-i Chín,
Chun Sag-i-ástánam, pá nihádam bar sarash !"

"I took this China bowl to be the Chinese Emperor's crown
Since I am the dog of this threshold, with my paw I crushed it down !"

A review of the lighter labours of the Persian muse would lead us into an endless dissertation. The ballad poetry of Persia is principally represented by the story of the adventures of Kuraghli, the Robin Hood of Iran; but it is in the native Turkish language of the Kizilbashiya, or Redheads, the five Turkish tribes whose united numbers furnish the ruling race in the Persia of to-day.

The popular poetry of the camps and of the bazaars is mostly of Anacreontic strain. The present writer picked up, at an Indian bookstall, a Persian volume on the fly-leaf of which some former owner had scribbled these lines:—

Kai báshad o kai báshad o kai báshad o kai?
Man básham o vai báshad o nai báshad o mai;
Man gah lab-i vai bosam, vai gah lab-i mai,
Man búsa za vai gíram, o vai búsa za nai!

Which may be freely translated:—

When will it be, when it will be, when wilt thou be mine?
I with thee, and thou with me, and the music, and the wine!
I kissing thy red lips, and thou kissing the wine;
Thou kissing the flute's mouth, and I kissing thine!

A somewhat similar stanza conveys the Persian idea of the pleasures of a pic nic:—

Lab i jám, o lab-i yár, o lab-i juv, o lab-i kisht
Gar do chár shavad ín chahár, bih za hast bihisht!

The edge of the wood and the bank of the stream, and the brim of the cup, and the lip of the love;
These four earthly things together are better than the heavens above!

The play upon words of the original Persian is lost in the English translation.

There are many Persian songs in common use in India, with pretty and poetical words. "Lálá rukhá saman bará" and "Táza ba táza, nau ba nau" are familiar, by sound at least, to Anglo-Indian ears. Sir Edwin Arnold in his 'Sa'di in the Garden' has given us a very faithful reproduction of two well known Persian songs in an English dress. The first, generally known, from its opening words, as 'Malik búdani,' represents a fancied dialogue between the Mogul Emperor of India, Sháh Jahán, and his consort Mumtázun-Nissa, the lady for whom her devoted husband reared the glorious mausoleum known as the Taj Mahál at Agra, which may be described as, without exception, the most beautiful building in the world. The song runs thus:—

He: I was Sultan of Hind and the mountains:
Chenab and Ravi
Were mine, from their silver white fountains
To the sands of the sea,

And Gunga, and Jumna, with blisses
Of Lordship and Line;
Yet I counted them less than thy kisses,
My Lady divine!

She: I had gold robes, and greatness, and sweetness;
I was Queen of the Land;

In my palace was pride of completeness
On my lips sate command :

But the heart of my Lord was my glory,
Not the crown on my brows ;
And my garden is green with Love's story,
And my Tomb is Love's house.

The second song is also a dialogue between a lover and his mistress, as follows :—

She : I am sitting in sadness, deep stricken
With a wound that is death,
If thou coms't not, Physician, to quicken
My soul with thy breath.

Have you seen, have you seen, oh my brothers !
A hawk flying south ;
Blacker plumed, brighter-eyed than all others
With a heart in his mouth ?

Ah ! stay him ! 'tis mine, it is mine !
He has reft it amain !
I am red with Love's blood, with the wine
That is pressed from Love's vein.

He : My beloved hath breasts like pomegranates,
Her teeth are sea-pearls !
Her eyes shine with splendour of planets ;
Like tangled silk curls.

The heart-net enwove by her tresses
I fly with faint feet :
Oh, Allah ! her clinging caresses !
Is Thy garden so sweet ?

My beloved knows not how I love her,
That the sick one is I ;
I escape, lest the patient recover,
And the Hakím should die.

We cannot here refrain from quoting another song from the pen of the same gifted author, in which he has ingeniously used the following Persian verse as the refrain of an English lyric :—

Ai ! Chaman az nasím i sabáh mushkbár,
Saman az litáfat chu rukhsár-i-yár !
Ze bád-i sahar gul dihán karda báz,
Chu máshúk- i khandán-i 'áshik nawáz.

When the breeze of the morn sought the garden from far,
The Jasmine was pale as true lovers looks are ;
But the rose her lips parted and lifted her face,
Like a loved one awaiting her lover's embrace.

Sir Edwin Arnold has expanded the pretty idea of the Persian poet into four verses, as follows :—

The garden was laden with musk by the breeze,
It whispered while earth stirred, it rustled the trees
From the tresses of night fell the last loosened star ;
Ai ! Chaman az Nasím-i-sabah Mushkbár !

The flowers ope'd their lids ; from the wing of the bird
The feathered head lifted ; the jessamine heard,
All pale in her charms as true lovers' looks are,
Saman az litáfat chu rukhsár-i-yár !

The rose was awake ere the breath of dawn blew
With a tear on her cheek, as the nightingale knew ;
But she parted her lips now and lifted her face,
Zi bad-i-sahar gul dihán karda báz.

In the light of the morning her beautiful breast
She bared for her lover with passion confessed ;
All smiling and nodding she gave him her grace,
Chu máshúk-i-khandán i áshik nawáz.

Persian literature already gives signs of a considerables change, owing to the increased intercourse of the natives with Europeans, which shows itself in the adoption of Western modes of thought and methods of composition : the admired Musajja, or rhyming prose, and the custom of poetical quotation, are conspicuously absent from the diary of His Majesty the Sháh and other modern prose works. We are unaware of Persian poetry having been as yet affected by this new departure : in the neighbouring Musalmán Empire of Turkey, a new school of poetry has arisen, along with the European reforms (Tanzímát), which seeks its inspiration in French, instead of, as formerly, in Persian, models. Could the invention of printing and the Roman alphabet be generally introduced into Persia, it is probable that we should see a re-awakening of the national genius, and a revival of Persian literature, such as took place in Europe, under similar conditions, at the close of the Middle Ages.

F. H. TYRRELL, *Major-General.*

ART. II.—TWO RUSSIAN POETS.

A CURIOUS coincidence of sorrow marks the poets of the first half of this century; with hardly an exception one lot befell them—unhappy life and untimely death. In England, we had Keats, Shelley, Byron, all poets of sorrow and unrest; all ill-starred, stricken, and driven to and fro. In France,—André Chenier, Alfred de Musset; in Germany, Heine; in Italy, Leopardi; on all of these the mantle of the poet fell in sorrow and mourning, and not in gladness and joy. In Russia the same fate dogged the footsteps of the brilliant constellation of singers, that marked this century's beginning. Pushkin died in a duel, bred of a miserable quarrel, born of another's vanity and deceit. How Lermontoff died I shall relate; and Koltsoff was no happier in life, hardly happier in death.

It is not easy, nor is it my purpose here to seek to grasp the meaning of this burden of sorrow and death that fell so heavily on the poets of our century; they themselves could not understand it, but suffered in almost inarticulate woe; inarticulate, that is, as to the cause of their suffering, and as to any hope of removing it, though full of vocal sorrow as to the bitterness of the pain.

Keats, full of unhappiness, looked with longing to the gifts that others had—wealth, prestige, freedom. Byron had all these—wealth, prestige, freedom, with unhappiness. Heine, from his mattress-grave, longed for such fair health as Shelley had among the sunny hills and vineyards of Italy, but Shelley himself, in Italy, and full of health, was sorrowful.

So in Russia, Koltsoff's letters are full of longings for the life of Petersburg; brilliant culture, the lore of books, and the friendship of poets. But Lermontoff had all these, and possessed them in sorrow and weariness, finding no joy there, but only abiding sadness. Koltsoff's life, as I shall try to depict it, is full of unhappiness, the spite of time, and the hostility of the world; but there is a deeper unhappiness; a restless longing and sadness, born of Russian melancholy and mysticism; and even something more than this—something of the unrest of universal humanity, that recognises that "man is born to sorrow as the sparks fly upward."

ALEXEI KOLTSOFF.

Koltsoff, the peasant-poet, was born in Voronej, in the year 1808; his father was a drover of the steppe, a class that, at the beginning of this century, held a much more considerable position than to-day. Koltsoff's father, besides carrying on a trade in meat and salt-fish, owned herds of cattle and sheep, the latter being destined for the tallow factories. The trade of drover was then at its best, in the steppe Government of Southern Russia, at the time when these Governments, consisting for the most part of grassy plains and prairies, were but sparsely populated and thus left ample room for cattle and sheep. When, however, the population of the Southern Governments began to increase, crowding out the open spaces of pasture, the drovers began to lose ground, and, after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the class gradually disappeared. The emancipated serfs who had acquired the right of holding land in full ownership, undertook the cultivation of corn on a large scale, and consequently the plough-share broke up the great rolling plains where the herds and flocks had formerly roamed at will.

Koltsoff's father was, through the extent of his trade, one of the most notable figures of the drover class ; but at the same time he was a man entirely destitute of education, beyond the mere ability to read and write, and fully convinced that only that was worth learning which could be turned to a practical account in his trade, like reading, and writing, and the first four rules of arithmetic. He acted on this principle in taking his son from the local school after he had passed only a year and a half there, with the intention of utilising him in his trade. There was no one to step forward in young Alexei's interest, to urge his father to let him remain longer at school. His mother was a kind-hearted, simple woman, quite illiterate, and moreover, as was universally the case in the mercantile class in Russia, entirely devoid of a practical voice in the affairs of the family, the more so that her husband was a stubborn man, who allowed no one to offer him advice. When he was taken away from school, Alexei Koltsoff was just ten years old, but he was deeply grieved at leaving his school, where, though the teaching was at best mediocre, yet he caught glimpses of things entirely unknown in his family, and where his love of study had been already kindled.

Reading was henceforth possible only in the winter. In the summer, his days were spent on the steppe, watching his father's sheep among ignorant shepherds, often suffering from rigorous weather that overtook him, and forced him to pass the night under the open sky. Even in winter, he could only study at odd moments, for his father often sent him with the traders to purchase and sell salt-fish and meat, the staple of his wares.

Very bitter it was to this richly-gifted boy, full of varied abilities and sensitive to every impression, to be torn away from study and books to the sordid details of his father's trade. Though he longed to study, study was precluded to him, both then and later; so that all his life he felt the lack of systematic education; and he could hardly replace it by his snatched moments of reading from the few books that were accessible to him. But reading is beneficial only when it is well directed, and when well-chosen books are supplied; when some riper experience can point out the narrow path through the limitless labyrinth of books. For Koltsoff no such guidance existed, or was possible, in the circumstances in which he lived. Where was he to find books when everyone around him regarded them as either useless or positively harmful, when nothing that could be called even the germ of a library existed among them?

It happened, however, that there was among his father's acquaintances, a merchant, who had for some reason or other, a considerable number of books, and who also had a son with a passion for study.

The two boys became warm friends, and eagerly explored the library that was put at their disposal. It is true that the books were not of a sort to enlighten the understanding and enrich it with sound information; for the majority consisted of stories of witchcraft, and every kind of impossible fiction; the tone of which helped to stir Koltsoff's already powerful imagination, and so were not without their measure of usefulness. Under their influence he became more and more a poet; able to understand clearly the working of his own and others' hearts, able to sympathise with everything noble and beautiful, and to seek the noble and beautiful where others, less gifted, might pass it by unnoticed; able to see what is fair and great in nature, to enrich and beautify it with his imagination, and to record the garnered riches of his mind in a form that reaches the hearts of all and makes the reader a sharer in the mind of the poet.

Koltsoff never acquired mastery over the universal style that marks the greatest masters. There always remained something peculiar and personal in his song, some trace of his narrow surroundings, and an echo of his own city of Voronej. This is what makes his verse so hard to translate, so that I can only indicate remotely its character in an English version, and not truly reproduce it. The first half-dozen stanzas of his "Harvest" will illustrate this:—

"HARVEST."

"Hotly crimsoning,
    Dawn awakeneth
On the valley where
    Misty vapours are;
And the sun appears
    Gleamingly, ruddily,

Lifts the veil of mist,
To the mountain top ;
Then, condensing there,
Vapours darkening
Gather gloomily,
Lower sullenly :
Lower sullenly
As remembering,
Looking longingly
To the earth below :
Whirling hurriedly,
Tossing stormily,
Swiftly hastening,
The white world along ;
Weapons gathering,
From the thunderstorm
Fiery lightning, and
The wide rain-bow arc ;
Weapons gathering,
Darkly opening
For the thunder crash
And the tumbling rain . . . ."

I doubt whether a true translation of Koltsoff can be made in any tongue. To do so, would need a poet, as great as Koltsoff himself ; a poet, moreover, whose mind and soul had been fed on the morning sunlight, and the dew-sprinkled flowers of the steppe, as Koltsoff was ; a poet great enough to rise to the sublime faith of Koltsoff's "Prayer," and yet tinged with that sad mysticism that makes Koltsoff so truly Russian ; such a one might translate Koltsoff, but no other.

It is difficult even to express the peculiar value of Koltsoff's verse. The short, almost epigrammatic lines, carrying always a fuller meaning than a mere translation of the words can give ; the simple, and yet inimitable music of the rhythm ; the vividness of colour, as of a sunbeam broken into rainbow sparkles by the crystal dew, and over all the keen, sweet, sad personality of the poet, breathing individuality into every line.

Up to the period I have described, Koltsoff was a poet only in potentiality; he had neither written verse, nor what is more remarkable, read the verse of others. It happened to him for the first time, when he was fourteen years old, to read the works of a Russian poet.

He chanced to buy the works of Dmitryeff at the market whither he had gone to sell his father's wares. Dmitryeff wrote light, musical verse, whose melody caught Koltsoff's ear, and wakened an echoing music in his mind. He tried to write himself. At first, the verses that cost him a world of trouble, that seemed so perfect while he wrote them, were halting and weak ; because, in the first place, he had no knowledge whatever of the art of verse ; and, secondly, because he was too young, and had lived through no experience that could furnish a sound subject-matter for his work; he knew no strong sorrow or joy, and passion was still to him an unopened book.

Without experience in himself, he could not supply the want from others, for all around him were of a texture unamenable to his muse. But as the poet's power was Koltsoff's from birth, he could not restrain his longing to write verse, and, in spite of every obstacle, in spite of every difficulty, he continued to create what he could as he could, and still more, to read the verse of other Russian writers.

At that time Pushkin was at the height of his glory. Koltsoff managed to procure his works among others, and from them he drank in strong nourishment for his art. At this period also, he had the good luck to find a faithful and wise guide in a young man named Serebrauski, who was possessed of a clear intellect and noble nature, had received an admirable education, and was able to give Koltsoff, with whom he was united by a close friendship, valuable counsel for his art, and it cannot be doubted that Serebrauski's advice was a powerful instrument in the development which led Koltsoff forward on his true path, and helped to make him a poet in words and work, and not only in potentiality and hope, though up to the present none of his verses had been printed.

And this inner progress was made at a time when activities of quite another sort were demanded of him; when he was compelled, as before, to drive his father's flocks over the steppe, to follow and fall in with the huckstering of the markets, and to fill his mind with all the petty details of the drover's trade. All this his father exacted from him, and all this he conscientiously fulfilled; in the first place because he was an obedient son, and, secondly, because, through his extreme youth, he was unable to find for himself any occupation that would have given wider scope to his longing for culture. In one thing only the drover's life was congenial to young Koltsoff; he loved the wide expanses of the steppes, where his hours were spent, moving to and fro after the herds, and day and night he passed in the midst of that nature, that afterwards so deeply tinged his poems. Another side of his life brought great profit to his verse, in that it kept him in touch with the simple peasantry, where he learnt the songs of the Russian people, amongst them many full of vivid inspirations, and which, when he became himself a singer, brought him rich material. He learnt to know the Russian people, as the people were to know him; to love the people and to win the people's love. Wherever Koltsoff appeared,—this was of course, after his work was really begun,—in whatever village he stopped, everywhere his coming was welcome, everywhere he was received as a valued guest.

Even many years after his death, the neighbouring peasants cherished the memory of Alexei Koltsoff, remembering him as gentle and good, and deeply lamenting his untimely end.

But all this was not enough to make Koltsoff happy; his mind and spirit were not of a character to find lasting satisfaction in such a life. In his verse he has told us how he lived in those early years:—

"Wearily, joylessly,
My young days went by;
While the cattle grazed,
Sorrow wandered too;
Where the horses went,
Grief had gone before;
A wild wanderer,
Or, returning home,
Pressed with petty cares.
From a father's lips
Counsels worldly-wise;
In such toils as these,
Twenty years had passed. . . ."

Koltsoff's verse is especially difficult to translate, just because it is so intensely Russian: so close to the heart of the popular speech, full of half-expressed feeling, brief, frequent, allusive, and full of reticences. I cannot hope to do more than catch something of the feeling and music of his songs, while adhering closely to the original, in the illustrations that I have chosen for the brief sketch of his life.

When his twentieth year was reached, an event happened which was to cause Koltsoff abiding sorrow. In the house, among the servants, was a young girl, Eudocia, or, to use the familiar Russian diminutive, Dunyasha, whose duties were to attend on Koltsoff's sisters. She was his father's serf, for, at that time, not only the nobility, but the official class, the priests and merchants held serfs, whom they either bought in the name of a neighbouring noble, or hired from one of the nobles for a definite period. Dunyasha, as she grew up, developed such rich beauty, and was so well endowed with the wealth of the mind, that Koltsoff fell deeply in love with her. His love awakened her's. Koltsoff's father came to know of their attachment, and determined at once to separate the lovers, in order to forestall the possibility of a secret marriage. He wished his son to wed the rich daughter of one of his merchant friends, and not a poor serf girl. He acted without delay, and when Alexei Koltsoff was away on a distant errand across the steppes, he sold Dunyasha and her mother to a land-owner on the Don, who often visited Voronej; and when Alexei returned, he found his sweetheart gone. What had become of her, his father refused to tell. He grew desperate with sorrow, fell ill, and lay at death's door. When at last he recovered, he wandered hither and thither across the steppes in search of Dunyasha.

He failed to find her, but, through the irony of fate, succeeded in learning that she had been married, against her will, to a Kazak of one of the out-posts. Opinions differ as to her fate. It is said that she drooped and died soon after her marriage; but other authorities assert that she became resigned to her lot, lived happy with her husband, and after Alexei's death, she returned to Voronej. At least it is certain, that the young lovers were separated; and this separation was a main cause of the fact that, from that time Koltsoff began to write verses that did not echo the style of the poets whose works he had studied, but were full of deep and original feeling; for this was the first time that he had been stirred by strong passion. His verses became better and better known in Voronej, where, among the younger people, there was a considerable number of well-educated minds. His father and mother did not thwart him in this development, because, through it, he not only did not neglect his commercial duties, but even became his father's right hand.

Besides, his father was full of practical sense, trying to turn everything to material and visible profit. When he learned that, only for the sake of his verses, his son was known and welcomed, and saw that even great people, like the Governor of Voronej, were fond of him, he thought: "Let him write, may be something good will come of it; and these great friends of his will bring us some luck." For Koltsoff the elder had several law cases in progress, from all of which he did not hope to escape with clean hands; hence the necessity to him of powerful protectors.

But young Koltsoff was restless and discontented in Voronej; he longed for the capital, for St. Petersburg or Moscow, where all the best writers lived, and where, in consequence, he hoped to find more nourishment for his soul than in Voronej. Luck was on his side. In 1831, his father sent him to Moscow, in futherance of some commercial enterprise. At this time Koltsoff had at least one friend and patron in Russia, Stankevitch, the son of a Voronej land-owner, and a person of culture and education.

Not long before, Stankevitch had spent the summer in Voronej, where he had met Koltsoff, had read his verse and found much of it full of promise. When he came to Moscow, therefore Koltsoff naturally turned to Stankevitch, who introduced him to several well-known writers,—thanks to which some of Koltsoff's verse for the first time appeared in print. This gave Koltsoff great joy, for it showed him that others found in his verses genuine merit, others who were ripe in literary experience, and were ready to put his verse permanently on record.

On this occasion Koltsoff's stay in Moscow was very brief; but, none the less, this brief visit kindled in him still more strongly a longing for the life of the capital. Five years later, in 1836, a possibility arose for him to visit Moscow and St. Petersburg. His father willingly sent him there; for he was finally convinced that his son's verses would come to something; that he was known outside his native government of Voronej; and consequently concluded that it would be foolish not to advance his lawsuits, which had been transferred to St. Petersburg, by means of his son's friends in the capital. Koltsoff, though his visit to St. Petersburg was primarily on behalf of his father's suits and commercial activities, had, as we have seen, a higher aim, the gathering of mental and spiritual food. On this second journey, Koltsoff became acquainted, first in Moscow, and then in St. Petersburg with the best writers. They all received him very kindly; for at this time he had become better known, as, besides the two or three poems we have spoken of, he had published a score or more; many of them of signal merit.

Even so great a poet as Pushkin received him with open arms; he met with warm sympathy from Jukovski, who has still a considerable reputation as a writer, and who was at that time tutor to the Heir-apparent to the Throne, afterwards Alexander II. Moving constantly among those literary potentates, and listening to their words, he felt more and more keenly the difference between that life and the life he had to lead in Voronej.

After this, he visited the capital twice,—in 1838, and again in 1840. In the intervals between these journeys, he wrote to his new friends in Moscow and St Petersburg. Many of the letters have been preserved, and from them we can picture the life he led, both outwardly in his father's house and inwardly in his own mind. In one letter he wrote: "My father has been in Moscow for two months, to sell bullocks; at home I am alone. Work is plentiful. I buy pigs; I look after the wine-press, and cut wood in the forest. In autumn I plough the fields, and soon I have to visit the villages; at home I am busy from dawn till midnight." In another letter, written soon after his return home in 1838, he says: "I reached Voronej all safe; but life in Voronej has become twice as distasteful to me as before; I am weary, sad, and homeless here. Every thing seems untrue and unreal. Our commerce has expanded of itself, bringing a swarm of new troubles to me; every day a sorrow, every step a fall. But thank God, I still manage to endure patiently. . . . I thank you, and thank all our friends at the same time; you and they have done much for me, oh far, far too much! Those two months were worth five years of life in Voronej to me. I look, but cannot recognise myself. Style occupies me hardly at all; I read little, almost never. My head is so full of the follies of my life that I grow sick of them. Swim, my little bird, in all waters, as the needs of life demand; even dive into the mud, when dive you must; bend and stand straight at the same time. And all this I do, and even willingly."

Then misfortunes also came upon him. Of them he wrote to his friends in St. Petersburg: "The present year, for our commerce, had turned out badly. Many of our cattle fell; that is, died. Capital of our own we had hardly any; trading on borrowed money. The cattle died, the money spent on them was lost, and this money was not ours.

The people are not to blame that our cattle died: the money must be paid, and we have nothing to pay it with. What would you have us do? If it was only a little, a thousand roubles, or two thousand, or even three, I could soon manage to put things straight; but there are twenty thousand. How to extricate ourselves? That is my present trouble. Of course, God is not without grace, nor man without sin. And through that sin, I would even run away from it all; but what would become of my old father? Of course, it is possible to be forgotten, and to go away for a time; but this the creditors will not permit. These are the circumstances that fate has brought on me; come what will, I shall face them."

In a second letter, Koltsoff again complains: "Trouble, work, sorrow,—these are my friends and constant companions. God knows when they will leave me. With them I go forth and lie down, eat and sleep. Alas! I am worn out! and there is no help. Ay, in the present we suffer, and hope for better in the future; the future comes, and it is worse, incomparably. Whatever you do, every thing falls away from you. Whatever you buy, whatever profits you expect—nothing comes of it. Loss upon loss. Shall I speak openly? Our loss is bad enough already. Chew it as you will, you cannot stomach it; it still sticks in your throat. After all the loss does not matter, the devil take it."

In addition to all this, a new sorrow overtook Koltsoff. His friend Serebrauski, of whom we have spoken already, died. Living in St. Petersburg, he fell a prey to the wide-spread scourge of consumption, and the doctors advised him to go home to the sunny south of Russia. Koltsoff helped him with money, but the disease took its course, and Serebrauski died among the summer flowers. Koltsoff wrote of his loss:—"I have lost a friend whom I loved for years, and whose absence I mourn bitterly. Need and grief destroyed the sufferer's body. It is sad to think of: there was once a beloved friend, for years even he was with me, and now—gone; you will never see him again, and all around is silent. No grief of mine was ever so bitter."

The death of Serebrauski was all the sadder for Koltsoff, that not a single friend was now left him in his southern home. This is clear from one of his letters: "Here, all around me, Tartar after Tartar, Jew after Jew; not a kindred soul! My writings bring me nothing but reproaches. Every knave falls on me as a wretched scribbler whose wings must be broken."

He had a faithful companion in one of his sisters; but even she, owing to various circumstances, not only deserted him, but even became his sworn enemy. But in spite of all this, in the strength of his soul, and health of his strong and luminous mind, he did not lose cheerfulness. When one of his friends in the capital reproached him for losing heart, he wrote in reply: "No, I have not lost heart; and I face my misfortunes with open breast and eye to eye. I do not run away; I stand and wait for the storm. If it breaks me, I shall fall; if I hold out, I shall continue on my way. But I will not kneel before it, nor tearfully cry for mercy like a woman. I am a Russian, and a man; we take our hats off before the storm, but the blood does not stop in our hearts. We let the cold into our bodies, but we do not keep it there. We even gather force to cry 'Begone, whence you came.' Start again to better things."

This note is echoed in his poem "World Weariness:"

"Gloomy storm clouds lowering,
Wild winds howling round me,
Tempest torn, and weary,
Bitter sorrow found me.

Grey my life, and dreary,
Hopeless now for ever,
Since young joy has left me,
And love warms me never.

Grown too weak to battle
More with sorrows thronging,
Yet the world invites me,
And I linger, longing.

Fled my fickle fortune,—
Gone—or hiding only?
Ere the time had ripened,
Gone, and left me lonely.

Courage! spread your pinions,
Soaring to the fountains,
Haply Joy is hiding,
There beyond the mountains?

Or if not—then waiting,
Where the waves beat coldly,
Loveless and in sorrow,
Live your life out boldly."

Koltsoff's letter concludes: "No, I have not lost heart, nor shall I, unless my strength deserts me; unless my body wears out, and breaks,—then the end!"

Koltsoff's prophecy came true. His strength deserted him; his body did not respond to the valour of his spirit. In 1840 he visited the capital for the last time; looked again on the brilliant life there, in the midst of kindred spirits, and his heart grew heavier at the thought that he soon must leave it all behind. He wrote to his father asking for money, in the hope that he would divide their property, and give him, with his share, the possibility of settling permanently in St. Petersburgh, and giving up his whole time to literary work, but his father refused.

He wrote to his son: "I hear that you wish to remain in St. Petersburgh. 'Do, and good luck to you! I give you my blessing, but nothing else." Koltsoff was forced to return.

"If you only knew," he wrote to a friend, "how reluctant I am to go home. What a chill runs through me when I think of it; and yet it is inevitable—an iron law."

He bowed to the inevitable, and returned. And then began for him a life of servitude. Independently of all that he had had to suffer in Voronej hitherto, there began for him a period of hostility with his father His father for some time back had begun to bear ill-will against his son. He had counted on him and the influence of his friends in the capital to settle certain troublesome details of business; and thereby he hoped to better considerably his condition.

Besides this, seeing that his son was welcomed and befriended by men like Jukovski, the tutor to the Heir-apparent, he hoped that his son would himself become a personage of note. Finally he hoped that his son's verses would bring him a considerable sum of money. But when he came to see that all this brought no pecuniary profit at all, he began to thwart his son's literary ambitions, for money was for him the one thing worth working for. With considerable truth, Koltsoff wrote of him in one of his letters: "He is a merchant, a speculator; has risen from nothing. He has been winnowing rye all his life, till his breast is so hard that he cares for nothing but profit and his trade."

There were other subjects of contention between father and son. Koltsoff's father was a tyrant, and no one in the family dared to contradict him. But Alexei was not of this sort; he never yielded to him. With years his father grew more discontented; and on this last return from Moscow his hostility broke out into an open flame. It was greatly augmented, because his father wished Koltsoff to marry, and began to bespeak a bride for him in the family of a rich merchant. But this could not meet with success, all the more that Koltsoff was in love with another woman.

It was not only on account of his father's enmity that Koltsoff's home-life was unhappy; he was far more grieved that the sister who had been his sincerest and closest friend, and whom he had been warmly attached to, had become his enemy. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of that enmity, but whatever it was, it went so far, that not only did brother and sister cease to speak to each other, but even when Koltsoff was at the point of death, this sister, who was then married, being on a visit to her parents, would not even enter her brother's sick room, and Koltsoff either ordered his door to be kept shut, or turned his face to the wall. Once, before she was married, but after Koltsoff had fallen ill, she played him a very ungentle trick. She had invited a number of guests, who were assembled in the next room, to Koltsoff's bed room. They laid a little girl on the table, covered her with a sheet, and began in chorus to sing a mortuary service for the "deceased slave of God, Alexei Koltsoff." The unhappy poet, lying in the next room, already stricken with the illness that killed him, could not escape a single word of this shameful jest, which was all the sadder, as coming from a sister, who had been his dearest friend.

Koltsoff fell ill soon after his last visit to the capital; then partially recovered, but not for long. The malady broke out again more violently than before; one inflammation followed another with deadly effect on his high, strong nature, grinding down and tearing to pieces the delicate structure of his life. His sufferings were increased by the fact that quiet was made impossible for him by the circumstances of his life of family discord, where everyone seemed almost to delight in putting him to unnecessary pain.

This was especially the case during the marriage of his sister. He wrote of it as follows to one of his friends in Moscow: "Everything has begun to whirl and rush round my room. They do nothing but wash the floors all day long, and damp is deadly for me. The censers send forth torrents of smoke every day. For my delicate lungs this is something terrible. I am suffering from a new inflammation, first on the right side, then on the left, beside the heart, dangerous and painful enough. This time I was thoroughly frightened. For several days my life hung on a hair. And at that time my sister held receptions every day,—noise, shouting, running; up to midnight the doors of my room are never closed for a moment. I ask them not to smoke, they smoke all the more. I ask them not to burn perfumes, they do it on purpose. I ask them not to wash the floors, they wash them."

Although afterwards a little more consideration was shown him, still the remembrance of all this could not fade from his mind. He bitterly regretted the impossibility of revisiting St. Petersburg or Moscow; and wrote as follows to his friends: "Well, my comrades, the time has come for saying farewell. For how long? I know not. But this word seems to lie bitterly on my soul. But again farewell, and once more farewell. If I were a woman, this would be a good time to weep."

At one time he seemed to recover. He left the house, walked abroad in the light of day, and again fell a thinking of how he might visit his friends. But no expedient was attainable. In one of his letters he writes of this as follows: "To travel to St. Petersburg my father will not give me a kopeck. But let us suppose I found means to get there. I have things worth some three hundred roubles. But what am I to do when I get there? Find work in some office—I cannot. Begin business on my own account? I have no capital. Rest my hopes on my verses? What would I get for them? Would they pay enough for them to provide me with tea and shoes? perhaps, but nothing more. A song or two a year—a mere trifle. They won't give much for them. They advise me to go; but I am afraid. While I have lived on the earth, I have seen no good, or but little, and that in St. Petersburgh and Moscow, not in Voronej. Supposing I had to beg when I was forty? Bad indeed!"

He was not left long in suspense. Death, overtaking him with rapid steps, cut the knot of his uncertainties. In sorrow, in loneliness, his last days were passed. Not long before his death, a writer who was travelling in southern Russia visited him. In conversation Koltsoff said to him: "My life is heavy here. Not a single soul to give me a fresh thought. This is a desert, and a sheep is the best work of God. He gives wool, mutton, and is useful. People here become as sheep, only materially useful, and it seems to me that this is not well. They look on me as a lost man, because I bring neither wool nor mutton. Well, God be with them!" In the same conversation he recounted his sorrow at not being able to open his mind with study, as he had hoped: "My God!" he exclaimed, "how lucky you are! You have studied; but God did not grant this to me. I must die in my darkness!"

His last days are thus described by people who learned the details from his relations. The poor sufferer was withered almost to nothing by his terrible malady. Nothing but the spirit of the old Koltsoff remained. Not long before his death, showing his sister his withered hands, and pointing to the palm, he said: "This is the only place where the flesh has remained; all the rest is nothing but bones." Big tears trickled down his cheeks as he spoke. On the 15th of October, 1842, Alexei Koltsoff desired to receive the last sacrament, and sent for the minister of religion. When the priest entered his room bearing the consecrated elements, Koltsoff rose from the bed and knelt to receive them, but was unable to rise again. The priest helped him to rise, and gently rebuked him, saying: "Why should you overtax your strength?" But the dying poet replied: "Do not say this to me! I know and understand who has visited me!" A few minutes before his death, he drank tea from a big cup which he prized very highly, as it had been given him by one of his St. Petersburg's friends. His hands trembled pitifully, so that his old nurse, who had attended on him ceaselessly since the beginning of his illness, held the cup for him to drink. "Listen, nurse," he said; "how strange you are; you have poured the tea into that cup again! It is too big for me, and besides, I am so weak that I may break it or upset it! Pour it into the glass!" She began to pour the tea from the cup into the glass; and after a moment, his mother and sister, who were in the next room, heard the nurse cry out: they hastened to her, and found Koltsoff already dead. He died instantaneously, holding in both hands the hand of his nurse, who had just set down the tea-glass on the little table that stood beside his bed.

How strong was the hostility between father and son is evident from the fact that on the day after his death, his father went to a shop to buy cloth, muslin and brocade, and, while concluding the purchase, related to his friend, the shopkeeper, how, on the previous evening, that is, on the evening of the day his son died, he had spent a merry time at the inn, because he had managed to conclude an advantageous bargain. When the merchant asked him whom he was buying the brocade for, he carelessly replied: "Oh, for my son Alexei,—he died yesterday."

In course of time, however, the father's hostility passed away. He built a tomb for his son, and placed and iron monument on it. Many years after Koltsoff's death, his father said: "A wise head had my Alexei, but God did not wish him to live long here. Books ruined him, and brought him to the tomb."

So ended Alexei Koltsoff, one of the greatest poets of Russia, one of the truest singers of the century.

MIKHAIL LERMONTOFF.

Hardly happier in his life, hardly less to be pitied in the circumstances of his death, was Koltsoff's great contemporary, Mikhail Urevitch Lermontoff. As the story of his life has already been told in English, I shall pass on to the last few years immediately preceding his death; and try to gather into a single picture the lights that are shed on his stormy, unhappy soul by the memories of his comrades, and the unconscious confessions of his own verse.

The story of his death is now told, if I mistake not, for the first time in English, and the details I have gathered are fuller than any yet published, even in Russia.

Lermontoff's life was wrecked, not by illness, nor by the stress of sorrow and struggle with fate, as was Koltsoff's, but rather by his own despair of happiness and peace, that led him to recklessness and unrest. This unrest breaks out in all his works, where he finds a cause for it in anything,—climate, circumstances, disappointment, or some merely casual event, not recognising that these are merely coloured by the restless longing of the soul.

" Many inhabitants of St. Petersburg, who have passed their childhood in another climate, experience a strange influence from our gloomy sky. A kind of melancholy indifference, like that with which the Northern sun turns away from our thankless earth, steals over the soul, and numbs all the vital powers. At such a moment the heart is incapable of enthusiasm, the mind of thought. In this condition Petchorin found himself. Unexpected success had crowned his half-hearted efforts, and yet he felt no satisfaction." Thus wrote Lermontoff in "Princess Liqovskaya," in 1836.

In describing Petchorin's feelings here, as in many other passages, Lermontoff is relating his own experience under a thin disguise. He himself knew well the sinister fascination, the deadening of thought, and paralysis of the will, born of the Northern capital's exotic unnatural life.

The several periods he passed in St. Petersburg are marked by gloomy depression and apathy, or fitful, feverish activity ; and many of the poems belonging to these periods are full of morbid self analysis, and protests against the hollowness of life. St. Petersburg had the power to draw out all the worst elements of Lermontoff's genius, the self-centered pessimism, and contemptuous irony that constantly threatened to strangle his true poetic gift.

Early in 1837 a change came. The verses on the death of Pushkin, resulted in Lermoutoff's temporary banishment from St. Petersburg, and his transfer from the Life-Guard Hussars to the Nijegorod Dragoon regiment serving in Caucasus. Nothing more beneficial could have happened. The pure southern skies calmed Lermontoff's spirit ; his imagination was strengthened by the over-shadowing presence of the stern, snow-clad mountains.

The defiles of Kazbek and Elbruz, the valleys of Daghestan, the impetuous beauty of Terek, not only gave him the background for the final version of " Demon," but largely developed the self-command and assured artistic skill which raised it so far above the earlier versions. During this first exile to the Caucasus, the character of Petchorin was expanded from its first immature outlines, and the conceptions for its final development were formed. In these later developments, Lermontoff is no longer so completely enamoured of his pessimist hero, and the identification of himself with the Petchorin of " The Hero of our Time," is far less complete than with the Petchorin of " Princess Liqovskaya." He has an artistic interest in the evolution of Petchorin's character, rather than a close personal sympathy with his passions and thoughts.

Unfortunately, Lermontoff was soon recalled to St. Petersburg. On his return he fell again under the strange influence of its gloomy sky ; periods of depression and irritation gave birth to poems like the " Meditation," " Distrust Thyself " and the " First of January." As the last of these gives a picture of Lermontoff's mental life, just before his second banishment to the Caucasus, I have ventured to render part of it into English ; and have done so the more readily, that it contains little of the subtle music and beauty that make some of Lermontoff's lyrics the despair of the translator :—

THE FIRST OF JANUARY.

" How often, mingling in the brilliant crowd,
When the wild noise of Music rises high,
And sound of dancing, as in fitful dreaming,—
And the unmeaning voices murmur loud,
Of soulless men and women passing by,
Hidden behind a decent mask of seeming ;

" And when my chilly hands are mockingly
By some bold beauty's daring fingers pressed—
That trembling have forgot, and banished fears ;
Though seeming sharer in their revelry,
I cherish an old memory in my breast,
A sacred melody of vanished years.

" And if for one brief moment disappears
The bitter present, and past visions come,
Like a wild bird set free, my spirit flies
To well-loved haunts of childhood's quiet years,
And once again the lofty feudal home
And ruined garden house before me rise. . . .

" And when the visions cheat, I recognise,
And the rough tumult drives away my thought,
A guest unwelcome at their festival,—
Oh, how I long to mar their revelries,
To lash them with a verse of iron wrought,
And soaked with fierce malevolence and gall."

A few weeks later, in February, (1840), this wild restlessness broke out in a quarrel with M. Ernest Barantt, which I have already described elsewhere.*

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* In the ACADEMY ; November 21st 1891.

Its exact cause is uncertain, if any reason other than the tumult in Lermontoff's mind need be sought. The quarrel resulted in a duel, in which Lermontoff was slightly wounded. When this became known, he was placed under arrest, and the breach of discipline involved in the duel was submitted to a military commission. While under arrest in the Guard House, Lermontoff wrote the half serious imaginary conversation embodying his conception of the poet's mission ; and to this time also probably belongs the " Air-Ship," in which his own imprisonment seems to have suggested a theme—the exile of St. Helena.

The military Commission delayed their decision for some time ; the gravest charge against Lermontoff was the imputation of falsehood in his statement to Major General Plautin,—an imputation which was almost certainly undeserved. It is possible that the opinion of the Commission was partly influenced by the personal feeling of the Emperor Nicholas, who never quite forgave Lermontoff for his fierce attack on the throne, in the " Verses on the Death of Pushkin."

In the beginning of April, 1840, Lermontoff was a second time banished to the Caucasus, being transferred this time to the Tenguiski regiment, then in action against the Cherkess mountaineers.

Lermontoff left St. Petersburg full of resentment at the Commission's decision, which left a slur on his honour. His dissatisfaction took form during his journey southward over the the steppes, in an exquisite dactylic poem, the " Clouds," the subtle music of which it is almost impossible to reproduce :—

" CLOUDS "

"Heavenly clouds, ye are pilgrims eternally !
Through the wide azure ye wander, in pearly chain
Hastening onward, as though like one exiled
From the dear north to the far distant south again.
" Who is it drives you? is it cruel fate's decree ?
Or secret hatred? or foes' open enmity?
Or has some sin of the past laid its hand on you ?
Or of false friendship the poisonous calumny ?
" No ! of the bare fruitless fields ye were wearying
Grief is unknown to you ; passion unknown to you ;
Cold everlastingly, free everlastingly,
Kindred are nought to you, exile is now for you."

The same brooding over his exile prompted his choice for translation of Heine's " Ein Fichten baum steht einsam :" where the snow-laden pine of the North dreams of the sun-scorched palm. Lermontoff made two versions of this poem, immediately after writing the " Clouds." A further stage of his journey is reflected in the ode to Princess Stcherbatora, where the " flowery plains of the Ukraine, the nights glittering with brilliant stars, the dark blue transparent skies, and the golden showers of sunlight " are likened to her perfections.

As Lermontoff travelled South, he gradually fell again under the healing influence of the mighty mountains. In the "Dedication of Demon," most probably written at this time, Lermontoff has again full mastery of his highest powers: "To thee, Caucasus, stern king of the earth, I dedicate anew my careless verse; bless it as thy son, and overshadow it with thy snowy peaks. From boyhood my thoughts were bound to thee by destiny; in the North, in the lands that know thee not, I was thine in heart, always and everywhere thine.

"While yet a child, with timid steps I climbed thy proud cliffs, crowned with snowy turbans, like the heads of Allah's worshippers. There the wind unfolds his free wings; thither the eagles fly to rest; in thought obedient, I soared to visit them, and became in heart their airy companion.

"Then passed many dark years, and again I met thee amongst thy cliffs; as erewhile, when a child, thy welcome was kindly and joyful. It poured into my heart forgetfulness of sorrow, and friend-like answered my friendly appeal."

To this dedication two lines were subsequently added, probably during a brief visit to St. Petersburg:

"Here again in the midnight land,
All my thoughts and songs are for thee."

On his way to the front, Lermontoff lingered a few days at the mineral springs of Pyatigorsk, whence he wrote to Mme. Arsenyeva, enquiring about the sale of their serfs, and asking for a complete edition of Shakespeare in English. Lermontoff then joined his regiment in the mountains, and for some months took part in the desultory warfare against the Cherkess. He has given us a picture of his life at this time, in a hastily written verse epistle "Valerik" (the River of Death): "Like a Turk or Tartar, I thank fate equally for everything. I ask not for happiness, and misfortune I bear in silence. Perhaps the eastern sky has drawn me unconsciously under the influence of their Prophet. Besides, our life is full of activity and movement, day and night; this keeps me from too much thought, and restores my worn out soul to its pristine state. My heart slumbers; there is no room for imagination, and no work for the mind. As a reward for my toil, I lie on the thick grass, and rest under the broad shade of beach trees or clustering vines. All around, tents gleam white; lean Kazak horses stand in rows with drooping heads. Servants sleep beside the brass cannons; the fuses smoulder; sentries stand in couples in the distance, their bayonets glittering under the southern sun. There is a murmur of voices in the tent; memories of old days are recalled. How our armies fought under Yermoloff; how they crossed the mountains of Chechnia and Avaria; how they fought, and how we conquered them; and how we, too, were conquered in turn. And not far off, beside the river, I see a friendly Tartar, obedient to his Prophet, making obeisance to Allah with downcast eyes. Here other Tartars are gathered in a circle. I like the hue of their faces, yellow like the *nagovitza* flower; I like their fur caps and slashed sleeves; their dreamy, cunning eyes, and guttural speech.

"Suddenly, a shot in the distance, a random bullet hissed by, pleasant sound! Then a cry—and all was still. But the heat has already grown less; the horses are taken to the stream to drink; the infantry begins to stir. One dragoon canters past, then another. There is a noise of voices: 'Where is the second company?' 'Why, are we to lead the horses?' 'Where is the captain?' 'Bring the waggons forward!' 'Savelitch?' 'Yes!' 'Bring flint and steel!' The drum sounds for an advance. The band of the regiment plays The cannons rattle by, taking their places in the lines. The General canters ahead with his staff. Like bees the Kazaks spread over the plain, with shrill cries. Signs are not wanting,—there, on the border of the forest two or more appear. . . . A Murid, our sworn foe, moves proudly in turban and scarlet robe. His grey horse prances; he waves his hand, and calls to us; who among us will dare to meet him in mortal combat? The answer is not long expected; a black capped Kazak from the mountain ridge springs forward, quickly preparing his flintlock. The ydraw close together . . a shot . . a wreath of blue smoke . . Follow him, men! 'Is he wounded?' 'What matter? It is nothing!' Then the battle began. In these brave skirmishes there is no lack of amusement, but little result. We generally engage in them in the cool of the evening, watching it without blood-thirstiness, like some stage tragedy.

"But sometimes it happens to me to share in such scenes as you never see in your tragic dramas. Once—it was near Gokh—we were traversing a dark forest. The hot breath of the deep blue vault above us beat down upon our heads. We were promised a splendid battle. From the mountains of far Ichkeria towards Checknia, in answer to the war-call, brave warriors pressed forward through primeval forests. All round us the beacon fires blazed. Their smoke rose towards heaven in spiral pillars, or spread far and wide like a black cloud The woods were full of life. Voices called to each other under the green canopy. As soon as the baggage waggons were safely ranged in an open glade, the fight began. The rear-guard sent for a cannon; they bring the guns from the bushes; the wounded are dragged back by the feet; the surgeons are summoned; from the thickets and the border of the forest, the enemy attacked our guns with wild cries;

and a hail of bullets from the tree-tops fell on our ranks. In front, all was silent. There is a stream there, under the bushes; we approached it throwing a few grenades; we advanced still further; all is still. But look! under the logs of a barricade, a gun-barrel gleams; two caps appear,—and again all is silent. That silence did not last long, but while it lasted, many a heart beat high. A sudden volley—we look—they lie there huddled together: what matter? Our regiments here are used to it. Bayonets! all together! we heard behind us. The blood boiled in our breasts. . , the officers were in front . . . those who had not time to dismount, advanced to the barricade on horse-back; a cheer, and again silence. Daggers flash; the soldiers strike with the butts of their guns; the butchery begins; and full two hours in the bed of the stream, the fight went on. We tore each other like wild beasts, silently, breast to breast. The bed of the stream was choked with corpses. I grew thirsty, worn out with the heat and the fight; but the sluggish rivulet was warm and red!"

In the autumn Lermontoff returned to St. Petersburg, returning to the Caucasus early in the following year.

At the beginning of 1841, Lermontoff wrote the "Message," a soldier's last farewell to his comrade before going to the front to die. It is interesting, as containing the first note of that foreboding of early death, which, almost unperceived by Lermoutoff himself, is so noticeable a feature in the poems of this last year of his life:—

The Message.

"United with you, brother mine,
How gladly I would be;
But little time to live, they say,
Remains on earth for me!
You soon are going home again,
Then take this message,—yet in vain!
To tell the truth, it's small concern
To any, how my fate may turn.
"And yet if any one should ask—
Some friend—no matter who,—
Say I was wounded by a ball
That pierced my body through;
That I died bravely for the T'sar,
That little-skilled our doctors are,
And that fond memory
Of home remained with me."

The poems of this year, 1841, constantly look forward to the time 'when this heart will sleep silent beneath the earth—this heart where the blood boiled; where so madly, so vainly, love struggled with hate.'

On returning to the Caucasus, Lermontoff did not rejoin his regiment, but remained at Pyatigorsk on medical certificate. "The view from my windows," he wrote, in the "Hero of our

Time," is wonderful. To the south, five-crested Beshtu gleams blue, like the last cloud of a departing storm! On the north rises Mashuk, like a fleecy Persian cap, and covers all that part of the sky. To the east, the view is brighter. Underneath, before me, glitters the clean new little town; the healing streams bubble, and a murmur rises from the many tongued crowd. Further away, in an amphitheatre, rise the mighty mountains, ever bluer and mistier, and along the horizon stretches a silver chain of snowy summits, beginning with Kazbek, and ending with two-peaked Elbruz." Lermontoff lived in the military rest-house with several other officers, amongst whom were Colonel Zelmitz, Lieutenant Gleboff and Rayevsky, and Lieutenant Stolypin, Lermontoff's cousin and closest friend.

The motley society of Pyatigorsk, depicted so vividly and maliciously in the often translated episode of "Princess Mary," was uncongenial to Lermontoff. He had a true guardsman's disdain for the rough Caucasus veterans, whom he nicknamed *l'armée Russe*, with an affectation of contempt that would have done credit to his own Petchorin.

Amongst the residents, Lermontoff's most intimate friends were the family of Major-General Verlizin, who always welcomed the young officer to his house.

The life at Pyatigorsk was very much what he has described in the "Hero of our Time." *Al fresco* dances, merry-makings, and expeditions among the mountains, especially to Shotlaudka on the road to Jeleynovodsk, where the German innkeeper Anna and her daughter Gretchen supplied the picnic-parties with fresh milk and "butter brods."

Lermontoff showed more wit than kindness in the sobriquets he found for the members of Pyatigorsk society; the ladies were nicknamed *belles pales*, or *grenouilles evanouissantes*. Mdlle. Byhovetz, who received the especial homage of the officers, Lermontoff amongst the rest, was christened by him *la belle noire*.

A few weeks later, Major Martynoff arrived from St. Petersburg, bringing with him that atmosphere of the Northern capital, which had always such an unhappy effect on Lermontoff's mind. Major Martynoff was in many things far more like the Petchorin of "Princess Mary" than Lermontoff. He affected the costume of the Cherkess mountaineers, shaving his head *à la* Circassienne, and wearing a huge silver *kinjal*; Lermontoff nicknamed him "*le farouche montaguard au poignard*, or simply "Poignard," a title which pleased Martynoff none the more from its appropriateness. Martynoff, who was several years Lermontoff's senior, had known him in St. Petersburg, and it has been conjectured, perhaps erroneously, that his sister was the original of Princess Mary.

Martynoff's affections appear to have been seriously engaged by Mdlle. Byhovetz, *la belle noire.* He tried to check the universal homage paid to her by the young officers, and seems to have seriously offended Lermontoff by so doing. At any rate, from this time, Lermontoff was more persistent in his attentions to Mdlle. Byhovetz, and constantly endeavoured to lower Martynoff in her eyes by malicious and often discourteous personalities.

One day a picnic was proposed by Lermontoff. Prince Galitzin, who had taken a leading part in the amusements, objected to this, and proposed instead a ball at the Botanic Gardens, some distance from the town. A dispute arose between them, with the result that Prince Galitzin was not even invited to Lermontoff's picnic, which proved a brilliant success ; Lermontoff determined further to thwart Prince Galitzin by arranging a rival ball on the evening already selected by the Prince.

All the young officers and their friends took Lermontoff's part, and a large party was invited for the evening of Prince Galitzin's ball to the hospitable General Verlizin's house without his knowledge

Lermontoff went to General Verlizin's house that evening in a state of extreme irritation, in part due to his quarrel with Prince Galitzin and the arrival of Martynoff, and in part a recurrence of that spirit of restless bitterness which had inspired the verses of the " First of January."

Lieutenant Rayevsky, who was with him, and from whose story I have condensed the narrative of the quarrel, writes : " When the music began Lermontoff was sitting in a corner, with his knees crossed He remained silent. I could see by his eyes that he could hardly restrain himself. The expression of his dark eyes was very strange, and had a wonderful power over anyone at whom he gazed intently."

It seems that one young lady could not find a partner. Lermontoff himself never danced. Martynoff arrived rather late. He wore a white Cherkess *beshmet* of soft camel's hair, and a long silver *kinjal ;* as he entered, one of the officers called to him : " Poignard ! there is a lady waiting ; go and dance with her !" Martynoff passed the young lady, as though he had not heard. He was extremely irritated by this nickname, which had been adopted by his friends, by the garrison, and even by new arrivals. Lermontoff was indignant at Martynoff's act of discourtesy to the lady,—a daughter of one of the poorer residents.

As Martynoff was crossing the hall, Lermontoff said : " What a terrible sin to call him ' Poignard !' A poor excuse for his rudeness !"

Martynoff changed countenance ; and, coming over to Lermontoff, said: "Mikhail Urevitch, I have asked you several times to stop this!"

Lermontoff did not reply. Afterwards Martynoff went to Gleboff and said, "Listen! Tell Mikhail Urevitch that I am sick of this joke of his! It is all very well to make a joke, and then to have done with it. Tell him it may end badly!" Lermontoff, coming up, said, "Well, what of it! You can demand satisfaction!" Martynoff bowed, and walked away.

Next morning, Lermontoff's friends tried to persuade him to leave Pyatigorsk for a few days, in the hope that Martynoff might, after a time, consent to a reconciliation. Lermontoff was in the Military Rest-House, in his work-room where most of the work of the last few months of his life was written. It was here, probably, that he wrote the "Dream," which repeats the note of foreboding first heard in the soldier's "Message."

"DREAM."

"At noontide, in a vale of Daghestan,
  A foeman's bullet in my heart, I lay,
With stiffening limbs; my deadly wound still reeking,
  As drop by drop the life-blood ebbed away.
"And lying lonely in that sandy valley,
  Where rugged mountains, yellow in the gleam
Of the fierce sun, rose threatening above me,
  As my life fled, I dreamed a death-like dream.
"A vision of an evening festival,
  In my beloved home, I seemed to see,
Where gathering round the brightly burning lights,
  Fair, flower-decked beauties gaily talked of me.
"But one, their merry mockery unsharing,
  Sat silent there apart, with clouded brow,
And in a gloomy vision her young spirit
  Was wrapt unwillingly, I know not how.
"She dreamed of a wild vale of Daghestan,
  Where on the sand a well-known body lay,
And near the heart a deadly wound still reeking,
  As the congealing life-blood ebbed away."

In an unnamed poem, written a little later than the "Dream,' the same note is again repeated: "I expect nought from life; I regret nothing of the past; I seek liberation and rest, and would fain forget myself, and sleep. But not the cold sleep of the tomb. I would wish to so sleep for ever, that the powers of life might linger in my breast; and that, breathing, my breast might gently rise and fall. That all night and day, a sweet voice, soothing my senses, might sing to me of love. That with everlasting greenery, a dark oak might bend over me its whispering leaves."

This was almost the last poem Lermontoff ever wrote. *Yielding to his friends' persuasions, he went away to Jeleyno*-vodsk, and, on his departure, his comrades were confident that a happy solution of the quarrel was at hand. Martynoff, however, repelled the overtures of Lermontoff's friends. "No gentlemen," he said, "I am not joking; I asked Mikhail Urevitch several times to desist, in a friendly spirit, but now a duel is unavoidable."

A few days later Lermontoff's return to Pyatigorsk was discussed. Martynoff, who was present, again expressed his determination to meet Lermontoff in a duel, and requested Prince Vasilchikoff to be his second. Lermontoff's friends at last recognised that a meeting was inevitable. It was arranged that the combatants should be placed at a distance of thirty yards, and that Lermontoff, who had expressed his determination to fire in the air, should stand higher than Martynoff, whose chance of wounding him would be thereby diminished. Two officers went to select the meeting-place near the cemetery on Mount Mashuk. Gleboff, Lermontoff's second, and Stolypin, went to inform him of the failure of their overtures, and met him at Shotlaudka at the house of the German inn-keeper, Anna. As they were talking Mdlle. Byhovetz and her mother arrived at Shotlaudka. Lermontoff had become very intimate with Mdlle.* Byhovetz,—"*la belle noire*," as he had nicknamed her,—and talked to her for several hours that evening. On this evening Mdlle. Byhovetz wore a golden chaplet. Lermontoff unfastened it from her forehead, and kept twisting it round his fingers as he talked. Then, putting it in his right hand pocket, he said jokingly to her: "Let me keep this little thing; they will give it back to you afterwards." Lermontoff returned to Jeleynovodsk that night, while Gleboff and Stolypin went back to Pyatigorsk.

The next day, Martynoff, with his second, Prince Vasilchikoff, started for the cemetery of Mashuk, where Lermontoff and Gleboff were to meet them.

Lieutenant Rayevsky, who was not present at the duel, records that he and another officer who remained in Pyatigorsk, spent the day in preparing a feast for the combatants, on their return, so little did they anticipate a fatal issue.

When Martynoff and Lermontoff arrived at the chosen spot with their seconds, Lermontoff was placed, as the seconds had agreed, considerably higher than his opponent, with his back to Mount Mashuk, and Gleboff measured thirty paces from him, throwing down his cap where he stopped. Prince Vasilchikoff kicked the cap several paces further, and directed Martynoff to take up his place where it lay. A drizzling rain was falling since morning, and Mashuk was wrapped in misty clouds. Martynoff took off his Circassian cloak, while Lermontoff only unbuttoned his great coat. Gleboff counted three, and Martynoff fired. When the smoke rose, they saw that Lermontoff had fallen. The bullet had entered his right side, and grazing his arm, had passed out at his left side.

Lermontoff's last words to Gleboff were : 'I am dying !'

Martynoff knelt on the ground beside Lermontoff and begged forgiveness. But Lermontoff was already dead. The gold chaplet, which remained in his right pocket, was cut by the bullet, and was stained with blood. It was afterwards restored to Mdlle. Byhovetz.

Thus died, on the 15th, (27th) of July, 1841, Mikhail Urevitch Lermontoff, in his twenty-seventh year ; the unique promise of his genius almost unfulfilled. The tidings of his death were received with unfeigned sorrow throughout Russia,—with a sentiment far different from what he had himself foretold in a fretful, feverish poem, that may well close the story of his unhappy, ill-starred death :—

" The fatal hour draws near
When I shall fall, and crafty foe's disdain
Will crush the unblossomed flowers of my mind,—
When, dying, I shall leave no trace behind
Of hope, nor fruit of suffering and pain . . .
Yet fearless I expect untimely Fate :
My hour has come to pass to world unknown.
Then let the false crowd trample on my crown,—
Or crown of flowers, or crown of thorns and hate,
It matters not ;—I never held it dear."

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ART. III.—THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

IN the following pages will be found a sketch of the events which have led to the existence of that assembly which, from very humble beginnings, has come to be both the supreme organ of the British Constitution and the archetype of self-government in most civilised societies. It will be seen that the writer differs from some distinguished modern historians in several directions. He has not treated the early representatives of the Commons as if they corresponded to what are now looked upon as almost exclusively "Members of Parliament;" although, on the other hand, he has not treated them as mere fiscal assessors, any more than it would be right to look upon the opponents of later kings as inspired by the single and unquestionable desire of restoring the ancient Parliamentary system. In his opinion the records of Plantagenet times do, indeed, show the first delegates of towns as something more than mere emissaries convened to attend the Royal Council, in order to vote a subsidy or apportion its assessment. Those who were summoned by De Montfort, feeble as they seemed, were still invited to "consent to what should be approved by the King, Peers, and Prelates." Yet neither there nor in the "Model Parliament," nor even under the famous "Statute of York," do the citizens and burgesses appear as *Members of Parliament* at all, but rather as suitors and witnesses in a Court of Royal Councillors, which was complete without them.* How this unpromising germ evolved itself in the gradual decline of the Baronage the story attempts to show. Passing on through the indeterminate phase of the Tudor rule, the later story—not to be found here—emerges upon the struggle commenced by Coke under James I, and shows how the lawyers and country gentlemen of the new era took up the old contest with the Crown with pedantic good faith. They affected to be carrying out a yet more Conservative policy; but the reader will probably agree that they were here mistaken. Pym and Eliot may have thought that they were vindicating the old Constitution when they were rather preparing the formation of a new one; but their work is nevertheless saved from the opprobrious part of the term "revolutionary." They might not, with all their zeal for precedents, be reproducing the ancient forms: for the Parliaments of the Tudors and later Plantagenets had not been the specialised and predominant organism that these men now demanded.

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* *Parlement.... Assemblée des grands du royaume. Littré.*

But, on the other hand, the work was very truly a continuation of that begun under John, and carried on against his immediate successors. Only the House of Lords had so dwindled, that the task begun by the Barons had to be taken up by the knights and squires, the barristers and farmers and merchants of the Lower Chamber: and in that permanence of anti-despotic effort, with that transference of instruments, lay the development of the House of Commons, and, indeed, of the British nation. The old Celtic and Saxon races were working out their emancipation from Norman conquest; until an amalgamated nation should be born. The eighteenth century witnessed the infancy and youth of that nation, which attained puberty in 1832, and may now be looked upon as mature. Of which coming of age, our narrative can only hint a remote forecast: for all this development lies beyond our present study.

The ideal of a feudal society was a composite body of three estates, under the general direction of a military chief, or king. Perhaps it is hardly too wide a stretch of fancy to see the type of this normal constitution in the old Aryan system of the Indian *Veda*, where the educated classes are the performers of ceremony and depositaries of text, while the warrior class fights the battles of the community, and the rest of the "twice-born" drive the cattle afield or attend to the production and distribution of food and raiment. Below all lay the mass of the primitive populations, like the igneous rocks in a volcanic region, silently biding their time. The threefold organisation of the free society was carried out by the French as soon as the Frank conquest was complete; and the Franco-Normans, who conquered England, introduced the same scheme there. Unfortunately for France, the third estate was unable to take its proper place in face of the pride of race, and the consequent privileges of the higher classes,—the Latin clergy and the Frankish landholders. But in England—for various reasons—that difficulty did not long continue to resist the tendencies that made for unity; and the consequence may be stated in the words of a modern writer:—

> "It was the increasing wealth of the country, especially of the mercantile classes—which had caused their (*sic*) introduction into Parliament. Thither they came, with all the exclusive notions which their trade-traditions fostered. They were as careless of the class beneath them as the Barons (had been). Indeed, it would be true to say that the feeling of the House of Commons was completely aristocratic. One part of it was necessarily so; the knights of the shire, originally representatives of the lower baronage—were elected in the County-Court, which was the general meeting place of all free-holders whether they held immediately of the Crown or not." †

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† Bright. *History of England*, *p.* 264.

By and bye came a time when even this system was found insufficiently select. Under pretence of the County-Court being a tumultuary assembly, means were found of limiting the suffrage to a comparatively small number of electors with a high qualification. The Long Parliament was an oligarchic council, like those of Venice in the Middle Age, or ancient Athens. From being an onerous task the attendance of a member had become a source of privilege and of power; and the nomination of a local magnate was often substituted for the chain of the electors. At last came a state of affairs when the Lords recovered in this manner the influence which they had ceased to wield through the direct action of their own Chamber. The Commons became an engine of the wealthy landlords.

It was no radical reformer of the nineteenth century, but Mr. Pitt, in 1783, who said, of the Commons, as then constituted :—

> " This House is not the representative of the people of Great Britain : it is the representatives of rotten boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates.

One of those potentates—the Nawab of the Carnatic—had eight nominees in the. Lower Chamber. Among native magnates, the Duke of Norfolk had eleven members, Lord Lonsdale nine, the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Buckingham, and Mr. Smith—afterwards Lord Carrington—six each.

But this abuse carried with it the singular benefit, that it completed the growth of the House and its ascendancy in the Constitution. Some years before the date of Pitt's speech above-quoted, that ascendancy was already becoming evident. One night, when his father, the elder Pitt, was still the " Great Commoner," a curious incident occurred in which this feeling was displayed. A lawyer-member—Moreton, Chief Justice of Chester—addressing the House, said " King, Lords, and Commons, or Commons, Lords and King, as the Right Honorable Gentleman would say." Pitt was furious. And demanded that the words should be taken down.

But, in spite of his indignation, he must have known that it was the nominally " Lower Chamber" that was the scene of his glory and the seat of his power. When he was created Earl of Chatham, the witty Chesterfield wrote to a friend : " So Pitt is removed to that Hospital of Incurables, the Lords !" and sure enough, for good or for evil, Chatham's power was gone, and his name was heard no more until his son arose and identified himself with the Lower House.

So great and important a Council was an arsenal of aristocratic independence before it became an arena of democratic reform. Successive extensions of the franchise have given it a broader and deeper foundation since ; until now, when it may seem to some that any future reform must be in the direction of providing checks upon its power and connecting it more directly with administrative skill and wisdom. But into the consideration of such questions our present task does not lead.

Although copied, more or less successfully, by most of the nations of modern Christendom, the English House of Commons is still as unique as it has been for over five hundred years. Ever since the English amalgamated with their Norman Conquerors, there has been a persistent effort to make the nation, under its natural leader, the main spring of political action. From the time that the House of Commons assisted at the deposition of Edward II, in express vindication of the maxim "*Vox populi vox Dei*," it has constantly added to its power. Nevertheless, we should make a mistake if we supposed that it has ever yet been an instrument of pure democracy. Although there has never been that complete balance of the three "Estates" of which the vision misled Clarendon and frustrated his political career, yet the Church, the Peerage, and the Commons have all had their turn. Thus the wild and want-driven impulses of the many have been as much tempered and regulated by the prudence of the few as if the Government had been an oligarchy. Whenever a wise, patriotic ruler has appeared to control the selfishness of the great, or the madness of the multitude, the Constitution has enjoyed the advantages of a monarchy: the voice of the toiling millions has not been often raised, and has sometimes appeared to be neglected, nevertheless in the long run, their wants have been considerately treated. Yet this mixture of the three elements, which Montesquieu and Delolme regarded as the peculiar virtue of the English constitution, has been only the ostensible harmony of a machine which had one central motive power. When the Peerage was supreme, the other powers were suspended. When the Crown obtained full authority, then Parliament in both Houses became a mere instrument of tyranny. But the people preserved its latent capacity throughout. Sometimes in eclipse, sometimes acting in excess, the House of Commons, like the sun in the system of the universe, is still the central force of our political cosmos.

To trace this persistent action from its rudimentary appearance under the first Plantagenets, is the object of the present sketch. In all our best histories the process has been shown. But, so far as the writer is aware, there is no work which forms a monograph of the subject. It would be the office of a complete history of the House of Commons to disentangle this thread from the complications of war and of personal biography with which general history of necessity has to deal; and to present the evolution of the "Lower House" from its rude beginning as a fiscal delegation, to the time when the reform of the electoral system enabled it to take its place as the supreme and final depositary of the will and power of the "United Kingdom." The present paper can only be taken as indicative of the way in which such a study should begin.

When Duke William had defeated the English at Senlac, he became "King of the English" by hereditary claim, by conquest, and by at least a pretence of election. By accepting this last title he laid the foundation of that attention to form whereby the germs of freedom have been preserved throughout all the vicissitudes of our island story. In the same spirit, while really an autocrat, the Conqueror preserved the show of a Royal Council. The older English kings had ruled under some amount of control from an assembly of notables, or "wise-men," taking counsel for the public good in peace and war. So long as there were no other subjects of deliberation but these, and perhaps the adjustment of private disputes between citizens who could not get satisfaction in local tribunals, the "Assembly of the Wise" may have been something like a modern Cabinet, and something like a highly distinguished debating society. How far the Norman *curia* took the office of the English *Witan*, has been a subject of controversy among the best authors : Dr. Gneist is disposed to minimise its action. But we at least know that this council sometimes sate. Thus, in 1085 there was a five days' session of what the *English Chronicle* still calls "the Witan" (G. M. Prothero, *Ap. Eng Hist. Review.* January 1888). For positive legislation there was, perhaps, little need. The "laws of Edward the Confessor" and the Dane law had been confirmed ; the invading race had the feudal customs for their guide. With taxation also, the infant society would have little or no concern. The king's feudal dues were well understood. and there was no national revenue distinct from his personal income.

Further, under the early Anglo-Norman monarchy, the "three Estates of the Realm" had not come into existence; and there was no need for their representation. The Crown, as is well known, was not an Estate ; it was the apex of a military system. The clergy obeyed the Papal rule: and acted in clerical synods, with appropriate laws and privileges. There was then no middle-class dependent on commerce; and the rural labourers were slaves. The only body which had the faintest control over the Crown, or its devolution, was composed of the territorial and military aristocracy; a staff corps of officers paid by grants of land, whose more powerful members followed the King in Camp and Council, while the rest joined their little train of followers to the contingent of some royal feudatory, or lived at home to bear a part, perhaps, in local administration. This last-named function tended, no doubt, to give the minor freemen both weight and wisdom. Whatever were its precise details, it was the embryo of a power which would expand with the progress of the slowly-growing nation. Earls and barons depended on the allegiance of these honorable followers; and the power of the Crown was applied, with constantly increasing efficacy, to the regulating of their mutual relations. But the greater barons and the lesser barons, the tenants-in-chief and the subordinate freemen formed at the Conquest and long after, the only recognised class of persons directly or indirectly consulted in State affairs: excepting that the Prelates, by virtue of their monopoly of learning, were borrowed—so to say—from the Church for purely civil offices.

The system of the Conqueror was maintained by his earlier successors. The legislation was the act of the King alone; and it was chiefly confined to the maintenance of the common law, symbolised in "the laws of Edward." That each reign began by a promise to this effect, has been usually taken as the result of the defective title by which those sovereigns were weakened: but it is also, perhaps, a sign that some degree of popular support was deemed requisite against the possible resistance of the baronage. In form at least, the elective character of the succession was also preserved; and it is a notable feature of English political life that forms so preserved, have tended to keep alive a genuine tendency, or to assume a practical character, on occasion arising. Add to this that the jurisdiction of the King was never allowed to lie idle. The great vassals claimed to hold their own courts, but the royal officers, both local and central, were constantly engaged in restricting the action of those courts and standing forth as protectors of the people. Lastly, the local popular assemblies continued to exist for fiscal and administrative purposes, as happened in Eastern Europe after its conquest by the Turks.

Of these local assemblies there were several: but the most powerful and durable were those known to the early English as *Scire-gemotes*, and later as "County Courts." What the *Curia Regis* was to the old English "Witan," that the County-Court was to the meeting of the Shire; a true and natural successor. So much only need be observed here, because the subject has been fully treated by the best authorities. In pre-Norman times the Shiremote was convened (as they show) twice in the year, by the Sheriff, or Reeve-of-the-Shire. It was attended by the local officials, by the landholders of the Shire, and by a representative Committee from each township. Its business comprehended the nomination of the Grand Jury, and the decision of appeals from the assembly of the hundred. Under the Norman Kings the County-Court appears to have lost much of the judicial powers of its predecessor; it perhaps assumed in their stead an increased amount of administrative action. However altered, the County-Court contained—in matters like the election of Grand Jurors—a germ of the *representative principle;* and became the parent cell of the developed constitution.

It was, perhaps, a mark of the need of popularity felt by the monarchs of that time that such institutions were not only left free, but were sometimes actually guaranteed by express confirmation, as already noticed. The sole legislative act that can be certainly traced to Henry I: is the "Charter of Liberties," issued at that King's accession: in this were promised the abolition of unlawful exactions, the maintenance of clerical privileges, the indulgent treatment of vassals. Creasy has shown that the collection of laws ascribed to this monarch is not of royal authority.* Stephen, a more complete foreigner than Henry I., and with a still weaker title, was fain to give the English two Charters, and to confirm the laws of his predecessor as also those of Edward. This stage of development attained its climax under Henry II. That King not only issued the usual Charter, but laid the axe to the root of the feudal system by establishing a standing army and founding a fiscal system in which personal service was commuted for money payments. Under this King the land-tax and the tax on moveable property became organised. The immediate result, necessarily, was to strengthen the power of the Crown, and to weaken that of the nobility, as happened again at the beginning of the Tudor dynasty. But in both cases the ultimate consequence—seeing that the asssessments could not be made but by public inquest—was an enlargement of popular power. The tax on land, in commutation of personal services, had the appropriate name of *Scutage* (or shield-money). From the inhabitants of cities and towns, who were tenants of his *demesne,* Henry II. took a property-tax, somewhat akin to what was called "*taille*" in France down to the Revolution, and in Norman England became known as *talliage.* The inhabitants of other towns were originally talliable to their respective lords; but by various means the rights over this class gradually accrued to the Crown. As for the clergy—who, both in England and France were exempt from this burden—Henry made some attempts to bring them into subjection; and his action in submitting the Constitutions of Clarendon to a council of vassals is, perhaps, the first instance of what we now call "Parliamentary Government," as it is certainly a first step in the direction of the Reformation.

His absentee son and successor had to leave the administra-

***English Constitution,* p. 115, [Ed. of 1868].

tion to others. He had less temptation to interfere with the liberties of the English, and more occasion to demand their money. To feed his foreign wars, every known fiscal resource was employed, taxation being extended to the property of lessees and sub-tenants, and to all personal property. A great step towards the merging of the clergy in the community was taken ; gold and silver plate being taken out of the churches, and the members of the clerical body compelled to submit to taxation by threats of outlawry. The direct tendency of such measures was towards the development of administrative machinery, while the constant and universal assessment of taxation must have brought out and strengthened the representative element in towns and counties. In the time of Richard I., the Mayor and Corporation of London make their first positively certain appearance, and we meet with professional statesmen who are not clerics. Most important of all changes is the amalgamation of the Conquered and Conquerors referred to in Scott's *Ivanhoe.* The Norman warriors and their sons had died, many of them having married Saxon wives. Their successors had become English country-gentlemen, who, in the rising reign of law, were tending to side against the Crown, and therefore with the purely native community. At the accession of King John, England was consolidating, and no intelligent observer could have doubted that she was likely to become either a despotic monarchy like France, or an aristocratic anarchy like Poland. Few could have then dreamed of the latent principle which was to determine the ultimate result in a third, and widely differing direction.

John, Count of Montaigne, ascended the English throne in the last year of the twelfth century. It was a period of general movement in Western Europe : but, as a Norman noble and the son of a French potentate, John was ill-prepared for the position in which that movement involved the King of England. Moreover, when all allowance has been made for the enmity of clerical chroniclers, there can be still no reasonable doubt that he was both a weak and a wicked man ; while his early training had not been such as to fit him for his new duties. Not only so, but the English nobility had grown to be quite unlike the *seigneurs* of Normandy with whom he had been chiefly engaged. Accordingly, after vain attempts to keep him to the observance of the ancient laws, they had to undergo the humiliation of seeing him lose all the Continental possessions of the Plantagenets save the Duchy of Guienne, and all the Duchy of Normandy but the Channel Islands. Thus provoked, they resolved to compel him to give guarantees for the welfare of the kingdom that remained under his rule. Headed by Cardinal Langton, they extorted from him, in 1215, that GREAT CHARTER which became the foundation of our national Constitution. We should err in supposing that this famous instrument contained an immediately practical body of Government policy. It must rather be regarded as an ideal plan, expressive of the beliefs and aspirations of its originators. Yet it has, beyond doubt, an intrinsic interest, as showing the ideas of the greater minds of the age, and the direction which their thoughts were taking. No *Scutage* was to be taken without the consent of the general council of the kingdom—except in three particulars, too inherent in the feudal system to be at once excluded. This "*commune concilium regni*" whose co-operation was needed for the taxation of the tenants-in-chief, was not, of course, anything like the modern Parliament of Great Britain; but it was the only substitute for that assembly which then existed. Cities and boroughs were, by the Charter, to have their ancient rights and customs, including access to the Council for purposes of assessment: and that was a further step towards the national enfranchisement. The constitution of the Council was also provided for; the Prelates, Earls, and Barons were to be summoned in writing, for the assessment of Scutage, which varied from twenty shillings *per* knight's fee upwards. And all tenants-in-chief were to be summoned to a fixed place of assembly, at least forty days before the date fixed for the meeting, the returning officers being the Sheriffs of counties; the Bailiffs in towns reporting to the Sheriffs. The nature of the business to be brought before the assembly was to be declared beforehand, and the said business was to be transacted, at the time and place appointed, even although all those summoned should not be present. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these principles were intended to lead to the establishment of a national control over the Crown, however rude might be the machinery provided for the purpose.

Parliamentary Government did not, as we know, immediately follow; but a further development took place in regard to the representative principle already operative in the election of Grand Jurors. By Art. 48 of the M. C., Knights of the Shire were to be chosen for the purpose of discussing evil customs concerning forests and game-preserving, with a view to their correction. Moreover, the Third Estate received recognition in other ways. Knights, who were tenants of the Crown, had already been summoned to Oxford two years before "*ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni.*" This process was now declared perpetual in respect of assessment. The distinction between the greater barons—the holders of groups of Knights' fees—and the mass of tenants-in-chief who met at the County-Courts, was made out clearly. The inhabitants of chartered towns were accorded a similar position; it may almost be said that the principle of elective representation was involved by implication.

Such was the ideal of Langton, who was thus the father of the English Constitution. But that Constitution was a posthumous child. Parliaments long continued to be much the same as in Bourbon, France ; Supreme Courts of Registration and Appeal. It was not until June 1264, nearly fifty years after the date of *Magna Charta*, that the Commons are known to have been admitted to the deliberations of this Council ; and the representation even then was confined to a partial deputation from the " minor barons," or holders of one knight's fee each : a circumstance in which we may perhaps recognise the origin of the title " Knight-of-the-shire " afterwards given to the County Member.

At last occurred the great epoch of 1265, when a complete summoning of representative deputies was ordered by Simon de Montfort. Yet this movement was hardly less premature than that of Langton : *tantae molis erat condere gentem.* In conditions of trial and difficulty, the great leader of the 13th century conceived the idea of carrying out the principle of his predecessor in reform, by calling in the representatives of cities and towns to broaden the basis of his Government : and for this full credit has been deservedly given to him. If he did not actually establish the House of Commons, he observed the raw material, and showed how it could be molten and moulded into an implement of State. Indications of this possibility were, doubtless, afforded him, not only by the conceptions of *Magna Charta*, but by the already existing institutions of the Grand Jury, and possibly by the representative committee of *demesne* towns in the County Court ; and thus the Third Estate came into organic existence, though only in a state of helpless infancy. For some time yet the Great Council monopolised the title of " Parliament," though its functions were not confined to what is now termed Parliamentary work.

The King-in-Council still initiated and granted the few legislative measures that seemed requisite, just as—within recent times—the Viceroy did in British India ; and when the representatives of the Commons attended, it was for the purpose of distributing assessments already determined.

A closely similar process was, about the same time, commencing in France, with which England was still closely connected by language, manners, and the possession of Guienne. Suddenly, in 1302, the growing difficulties with the Church in France led Philip the Fair to assemble the States General of his Kingdom to consider the Papal Bull " *Ansulta nufili.*" But, while the French, in their headlong way, were thus hurrying on an institution for which the time with them was not prepared, the happy mixture of Teutonic phlegm in the English character was causing the slower growth of an organism that was to continue suitable to its environments. The Three English Estates did not meet, in those days, at the same time or place. For instance, the Great Council attended the king's person, and, continued to be spoken of as "The Parliament." It was employed, judicially, and quasi-judicially, in receiving petitions, alike from individuals as from the town-deputies. Private bills were passed there almost like decrees in Chancery ; while public business consisted chiefly in fiscal appropriations. The members of the Council taxed themselves separately, and at a lower rate than that imposed upon the citizens and burgesses. From a number of entries on the Rolls of the period, we infer that this Chamber was still attended by the knights-deputies, who thus had the benefit of the more lenient assessment for themselves and their constituents, the townsmen being compelled to tax themselves at a higher rate. The clergy, who had now been brought under the fisc, were allowed to tax themselves, apart, in their own convocation.

But, in 1295, Edward I. called a general assembly of all the Estates, enunciating his well known maxim that "what touched all ought to be approved of all." This, therefore, is commonly regarded as the model Parliament; but it must not be forgotten that there was no immediate effect upon procedure. Each order was still taxed separately ; thus there is a patent roll (24 Edw. I. m. 22) in which are found the words :—"The Earls, Barons and Knights . . . . have granted an eleventh of all their moveable property, and the citizens, burgesses, etc., a seventh." The clergy voted a tenth. About this time the town committees appear to have generally usurped oligarchic authority—often, as in the Channel-islands to this day, bearing the title of "Bailiff and Turats." The result was chiefly obtained—it would seem—by turning election first into co-optation and appointment for life, and then in many cases—by making the corporation-offices hereditary. The Act of 1835 restored the old democratic principle (v. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* No. 20, Vol. V. art. 76 Mr. C. W. Colby), Whenever the post of Parliamentary representative became valuable, these usurping bodies would monopolise the elections.

In any case we are forced to conclude that the model set by the Great Plantagenet was not by any means complete. After his death, under the weak and frivolous rule of his unhappy son, the English estates were less logically organised than their French contemporaries, though—as it was to turn out—they were upon a more practical track. In 1322 the right of the *communitas* to assist in legislation, was indeed recognised in express terms by the English Government: but before that date the French estates had already, on several occasions, deliberated and decided upon matters of high import; while even after it the town-deputies in England long continued to adopt a posture of extreme dependence. So late indeed as the "good Parliament"—whose acts were what we shall presently see—we still find an assumption of humility by the Commons: they "pray the King and his wise Parliament." All through the troubled reign of Edward II., this was much more than a form: the Commons came to Parliament hat-in-hand, petitioning for various favours and content with any instalment of their demands. Thus, in the eighth year, when the Commons prayed that writs of Oyer and Terminer should be restrained, they were told by the Council that such writs would not be issued save in cases of extreme gravity. In the subsequent crash the king was overthrown by his wife's friends, probably without any active participation by the Commons. It is true that, at the deposition, Archbishop Reynolds delivered a discourse in the Abbey (January 20, 1327) on the text, *Vox populi vox dei*; and, ten days later, when the new king was crowned, a medal was struck with the motto, *Populi dat jura voluntas*: but these sayings were premature. Even down to the middle of the reign of Edward III, we still find the Commons consisting of citizens and burgesses alone, and "coming to the Parliament," not as members, but as petitioners and fiscal delegates. The *talliage* of towns continued to be levied apart, while "the knights, freemen, and *communes* of the counties" were assessed along with the "Earls and Barons." *

The first mention of a separate "Lower House" has been thought to be observable in the records of 6 Edw. III., but there is no clear statement of the distribution of the orders of that time. We only learn that the Bishop of Winchester opened Parliament with a speech, in which he inquired of the young king whether he would accept the counsels of "the Earls, Barons, and other Grandees then present in Parliament;" where the word "Grands" probably means either the Prelates or the Knights—or both. Measures for the general welfare, endangered by recent events, were then read and approved by the said magnates, and afterwards adopted by the King, the Prelates, the Knights of Shires, *and the* "*genty du Commun*; and, finally, we seem to have all the orders giving a unanimous vote (*R. P.* II, 65). This is like a statute prepared by the Privy Council, and then passed by a conference of king, convocation, knights and burgesses; but it does not answer to any established or recorded form. In the same session a Fifteenth was levied on "the Commonalty;" in addition to a Tenth to be taken from cities, boroughs, and the royal desmesne; while "our lord the king, by request of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Knights of the Shire, and for the easing of the people," re-called the Commissioners who had been sent to assess Talliage. Whatever may have been the exact nature of these proceedings they show that the urban deputies were not yet in full possession of their seats as Members of Parliament: and it may be presumed that the "Court of Parliament" still consisted of the King and Great Council, before whom the citizens and burgesses appeared as suitors, and concerted their petitions as they walked about the Abbey precincts. In 1341, however, when he French war was causing anxiety, and the king had thrown his ministers into prison for not providing funds for his military expenses, "the Grandees" were compelled to furnish an "Aid," while the "knights, citizens, and burgesses" were assessed separately. And ten years later, we find these three classes meeting in one Assembly, that is to say that, while in the Rolls of 1350, "Parliament" is described as still consisting of "the Prelates and other Magnates with the Knights," in the following year the knights and townsmen are recorded to have sate together in the still existing Chapter-House.*

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* In feudal law "communauté" applied to the tenants of the Crown not being Barons.

In the previous session a commission to the Duke of Clarence had been read to "the Knights and the Commons who were present;" which seems to show the very beginning of the fusion.

A sample of the procedure and principles of this, the first session of the actual House of Commons, will also show the original attitude adopted on the still burning question of labour-strikes and combinations. It is further interesting as illustrating the difference between Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council, or Royal Ordinances, and the favour with which the last-named species of legislation was then regarded. In *R. P.* 25 Edward III, is this record:—

"A quen Vendredi les Prelates et autres Grandz ove les Chivalers des Countiez somonez au dit Parlement si fut lue la commission . . . . Quelle commission lue, fut dit as dits chivalers et Communes que, etc." The opening speech was read by the Chief Justice to "les Chivalers des Countiez, citoyens, et Burgeys qui adonqs furent presentz." A petition to the King in Council was then brought up from the Commons, to this effect:—

"Prie la comne, pur ce qua les labourers puis la pestilence (the Black Death) ne voloient oairer penant pour leur travail come acorde estoit p. nlu Seigneur le Roi et son conseil, ne ils out regard a Fynes ne a Redemption; mes font de jour eu autre

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* V. *Note* at end of this paper.

de pise, etc," that the King and Council, with the advice of the Lords, would order corporal punishment in addition to fines for such behaviour. This was, in fact, a demand for an order in Council on the subject, on the part of the knights and burgesses. But at the close of the session, it was met on the part of the Crown, by a reference to the statute lately enacted (25 Edward III. C. 47) in which fine and imprisonment were provided as the appropriate penalty for those who would not work at the rates fixed without any mention of corporal chastisement. This transaction exhibits the Commons as an assembly of employers whose selfish hardness was mitigated by royal clemency; and of this we shall meet with fresh instances in later history.

The explanation of this apparent hostility to labour on the part of what was supposed to be the organ of popular representation, is far from obvious. We are unable to discover the exact mode in which the Sheriffs took the opinion of the constituencies: but it seems likely that the labouring classes were too depressed and too disunited to have either the power or the wish to influence the elections The nomination and the show of hands took place on the same day in the County-Court, and the returning officer thereupon declared a certain person duly elected, and took an indenture from some of the inhabitants which was sent to Westminster as a record of the result. It is easy to see how much power this system must have given to Sheriffs and Mayors, on the one hand, and to influential residents on the other. The deputies, at first, had—as has been hinted above—nothing in common excepting indeed the manner of the election. Thus the towns, when once they had become exclusively dependent on the king, were at first represented in a separate chamber, which got the name under which it was hereafter to become so famous, from the humble nature of its origin. The term "House-of-Commons" indicates no more than a gathering of delegates from the "Communes," representing the Urban Corporations, or Managing bodies, by the presence of some of their members; often, it may be, a most unwelcome procuration, only compensated to an imperfect extent by the daily wages paid during the session.

But when the idea occurred to the knights that it was better to be the top of one assembly than the bottom of another, all the representative delegates sate and voted together; and the Third Estate of England became an oligarchic organ in the State. For years to come the mass of the hand-workers remained in the condition of helots. Meanwhile the Chamber of Representatives continued to grow in power, while the French *Tiers Etat,* more logical and popular in constitution, gradually lost power, and decayed for want of the aristocratic element so wisely and fortunately adopted on this side of the channel.

Originally an assembly occasionally convened to say how the Crown tenants could be most usefully and conveniently taxed, the chamber was doubtless but little regarded by a Council of nobles entitled to advise and control the king. When, however, those functions got into the hands of a smaller inner Council, the Lords may have been more disposed to consider their own House as a legislative body and the taxing chamber as another; and we may be sure that this view would be quickened by the integration of all the representatives in that chamber, so that many of its members were now their neighbours, friends or kinsmen. The initiation of money-bills, once a burden, would thus grow into privilege; and foundations would be thus laid for a House of Commons in the modern acceptation..

The House acquired a local habitation and a name in 1351, a date to be earnestly noted, albeit, one not usually marked in our books of history. The next important epoch is eleven years later, when the Parliament showed a new sense of earnestness and nationality, by begging leave to conduct its business in the English language. This seems to have been allowed as a special favour, and to have been extended to all the orders: the "bill" or prayer of 1362 being to the following effect:—

> "The Prelates, Dukes, Counts, Barons and all the Commons having shown the great mischiefs which had happened because the laws, customs and statutes of the kingdom are not commonly known therein, being in the French language which is too foreign, the king for these and other causes ordered the use of the English."

What the "other causes" of the order may have been, was perhaps, not clear even to the perfunctory pedant by whom the record was made. The change was a serious, though most wise innovation; and the scribe hastens back to the beloved vehicle which he was wont to employ, and which he firmly believed to be a far more refined and courtly one than the tongue of his native land.

The last step in the final evolution was taken in 1376, when the "good Parliament," under the inspiration of the Heir-Apparent, the famous "Black Prince," allowed its policy to be entirely coloured and controlled by the Lower Chamber. The last years of the warrior king were darkened by many losses. The impossibility of maintaining any sort of struggle in France had long since compelled him to conciliate the Commons, and now his heroic eldest son, in rapidly sinking health, was driven to lean still more upon the support of Parliament by the intrigues of the king's younger son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, a quarrel destined to endure to the next generation.

In 1376, then, a great Parliamentary campaign took place, in the course of which the audacity of the Commons was stimulated by the Heir-Apparent—who had led the opposition to the Court for some years. Aided by a delegation from the Lords, they attacked the male and female favourites of the king, and procured their arrest and impeachment. They also sent up to the Royal Council several bills for the redress of particular grievances. But, before any of these measures could be brought to completion, the Prince died (June 8, 1376.) The Parliament was dissolved: and in the next, which met in the ensuing January, the Lower House was found to have been elected in the Lancastrian interest. The work of the "good Parliament" was at once undone, and the impeached Ministers were enlarged.

In the good Parliament of 1376 the speaker had been Sir Thomas Hungerford, who is believed to have been the first regular President of the House. Altogether, the latter part of this reign may be taken as the epoch of the origin of the House of Commons, as it has since been known; and it is accordingly to be taken heedfully, as the close of the old Franco-English monarchy and the point of departure of the existing Constitution.

From about 1351, when the knights finally amalgamated with the burgesses and citizens, to form the still existing fiscal and legislative body, to 1547, when the House moved into the palace, its meetings—when at Westminster—always took place in the room off the cloister of the Abbey, which had been built by Henry III. for the use of the abbot and monks assembled for business. With the exception of Lincoln alone, it is the largest Chapter-House in the kingdom; and, with the sole exception of Worcester, it is the only instance of a round (or octagonal) Chapter-House, instead of being quadrangular, as usual in Benedictine Convents. It was intended for the transaction of judicial and penal business in connection with the domestic discipline of the society, but it was not often used, and lay mostly open and vacant, as it does to this day.

But the extravagant expenditure of Henry III., of which the rebuilding of the Abbey and its Chapter-House had been a memorable item, was one of the causes out of which grew the fiscal powers of the Commons. From the time when they ceased to attend as suppliants in Westminster Hall (1282) the deputies began to assemble in the Abbey precincts whenever the Parliament met in the Metropolis: sometimes in the Refectory, often constrained to content themselves with the half-open cloisters. But, when the seventy-four knights had joined the hundred and twenty urban deputies, it would naturally occur to a body conscious of increased dignity, to possess themselves of a more dignified and permanent abode. In the *Rolls* (II. 237) the first mention of the Commons sitting in the Chapter-House is the 25th Edw. III. But this is not mentioned as if it were a novelty; and it is possible that a number of persons assembled for business, in a cold day of January, may have before this found the door open, and availed themselves of shelter from the exposed cloister out of which the large and empty building opened. For several years before and after this, the cloisters were under repair, and the presence of workmen and materials would impede their occupation. All that can be said is that the year indicated coincides with the date of the first positive record of the amalgamation with the knights, and thus marks the beginning of the House as now constituted.—[v. Dean Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*.]

H. G. KEENE.

ART. IV.—SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

THE problems of modern India, the India of 1894, present features of unexampled interest, both to the practical administrator and the political philosopher. They are complicated by the existence of elements altogether unparalleled in the history of political growth in the Western world. The position of England in India, a position uniquely splendid and invested with correspondingly great duties and responsibilities, is in many respects highly anomalous, and its very anomaly is the primary cause why the attempt to apply to it principles which have been found unexceptionable elsewhere, is surrounded by so many unexpected difficulties. To construct theories adequate to the solution of all those problems which are to-day of pressing urgency, is an undertaking probably beyond the power of any single mind. Far more must everyone who looks into the distant future, recognise the limitations imposed upon the character as well as the value of his speculations. If it is difficult to deal consistently with the features of the situation which have already acquired some definiteness of outline, it is a hundred-fold more difficult to forecast the developments which are yet in store for this remarkable experiment in Imperialism.

I am not sanguine enough to think that the observations I wish to offer upon one or two aspects of this great subject, will amount to anything approaching a synthesis of essential principles. Much that needs to be said, must have occurred over and over again to that body of intelligent and highly trained opinion which is embodied in the official classes. But since the reiteration of unsound doctrine is a characteristic feature of a certain class, no great harm can result from the occasional reiteration of truth. The opinions of the masses are not usually reasoned opinions; they are adopted ready made in proportion as they coincide with the popular bias. Hence it has happened signally, in the case of Imperial India, that political agitators, playing upon the predilections of the Radical party in English politics, have succeeded in disseminating many false and dangerous ideas on the subject of the Indian Empire. These ideas may easily be shown to be false; I call them dangerous, because they operate in a two-fold manner against that freedom of Government which, temporarily, at any rate, is, speaking broadly, a necessary condition of every effective administration, and more especially so in the case of a foreign despotism. That our Government in India is at root a foreign despotism, is a fact which I assert here without pausing to supplement it by an obvious demonstration. The two-fold manner in which these ideas work prejudicially is, first, by directly fettering the Viceroy's Government through the meddling and generally uninstructed intervention of partisan members of Parliament ; secondly, by the reactive tendency they show to reproduce themselves in this country and to propagate a spirit of disloyalty, and harassing, because captious rather than patriotic, criticism. It may, therefore, be sometimes a duty, though the duty must always be irksome, to endeavour to correct these undesirable results by repeating ancient truths. They are specially apposite in dealing with certain theories which are gaining a wider currency than they intrinsically deserve, explanatory of the true ends of our Government in India.

The experienced eye, ranging over the whole field of Indian affairs to-day, is arrested by several points which, under the play of special forces, social, moral, or political, have come prominently to the surface. It does not follow that these points merit the importance they have assumed ; some of them are probably wholly ephemeral. But, as on an Atlantic steamer a passenger's attention is more likely to be riveted on the stormy surface of the sea, than to dwell upon the fact—a fact surely more enchaining to a mind touched with the glow of imagination—that, but a few fathoms below that mass of tumbling waves, the body of the ocean sleeps in eternal and imperturbable tranquillity ; so it may be well to remember, though it is hard to fix the attention of Englishmen on the fact, that, below the shallow demagogic agitation of India in Parliament, young India, and such recognizable forces, lies the solid mass of the people, almost as torpid now as in the days when Englishmen were skin-clad savages. It is possible that a submarine upheaval might stir the great Atlantic depths, and bring into a sudden and terrible activity forces, of the immediate consequences of whose action, we can but faintly conceive. It is possible that the sleeping millions of India may awake, and that that day of awakening may be fraught with unanticipated peril. But, when that day comes, its signs will be as different from the surface ebullitions of to-day, as the consequences of an upheaval of the bed of ocean would be from the waves of a common storm. There is a menace in that profound and unintelligible apathy ; but it is hardly within the range of practical politics. There it lies, however, as the root of the Indian problem ; and he who allows himself to speculate, not only upon India as she is and has been, but upon India as she is yet to be, cannot, if he would, escape the fascination of this remarkable and unique phenomenon. Practically, too, feelers are being constantly thrown out; curious eyes are peering into the abysses; tentative efforts are being made to vitalise the inert mass. Upon the manner in which that vitalisation is finally effected will depend the future of India. Our experiments may leave us in the unenviable position of Frankenstein. The new birth may be cataclysmic. On the other hand, it is remotely possible that artificial stimulus may coincide with the progress of orderly development; and that we may bring the great monster by gentle stages into a condition of animated docile domesticity. Such a consummation, even if devoutly to be wished, is a little beyond the limits of reasonable expectation.

Leaving out of account, for the present, the bulk of the people, who, under the influence of fusing causes over a great expanse of time, might conceivably become, in the remote future, a Nation, there is no fact more obvious to the candid observer, none which has been more frequently and unanswerably asserted, than the fact that India never has been in the past, is not in the present, nor yet shows any signs of becoming, a united nation. It would be superfluous to insist upon it, were it not that most of those native pretensions which especially catch popular favour at home and are specially embarrassing to the Government here, because cloaked under principles generally received as sound in themselves, but wholly inapplicable to the case in point, rest upon the assertion that Indians, as members of the Indian Nation, possess many political rights from which they are excluded in the interests of a selfish and foreign bureaucracy. The Parsee, the Hindu, the Mussulman profess, in the debating clubs which they adorn in London, a bond of common brotherhood, a common national interest, a common claim to the sympathy of all Liberal politicians, on the ground of exclusion from the birthright of political man, *viz.* equal weight in the administration of the country with the members of the alien administrative class; a common object in raising their fictitious Indian nation out of its state of servitude or tutelage to a position of glorious independence.

No one who is even superficially acquainted with the history of India, the deep-rooted prejudices of its peoples, and the philosophy of national development, can feel much sympathy with these *ad captandum* professions. Under the powerful secularizing and solvent influences of London, these young reformers may for the moment be really sincere, or at any rate a great deal more sincere than we are, as a rule, inclined to allow. But, as soon as they are brought once more under the grinding and uncompromising forces of their own people, their exotic notions of common patriotism, over-leaping all barriers of caste and creed are destined to be exceedingly short-lived. If it were necessary to adduce instances of striking divergences between the theories of young India and the ingrained tendencies of the peoples of whom young India claims to be the spokesman, recent melancholy events in the Bombay Presidency speak too eloquently of the survival and general diffusion of a spirit which is wholly incompatible with national development. Although I speak of a 'survival' of that spirit, because in this connexion I do not wish to press too hardly on the weakness of the Indian reform party, or too rudely dispel their illusory visions of an impending millennium, it must have long been perfectly patent to all competent observers, that there was no movement in the people corresponding with the movement of the intellectual party. The spirit which dominates the former and must, until modified, render completely nugatory all the efforts of the latter (assuming for the moment that those efforts contain other elements of success, such as sincerity, persistency and disinterestedness), has not at any moment, up to the present day, shown the slightest signs of weakness, much less of surrender. And while this is plain to be seen by foreign eyes, it is impossible to credit those leaders of the intellectual party in India with a whole-souled sincerity in the protestations they are so fond of making from Congress platforms. It is idle to spin phrases and coin sentiments : it is idle to talk of a common Indian brotherhood ; a spirit of national freedom and tolerance leavening the ancient prejudices and bigotry of the Indian peoples : idle to talk of Hindu and Mahomedan laying aside their ancient animosities, and working hand in hand for the glorious cause of freedom ; it is idle and worse than idle to found a movement, as these orators would found it, upon an entirely imaginary basis, and adorn its programme with maxims of moral and political philosophy which have no influence over, and find no echo in the hearts of the people. The leaders and the spokesmen know this ; no one can suppose that men so shrewd and gifted are alone ignorant of that which all the rest of the instructed world readily perceives. Either they are uniquely wanting in political penetration, or it suits them to fight under false colours, and to press into the service of their manifestoes principles which they know to have no application, and facts which they know to have no existence.

They may object that, while they are aware that the time is not yet ripe for that universal brotherhood which is at the root of their propaganda, they, as the guides and instructors of the people must preach their gospel, or the people must for ever remain in darkness. Because the Hindu and the Mahomedan have not yet risen superior to their ancient hatreds, is that, they ask, any good reason why men of light and leading in both those communities, should cease from telling them that they ought to do so? Unquestionally not. But this reasoning, with its analogues, which probably does obscure the minds of the leading native agitators to their moral delinquencies, is obviously fallacious. No reasonable man would object to the formation of any number of peace societies and organisations for promoting a better understanding between Mussulmans and Hindus on the beef-eating question; but we have a right to complain when a few Anglicised specimens of these two vast races, taking their own avowed sentiments as the gauge of public opinion, first announce their superiority to racial prejudice, their willingness to sink it in the interest of national development, and then claim for these purely personal views an extension over the whole Hindu and Mussulman communities, which warrants the reform propagandists in pressing their claims, as claims supported by a united and homogeneous nation. The level of the individual is not the level of the people: individual aspirations may have risen high and may be infused with a vital sincerity—we very much doubt whether in the movement now being examined they are so—but they ought not on that account to be put forward as representing the people's aspirations, or as the ground of a great popular movement. In point of fact I shall try later on to show that, in the first place, the more pretentious features of the reform programme are of questionable sincerity; in the second place that the entire movement is of foreign origin, and has, as yet, no root whatever in local soil. At present I content myself with pointing out the fatal defect in their methods, known to the ancients as *υστερον προτερον*, and in the homely English phrase, as—"putting the cart before the horse." The natural course of this movement should lie through the hearts of the people and their intellects. Before they can be represented as clamouring with their leaders for a measure of popular reform, it is indispensable that they should have been taught the practical application of those principles upon which the reform is based, and should be prepared unanimously to accept them. At present no one can seriously argue that there is an energizing spirit of brotherly love abroad between Mussulmans and Hindus. And until there is, the petty declamations of Hindu and Mussulman orators may be interesting as the vehicles of the most enlightened views yet held by members of those races, but are not enforced by the solid weight of a great popular opinion behind them.

Without homogeneity there can be no substantial national progress. In the preceding remarks I have dwelt upon the huge cleavage between Mussulman and Hindu, because it is incomparably the largest and most insuperable objection to any scheme resting on a theory of united India. But it is hardly necessary to add that this is not the only race distinction in India. India, indeed, is in no sense a country, if by that word we understand a division of the earth's surface appropriated by a single people. It is a Continent in the true sense, just as Europe is a Continent; and the Slav does not differ more widely from the Frenchman, than the Todas and the Telugus do from the Rajputs and the Pathans. It lies heavily therefore upon any person claiming that this vast and heterogeneous mass of men may be welded by artificial forces into a nation, and may develop all the attributes essential to normal national progress, to prove that such an unexampled departure from all known rules is possible or desirable. There was never a time in the past when India presented the faintest symptoms of national growth as a whole, and, from the principle I have asserted, it is *à priori* certain that there never could have been. The Mussulmans founded a huge and unwieldy empire in the Continent which, under the later and ablest of the Moghuls, contained some elements of stability. But if evidence were needed that artificial restraints cannot long bind natural causes, the total collapse of the great fabric, upon the death of its last great architect, proves conclusively that the Moghul dominion was the work of individuals, and was not rooted in the national soil. This is such a truism, that I should be almost ashamed to repeat it, if it were not that we are ourselves trying the same experiment on a much larger scale, and that it is a useful illustration of the truth of my general proposition. It was quite impossible for an alien people like the Mussulmans, to blend with the much older civilisation of their conquered subjects ; it was equally impossible for them to force their subjects to blend with them. There was no homogeneity, because while, on the one hand, the conquest was fairly complete, on the other it left untouched all those disintegrating forces, rooted in national differences, which sooner or later must prove strong enough to overthrow any artificial combination. If it had been possible for all the Mahommedan conquerors to assimilate completely with all their Hindu subjects, or for all the Hindu populations to become in reality Mussulmans—contingencies which the nature of things peremptorily rejected,—the great Moghuls would assuredly have succeeded, as by their great abilities they especially merited success, in laying the foundations of a permanent empire. In the absence of homogeneity, an absence as conspicuous to-day as at the time of Alexander's invasion, national integration and progress was impossible. It is as impossible still : it will remain impossible so long as India consists of an agglomeration of peoples whose deep-rooted prejudices preclude all sympathy, all true fusion, all corporate action. And India is likely to present that phenomenon so long as she remains under the protection of a vastly superior power. It is because the India of to-day presents the most striking instance, the world has ever seen, of arrested natural development, that her condition has such a potent fascination for the political philosopher.

Under normal conditions, nations, like individuals, develop normally. There are disturbing factors traceable in the growth of all societies, but they recur with something like regular periodicity, and belong rather to the study of normal development. It is true that their effects are more permanent and blighting in some countries than in others, as, to take a notable instance, in the Spain of to-day. The Spaniards, in spite of an enlightened administration, which was so far ahead of the popular sentiment as to lose touch with it altogether; an administration which extended over a long period, have proved quite incapable of freeing themselves from the sterilising influences of a grossly superstitious religion. The torpor into which they fell, as a natural consequence of their abject surrender of reason to the teachings of an infallible priesthood, sapped the vitality of the nation and brought to ruin and decay a country upon which Nature has lavished every gift essential to the highest national prosperity. The same causes have operated, no doubt, in much the same way, to devitalise the Indians. A nation collectively more ignorant, more superstitious, and more priest-ridden, is not to be found elsewhere in the world. And they suffer from additional disadvantages as compared with the Spaniards: for while the Spaniard was constitutionally brave and chivalrous, and the punctilious honour of a Spanish Grandee is proverbial, the Hindu is conspicuously wanting in these redeeming characteristics. Therefore it is not unreasonable to conjecture that, even had no other causes, belonging to a totally different category, operated powerfully on the development of the country, the Indian people, or such aggregates of them as might have succeeded in forming and retaining a national existence, would have been as backward as they still are in comparison with the typical instances of political progress in the West.

But whatever might have been the course of Indian development if the country had been left to itself, a speculation to which very little practical importance attaches, since it was, in fact, constantly under some foreign yoke, it is certain that, when the British power established itself on the ruins of the Delhi Empire, it found the Continent a prey to anarchy and the internecine conflicts of predatory tribes and petty kings. Less than ever at that momentous epoch had the Continent of India any claim to national cohesion. We did not subvert a rule of popular Government; we banished anarchy. We did not substitute for national freedom the rule of a foreign despot; we bade a host of marauding tyrants and common thieves stand off and give the groaning country breathing space. The most prominent element in the really Indian forces at play over the length and breadth of the country, was the Mahratta power; and it scarcely needs serious argument to prove how very shadowy were the claims of these energetic Deccan robbers to represent a hypothetical Indian nation. But, although we did not destroy the liberties of a people, it is impossible to deny that our advent, with its consequences, precluded all possibility of further normal development. Out of the storm and stress of those turbulent days, it is quite possible that, but for the arresting influence of a power far too mighty for any of them to cope with, one or more Indian peoples might have struggled into existence and entered upon the path of national development. Those nations must necessarily have been homogeneous; the conditions under which they took form and commenced to grow must have differed widely from the conditions under which we now find the subject races of India. But, as events happened, no such possibilities opened before them. In the midst of their struggles and radical differences, a mighty hand was laid upon them, and they were sternly bidden to be at peace. From that day forward all the inhabitants of this large land have been compelled to cherish their animosities and prejudices in secret, and conform, outwardly at least, to the manners and amenities of a united nation. In thus suddenly stereotyping a group of antagonistic communities, subjecting them to a common superior, and suppressing the natural consequences of the causes at work in their organisms, the British unquestionably conferred upon the country immediate benefits which, owing to the disorganisation and embryonic stage of its indigenous forces, it could hardly have obtained for itself. But, from the point of view of the politico-biologist, these immediate benefits ought to be ultimately outweighed by the disadvantages which follow every encroachment upon the free operation of general laws. Our position here, anomalous in its inception, becomes more anomalous every day. We have cheerfully elected to supplant natural forces, and we have been remarkably successful. But, in the long run, the natural has always hitherto overturned the artificial, and the retardation which we have occasioned by our beneficent interposition, will then be seen to have been accompanied by those results on national character which all such protective retardations produce. It is yet early to guess what form the compensation will take. The general current of our political theories at present, however, suggests that, pushed to their logical conclusions, they contemplate the manufacture under our auspices, of an Indo-British nation. That would probably be tantamount to the extinction of British supremacy in the East. For such a nation. except for the purposes of protection in its infancy, could have no need of England. All that can safely be hazarded here is, that there is an antecedent improbability that the present system will prove permanent, though it may be long-lived ; nor are there yet apparent any adequate materials for supplying its place by an Imperial Indian federation. Since, however, our present efforts seem to be mainly directed to the creation of a kind of branch Indo-British nation out of India, very largely out of deference to the demands of the Reform Party in India and England, it is pertinent to enquire, in the present connexion, upon what theory of nationality the demands of that party rest? It has been shown that there is no foundation in fact for the hypothesis that such a nation existed before our rule. It is not, therefore, a natural nation ; nor, on account of the manner in which we have effectually arrested natural development, is it possible that, for the immediate present, at any rate, it should become a natural nation. The claim is then reduced to this, that the heterogeneous peoples of India are, under British supremacy, an artificial Indo-British nation, and, as such, entitled to all the political rights which an Englishman enjoys in England. The reformer cannot fairly be accused of a love of accurate definition. For obvious reasons such an one might find it more convenient to take refuge behind broad generalisations and highly coloured eclectic patriotism. It is also a matter of considerable uncertainty whether the most distinguished orators of the Reform Party are as capable of accurate analysis as they certainly are of clothing their ideas in exuberant language. Before, however, pronouncing for or against the merits of a large claim, such as that put forward by the so-called Indian patriots, it is just as well to have a clear understanding of what is the precise nature of that claim. I think I have stated it fairly : it seems to me that it admits of no other definition. But if that is so, it is plainly a claim to which no exact parallel can be found.

Not even the most ardent reformer would, I presume, contend that the Indian nation ought to be admitted to an equality with the English nation in respect of any other part of the affairs of the empire than the Indian. For, although a native Indian, like Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji may, under exceptional circumstances, obtain a seat in the English Parliament, that is obviously very different, both as a fact and as an illustration of a theory, from the assertion that the whole population of India ought to be admitted on an equality with

Englishmen to a participation in the management of English affairs. It follows, then, that the Indian nation is said to have a right to share in the management of Indian affairs. But if that be conceded, it would be tantamount to conceding that the British ought to be totally excluded from all management in India. Since it is obvious that any such extension of the franchise in India, in the present state of intellectual development, would result in returning to office and power an immense majority of Brahmins. I do not say that any such result would truly reflect the sentiment of the masses; on the contrary there are solid grounds for believing that they infinitely prefer an English to a native superior. But, owing to their apathy, ignorance and credulity, it is unquestionable that the more actively ambitious section of native society could manipulate a popular vote very much as they pleased. But a Brahmin administration could not survive for twenty-four hours unaided. Its authority would have to rest on British bayonets; and the practical outcome of the clamour for concessions to the rights of the Indian nation seems to be, that the classes from which political agitators come almost exclusively, think that they are entitled to be kept in offices of emolument and dignity at the expense of the people and by the agency of English troops. "Well," they will probably reply, "if the people choose to elect us and send us into office, "why should we not be there as well as Englishmen? Your "rule is foreign and supported by the army. Why should not "our rule be supported by the army, too, since, instead of being "foreign it would be popular?"

That line of reasoning involves the whole question of our power, in the first place to create an artificial nation, and in the second place of the expediency of doing so, even if we were able. Though it bears a very specious analogy to Home Rule, it cannot be scientifically parallel. Else where would be the need of the army,—an army under such conditions purely mercenary? While we are here avowedly in the character of conquerors, conquerors whose mission it is to repress the innumerable elements of lawlessness seething below the quiet surface of Indian affairs, and to maintain a reign of peace and order, the need for armed support is an inseparable factor of the situation, and we can frankly point to it as the ultimate sanction of our authority. But, if we attempt to work upon any other hypothesis, especially upon any such hypothesis as that of popular representative Government, we shall see at once that it is fallacious. Because, if it were sound, it would have no need of a mercenary army; whereas it admittedly could not stand for a day if that mercenary army were withdrawn, and this brings out, again, the radical fallacy in the claim, *viz.*, that there is, or can, under present conditions, be a nation. The so-called cry for popular representation is not a natural outcome of national growth. When those who use it, are pressed to define their 'nation,' they can only suggest an artificial nation, of which the only national characteristic is that all its members have a right to expect equal justice from the paramount British power. They cannot claim to be an Indian nation: still less can they reasonably affiliate themselves to the English nation. Subjects of that great nation they certainly are: but it is precisely because they do not constitute a nation that they *are* British subjects. There is, of course, a plain distinction between this illegitimate demand for national recognition and the legitimate demand to be heard within very well defined limits on subjects falling within the sphere of their special knowledge or interests. So long as the latter topic is kept in careful subordination to the doctrine of English supremacy, its exploitation is sure to be beneficial. The danger lies in extending the analogy by illicit reasoning to other spheres, in which the local knowledge or interest of one class might diametrically conflict with the local knowledge or interests of another. Under the kind of popular Government demanded, such a conflict might produce disastrous results: under the existing scheme the Paramount Power authoritatively decides, and the danger is averted.

I have, in discussing this, constantly reiterated assertion of the existence of an Indian nation, insisted upon the impossibility of any such evolution occurring except under conditions of homogeneity. If there are any exceptions to that rule which might suggest themselves to an opponent, I am convinced that they are unimportant, and do not materially invalidate the truth of my proposition. Those gentlemen who are interested in advocating the possibility of a complete fusion for political purposes of heterogeneous races under one Government, may point to the absorption of the Scandinavian, French, Canadian, German and Irish immigrants in the body politic of the United States. It is true that the phenomenon is interesting and novel. But any one who has studied the subject must see at once, that there is absolutely no parallel between that set of facts and the hypothetic possibility of converting the 200,000,000 or so of India into a branch of the English people. Comparatively insignificant as the problem is in the United States, under the very different conditions which exist there, it is annually being felt to grow in difficulty and danger. So far, however, the incalculable solvent power of the great American democracy has early proved equal to the task of assimilation imposed upon it. But it may not always be so; and even an American would 'wilt' (to use his own pet phrase) at the suggestion of swallowing a population about four times as large as his own. A much more instructive illustration is that of the enfranchised negroes of the South. But, from a political point of view, the experiment must be condemned as a failure. The negro vote, which once counted for a good deal, is now entirely managed by the Southern politicians, and used by them against the party to which the negro owed his enfranchisement. Under pressure of a more energetic civilization, the negro, who was never politically very important, is dying out. If there had ever been the slightest probability of the negro vote predominating in Congress, as the vote of an Indian nation would certainly do in India, it is questionable whether even the American's devotion to his belief in the abstract equality of man, would have carried him the length of conferring the suffrage upon a race to which he has refused the civil right of free marriage with the white American. So, too, in dealing with the problem of Chinese immigration, which has long since reached an acute crisis in California, we do not find the American over-anxious to extend equal rights to his Mongolian rival in the labour market; the fact of the matter being, that every nation which values its national independence, must be sensible of the absolute necessity of preserving at least a preponderant element of homogeneity. Without it the door is at once opened to every form of race animosity; the centripetal force yields to the centrifugal; where there was union and progress, there arises disunion; the disintegrating action of unsympathetic elements in the body politic forced into unnatural juxtaposition very soon makes itself felt, and the imposing fabric crumbles into rapid and complete decay. How gravely the operation of heterogeneity towards breaking up a composite body is intensified by the co-existence of religious antagonism must be immediately apparent. Whereas in India the inhabitants not only consist of two different races, but profess two different religions—the one organically unreceptive, the other organically proselytizing, while both are equally rigid and bigoted, and each contains cardinal points singularly abhorrent to the other, nothing short of a miracle such as the history of man has not yet exhibited, would effect the fusion of these two peoples into one nation, infused with a true national spirit, and keeping steadfastly in view the true ends of national greatness.

By a large and growing class of English and Indian politicians and thinkers, England is constantly being called upon to show cause and justification for her present proud pre-eminence in the East. The simplest answer, perhaps, would be "*Si monumentum quæris circumspice.*" But the ethical side of the problem is always increasing in complexity and being brought more prominently forward. I must pass lightly over the tangled considerations in the question of how far our moral obligations to our subjects ought to take precedence, if at all, of our regard for exclusively British interests. For, whether our rule is referable *ab origine* to selfish or altruistic motives (a question in answering which the historian and the student of national growth can find little difficulty), it seems to me to be one of the proudest boasts of England, that she has been able to make her own interests coincide for so many years with a policy which could not have embraced more comprehensively effective means for developing the moral and material resources of the enormous and diversified population entrusted to her care, even had it not had its origin in, and had paid no attention to, interests exclusively her own. England's standard of political integrity is so high ; her instruments for carrying out her policy are so carefully chosen ; her devotion to ideals of incorruptible justice and inflexible impartiality is so complete and energizing, that, in pursuing her own end in her own way, she has inevitably imparted to her subject peoples benefits corresponding in their quantity and their quality with the magnificent scale upon which her operations have been conducted and the magnificent sweep and compass of her own political vision Yet, out of deference to that speculating and inquisitive spirit which will insist upon having the causes and tendencies of things, and is dissatisfied with mere concrete and unexplained results, I must notice, as briefly as may be, one or two of the main elements of this problem of composite Government. As we find it to day, our power in India is attributable to two sets of causes,—the one intrinsic to itself, and principally moral ; the other extrinsic to itself and in the main politico-biological. To the former class belong the qualities of our administration which has for many years displayed an example of public justice, impartiality, promptness and efficiency, such as the Eastern world had never yet imagined. Between all the warring tendencies of race and religion between the tendencies which make for lawlessness, and those which make for peace and progress, we hold the balance even. The roots of our rule have struck deeply because they are seen to lie in the immutable principles of national justice. It is seen to be as capable of curbing the licence of oppression as it is humanely ready to help the helpless. Its maxim is to do right without regard to personal influences, and to do right promptly and fearlessly. The extrinsic causes to which we owed the opportunity of establishing ourselves in the Indian Continent were : (*a*) that absence of a united nation which I have already discussed : (*b*) the antagonisms of races and religions : (*c*) the natural opposition which has always existed in India between the two classes into which almost the whole of the Indian peoples can be divided, *viz.* (1) the warlike and predatory and (2) the cowardly and industrial: (*d*) and lastly the extreme ignorance and apathy in which the mass of the people is still enslaved.

The third and fourth of these causes are very significant and interesting. If the industrial classes, such as the peasantry and the traders, had not been cursed with the pusillanimous spirit of slaves; if the warlike races, instead of playing upon that spirit and regarding those under its domination simply in the light of so many sources of plunder, had conciliated their sympathies and secured their support, it is easy to imagine that the history of India might have been very different, and that our power would have found it impossible to establish itself on the necks of the Indian peoples The fighting classes, however, made themselves hated by their rapacity and lawlessness: the industrial classes never had an idea beyond serving the least tyrannical master available; so that, by the interaction of these causes, the English were enabled to overcome the former with very little difficulty and to step at once into the position of lord over the latter. Apart from consequences, the phenomenon of a numerically enormous people, incapable of physical courage, is in itself deserving of curious attention. Its idiosyncracy can only be brought out sharply by contrast. A historical comparison between the conduct of English and Dutch burghers and yeomen, when their liberties and their property were put in peril, and the conduct of Banias and ryots under similar circumstances, emphasises the extraordinary physical degradation and moral enervation which has been the radical cause of the continued servitude of India. Slaves they were, slaves they are, and slaves they must remain; until there is generated among them a spirit of liberty and a spirit of manhood. How long it may be before that occurs, no one can yet say. But to-day any one acquainted with the country would be as much surprised by the display of physical heroism in a Bania, as by a determined and sanguinary assault by a rabbit.

So long as these causes, intrinsic and extrinsic, continue to co-operate in our favour, there seems no reason to anticipate any revolutionary movement. The former will surely last as long as we deserve to govern; of the latter the most effectively operative appear at present to be ineradicable. It is true that the whole tendency of our policy is in the direction of generating forces of unknown volume and intensity. The constant play upon the Indian executive of English opinion constantly reminds us that we are in a partially false position. In deferring to the pressure which is being constantly put upon us to consult the popular voice, we begin to pay the penalty of playing the part of nature as a developing agency. For the purposes of legislation we are obliged to assume that we are legislating for a nation. Our close connexion with the English Parliament and the English democratic element, quite as much as reasoned policy, is answerable for many of our more recent experiments. In conducting them, we reason from syllogisms of which we know the premises to be false : but we must console ourselves by reflecting that, if it were not so. we should not be here to syllogise at all. The influence of uninstructed opinion in England, often manipulated by mere party wirepullers, or Indian demagogues, upon the Indian executive, is one of the greatest immediate dangers with which we are menaced.

In estimating the materials available for the justification of our present position in India, we must set first on the credit side of the account the unquestioned advantages we have conferred upon the country. We must then examine the charges which our bitterest critics are able to bring against us. These are reducible to two main heads, *(a)* that we are pauperising the country, *(b)* that, in a spirit of race prejudice, we wrongfully exclude the native from his legitimate share in the administration. It is obviously impossible, within the limits of an article, to examine all the data upon which a refutation of the first charge ought to be based. But, in view of the fact that, under our rule, the material resources of the country have been untiringly developed, it is *à priori* improbable that thee nɾr- mous resultant stimulus to all productive industry has, instead of enriching the producers, impoverished them. It is undeniably true that there are in India, as in every country, inequalities in the distribution of wealth. It may happen that a particular class is not as well off as, under existing circumstances, one might expect it to be. But if that is so, the cause is more likely to be found in the hereditary proclivities and the ingrained improvidence of the members composing it, than in the policy of the Imperial Government. It is also well to remember that, for the purposes of fixing this charge specially upon us, the much lamented poverty of the people is to be regarded relatively. Those who are most vociferous on the subject are the Brahmin leaders of the reform movement. Of them we may pertinently enquire whether the condition of the people has really deteriorated under our administration? In order to institute a fair comparison from their point of view, we must look for an instance 'of Brahmin rule, and endeavour to ascertain whether under it the condition of the people was any better than it is now. The instance which most readily suggests itself is the period during which the Mahrattas, whose counsels were swayed by Brahmins, were predominant. And the results of that comparison are conspicuously to our advantage. No one who is acquainted with the condition of the people under Sivaji and his immediate successors, can deny that, of all the Governments India has yet groaned under, the Mahratta despotism was, from a popular point of view, incomparably the worst.

As regards the other charge, all that I intend to say is that it is preferred upon an incomplete basis. It is not solely, or indeed principally, because Englishmen belong to the dominant race that they are preferred to natives in the higher walks of administration. It has been said that one of the most solid bulwarks of our power is the high standard of purity maintained in the public services, as well as the public confidence that our officers will be above the influence of race or religious animosity. Even if it be thought invidious to suggest that that noble guarantee of stability, in so far as it rests on a reputation for incorruptible honour, would be impaired by the too general admission of natives into the administration, it can scarcely be denied that the introduction into the executive and judiciary of a large numerical majority of Hindus of the higher castes, would be viewed by the residue of Hindu society and the Mussulman community with grave and well founded apprehension. Other considerations upon both these topics must suggest themselves at once to all who are vitally interested in the subject, but I should exceed all reasonable limits if I attempted to exhaust each and all of them.

Whatever, then, may be the destiny awaiting our Imperial Government in the future, it seems to me that at the present day it stands on a solid basis. After all, the indictments brought against it are not very serious; and, in spite of the fact that it originated in conquest, and is dependent, as it probably always must be in the last resort, upon British arms, it may, I think, at the present stage of its progress, fearlessly challenge a comparison, even on ethical grounds, with any analogous foreign despotism the world has yet seen.

The causes, tendencies and characteristics yet examined are general, continuous and fundamental. In contrast to these, there are surface manifestations of the trend of public policy and public opinion. Of such, probably, the most generally conspicuous is the Congress movement. Its real importance depends entirely upon the nature of its causation. If it is a symptom of some movement in the hidden depths of the mind of the people, it would be impossible to study it too carefully. If, on the other hand, it is entirely of exotic growth, the product of a few easily definable influences from without upon an extremely limited section of the upper class of native society, its career can be predicted and its political value appraised with comparative ease and certainty. Fortunately, perhaps, for the stability of our Government there cannot now be, if indeed there ever was, the slightest doubt that the

Congress movement was of foreign origin and aimed at securing objects to which no national or even large share of public enthusiasm attached. If its dependence upon foreign, *viz.*, English stimulus needs demonstration, it ought to be enough to point to the facts that an Englishman, Mr. Hume, was, with one or two other English co-operators, the true founder of the Congress ; that it flourished so long as it engaged the support of men like Bradlaugh and the mass of English opinion he could influence, and that it has steadily decayed with the withdrawal from it of that large share of English attention, partly speculative, partly sympathetic, with which its opening campaigns were watched. Its pretensions to be the true expression of a national movement are exploded. If it was ever thought to be a sign, as well as the concrete embodiment of a new spirit, born in the peoples, and uniting them in a common struggle for corporate political recognition, it must have long since been discovered to be nothing more than the noisy and exaggerated presentation of the very natural ambitions of a very ambitious class. When we compare the Congress of to-day with the Congress as she figured herself in the early days of her existence, we can scarcely fail to be struck by the portentous shrinkage which her amply inflated proportions have undergone. We can scarcely fail to be struck by the diminution of public interest attaching to Congress Meetings, which seems to proceed exactly *pari passu* as the programmes put forward at these meetings become more reasonable, practical, and intelligible. As a collection of elders and representative men of the literary, the ambitious, and the intellectual classes, avowedly devoted to the furtherance of class interests and the acquisition of as large a share of the powers of Government as they can obtain for themselves, the Congress party falls within a category full of instances familiar to all students of history. But in their claim to be representative of a much wider and deeper spirit, a spirit stirring vaguely in the myriad hearts of the people, they are detected to be little better than impostors. Their voice is not the voice of a nation ; it is the voice of a class. The forms in which that voice finds expression are not national or natural : they are artificial, exactly as they owe their creation and manipulation to the forceful personalities of a few Englishmen. Their aims, (and this is the real canker at the root of their life as a regenerative political agency) are purely selfish. There is constant talk of the over-taxation of the people and of schemes for ameliorating the common lot. But when these phrases and schemes come under a pitiless analysis, their constant precipitate is found to be the employment of the native—that is the member of Congress—in place of the Englishman. No national need called forth the party: the party is seeking to create a national need in support of its own peculiarly class interests. So far the attempt has not been attended with much success. Nor is it easy to understand how any one could have expected a different result, so long as the ardent advocates of reform exhibited in their own social beliefs and practices a barbarism and a *vis inertiæ* as inveterate as that which has lain upon the rest of the Indian people since time began, and repressed every possibility of spontaneous development. In such principles as lie at the root of all true progress, the large majority of the Congress Party (I except the Parsi element, which is rapidly evolving the robuster qualities of mind and body on which Western supremacy rests) are as hopelessly uninstructed as the masses they aspire to lead. They are as enslaved to superstition; they are as priest-ridden; they are as incapable of solving problems practically by a regard to abstract right; they are as much the prisoners of caste and custom as the most ignorant peasant at his plough tail. Intellectually they are cultivated and very highly cultivated, but with limitations. Intellectual cultivation in the East, so far from necessarily implying intellectual freedom, seems destined to co-exist with intellectual and moral slavery. Whether this defect is constitutional and ineradicable in the Hindu race, is a question to answer which in the affirmative would be to blot them out for ever from the book of national life. It is incredible that it should always be so. Even now, here and there, one man amongst millions shows sign of breaking the bonds of sacerdotalism and caste But the instances are too rare and isolated to excite more than a kindly interest in the individual and occasion a brighter enquiry for the future. But I am now speaking of the present, and no one who has studied the incompatibility between the professions (for purposes of advertisement) of the leading native reformers, and their practice, can seriously believe that they exercise a force upon public opinion sufficiently energetic and wide-spread to call for political recognition. Indeed, it is altogether misleading to speak of them as influencing public opinion at all; since in the common acceptation of these terms in political controversy, they are public opinion; there is no other; the educated classes speak for themselves, and would have us believe they are speaking for the people. But the people has not spoken yet. We have yet to find out what public opinion in India is; and when we have found it, we shall be in a position to judge, with much more clearness than is yet possible, of the utility and durability of our relations to it as a controlling, developing and educative power.

One singular and by no means encouraging result of our experiment in training an artificial free opinion, is that, in proportion as we enlarge the limits of licence and multiply the educated classes without employing them, we find that a spirit of rancour and seditious criticism develops itself in our Indian subjects. The truth of this proposition can, I think, be proved at once by a reference to the general tone of the native press to-day, compared with its tone a dozen years ago. But, though it would be easy to accumulate instances, it is simpler to treat the proposition deductively and assert that the result which we deplore is perfectly natural, and the only result that we had any right to expect. Inasmuch as unquestioning subordination to any foreign power, or, for that matter, to any State rule, foreign or native, depends upon the governed being in a state of greater ignorance and more backward development than the Governors, it is inevitable that, by removing these causes, by fostering free intellectual growth, and by setting up standards of advanced morality, political and social, we undermine the foundations upon which that apathetic and servile obedience rests. It might be objected that gratitude ought to exercise a predominating influence upon the direction taken by the new energies we have brought into play. But gratitude is a weak determinant, when it is opposed by race prejudice and self-interest. Faintly outlined in the back-ground of these remarks, is that tremendous problem in political morals with which our Government has always been confronted, and in solving which it has risen to a height of national disinterestedness perhaps without a parallel. If the stability of our rule could be greatly confirmed by repressing all native intellectual growth and by fomenting those race and religious animosities which contain very vital principles of virulent activity, it would be the part of English selfishness to use all its weight to keep the people in darkness and to encourage them to cultivate their ingrained hatreds. By so doing we might without difficulty have freed ourselves from serious embarrassments, at the sacrifice of those great ideals of noble unselfishness, for our devotion to which we alone merit the pre-eminence we have so far retained.

So far from this, the Government has never spared its energies in promoting the spread of knowledge, and in repressing every outbreak of sectarian animosity. With a proud disdain of consequences, it has elected to display its confidence in the people by giving them education and the amplest liberty of expression. The native papers and the inferior sabhas show how that liberty is abused, and teach, if there were any need for the teaching, that the best established maxims of Government, where the people and the Government are at bottom the same, cannot be expected to apply unmodified where the Government is answerable for a vast and heterogeneous alien people. It is true that, as a general proposition, no harm can accrue to the people from the wider diffusion of knowledge. It is not necessarily true that, where the interests of the Government and the interests of the people are possibly not identical, from the same cause no harm can accrue to the Government. In the application of these generalisations from experience in homogeneous societies, we are too apt to overlook the possible absence of an essential condition, *viz.*, that the Government is through and for the people. In India it is not so; and until the main features of the problem are altogether changed, it cannot ever be so. To put it broadly, in the case of a foreign despotism, that which is true from the point of view of the subject may be totally false from the point of view of the Government. These considerations raise the eternal, and, I fear, unanswerable, question, whether and to what extent our exclusive duties and interests, as Englishmen, correspond with the needs and the interests of the mixed and alien population under our dominion.

There is one distinction which those who talk so constantly of an Indian nation are apt to overlook. For, though there is no Indian nation, there are nations or the remnants of nations in India. Such are the Mussulman survivors of the Moghal Empire; though it is obviously as misleading to speak of a Mussulman nation (except by way of implying that a certain nation professed the Mussulman faith) as it would be, subject to the same exception, to speak of a Christian nation. It is more convenient, however, to put the distinction to which I allude in this way, that there are many instances of peoples who are not nations. The Parsees, like the Jews, are distinctively a people; but they are in no sense a nation. As a force at work on the surface of current Indian politics, they are interesting in themselves, and, from an English point of view, are always sure of a large measure of appreciation and sympathy. The qualities which have enabled them to come to the front in all large cities; their ability, business capacity, and physical superiority to the ordinary Hindus, are qualities which are rather English, in their vigorous modern growth, than Oriental. As a class, they deserve the same kind of curious attention as the Jews. The foundations of their social eminence, foundations entirely modern and laid under the protection of the English power, are to be looked for in the humbler walks of trade. But their ubiquity, and their adaptability to every kind of condition; their readiness to turn their hands to any thing out of which profit can be obtained, and their faculty for doing what they undertake to do thoroughly, are racial characteristics which have brought them in from the outlying corners of the empire to the great capitals; have planted their sumptuous residences on the most beautiful and expensive sites, have procured for them the unique distinction of sending the first native into the British Parliament. When the visitor to Bombay sees the monopoly of Malabar hill, which this enterprising people have created for themselves, and compares that striking achievement with their lowly origin, he is irresistibly reminded of the lines :—

> Hic alta sicyone ast hic Amydone relictâ
> Hic Andro, ille samo, hic Traelibus aut Alabandis
> Esquilias, dictumque petunt a vimine collem.
> Viscera magnarum domuum, dominique futuri.

Yet they are in no sense a nation, nor, except by incorporation with the English—an incorporation which in their case is quite conceivable—could they ever become one. So, also, for the most part, the Hindus of India are peoples rather than nations.

In computing the general cause which contributed to the establishment and permanency of our Rule, I did not mention the paralyzing influence of caste, because that is a feature limited to Hindu communities, and was not essential to my previous demonstration. How incalculably large its effects have been, however, in sterilising the soil of national growth can only be faintly comprehended. Deductively, the results which we find to exist might have been predicted with confidence from the operation of such a system. To caste, more than to any other single cause, probably more than to all other causes combined, the Indian people owe their present state of servitude and degradation. But for the caste system, there might have been a Hindu nation : if the caste system is ever destroyed, there may yet be a Hindu nation. But, under its blasting influence, it is impossible that there should ever be anything more than a Hindu people, and a Hindu people at the very bottom of the scale of popular growth. I throw out these remarks on the distinction between a nation and a people by way of suggestion. They may contain the germs of some instructive thought in an exhaustive analysis of all the forces with which the British Government has to contend in its colossal enterprise.

I find that the design I had contemplated would involve the pursuit of so many lines of enquiry upon so many topics, that space compels me to abandon it. But the position of the Native States is a factor of consequence in Anglo-Indian policy, and this paper, necessarily fragmentary, would be unpardonably so if it contained no mention whatever of our feudatories. Mr. Tupper's admirable and exhaustive book, "Our Indian Protectorate", contains, perhaps, all that could possibly need to be said upon their constitution by treaty, their historical antecedents, and the maxims of political law upon which our official intercourse with them is regulated. It is not, however, superfluous to point out, even after directing the reader to Mr. Tupper's invaluable thesaurus, that, as we arrested the natural development of the Continent generally by our intervention, so, in a singularly special and impressive way, we arrested and stereotyped for ever these petty native sovereignties. It is not that they possessed any special merits, or any special claims to permanency. On the contrary, their constitutions were pre-eminently ephemeral and kaleidoscopic. Compared with the vitality of the settled Western Governments, these Rajput, Mussulman; and Mahratta Kings were mere butterflies. Their power rose with the sun, and had set for ever before evening. In the manner in which they swallowed each other, suddenly emerged into animated existence, collided with a neighbour, coalesced, took on new shapes, increased or dwindled, without any apparent consistency of life or movement, or any predominant principle beyond robbing or being robbed, eating their fill and perishing, they resembled those amorphous animalcules we see in a drop of water microscopically magnified. And, in the midst of this roystering carnival of rapine plunder and annihilation, the British Government, with its chilly want of sympathy for irresponsible and exuberant disregard of the rights of *meum* and *tuum*, placed its iron hand upon them ; gave to each his boundary and his treaty, and converted the ephemeral creature into an everlasting institution.

In them we have useful object lessons : they present convenient specimens for the study of the comparative value of native administration. But conclusions drawn from such observations must take into account the vigilant eye of the political agent and the restraining influences of the Government under whose mighty ægis the feudatories live their artificial lives and play out their simple farce of kingship. We gather from them how infamously bad native rule, if left unchecked, would be. We perceive in them all the elements of instability, and we are impressed as much by the strength of the Government which has perpetuated them, as by its forbearance. They owe their preservation, not to any merits of their own, but to the sacredness attached by England to her promises. Viewed upon their merits they excite a feeling of wonder and admiration for their exceeding good fortune, tempered by a feeling of the different point of view from which that good fortune may be regarded by their subjects. They are intensely interesting, as relics of a past which the country has happily survived : they are intensely interesting to the antiquarian, and the student of oriental habits and ways of thought. But it is impossible to take them seriously, as it seems to be the fashion to do now ; and to gravely propound the need of framing an Imperial constitution in their interests. The mischievous analogies which are drawn between their relations to the Paramount Power, and, *e. g.*, that of the German States of the Empire, or the American States to the federal Government, are so ludicrously false that they scarcely need refutation. Our feudatory states are accidental survivals : they have no political importance. In the whole vast stream of progress they stand isolated and wonderful. They are the flies in the amber of our Anglo-Indian polity, and in their proper sphere they serve many useful and more ornamental purposes. In so far as they possess any political weight, it may, I think, be reckoned upon always in favour of maintaining the *status quo.*

In putting together these observations upon some of the more important factors of a problem of great political magnitude, a problem no less than that of adapting our Government in India to all the forces, natural and artificial, making for and against its stability, while keeping in view the ethical elements in each measure taken for the purpose of making that adaptability more effectual, I have found it impossible to deal with more than one or two out of the topics I had proposed to myself for discussion. And, as a result, there is an air of disconnectedness between those topics which I have noticed. No one can be more sensible of that than myself. My object has been rather to indicate the darkness over-shadowing many of those paths of policy upon which we are entering, than to dispel it. To have attempted more, would have needed more space than a Review can afford, and more arduous and elaborate speculation than I am yet prepared to lay before the public.

ART. V.—THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA.

WHEN enumerating the advantages of British rule, Sir Auckland Colvin describes India as "taught for the first time that the end and aim of rule, is the welfare of the people and not the personal aggrandisement of the sovereign." Such is, no doubt, the prevalent idea in many quarters ; but it is entirely due to ignorance of the system of Government in Ancient India. The history of Ancient India, as at present written, confines itself mostly to Puranic mythologies, which have more a religious than historical significance ; matters of real interest, showing the political development of the people, are entirely overlooked.

I have attempted an account of the ancient system of Government in this paper, based on original texts, to which reference has been made, and of which translations have been given. We will first consider the Constitution of Government in the Puranic period.

I. THE CONSTITUTION.

In order to a better understanding of the Constitution of Government in Ancient India, it will be necessary to take a view of ancient Hindu Society There were the learned class (the Brahmans), the military class (the Kshatriyas), the trading and the agricultural class (the Vaisyas), and the servile class (the Sudras). Another class was fast growing up, the mixed class (Varna Sankaras) : but before they could assert their importance, the sun of ancient India sank low. The Kshatriyas led a military life ; princes and soldiers came from their ranks, and they were well-versed in military science and the laws of the land. Impulsive by nature, they were not fit to be entrusted with the power of making laws ; but were eminently fitted for enforcing them. The Vaisya class formed a peaceful and peace-loving community, with a smattering of letters and strong practical instincts. Of abstract principles they had hardly any conception, nor were they given to deep thinking. They cared very little for the higher concerns of life, and remained perfectly content if their interests were protected. The Sudras were the lowest in intelligence and formed an ignorant class. The highest amongst the Varna Sankara communities had not then taken up their present position in society, while the majority of that class were engaged in rather low occupations. The Brahmanas stood in marked prominence over the other classes, and were remarkable alike for their learning and their intelligence. They cultivated pious habits of life and devoted themselves entirely to the pursuit of knowledge. Their ideas were far in advance of those of the other classes; and they commanded the respect and confidence of all Varnas. They were, by general consent, the leaders of the people, and they were undoubtedly the wisest and the best amongst them. The power of codifying the laws rested solely and entirely with these Brahmanas. Their power, however, was not arbitrary. The laws were to be for the good of the people (ধর্ম্মঃ শ্রেয়ঃ সমুদ্দিষ্টং শ্রেয়োঽভ্যুদয় লক্ষণম্. (Bhavisya Purana) and they were to be based on the injunctions of the Srutis and Smritis, the customs prevailing among good people, and the standard of individual happiness (Manu-Sanhita, chapter II, Slokas 6 and 12).

When a new code was made, it was therefore to follow the spirit of the old laws, and was to be in conformity with such customs as were approved by good people, so as to secure the happiness of the people. Rigorous legislation was thus prohibited, and it was only when change of circumstances gave rise to new customs, that general legislation was called for. Special legislation, as we shall see hereafter, was in the hands of the King and his Council. Among the Brahmanas the power of codifying did not rest with all, but was delegated to one in an assembly of sages, or the code was confirmed in such an assembly. There are twenty Brahmanical codes of authority at the present day, besides commentaries and compilations. The enforcement of the laws as laid down in the codes, rested solely with the king, who was taken from the warrior class. The king had no hand in making code-law. He came into existence with the code, typically called Danda, or sanctional sceptre. Without the code the king was nobody. It was the code which the people had to fear, not the person of the king, whose duty was to enforce the code. If he failed to do his duty, he was not a king, and could be removed. The codifiers, or the Brahmanas, were superior to the king, and were always to be respected by him. There was also a Council attached to the king for the making of administrative rules in conformity with the code-law. The Council was also associated with the king in all matters of home and foreign administration, and had to perform important legislative functions. For the code mostly dealt with general principles, except on questions of inheritance and succession. It gave some details as to the constitution of the Bench, the law of evidence and procedure, and some minor matters as well; but many details were left to be settled by the King and his Council. For instance, as regards taxation, the Manu-Sanhita did no more than lay down certain general principles, corresponding to the four laws of taxation propounded by Adam Smith. The Council in Ancient India was, no doubt, another name for the ministry, and its nomination was in the hands of the king. But the king under the code could not do without the Council. He was bound to appoint Councillors of certain necessary qualifications. The Government of the land was actually in the hands of the Council; and the proper constitution of the Council therefore was the prime political need of the people. The relation between the King and his Council and the expansion of the latter, so as fully to represent all classes of the people, were matters which needed reform and improvement, and the people of Ancient India were not forgetful of this. The pages of the Mahábhárata describe a Council which fully represented all classes of the people and which is a decided improvement upon the Council of Manu-Sanhita.

The Code, the King and the Council completed the constitution of Ancient India. An account of all the texts bearing on the subject would be tedious to most readers of the "Review." I shall therefere refer only to some of the most important passages.

"For his (the king's) sake, the Creator had first created Danda, the protector of all beings out of the rays of the Supreme. . . . . Through fear of this (Danda), all sentient and fixed or moving beings are fitted for natural enjoyment and swerve not from duty. When the king, therefore, has fully considered place and time and his own strength, and the divine ordinance, let him inflict just punishment on all those who act unjustly. Danda is the real king; Danda is the real man; Danda is the leader and governor, too; Danda is the representative of the duties of the four Asramas. Danda governs all people. Danda only preserves them. When all the rest are asleep, Danda only keeps watch. The learned know Danda to be Dharma."—Manu, Chapter VII, Slokas 14-18.

To turn from the Manu-Sanhita to the Mahábhárata. The Santi Parva, or the Book of Peace, in that grand work consists of two parts. The first part is the science of politics, and the second part theology. People may laugh incredulously when told that there was any such thing as political science in Ancient India. But a cursory glance at the Santi Parva would satisfy them not only of the existence of that science, but also of its development in a high degree. I will give a few extracts in the hope that they may serve to stimulate enquiry. Yudhisthira asked Bhisma :—"O grandfather! How did the word Rajah come into existence. The Rajah has the same hands, the same shoulders, the same back, the same face, the same belly, the same fluid, the same bone, the same fat, the same flesh, the same blood, the same breath, the same life, the same body and the same intellectual faculties, as his subjects, and he is as much subject to pleasure and pain, birth and death, as his people. How is it, then, that the Rajah is able alone to reign over innumerable highly intelligent and highly powerful persons and thus to govern his kingdom?"—Santi Parva, Chapter 59.

Bhishma went on describing how there was anarchy and confusion when there was no code and no king. The gods went to Brahma and asked him to think of some remedy. Brahma thought over the matter and then wrote a social, moral and political code, consisting of one hundred thousand chapters. Then, addressing the gods, he said: "Here is the code I have written. This will keep all people in the right path. I therefore call it Danda, or Danda-niti." Siva made an abstract of that book containing ten thousand chapters. Indra made an abstract containing five thousand chapters. Brihaspati made one containing three thousand chapters. Then the gods and Brahmanas gave the Code to one whom they called 'king.' The chapter ends thus:—"O Maharaj! it is by means of Danda that morality and virtue have spread in society. . . . It is by the injunctions of that Code that the word 'king' came into existence and the sages described the king as godlike." Then, in Chapter 67—"Those who seek their well-being should place some one over them as Rajah. When the country becomes kingless, no one can enjoy his wife and his riches in safety. Evil-minded persons even cannot be happy in a kingless country. For two evil-doers will rob the wealth of one evil-doer, and more of such men will rob these too. A powerful man will enslave a weak man and take another's wife by force. For the prevention of these evils, the gods made rulers of the people." Slokas 12—15.

In the next chapter Yudhisthira asks why Brahmanas describe the king as godlike. Bhishma answers by saying that such description is necessary to enable the king to discharge his duties properly and to make him respected by all people.

In the 69th Chapter, there is a graphic description of the mutual relation between the King and the Code and the respective functions of each. I can do no more in this paper than simply make a reference to that chapter. There are passages in the Santi Parva which clearly show that the Government of Ancient India was based on Utilitarian principles, and that the doctrine of Utilitarianism was fully understood and acted upon in India, centuries before Bentham preached it.

In the Vedic period a sort of patriarchal Government prevailed which developed into the monarchies of later ages. The codes relating to that period are merely compilations of duties and practices of domestic life as enjoined in the Vedas. Asvalayana, Bandhayana, and others were the Code writers of this period. They did not much concern themselves with the duties of citizenship and with civil and political rights. Manu Sanhita is the first attempt at a general and exhaustive codification, with a full statement of objects and reasons. It recognised the changes brought about in society, the evils of the Brahminical system, the distortion of the social fabric brought on by a scrupulous adherence to the Vedas, and the inadequacy of the existing codes to meet the requirements of changed times. The small monarchies that grew out of patriarchal collections, the unsatisfactory state of their relations with each other, the relations between the Brahmanas and the kingly caste, the unsettled state of society, all attracted the keen attention of the compilers of the Sanhita, and the outcome was as complete a code as the world ever witnessed.

The origin of the code is thus given. All the great Rishis went to Manu and asked him for a code. Manu told them that the code had been given to him by Brahma, and he had explained it to Marichi and other sages. Bhrigu, who was present in the assembly, had also learnt the code from him and was well-qualified to expound it. The task was then delegated to Bhrigu who gave the Code to the assembly of sages. Again, in Atri Sanhita, the following story is given :—"The Rishis saluted Atri who had performed Agnihotra (a kind of Yajna,) who was most learned in the Vedas and who knew the injunctions of all holy scriptures." Having saluted him, the Rishis said " O Lord ! for the good of all people speak to us." Atri then gave the Code. The story is similarly given in the Yajnavalka, Harita, Usanas, Apasthamba, Samvarta and Vyasa Sanhitas. It is evident, therefore, that the sages or Rishis used to assemble and to elect one among their number to write the Code. That the Rishis used to assemble on great occasions, there is ample evidence in the Puranas. But it would be outside the scope of this paper to enter into the subject. With the spread of education and lapse of time, other castes than Brahmanas were admitted into the rank of sages, or Rishis. Viswamitra, though a Kshatriya, became one of the greatest of Rishis. Janaka, Yajati, Ambaris, Uddalaka and several other kings, though Kshatriyas, were reckoned as sages. It is fruitless at this distance of time to speculate upon the changes that might have occurred in India under favourable circumstances ; but we find that the Rishis, mostly consisting of Brahmanas of pious habits, given to contemplation and learned in the Vedas, had the exclusive franchise of electing the Code-makers of Ancient India. In the degenerate Hindu period no new code was compiled, but changes seem to have been silently brought about by means of commentaries and compilations which became authoritative by general consent. We may gain some idea as to how this was done from the practice at Banaras amongst the Pundits, of inviting free criticism upon a work, and subjecting it to the closest scrutiny, that it might be generally approved and accepted.

Next we come to the Council. According to Manu, the Council was to be composed of seven or eight persons. "Let him (the king) perpetually consult with those Councillors on peace and war, on his forces, on his revenues, on the protection of his people, and on the means of bestowing aptly the wealth which he has acquired." Manu, VII—56. The Chief Councillor was to be a qualified Brahmana. The respective duties of the Councillor are also specified in Manu Sanhita. Reforms in the constitution of the Council were, however, deemed necessary, and we have the following remarkable passage in the Mahábhárata :—

বক্ষ্যামি তু যথামাত্যান্ যাদৃশাংশ্চ করিষ তি ॥ ৬ ॥
চতুরো ব্রাহ্মণান্ বৈদ্যান্ প্রগল্‌ভান্ স্নাতকান্ শুচীন্।
ক্ষত্রিয়াংশ্চ তথাচাষ্টৌ বলিনঃ শস্ত্রপানয়ঃ ॥ ৭ ॥
বৈশ্যান বিত্তেন সম্পন্নানেকবিংশতি সংখ্যয়া।
ত্রীংশ্ছ শূদ্রান্ বিনীতাংশ্চ শুচীন্ কর্ম্মনি পূর্ব্বকে ॥ ৮ ॥
অষ্টাভিশ্চ গুনৈযুক্তং সূতং পৌরাণিকং তথা।
পঞ্চাশদ্বর্ষ বয়সং প্রগল্‌ভমন সূয়কম্ ॥ ৯ ॥
শ্রুতি স্মৃতি সমাযুক্তং বিনীতং সমদর্শিনম্।
কার্য্যে বিবদমানানাং শক্তমর্থেষলোলুপম্ ॥ ১০ ॥
বর্জ্জিতঞ্চৈব ব্যসনৈঃ সুঘোরৈঃ সপ্তভির্ভৃশম্।
অষ্টানাং মন্ত্রিনাং মধ্যে মন্ত্র রাজোপধারয়েৎ ॥ ১১ ॥
ততঃ সংপ্রেষয়েদ্রাষ্ট্রে রাষ্ট্রীয়ায়চ দর্শয়েৎ।
অনেন ব্যবহারেণ দ্রষ্টব্যাস্তে প্রজাঃ সদা ॥ ১২ ॥

শান্তি পর্ব্ব ঃ ৮৫ অধ্যায়।

"I shall now tell you what Councillors you should engage and how. Four pure and clever Brahmanas, well read in the Vedas, having their teachings fresh in their minds, eight strong, and armed Kshatriyas, twenty-one rich Vaisyas, three mild and pious Sudras, regular in their daily prayers, and one duly qualified Suta*, well read in the Puranas—these should be engaged as Councillors. They must all be of the age of fifty, clever, void of jealousy and avarice, well read in the Srutis and Smritis, humble, impartial, capable of settling disputes, and not addicted to hunting gambling and the kindred vices. Of these Councillors the King should himself deliberate with a sub-committee of eight and settle rules. Then these rules should be proclaimed in the kingdom and shown to all citizens. By such means we should always look after the well-being of your subjects."—Santi Parva, Chapter 85.

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* The Sutas were a mixed caste, begotten of Brahmana mothers and Kshatriya fathers. They were the Court Historians of Ancient India.

The Council was thus to consist of thirty-seven members representing all classes of the people. The predominance of the Vaisya class was probably a recognition of the importance of the mercantile and agricultural interests in the land. The public revenue was mainly contributed by the members of this community, and they were largely concerned in the discharge of the administrative duties of Government. There was also some representative of the Sudras. The Varna Sankar community was represented by the Suta. The king was thus surrounded by Councillors who were well acquainted with the wants and aspirations of all classes of the people, who represented the best intelligence. ability, and culture of the kingdom, and who, on account of their high character, enjoyed the confidence of their fellow subjects. There is another peculiarity in the above description which requires notice. The king held his deliberations with only eight of his Councillors. These eight, however, took part in the proceedings of the general Council, and the king had the advantage of the counsel of all his Councillors through the eight. There was the Upper House and the Lower House, so to say, without the objectionable features of the English House of Lords. Unfortunately the records of the old Indian dynasties are so incomplete and inaccessible, that it is difficult to trace out this elaborate plan in actual history. A glimpse, however, may be obtained in the following account of one of the oldest of Hindu principalities, extracted from Tod's Annals of Rajasthana :—"During the period, still called 'the good times of Mewar,' the prince, with the aid of his Civil Council, before ministers of the crown and their deputies, promulgated all the legislative enactments, in which the general rights and wants of the community were involved. In these the martial vassals or chiefs had no concern. A wide exclusion, comprehending also their immediate dependence, military, commercial and agricultural. Even now the little that is done in these matters is effected by the civil administration, though the Rajpoot Pradhans have been too apt to interfere in matters from which they ought always to be kept aloof, being ever more tenacious of their own rights than solicitous for the welfare of the community."

II.—HOW DID THE CONSTITUTION WORK?

When the different political elements in a country begin to settle down, it is natural that there should be disputes as to the position to be assigned to them. And when power is by general consent given to one party, that power is sooner or later abused, and has to be checked by force or device. The adjustment of powers between the king and the people took a long time in Europe, and it is still neither final nor complete in many European countries. India had also her struggles for free Government. In some cases the code had to be forced upon the king; and in extreme cases he was even killed. We shall here give some of the instances. Vena was killed *by the Rishis for having persistently refused to allow the performance* of Yajnas. The memorable fight of Parasurama, a descendant of Bhrigu, with the Haihaya dynasty, is related in most of the Puranas. He established the supremacy of the Brahmanical Code on a firm basis. The Mahábhárata has the following passage:—"The Brahmana, with his own power, can repress the might and energy of the Kshatriya. Look! the sons of Bhrigu defeated the Talajanghas, the sons of Angiras put down the Nipas, and Bharadvaja suppressed the Vaitahavyas and Ailas. These Brahmanas also defeated the Chitrayudhas." There is also this remarkable passage in the Anusasana Parva, or the Book of Injunctions. "The king who cannot preserve his people, who extorts money, and is without the guidance of his Council—the people should combine and kill such a disgrace of a king. The king who, saying, 'I am your preserver,' does not preserve the people, should be killed by all means, as a mad and diseased dog."—Chap. 61.

No doubt, such an extreme course was meant as a mere deterrent, and the history of Ancient India shows that it was rarely adopted. The welfare of the people was the sole concern of the Indian Rajahs. They were taught from their childhood that for them there was no religion higher than securing the well-being of their people. The Raj Purohit, or family priest, had charge of the young princes, and his chief occupation was to impress upon them an idea of their duty. Thus trained, the ancient Indian Rajahs had scarcely any friction with their subjects. Their love for the people was great and spontaneous. The self-sacrifice of Rama, in deference to the wishes of the people, is too well-known to be mentioned here. "King Sagar, son of Bahu, abandoned his eldest son Asamanja, to secure the well-being of his people. Asamanja used to seize the young children of the citizens and drown them. For this king Sagar reproved his son and banished him from the kingdom. The saint-like king, Uddalaka, forsook his dear son, Svetaketu, who was great in his penances, for having played false with the Brahmanas."—Santi Parva, Chapter 57.

The history of Hindu kings teems with instances of great sacrifices made at the altar of the public good. Their love for the people was as great as the people's regard for them. The kings could not, and would not do anything contrary to law.

To sum up, there was limited monarchy in Ancient India. The limitations were imposed by the Code and the Council. The only justification of monarchy was the enforcement of Code law for the good of the people. The codes were given to the king, not made by him. In the work of administration, which included legislation to a certain extent, the king was bound to consult his Council. The constitution of the Council was subject to reform, so as to include in it the element of popular representation. If the king acted contrary to law, the people could remove him. The Brahmanas, as the most advanced representatives of the people, had to fight several times with the kings to establish the supremacy of the Law. As a general rule, however, the kings, being trained to their duties from childhood, had no friction with their subjects, and they sometimes made great personal sacrifices to please their people. Such was the Government of Ancient India, and I reserve further comments on the constitution till an account is given of the Home and the Foreign Administration in subsequent papers.

PURNENDU NARAYANA SINHA,

Bankipur.

ART. VI.—THE BEGUM OF SARDHANA.

AT the present moment I sit in one of the lesser drawing-rooms, in the Palace at Sardhana. The punkah swings over my head with persistent monotony; but the noises outside are not at all consistent with laboured thought.

Green parrots fly in and out of the large and lofty verandah, with constant piercing cries; two crows, perched on the rail of a side verandah, where my bearer and khidmatgar, Chutan Khan, keeps his provisions for the day, utter longing and admiring caws at the good things which they know are concealed there; Sugannu, the sweeper's bashful wife—for she draws her *sari* when I come near—grinds corn in her stone hand-mill, in one of the cellars beneath, making a noise like distant thunder for magnitude, and, in the large gardens all round the palace—for it is the time of the ripening of the fruits—anxious and attentive *malis* make the air resonant with the sharp crack of the *ludoora*,* to keep off the piratical birds from the well-laden trees.

But the thoughtful reader, having come thus far in my narrative, will naturally ask the question: Where is Sardhana, and what palace is there there?

The mind of the untravelled Englishman is delightfully vague as to places in the Eastern dominions of the Queen Empress; but to be ignorant of the whereabouts of Sardhana is no sign of ignorance.

If there is one place, however, in the whole of India which appeals to the mind of an Englishman, with a melancholy memory, it is the town of Meerut in the North-West Provinces; for there it was that, on Sunday evening, the 10th of May 1857, the Mutiny broke out. While the faithful were assembling for the worship of God, the men of the 20th Native Infantry took to their arms; the spirit of disaffection soon spread, while cries of *Ali, ali*; *Din, din*: *Ya Illah*, proclaimed a religious war.

Some twelve miles from Meerut lies the town of Sardhana. at the present time presenting a very poor and dilapidated appearance—its glory having departed since the death of its mistress, Begum Zeeb Al Nissa (Ornament of the Sex).

A contemporary historian thus describes the place:—"The town of Sedhanna, where the Begum generally resides, is of considerable extent, pleasantly situated, and commanding a fine view of the mountains of Himmeleh to the north-east. . . While the surrounding lands exhibit the effects of desolation and distress, the flourishing appearance of this Jaghire impresses the mind of the traveller with sensations most gratifying; and it is upon the principle that, deviating from the rigid line of historical precision, we embrace the opportunity of paying a tribute deservedly due to the spirit, activity and talents of this noble lady. Endowed by nature with masculine intrepidity, assisted by a judgment and foresight clear and comprehensive, Begum Sumroo, during the various revolutions, was enabled to preserve her country unmolested, and her authority unimpaired."

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* The *ludoora* is a curious instrument for frightening away birds. It is really a whip, without a handle, some four or five yards long - thick at the end which is held in the hand. The way to use the *ludoora* is to take it in both hands, and to swing it round the head twice until it looks like a serpent in the air; it is then swung sharply in the opposite direction, and suddenly brought up with a jerk—giving out a sound as sharp as a pistol shot.

At any rate it is the memories of the past which make Sardhana what it is to-day in the minds of those who make a pilgrimage there.

It was at the latter end of July, when the rains had begun to fail, and the sun was beginning again to assert his unwelcome self, that three of us, a lady and two men, rode out one early morning, with our faces Sardhana-wards.

There was a sense of relief in the fact that our backs were turned upon work and worry for at least one day; and the soft coolness of the morning tended somewhat to revive our languid energies, considerably abated after the intense heat of a Meerut summer. We cantered along the well-made road—bordered for some miles of the way with trees on either side—, until we came within sight of a small village. Here the road loses its leafy border, and, instead, at this time of the year, the surrounding fields are covered with many a broad lagoon.

We met the usual travellers along a fairly well frequented Indian road,—the lumbering bullock carriage, with its dome-like curtained top, in which reposed the zenana of some zemindar, the cart itself gorgeous in red and green, while the bullock bells tinkled the approach of such a precious load; dâk-gharis full of passengers passing us at intervals, loaded well within and without, trying the strength of the wretched pair of tats to the utmost; parties of ryots, men, women and children, starting on their journey after a night's bivouac by the road-side—all displaying a prodigality of the natural state of the human form—delightful to the student of anatomy; nor must we forget one passer-by—a lady on a pony, sitting astride, who in her bashfulness at our presence, carefully drew her *sâri* over her face, at the same time displaying a length of leg and limb which positively made us blush. Ten miles from Meerut we reached the canal, over which there is a substantial bridge. Turning sharply round to the right, we rode along the canal bank, and under the welcome shade of many trees, for two miles, until we sighted the Sardhana bridge; from this point to the Palace is but a matter of a mile, along a broad and shady road—passing on the left the Cathedral Church of S. Mary, built by the Begum in 1822, and, on the right, S. John's College, the old residence of the Begum.

We found the gates to the grounds of the palace closed; but the sight of the magic card of the obliging Agent of the Estate at once caused them to fly open, and we soon found ourselves at the foot of the grand flight of steps which led to the Palace of the Begum of Sardhana.

On the following day we made an exploration of the palace, which, erected in 1829, is nothing more than a well built gentleman's house of that day. Indeed, there is very little in it or outside it which speaks of Eastern ideas and associations; the only part which made us think we were in a Begum's palace being the Begum's bath-room in the southern wing of the building. This really consists of two little rooms, marble-floored, with marble baths in the innermost one. The walls are adorned with painted designs; and there are some glass mirrors let into the walls, which have a not uncommon Eastern peculiarity, as you gaze into them, of making you look totally unlike yourself.

The Begum's chair of State, in which she appears in her picture, is still kept in the (now) unused room in which she died. Underneath the palace there are three deep vaults, with steps to the bottom, in which the treasure was kept; a trap-door leads from a room in the palace down to this attractive spot. Right at the top of the palace, there is a small room, so low that it is impossible for any one to stand upright in it; and here I am told refractory servants were imprisoned until they came to a better mind.

Most of the pictures in the palace are interesting, and all have a history, representing as they do people and events which played an important part in the life of a wonderful woman. In the large drawing-room, facing you, as you enter, is a picture of the Begum, sitting in her chair of State, with her favourite hookah by her side; on the opposite wall is one of the Begums, presenting a chalice to the clergy of Sardhana; and to the right of that is a curious picture of "Her Highness the Begum and Dyce Sombre * as a boy." The Begum here has a perfectly white face, and she is holding her hookah. The only other picture of interest in this room is that of "John Thomas, in the service of Her Highness during Mr. Dyce Sombre's time."—a ruffian in native costume. He lies buried in the neglected cemetery of Sardhana hard by, and was the son of the adventurer George Thomas, one of the Begum's ablest commanders.

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* Dyce Sombre, as we shall see later on, was the adopted heir of the Begum.

In the smaller drawing-room to the left are various pictures—among them one of "Dr. Thomas Driver, Physician to Her Highness the Begum, and Mr. Dyce Sombre's faithful friend, one of the best and most honest of men,"—worthy testimony in times when these virtues were at a discount. In the end room of all, there are two very large and well-painted pictures, one of "General Sir David Ochterlony, Mr. Dyce Sombre's godfather," and the other of "Mr. Dyce Sombre, painted at Rome."

Underneath this last are three engravings, autographed—"The Right Hon'ble Edward Jervis, Viscount St. Vincent, 1856;" "D. O. Dyce Sombre, Esq., 1842," and "The Hon'ble M. Dyce Sombre," with the following, in Lady Forrester's handwriting, "To be placed in one of the rooms at Sardhana between the engraving of my husband and father, M. A. Dyce Sombre." *

There is also a painting in this room of Fr. Julius Cæsar, first and last Bishop of Sardhana, and a very curious one, representing the Begum and the British Officers at Bhurtpore. In this picture Lord Combermere has his head at right angles to his shoulders, and the Begum has a white face, all the others, who are Europeans, having dark ones.

During my stay in the palace, I occupied Mr. Dyce Sombre's bed-room, which overlooks the Zenana and the Zenana garden, and, while I was there, many were the visions of past greatness and Eastern splendour which flitted before my eyes, surrounded as I was by the relics and associations of a most wonderful personality.

Within a stone's throw of the palace are two monuments of the Begum's generosity and Christianity. The one is St. John's College for the education of Priests, of which more by and bye; and the other, the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, with its lofty spires and domed-shaped tower. "The foundation of this splendid edifice" (I quote the words of the inscription on the Plan of the Cathedral) "was laid on the 5th of December 1821; and on Sunday the 20th of December 1829, it was consecrated by the Right Revd. Father in God, Antoninus Pezzoni, Bishop of Erbone (in Africa) and presiding over the Capuchin Brethren in India.

On Christmas Eve of the same year the Cathedral was first opened for public worship, and the Right Revd. was assisted on the occasion by the very Rev. Fr. Adedate, Vicar General, and by the Rev. Fr. Gaetano, Her Highness' Domestic Chaplain. The British Resident at Meerut (Mr. T. Hawkins) and suite, and a numerous party from Meerut, were present

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* Lady Forrester was the daughter of Lord St. Vincent, and the wife of Mr. Dyce Sombre. After Mr. Dyce Sombre's death she married Lord Forrester.

at the ceremony. The Begum left Rs. 10,000 for the maintenance and support of the Cathedral—Rs. 15 weekly being the sum devised "for the purpose of saying prayers for the soul of Her Highness the Begum Sumroo."

The two chief objects in the Cathedral are the high altar —and the monument in memory of the Begum. The former, of white marble brought from Jeypore and inlaid with mosaics of cornelian, jasper and other precious stones, is surmounted by a marble canopy with fluted columns. Underneath the canopy is a life-sized figure of our Lady and the Holy Child, while two silver lamps, one only of which is lit, hang before the altar-throne.

The monument of the Begum is unique of its kind and is of Carrara marble, with life-sized figures of the Begum; Mr. Dyce Sombre; Fr. Julius Cæsar; Diwan Rae Sing, the Begum's Prime Minister, and six emblematical figures. The Begum, attired in the native dress she always wore—the trousers and short muslin petticoats of the native women of the northern part of India—, is seated aloft on a chair of State. She holds in her right hand a folded scroll, the Emperor's Firman, conferring on her the Jaghire of Sardhana. Mr. Dyce Sombre is represented in the "attitude of grief," with his elbow resting on the monument and his plumed hat in his hand, the whole figure suggesting the comic rather than the tragic. At the base of the monument are three panels carved in high relief. The front one represents an incident at the consecration of the Church—the presentation of a chalice to the Bishop of Sardhana by the Begum. The Bishop is sitting, vested in cope and mitre and attended by two of his clergy. The Begum in her short petticoats, and surrounded by four of her European officers, has in her hands the golden chalice she is about to offer.

The panel on the right of the throne pictures the Begum holding a Durbar, that on the left a triumphal procession, the Begum mounted on an elephant. The following is the inscription (in Latin on one side and in English on the other) on the monument: "Sacred to the memory of Her Highness Joanna Zibalnessa, the Begum Sombre, styled the distinguished of nobles and beloved daughter of the State, who quitted a transitory court for an eternal world, revered and lamented by thousands of her devoted subjects, at her palace of Sirdhanah, on the 27th of January, 1836, aged ninety years. Her remains are deposited underneath, in this Cathedral built by herself. To her powerful mind, her remarkable talent, and the wisdom, justice and moderation with which she governed for a period exceeding half a century, he to whom she was more than a mother is not the person to award the praise, but in grateful respect to her beloved memory is this monument erected by him who humbly trusts she will receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

DAVID OCHTERLONY DYCE SOMBRE."

We were shown over the Church by one of the Sisters of the Community of Jesus and Mary, from the Convent attached to the Cathedral. This Convent was founded before the Mutiny; and, at the time of that revolt, a body of volunteers rode out from Meerut to take away the Sisters. The Rev. Mother, however, refused to go, and remained at her post during the whole of that most terrible time. The Sisters of this Community at Sirdhana are in charge of an Orphanage of native Christian girls, who number some 90 children of all ages, from 18 months to 18 years.

The Rev. Mother (Saint Dorothy) was away at the time of my visit; but the other two European Sisters, Mother St. Epiphania and Mother St. Joachim, became my great friends Mother St. Epiphania is a bright and lively French woman from Lyons, and Mother St. Joachim, an Irish woman, who has not visited her native land for fourteen years. There are also some tertiary Sisters (natives of India), Sisters Leochadie, Paulina, Bonaventura, and Pelagia, and they all looked so bright and happy in the white habit and badge of their Community—the latter a silver cross with a crown of thorns and the letters J and M engraved thereon.

One day, after we had got to know each other well, and I had shown my appreciation of their work, and my reverence in their Sanctuary, I endeavoured to explain to the good Sisters the position and doctrine of the Church of England—concerning which there seems to be almost as much ignorance among foreign Roman Catholics as among many English Church people themselves. The result of our conversation was the exclamation on Mother St. Epiphania's part: "We are so glad that you also are Catholic."

There is another little story of the Sisters which I must bring in here. During one of my longer stays at the palace, the Sisters heard that the Lord Padri Sahib had arrived. I should explain that Lord Padri means a Bishop, and that the Chaplain of Meerut went by that name among the native community, although there were three other European Clergy, *viz.*, the Roman Catholic Chaplain, the Presbyterian Chaplain, and an English Priest belonging to the Church Missionary Society. The only reason I can give for this exaltation to the Episcopal dignity is that the principal people in the station go to the Station Church, and that, in native eyes, position and numbers mean a very great deal. At any rate the report at Sardhana was that the Lord Padri had arrived and was staying at the Palace. Soon after my arrival a party of visitors came to see the Palace, escorted by two of the native Sisters, and they carried back the news to the Europeans Sisters who the Lord Padri was. The next day I went to see my friends, and almost the first words of Sister Epiphania were: "We heard that the Lord Padri had arrived, and it is only *you*."

We were shown all the Begum's gifts to the Cathedral, among which are a gold chalice set with precious stones, three sets of most beautiful vestments of velvet heavy with Delhi gold embroidery; a crozier for the first and only Bishop of Sardhana; a silver holy water basin, a silver Lavabo, and a magnificent antependium for the altar. The Cathedral also contains two reliquaries of silver gilt, presented to the Begum by Pope Gregory XVI. On the larger of the two is the following inscription: "Gregorius XVI. Pont. Max. Johannæ Sumrou Begum, Principi Sirdhunensi Piae Liberali Benemerenti, MDCCCXXXIV."

This reliquary contains, in the centre, a piece of the true cross, and relics of S. Paul, S. Thomas, S Gregory (Pope), S. Francis Xavier and S. Francis of Assisi. The smaller one has a relic of S. John the Apostle and Evangelist.

Within a few yards of the Cathedral is S. John's College—once occupied by the Begum, and given by her to the Capuchin Fathers as a Seminary for the training of Priests; and I believe some priests were trained and ordained from this College. Now-a-days it is used as an Orphanage for native Christian orphan boys. We paid our promised visit there in the cool of one evening late in the rains; and, as we drove up to the door, we found Brother Gratian, with his smiling face, waiting to welcome us, and, in the little sitting-room, Father Julius and Father Gomez.

The Capuchins have been for three centuries in this part of India; and it is to this Order that Father Julius and Brother Gratian (both Italians) belong. Father Gomez is a secular priest of the Goanese jurisdiction. Father Julius wears the medal for the Afghan war of 1879, having served in that campaign. He has a bright happy face, and our first conversation was a very pleasant one, in which I am afraid laughter predominated.

> Dear good Father Julius could not quite understand why I was not able to come to his Mass the next morning—and did not seem to know that we Anglicans regard schism as a sin as much as our Roman brethren do. I was much tempted to go to the Friday Mass. however, especially as afterwards there was to be Benediction with the Ciborium, of which I had never heard before. It seems that it is the custom, in the Rule of Jesus and Mary, in which the Sisters belong, to have this Benediction on Fridays.

We went to explore the Orphanage, and first the little Chapel at the end of the verandah—the verandah itself forming a convenient nave—the Chapel being capable of holding but few of the boys. The altar and its surroundings struck me as particularly gaudy, but no doubt they did not seem so to the worthy Fathers and their congregation of little ones.

Outside, in the courtyard, we found all the boys, to the number of 59, drawn up in a line, most of whom had on a crucifix or a medal. The Director of Public Instruction does not think it necessary that the boys should be taught English—a wise rule as I also think. It was on this account, and also because my Hindustani was not of the Higher Standard, that I could not do much more than smile benignantly on them all.

We went through the various little workshops, and saw, in order, the boys weaving mats, carding wool, printing books, making garments and shoes, and doing blacksmith's work. The two industries which interested me most were the flower-making and the manufacture of maccaroni. During the rainy season the latter is not made ; but we saw the machines and various chests of different kinds of maccaroni in all kinds of shapes Brother Gratian informed us that the boys like the rainy season for the simple reason that, as there is no sale for maccaroni, they come in for a large share of it.

In the flower-room we found three or four hard at work under the direction of the 'master.'

The flowers were really beautifully made, and are chiefly used for the altar, although Father Julius gravely informed me that sometimes ladies buy sprays for their hair ; and, suiting the action to the word, he laughingly placed one of the sprays on his grizzled tonsured head, to show the effect. The effect was a burst of laughter from all around. I am afraid we were not a very solemn conclave.

It is time, however, that we say something concerning her without whom Capuchin Fathers, Sisters of Jesus and Mary, magnificent Cathedral, and Christlike homes for the destitute and orphan—as far as Sardhana is concerned—would have no existence.

The history of the Begum of Sardhana is one full of romance, —one well worth rescuing from obscurity and yet one surrounded with great difficulty. The little authorized story of the Begum's life, published by the Capuchin Fathers at Sardhana, makes her a very saint ; other accounts credit her with far different qualities—" all that is hateful in a woman."

In order to begin at the beginning, we must look back over the vista of more than one hundred and thirty years, to the time when British India was hardly made, and French influence was still a power in Hindostan.

Walter Reinhardth was a French man who came to India in the French East India Company's service in the middle of the eighteenth century—a man of some ability, but altogether unprincipled, and it was to her marriage with him that the Begum of Sardhana owed her position and title. Reinhardth was originally a butcher, and rose to be a general and ruler of (practically) an independent State. He assumed the name of Sumner, which his friends, on account of his swarthy complexion, changed to 'Le Sombre'—and the natives to Somroo. He had been at one time in the British service, and rose to the rank of Sergeant; but he afterwards deserted and rejoined the French at Chandernagore. In 1757, on the surrender of that Settlement to Clive, he was one of those who fled with M. Law to Moorshedabad and remained with him in the service of the Nawab of Bengal, Shah Alum, until that prince was defeated in 1760, by Colonel Carnac in his attempt to reconquer Bengal from the Nawab. Sumroo then served under an Armenian General, Gregory Khan, in the service of Meer Cossim, whom the English had made Nawab of Bengal. In this service he rose to favour and distinction, disciplining and training the Nawab's troops and bringing them to a high state of perfection. It was when he was commanding these troops in 1763, that the English met with the most severe check they have ever experienced at the hands of a native army.

Later on in this year the English prisoners captured in the Factory at Patna were all brutally murdered, with the exception of Surgeon Fullerton, by the Nawab's orders, and all authorities agree in ascribing the massacre to Sumroo, with the exception of the little account published at Sardhana, which says, "There is no trustworthy evidence to support the odious charge." Sumroo succeeded in escaping to Oude and remained there, fighting in the Nawab Vizier's service until the disastrous defeat of the Oude troops at Buxar in 1765, which placed the whole of Bengal in the possession of the English. A demand was made for Sumroo's surrender, but he, with 300 men of all nationalities under his command, marched to Bhurtpore, as to a country then far removed from British influence.

The Nawab's answer to the English demand for the surrender of Sumroo is an illustration of the curious composition of the Indian mind on the question of right or wrong. Shujah-oo-Dowlah could not *with honour* surrender his friend; but, in order to show his good will towards the English, he was quite willing to procure his assassination!

At this time Sumroo raised a body of troops on his own account, consisting of four battalions of infantry, one of cavalry and six guns, all officered by Europeans. This force he lent on hire to the various native chiefs; but it was chiefly employed in the service of the Rajah of Jeypore, and the Jat chief of Bhurtpore.

During the time that he was Commandant of Agra (in 1769), he rebuilt the Church of the Roman Catholic Mission there (founded in the days of Akbar); and a Latin inscription on one of the inner arches records that fact.

In 1777, Sumroo entered the service of Mirza Najf Khan, the general and minister of the Emperor Shah Alum II, and was given, for the maintenance of his troops, a Jaghire, in the Meerut District, which yielded an annual revenue of six lacs of rupees.

He fixed his residence at the village of Sardhana (after which his State was called), and such was the origin of what was afterwards known as the Principality of Sardhana. Sumroo died the year following, and was buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Agra. Over his grave is erected one of those ugly and un-Christian monuments, more like a Mahommedan mosque or Hindu temple than anything else, which are so common in the earlier Indian Christian burying-places.

Sumroo was succeeded in his Principality by his son, and a 'favourite concubine,' so says one historian, but a prejudiced one I am afraid. Colonel Franklin, who had associated personally with the Begum, is much more likely to know the truth, and he states that she was the "daughter of a Mogul nobleman" and the wife of Sumroo.

There is no doubt that, before becoming his wife, she was his mistress, in spite of the very definite details of the Roman Catholic story, that " she was united to him in marriage by all the forms considered necessary by Mahommedans when married to persons of a different religion from their own."

The son of Sumroo, mentioned above, was his son by another Mahommedan woman. Both the Begum and her husband's son were baptised, three years later (1781), at Agra, by the Rev. Fr. Gregorio, a Carmelite—the Begum taking the name of Johanna, and Sumroo's son that of Walter Balthazzar Reinhardth.

Whatever may have been the pedigree of the Begum, she was a woman of bold and masculine spirit, and a most successful ruler. The painting in the Palace at Sardhana, although representing her late in life, shows that she was a woman of great beauty and determination of character. A contemporary writer* speaks of her as " a young and beautiful girl whom General Sumroo contrived to steal from her friends, marry and educate in the Romish faith," and the same account states that " Her features are still handsome, although she is now advanced in years. She is a small woman, delicately formed, with beautiful hazel eyes, a nose somewhat inclined to the aquiline, a complexion very little darker than Italian, with the finest turned hand and arm I ever saw. Zophany, the painter, when he saw her, pronounced it a perfect model. She is universally attentive and polite. A graceful dignity accompanies her most trival actions ; she can be even fascinating when she has any point to carry." Some sixteen years later, a Frenchman, Victor Jacquemont "travelling naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris," is not so flattering. "You must know, then," says the 'travelling naturalist,' "that Colonel Arnold introduced me to Her Highness one Sunday morning in the month of December last, while I was at Meerut with him. I breakfasted and dined with the old witch, and was even gallant enough to kiss her hand. Like a true John Bull, I had the honour of drinking wine with her at dinner. On my return to Meerut, on the following day, I received an invitation to dine with her on Christmas day. She must be an hundred years old. She is bent in double, and her face is shrivelled like dried raisins, she is, in fine, a sort of walking mummy."

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* " A tour through Industan by A. D. 1804-14."

However, as M. Jacquemont goes on to give two outrageous acts of cruelty on the part of the Begum, one of which, at least, is not substantiated by any other writer, I must put down his description of her personal appearance as the outcome of a warped mind.

In 1787 the Delhi Emperor, Shah Alum, bestowed upon the Begum, who had previously been honoured with the title 'Zeeb-al-Nissa,' or Ornament of the Sex, the title 'the most beloved daughter of the Empire.' This was on the occasion of her dispersion of the troops of the rebel, Gholam Kadir, who had actually taken the palace and held the Emperor prisoner. The next year her troops rendered still more excellent service at the battle of Gokalgarh. The Emperor, who was besieging that place—its chief Nujjuf Kolee Khan having rebelled against his authority—, was in imminent danger of being captured, when a charge of Sardhana troops, personally led by the Begum and the celebrated adventurer Thomas, saved the fortunes of the day. At a Durbar held after the battle, the Emperor publicly thanked her for her timely aid, invested her with a magnificent dress of honour, and conferred upon her the large Pargana of Badshahpore.

In 1790 there occurred an incident in the domestic administration of the Begum which, looked upon in the most favourable light, does not reflect much credit upon the authorities concerned in it.

"Stripped of fictitious circumstances," says the Roman Catholic historian, "the following is the true version."

We should remember that the Begum was a Christian and had been one for nine years. "While she was encamped with the army of the Prime Minister at Muttra, news was brought one day, that two female domestic slaves had set fire to her houses at Agra. The houses were large, had attached roofs, and contained all her valuables, as well as the wives, widows and children of her principal officers. Much property was destroyed; and, had the fires not been put out, a great many lives must have been lost. There were many old people and young children who could not have escaped, and many respectable females, who would rather have perished in the flames, than expose themselves to the gaze of the crowd that assembled to see the fires. The women were discovered in the bazar of Agra, and brought to the Camp at Muttra. The affair was remitted for investigation to her officers, who were Europeans and Christians; and, their guilt being proved and established to satisfaction, they were ordered to be flogged and then buried alive. It is to be borne in mind, that, among natives, there is no particular mode of execution prescribed for those who are condemned to die; and in the present instance, the criminals being women, burying alive was deemed a decent mode of carrying the sentence into execution. Their punishment was not greater than the crime deserved and the occasion demanded."

M. Victor Jacquemont, no doubt, had this story in mind, when he states:—"It is related of her (the Begum) and the story is true, that about 60 or 80 years ago she ordered that a young female slave, of whom she was jealous, should be buried alive, and she gave her husband a nautch (ball) upon this horrible tomb;" another version is that she placed her own *charpoy* over the living tomb.

There are many dark tales told of her Zenana; and, as the one just narrated has never been contradicted, there is no doubt that it is substantially true.

It was not an easy thing for a woman, although endowed with such determination and good sense as the Begum was, to govern a principality in which the revolt of troops and intrigues of officers played an important part, and so in 1793, at the instigation of some, the Begum married M. Le Vaisseau, a Frenchman and the commandant of the artillery in her service. Fr. Gregorio, who had baptized her, performed the marriage service.

This was a most unpopular marriage, the officers and men in her army pretending to see in it an insult to their old commander, General Sumroo; and, as a result, George Thomas, the officer who led the charge of the Begum's troops at the battle of Gokalgarh, resigned—there is no doubt that he aspired to her hand—, and retired to Delhi, where he persuaded the Sardhana battalion there, under Sumroo's son, now styling himself Nawab Moozufferool Dowlah, to revolt, promising to place him on the throne. Le Vaisseau and the Begum were forced to fly, and had reached Kirwa, three miles from Sardhana, when they were overtaken by a detachment of their own troops sent in pursuit.

In the confusion that ensued, the Begum's palanquin got separated from her husband, who was on horseback, and she, hearing the fire of musketry, and imagining that Le Vaisseau was killed, stabbed herself in the breast with a dagger.

Immediately one of the attendants bore to the distracted Le Vaisseau the news of the Begum's death, and her veil stained with blood in confirmation thereof; and he, believing the story, forthwith shot himself. The Begum's wound, however, was a very slight one, and only enough to send her into a state of unconsciousness. The rebels now treated with great indignity the dead body of their old officer. The Begum herself they took back to Sardhana, tying her to one of her own guns, in which position she remained for some days. Nawab Moozufferool Dowlah, having arrived in the meantime, assumed the reins of Government.

Other historians, however, give a very different account of the revolt, and of the Begum's motive and action in the matter. According to them, she grew tired of her husband, and arranged a little revolt among her troops. On the alarm being given, the Begum pointed out to Le Vaisseau that their only safety lay in immediate flight; and they accordingly left Sardhana in separate palanquins, having previously agreed that, in the event of one being killed, the other should commit suicide. All being thus arranged by the fickle lady, the procession set out, and in the confusion and scuffle of the pretended attack the palanquins of husband and wife were separated. The story from this point follows the first account. There was the blood-stained garment of the Begum, the messenger bringing word that she had been shot and had sent this as her last dying token,—and then the immediate death of the despairing husband.

Another still more apocryphal story is that Le Vaisseau (or L'Oiseaux, as this account calls him) was "enjoying himself at one of his country seats," when the Begum caused herself to be made a prisoner. "Her emissaries immediately conveyed the tidings of it to L'Oiseaux, and this account was immediately followed up by another, purporting that the Begum had destroyed herself by swallowing a large diamond that she usually wore on her finger. She foresaw the effect this intelligence would produce on the timid mind of the Frenchman, who immediately became so alarmed, that, with a pistol, he put an end to his existence. No sooner was the Begum informed of the event, than she quitted her prison, resumed the reins of Government, and every thing again wore the face of peace." *

There is no doubt, however, that the true story is that of a real revolt. These events took place in October 1795. The

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* A tour through Hindustan 18c4-14.

Begum, in the meantime, although a prisoner, had found means to communicate with Scindia, and with George Thomas, her old general, who was now in the service of the Mahratta Governor of Delhi. Both these listened to her appeals for aid, and a counter-revolution resulted; Nawab Moozufferool Dowlah was dethroned and made a prisoner, and the Begum restored to her rightful inheritance.

For Scindia's aid the Begum paid a fine of Rs. 1,50,000, and to George Thomas was given in marriage one of the chief maids of honour with a considerable dowry. This George Thomas was an extraordinary character. He was an Irishman, who came to India as a sailor in a British man-of-war, and, having deserted his ship, took service with a native chief, south of Madras; from there he worked his way into Upper India, and, reaching Delhi in 1787, obtained a commission in the Begum Sumroo's army. Here he served faithfully and well, and the power and prestige of the Sardhana forces owe much to his skill and generalship.

Thomas left the Begum's service on her marriage with Le Vaisseau, and, after a short time in the pay of Scindia's Governor of Delhi, he resolved to cut out an independent principality for himself with his own good sword. This he did in 1798, having seized the town of Hansi, conquered the surrounding districts, and added them to his principality. At Hansi he issued his own coinage, cast guns, and established a factory for ammunition and military stores, and was able to bring into the field 6,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and fifty guns. His life was a continual conflict with his neighbours, until he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Mahrattas under General Perron.

In the end, being deserted by most of his followers, he escaped into British territory with the wreck of his fortune, and died at Berhampore in 1802 at the comparatively early age of 46.

His children and wife were left in the care of the Begum at Sardhana, and she was their kind benefactor until her death.

But to return to the Begum:—in 1802 the English having declared war against the Mahrattas, the Sardhana battalion, under the command of General Saleur, proceeded to the Deccan, to the aid of Scindia, and took part in the battle of Assaye. The British troops were commanded by Major-General Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington), and it is worthy of record that the Begum's troops were the only part of Scindia's army which went off unbroken from the field of battle, although repeatedly charged by the British cavalry. In 1804 the territory of Sardhana came under English protection, and the Begum entered into a treaty with the

British Government by which her dominions were guaranteed to her for life, to this treaty she remained faithful, and "by her sagacity and ability preserved her principality during a period of storms and convulsions that shattered old and powerful thrones." Only once more were the Sardhana troops called to foreign service, and that was in 1825, when they joined Lord Lake in the war against the Rajah of Bhurtpore. From that time until her death, in 1836, the Begum was engaged in the peaceful government of her own principality.

Remembering the times in which she lived, and her surroundings, the Begum Zeeb-al-Nissa was a wise and enlightened ruler of uncommon sagacity and masculine resolution.

Her Christianity was quite as good as, and better than, that of many professing Christians now-a-days, although a writer does hold up his hands in horror at the bare idea that, one Christmas Day, he was among her guests, and that "in the morning the Catholic service was performed in the Church at Sardhana, in the evening a dinner was prepared for all comers, during and after which nautch girls sang and danced for the amusement of the company—a heathenizing of our most sacred Christian festival that cannot be too much reprobated."

A lady, 'A. D.' visited the court of Sardhana between the years of 1804 and 1814, and she gives minute details, some of which we have already quoted, of the life there. We learn from her account that the Begum adhered to the Mahommedan way of living as far as food was concerned, but no further; indeed she had no taste for the seclusion Easterns imposed on their women, but on the contrary was in the habit of giving sumptuous banquets to English officers and residents; and at these she appeared "always wearing a turban, generally damson colour, which becomes her very much, and is put on with great taste, and when the ladies of the party retired she would remain smoking her hookah, for she made a point never to leave her pipe half smoked." We also learn something of the personal appearance of her troops. "Her soldiers are tall, stout, with light complexions, being principally Rajpoots, who are the best soldiers, but much addicted to chewing opium, generally proud, and often insolent. Their uniform is a dress of dark blue cloth reaching to the feet, with scarlet turbans and waistbands." The writer, too, had the pleasure of a ride in the Begum's Calcutta-built coach, a vehicle "painted in bright yellow, with silver mouldings. The window frames of solid silver; the lace and hangings of silver ribbon wove in a pattern, and very substantial, with silver bullion tassels. The wheels were dark blue, to match the lining. The postilions wore scarlet jackets and caps, almost covered with silver lace."

The Begum certainly showed her faith by her works for she was a devoted daughter of the Roman Catholic Church, and her name has come down to posterity as a generous benefactor..

Her great work was the erection of the Cathedral at Sardhana already described? and at Sardhana the Capuchin Fathers of the Thibet Mission found a home. The Begum also built a Roman Catholic Church and Presbytery at Meerut for the use of the British Roman Catholic soldiers stationed there. By her will she left Rs. 100,000 for the maintenance of her Cathedral; Rs. 100,000 to her Seminary for Priests at Sardhana, and Rs. 50,000 for the poor. To the Roman Catholic Missions of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras she gave Rs. 100,000 each; to that of Agra Rs. 30,000 and to the Church at Meerut Rs. 12,000

She sent Rs. 1,50,000 to Rome to be employed in charity, at the discretion of the Pope, and for the same purpose Rs. 50,000 to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Rs. 50,000 to the Calcutta poor. Her contribution to the Church of England, which is now administered by the Bishop of Calcutta, and is known to the ecclesiastical authorities as the Begum Sumroo Fund, is a sign of her wideness of views in religious matters.

On the third anniversary of her death, the 27th of January, 1839, Mr. Dyce Sombre, her heir, had a Requiem Mass sung for the repose of her soul, in the Church of San Carlo in the Corso, Rome, and the 'Funeral Oration' was delivered by Cardinal Wiseman, then Principal of the English College there. He afterwards erected, in 1842, the marble monument to her memory in the Cathedral at Sardhana.

The story of the dispersion of her Principality and wealth, and the end of "the luckless heir, who 'would a wooing go' and had bitter cause to lament the ambition that led him beyond his own kith and kin," is almost as romantic as her own life story, though much more tragic in its end. Here it is in brief. Nawab Moozufferool Dowlah (Walter Balthazzar Reinhardt was his Christian name) was the son of the Begum's husband, Walter Reinhardt Sumroo by a Mahommedan woman. He died in 1803 leaving a daughter, Julia Anne. who married Colonel Dyce, afterwards put in command of the Sardhana battalion; the issue of this marriage was two daughters and a son. The daughters, when grown to womanhood, were married to two European gentlemen,—Georgiana to M. Solaroli, an Italian, and Maria to Mr. Rose Troup, an Englishman; and both received very handsome dowries from the Begum.

There is an amusing story told of M. Solaroli. These two daughters of Colonel Dyce, although Christians, preserved a strictly Asiatic seclusion, at least while they remained in India. Some one at Mussoorie asked the Italian gentlemen, whether his lady, when she accompanied him home, would not adopt European habits and costume? 'Ah! mais non—never, Sir, *Imagine he in stay,*' replied the well judging husband. The son of Colonel Dyce and brother of these ladies, David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre, the great-grandson of the Begum's first husband, was adopted by her and made her heir.

Mr. Dyce Sombre went to England, and married, in 1840, the Hon'ble Mary Anne Jervis, daughter of Viscount St. Vincent. Mr. Dyce Sombre was possessed of those curious ideas that the natives of India have with regard to their women; he pretended to see, in his wife's ordinary social relations with other men, something beyond propriety, and so charged her with conduct unbecoming a true wife. Mr. Dyce Sombre was undoubtedly mad, at least on some points, and his wife obtained an order for his committal to a Lunatic Asylum, but the "luckless heir" fled to France, where he lived on a certain allowance from his enormous fortune. While in Paris (in 1849) he wrote a book,—"A refutation of the Charges of Lunacy brought against him in the Court of Chancery." This book consists of 589 pages, and no one can wade through it, without coming to the conclusion that the writer was a lunatic.

Mr. Dyce Sombre died in 1851, and his body, sixteen years later, was carried to Sardhana, and laid by the side of his benefactress in the Cathedral there.

It is surely a curious irony of fate that the wealth and estates of an Indian princess, won by the power of the sword in so many battles, and under so many varying circumstances, should now be the property, through legitimate descent, of an English lady,* who has never set foot on Indian soil,—and that the Palace of Sardhana, the scene of many a military council and Eastern festivity, should now resound to nothing more romantic than the sharp crack of the *ludoora*, the shrill screeching of Indian parrots, or the loud laughter of soldier pleasure-seekers from the neighbouring garrison of Meerut.

A. SAUNDERS DYER,
(Late) Chaplain of Meerut.

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* The late Lady Forrester, who died a few months ago.

ART. VII.—THE EXPLORATION OF TIBET.

TIBET is being attacked on every flank by explorers and adventurers of various European countries. At each point of the compass an entrance has been many times attempted and often just effected; but, until very recently, these efforts have proved practically vain. On the Ladak and S. W. frontiers the borders of Tibet had, indeed, been partially surveyed and reported on by professional topographers; nevertheless since Streachey's visit—now 50 years' back—no one (not even Mr. Ryall) has been able to operate so far inland as the sacred margin of Lake Ma-p'ang (Manasarowar). Again, in the last few years, the Chinese verge has been penetrated by two or three to a considerable distance. Prjevalski, also, from the N. E., examined the Tsaidum and part of the debateable territory S E. of Khokho Nür. But no European traveller can claim to have made any real advance into Tibet Proper—into the actual "Forbidden Land"—since Huc and Gabet journeyed to Lhásá, until, as we say, very lately indeed. From the year 1889, however, the spell appears to have been broken to some extent; and since than three sets of explorers—together with a fourth, in the person of the famous Miss Annie Taylor, who modestly disclaims such a title—may be allowed to have made extensive excursions into and across this fascinating region We allude to the journeys of Mr. W. W. Rockhill in 1889, Mons. Bonvalot and Prince Henry of Orleans in 1891, and the feat of Captain Bower, who, in 1892, traversed Tibet from west to east, keeping mainly to the 32nd parallel of latitude: Then, lastly, we include the enterprise of the Missionary lady just mentioned, who reached China from the interior of Tibet only last April. Yet, in spite of the fact that these travellers have completely eclipsed the attempts of their predecessors in the adventure, it will be really found, on examination, that the results of their successful exploits have—with the exception perhaps of Mr. Rockhill's laborious tour—failed to increase, in any important degree, the sum of our knowledge of the country. Nevertheless, beyond information more or less valuable accruing from such travels, the mere circumstance that at length Europeans have gained access to, and passed right through the heart of this enchanted realm, has an interest and importance of its own. However, setting aside all discoveries resultant from these expeditions, our acquaintance with the geography, physiography, and ethnology of Tibet has, during the past few years, grown very full and fairly accurate, mainly through the trained hill-men who have been despatched as secret surveyors of the unknown tracts. But no systematic analysis or assimilation of the valuable details thus procured seems as yet to have been attempted, or put on record. We hear the old fables concerning the land repeated; and the most recent maps and geographical text-books fail to embody the new and curious information accumulated in both secret and published reports of the Indian Trans-frontier Survey Office.

It is our purpose, accordingly, in the present article, to delineate, as clearly as the available space of this Review will permit, the advance made in later years in our knowledge of the geography, ethnology, natural history and commercial industries of Tibet. At the same time may conveniently be summed up the performances achieved by both survey explorers and our European adventurers.

Thanks to the powers of careful observation evinced by the semi-Tibetan emissaries of the Survey Department, who have made quiet invasion of the great mystic land, the major portion of the southern districts has become familiar ground to those who have studied their reports and collated their observations. The latest batch of Reports practically completes the orographical delineation of Ui and Tsang, the two chief provinces of Central Tibet; and at length has been unfolded a veritable bird's-eye view of the very heart of these remote regions. Thus we can now map out rivers, mountains, and towns, which no Englishman has ever seen, and set forth even a plan of the streets of Lhásá. Europeans, however, may claim some share in the triumphs of discovery in the more accessible parts of the country. In this our geographical summary, we shall deal with these expeditions first. And, as we read such a scholarly record as that of Mr. Rockhill, we becomes conscious how superior in worth is the view of things taken by an educated and intelligent European traveller, to that of an Asiatic, however observant and carefully trained.

The Kökö Nür district, the country of old belonging to the Khalkha Tartars, lies far up in the North-Eastern corner of the Grand Lama's territory: and there is the most valuable part in the barrier of glacier, mountain and gorge in which Tibet has been encased. Notwithstanding the proximity of the Chinese town of Sining, the residence of an Amban, the country here is practically in the hands of Tibetan tribal chiefs, defiant of Chinese control, whose pursuits are mainly brigandage. Through this troubled district trends the official route from Peking to Lhásá. Skirting the Blue Lake (Kökö Nür) it takes a general S. W. course, threading the swamps and hill-spurs and nitrous lakelets which there give birth to the streams that eventually develop into the monster Yellow River of China.

It was by this route that Fathers Everiste Huc and Gabet succeeded in reaching Lhásá, and this was the way by which Mr. Rockhill, of the American legation at Peking, sought to accomplish the same exploit. Mr. Rockhill started from Peking in December 1888, reached Sining in February, whence he visited Kumbum, the great monastery of N. E. Tibet, his notice of which is a valuable complement to Huc's graphic description, and by April 1889 was well on the road to Lhásá. But the fates, which have hitherto governed Tibetan travel, ruled this journey likewise. Want of guides, of beasts of burden, and of means to purchase a further passage, obliged him to abandon his plan when he had advanced a little further inland than Prjevalski. Yet our American determined to continue in the country ; only changing his route from the Lhásá road to one in a due southerly direction. Thence he opened out much new ground, though in the main he traversed the course which A. K. had taken in 1882. His accounts of the more easterly sources of the Hoangho, and of the busy centres, Derge and Gye-kundo, are new and of value ; and when he reached Darchendo, he could boast of having journeyed 650 miles through the heart of the province of Khams, whither no European had ever preceded him.

Turning to Mons. Bonvalot's performances, we have a flight through the country of a more pretentious and startling character. This gentleman together with Prince Henry of Orleans and a Belgian priest, claims to have accomplished a journey both unique and stupendous. They entered the desolate steppes of the extreme north of Tibet in the depth of winter ; traversed a course due south, somewhere about longitude 91° E. for 600 miles, where neither food nor fuel was obtainable ; crossed two of the loftiest ranges of mountains in Central Asia, namely, the Altau Tag and the Kuen Lün, with the thermometer from 29 to 40 degrees below zero ; and in three and a half months after quitting the Gob Nür district, north of the Altau range, they camped on the shores of Namts'o Chhyidmo, only 75 miles N. W. of Lhásá. Mons. Bonvalot, when interviewed, explained that the real reason he did not visit Lhásá itself—Lhásá, the El Dorado of all modern travellers—was merely that "he did not care to do so"! His published narrative, however, tells a different story ; recounting that a band of officials from Lhásá forced him to turn away to the N. E., whence, by a subsequent course due E and then S. E., the party at length made Batang, where they were hospitably received by their countrymen, the Missionaries The track taken by these Frenchmen, through the untrodden wilds just south of the Küen Lün mountains, was certainly both new and bold. Unfortunately, of the topography, ethnology, or resources of the novel territory traversed, nothing is recorded. It is the narrative of a child. Perhaps it is this deficiency which has caused many critics in England to doubt the *bona fides* of the recital, and to assert that the route really followed to Ba-t'ang was by no means so near to Lhásá as alleged, but one *viâ* Khamil, Sáchu, and the Tsaidam. Accepting the narrative faithfully, at best the journey seems to have been but a wild gallop, and in no sense an exploration. The incidental metrological information is alone of any value ; but amid so much loose and random writing, is it sufficiently reliable ?

Taking Captain Bower's feat, we have a very different kind of achievement. This officer made his preparations for the journey very secretly, not informing even familiar friends, lest reports of his intention to enter Tibet should travel over the Himalayas, to those who are so jealously on the watch for intruders. He was accompanied by one of the Indian Survey native explorers, whose diary is at present our sole record of the journey. Starting from Ladak on the extreme western frontier in July 1891, and taking a N. E. course *viâ* the La-nák Pass, they soon found themselves in the great plains of the Jhang-t'ang. (to be described by us in these pages hereinafter) and in a week's time were entering on the salt-lake region, which stretches its belt of innumerable saline lakes west to east for 600 miles. It was in this unique portion of Tibetan territory, lying between latitude 31° and 33° N., that Captain Bower's track eastwards chiefly ran. Its saline nature by no means destroys the fertility of the ground, and although shrubs and trees are wanting, flowers and verdure lie thick over the lands around the lakes. At length, on the skirts of the lake Kyaring Ts'o (styled in the Report " Garing Chho"), which is about 140 miles from Lhásá, their course was stayed. Some Dokpa nomads had reported the travellers to the authorities ; and orders were sent from the capital forbidding further advance. Accordingly, after nearly a month's lingering round this huge salt-lake, Captain Bower, on October 4th, turned his course due north, reaching the unvisited Ts'a-gyud salt-lake in five days. Here he entered upon territory utterly unexplored, unknown even to our Survey spies. Still keeping north for ten days, he then boldly bent his track direct to the east ; and thus continued by a new route for veritably the space of 400 miles, surmounting mountain passes, skirting lakes, and fording wide shallow rivers. In longitude 97° 45' E. the travellers found themselves outside the walls of the important city of Chhamdo, the third largest place in Tibet. This, unfortunately, we think, they passed unvisited, though none of our native explorers have been there. And so, at length, by a well-known route, on 22nd January 1892, they were safe within Bát'ang, where so many less successful men have been fain to find refuge. Captain Bower's journey is chiefly of value geographically, in that he has filled up with the names of places and the positions of certain rivers and mountain-lines what was formerly a huge blank in the map of Tibet, namely the region between longitude 89° and 97° E. and latitude 32°—33.° It is stated that he took careful observations; but none are given in this Report. As to the journey of Miss Anne Taylor during the present year, so far as romance and adventure go, it may be held to transcend all the others. She, a woman, has succeeded in advancing nearer to Lhásá than any previous traveller since the days of Huc and Gabet; and she seems to have followed mostly the arduous route which was pursued by those missionaries 48 years before her. We need not dwell upon Miss Taylor's adventures, as they have been only so recently before the public. Her residence on the Tibetan frontier for a year, to perfect herself in the ways and the language of the people, her assumption of the garb of an *ani*, or Buddhist nun, her passage in winter over snow-capped heights, her Chinese servant's treachery, her life in caves and semi-starvation, and finally her being sent back when so near the goal, form the most thrilling of stories. We may add that "Najuca," the name given of the place she attained to, is really Ngag-Chhukha. It is the "Naptchu" of M. Huc, and is 120 miles N. of Lhásá and only—as Miss Taylor rightly assets—three days' easy journey from that city.

Settling down now to our task, namely, a review of the geography and physical characteristics of Tibet, brought up, as we believe, to date, let us repeat that here, indeed, we have a land radiating with fascination to the intelligent mind; and, from its physical marvels, as well as from the unique habits of its people, worthy of enthusiastic study.

Picture this wondrous country, raised up, as it is, upon the shoulders of the most stupendous mountains in the world! The giants of the Himalayas in serried ranks stand sentinel against intrusion along the whole southern border. The eternal snows are these giants' helmets, glaciers are their shields, whilst for weapons they roll down gigantic boulders and the sudden roaring avalanche. As a south-western buttress to the Tibetan strongholds, the Himalayas, when north of the Punjab, trend up N. W. to expand into whole provinces of mountain—Spiti, Lahul, and Ladák. Here woods of shaggy pine are trimmed round the skirts of each mountain, girding it, flounce above flounce—*pinus longifolia* up to 5,500 feet altitude, *pinus excelsa* much higher, and higher still the squat junipers and dwarf rhododendrons. Far above are reared to the skies pile upon pile of crag and sheer precipice, like mighty ruins, with such depth of ravine and rocky fiords traversing in and between, that the thunder of the powerful rivers which thread those darksome channels, can be heard indeed, though the rushing waters are unseen. This is the early home of the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Shayok.

To the north-west of Tibet, above Ladak and east of Gilgit and Balti, loom the awful heights of the Kara Korum Range. Not a jumble of sharp-pointed peaks is there, but independent monsters—a weird, dark-robed, white-headed assemblage, standing many in number, but separated respectively by valleys filled to the brim with snow-field and glacier. So great, so solemn, so deeply silent, they make as though they would advance processionally, but abide awe-stricken as it were by their own vastness and desolation. One huge phantom, towering in the rear above all his brothers, is celebrated now in the books. He is K^2 of the Survey maps, in height next to Mount Everest, to wit, 28,265 feet above sea-level. Hard by is the famous Baltoro glacier, 35 miles in length. Across this corner of Tibet travelled Hayward, Johnstone and Younghusband ; and in this neighbourhood the ill-starred Schlagintweit was murdered. The Kuen Lün mountains have been laid in zig-zag gulfs and bays to form the whole northern barrier of Tibet. Little is known of their height or course. At the westernmost end, which is the only part ever seen as yet by civilised man, the average height is 21 000 feet above the sea, but hardly 5,000 feet above the adjacent Tibetan tracts. In the middle of the range, undiscovered peaks may exist much loftier even than Mount Everest. At present all remains unknown. Of the Kökö Nür region to the N. E. we have already briefly treated. As to the Chinese border, composing the eastern boundary of the territory under review, it is an indescribable medley : narrow mountain ranges running six abreast, salt lined deserts, and open valleys bearing on their sandy bosoms the broadest rivers. The Tibetan province of Amdo takes here a much deeper bight to the East, into so called Chinese territory, than our maps, founded on the official maps of China, have delineated. Lastly, to the S. E., we find the wild cañons, teeming with tropical vegetations, and grooved by mysterious rivers with marvellous gradients of descent, where dwell the murderous tribes of our Assamese and Burmese border-lands.

So much for the outer circuit of the country. Passing within, we must at once dispel from our minds the general idea that Tibet itself is one vast table-land, remarkable only for lofty altitude throughout. Great undulating plains are a feature in many parts, especially in the north, as we shall presently see, but even these desolate expanses are, at short intervals, crossed by long ranges of mountains, carrying peaks which in height exceed even the average of the summits of the Himalayas.

Doubtless the immense elevation of the general level of the whole country detracts from the apparent height of Tibetan mountains ; but, with an actual attitude of 24 to 26 thousand feet above the level of the sea, these ranges of peaks are thus frequently 10,000 feet and more above the level even of such elevated plains and valleys as exist in Tibet. Interlocking lines of lofty mountains ; mighty rivers ; extensive plains, sometimes undulating and fertile, sometimes rugged and of awe-striking sterility and desolation ; together with many districts broken up into net works of ravine and gorge—all these features are comprised in the physical conformation of this uplifted land.

Unquestionably the leading characteristic is the great elevation of the entire territory. However, this elevation varies markedly ; not longitudinally, but running mostly in zones or belts which maintain an uniform altitude along the same latitude. The greatest height of the general superficies of Tibet is found in a broad band from west to east, occupying the northern tracts, and again in a narrow belt from west to east, running adjacent to the southern frontier. Between these elevated areas, and also following in the main this latitude, there occurs a long depression which is in fact the valley or basin of the Yeru Tsangpo—the great arterial water-way of Tibet. Along the latitude of the main course of this river—not more than 80 miles north of the line of our Indian border—the plane of elevation sinks to an average of 11,150 feet above sea-level ; and this depression of elevation continues along the same latitude (29° to 29° 30′), even where further east the river leaves this parallel for its northward bend The northern tracts of this territory, which, from the steppe-like character of the more western parts, are known as the Jhang-t'ang (" Plains of the North"), attain the loftiest general altitude. That portion skirting the base of the Kuen Lün Mountains is uniformly lower than the desolate plains stretching from west to east, some 50 miles further south. Here, keeping to the parallel of latitude of 35° N., the Jangt'ang reaches its highest level, that of over 17,000 feet above the sea In the Lingzhi T'ang, in this latitude, near the Karakorums, the altitude is 17,300 feet ; and 700 miles further east (longitude 89° E.) we find the plains and a lake in exactly the same latitude with a reported altitude of 17,400 feet, said to have been accurately measured. Further south of this parallel. the average elevation of the Jhang t'ang decreases considerably ; and the regions of Tibet lying between the 31st and 34th parallels must be placed at an approximate altitude of 15,000 feet. East of the 92nd meridian, however, our rule of latitudinal zones of elevation fails so far as the more northern districts are concerned. In or about that meridian, a decided fall in height occurs, the average altitude of the general plane of the country to the east being 13,500 to 14,200 feet in all latitudes N. of 30° and S. of 36°. Further to the N. E. the decrease in elevation is still more marked; and thus, in the Tsaidan plains, west of Kökö Nür, and beyond the Tibetan confines, 8,000 to 9,000 feet is the usual height. So again, in those parts of Tibet, far to the S.E., there is likewise a fall, the descent being much greater, the valley-level between Zayul and Bat'ang being ordinarily under 8,000 feet.

Taken generally, the claim of Tibet to be deemed the loftiest country in the world cannot fail to be admitted. Its very valleys in the main territory scale 11,000 feet. Its people live and breathe and dance and sing and pray in towns and villages which rarely stand lower than 12,000 feet. The monasteries sheltering large communities of men or women, are, by choice. erected on picturesque ledges at an elevation as high as the summit of Mont Blanc. Shigatse, second city in Tibet and a great commercial mart, has been built 12,250 feet above the sea, and Lhásá, the capital, is laid out on an alluvial plain 11,600 feet above the same level. And all this only concerns the general superficies of the country; for where it has been flung up into peaks and mountain ranges, 25,000 feet is reckoned in this land no extraordinary elevation, whilst the Passes daily surmounted by man and beast scale anything up to 19,800 feet. Yet, in contrast to these immensities, we have one town in the south-east corner of Tibet, Shikha, capital of Zayul, pitched at only 4,650 feet.

We have dwelt thus particularly upon the height of these regions for two special reasons. First, the general elevation reveals to us why Tibet should be the reservoir of the principal rivers of India, Burmah, and China. That land of snowfield and glacier gives birth to most of the famous water-ways whose names, in their later courses, are household words. Thus you must penetrate Tibet if you would discover the secret sources of the Indus, the Sutlej, the Gogra, the Arun, the Manas, the Tista, and the Brahmaputra, in India; of the Irawadi and the Salwin, in Burmah; of the Me-khong in Kambodia; of the Yang-tze-kiang and the Hoang-ho in China; and finally, of the Kharakhash in Turkestan. The Ganges and the Jumna owe their origin to the innermost, or Tibetan series of the Himalayas, rising in Garhwal, on the very borders of Tibet. Although the peaks along the Indo-Tibetan frontier are much higher individually than any in Tibet, yet the general level of the valleys between them and at their southern base is lower than the ground to the north behind them. Thus the drainage from the watershed of several Tibetan ranges, accumulating in various channels in the basins lying at the back of the Himalayas, forces its way, as so many rivers, from the higher level of those basins, betwixt the great root masses in which the latter mountains are grouped, and debouches eventually, on the Indian plains. So likewise the superior elevation of the Tibetan plateau to the east, causes the initial streams of the Burmese and Chinese rivers slowly but surely to take that general south-eastern flow which makes for the descending gradient. Thence guided, thwarted, pushed onward, by bounding hill-walls, and fed by innumerable accessory sources, they develope ultimately into the respective mighty highways to the ocean.

Recent travel in Tibet has served to elucidate, in great measure, questions as to the exact sources of most of these rivers. Beginning with the Indus, it must be admitted, nevertheless, that its points of origin are, so far, only approximately determined. Streamlets from the northern slopes of the range to the west of Mount Kailas, as well as (it is said) a considerable feeder from a great glacier on the western face of that sacred summit itself, form the nucleus of the river. Wheeling first to the N. and then curving W., it is certain that, ere much western progress has been made, a branch as large as the main stream coalesces with it. However, this branch has as much claim to be deemed the main river as the other stream, and how far to the E. its source may lie, is not yet revealed. Later, the joint river unites further W. with the Gar-t'ang Chhu, an affluent rising to the south of Gart'ok with a N. N. W. flow. The course of the Indus, after entering Ladak, is accurately known; but it is interesting to note that, while the level of the river bed is over 15,500 feet in Ngari Khorsum, yet when it has run as far as Gilgit, where it takes the sudden bend to the S., the altitude has fallen to 4.920 feet. As to the origin of the Sutlej, it rises in Ts'o Lagran, the western of the twin lakes conjointly denominated Manasarowar. It starts from the northern apex of this lake, and is at once augmented by feeders flowing from the southern face of the same range, the northern slopes of which give birth to the Indus. So are these two mighty rivers softly and secretly bred from the same glacier fountains; and then, for hundreds of miles, how widely-separated and apparently irreconcilable their respective courses; and yet, after full 1,000 miles has been traversed by the Indus, are the two, born in the one snowy cradle, destined to meet on the burning plains of Sind, and there, at length, lapped in inseparable embrace, the parted waters, at last made one, die together in the great ocean. Messrs. Ryall and Kinney have in part explored the Tibetan course of the Sutlej. They describe the early surroundings as broad grassy uplands, through the soft soil of which the river has eaten its way, forming cliffs overhanging from 1,800 to 2,500 feet high.

We do not propose here to trace the 800 miles' course of the great river of Tibet, the Yeru Tsangpo, from its rise in the glaciers and marshes near Ts'o Ma-p'ang to its appearance in India as the Dihong and Brahmaputra, the subject having been lately so much discussed in the geographical journals. Accordingly, we turn at once to the rivers of Burmah, the Irawadi and Salwin. Setting aside, as now completely disproved, the supposed development of the Yeru Tsangpo into the Irawadi, we are obliged to assign a very common-place, and by no means remote situation, to the head waters of the Burmese river. A zig-zag range of mountains running mainly N. E. and S. W. makes a southern boundary to the Zayul district of Tibet ; and A. K.'s survey shows that none of the Great Tibetan rivers penetrate this southern wall for at least the space of 50 miles to the right, and 80 miles to the left, of longitude 98°. Nevertheless, some 30 miles south of this range, in and about longitude 98°, is found the Irawadi making in full force due S. towards Bhamo. It was at one time supposed that the Gya-ma Ngul Chhu, which crosses these transverse mountain systems through a parting of the ranges in latitude 29° N. longitude 98°45′ E., and thence abruptly takes a southern course into Burmah, might prove to be the initial stream of the Irawadi. However, the investigations of the Jesuit Mission in these regions have revealed a lofty range of mountains running due S. along the western banks of the southern continuation of the Gya-ma Ngul Chhu, and separating it impassably from the basin of the Irawadi and its petty tributaries, which thus lies altogether to the west. The inevitable conclusion is that the Irawadi originates partly from the southern flanks of the great Zayul range, which is always heavily snowed, and partly from a ganglion of interlocking subsidiary offshoots massed together to the south of that range. Accordingly, it is the Salwin River which must be claimed as the continuation of the Gya-ma Ngul Chhu—a river which has its rise far to the north-west, in the interior of Tibet, namely, in the lofty mountains of P'enyul, only a few miles north of Lhásá. Thus the Salwin, which debouches in Moulmein harbour, has a total length at least three times as long as that of the Irawadi ; its course from source to mouth traversing some 1,450 miles.

The Me-khong river of Kambodia has really a longer and more erratic route even than that of the Salwin. We have already pointed out that the general elevation of the Tibetan plateau makes a marked descent in the eastern districts of the northern territory, the fall in altitude (N. of latitude 30°) occurring abruptly along the meridian of 91°30′, or thereabouts. A range of lofty mountains, running mainly north and south, traverses the meridian where this step-down to the east occurs. In this meridian, and about 100 miles due N. of Lhásá, there lies, at the eastern base of the mountain range, a hilly Dok district designated Ngag-Chhu Kha. It is so named because there appears here a river, seemingly formed from the drainage of the N. to S. range, which is called the Ngag-Chhu, or "Incantation River." Most probably, however, the river only apparently takes its rise in the meridional range. The general plane W. of the mountains being at least 1,000 feet higher than the country to the E. of them, there is every likelihood that the main portion of the Ngag-Chhu has its origin on these higher tracts and much further to the W. Possibly one branch of the river is an outflow from the N. E. corner of Nam-ts'o Chhyidmo. Much further to the north, another river cuts through this same meridional mountain range, having likewise descended from the more elevated western tracts. This river, flowing eastwards, joins the Ngag-Chhu in latitude 32° N., longitude 94°30′ E. *circa*. Now, if we may place reliance upon Mons. Bonvalot's narrative, it was the initial course, further west, of this latter river which he alludes to, as having its origin in his "Dupleix mountains," and as seen trending, frozen, to the south-east, through a vast plain. "Can this be the Blue River of China?" he exclaims. Our reply must be that he saw, not the early course of the Yang-tse-Kiang, but the northern branch of the Ngag-Chhu, which eventually, after an eastward flow of over 500 miles (M. Bonvalot's longitude at that time was *circa* 89° E.), reaches the important town of Chhamdo in Eastern Tibet. Here, under the new name of the Dza Chhu, or Chhamdo Chhu, it commences a direct flow to the S.S.E., of some 180 miles at least, until the Kha-Karpo Range is rounded, in latitude 29°20′, and then, through a funnel-like opening in the mountains, the river, now become the Me-Khong, in company with two other mighty streams, the Salwin and Kin-tsa-Kiang, rushes heavily down to flow S. E. into Kambodia.

The Kin-tsa-Kiang, which soon changes its name into Yang-tse-Kiang, draws the drainage originally of a vast portion of Northern Tibet. For the greater part of its course through Tibet it is known as the Di Chhu: a river crossed in its upper course on the road to Lhásá by Huc and Gabet and by Miss A. Taylor. But far up in the north, between latitude 34° 30′ and 35°30′, the Di Chhu (really *Bri Chhu*, "Bull-yak River") is formed out of four other fair-sized rivers, three of which descend from the upper heights of the Jhang-t'ang west of longitude 92°, and evidently take their rise—the Chhu Dmarand T'okt'o Chhu in the swamps and glaciers of the volcanic region; the Rma Chhu (not the river forming the Hoang-ho) in the Kuen-Lün range. The wide area drained by the river is therefore evident. As the Di Chhu, many large towns of Tibet are seated on its banks.

The Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, which, during the present generation, had so remarkably changed its line of route in the Chinese portion of its course, likewise takes its rise on the Tibetan plateau. Under the name of *Rmá Chhu* (sounded "Ma Chhu"), or "Peacock River," a name which it still bears in Tibet, it is mentioned in the *Gyalrabs*, one of the earliest native Tibetan works. We have now, through the investigations of Mr. Rockhill and A. K., an exact idea of the locality of its sources. The river first takes definite form from large swamps and streams at the base of an offshoot from the Kuen Lün Range, somewhere about the intersection of latitude 35°40′ with longitude 96° E. South of a low chain of hills known as the Akta Ri, where other tributaries coalesce with it, the Ma Chhu assumes the dimensions of a veritable river, as it crosses an undulating gravelly plain to the North-West of Lake Ts'akharing. Here, at an altitude of 14,500 feet, it was first seen by Mr. Rockhill, about 10 miles west of the lake flowing "in a broad valley of sand and bright quartzite gravel, the stream not more than 50 feet wide, very shallow, and quite slow." It turns at this point due east to enter the lake, whence it issues forth again at the easternmost shore, to flow still eastward towards China. A. K. forded the river thee miles to the west of its entry into Lake Ts'áring Kuring, and (in October) estimates its width there at 450 feet and its depth at four feet. After quitting the lake, the Yellow River is joined by a large affluent from the Lamatolha Mountains 20 miles to the south of the lake ; and, again, in a deep valley on the further or southern side of this range, we find yet another tributary, the Do-Jong Chhu, which, running first S. E., eventually turns up N. to swell the waters of the Má Chhu It is not our purpose to trace further the eccentric course of this famous river. We may just mention, that, in the Tibetan principalities of the Amdo chiefs which lie to the far east of these initial streams, evolutions, first east and then deliberately north and subsequently E.S.E., are performed by it in territory as yet unexplored. At the point in this country where the course is deflected to the north by a barrier of snow-capped peaks, striking N. to S., there exists a shrine, where the ruling deity of those waters has been enthroned in material form, for worship under the name and style of *Má-Chhen Bomra.* Tibetans apply this same name to the mountain-range also, which is said to bear the meaning, "Lord of the Great Peacock."

More or less, it is mountainous everywhere in Tibet ; even the great plains, of which so much has been written, being crossed at intervals by mountain chains both complex and lofty. Nevertheless the territory is not of one character throughout

Both climate and configuration vary in the different zones included within these regions. Speaking generally, Tibetans classify their country as divisible into three sorts. They discriminate the *T'ang* districts, the *Dok* districts, and the *Rong* districts; and this classification will be found a very convenient one.

The *T'ang* country is the region of the plateaux or steppes, those parts already alluded to under the specific name of Jhang-t'ang, and restricted almost exclusively to the north, and more especially characteristic of the western half of the northern tracts. Rising to the summit of a low ridge you suddenly look athwart an immense plain which begins, perhaps a few hundred feet below you and stretches without a break, sometimes a distance of 15 or 16 miles, to a bounding range of hills, sometimes uninterrupted to the horizon, a clear sweep of 50 or 60 miles. Many of these plateaux are bare and desolate to a degree hardly realisable. Undulating slightly, the whole surface seems strewn with flaky fragments of brown calcareous biscuit—mud-hardened and splintered by frost and by burning sun. In places the ground may be brown and white in alternate patches, according as the whitish clay, which in western regions is the foundation soil of the whole, is exposed, or is overlaid with caked loam and stones. Where the *T'ang* has any decided slope, in the lower levels are generally found shallow lakes, usually intensely saline, and with sodas and salts lying, a dirty white frilling, along the margin. Certain plains, especially the great tracts extending from west to east along the major axis of Tibet, between longitude 82° E. and the mountainous country north of Lhásá, are distinctly salt deserts, holding huge reservoirs of saline waters, where the drainage of the land has been massed into swamps and lakes. Much of this elevated region in the N. W. comprises sheer arid flats nearly devoid of vegetation. A few scrubby bushes occur here and there, but very little pasture, and that only in the dips where water has been lying. However, east of the 82nd meridian, the *T'ang* country assumes a very different aspect. Although the broad plains, or flat open valleys, continue, they are now covered everywhere with verdure; and though the average altitude approaches 15,000 feet, the coarse thick-growing grass affords sustenance to troops of wild asses and deer as well as to the tame flocks of the Khampas and Jhyangpas—the only denizens of the Jhang-t'ang proper. This pasturage is most luxuriant in the broad belt, some 40 miles from N. to S., which stretches to the east, running between lat. 32° and 33°. North of the lake district, between those parallels, the lands seem too dry and saline to yield much grass; the plains are covered with congealed lava and slabs of pure salt stand in piles; but, in certain districts much further to the north, extensive savannahs of such herbage occur. Beyond the abundant grass, nothing else seems to grow; no crops will seed, and a few bushes of "camel's thorn" and *Eurotia* are the only shrubs, and these are very rarely seen. Herds of wild animals of large graminivorous species, which feed here in the summer, supply manure for each season's growth, as well as dung-fuel *(argols)* to nomads and travellers. East of the meridian of Namts'o Chhyidmo, the *t'ang* country narrows up to the north, lying as a belt of some 150 miles along the base of the Kuen Lün mountains, and reaching as far to the east as the 96th meridian. Here the grass-land is reported to be still more fertile, and the animal life even more profuse than in the west. Frequent mountain ranges and many river-feeders, however, bring these eastern regions, in most respects, out from the *t'ang* category into another class.

The great upland pasture-grounds form the next feature in Tibetan cosmogony, and these are known as the *Dok* lands. In some respects they resemble the moors and heaths of Scotland and Yorkshire. Bogs and swamps and gullies, with much broken country running up into shaggy ridges, and moss-covered knolls with a soft loamy soil, are characteristic qualities. Low-growing barberry, *myricaria*, and furze, are in places intermingled with wiry herbage. But all these lands lie lifted up on the backs of mighty mountains, or entrenched amid huge cradling hills, which protrude spurs and forking buttresses into each basin of moor or fen. Very wild and weird are these dark pastures. But excellent pastures indeed are the Dok tracts—less frequented by large game, save Ovis Ammon and wild asses, because given up to the herds of yak and sheep, owned, patriarch-like, by the Dok-pa, or semi-nomad inhabitants. Of course, there is infinite variety under the general characteristics of regions of this and other kinds in Tibet. In this Dok country you may find yourself at one time hemmed in by steep, peak-crowned slopes, whence, coming forth, you have the narrow valleys merged into absolute plains, descending gently down to the bed of some great river which lies deep below the general level, the plains there, on either side, being broken up into narrow spurs, separated by ravines. Here, again, is another glimpse of Dok scenery, south of Yamdok lake, from the narrative of U. G. in the Survey Report:—

> The pass was difficult and the ascent was rough and trying, passing along snow covered slopes, flanked by deep gorges; but, after a descent on the southern slope of the pass of about 2,000 feet, we reached a beautiful flat country, which gently sloped up to the foot of mountains, carpeted with exquisite verdure and lovely flowers, with bushes of different shrubs. At the head of the lake is the monastery of Tong too-Padma-ling, looking from which to the S. E. the view

> embraced the crystal surface of the thrice holy lake, flanked by a range of billowy mountains overtopped in the distance by the lofty snows of Kulha Kangri. The Kulha Kangri, with their snow clad peaks standing in most picturesque array, resemble (to compare great things with small) the Buddhist prayer offerings called *Torma.* To the north is the dome-like peak called Kulhai Cham, "the wife of Kulha;" on her sides stand exalted the sublime peaks of Chenresi, Chhiyagshi, Lonchhen-Lhat'oi Gar (" the hoary headed premier Gar "), Namgyal and others. After visiting a celebrated cave, consecrated to Guru Pema and surrounded on three sides by glaciers, we started to the S. E. over this elevated plateau to find our way back into the Lhobrak Valley.

So pleasing an aspect of nature as this plain presented at an elevation of nearly 15,000 feet is no uncommon sight in Tibet. The time of V. G's visit was early in September, when, in these realms of snow, vegetation has attained the climax of maturation. Captain Gill, who viewed Tibetan scenery about the same season of the year from the east, on the frontier of Szechuen, gives a more glowing picture still of this fertility of the uplands, though the elevation would be 1,000 feet less:—

> On passing the crest of Chah-toh-shan, the great upland country is at once entered. Standing on the summit of the pass, stretched below was a fine valley, closed in on both sides by gently sloping round-topped hills, all covered with splendid grass. The richness of the pasture was something astonishing; the ground was yellow with buttercups and the air laden with the perfume of wild-flowers of every description. Wild currants and gooseberries, barberries, a sort of yew, with many other shrubs, grew in profusion By the side of a little tent some Tibetans were lying about; their fierce dogs tied up to pegs in the ground, and great herds of sheep and cattle grazing round them. The sheep are taken in vast flocks once a year from Lit'ang to Ta-chien-lu, and thence to Chheng-tu for sale.

In winter-time the appearance of both the *t'angs* aad the *Dok* country is very different. The early falls of snow in October soon alter the face of the landscape to one of utter desolation. After frost has succeeded frost, and the bitter hurricanes have swept up the snow to be re-frozen hard as rock in fantastic monuments, nothing save a few hares and foxes "which flee like shadows," remain to witness to the moving life once there. All is silent and death-like. The Dok herdsmen have retired to stone-huts in the sheltered valleys; the Golok robbers from the east, who scour the Jhangt'ang, have retreated to the lower plains of Amdo, and the small towns on the Chinese borders. One of the most distinctive accessaries of the *t'ang* country in Western Tibet, north of lat. 33°, is the many great sheets of water, all saline, but some more intensely so than others. It is a noteworthy fact that in the depth of winter with the night temperature even 45° below zero, these lakes, holding more than saturated solutions of salts, never freeze. These liquid pools and swamps upon the ice-bound plains are all the more startling to behold, when rivers of the strongest current lie hard by congealed and motionless, and even a goodly number of the geysers of hot water, so common near lakes in Tibet, have been frozen into tall white columns. As M. Bonvalot remarks, the power of ejection of these fountains of boiling water is not sufficient to cope with the frost. Upon the mosses and crags of the Dok territory, the snow in January lies in mighty sheets of many feet in thickness; while in the lava-strewn plains of the verge of the Jhangt'ang, due north of Namts'o Chhyidmo, there seems to be less of snow. There flats and rocks, and the recurrent mountains ranges belonging to the Tibetan steppes, are not clothed in white, but completely plated with pure ice, as though rolled up in glossy armour which had somehow been put on when liquid, and thus holds them so tightly as to appear contorted and quilted.

The *Rong* districts are those wholly made up of cliffs, gorges, and defiles, and need not be further described. As to the chief localities of the *Dok* lands, we should enumerate :(1) the region of Lake Map'ang and the greater portion of the Province of Ngari Khorsum ; (2) the country south and south-east of Lake Yamdok, including the tracts round Tigu Ts'o and P'o-mo Jhang-t'ang Ts'o ; (3) the vast stretch of territory N. E. of Lhásá and N. of the Gyalmo Ngul Chhu, known as Dok-Yul and Dok-De.* The last mentioned is by far the most extensive *Dok* region in Tibet, reaching as it does northwards to the Dungbura Range.

TIBETAN LAKES.—The great sheets of water held in the hollows of this uplifted land now claim some cursory notice. Although several of these are almost large enough to be styled inland seas, the supply of nearly all of them is kept up merely by the ordinary glacial drainage from the mountains in which each lies entrenched. Not one, as it appears, is fed by any considerable river. Two or three minor affluents meander into the larger lakes, but they are hardly more than mountain-streams draining not very distant uplands.

Tibetan lakes have several peculiarities. First, the great altitude at which they occur. Secondly; the excessively saline nature of their waters. With few exceptions they are emphatically salt lakes; potash, soda and borax being found in such extensive deposits encrusted round the margin, and in the waters themselves, that most of the lakes north of the central lateral chain are not denominated *ts'o*, or "lake," but *ts'akha*, or "salt-pit." Thirdly; none of the lakes seem to have any important outflowing river, and in this way, doubtless, their great size is maintained. Fourthly; in the closest proximity to every Tibetan lake, rises up an extensive system of hot springs. These geysers in Tibet, occurring near lakes almost exclusively, and not in other situations, suggest the theory of volcanic fires being near the surface and exercising, by conduits, the gases of which are in spasmodic play through the heat, a syphonic action on the waters of the lake.

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* After A. K's exploration, the whole of these tracts N. E. of Lhása were, by the unfounded theory of the gentleman who made the details public, included as parts of the Jhang-t'ang. That Mr. Hennessey's view was erroneous is certain. The only grounds for classing this portion of the country with the great salt plains to the west in the same latitude, seems to have been the supposition that the lofty elevation of the west in this parallel was continued here in the eastern regions. However, the many mountain ranges, which are of great intricacy, and the character of the pastures on the table-lands, as well as the lower altitude, sufficiently distinguish such districts from the *T ang* country west of Namts'o Chhyidmo. Moreover, the very names given in a native geographical work, Dzambuling Gyalshes, of Dok-yul and Dok De, identify the tracts as *Dok (lit: abrog)*, or upland pastures; *whilst in the account of A. K. himself the denizens are* designated Dokpa or "herdsmen."

Perhaps the most remarkable sheet of water is that one which, for quite 200 years, was figured as a perfect ring of water surrounding a large island; the name given being Lake Polte. This name, of the old maps, is a misnomer, the real designation being Ts'o Yamdok; whilst the supposed island is an island-like peninsula connected in a very quaint fashion, on the western side, to the main shore, by two narrow strips of land. The natives aptly compare it to a large scorpion on the waters, holding on to the land with its two nippers. Between these two claws is enclosed another smaller lake, 500 feet higher in level than Yamdok itself, and bearing the warning name of Dü'mo Ts'o, the She-Devil Lake. U. G.,—with the single exception of A. K., the most able of all the Survey explorers—has the credit of having been the first to investigate the physical features of the lake and its curious peninsula, and from the information brought by him from over the Himalayas, the correct outline can be now delineated on our maps. Just at the point where one arm of the peninsula grasps the shore, has been built the famous Samding Monastery —a joint community of monks and nuns both under the rule of a young woman of high family who is held to be the incarnation of Dorje P'agmo, "the sow with the thunderbolt." On the scorpion-shaped peninsula (named T'onang) are lofty ranges of hills radiating from the centre, in the recesses of which are four other monasteries owing allegiance to the Great Mother Sow; and the mountains swarm with game which she strictly preserves. Colonel H. R. Thuillier reporting U. G.'s narrative, writes: "Dumo Ts'o (the inner lake) impressed him greatly; its deep still waters, embosomed amongst mighty cliffs; the silence which hung over the stupendous crags which encircled it, broken only by the hoarse roar of falling masses of mountain, associated in his mind with traditions of demons and genii who inhabited the lake—struck his mind with unwonted awe. He declares that he experienced sensations hitherto strange to him." Yamdok Ts'o lies 13,800 feet above sea-level, and has a circumference of 109 miles. Its deep blue waters are non-saline, and it lies amid mountains which Thibetans poetically compare to the corolla of a lotos. There is only one affluent, the Rong Chhu, which debouches from the N.-W. corner and eventually flows into the Yeru Tsangpo.

Another notable lake is the great Sky Lake, Namts'o Chhyidmo of the Tibetans, and Tengri Nür of the Mongols, situated some 80 miles N.-W. of Lhásá. This sheet of water, which has an elevation of 15,190 feet, is reported upon by two of our secret explorers, *viz*, Pundit D (really A. K.) and Nain Singh, who visited it in 1872 and 1874 respectively. But we forget; it has been visited by Europeans also, by three Frenchmen, Mons. Bonvalot and his comrades. Notwithstanding their good fortune, this is *all* the description they divulge:—

Although we are the first Europeans actually to behold it, it is marked on the maps, thanks to the researches of the Pundit, Nain Singh . . . As we go southwards, the lake seems to open out in a S. W. direction; and so long as the mist prevents us from seeing the end of it, we might take it to be a boundless sea. The evening sun, striking the ice, makes it sparkle like jewels; and we can well appreciate the origin of its name, "the lake of the heavens."

With such poor platitudes, in words equally applicable to every other lake in the world, do these travellers describe the famous Tengri Nür, notable since the days of Marco Polo—they "the first Europeans actually to behold it." The educated Frenchman failing us so woefully, we turn to the narrative of the uneducated native, Nain Singh. From the latter, we learn that Namts'o Chhyidmo has an area of about 1.500 square miles, and is hemmed in on the east and south by a lofty curving mountain range, which displays as many as 360 peaks, supposed to represent Lakna Dorje, the king of the mountain gods and his retinue. He names the range Ningchen T'angla, which ought, however, to read Noi-jin T'angla—the "Noi-jin" being the mountain deities. The waters of the lake are intensely salt, but plentifully supplied with fish, and from November to May they are thickly frozen over. A number of small islands lie close to the shore in different parts, and on all of these monasteries seem to have been established, one of which, as at Yamdok, is a joint community of *gelong* and *ani* sacred to Dorje P'agmo. As there are no boats on the lake, these lamaseries are only accessible during the ice season. It seems a singular fact that all the shrines and gompas set up on the lake-shore and the island, should have been endowed with names of which the word *do* "a stone" forms part. Some extraordinary cones of hardened mud, of great height, each alleged to be 500 feet in circumference, are situated near the Chhyak-dor Gompa on the northern shore. There are numerous hot-springs in the neighbourhood of the lake, and from some of these the hot water is spouted up with force to a height of 35 feet. Sulphur is present in the springs, and the heat of several of them touches boiling point, which at that altitude is reached at about 183° Fahr. The lake is chiefly fed by glacial drainage, but receives two affluents, from the E. the Nya Chhu, from the S. W. the Chhoikha Chhu. One river is believed to issue forth—the Nak Chhu, at the N. W. corner.

In the physical geography of Tibet, there is much that is surprising, and among the more distinctive features may be singled out the natural reservoirs of soda, potash and borax. These take the form of lakes and swamps. The salt-lakes of Tibet are unique and exist in extraordinary numbers, while the size of many of them is equally remarkable. They are confined to the *T'ang* district; the lakes of the *Dok* regions in the south, such as Ma'pang, the Yamdok, Tigu Ts'o, and P'algo, being of fresh water, the adjacent soil being non-saline. We have already indicated the salt-lake region. It occupies really a most extensive area—the whole of Tibetan territory north of latitude 31° and west of longitude 91° 30'E; the 81st meridian being the western boundary. All this is salt-country. In the unexplored tracts north and north-west of Namts'o Chhyidmo, the vast natural store of saline matter is positively phenomenal. Native collectors of these salts relate curious accounts of their abundance, or rather redundance. In some places pure chloride of sodium is found piled in stacks of apparently artificial formation. However, the piles are the work not of man, but of nature. It must be supposed that floods from rivers, and the torrents of melted snow from the surrounding hills, draw great quantities of salt from the soil which they subsequently deposit in thick beds. The succeeding terrible winds of these plains sweep the layers up into huge mounds, which the intense frost of the winter splits and separates into blocks, and slabs resting one upon another. Strangely symmetrical seems to be the power of cleavage exercised in these bitter regions by cold upon the solid salt. All the lakes hold the saline minerals in strong solution, and yet some of these sheets of water, in the more northern latitudes, are of large area; Ts'a Gyud Ts'o being reported to be 80 miles by 30 miles, and M. Bonvalot assigning to his "Lac de Montcalm," 180 miles further north, dimensions of 45 miles by 12. When the smaller lakes dry up, as seems commonly to happen, they leave pits and sheet-like deposits several feet in depth. The chief series of salt-lakes as yet discovered is that remarkable chain stretching from Pang-kong Ts'o to Namts'o Chhyidmo. They were brought to our knowledge by the surveyor Nain Singh, and lie between the 31st and 32nd latitudinal parallels. Such of this series as are situated south of latitude 31,° including the mighty Bangra Yuru, are reported to be almost free from saline matter. Thibetans discriminate this quality by styling the saltiest lakes *ts'a-khá*, the others *ts'o*. The explorer states how large is the trade in the salt products of these waters which is carried on by the Dokpa tribes, inhabiting the Dok regions south of the series. Here the salt *ts'á)* soda *(bhül)* and borax *(ts'á-le)* are principally collected from the thick deposits fringing such lake, and being filled into 20 lb. bags, the bags are placed in couples on the backs of sheep. Flocks of seven hundred sheep thus loaded are to be encountered patiently bearing these products either west into Ladak, or south to the markets of Nipal. Some lakes yield likewise an impure nitrate of potash, which, under the name of *shora*, fetches a fair price, being coveyed to Gyantse and Lhásá, for the manufacture of gunpowder.

Hot springs abound near salt lakes, as well as near fresh waters. Sometimes they also are strongly impregnated with salts, chiefly the chlorides and sulphates. Often, however, they eject water quite pure and sweet, which, in winter on the desolate plains, is of ineffable value to travellers, who find even the ice not sufficiently freed by the freezing operation from its saline flavour. Tibetans attach considerable faith to the curative virtues of these geysers, the only bath of their lives being frequently a single week's course in the hot waters. In severe weather, nevertheless, natives have been known to take refuge from the cold, by squatting in the rock-hewn basins whence the warm fountain issues.

From Captain Bower's journey we have learnt how much more extensive is the salt-lake region than was originally supposed. Travelling far to the north of Ts'á-gyud Ts'o, and then making due east, he found the belt of lakes continued in latitude 33° to a point further east even than the longitude of Lhásá. He discovered some large and important sheets of water, all saline, hitherto unknown to us. The principal are Yagmo Ts'o (16,110 feet above sea-level), Khokhung Ts'akha (15,860 feet), Tau Ts'o, and Ts'o Nakpo. These names were ascertained by Captain Bower's native companion, and thus he was not tempted, like M. Bonvalot, to dub them after his own fancy. The fertility of the salt-tracts here also is remarked upon by the travellers; pasturage and fuel of camel-thorn rarely failing.

Agriculture on any considerable scale can be carried on only in the long wide valleys wherein the larger rivers take their course. Many of the rivers flow through valleys of fine open aspect, which, however, are walled in by mountainous sides, rising tier above tier in receding series, to varying, but always lofty heights. Along the banks of the river, which generally lies in a deep channel, are stretched broad tracts of land eminently fitted for cultivation. These spacious flats have been formed of rich alluvial soil which the waters have deposited on either side, and which, ages of such a process, have lifted to a considerable elevation. In-flowing tributary streams, which run down from the bounding ranges at frequent intervals, contribute materially to the process. The valleys of this quality are always thickly studded with villages, whose inhabitants are ardent agriculturalists. Every available yard of ground is utilised, the affluent streams affording valuable means of irrigation. Rape, millet, peas, beans, barley, and linseed form favourite crops; whilst, in odd corners and on the narrower strips, are laid out great beds of radishes of which vegetable, styled *lá-puk*, the Tibetan is inordinately fond. Other domestic vegetables raised in the valleys are turnips (nyung-ma), potatoes (dho-ma), and carrots (*lá-puk serpo* "yellow radish").

The most fruitful valleys in Central Tibet are those of the Nyang Chhu, the Yarlung Chhu, the Kyi Chhu or Lhásá river, the Shang Chhu, the Zing-chhyi Chhu, and the Tsemong Chhu, all of which flow into the mighty Yeru Tsang-po. However the Nyang and Yarlung rivers bear away the palm for the fertility of the lands they water. For the last 65 miles of its course, the valley, through which the Nyang runs, keeps an average breadth of 10 miles, every yard of which is cultivated. The produce of millet, peas, beans and various pulses is enormous. Along the banks are numerous flour-mills worked by water-power provided by the ever-recurring tributaries from the hills on either side of the Nyang. Where the hill-streams are absent, the mills are worked by artificial irrigating canals. In places where the slope to the river is too steep for cultivation, the banks are rendered attractive to the eye by a perfect clothing of Tibetan furze bushes (Caragana versicolor), which, though less handsome than English gorse, impart in summer the gayest of colouring. The only trees are willows and poplar on the flats, and dense thickets of *pa-ma* (Juniperus squamosa) and fir *(som-shing)*, interspersed with a few walnuts *(targha)*, covering the lower terraces of the bounding heights. But so fruitful is this whole valley deemed, that the name Nyang Chhu has been bestowed, with the meaning "River of Delicacies." In the eastern districts bordering on the Chinese province of Sye-chuen, the river-valleys seem to be less capable of cultivation, being rockier and more sandy, though certainly wilder and more picturesque to the sight. Mr. Rockhill appears to have been particularly struck with the scenery in the lower course of the Dza Chhu in Hor Chhyak.

"At Ribo commences the garden of this part of Tibet—the fertile valley of Rungbatsa ; and villages are as thickly scattered over the country as in Switzerland. Around each grow some fine elms or other trees, and walls or hedges enclose the fields, where peas, barley, and wheat were more than a month in advance of what I had seen in Dergé. . . . . . From the crest of the hill just beyond Ribo, a most exquisite view was before us. Down a broad valley, some 25 miles long, flowed a river glistening in the sun ; on either bank were villages shaded by wide-spreading elms and willows, and lamaseries with white and red walls and gilded spires amidst fields of the brightest green. Less than a mile from us was the big village of Rungbatsa ; a little further on was the great Daje Gomba ; on the right opened another valley which led to Lagargo, and over-hanging all were the snow peaks of the Eastern range. and Ka-lo-ri closing the valley with its huge mass. Down in the extreme south-east of the Grand Lama's realm, we have naturally a kind of country different from that of the typical Tibetan character. Here on the Yunnan border, and in the district just north of those debateable tracts which harbour the Abors, Mishmis, and others of the Assamese frontier tribes, are found hot valleys teeming with jungle and sub-tropical vegetation, and spurs from the lofty ranges clothed with forests and dense underwood. In the valley of the Zayul Chhu, we have a district, bounded north and south by snowy mountains, which in altitude is only 5,000 feet above sea-level ; and, instead of the single Tibetan crop, the inhabitants are enabled to reap two harvests, one of barley, wheat and mustard in May, and another in November of maize, peas, beans, millet, kodo, and paddy. The fruits of Zayul include lemons, plantains, walnuts and peaches.

Quitting this descriptive survey of the country itself, we are at once led to a subject of equal interest and importance, namely that of the people occupying these lands. As one might expect, the whole territory under consideration is inhabited by men of varying race and customs. In family, doubtless, there is a generic unity throughout ; though certain Tibetan tribes exhibit a facial configuration strikingly contrary to that belonging to the great Mongolian stock under which the bulk of the people may be classified. Indeed, the present Grand Lama of Tibet is said to possess a distinctly Caucasian cast of countenance and Aryan features. Mons Bonvalot, also, gives a picture of a Tibetan with the American Indian type of face. But if the stock of the Tibetan races be, as it undoubtedly is, of Mongol origin, the language, on the other hand, is singularly free from any Mongolian affinities. Spoken as it is throughout the entire territory in slightly-varying dialects, and even extending beyond the legitimate confines into parts of Western and North-Western China, neither in vocabulary nor in construction is the Tibetan language related to Chinese, Mongolian or Manchu Tartar.

In most of the provinces of Tibet are to be found two distinct classes of inhabitants, with instincts, domestic habits, and mode of livelihood as much apart as if they represented different nationalities. The denizens of the villages and towns, together with the inmates of the gompas or lamaseries, form apparently one race; while the pastoral tribes, occupying the Dok uplands, and leading lives either semi-nomadic, or nomadic, according to the region where they dwell, are quite as much a separate people. In the towns of the Central Provinces of Ui and Tsang, we find a quiet, orderly people, of domestic habits and warmly religious feelings. With the exception of such large towns as Lhásá, Shigatse, Tse-t'ang, Gyan-tse, and Gongkar Jong, the places are mostly communities gathered round some monastery, with the duties or interests of which all the residents are more or less connected. Tibetans themselves are not ardently commercial, and although in certain centres the smaller tradesmen are of Tibetan race, their transactions are paltry indeed compared with the enterprise of dealers and merchants who, belonging to other races, have entered the country to trade, and now monopolise all the more profitable departments. In Lhásá and Tse-t'ang are large communities of Nipalese who carry on the goldsmith's and the jeweller's occupations, being also the sole metal-workers, chemists, and cloth-dyers. Kashmiri merchants are the cloth-dealers, woollen-yarn importers and money-changers ; and other lower class Kashmiris engage largely in the business of butchers—for, Buddists though Tibetans may be, they are diligent consumers of beef, mutton, and even pork. As to the Chinese who infest the country, they devote themselves to multifarious pursuits, a great number of course being professional soldiers. Most of the eating-houses and pastry cook-shops are in Chinese hands ; and, as the custom of dining at restaurants is almost universal amongst pilgrims and merchants visiting the larger towns, the Celestial does a stupendous business. A. K. mentions places in Lhásá where 200 can dine together, men and women-sitting down at the same table.

Though the Tibetan is not by nature a shop-keeper, he does not despise traffic when he has donned the ecclesiastical garb, and many of the inmates of the larger monasteries do a profitable business through being granted by the chief lama concessions for the supply of tobacco, butter and tea to their brothers in residence. By far the major portion of better-class folk in Tibet belong to the religious orders dwelling in the numerous gompas which abound in town and desert. Certain numbers have private estates bringing in rents, and others are employed in the civil service as *Jongpön*, or governors of jails and district revenue collectors, and as *Dungkhorpa*, or Government clerks, in Lhásá. In the villages the chief inhabitants are husbandmen, in addition of course to the monastic brothers, who often live in the villages in huts, like their lay neighbours. The husbandmen, styled *miser*, are supposed to work on lands descending by inheritance to them, but really their own to a very limited extent. Though they have no direct rental, their liabilities to the feudal landlord are immense. This landlord may be the Tibetan Government, or some large monastery, or else a private hereditary nobleman; and the dues claimed by the over-lord are made proportionate to the produce of the land—not a fixed charge, but fluctuating according to the amount yielded each year. The payments are in butter and barley; and, in addition, the *miser* is liable to supply beasts of burden and personal service whenever Government officials pass through the district.

In mentioning the different classes of inhabitants in the land, we have yet to specify the Golak tribes of Amdo in the N. E., large breeders of horses and cattle, but whose chief pursuit is violent marauding expeditions into the Kökö Nür districts, and as far to the S. W. as the Dok country adjacent to Lhásá. The Khampas, too, in the provinces bordering on China, form a distinctive race. They are fine, tall men, clean in person, compared with the ordinary Tibetan, and of independent manners, hating the Chinese and openly defying the Emperor. But a more numerous and better known class of Tibetan have now to be described.

Besides the inhabitants residing in settled homes in towns and villages, there exists in all parts of Tibet, a people of nomadic proclivities, who live on the elevated moorlands and devote their attention almost exclusively to sheep and cattle. These pastoral folk, named Dokpa in Western and Central Tibet, after the *Dok* or uplands where they dwell, are divided into numerous tribes. Each tribe confines itself to a separate *de*, or district, and never intrudes on the grounds belonging to neighbouring tribes. Each tribe is made up of so many "tents," one tent to a family, and the members of the tribe do not usually move about in a body, but divide themselves into several camps, or *doks*, as they are loosely termed. The camps separate for the summer, occupying distinct pastures within the tribal confines, but re-unite in winter, when they generally entrench themselves and their flocks in some natural stronghold. Each locomotive farm stays three or four months in one place, making about three moves in the course of the year. In Ngari Khorsum the Dokpa are of more stationary habits than the tribes living in the Dok-yul districts N. E. of Lhásá; those, indeed, who inhabit the arable lands around the early course of the Sutlej and Yeru Tsangpo, sometimes set up a sort of village, excavating the ground and building stone defences and walls above ground. Throughout the length and breadth of Tibet, however, the typical dwelling place of the Dokpa is his black tent. The tent, which, with its tentacle-like ropes, was likened by Huc to a huge black spider, is constructed of two pieces, which, when pitched, are put together so as to leave an opening of six inches all along the top as a smoke-vent. Outside, little flags flutter from the corners, and the poles are decorated with yaks' tails. Inside, there is a room for 25 or even 30 people, and boxes are ranged round the sides where the stores and utensils are kept, while near the entrance stands the shrine with a rude image or two.

Dokpas usually consider themselves superior to the ordinary Tibetan; and indeed their possessions entitle them to the higher position. The flocks and herds belonging to a single tent are frequently over a thousand head; the poorest owning perhaps 25 sheep, five or six yak-cows and a few bulls. In Dok-De there are four Dokpa tribes who despise sheep-keeping, and devote their attention to breeding and tending mighty herds of yak. However, the wealth of the nomadic tribes mostly consists of sheep and goats, which are valuable to the owners in a double way. First, there is the yield of wool. This wool is the celebrated shawl-wool styled *pashm* in Kashmir and India, but known to Tibetans as *lena*. It is a peculiar soft down of exquisite thread, which grows at the root of the hair, or coarse wool, of every animal in Tibet, but chiefly, and in the best quality, beneath the outer covering of sheep and goats. In Tibet there are kept four kinds of sheep, all of which yield the fine mossy wool, and they will thrive at any height up to 18,000 feet, feeding on the poorest herbage. The yak also grows *lena*, and even the ibex and *tseu* antelope, when killed, supply quantities of the down, that of the *tseu* being in special demand under the name of *tseu khut*. So universal in winter is this valuable undergrowth, that the very dogs contribute their share. The second use the Dokpa makes of his flocks is as beasts of burden. They carry the *lena* immense distances, chiefly to Le Shigatse and Lhásá; the tall species of sheep, called *jhangluk*, travelling 12 miles of mountainous pathway per diem, loaded with 40 lbs. of wool. As we have already noticed, the owners of herds do not restrict their trade to realising the produce of their flocks. Some engage largely in the salt and borax traffic; whilst many Dokpa have resorted to gold washing, and in recent years colonies of the nomads have settled in the western lake-district where the chief gold deposits have been found. Their sheep and yak still come in useful as carrying animals. Again in the Dok districts N. E. of Lhásá, the nomadic people assume yet another and less commendable role, that of robbers and brigands. Not forsaking their bucolic pursuits, the members of the same tribe add to their gains by organising themselves into mounted predatory bands, which make annual excursions into distant parts and return laden with spoil. However, the shepherd tribes are not the professsional marauders of Tibet. These only indulge in an occasional foray. The real robbers, who at times scour for plunder every district of Tibet, are the hordes living far to the east in the unexplored fastnesses of Amdo, already referred to.

Dwellers in black tents are not only to be met with in the regular Dok regions of Western and Central Tibet, but exist also in the districts of Koko Nür, especially to the east of that lake, the valleys around Sining and Kumbum monastery affording luxuriant feeding grounds for cattle. There the Dokpa, or "Kara Tangutans," as Prjevalski clumsily styles them, devote themselves solely to peaceful pastoral pursuits; only their proximity to the dreaded Amdo robbers, whose descent is both swift and sudden, causes them to lead lives of anxiety to which the Yamdok and other tribes are utter strangers.

Notwithstanding the lofty altitude of the whole country, Tibet is particularly rich in animal life. In certain parts mammalia exist in such overwhelming numbers, and of so many species, that the prodigality of the supply is a little inexplicable. Equally curious is the fact that the more elevated portions of the territory in the north and north-east, with an average altitude of 14,500 feet, are those where the larger quadrupeds are found in the most lavish profusion. East of the meridian of Lhásá, this superabundance of large game, including yak, antelopes, wild ass, wild sheep and chamois, becomes, more marked north of the great Dang-la range, and about the basins of the various rivers which, further east, coalesce into the Di Chhu. Here the Jhang-t'ang of the west protrudes eastwards along the base of the Kuen Lün mountains in a narrower band, lying between the 34th and 36th parallels of latitude; and upon the well-watered savannahs of this region do the innumerable herds roam and feed. Doubtless the remarkable fertility in pasturage of these elevated tracts has much to do with the abundant animal life; albeit such fertility exists for only 4½ months in the year. In the winter large numbers of beasts migrate to the more sheltered valleys of the Rong districts; whilst many thousands perish on the plateaus when the weather happens to be exceptionally severe, as indeed the layers of skull and skeleton amply testify. Herds of certain animals, nevertheless, prefer to winter up in these bleak and deadly regions. Hundreds of yak remain throughout the long winter season, especially choosing the mountain ranges crossing the plains, where they continue to find coarse herbage obtainable by scratching aside the thick snow. However, it should be understood that the southern parts of Tibet are likewise well-stocked with quadrupedal life throughout the year, and that independently of any migration which may take place from the north in winter.

Such of the mammalia as are peculiar to the Tibetan plateau should be first mentioned. Prjevalski, it will be remembered, *almost* proved that the wild Bactrian camel still roamed round the swamps of Lob Nür. The general verdict of naturalists was rather one of dissatisfaction with the evidence adduced. But our more recent information from Tibet confirms, in a measure, the traveller's assertions. We have unanimous testimony from both Mongols and Tibetans that the wild camel lives and breeds, if not so far west as Lob Nür, at least amid the half-mountainous, half-desert tracts to the north-west of Kö-kö Nür. To the north of the plains of Tabun Tsaidam, between strings of hills—creeping rootlets from both the Altin Tag and the Küen Lün ranges—lie the last haunts of the parent-stock whence has been derived the two-humped camel of Central Asia. Roughly estimating, we may enclose the area where the wild camel continues to roam, between the longitudinal meridians 91° and 95°, and between the parallels of latitude 38°30′ and 39°40′ N. The survey explorer A. K. reported these famous beasts as seen by him in Sait'ang in this region; while in Sachu, a large town to the north of that district, he observed wild-camel's flesh exposed for sale as game, for which a fancy price might be reasonably demanded.

Another large quadruped distinctly Tibetan, is the YAK, which is, however, rarely styled by that name in its native lands. In Tibet the wild Yak *(Poëphagus grunniens)* is invariably called *Dong;* whilst the term *Yak* belongs to the tame animal, which beast nevertheless is not so commonly seen as the cross bred between a Yak-bull and the ordinary Indian cow, which is used everywhere as a beast of burden and as a milk-producer, and universally known as the *Jo* or *Dzo.* The females of this breed (termed *Jo-mo*) are the principal dairy animals in Tibet; their milk, though not so palatable as that of the cow, yielding richer butter. Yaks, which travellers in Sikkim and Ladak have seen and described, though generally thorough-bred animals, are in size insignificant beside the wild *Dong* of N. E. Tibet. Mons. Bonvalot alludes to the latter as "montagnes de chair," and Prince Henri of Orleans required eight rounds from his rifle to despatch one of these monsters. The wild bulls are always fierce-looking, handsome creatures, twice the weight of the tame brutes. They are jet-black in colour without one speck of the white which appears under domestication and bondage, and with the long hair of the body hanging in huge festoons and skeins to the ground, imparting the idea of enormous girth, and as if, in fact, they were all body from hump to hoof. A. K. brought word of 3,000 wild yak seen by him at the same time! Mr. Rockhill, who observed the *Dong* in its native haunts, mentions the hills bounding the plains of Tsulmet'ang and Karma-t'ang, just south of the Ma Chhu (Hoang ho) in its Tibetan course, as being "literally black with yak." They could be seen," he continues, "by thousands, and so little molested by man have they been, that we rode up within 200 yards of them without causing any fear." The climbing capabilities of these monsters are remarkable, and they are often seen perched on ledges apparently inaccessible to anything living save birds. Their marvellous silky, horse-like tails, which, under the name of "chouries," are so highly-prized in India, are styled by Tibetans *ngá-yap*, which carries the meaning "the father of tails."

Reference should be next made to the wild ass of Tibet, the KYANG, an animal which abounds in every corner of the land from Ladak to the Chinese frontier. Singularly enough, it is equally at home among the crags of Central Tibet, on the boggy moors of Ngari Khorsum, and in the salt-plains of the Jhang-t'ang. Moreover it climbs, like a chamois, the loftiest heights; running in troops with terrific speed when pursued and generally up cliffs. It barks, but does not neigh, as alleged by Colonel Cunningham. "Each band of 10 or 12," remarks Mr. Rockhill, "is led by a stallion; and, when in easy motion, they go in single file, with heads erect and tails outstretched. At night they herd close together, and in a circle, with heads towards the centre, their heels ready for any wolf or other enemy that may venture to attack them. Between Tosun Nur and the Alang Nur, a distance of 70 or 80 miles, we saw at least a thousand." The Kyang is distinct in species from the wild ass of Sind and Persia.

The *Felidæ* are more largely represented, both in general numbers and in variety of species, than is commonly supposed.

There are two kinds of tiger found in Tibet. On the Nipalese border, as well as in the deep hot valleys of Zayul, and in the southern district adjacent to the Assamese and Burmese frontier, an animal nearly identical with the Bengal tiger is frequently met with; any variation from the Indian type—*e.g.* the slightly smaller size and less vivid markings—being of course, merely climatic. Further north, however, in the mountains of Khams, and especially in the Amdoan regions just west of the Chinese provinces of Sze-chuen and Kansu, there occurs the large tiger known to Tibetans as *Gung*, and to the Mongols as *Khara-Kula* ("black-robber"). It is distinguished from the Indian animal by the flatness and breadth of the skull and by a variation in dentition; moreover, its fur is of extraordinary length and thickness. This is the tiger whose range of habitat reaches so far north in Asia, extending into Corea, Manchuria, and passing even into the island of Saghalien. Khampa chieftains robe themselves in the rich furs of the *Gung*, despising the skin of the *Ták*, or southern tiger. Additional members of the *Felidæ*, so far revealed as existing in Tibet, and in species peculiar to that snowy land, are a leopard (Felis Irbis), two kinds of lynx, and the beautiful "Snow Leopard" (Felis Macrocelis) known to natives as *Shán*. Passing to other *Carnivora*, distinctive forms of wolf, fox, and wild dog are found, the fox (*wá-tse*) in several varieties. As to bears, three kinds have been discriminated. Mr. Rockhill—who, by-the-way, seems to have no predilection for natural history and refers only casually to animal or vegetable life—mentions the stories about wild, hairy savages inhabiting the hills N. W. of Tsaidam, and affirms his belief that they owe their origin to the huge bears common in those districts. The Mongol pilgrims, he avers, and even the redoubtable Golok brigands, go in much awe of these beasts. In the Kökö Nür district, the bear is rarely hunted, though when unavoidably encountered, it is attacked and often slain. Its chief food, however, comprises marmots and a burrowing *lagomys*. We may remark that the explorer, Nain Singh, reported "white bears" as inhabiting the districts north of Naints'o Chhyidmo (Tengri Nur).

No summary of the animals of Tibet would be complete without reference being made to the many species of deer and wild sheep to be found in those regions. Several of the kinds peculiar to the country were most accurately described by Huc, who made no pretence to scientific knowledge of the subject. Later researches have proved how strangely faithful were the merely passing observations of this versatile priest. His one blunder occurs in the description of the *tseu* or Hodgson's antelope, which was alleged to have only a single horn, and thence was speculatively designated a "unicorn."[1] Probably the fact of the straight long horns of this beast being very close together and parallel, caused them to appear to the eye as but one horn. Besides the *tseu*, other deer are the *go-wa* and the *na*, two antelopes, and the *kha-sha*, or "spotted elk," the *shâruchu*, and the *la-wa*, or musk deer. The musk-deer is common not only in Sik'kim and Bhutan, but along the whole course of the Yeru Tsangpo, and ranges throughout the principalities of Khams and among the hills which skirt the sources of the Hoang-ho. Its singular pouch of musk, which hangs from the belly, called *ldyite-wa*, is detached after death and becomes the article of an extensive commerce to China. The musk fetches so high a price that the Tibetans adulterate it with blood, dried liver pounded, &c. Another curious beast of the kind is the *serou*, in appearance said to be a compound between the cow, the donkey, the pig and the goat! Two species of ibex occur, one the *Kyin* (*capra sakeen*) abounding in Ladak and Tsang, the other, discovered by Prjevalski, *Procapra cuvieri*, confined apparently to the mountains bordering Kökö 'Nür. Wild sheep of huge size and of several species find their home in the vast mountain-systems of Tibet, the heights of the north-west, and the hills at the base of the Karakorum Range, harbouring the giant *Ovis polii*; whilst the *Ovis ammon* (*nyen* of the Tibetans) and *Ovis vignei* (the *shâpo*) are found from Ladak to the Chinese frontier line. Ladak produces also two other kinds at least, namely the Oorial (*Ovis cycloceros*) and the great Burrhel sheep (*Ovis nahur*). The Urren of Balti and Astor has not yet been obtained in Tibet. Those monster sheep have always been the pride and envy of adventurous sportsmen, and many British officers have become familiar with all the foregoing species while shooting in Ladak. Tibet is likewise a notable breeding ground for domestic sheep, the varieties of which may be briefly alluded to hereafter in connexion with the commerce of the country.

Our list of Tibetan animals is far from exhausted yet; but this is hardly the place to give further details. Many curious mammals of the rodent genus have been discovered: marmots of several species, desmans, and shrews. The Tibetan tail-less shrew (*Anurosorex squamipes*) is unique in the animal world, and its countless burrows, as well as those of the *Chhipi*, or marmot, render the open *t'angs* and saline deserts dangerous, as are the American prairies through the similar underground dwellings of the "prairie dog." New animals of kindred species, lately reported of, are first, the Tibetan water-shrew (*Nectogale elegans*); next, a curious rodent of unique genus, christened by Mr. Milne-Edwards *Uropsilus soricipes*, and known to the natives as *dum-p'use;* then, two related to the mole kind, found in the Tsaidam tracts, one the "musky mole" *(Scaptocheiros moschatus)*, of less insectivorous habits than the true moles, the other (Scaptonyx fusicaudatus), also not really a mole, though it has the dentition of the genus *Talpa.* The Roman priest, Armand David, was the discoverer of some of these little creatures, which are scientifically interesting, as being forms and links which unite to each other different and well-defined genera of small mammalia. Finally we may mention the hares indigenous to Tibet. Mr. R. Lydekker discriminates four species, namely, *Lepus Tibetanus*, *Lepus vistolus*, *Lepus pallipes*, and *Lepus hypsibius*, the last named in Ladak only. Oddly enough the Tibetans consider hares to be of the same genus as the ass; and for this reason they will not eat them!

One would have thought that M. Bonvalot, who, in his speeches at the French Geographical Society, assumed the *rôle* of a sportsman of the desperate character, would have had much to say in his book concerning the large game he fell in with. But, in the narrative of a journey professedly in a country previously untraversed by European, we find scarcely any allusions to the animals and their ways. A dry list is now-and-then introduced, and at the end of the work an enumeration of the skins of beasts and birds which the gallant adventurers exhibited in Paris as trophies of the chase. Unfortunately, however, the items of these lists appear under names absolutely unrecognisable, possibly assigned by M. Bonvalot himself, who, it will be remembered, also gracefully attached the names of famous Frenchmen to mountains and lakes already sufficiently designated in our maps.

Among the practical results accruing from the recent explorations, one of the most important is the increased information concerning the manufactures, trade and commerce of the country. The manufactures of Tibet are almost confined to the production of wearing fabrics, and the fashioning of metal-work, chiefly copper and brass. Wool being so abundant, certain specialities in this material are worked up in different centres. The commonest fabric is a coarse, loosely-woven woollen stuff made in the Nyang Valley and sold at Gyantse under the name of *nam-bhu.* But large quantities of much finer material —in fact flannel of the most exquisite quality—is produced, woven from picked wool, and often from the *lena*, or underdown, of the animals. The general name for this is *t'erma*, and a considerable proportion of the finest sorts *(le-t'er)* is exported into China, viâ Darchendo and Sining, and, latterly, into Russia, viâ Yarkand in the west, or by Sa-chu and Urga to the north. Woollen stuffs for home use of the better kind are of a thick substantial make known as *t'uk* (the well-known *pulo* of China markets). These are made at Lhásá and are employed throughout Tibet for the robes of lamas and gelong: another material is *t'dlong*—a mixture of wool and Saussurea cotton, dyed red. Cotton-cloths are not manufactured in Tibet, all that may be found in the markets being imported goods. Out of the hair of yaks and goats, felts and coarse canvas are made The black tents of the Dokpa nomads are made of yak-hair felt, of Tibetan manufacture; whilst the common blankets of the country *(chhálı)* are woven from goats' hair. Most of the home productions are dyed in fast and beautiful colours. Subdued tints of green, red, and yellow are generally seen, as well as soft dark shades of prune colour, cherry-crimson, and a greenish amber. These are all native goods; it being illegal to dye imported fabrics. As to the metal manufactures, they comprise bells, gongs, tea-kettles, images, plates for temple-roofs, cupolas for domes, and innumerable articles for personal ornament. Dergé, in Eastern Tibet, is considered the Birmingham of the country, the brass-work turned out there being of excellent workmanship Lhásá and Li-t'ang are centres for artificers in copper and brass as well; the chief workers being Nepalese settlers. Saddlery is likewise a speciality of the inhabitants of Dergé.

As to the raw productions of Tibet, these are soon enumerated. Borax is the principal export from Western districts, and the Tibetan yields of this chemical, until lately, embraced the supply for the whole world. Gold-dust, musk, yak-hides, lamb-skins, rhubarb, dried apricots, deer-horns and *t'erma* cloth are also sent out of the land; but wool is the main export, and the produce of that article deserves a little further consideration here.

The commercial possibilities of Tibet have frequently been discussed, and high estimates of them have been entertained by our pioneers of trade. Latest accounts from the country cannot be held to discount the expectations which had been formed. Tibet is in many respects a poor country, and the majority of the inhabitants are frugal in habits and without any demand for luxuries; whilst the population for so large an area is very sparse—under six million. However, the resources of the land are undoubtedly rich, though comparatively undeveloped. The remarkable and unexpected fertility of much of the territory, lately reported by Survey spies and European travellers, reveals sources of profitable trade which, though even now industriously worked by the natives, would still admit of considerable extension. We refer to the enormous yield of wool from pasture-nourished animals. The incentive of foreign demand, which at present is limited to the buyers of two or three countries, would bring about greatly increased production; whilst piece-goods and drapery and particularly rich brocades and broadcloths, which even now command ready sale in Tibet whenever they can manage to find entrance there, would form the necessary exchange. Grains, cereal and pulse, though everywhere grown in Tibet, are insufficient to feed the people properly at the present yield, and might also be imported. For Indian tea, it is now admitted, there is little hope. Mighty though the consumption of tea in the country may be, Tibetans and Mongols are so wedded by habit to Chinese tea, and especially to the brick-shaped compressed form in which it is imported, that the Himalayan and Assam yields can never hold any appreciable position in the market. Leaf-tea in itself is inconvenient for trans-frontier methods of carriage, and in Tibet it presents a yet further practical disadvantage. The Tibetans avail themselves of the the portable shape and intrinsic value of their present tea to use it in many districts in the place of coin. Indeed, everywhere bricks and portions of bricks of this commodity find currency as a handy medium of exchange. Leaf-teas from India of course would lack this advantage. But, apart from mere feasibility for bartering purposes, Tibetans assert that they positively dislike the flavour of Indian growths of their favourite herb, characterising them as heady, and productive of nausea. Chinese varieties of tea—and the Tibetan of the upper rank professes to be a connoisseur in variations of quality—are likewise believed to be better suited to the human digestive organs when at work in such elevated regions as 11,000 to 16,000 feet above the level of the sea. So much for the chances of Indian tea in Tibetan markets; and if it be true that trade-routes *viâ* Darjeeling have been opened wider by Mr. Paul's residence of six years at the latter place, then the continued lack of inquiry for an article grown on the route itself and ready to be delivered, is ominous of the future. Other exchanges remain in abundance, however, even from Indian sources. For indigo, there is always a lively demand in Tibetan lamaseries. Cawnpore with her cotton mills, Meerut with soap—for washing is said to be growing at length fashionable in Lhásá—and Lucknow with wrought-iron, will soon feel the increasing demand which will probably come naturally—as it would have come long ago—now that the players in the absurd comedy with China have withdrawn from the scene. In the year ending March 31st, 1892, there had been a decided rise in the gross value of goods imported into Tibet—the increase reaching 700,000 rupees' worth—but in the last two years trade has again fallen off; and that despite the costly experiment of maintaining a companion for Mr. J. Hart on the benches of the Darjeeling Chaurasta.

Looking to what Tibet can offer the outside world, wool of unparalleled fineness of quality must for ever form the staple export. If the full force of the wondrous *lena* or *pashm* could only be directed into British hands, it might prove a possession of fabulous value. Nowhere else in the world but on these elevated tracts can this mossy down, as useful as it is lovely, be produced, and there, where every animal yields it, and where animal life is so marvellously profuse, the supply is probably inexhaustible. Lying, as British India does, at the foot of the many stairways to this treasure-loft, it is the fault of a weak policy that the whole trade has not long since been placed in our hands. An absurd over-estimate of the value of China's smile in keeping our position in the East, and an incorrect knowledge of Chinese rights over Tibet, have caused us to abide humbly at the base of the Himalayas, while the Celestial and the Kashmiri profited from a monopoly of commerce which, by virtue of territorial propinquity, was ours.

GRAHAM SANDBERG.

ART. VIII.—THE GERMAN CODE OF JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

(Independent Section.)

SINCE 1877 the German Parliament has devoted its efforts to securing unity of national life and institutions, and the unity of justice and law has formed part of the great scheme. The suppression of frontiers, the facilitation of communications, the development of trade, the enjoyment by all of the same justice, administered by the same tribunals, a common law equal for all and known by all, the abolition of exceptions, inequalities, privileges,—these were the judicial advantages which the reform was expected to accomplish. While language is the first bond of nations, perhaps unity of justice is its second. It is by a community of law and judicial institutions that the thoughts of a people meet and are united, and the unity of justice was intended to strengthen and consolidate the political unity of the nation.

The Code we are about to notice introduces a uniform judicial organisation; and in this term are included not merely the classification of Courts and their distribution, but many questions of great importance which nearly concern the security and liberties of a people. Side by side with the official administration, what should be the competence of the Courts, and what the limits of their powers? What form of justice is most calculated to attain the ideal of simplicity, experience, impartiality, expedition, and cheapness? What is the best method of recruiting the Magistrates, and by what means can their knowledge and impartiality be assured? At a time when democracy pretends to absorb everything, and in which universal suffrage is the cry, who should appoint the Judges, and what place in the administration of justice should be given to the popular element? To what extent should the officers of Government be liable to the ordinary Courts and bound to obey their decrees? And what rules are required to secure the ability and independence of the Courts? Judicial organisation raises all these grave problems, which the German Code has set itself to solve.

It must be remembered that each of the German States had its own judicial system and its own laws. There are 26 Confederate States: the Kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg; the Grand Duchies of Baden, Hesse, Mecklenberg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar, Mecklenburg Strelitz and Oldenberg; the Duchies of Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Anhalt; the Principalities of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Waldeck, Reusz the Elder, Reusz the Younger, Schaumburg Lippe and Lippe; the Hanseatic Towns of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, and Alsace-Lorraine. Political *morcellement* had produced judicial *morcellement*; and there was a veritable juridical disorder, the consequence of the political confusion of the Middle Ages. It is not necessary to describe the disorder prevailing in the past, but it will be useful to note the diversity existing immediately prior to the 1st of October, 1879, the date on which the new Code came into force. In some States we find what is known as the *séparation des pouvoirs*, while in others it does not exist. In some States, the Courts exercised administrative functions also, while the executive power exercised jurisdiction in certain civil matters. There is no uniformity as to the liability of officials for official acts. In some they can be proceeded against only criminally, in others only civilly, in others, again, either way; but administrative sanction is generally required. In Prussia the superior of the official in question can raise the issue of conflict, which is then decided by the Court of Conflicts, a majority of which consists of admininistrative officers. In a few States there are no restrictions on actions against officials. Here the feudal lords administered justice, there they appointed a certain number of the Judges. Ecclesiastical Courts in certain States wield extensive power. Here there are age limits for Judges, there none; in one state Judges are irremovable, in another they can be compelled to retire. The grades of Courts, their composition, the number of Judges, all differed. In commercial matters in particular there was great diversity.

A diversity of principle was no less conspicuous in criminal procedure. In some States the same Courts disposed of crimes, delicts and contraventions; in others there were three grades of Courts. It should be remarked that most of the judicial laws in existence were of a date subsequent to 1848, and were inspired by the principles which the French Revolution had violently introduced into German constitutions. Trial by Jury for crimes was the rule, but was by no means universal; the number of the jury differed; while unanimity was required only in Brunswick, in some States a bare majority sufficed, while in others a majority of eight to four was necessary. Here we find special Courts for fiscal infractions and forest offences; there press and political offences are withdrawn from the cognizance of juries. The qualifications for assessors and jurors differed widely; in one place ability to read and write being sufficient, elsewhere the payment of a certain minimum of taxation being necessary. In Baden and Wurtemburg they are paid; elsewhere their functions are gratuitous. Public prosecutors are not found everywhere, while in some States they appear, and sum up even in civil cases, in others only in cases which relate to the existence of a marriage.

Side by side with the ordinary Courts, each State has one or more, what may be called, *exceptional jurisdictions* ; agrarian Courts for adjudicating on the redemption of rural servitudes and seignorial rights ; navigation Courts ; forest Courts ; tribunals of experts ; University Courts, one of the oldest and most cherished privileges of German students ; miners' Courts ; a Court of emigration at Hamburg, and so on. Such was the diversity which prevailed in the judicial organisation of Germany ; and out of this chaos of judicial confusion, the new Code has evolved order, simplicity, and unity.

DISCUSSIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON THE BILL.

It is needless to note the various projects which were drawn up. After some discussion of main principles in Parliament, on the 24th and 25th November 1874, the Bill which had been prepared by the Minister of Justice for Prussia, was referred to a Commission of 28 members, comprising 15 Magistrates, 5 Advocates, two Professors of Universities, five administrative officers, and one Deputy without any profession. The projects of Civil and Criminal Procedure were referred to the same Commission. As regards nationality, the Commission was made up as follows: 16 Prussians, six Bavarians, two Saxons, and one member from each of the following—Wurtemburg, Baden, Oldenburg and Hamburg. The great labour they bestowed on their work was recognised by giving each member an honorarium of 2,400 marks, and the privilege of a free pass on all the German railways. Dr. Leonhardt, the Prussian Minister of Justice from 1867 to 1879, had for many years devoted his life to the accomplishment of judicial unity. He had the honour of preparing the reform, directing it, defending it and causing it to triumph. Two years of laborious work, comprising no fewer than 184 sittings, were devoted to the examination of the laws of procedure.

The Commission decided, by 21 votes to three, to abolish the special Tribunals of Commerce, leaving the jurisdiction solely in the hands of the ordinary Civil Courts. This decision was violently attacked by the press and public opinion, but was adhered to on principle by the Commission, who rejected amendments proposed by some of its members that there should be commercial chambers attached to the District Courts, or that commercial assessors should sit with the Courts. Subsequently, at the express request of the Federal Council, the tribunals of commerce were retained with some modifications.

The Commission also abolished the Forest Courts and the Communal Courts, composed of Municipal officers or councillors, on the ground that their maintenance would derogate from the principle of the separation of powers. It increased the judicial vacation from six weeks to two months ; it decided that French should remain the court language in Alsace-Lorraine, and it withdrew the Public Prosecutor from the authority of the President of the Court, at the same time securing the liberty of the defence, and deciding that the President should not have the power to expel any advocate engaged in the case, but only to fine.

There was a lively discussion as to whether a minority of a Court should be allowed to record dissenting decisions. The right to do so appears to have been a new principle and was advocated by Dr. Lasker. He urged that each judge in a minority should be allowed to explain in open Court the reasons for his dissent ; that it was unjust to tie them, powerless and dumb, to a judgment which they disapproved, and to make them cover with their name and authority a decision which was not theirs. His arguments do not appear to be very cogent, and they were completely routed by other members, whose reasoning was as follows : a judgment is not the union of individual opinions, it is a solemn decision come to by a moral being, the Court ; therein lies its force. Besides, the secret vote is the safeguard of the independence of justice. It cannot be tolerated that a Judge of the Court, which has given a verdict of condemnation should proceed to affirm the innocence of the accused Judges must not contend with Judges in public ; the judgment would thereby become a controversy, and in the shock of opinions would disappear the calm and dignity of the judgment, the authority which is necessary to it, and the respect which it ought to inspire.

The amendment of Dr. Laskar was rejected by 20 votes to one, but another amendment was passed, that the dissenting Judges might record their dissents on a separate paper to be kept with the record[*]

The principle of irremovability was voted unanimously. There were differences of opinion as to the constitution and powers of the Courts of first instance. In Germany a single

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[*] In India all Courts are presided over by a single Judge or Magistrate, except the High Court, Benches of Honorary Magistrates, and Small Cause Court Benches for hearing appeals from a single Judge. Dissenting judgments are publicly delivered and form part of the record. In India the parties are allowed copies of any paper which forms part of the record, so that the mere record of dissents would not mean secrecy as in Germany. In India copies of anything and everything are given in an indiscriminate manner, and the record is not guarded with that jealous care which is customary in other countries. Records are handed down to pleaders and mukhtars arguing an appeal, and (it is to be feared) copyists take them to their homes to prepare copies. The Bench mohurir of Bengal can hardly be said to treat his *nuthees* (records) with that regard and respect which the French *greffier* shows for the *dossier*, or the German *aktuar* for the *akten*.

Judge is an exception, and the principle has been acted on that a number of Judges are the surest guarantee of good justice. The Commission established assessors for the Courts of first instance, and even extended this system to the District Courts. It was, moreover, resolved completely to isolate the judicial from the executive, by excluding officials from exercising the functions of assessors. Long debates arose as to the competence of the Courts of assessors. Two systems were advocated, one that the punishment should determine the tribunal, and that all offences whatsoever, punishable with a maximum of three months' imprisonment, should be triable with assessors; the other, that offences should be classified according to the juridical character of the infraction, its frequency, and the facility of proof. The Commission reconciled the two principles, and added to the offences punishable with a certain punishment a certain number of offences the nature of which permitted of their being disposed of by assessors without injury to justice.

The Commission also decided that press offences should be triable by jury, and that Parliament should have the right of fixing the seat of the Tribunal of the Empire.

FIGHT REGARDING PRINCIPLES, AND THE COMPROMISE.

The position of members of the Department of Public Prosecutors* gave rise to an interesting discussion. It was recognized that members of the Bar, when they accept official posts, must obey the instructions of their superiors; for instance, that a Public Prosecutor would in no case be justified in refusing to institute a prosecution he had been ordered to institute. At the same time it was felt that it was hardly fair to place them in such a position that they must either sacrifice their convictions or their position and future; and that the rights of conscience should be respected. It was, therefore, considered that Public Prosecutors should be selected from the ranks of the Judges, that, while Public Prosecutors, they should receive a supplementary allowance, and that, after three years' service as such, they should be at liberty to resign their posts and re-enter the Assize magistracy. While their services might be dispensed with, they would nevertheless be entitled to revert to their former position of Judge† and that, too, in the same branch of the Court of Appeal to which they heretofore belonged.

The Commission even went the length of deciding that the

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* *Staatsanwaltschaft* (Ministère public.)

† In India a law officer of the Crown may turn out to be worse than worthless, and yet he cannot be got rid of. Some years ago it was proposed to make the post of Advocate-General tenable for five years only. This might be done if some pension were given.

Courts should be the Judges of their own competence; but that in certain cases local legislatures should have the power to refer the decision of conflicts to a special Court, constituted in such a manner as to secure its independence. The project then went backwards and forwards between the Commission and the Federal Council. We may note here the main subjects in which the Commission had radically altered the project referred to them :—

1. Abolition of Courts of Commerce and Communal Courts;
2. Recruitment and irremovability of the Magistracy;
3. Establishment of Assessors for District Courts;
4. Trial by jury for press offences;
5. Provisions regarding jurisdiction and conflicts of jurisdiction;
6. Abolition of the preliminary sanction to actions against officials.

In all these matters, and some others, the Commission met with keen opposition from the German Governments. In some points it yielded, in others it stood firm. For instance, it agreed that, in cases of necessity, Commercial Chambers should be attached to the District Courts; it abolished assessors in the Correctional (Criminal) Courts; it left to Government the appointment of *juges d'instruction*, while permitting them to resign their functions after two years' service; it cancelled the additional articles regulating the recruitment and independence of Public Prosecutors, and the provision allowing a minority of Judges to record their dissents. With these alterations the project was returned to the Federal Council, which, however, persisted in its opposition on almost every point. Parliament returned the project to the Commission with instructions to seek some basis for an arrangement. The Commission adhered to its original resolutions, and the last word was left for Parliament. During eight sittings, from the 17th to the 25th of November 1876, a learned and brilliant debate took place, in which more than fifty speakers took part. The resolutions of the Commission were ratified on almost all points.

A proposal made by HH. Windthorst and Reichensperger during the debate is worthy of notice. They proposed to prohibit the grant of any honorific distinction or gratification to Judges.‡ It was alleged that in some countries these gratifications were common. The State Prosecutor* of Coblenz had, it was alleged, received one day "without knowing why," a gratification of 100 thalers, which he refused to accept. One member stated that the assessors attached to the Court of Berlin received on a certain date sums varying from 50 to 300 thalers, but that one assessor, "who gave dissatisfaction," had received nothing; such gratifications were unworthy of Magistrates, their character, and their mission. On the other hand, they constituted, with decorations, a dangerous means of influence at a time troubled by party strife. These proposals were rejected, on the explanation of the Prussian Minister of Justice. He said that such payments were intended to give succour at times of sudden misfortune, were a necessary consequence of the moderate salaries given to Judges, and they had never served to influence the conscience of the Judges; if the Government had any desire to influence the administration of justice, it might do so by promotion, which would be sufficient.

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‡ This rule might well be applied to India. It should not be permissible for a High Court Judge to become a member of Council; neither should High Court Judges be eligible for titles. The known desire of a particular Judge to be knighted is not calculated to raise his character for independence in the eyes of the public.

Parliament, then, passed the article on conflicts, the provisions regarding temporary Judges, the trial of Press offences before the Assize Courts, the chapter on the Bar, the extension of judicial holidays from six weeks to two months, the fixing by law of the seat of the Federal Court (Tribunal of the Empire); the fixing of the 1st of October, 1879, as the date on which the judicial laws should come into force in order to assure to Germany, on one precise date, known in advance and which nothing could modify, the execution of the judicial reforms; and finally, the abolition of every authorisation for civil or criminal actions against officials in respect of their official acts. On this last question there was an animated debate, and the minority appear to have had the best of the argument, arguing that the question was one of constitutional law for each State to decide, and should be reserved for the local legislatures. The Government sustained defeat all along the line, but the Parliament agreed to re-establish the Communal Courts, and took away from the *juges d'instruction* the right of resigning their offices after two years' service.

After the termination of the debates, the Committee of Justice met again, and the Minister of Justice submitted a report to the Emperor. On the 12th December 1876, the Federal Council, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, adopted

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[*] *Oberstaatsanwalt—Procureur Supérieur d'Etat.* This would answer more to the Director of Criminal Investigations than to the Attorney-General. The nearest equivalent in an Indian Province would be the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, or the Secretary in the Judicial Department. The law officers in India are rather chamber lawyers than initiators of State prosecutions. I believe they never take any initiative action to protect the interests of the State.

this report in its entirety. On the same day the Chancellor of the Empire addressed a note to Parliament, specifying eight matters in which the Federal Council refused to approve of the resolutions adopted at the second reading. "The German Governments," said Prince Bismarck, "have given proof of their keen desire to arrive at some arrangement; in spite of their legitimate scruples, they have accepted eighteen decisions which they had previously resisted; but there are limits which they cannot overstep; to pass them would be to place in peril the public interests confided to their charge; their duty is to stand firm." The Federal Council unequivocally rejected the provisions regarding conflicts, temporary judges, the composition of the correctional appellate courts, the trial of press offences by jury, the chapter on the Bar, the fixing of the 1st October, 1879, as the date for putting in force the judicial laws, and the abolition of the preliminary sanction to actions or prosecutions against officials. The debate was no longer judicial: it became political, and the labours of two years were in danger of being altogether wrecked. On the 16th December the President of the Commission and the leaders of the National-Liberal party proposed a compromise, which was signed by 150 National-Liberals and Independent Conservatives. The compromise proceeded on the principle that it was of more importance to the Empire to have an incomplete law than not to have no law at all. The principal features were that jury trial for Press offences disappeared; the chapter on the Bar was left out; the date for putting in force the judicial laws was maintained, but their application was to depend on the vote of a Federal law for the expenses of justice; and finally, though a preliminary sanction for actions against officials was not to be uniformly required, an additional clause reserved under certain conditions the right of having it previously decided, by an administrative or judicial authority, whether the official had or had not acted in excess of his powers.

The law incorporating the points of compromise was passed on the 21st of December 1876, by 194 votes to 100. The majority was composed of National-Liberals, of members of the Party of the Empire (*Reichspartei*), and of Conservatives. The Centre and the Progressives voted against the law, while the Poles, the Socialists, and the Alsatians abstained from voting. The Poles declared that, protesting against annexation, believing in the future, and having faith in their nationality, they would take no part in a work of German unification. The Socialists considered that the compromise had sacrificed the rights of the people, and quitted the chamber after the vote withdrawing from juries the trial of Press offences. On the 22nd of December the Federal Council approved the law, which was promulgated on the 27th of January 1877, as the Code of Judicial Organisation.

GRADES OF COURTS.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Code of Judicial Organisation provides for all necessities and satisfies all the exigencies of judicial life. The unification is not complete owing to local resistances. Germany, in fact, is a confederation, and the powers of the Empire are limited by the Sovereignty of the confederated States,* to whose initiative accessory questions have been left. The legislature, while respecting local sovereignty, has tried to accomplish the unification of all that is necessary for the progress of procedure. Thus, the Code introduces unity in all matters which are within the domain of justice, properly so-called *(Recht-sprechung)*; that is to say, all that pertains to the prompt decision of suits, the order and number of jurisdictions, the abolition of particular courts, the participation of the laic element in the administration of justice, the composition and competence of courts, the capacity and immovability of Judges, the direction of the procedure, the judicial language, and the like. On the other hand, all that which is, properly speaking, merely administrative *(Justizverwaltung)*, is left by the Code to local legislatures; that is to say, all which concerns the administrative functions of the State Prosecutors and Presidents of Courts, supervision and discipline, the pay of Magistrates, pensions, the number and localities of Courts, the duties of the judicial officers, the organisation of clerks and bailiffs, the guardianship of minors, keeping of commercial books, &c.

There is the same chain of Courts for civil and criminal justice, as follows :—

I. Village or Bailiwick Courts,† for civil justice in first instance. Village or Bailiwick Courts, with assessors for criminal justice.

II. District Courts‡ (Civil), both first instance and appellate. Criminal Chambers of District Courts (Criminal) ditto.

III. Superior Courts, § Civil Appellate only. Courts of Assize (Criminal).

IV. A Supreme Court for the Empire.

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* The competence of the Empire exists only in matters of procedure. (Fed-Const. of 16th April 1876, art. 4, No. 13).

† *Amtsgericht* (tribunal de bailliage). When sitting with assessors, they are called *Schoffengericht* (tribunal des échevins).

‡ *Landgericht* (tribunal régional). The Criminal side is called *strafkammer*.

§ *Oberlandesgericht.*

RECRUITMENT OF MAGISTRATES.

Where Judges are capable as well as independent, the administration of justice cannot be bad; but the servility or the ignorance of Judges corrupts and paralyses the very best institutions, rendering justice no longer possible. In Germany the Courts are subject to the law only.

The candidate for the post of Judge[*] must go through the law courses for three years at some University. He then has to undergo two examinations and a period of probation for at least three years either in some Court, or in the chambers of an advocate[†], or with a State Prosecutor. The first examination precedes and the second follows the period of probation. The Code fixes the *minima* required, but local Legislatures are given the powers to extend or enlarge them. For instance, the ordinary law-course does not render obligatory the study of administrative law (*Verwaltung srecht*), but any State may make this obligatory, in accordance with a disciplinary procedure established by law.[‡] No distinction is made between different grades of Judges; they must all go through the same training, and give proof of their theoretical knowledge and practical experience.[§] The only exceptions are the ordinary Professors of Law, who may be appointed Judges without any further examination or training.

THE PERMANENCE OF JUDICIAL OFFICERS.

Permanence is the necessary guarantee of justice and the safeguard of liberty. Judges are appointed for life, and can be dismissed, suspended[‖] or compelled to retire only by a judicial decision. They receive a fixed salary, to the exclusion of all *honoraria*. A Judge is not forbidden to receive a special allowance for accessory and extra-judicial functions; but he cannot receive anything extra for the performance of any judicial act.

CONFLICTS.

In the matter of conflicts of jurisdiction Germany has departed from the principle followed by the Latin nations. Article 17 of the Code lays it down that the Courts are judges of their competence; it is for them to decide whether any case brought before them can be decided by them, or must be sent before the administration. But in coming to a decision they must strictly obey the provisions of the law, and must not assume jurisdiction where the law clearly takes it away from them. Such is the principle laid down; but as judicial irresponsiblity was recognised to be no less dangerous than executive irresponsibility, each local Legislature is allowed to modify the rigour of the principle to such an extent as shall prevent the State from being hampered and crippled by the often-times exaggerated pretentions of the judicial authority. If the courts assume a jurisdiction which, in the opinion of the executive power, they do not legally possess, the administration may raise the question of conflict, before what is known as the Tribunal of Conflicts.* But the Code does not leave it entirely to local Legislatures to determine the composition of the tribunal. It prescribes that half its members shall belong to the judicial Magistracy, and that the total number shall be unequal, thereby giving the judicial element a majority. If any State does not establish a Court of Conflicts, the ordinary Courts remain the judges of their jurisdiction. Where special Courts are established, the Code gives the judicial element a majority of one. In Prussia, the Court of Conflicts used to consist of the President of the Council of State, the Secretary of State, and nine administrative officers. It is now composed of six Judges of the Superior District Court of Berlin and of five administrative officers.† In all the States the members of the Court of Conflicts are appointed by the Sovereign.

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[*] A judge (*Richter*) includes a Magistrate.

[†] No advocate can refuse to let a candidate work in his chambers, or to supervise his progress. Bar Law of the 1st July, 1878, art. 40.

[‡] Law includes every kind of rule or order having the force of law (*rechts-œm*), that is made by competent authority in pursuance of some law.

[§] Continental lawyers are horrified and refuse to believe that fifth rate barristers, from rural circuits in England, are *sometimes pitch-forked, by party patronage, into the highest judicial posts in India.*

[‖] A Judge is immediately suspended if he is arrested. Certain convictions, too, involve loss of employment under the Penal Code.

On receiving a declaration of incompetence signed by the proper administrative officer, the Court, taking cognizance of the case, is bound to suspend its proceedings. In some States, if the Court finds itself incompetent, it so declares itself; but in most States it at once transmits the record either to the Minister of Justice, or directly to the Court of Conflicts. The discussion is there public and oral, and the parties in the case, as well as the administration, are represented‡ The decision is by majority and is final. In Bavaria it is curious to note that the judicial and administrative members vote alternately, beginning with the youngest.

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* *Competenzgerichts hof*, the French *Tribunal des Conflits.*

† It will be seen that even in Germany the administration has a fair chance. There is none of that irresponsible *sic volo sic jubeo* assumption of jurisdiction, which has done so much mischief in England and India. In India, especially, the administration and its officers are absolutely at the mercy of the whims and caprices of perhaps an individual High Court Judge. Such a system is most detrimental to administrative efficiency and in dependence, and therefore to public interests.

‡ It is not only in cases in which Government is a party that the conflict can be raised. The administration can raise the question in any case between private persons, when they think the case is one which should come before an administrative Court, and not before the regular Courts.

LIABILITY OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

The competence of the ordinary Courts is only limited by the competence of the Administrative Courts. There is no precise rule in the Code fixing the exact frontiers where the two jurisdictions meet and stop; the question has been reserved for the local legislatures, which, however, cannot overstep the broad limits imposed by the Code. The most delicate question for a legislature to decide is, how far public officers may be sued in respect of their official acts without the preliminary permission of some administrative authority. The German Code, while dispensing with any permission as a general principle, had to yield to the demands and exigencies of the various States, and permits their special provisions on the subject to remain in force. Actions and prosecutions can be instituted, only when a preliminary declaration of excess of power has been obtained. But this restriction cannot be introduced anew into any country in which it had not already existed prior to the passing of the Code. Even where the restriction is in force, the Code affords an ample guarantee that private interests shall not suffer, by exacting that the preliminary declaration shall be given or refused by the Chief Administrative Court of the State, or, where there is no such Court, by the Tribunal of the Empire. In a majority of States the preliminary declaration is not essential; but it is required in Prussia, Bavaria, Hesse, Mecklenburg, and Alsace-Lorraine; and even in these countries it is only required when the administrative authority itself demands it. In Prussia, Bavaria, and Hesse, the decision is given by the highest Administrative Court; in Alsace and Mecklenburg, where there are no Administrative Courts, by the Tribunal of the Empire. In Prussia, if the official whom it is desired to proceed against be a military officer, the preliminary decision is given by a special Court formed of the Minister of War, the Minister of Justice, and three high officers appointed by the King for three years. This body decides on a report of the case drawn up by two jurists one of whom is appointed by the Minister of War, and the other by the Minister of Justice. It will thus be seen that the German Code has, to a certain extent, departed from the principle to which the Latin races adhered with such tenacity, namely, that an administative officer can be sued only in administrative Tribunals, and that only with the previous consent of the administration or of some hierarchical superior.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

Ordinary justice* is administered, in the first instance, by village and district Courts, in appeal by the superior Courts, and in the last resort by the Tribunal of the Empire *(Reichsgericht)*. Some courts are both courts of first instance and of appeal, and the same courts administer civil as well as criminal justice.

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* Ordentliche streitige gerichts-barkeit: that is civil, criminal and bankruptcy jurisdiction according to the rules of the Codes of Procedure.

Civil Justice.—Petty cases go to the village courts, other cases to the district courts. Appeals from the former lie to the latter. The superior courts hear appeals from the district courts.

Criminal Justice.—Petty offences and contraventions are tried before the courts of assessors ; other offences and certain crimes, as well as appeals from the courts of assessors, are tried by the criminal chambers or benches of the district courts ; the most heinous crimes are sent to the courts of assize. Such is the judicial hierarchical chain in Germany. The courts are the courts of the State, and no one can withdraw himself from his legal judge, as laid down in the Procedure Codes. Exceptional tribunals are forbidden, but there are some exceptions. These, as well as certain special courts maintained by the Code, will be mentioned hereafter. The limit of the competence of the ordinary courts can be fixed only by a negative formula ; it stops where administrative jurisdiction commences. The Code does not determine the sphere of action and jurisdiction of the administrative courts ; the line of demarcation is found in the federal laws of each State.

VILLAGE COURTS.

The Village Court *(amtsgericht)* has only a civil jurisdiction, and takes cognizance of every kind of suit, civil or commercial, moveable or immoveable, of which the subject matter does not exceed in money, or in appreciable value, the sum of 300 marks (£15) ; certain matters being excepted, the cognizance of which is, apart from the question of value, reserved to the District Court.

(2) Without limit of value, of *(a)* disputes regarding hire of lodgings and other places.*

(b) Disputes between masters and servants, employers and workmen, regarding the conditions of service or work.

(c) Disputes between travellers and hotel-keepers, cabmen, boatmen, emigration agents and emigrants, &c.

(d) Disputes arising out of injuries caused by vicious animals.

(e) Disputes arising out of damage caused by game.

(f) Claims founded on illegitimate relations.

(g) Provocatory actions.†

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[*] That is, other similar places, such as shops, storehouses, &c. Rural property, gardens, lands, &c., are not included.

[†] The provocatory action *(aufgebotsverfahren)* is a citation to produce claims, to make known debts, to declare the value or falsity of a title, &c. See arts. 823, 829 *seqq.* of the Code of Civil Procedure.

In fine, the principle of jurisdiction is, that all cases should go before a village court, the nature or the slight importance of which demands a rapid decision, a local judge who can easily visit the spot, and a cheap remedy. The German Code recognises that the cost must be proportionate to the importance or otherwise of the affair. Written pleadings are dispensed with, the parties appear in person, and need not be represented by a legal practitioner. The village court is composed of a single Judge, who decides alone. Where there are several Judges, each sits alone, cases being distributed according to their character or the locality they come from. The distribution of the work is settled in advance for the whole year, and is intended to prevent any arbitrary making over of a particular case to a particular Judge. One Judge is charged with the general supervision of the business of the Court, but he is not, properly speaking, a President.

The Judge of the bailiwick, or village court, appears in almost all judicial acts for which the law demands the presence of a Judge. He executes civil and criminal commissions. It is before him, as a court of conciliation, that husbands and wives appear, who seek for divorce or nullity of marriage, and disputants who agree to try an arrangement before resorting to the courts. In one State there is a law that the Judge of the bailiwick must hold a conciliation sitting *(freier gerichstag)* once a week. The judge of the bailiwick is also the court for the execution of decrees *(vollstreckungsgericht)*, and decides matters arising thereout.

The Judge of the bailiwick, acting singly, has certain functions also on the criminal side He intervenes in a number of acts, which have for their object the discovery and repression of offences. He exercises concurrent jurisdiction with the prosecution department in receiving complaints and information in cases of urgency, or, if he is nearer to the spot than the Public Prosecutor (staatsanwalt), he receives from the local authorities information of violent death, fires, and the discovery of corpses, inquires, if necessary, and permits exhumation ; sees that sentences are executed, and in some States is in charge of the bailiwick prison In Baden and Saxony he keeps the Register of Convictions.*

In Germany, side by side with the regular litigation, a considerable number of functions, united under the name of " voluntary justice" *(privilege gerichtsbarkeit)*, are reserved to the Courts. This voluntary justice has, with rare exceptions, been confided to the Judge of the bailiwick. He is also charged with the registers of commerce, of patents for industrial designs and models, of companies, and of German ships of commerce; and in various States of various other registers, such as land mortgages, companies for the use of water, rural domains, mutations, &c. He also supervises the guardianship of minors and of charitable trusts. In testamentary matters, he, in most States, is charged with the receipt and custody of last wills and testaments, opens them after the decease of the testator, and delivers certificates to the heirs.

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* In most States it is kept by the Public Prosecutor attached to the District Court.

In fine, in civil as well as criminal matters, the same thought seems to have inspired the legislator; that, whether justice is concerned with the prosecution of a crime, or the execution of an act of civil law, it is the Judge of the bailiwick who should have jurisdiction in all cases in which it is important to act with speed, or in which the good administration of justice demands from the Judge the knowledge of circumstances, places, and persons.

COURTS OF ASSESSORS.

These courts are composed of the same Village Judge as President and two assessors for the trial of criminal cases. With certain exceptions the assessors have the same rights as the Judge, and the decision is according to a majority.

The courts of assessors take cognizance of—

(1) Contraventions.*

(2) Delicts † punishable with a maximum of three months imprisonment, or a fine of 600 marks, except those specified in Art. 320 of the Penal Code, and Art. 74 of this law.

(3) Slanders and injuries which cannot be prosecuted except on the complaint *(antrag)* of the person aggrieved.‡

(4) Certain cases of theft, criminal breach of trust, cheating and mischief, when the value of the property does not exceed 25 marks.

(5) Complicity by subsequent assistance § or harbouring, when the main offence is within the competence of the Court.

(6) Cases sent to them for trial by the criminal chambers of the District Courts.||

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* That is contraventions under the Penal Code or special laws, and punishable with a maximum of six weeks' confinement *(haft)* or 50 thalers fine.

† A delict is an offence punishable with detention up to five years, with imprisonment, or with fine exceeding 50 thalers. Detention is undergone in the fortresses, and consists simply in the privation of liberty.

‡ These are slander of officials or private persons (Penal Code, arts. 185-187); defamation of deceased persons (Art. 189), slight hurt (223) hurt by rash or negligent Act (230), &c.

§ *Begünstigung*, that is, assistance given to the offender in order to shield him from justice, or assure to him the profits of his offence.

|| Art. 75 of the Code authorises the District Courts to so transfer *any* case in which they think the punishment should not exceed three months' imprisonment or a fine of 600 marks. But the Lower Court is not prevented by this opinion from giving a higher punishment, and can inflict the maximum of five years' imprisonment.

ASSESSORS: LAIC OR POPULAR JUSTICE: ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST.

The office of assessors is an honorific function and can be exercised only by a German. Before proceeding further, it will be interesting to notice the discussions which took place in Parliament, and before the Commission of Justice, as to whether any place should be assigned to the Laic or popular element in the administration of justice. These discussions are of peculiar interest at the present moment in India, where trial by jury is itself on its trial. Some German States had, in accordance with the tradition of ancient Germanic feudal justice, introduced assessors into the system of criminal justice long before the question was even mooted in France. The subject is one which raises the most delicate problems of political law and judicial organisation, and it is worth while to summarise the arguments adduced for and against the introduction of the popular element, its nature and limits.

Those who are in favour of introducing the popular element, argue as follows: Citizens must take some part in the administration of criminal justice; it is a right for them and a guarantee for accused persons. The principle once admitted, logic and equity require that it shall be extended to all accused persons, and not merely to those charged with heinous crimes. On the contrary, it is in simple, easy cases of trifling importance that popular justice is calculated to produce the best results. Nor must the citizen be shut up within the region of fact; he must decide questions of both law and fact; such is the modern form of progress. In the Courts of Assize, the juries decide the facts only; but this practice, as experience has shown, has produced inconvenience and difficulties. Is not the admixture of the laic element productive of much benefit? The knowledge of the locality, of the local manners, customs, and conditions of life is of great importance and justly exercises a decisive influence on the judgment. The Judge is often inclined by the bent of his mind and education to examine the matter in an abstract light, to see only the violated right, and to confine himself to literal application of the law combined with a rigorous appreciation of the facts. If he would emerge from the narrow circle which shuts him in, he finds only obscurity and darkness; being a stranger to the life of the people, mixing neither in its vulgarities nor brutalities, he knows not its wants and ideas. How is he fitted to estimate culpability? It is only the assessor who leads him to the truth and keeps him in touch with the people and their life. Placed together, Judges and assessors bring their attributes into partnership; the Judge his knowledge of law, the exact and rigorous bearings and aspect of the matter, the assessor experience of life, knowledge of localities and manners, the human appreciation of circumstances, the exact apportionment of the punishment deserved. Their respective faults, the rigour of the one, the indulgence of the other, will be toned down and counterbalance each other; the Judge will show more care and zeal in the discovery of the truth, while the assessor, conscious of his responsibility, will rise to the level of the task which is confided to him. From a higher point of view, assessors are a powerful instrument of morality, and exercise an indisputable influence on criminality. In fact, the people are too often prone, in the case of offences which do not attack a material interest,—for instance, offences against the public or its agents, or contraventions of fiscal laws,—to oppose the regulations and laws, and consider them as useless and vexatious impediments. Called to dispense justice, becoming on a given day the defender of the public order, the assessor learns to know and respect the law ; repression no longer appears to him as a vengeance which leaves a victim in its wake, but as a duty ; he understands the obligations of order and discipline which are imposed on society ; the necessity of penal laws and rules unfolds itself before his eyes and is impressed on his mind; practical experience makes of him a champion of the law, and when his duty is ended, he carries back to his home and spreads around him these necessary ideas of social defence, order, and respect for the law.

In fine, the justice of a country is good only if it is respected. Too often the Judge is suspected ; he is accused of favour and harshness ; his independence, impartiality, and the regard for truth and justice which animate him are doubted ; it is pretended that in his eyes the accused always becomes a guilty person ; he is said to be nothing more than the hated ally of the police ; the popular sympathy sides with the accused, and in the midst of these unjust but common notions, the authority of the decision disappears. The justice of assessors emanates from the people ; the people know it, respect it, have faith in it, and public opinion, like the accused, readily acquiesces in its decisions. It is thus that respect for the law, and confidence in the decisions of the courts, are engendered among a people associated in the administration of penal justice.

The arguments against the introduction of the laic or popular element are no less ardent and convincing. The arguments in favour of a popular element are mere Utopian theories. It might answer in very small States, but not in large countries. Why should the citizens participate in the administration of justice ? They do not participate in the Government of provinces or the assessment of taxes. They do not, directly, exercise any executive or legislative power. Why, then, any judicial power? The people have only one right, the right of being well judged. Impartial and intelligent justice,—that is the extent of their claim. Let the recruitment of Magistrates and the conditions of their functions be modified, if they are imperfect, but we should go no further! Otherwise, we must carry the principle to its logical conclusion, and apply it to civil as well as to criminal justice; and even that would not be enough, for we should no longer want the assessor, but the people itself sitting in judgment, or rather the Judge appointed by election, that is to say, the most ignorant and the most corrupt of Judges.

To descend from theory to practice; the new mode of justice will impose a heavy burden on the German people, and will require the services of a large number of citizens. Such a complicated mechanism is quite disproportionate to the end in view; and it is not necessary to distrust so many interests in order to punish offences. The supposed benefits to be derived from the new system are all illusory.

What are these benefits? Public morality? But it is the first duty of Courts to render justice; they are not the instructors, but the judges of the nation. Of what use is the distant and almost always chimerical hope of an uncertain morality, if the justice administered is bad? The legislator ought not to sacrifice good justice for a mere chimera. It is the progress of knowledge, and the development of education which have diminished criminality, and not the introduction of the jury. Like the jurors, the assessors will carry back to their hearts nothing but the painful memory of the inconvenience and derangement caused to their business by having to serve the State, a desire to escape for the future,* and probably also some regret for the weaknesses of their consciences.

Will the new system induce respect for the judgment? Can one sincerely expect such respect from those convicted persons who have revolted agaist society and broken the law? No Court will ever see them proclaim the justice of the punishment meted out to them. Public opinion will always, when personal interests are not at stake, continue to range itself on the side of the accused; and this is often seen in the Assize Courts. It is not the form of justice or the composition of the Court, which alienate the public sympathy from the prosecution; it is a twofold instinctive movement, of compassion for the misfortune of the accused even though deserved, and of that opposition to authority † which is always found in the innermost heart of the people, and ranges them on the side of the defence.

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* We believe there has not been a single instance in Bengal of an application to serve as a juror or assessor, though the Judge and the Collector are annually beseiged with hundreds of applications for general exemption, and where they are disallowed, medical certificates are constantly filed before the Judge to get special exemption for a particular Sessions.

Is the exact valuation of punishment aimed at ? One would suppose, to hear these advocates of the system of assessors talk, that the Judges belong, in some manner, to another age, that they are strangers to the outer world, and that they have remained immoveable in the midst of a changing society, absorbed in the exclusive contemplation of the law. One would suppose also that by study and science the mind is hermetically sealed against the exact appreciation of truth and culpability, whilst the petty, peddling business of a village centre, or labour in the field, opens it wide to reason and justice. Is this really serious ? Are not Judges men ? do they not live the life of all, and mingle in all its movements and feelings ? Their duties compel them to examine minutely the circumstances of the offence ; the inquiry is there to search out and furnish all the information necessary to elucidate the matter. In what respect, then, are they less capable than the shopkeeper taken from his counter, of judging humanely the circumstances of a rural offence, or weighing with exact justice the extent of the offender's guilt ? Surely all the advantages described with so much noise, all these pretended superiorities of the new form of justice, are illusory and chimerical !

On the other hand, the introduction of assessors would disorganize and shatter justice. Trial by assessors no longer corresponds to the wants of modern life, and must be left to primitive societies, where manners are simple, citizens few, and litigation rare and easy. Society has advanced since the days when the feudal lord, assisted by the freemen of his fief, administered justice under the open sky, and now requires more serious guarantees. The dangers, hitherto unknown, which menace it, the new passions which agitate it, the parties which divide and tear it asunder, the inextricable difficulties which arise amidst its conflicting interests, demand the most perfect instruments of justice, and the most independent Judge. The vulgar common sense is no longer sufficient.

Three qualities are required in the Judge who has to decide another man's fate : ability, morality, and impartiality. Who will unite these qualities in the highest degree, the Judge or the assessor ? Chosen from a trained magistracy, bringing to justice their knowledge and experience, Judges are moved neither by passion nor by sentiment, they do not shake or swerve under the disordered movements of public opinion, but keep their eyes fixed on the law and the facts. Coming from the people, the assessors will share the people's ignorance, passions, and prejudices; how can they be expected to rise above the interests and persons whom they have to judge? With that popular sort of morality which is too often inspired by private interest, they will, in the defence of society and the rights of the State, display a dangerous indulgence and a culpable weakness; for instance, in the case of outrages on authority or fiscal contraventions. Fear of hatred and revenge will weaken repression and prevent them giving true judgments according to their consciences and the evidence. Mixed up in political, social or religious quarrels, sharing in the rivalries, feuds and hatreds, which, in the narrow circle of a bailiwick, divide persons and villages, they will have neither independence nor impartiality; devoid of any intellectual culture, education will be unable, with that fineness which it gives to the conscience, to recall them to the rigorous duties of justice imposed on them. With the best faith and goodwill they will be unable to exclude the prejudices, interests, and remembrances which they will bring into Court; they will be dominated by outside impressions or party spirit, and their justice will be nothing but the justice of sentiment, impressions, or hatred. Trial by assessors is especially impracticable and dangerous in troubled times, and in countries which are divided into parties, and where politics penetrate even into the heart of the family.

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† Is not this the key to the constant attacks on judicial officers in the columns of the native press ? If opposition to authority is found in free countries, how much more may it be expected in countries governed by an alien race.

Criminal justice often raises the most delicate questions of law, and the intellectual culture of assessors will not be commensurate with the difficulties of their task. Taken for the most part from country people, a large majority of assessors will be simple people, uninformed and uneducated. What part will they play sitting side by side with the Judge? Either they will defy him, and oppose to his influence the tenacious stupidity of a mind which, feeling its inferiority, and, fearing responsibility, will regard reason and argument with an unconquerable mistrust; or, docile and lazy, they will abandon themselves to the direction of the Judge, their justice will be only an illusion, and the Judge of the bailiwick will judge alone. The reform must be wrecked on one of these two alternatives; dumb assessors, docile and obedient, or a Judge powerless to restrain the whims, partiality, ignorance and passions of omnipotent assessors. At the same time will disappear the greatest force and guarantee of criminal justice, equality in repression, experience of penality, that jurisprudence which, in a tribunal composed of the same Judges, by means of inter-communication and comparison, is forced to render equal justice for all, and strikes the same acts with the same punishments. Always new at each hearing, the assessors, without any recollection, without law, without touch with past decisions, will vary the punishment at will in accordance with their particular impressions and tendencies. With assessors, Germany will have a justice without guarantee, without independence, and without impartiality. Such will be the effects of the so-called reform.

These were the arguments used against the introduction of assessors, and they certainly appear to be weighty. The result was that the system of assessors was confined to the lowest grade of Courts and was not extended to the District Courts.

APPOINTMENT OF ASSESSORS AND THEIR JURISDICTION.

The following persons are incapable of being Assessors :—

1. Persons who have lost their capacity by reason of a criminal conviction ;
2. Persons against whom a prosecution has been commenced for a crime or delict involving loss of civic rights, or incapacity to fulfil public functions ;
3. Persons who have been deprived by a judicial decision of the free disposition of their property.*

The following persons ought not † to be called to fulfil the duties of an assessor :—

1. Persons under 30 years of age ;
2. Persons who have not lived for two complete years in the commune ;
3. Persons who receive, or within three years have received, charitable relief from the State ;
4. Persons incapable by reason of physical or intellectual infirmities ;
5. Domestic servants.

The following persons are exempt from service as assessors :—

1. Ministers ;
2. Members of the Senates of the free Hanseatic towns ;
3. Officials of the Empire or of the confederated States who can at any time be made to retire ;
4. Judges ‡ and members of the Public Prosecution Department ;
5. Judicial officers § and agents of the police charged with the execution of judgments ;

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* That is, spendthrifts, persons so deprived by reason of unsoundness of mind, bankrupts passing through the Court.

† The words in the German are "*sollen nicht*" That is, the words express a recommendation ; but if such persons sit as assessors, the proceedings are not thereby rendered void.

‡ An amendment, which had proposed to exempt advocates, was rejected.

§ That is, the bailiffs or *huissiers* (*gerichts vollzieher*).

6. Clergymen and teachers of primary education ;
7. Soldiers belonging to the active land or marine forces.

Besides the above, each Local Government can except any superior administrative officer.

The following persons can decline the office of assessor: any member of a German legislative assembly; persons who in the preceding judicial year have sate as jurors, or at least five times as assessors; the medical profession *; druggists who have no assistant ; persons over 65 years of age ; persons unable to support the expense entailed by the performance of the duties of an assessor.

PREPARATION OF THE LISTS OF ASSESSORS.

There are two lists, one the general list *(urliste)*, prepared by the Mayor *(vorsteher)* in each commune: this includes all persons competent to act as assessors. The other is the annual list *(Jahresliste)*, which is prepared by a commission composed of the judge of the bailiwick who presides, an administrative officer representing the State, and seven trustworthy persons *(vertrauens-männer)* chosen by the electorate of the locality, or where there is none, by the aforesaid judge. This commission hears and determines, by a majority, objections to the list, whether they are claims to be struck off the list or to be added to it.† The State Department of Justice fixes the number of assessors and supplementary assessors for each bailiwick jurisdiction : and this number must be fixed so that no assessor will have to attend at more than five sittings in a year. This proviso was inserted to lighten the burden which the new system imposes on the people. The order in which the assessors are to sit during the year is fixed by lot, and the sittings, and the names of assessors who are to sit, are fixed in advance for the whole year (art. 45). The order may be modified by the judge at the request of the assessors interested, and the attendance of an assessor may be dispensed with for any valid reason, but such exemption may be made subject to the condition that another assessor on the annual list is willing to take his place. But no change is permitted when once particular cases have been set down for the dates in question. The object of this is to prevent any attempt to get cases heard by particular assessors (arts. 47, 54). Any assessor or juror who puts forward false excuses is punishable with two months' imprisonment under section 138 of the Penal Code. Assessors who absent themselves without valid excuse are punishable with a fine of from 5 to 1,000 marks, and have to pay the expenses occasioned by their default. The assessors take an oath* "before the all-powerful God, who knows everything, to faithfully perform the duties of an assessor, and to decide according to his conviction and his conscience," and while taking it, hold up the right hand. A declaration is allowed in the case of certain religious sects.

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* This provision is in the public interest, and has been made to include dentists, oculists, *accoucheurs*, and even veterinary doctors.

† It is probable that in India there has never been a claim to be added to a jury list, though there are many claims for exemption from service as jurors or assessors.

The assessors get neither pay nor compensation; their functions are honorary. But they are entitled to their travelling expenses, which do not include halting allowance.†

The powers of the assessors cease on the termination of the sitting. They go away and do not return. The judge of the bailiwick alone takes all preparatory steps anterior to the trial; it is he who orders the accused to be tried by the Court of assessors, supplements the inquiry, and alone signs the judgment; he who remits fines imposed on defaulting witnesses, rejects appeals filed out of time, &c.

PRINCIPLE FOLLOWED IN DETERMINING THE JURISDICTION OF THE COURTS OF ASSESSORS.

The general rule is that the amount of punishment determines the competent Court. The German Code does not observe the principle respected in France, which divides all infractions of the penal law into contraventions, delicts and crimes, and sends each class before a different Court. The necessities of practical life and of the good administration of justice must prevail over symmetrical classification. When the offence has only a relative gravity, it is of importance that justice should be cheap, and above all, speedy, and punishment must without delay reach the guilty person: these are the conditions of its efficacy. On the other hand, it is indispensable that there should be some sort of relation between the gravity of the offence and the forces, means, and expenses employed to repress it; it is shocking to all sense of fitness to send a slight offence, which merits only a slight punishment, before a superior distant Court with a number of judges, at a great loss of time and money. The Court of Assessors, which can decide quickly, is the proper Court for the decision of the most frequent and less serious offences. In this matter the interests of the public, of justice, and of the treasury are identical.

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* During the discussion in Parliament it was proposed to strip the oath of its religious form, and omit the name of God, so that it might be taken by honest persons who do not believe in God. The amendment was rejected on the grounds that the divine invocation is consecrated by a practice of several centuries; that its suppression would chill the innate feelings of the German people; and that the oath would become a mere formality, and would lose all its moral authority.

† Each State has its own rules. In Prussia and a number of other States, an allowance is given only if the assessor's residence is more than two kilometers from the Court. He then gets 10 pfennings a kilometer for railway or steamer journeys, and 20 pfennings for other journeys, subject to the condition that he shall not get less than three marks (shillings) for the sitting (*sitzung*). The sitting may last several days. In some other States 15 and 30 pfennings respectively are allowed.

As a matter of fact, the Courts of Assessors have become the real judges of delicts *(vergehen)*, and, during the year 1881, 88·3 per cent. of all delicts were tried by them, only 11·7 per cent. being disposed of by the District Courts. To prevent danger arising from these extensive powers of the Courts of Assessors, the law allows an appeal to the District Court, which is exclusively composed of judges. It should also be mentioned that the law for putting in force the Code of Criminal Procedure allows the Local Legislatures to make over to the Judges of the bailiwick sitting alone, the trial of offences against the forest and rural police laws, as it was considered dangerous to leave these special offences to assessors whose indulgence would assure too often the impunity of the offender

RATIO OF ASSESSORS TO POPULATION.

To prevent the system of assessors from being too heavy a burden on the people, the Code summons to the audience or sitting, only the exact number of assessors required ; they are not summoned for the whole session, but to an isolated sitting which is generally terminated on the same day (art. 50), and the number of sittings to which any one assessor can be summoned in a year is limited to five (art 43). Even this maximum is in some States reduced to three or four.

The proportion of assessors to population in Baden is 1 to every 500 of the population of the bailiwick, and one substitute assessor for every 4 regular assessors. It will be interesting to notice the proportions in certain States :—

	Assessor	per population	Substitute Assessor.	per population.
Brunswick	1	600	1	1,858
Hesse	1	720	1	1,818
Meclenburg Schwerin	1	692	1	2.576
Meclenburg-Strelitz	1	597	1	2.088
Saxe-Weimar	1	558	1	1,664
Hamburg	1	1,106	1	6,483

This proportion is only the mean ; it varies within the same State, and is different in different bailiwicks. For instance, in Hamburg it is 1 assessor for 1,233 in the town of Hamburg, and as low as 1 for 245 in one of the rural bailiwicks.

In the year 1881, the Courts of Assessors held 71,925 sittings, or 37 sittings per Court These figures mean that for the whole Empire and its 1,914 Courts of the bailiwick, 28,770 assessors must have been summoned, counting 5 sittings for each assessor, or 143,850 if each assessor attended only one sitting, that is, a proportion of one assessor per 1,572 inhabitants in the first case, and one for 314 in the second. According to the census of 1880, the number of men between 30 and 70 years of age represented 18 per cent. of the total population. Taking this figure, although the limit of age for an assessor is 65, the number of assessors abovementioned (not taking into account persons exempted or disqualified) comes to one assessor for every 280 men qualified by age for the post in one case, and one for 56 in the other case. In some bailiwicks the proprtion rises to one in 20. These figures show that the new system of justice is not altogether a light burden.

SUMMARY OF WORK DONE BY ASSESSORS.

In the new judicial organization, then, we find in the lowest, or first, grade of the hierarchy, a judge, who, sitting alone, is a Civil Court of first instance, called the Court of the Bailiwick; the same judge, when sitting with two assessors, is the lowest Criminal Court of first instance, and is called the Court of Assessors. The striking feature is that the judge is not a judge of an inferior order, like the French *Juge de paix:* he is the veritable judge of common law. His jurisdiction is very extensive, the large majority of cases being brought in his Court, and he holds in his hands almost all the civil and correctional work of the country. It is therefore very necessary that the post should not be regarded as one to be reserved for young Magistrates. With this object the Parliament insisted that the position should be commensurate with the importance of the duties to be performed, and, with a view to retain in the Court able and experinced judges, with no desire for further advancement, it placed them on a complete footing of equality with the judges of the District Courts. They are protected by the same permanence, are recruited in the same way, have the same rights, the same guarantees, the same independence, the same title, the same rank, and, in almost all States, the same salary. The equality is absolute.* The Judge of the Bailiwick can be called to sit in the District Court, and, in Prussia and a number of other States, he can be called to sit in the Superior Court.

In Germany there are altogether 1,914 Courts of the Bailiwick, of which Prussia alone has 1,094, Bavaria coming next with 270, and then Saxony with 103. In the formation of bailiwick jurisdictions, places and circumstances have been taken into consideration, such as administrative boundaries, density of population, local requirements, and facilities of communication. The area of a bailiwick varies widely, and contains from 2,330 to 1,122 504 inhabitants.* The average population per bailiwick is 23,633 ; it is even lower for rural areas, as almost all towns, even the most populous, form the jurisdiction of a single bailiwick tribunal. In the populous States of Saxony, Würtemberg, and Baden, the average is 30,798, 28,862, and 26,614 respectively ; while in Mecklenburg-Strelitz it is only 10,026.

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* Italy has an analogous institution. The Prætor (Pretore) is an immoveable judge, who administers justice as a Court of first instance in less important cases.

In all States the rule has been observed that the justice of the Bailiwick Court must be in touch with the people and easily accessible to all. " The judge of the bailiwick," remarked Dr. Leonhardt, the Minister of Justice for Prussia, " is the protector and natural defender of the people, especially of the rural population, and every litigant must, in principle, be able to go to his Court on foot and return to his village on the same day.†

In order to bring the judge of the bailiwick nearer to the people and thus to facilitate the dispensation of justice and make it accessible, without unduly augmenting the number of courts, most German States have introduced the system of circuits of justice (*Gerichtstage*). Under this system the judge of the bailiwick holds circuits at periodical intervals at special places within his jurisdiction, where his occasional presence is desirable owing to the amount of litigation, the importance of the locality, and the distance of such places from the headquarters of the Court. He visits these places on dates fixed in advance and known to all. All the States, except Bavaria and Saxony, have admitted the principle of this institution. In these circuits the judge of the bailiwick dispenses only civil and voluntary justice ; but in Prussia and Mecklenburg he tries also contraventions against the forest laws. In Prussia exclusively forest circuits are held in 25 localities

NUMBER OF JUDGES ATTACHED TO THE BAILIWICK COURTS.

The judge of the bailiwick sits alone. But in the large bailiwicks there is more than one judge. The German Governments have recognised the inadvisability of completely isolating single judges in out of the way country places.‡ Scattered one by one in unimportant places, the judges would be left to themselves, without any connections, without material comforts, without intellectual society, without the safeguard and support given by the presence of a colleague, exposed to every local influence. Herein lies the danger of bringing justice too close to the doors of the people, and forcibly shutting it up, so to speak, in a group of villages, so that it is liable to lose its dignity and independence. "It is a calamity for justice," said the Minister of Justice for Prussia in the Chamber of Deputies at the sitting of the 7th February 1878, "if the judge is, so to speak, *bent back on himself*, or mixes himself up with the country people whose customs and habits he assumes; that leads to narrow-mindedness and partiality." In the Chamber of Lords he said: "The administration will not decide to scatter the judges throughout the country without any regard for their personal situation; it is necessary to give them an endurable position, and if one cannot succeed in doing this, the organisation is bad. They must not be permitted to fall into dependence, and dependence on what is above is less to be feared than dependence on what is below." These considerations, without resulting in centralisation, have led to the creation of jurisdictions of a certain importance*; and it is recognised that each tribunal ought to be composed of at least two judges. Of the 1,914 bailiwick tribunals in Germany, 814 only are composed of one judge only; the remainder have two or more. Some bailiwick tribunals are composed of a large number of judges; thus, those of Augsburg and Brunswick have 11 each, Chemnitz in Saxony has 12, Nüremberg 15, Hamburg 16, Leipzig 20, Dresden 27 and Munich 29. The 1,914 bailiwick tribunals are composed of 4.242 judges, of whom 3,428 belong to tribunals composed of several judges. The German Governments have thus, in practice, limited, to a very great extent, the inconveniences which the isolation of the judge of the bailiwick made them fear for justice.

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* That is, the bailiwick of Königsberg (Saxe Coburg), and that of Berlin.

† This is an ideal which all countries should aim at. In India it takes a suitor in some districts, in the rains, three days to reach the nearest Court.

‡ In Bengal the question has been raised, whether it is advisable to post Munsifs in outlying places, or to concentrate them at head-quarters of Subdivisions.

OUTTURN OF WORK IN THE YEAR 1881.

During the year 1881, the Courts of the Bailiwick decided 1,350,445 civil cases, of which 665,405 were contested. This gives 706 cases, of which 348 were contested for each Court of the bailiwick. As regards the execution of decrees, these Courts passed 2,109,146 orders, or 1,103 per Court; and 4,914 orders of prohibition to exercise rights on the ground of insanity or prodigality, or 2 per Court. There were also 10,697 applications in bankruptcy, or 5½ per Court.

On the criminal side, during the same year, the Courts of Assessors held 71,925 sittings (37 per bailiwick), and decided 457,789 cases, or 239 per bailiwick. The average number of cases decided at each sitting (ordinarily one day only) was 8. The Courts of the Bailiwick, without the assistance of assessors decided 204,854 cases, or 107 per Court.* It may also be noted that, of 799,552 accused persons brought before the Court of assessors or the Court of the bailiwick, 129,698 were acquitted, or 1 acquittal for every 5 cases and 6 accused persons. Of this number 568,413 were tried by Courts of assessors, and 115,699 acquitted, or 1 acquittal fot 4·91 accused; 231,139 were tried by the Court of the Bailiwick and 13,999 were acquitted, or 1 acquittal for 16·51 accused. Besides the above, the judges of the bailiwick passed 727,260 penal orders in forest matters, and 552,578 such orders in other matters. Out of 662,643 cases decided, appeals were instituted in 32,456 cases, or 1 appeal in 20 cases.* Finally, the judges of the bailiwick made preliminary inquiries in 5,973 cases sent before the District Court or the Court of Assize. Such was the outturn of work for a single year.

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* There are not a few Munsifs and Sub-divisional Magistrates in Bengal whose life is exile, pure and simple.

(To be continued.)

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

THE QUARTER.

SINCE the date of our last summary the Indian Empire has passed under a new Viceroy, and the foremost British statesman of the day has retired at once from public life and from the office of the Prime Minister. These two events would have been enough in themselves to invest the period under review with more than usual importance; but, as far as India is concerned, it has been in other respects specially noteworthy. Lord Elgin's lines have been cast in anxious, if it cannot yet be said, in evil days, and his troubles have begun early. To say nothing of the agrarian disturbances in Assam and the recrudescence of rioting in connexion with the cow-killing feud at Yeola, it has fallen to his lot to be the instrument of a fiscal policy which has aroused universal disgust and indignation throughout the country. But we are anticipating.

The first event of the past three months which calls for special notice, is the speech, of almost historic importance, delivered by Lord Lansdowne at the banquet given him by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, at the Royal Exchange, on the 23rd January. To many of those who heard that speech, it must have seemed that, so far as words can atone for deeds, or the lack of them, it atoned, in a large measure, for the excessive weakness of much of Lord Lansdowne's administration. No more courageous speech, and none that appealed more forcibly to the feelings of those who listened to it, or was received with heartier demonstrations of approval, has probably been made by any Indian Viceroy. To do it justice here, in the limited space at our disposal, would be impossible. As a vindication of the policy of the Government of India during the past five years, though not unsuccessful as far as it went, it was obviously incomplete, for it left untouched more points than one of the highest importance, in which that policy has been severely criticised; but as an eloquent exposition of the principles upon which Indian administration should be conducted, it is a testament which deserves to be inscribed in letters of gold. The passages which were at once the weightiest, the most pertinent to the circumstances of the hour, and the most stirring, were those in which the speaker dwelt on the more important of the dangers which beset the course of English policy in India in these latter days—the danger arising from the "habit of applying to a country which is Eastern to the marrow of its bones, standards of treatment which are essentially European and Western;" the danger arising from "the tendency to over-govern the country, and to interfere unduly with the customs and habits of the people," and, greatest of all, the danger which arises from "the tendency to transfer power from the Government of India to the British Parliament."

What he said under the last of these heads is so pregnant with warning wisdom, that we cannot forbear reproducing it in these pages: "I admit," he observed, "that, in a country of democratic institutions, Parliament must be the ultimate source and depository of power. In an extreme case there is no act of the Executive, British or Indian, which can be removed beyond its control. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State have alike to reckon with it, and there is no escape from its authority. It does not, however, follow, that because these powers are inherent in Parliament, they should be perpetually exercised by it, and it is the modern tendency to exercise these powers continually and at the instance of irresponsible persons, which, in my belief, constitutes a grave menace to the safety of the Empire. I suppose all students of political science will admit that the tendency of the Legislature to usurp the functions of the Executive Government is one of the most dangerous tendencies of the present age. It is specially dangerous when the subject of those usurpations is the government of such a dependency of the Crown as the Indian Empire, and when the policy of a body which is admittedly a body of experts, is liable at any moment to be thwarted and set aside by another body, which must, in the nature of things, be deficient in expert knowledge, and which, in recent years, has shown a constantly increasing tendency to be swayed by emotion and enthusiasm. The risk is all the greater, because, while the machinery of the Indian Government grinds slowly and laboriously, the Parliamentary machine is excessively rapid in action. We, out here, cannot take an important step without a protracted series of inquiries and investigations. The different Departments of the Government have to be consulted. Minute and exhaustive notes have to be recorded. The Local Governments have to be referred to. More notes are written upon their recommendations. The Secretary of State's concurrence has to be obtained. Months pass by, and when the answer of Her Majestys' Government arrives, the process of note-writing commences again. The delay seems to be interminable, although perhaps it is not without its advantages, But in the House of Commons, an erratic Member in a thin House may carry over the heads of the Secretary of State and the Government of India, a Resolution vitally affecting the welfare of this country, as summarily and as lightheartedly as if the proceedings were those of the Debating Club of a College, rather than the Senate of a great Empire. In a couple of hours the work of years may be undone, and so it may come to pass that, while we are slowly and laboriously striving to obtain an equilibrium between income and expenditure, or endeavouring to improve the condition of our Indian Service, some haphazard decision of our masters on the other side threatens our finances with bankruptcy, or capsizes our most carefully considered schemes for improving the efficiency of the Public Services. The wrong thing is done, and it is done in a manner that cannot fail to impair the authority of a Government which can carry on its work only if its authority is upheld."

Referring to the Currency question, Lord Lansdowne spoke in a tone of subdued hope, rather than of confidence. The result of the Government scheme owing to causes which had been largely unforeseen, had been disappointing; but it could not reasonably be inferred that the scheme was doomed to failure, and he still believed that the restriction of the currency by which alone its success could be assured, would be brought about in time if the Mints remained closed.

One of the most interesting parts of the speech was that which dealt with our relations with Afghanistan and the results of the recent Mission to the Amir, regarding which he said :—

" I venture to claim for the settlement recently effected by Sir Mortimer Durand—a settlement arrived at in the face of difficulties the extent of which will not be understood until the history of these events comes to be written—a settlement which would, in my opinion, have been beyond our reach, but for the admirable qualities of tact patience, and sincerity which he displayed in so conspicuous a degree throughout an extremely delicate negotiation—qualities which won for him the confidence of His Highness—that it has done more to obviate the risk of future misunderstanding, both with Afghanistan and with the intervening frontier tribes, and to prevent the recurrence of those 'ignoble little wars' to which I referred just now, than any number of successful expeditions or sanguinary successes over the warlike borderers whom we have fought so often and with such small results."

We have spoken of the weakness of Lord Lansdowne's administration. That weakness was not unfrequently displayed in matters in which, regarded superficially, it might seem that great strength was shown. One noteworthy example is, it seems to us, to be found in the Age of Consent Bill. Many of his audience at the Royal Exchange, listening to his warning against undue interference with the customs of the people, and remembering that ill-advised and abortive measure, must have felt that his words were words of self-condemnation; and it is notorious that, in this case, Lord Lansdowne erred solely through weakly yielding to the influence of certain influential circles of English society, if not actually to Court influence. Another instance of the kind of weakness to which we refer, is furnished by the way in which Lord Lansdowne allowed himself to be compelled, against his better judgment, by the masterful Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, in the matter of the Jury Notification of 1892.

Lord Elgin landed in Bombay on the 20th January, and arrived in Calcutta on the 25th of the same month; and on Saturday the 27th, he took his seat in Council. The day was somewhat ominously signalised by serious agrarian disturbances, which, however, were promptly suppressed, in Assam, in connexion with the re-assessment of the Province; and, a few days later—on the 6th February—the riot at Yeola, to which we have already referred, and in which the Hindoos appear to have been the aggressors, broke out.

But the most important event of the Quarter, in connexion with Indian administration, has been the passing of a new Tariff Bill, imposing a duty of five per cent. on the bulk of our imports, including silver, but exempting the very goods which, in the opinion of most people in India, should have been the first chosen for such taxation.

Before dealing with this matter in detail, it may, however, be well to review the policy pursued by the Secretary of State as regards the sale of Council Bills, and the course of Exchange since the date of our last retrospect, with which the measure in question is closely connected.

Up to the close of last year, the Secretary of State continued to hold out for a minimum rate of 1*s.* 3¼*d.* For several months, no Council Bills had, consequently, been sold; and on the 21st December, a Bill entitled the East India Loan Bill, to confer on the Secretary of State increased borrowing powers to the extent of £10,000,000, had received the Royal assent. It was generally expected that the Secretary of State would avail himself of the increased facility thus afforded him, to maintain his minimum, at least till the commencement of the busy export season, in March or April. In the meantime, considerable pressure was put upon the Government of India to impose an import duty, on a sliding scale, on imports of silver bullion, which continued to pour into the country in undiminished quantities, or to prohibit the import of silver on private account altogether; and on the 11th January, Mr. Westland, replying to a question put by Mr. Fazulbhai Vishram in the Council, declined to make any announcement regarding the policy of the Government which would place it out of their power to impose such a duty.

Exchange which, at the close of the year, had been 1*s.*

$3\frac{3}{32}$*d.*, had fallen by the 12th January to 1*s.* $2\frac{29}{32}$*d.* The next day it rose slightly, and remained steady. But on the 18th January, or just one week after the announcement abovementioned, it was authoritatively stated that the Government had no intention of imposing an import duty on silver; and further, on the 20th idem, it was officially notified that the Secretary of State, *now that the export season had begun*—which it had not done—did not propose any longer to adhere to his minimum, but would consider applications for Bills from time to time on their merits.

A rapid collapse of exchange naturally followed, and by the 9th February, the rate for wire had fallen to 1*s.* $1\frac{23}{32}$*d.*, the Secretary of State, during the interval, selling Bills at rates varying from 1*s.* $2\frac{13}{32}$*d.* to 1*s.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* on the 7th February. All this time the Press at home were loudly proclaiming the failure of the Government Currency scheme, and declaring the early re-opening of the Mints to be a foregone conclusion. Here, on the other hand, the Committee of the Currency Association, on the 10th February, addressed the Viceroy urging that a minimum should be fixed for the sale of Council Bills; or that the importation of silver on private account should be entirely prohibited, and that the Government of India should represent to the Home Government the necessity of entrusting their sale to agents directly responsible to them.

On the 12th February, the *Times*, in an evidently inspired article, announced that Lord Kimberly was determined not to re-open the Mints till the Currency scheme had had a fair trial, but would go on selling Council Bills at the market rate; and, a day or two later, this statement was confirmed in the House of Commons, by Sir William Harcourt, who added that no change in the Currency policy of the Government was meditated, while, on the 15th February, Mr. Russell again stated that the Government did not meditate imposing a duty on silver. By this time exchange was down to 1*s.* $1\frac{3}{4}$*d.*; by the 19th it had further fallen to 1*s* $1\frac{21}{32}$*d.* and on the 21st the Secretary of State sold Bills at 1*s.* $1\frac{19}{32}$*d.*

The 23rd February was a somewhat memorable day in connexion with the Currency question, a special general meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce being convened to consider a Resolution moved by Mr. Steel, calling upon the Government to re-open the Mints. The meeting was largely attended, and, after a warm discussion, the motion was defeated by the overwhelming majority of 61 votes to 16, three of the members present abstaining from voting.

By the 23rd, exchange had fallen to 1*s.* $1\frac{9}{16}$*d.*, and between that date and the 26th, it dropped further to 1*s.* $1\frac{17}{32}$*d.*

On the 26th, a public meeting, composed mainly of natives, but also attended by a few Europeans of radical proclivities, was held in connexion with the Financial situation, and passed Resolutions, protesting against increase of taxation, and in favour of vigorous retrenchment, with special advertence to the Exchange Compensation allowance granted by the Government, after the fullest consideration, to certain of its officers, which was unsparingly condemned.

From this date exchange, under the influence of an increase of export business and dear money on this side, began to improve, and by the 7th instant had reached the encouraging figure of 1*s*, 2$\frac{1}{8}$*d*, the Secretary of State having in the previous week sold over a crore of Bills. Subsequently a weaker feeling set in, and at the sale of the 7th, only 31½ lakhs, out of an allotment of 50 lakhs, were taken up at 1*s*. 2*d*

The circumstances under which it had been determined by the Government of India to seek Legislative sanction to the Tariff Bill above referred to, were set forth by Mr. Westland at the meeting of the Legislative Council of the 1st March, in a statement describing the main features of the financial position. In this statement he showed that, since 1884-85 there had been an augmentation of the loss by exchange (taken as then about Rx. 3,200,000,) of no less than Rx. 6435,000; that, taking exchange at the figure of last March, *viz.*, 1*s*. 2¾*d.*, there would have been a deficit for the current year of Rx. 1,135,000, exclusive of War Charges and Exchange Compensation allowance; that, at the estimated average rate of exchange for the year, this had become Rx. 2,485,000, and that, with the further addition of War Charges and Exchange Compensation, it was actually about three crores and a half.

At the close of his statement Mr. Westland asked for leave, which was granted, to introduce the Tariff Bill already referred to. In doing so, he wisely made no attempt, on his own account, to defend the exclusion of cotton goods from the duties. What he said on this part of the subject, indeed, clearly implied that the Government of India had proposed to include such goods, for he stated that, while Her Majesty's Government agreed with the Government of India on a certain other point, they were not prepared at present to sanction their inclusion, and he therefore abstained from discussing the question, contenting himself with pointing out that, as the imposition of a corresponding duty on native manufactures was so difficult as 'to be practically impossible, the question resolved itself into one of levying duties on imported cotton goods only.

It is further to be remarked that, though the import duties already mentioned, together with an addition of a hundred per cent. to the duty on petroleum, for which also Legislative sanction was asked, were estimated to yield only Rx. 1,400,000, nothing whatever was said in Mr. Westland's statement as to the way in which the remainder of the anticipated deficit of 3½ crores was to be made up.

Though the indignation of the public at the exemption of cotton goods, from what were generally recognised as political reasons of the most sordid description, from the duties, was based on independent grounds, it was naturally intensified by the apprehension that further taxation would be resorted to for this purpose, and an enquiry on the subject was addressed to the Government of India by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. This enquiry elicited a somewhat ambiguous assurance that no further taxation of a general character was contemplated. At the same time it is understood that, in order to establish an equilibrium of income and expenditure under these conditions, the greater portion of the Famine Insurance Fund is to be absorbed and the Provincial Budgets are to be curtailed in various directions, which will mean impaired efficiency of administration.

Protests against this unjust and injurious policy, adopted in opposition, it is stated, to the unanimous opinion of the Secretary of State's Council, have been submitted by most of the chief representative bodies in the country, including the Bombay Presidency Association, the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association; the Bombay Millowners' Association, and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce; the Chamber of Commerce and Trades Association of Madras, Bombay and others; and public meetings to protest against the measure have been held or announced at Cawnpore, Madras and Calcutta.

The meeting in Calcutta, on Thursday, the 8th instant, was one of the largest and most representative ever held. The first Resolution, moved by Mr. Allan Arthur and carried unanimously, was—"That this Meeting records an emphatic protest against the refusal of the Secretary of State to sanction the inclusion of cotton yarn and cotton fabrics among the articles declared liable to duty in the proposed Indian Tariff Bill, thus subordinating the best interests of the people of India to those of a section of the manufacturers of England."

The second Resolution, proposed by Mr. Pugh, and carried *nem. con.* was—"That this Meeting calls upon the Legislative Council of H. E. the Governor-General to reject the Indian Tariff Bill, 1894, unless it be amended so as to include cotton yarn and cotton fabrics."

A most powerful speech was made on the occasion by Mr. Pugh, who appealed in forcible language to the Members of the Executive Council and the additional official Members of the Legislative Council to vote according to the dictates of their conscience, a view of their duty in support of which he quoted the memorable words used on a much less important occasion, in 1855, by Sir Barnes Peacock and Sir James Colville.

"But could any one suppose for a moment," said the former, "that Parliament intended to empower the Honourable Court of Directors to direct a Judge of any of their Courts in this country, as to how he should decide a particular case. Most assuredly not; and if the Honourable Court could not direct a Judge as to how he should decide, it appeared to him that they could not dictate to the Legislative Council as to what laws it should pass. He had always understood, and he still held that the office of a Member of Council was a high and honourable one; but if he believed that the constitution of this Council was such, that its members were bound to legislate in any manner that either the Board of Control or the Honourable Court of Directors might order, he should say that, instead of its being a high and honourable office, it was one which no man, who had a regard for his own honour and independence, could consent to hold; for his own part he would state freely, without hesitation, that he would rather resign his office than hold it on such a tenure. . . . He believed that the trust and duty committed to every member of the Legislative Council was to act according to his own judgment and conscience."

And Sir James Colville said :—

"He could not suppose that the Honourable Court of Directors really meant to hold that the Imperial Parliament, when it first conferred on the Governor-General in Council the Legislative power given by the Charter Act, and still less when it enlarged the Council, as it had done at a recent period. . . . intended to constitute, not a legislature properly so called, not a body of men who were bound to exercise their own judgment, according to their own consciences in the framing of laws, but an assembly which might, under certain circumstances, be called upon to act as the mere instrument of the will of another body, like the Parliament of Paris under the old regime, the members of which, when the King held what was termed a bed of justice, were compellable to register as law the royal edicts, however repugnant such edicts might be to their reasons and their consciences."

The Bill, as amended by the Select Committee to which it was referred, came before the Council on the 10th instant, when an amendment to the motion that the Bill be taken into consideration was moved by Mr. Playfair, to the effect that it be recommitted to the Select Committee. The amendment was supported by Sir Griffith Evans and all the non-official members, but was defeated by 11 votes to 7, the President not voting, and the official members voting solid for the passing of the Bill, though most of them, more or less, distinctly stated that, political considerations apart, they were opposed to the principle of the exclusion.

His Excellency, the Viceroy, concluded a sympathetic speech, in which he expressed much regret that the first important measure that had come before the Council since he had had the honour of presiding over it, had given rise to so much dissatisfaction, by an assurance that the views entertained in this country had been communicated to the Secretary of State and fully considered by Her Majesty's Government, and that if, after an interval sufficient to judge of the position as affected by the Tariff Act, the course of exchange and other circumstances, there was no improvement, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to receive a further representation on the subject.

Mr. Gladstone's resignation, which was accepted by the Queen on the 2nd instant, is based on the state of his health, and especially on his failing hearing and eyesight; and there can be no doubt that this cause would have long since justified his retirement from public life. But there is reason to believe that, during the last few weeks of his tenure of office, grave dissensions had arisen in the Cabinet, and it is not improbable that these may have hastened his retirement. The wisest man would hesitate to predict whether the event is more likely to influence the course of English politics for good or for evil. At one time it was very generally believed that it would result in the ascendancy of moderate counsels, and not improbably, in the reconciliation of the Liberal Unionists. But these hopes have been largely dissipated by Lord Rosebery's speech at the meeting of the Liberal Party, in which he declared his absolute adherence to Home Rule, and his determination to carry on the campaign against the Lords by every constitutional means at his command.

The Foreign Secretaryship, rendered vacant by Lord Rosebery's acceptance of the Premiership, has been given to Lord Kimberly, who is succeeded at the India Office by Mr. Hartley Fowler, with Lord Reay as Under-Secretary.

One of the latest acts of Lord Lansdowne's administration was the submission to the Secretary of State of a despatch on the simultaneous examinations question, in which it is understood that they pronounce strongly against the proposal, on the ground that not only is the scheme beset with insuperable practical difficulties, but, even if it were technically practicable, it would be open to the gravest objections.

Among the minor events of the quarter, was a mysterious shooting case at a village near Fultah, in the Diamond Harbour Sub-division, which resulted in the committal of Dr. Pearse, to the High Court Sessions on a charge of culpable homicide. Dr. Pearse, and two other officers, appear to have gone out from the Fort at Diamond Harbour on a shooting excursion. In the course of their wanderings they contrived to get into a native village, where, owing to some misapprehension as to their intentions, they were attacked by a body of the villagers armed with sticks and *daos.* Dr. Pearse, being, as is alleged, hard pressed, fired in self-defence, but aimed at the ground. The dead body of a villager was subsequently produced, who was said to have been killed by the shot from his gun, and the medical evidence went to show that his death was the result of shot wounds. The evidence, however, by which it was sought to connect the man's death with Dr. Pearse's act completely broke down, and it was proved by expert testimony that, in the position in which he was shown to have been when Dr. Pearse fired, his wounds could not have been caused in the way alleged. The case was dismissed by the Subordinate Magistrate, who first investigated it on the spot ; but subsequently a fresh enquiry was held by the Magistrate of the District, acting under instructions from the Local Government, and the result, was the committal of Dr. Pearse, as already stated. When, however, the case came on for trial before the High Court, the counsel for the Crown entered a *nolle prosequi,* on the ground of his inability to produce any satisfactory evidence, and the Court, accepting this as an acquittal, discharged the accused.

The action of the Magistrate in committing, without *primâ facie* evidence, has been severely criticised ; and the case is cited, not without justice, as furnishing a striking illustration of the mischief of interference, on the part of the Executive, with the discretion of a subordinate in the exercise of his judicial functions.

The period under review has not been without its little war. In consequence of an attack made by the Abors on one of our military police patrols, on the 27th November last, a small expedition, under Captain Maxwell, was sent against the tribe early in January. Unfortunately, the operations have proved to a large extent abortive ; for, though a number of the enemy's elaborately constructed stockades have been captured and destroyed, and several important villages and much good food burnt, the force has been compelled, by want of supplies, to return without reaching their principal stronghold. The operations have been attended by very little loss on our side except on a single occasion, when a Goorkha Guard of fifteen men, conveying stores, were treacherously attacked by some of the Abors who were employed to carry them, and all, except one man, were cut down. Though the expedition was forced upon us at the last, there is some reason to think that, with only moderate tact, the state of relations with the Abors, which led to it, might have been avoided.

The obituary of the quarter includes the name of Mr. David Cowie, formerly senior partner in the old and well-known firm of Colvin, Cowie and Co., who died at his residence in Calcutta, on the 20th February.

12th March, 1894.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1892-93.

A DECLINE in the attendance at colleges is regarded as merely temporary. Statistics prove increasing consolidation, and the registration of private institutions continues to extend.

A certain portion of the advance denoted is ascribed to improved registration of private schools but, even allowing for this, the progress which some of the districts have made is pronounced astonishing. And yet the condition of education remains particularly unsatisfactory in Vizagapatam and in a large area extending over the centre of the Presidency. In Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur, Upper Secondary instruction can hardly be said to exist at all even now, and Lower Secondary education in these districts is in a not much better plight.

The growth in the number of departmental institutions during the last four years is noticeable. It is attributed to the assumption of management of schools for girls and training institutions and to the establishment of numerous schools in backward localities. The increase in the case of private intitutions must be largely apparent only. The development of Aided schools is checked by want of funds on the part of the State.

It is noticed how large a proportion of the pupils are the children of officials; the proportion is however declining—a proof that the example set by officials has not been lost.

The number of pupils learning English was the largest on record, viz., 100,461 boys and 9,001 girls.

Dr. Duncan's fear that the study of Sanskrit is becoming less popular is held by the Secretariat to be ungrounded. The number of pupils reading English does not advance quite so fast as was expected; a growth of less than 50 per. cent. in ten years can hardly be regarded as very rapid. In the course of five years there has been a considerable advance under Telugu, Uriya and Hindustani. The fact that the number of pupils reading Uriya has been increasing at a rate exceeding 11 per cent. *per annum* is accentuated; indeed from paragraph 12 of the report it would appear that education is more extended among them than among any of the vernacular-speaking races—an unexpected fact. The progress of Hindustani is very marked but it is probably in great part the result of an improvement in the registration of private Muhammadan schools, to which cause also must, no doubt, be attributed the extraordinary increase which has taken place in the number studying Arabic. Only 130 boys were learning Tulu; it is presumed that the medium of instruction in the case of Tulu-speaking boys is generally Canarese.

On the whole nearly 78 per cent. of the boys of school-going age in municipal areas were at school and in eleven cases the proportion exceeded 90 per cent., rising as high as 122·7 per cent. in the case of Ongole. The general proportion is not unsatisfactory even allowing for the resort to town schools of boys from rural tracts, but in a few cases, such as Anakápalle, Cocanada, Bezwada, Gudiyáttam, Salem, Periyakulam and Cannanore, the figures are not so high as they should be.

There was a large increase in the outlay upon education during 1892-93.

In spite of the growth of expenditure the average cost of each pupil in public institutions continues to decline and in 1892-93 was below 9 rupees. The proportion of the outlay which was devoted to objects of indirect expenditure was moderate, a sharp fall having taken place when compared with 1891-92 in consequence of a diminished outlay on buildings and miscellaneous matters such as furniture grants. The direct expenditure amounted to Rs. 49 89,577.

A noticeable feature about it is the continuous decline in the proportion of the outlay which goes to Secondary education. This is, however, purely relative and consequent upon the more rapid expansion of Primary than Secondary instruction. The actual outlay upon Secondary education was larger by nearly Rs. 65,000 than in 1891-92.

The fee receipts which amounted to more than 16¼ lakhs covered nearly one-third of the expenditure. The revenue from fees was relatively highest in the case of Secondary education where it reached 39·4, per cent. of the expenditure; in the case of Primary education the percentage was 33·7 and, in that of University education, it was 31·4 while in special schools only 5·2 per cent. of the cost was defrayed from this source. Under every head there was a decline, as compared with 1891-92, of the proportionate expenditure met from fees, and in the case of Secondary education the fee-receipts actually fell off. On the whole, however, the revenue from this source increased during the year by nearly half a lakh. This, says Mr. Price, is somewhat surprising, and the fact seems to imply that the requirements of recognition and aid have been so stringently enforced, that managers have been unable to make wholesale remissions and reductions of fees. The apprehensions felt in some quarters that the new school-fee notification would result in an unhealthy competition involving sacrifice of efficiency for the purpose of attracting pupils by low rates of fees has thus proved unfounded, as Government anticipated that it would. On the whole the growth of the revenue from fees may be regarded as fairly satisfactory, for it is steady if somewhat slow. Omitting from consideration institutions under departmental management, where fee receipts naturally show little tendency to rise, the income from fees has advanced by 61·5 per cent. in nine years, and this represents a growth not much inferior to that which has taken place in the number of pupils during the same period.

The outlay in grants-in-aid again declined; but in each of the last three years the expenditure under this head has exceeded 9½ lakhs and, in 1892-93, more than 63 per cent. of the expenditure was borne by Provincial funds. The revised estimate for result grants payable from Provincial funds amounted to Rs. 2,13,000 and the actuals did not fall very far short of this figure but, as the actuals included nearly half a lakh due for 1891-92, the grants remaining unpaid at the end of the year amounted to Rs. 43,844, or about 20 per cent. of the total earnings. A large and unsatisfactory lapse.

More than half the payments under result grants went in the form of merit grants. In the case of boys half the outlay from Provincial funds appeared against the fourth standard, representing the charges for Upper Primary instruction in Local Fund Circles and for female education. In the case of girls the first standard drew the largest sum.

The great increase which took place in the total number of University examinees in 1892 93 was mainly nominal, being the result of the division of the B. A. degree examination into three parts. To this cause about three-quarters of the apparent increase may be assigned. The figures relating to the L.M. and S. and the L.T. examinations are hopeful; otherwise there is not much sign of growth in the University examinations. It was anticipated that recent changes in regard to entrance into the public service would have a most stimulating effect upon the Arts examinations, but the results are less noticeable than was expected. The rapid rise during the last three years in the percentage of passes may be due, as the Director assumes, to an improvement in the quality of the candidates, and it is highly probable that this is the cause in the case of the B. L. examination, but in other cases it may merely denote a deterioration in the standard required. The exceedingly high proportion of success in the case of the B. A. Degree examination is no doubt to be ascribed to the recent change in the scheme of the examination, which enables candidates to count separately passes in each of the three divisions.

On the whole these figures are not unsatisfactory. The great fall in attendance at Arts colleges in 1892-93 is a result of revision of the scheme of the Matriculation examination. The effects of this fall will be seriously felt for some years, but of itself it is not a matter for regret. Excluding the year under review, there has been a steady, though slight, improvement in the attendance at Arts colleges and a rise in the percentage of students in the B. A. classes, Professional colleges show gratifying signs of growth. In 1887-88 there were 5 of these institutions with 409 students on the rolls ; in 1892-93 the numbers had risen to 6 and 759 respectively.

The comparative success of Native Christians at the Upper Secondary examinations is attributed to the high quality of the education imparted in institutions managed by missions.

The effect of the recent raising of the standard of qualifications required of candidates for certain of the Special Tests is seen in the large increase in the strength of Upper Secondary departments which has taken place during the last few years. The figures are promising, although allowance must be made for the opening of another form in Upper Secondary departments under the revised educational rules. The fifth form is still a little weak ; but the fourth contained 3,754 pupils on the 31st March last. As the Government has resolved to restore the Matriculation examination to the position of a service test, a further extension of Upper Secondary education may be anticipated with some confidence.

The Lower Secondary examination has proved more popular than was expected and in 1892 93 there were a large number of candidates. To a limited extent this examination has taken the place of the Middle School examination.

Corresponding with the abolition of the Middle School examination, there was a fall in the attendance of boys in Lower Secondary departments. The statistics suggest that the state of Lower Secondary schools is generally unsatisfactory for they show that, out of 226 English institutions, only 82, and out of 234 Vernacular institutions only 24, have fully complied with the requirements of the department in regard to recognition.

Apropos of Primary education, we are told that, taking the population of school-going age at 15 per cent. of the total, it is found that in four districts (Anantapur, Nellore, Salem and Vizagapatam) less than 15 per cent. of the boys of school-going age were under instruction, and the backwardness of Salem is referred to as somewhat remarkable.

The statistics relating to the examinations for Teachers' Certificates are branded as being of a most unsatisfactory nature. Only three candidates obtained First-class Trained Teachers' certificates during the year, and these were of the

Lower Secondary and Primary grades. In the Written Examination 34·7 per cent. of the trained candidates and 40·1 per cent. of the untrained candidates were successful. Again, in the Practical Test 72·3 per cent. of the untrained teachers passed, while in the case of trained men the percentage was only 53·4, and of the 119 untrained candidates for the Practical Test 37 obtained first-class certificates—a figure which contrasts in a marked manner with the 3 first-class certificates gained by 217 trained men.

The progress made by Training Schools for Mistresses during the year under review, and the results of examinations for Mistresses' certificates are said to have been satisfactory. Nearly 84 per cent. of the women under training were Christians, and 41 per cent. were the daughters of officials. It is stated that 98 young women who were trained during the three years ending with 1891-92, remain unprovided for. Considering the demand supposed to exist for trained female teachers the fact is surprising.

There was a sudden increase in the strength of Schools of Music during 1892-93.

Schools of Industry are held to show signs of real progress, and it is satisfactory to observe that nearly 24 per cent. of the pupils were Muhummadans. It is well said that the importance of practical, well-equipped industrial institutions is great, but that the utility of maintaining, in schools designed for other purposes, weak classes which receive a rudimentary knowledge of some industry under the tuition of teachers of low professional qualifications, and to the detriment of general education, is more than questionable.

The education of girls, though still on a small scale, continues to progress in a hopeful manner, but the advance made in the year under review was much less than in the preceding three years.

Upper and Lower Secondary education is almost confined to girls professing the Christian religion. The figures relating to Upper Primary instruction are disappointing ; the number of pupils in this stage receives but a small increment annually, and the ratio to the number in the Lower Primary stage declines continuously. Of the girls receiving Lower Primary instruction, no fewer than 23,966 were unable to read printed books. In six districts less than 2 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were at school ; South Arcot and Madura are, all things considered, most backward in this respect.

During the four years ending 1892-93 the advance in the number of girls who qualified according to the Infant standard was not so large as the advance in the four years ending 1891-92, and in the four years ending 1891-92 the advance in the number who qualified according to the Fourth standard, was not so large as the advance in the four years ending 1890-91. In all other cases a striking improvement took place.

There were 70,488 Muhammadan pupils in public institutions in 1892-93, against 67,417 in the previous year, and 24,618 Panchamas (Paraiyas and kindred classes) against 21,782. In South Canara and Nellore less than 30 per cent. of the male Muhammadan population of school-going age was under instruction ; the large Muhammadan population of Kurnool and Cuddapah also is exceedingly backward educationally. The attendance at Mapilla schools declined. Of the 27,824 pupils in this class of schools only 36 were learning English. Concessions recently granted by Government will, it is hoped, tend to elevate the educational condition of the Panchamas. Improvement must necessarily be slow in the case of this class, however, for lack of funds renders it impossible to take in hand measures as extensive as could be desired. It is noteworthy that there were 1,437 schools mainly or solely designed for Panchamas in existence in 1892-93 ; the Government was not aware before that so large a number of special institutions had been established for the benefit of this class. On the whole 5·1 per cent. of the male Panchama population of school-going age was under instruction in the year under review ; in the case of girls the proportion was only 0·8 per cent. In Madras and the Nilgiris the arrangements for the instruction of this class are on a comparatively ample scale. In Tinnevelly and South Canara also something appreciable has been done. The most unsatisfactory districts in this respect are Anantapur, Vizagapatam, Kurnool, Nellore, South Arcot, Salem and Tanjore ; in the first-named district there was not a single Primary school for Panchamas. Education makes very slow progress in the Agency tracts.

Night schools are advancing rapidly in number and strength. In 1885-86 there were only 312 of these institutions with 6,972 pupils on the rolls ; in 1892-93 the figures had risen to 934 and 16,649 respectively. Thus in 7 years, night schools have increased by 199 per cent. in numbers and by 139 per cent. in strength and it is obvious that they supply a real want. The Board night schools in Salem, Tanjore and South Canara had disappeared in the year under review ; but two were opened in Bellary. There are Board night schools in six districts only, and nearly half of them are situated in Godávari. In Malabar and South Canara the system is hardly existent as yet.

Report on Police Administration in the Punjab for the year 1892.

STATISTICS are no safer guides to facts in the Punjab than in other provinces; with the result, says the Lieutenant-

Governor, in his Resolution on the Inspector-General's Report on the administration of the Police during the year 1892, that it is impossible to make any safe comparison between one year and another or between one district and another, and that the tabular statements given in the first four paragraphs of the Report may well be passed over, as the Inspector-General has passed them over, almost without comment.

His Honor observes that, though the report notices the fact that the ratio of the cases in which the Police declined to take action to the total number of cases reported to the Police has fallen from 6·13 per cent. in 1891 to 4·05 per cent. in 1892, it says nothing about the somewhat remarkable circumstance that the fall is almost altogether in the Eastern Circle, in which, while the total number of cases reported to the Police was 33,430 in 1892, as against 34,711, in 1891, the number of cases in which the Police declined to take action has fallen from 2,045 to 852. It also passes over without notice the extraordinary variations in the percentage from one district to another, and in the same district from year to year.

The want of proper supervision over the investigations conducted by inferior Police Officers is a matter to which Mr. Steedman, the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiárpur, drew attention last year. The subject is brought up again this year by Mr. Bruce, the Commissioner of the Deraját, and Mr. Fanshawe, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, and their observations are pronounced deserving of attention. Whether Mr. Fanshawe is right (which the Deputy Inspector-General doubts) in thinking that the proper remedy is to insist on the District Superintendent of Police keeping an English note of his proceedings in each investigation is a question which would probably have to be answered differently in the case of different District Superintendents. His Honor observes that it is stated that Mr. Close keeps such a note; to him it seems scarcely comprehensible how any ordinary man with a number of investigations on hand, some of them extending over weeks, could keep any real control over them all without doiug so; but the point is one which should be left to each Deputy Commissioner to decide for himself. *The Deputy Commissioner is responsible for seeing that the Police work of his district is properly done.* (The italics are ours.) If he finds that the District Superintendent is really keen on his work, and exercises such a control over the investigations as to ensure their being properly made, and to prevent his subordinates concocting evidence and spoiling cases, the Deputy Commissioner would probably do best in leaving him to his own methods of working. Otherwise it will be for the Deputy Commissioner to issue such instructions as he thinks best adapted to get the work well done.

The following remarks made by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur, in his Criminal Justice Administration Report for the year 1892, seem to the Lieutenant-Governor to indicate a field on which the departmental Deputy Inspectors-General might be usefully employed :—

> On the principle adopted with such success in regard to trades and industries, of selecting one subject every year and writing a monograph on it, I would suggest that each year one subject be taken up as a speciality out of the Criminal Report, such as offences against the person or against property, fines, the treatment of witnesses, procedure, &c., &c., and a number of questions set for report and a monograph be written on it by a selected officer, so that in a few years each of the most important subjects would have been dealt with thoroughly and all the facts regarding it threshed out : we should then have something reliable and satisfactory to go upon. All sorts of evils would then be brought to light, and great divergences of practice would be discovered. An immense amount of good would be done to the administration by a searching enquiry into each subject in succession. At present, as in the old days of trade and industry reports, no one subject is satisfactorily dealt with, but a lot of inaccurate statistics are served up year after year, facts are not properly digested, and a number of ingenious but often conflicting and valueless opinions are given because under the present system sufficient time and attention cannot be given to them.

The number of murder cases in the Pesháwar District rose during the year of report from 52 to 70, a figure, however, which is still far below those of the years 1885, 1886 and 1887. It is remarkable that the number of murders and attempts to murder taken together has, during the last four years, varied only between 79 and 85 ; in other words, that the number of cases in which an attempt is made to commit murder is pretty constant, while the number in which the attempt succeeds varies within wider limits. More than half the murders in the Pesháwar District in 1892 were committed on account of women. The proportion of the murderers hanged or transported for life was, as usual, very small, there having been a large number tried by jirga, and a large number who absconded across the border.

The variations shown for some districts in the Report in the number of bad characters ordered to furnish security from one year to another are very striking, but they are easily accounted for by the circumstance that, except in very rare cases where some one applies to have another put on security, the initiative in such proceedings rests entirely with the Magistrate of the district and the superior Police Officers. The matter may be allowed to rest for several years till a new District Magistrate, or District Superintendent of Police, who is strongly impressed with its importance, arrives. Then it is taken up systematically, and the result is that during the first year a large number of bad characters are placed on security. The worst characters having been thus disposed of, there is naturally a large diminution in the number dealt with in the next year, and so the matter proceeds. It is much to be regretted that the action of our officers in this particular is not more uniform, and efforts should be made to render it more so; but at the same time it is not to be inferred that because the number of cases under this heading suddenly increases in one year, or as suddenly diminishes in the next, the officers then in charge of the district have been doing anything but what is called for under the circumstances. It is impossible to doubt that a judicious use of the powers conferred by the Code of Criminal Procedure in regard to this matter has an important effect in reducing crime. On this point there is a general concensus of opinion; but it cannot too often be repeated that a proper system of working and the closest supervision from the District Magistrate is needed to prevent these powers becoming an instrument of injustice and oppression, and there seems still to be some difference of opinion as to whether the practice adopted in some districts of sending a Judicial Officer out into the villages to take up the cases on the spot is a good one. The Commissioner of Ráwalpindi stigmatises this system as "badmásh hunting," and says that to entrust the working of it "to a Native 1st Class Magistrate, if an average man," as appears to have been done in Siálkot, "entails many wrong convictions." But the point is not one to be disposed of by a dyslogistic epithet, nor can the Lieutenant-Governor admit that a Native officer is in any special way unfit to be entrusted with work of this description in the performance of which an intimate knowledge of the people is one of the most important qualifications.

His Honor finds that it is stated by Mr. Thorburn that in Ráwalpindi, "out of 396 bad livelihood cases, 294 persons were placed under security, and of these 275 were imprisoned in default," from which Mr. Thorburn concludes that in that district "the security section is worked with a view to lock up professional badmáshes rather than merely to secure them, leaving them their liberty." Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick would wish to know for what period the 275 persons referred to were imprisoned. If they failed altogether to find security and were imprisoned for the whole period for which security was demanded of them, the matter clearly requires careful looking into. If, on the other hand, the great majority of them were imprisoned only for the brief period requisite for them to produce the security, the matter would stand on a very different footing. Mr. Thorburn's inference that, because in the Siálkot District 727 out of 806 of these cases were prosecuted successfully, it is pretty clear that "a large percentage of the men so convicted were innocent," is one which His Honor cannot accept. When we find a large proportion of prosecutions breaking down, we usually condemn our Executive Officers for instituting false cases, and if, when we find a large proportion succeeding, we must condemn our Judicial Officers for wrongly convicting, the dilemma would be a somewhat awkward one. It may be added that, with an appeal lying to a District Magistrate of Major Montgomery's reputation, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick is not disposed to believe that any large number of innocent persons have been called upon to give security in Siálkot. The large number of persons, 1,355, who were called upon to give security in the Kohát District, with a total population of only 190,514, undoubtedly gives ground for some apprehension that the system may have been too severely worked there.

In paragraph 22 of the Report it is stated that an attempt is being made to induce the Tagus, who have left their homes, to return to their villages. This is held to be a move in the right direction. The proportion of the members of criminal tribes in the Karnál District, both Biluchis and Tagus, who are absent from their homes is comparatively very large, and seems to be unaffected by the number of prosecutions for absence without leave. Out of 63 convictions among the Tagus. no less than 59 were for absence without leave, and this out of a total number of 295 names on the register. As remarked by Mr. Gladstone, in order to ensure a proper control over criminal tribes, the co operation both of neighbouring districts and of the adjoining Native States is required. It is satisfactory to learn that the whole subject of Police arrangements between our districts and the Phulkián and other Native States adjoining them, has been lately taken up, and is in train for a satiscfatory settlement.

Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick is sorry to notice an increase all round in the percentage of resignations of the men of the Police force, but thinks this is perhaps only to be expected as a result of the rise of wages in other employments, and the general improvement of the country.

His Honor believes that the Phillour School is doing good work, and as an incidental advantage of its upkeep it may be mentioned, that it provides a Police reserve from which 200 men fully equipped could be turned out under a European officer on the shortest notice, and could be sent by railway to any part of the Province where their services might be needed.

The business referred to under the heading of "traffic in women" is declared to be for the most part that simply of an extremely disreputable matrimonial agency ; but as those who conduct it at times practise frauds of various kinds, and as they do sometime have dealings with girls under age, it requires careful watching.

Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1892-93.

THERE were in 1892-93, 9,244 school and colleges in the Province, or 164 less than in the previous year. The decrease is confined to private institutions, the figures regarding which are of a somewhat untrustworthy character. The number of scholars was 251,099, as compared with 260,277 in 1891-92. The falling-off took place in the private institutions and in the Lower Primary Departments of the Primary and Middle Schools, and is attributed chiefly to the unhealthiness of the year. In calculating the number of persons who receive a secular education of even the humblest type, the 49,101 scholars attending 4,290 schools " for elementary religious instruction by rote " may be excluded, as the matter committed to memory is presumably, as a rule, in a language little, if at all, understood by the pupil. In round numbers therefore, 200,000 persons out of a total population of 21,000,000 souls are being educated to a greater or less extent, and of these three-fourths obtain instruction in " public institutions," *i. e*, in schools or colleges which follow the courses of study prescribed by the Education Department or the University, and are inspected by the Department or present pupils at the public examinations. Omitting the scholars in " rote " schools, one child in fifteen of a school-going age attends school. The proportion among boys may be put at one in eight, for not one girl in 100 receives any education. The figure given by the Director, in the 139th paragraph of his Report, is 1·6 per cent., but this includes girls taught in " rote " schools, who make up nearly one-half of the total. It appears from paragraph 166 that among Muhammadans 5¼ per cent., among Hindús 10½, and among Sikhs 12 per cent, of the boys of school-going age attend public schools.

The expenditure on education was a little over 28 lakhs of rupees, or Rs. 1,37,000 more than in 1891-92. The sources from which the funds were derived are shown below :—

	1891-92.	1892-93.
Imperial Revenues	5	5
Provincial Revenues	32¾	33¼
Local (District and Municipal) Funds ...	35¼	33½
Fees	17	18
Other sources (subscriptions and emoluments)	10	10

In the case of Municipalities, not only has their proportionate share of the total expenditure declined, but their disbursements for educational purposes have also fallen off by over Rs. 8,000. His Honor has recently instructed the Director to take up, from time to time, the cases of particular Municipalities, where the expenditure on education is markedly low and propose the transfer of the charge for grants-in-aid to schools within their boundaries from Provincial to Municipal Funds. One or two Municipalities actually make a profit on their schools, the income from Government grants and fees exceeding the gross expenditure. Mr. Sime, in paragraph 24 of the Report, notices that District Boards are expected to spend not less than 25 per cent. of their income on education. But this obligation only arises "whenever it (the Board) is required by Government to do so."

What the Director says of the management, or so-called management, of schools by District Boards comes to this, that, where the Deputy Commissioner attempts to square theory with practice and to make the District Board really responsible for the management of the schools, the result, as a rule, is failure; where he manages the schools himself under the shield of the Board, things run smoothly and satisfactorily. There are, however, said to be some exceptional cases in which the Boards do the work satisfactorily.

In not a few instances praiseworthy efforts have been made by private individuals, or religious and charitable societies, to open schools. A noteworthy instance is the opening of a new Arts College in connection with the Muhammadan school in Lahore managed by the Anjuman-i-Himáyat-i-Islám; and the starting of a Hindu-Mahomedan school at Umballa, with every prospect of success, is matter for congratulation, especially in these days, when so much is heard of religious differences. The number of private schools applying to be examined for grants, is increasing year by year.

The number of students who presented themselves at University Arts Examinations was somewhat larger than in 1891-92. As last year, 41 per cent. of the candidates for the B. A. degree were successful, while 7 out of 12 candidates were successful in the M. A. test as compared with 2 out of 6 in 1891-92. The Government and Mission Colleges at Lahore, and St. Stephen's College at Delhi, continue to do excellent work in the cause of higher education, and the minor colleges, which only teach up to the intermediate standard, have also done well. In the examinations for Oriental titles nearly two-thirds of the candidates failed. Education in the Oriental College is almost entirely of an eleemosynary character. Half of the students in the College Department are in the enjoyment of scholarships, and 122 students contribute only Rs. 492 in fees, out of a total expenditure of Rs. 28,452. The experiment of providing an advanced education through the medium of the Oriental languages has proved very costly. The idea was a fascinating one, but it has hardly been a success in practice, and, as Mr. Sime remarks in the 73rd paragraph of his Report, the question must come up for discussion whether matters can be continued on their present footing.

The number of candidates in the Law and Medical Examinations has increased. The proportion of failures in the junior examinations in the Assistant Surgeon class was very large. The Medical College continues to attract students from the North-Western Provinces, and the number of free students is now 93 as compared with 79 in 1891-92. The total number of students under instruction was from 322 to 397.

Para. 7 of the Lieutenant-Governor's review of the report reads:—The fact stated at the end of paragraph 50 of the Report, that on an average one out of every four students in the Colleges holds a scholarship, shows the encouragement given to higher education in this Province. Is it encouragement—or prostitution?

School Education. - Secondary Schools.—While the total number of children taught in public institutions declined, the number taking advantage of a cheap secondary education increased slightly, and over 10 per cent. of the scholars now pass beyond the primary stage. Anglo-Vernacular schools are said to be yearly becoming more popular because training in them is the likeliest road by which to reach the goal of Government service. Of 12 new Middle Schools started during the year 11 are Anglo-Vernacular, and English is now taught in over half of the Middle Schools of the Province. Scarcely any candidates now go up for the Entrance Examination from Vernacular Schools, and double as many candidates appeared in the Middle School Examination from Anglo-Vernacular Schools as from Vernacular Schools. The Vernacular were far more successful than the Anglo-Vernacular candidates, who in the important Lahore Circle are said to have been handicapped by the setting up by certain Examiners of too high a standard in English. The number of students appearing in the Entrance Examination and the percentage of passes both show a considerable increase. The boarding-house arrangements in connection with Middle Schools are being extended and improved, and, as Mr. Sime observes, the boarding-houses are becoming an important factor in the Punjab Educational system.

The number of scholars attending Primary Schools declined owing to the sickliness of the season. The Special Zamíndári Schools provided to meet the supposed wants of the Agricultural classes, and the Gurmukhi classes in Board Schools have not been very successful. If it turns out on full trial that, as Mr. Sime says, the zamíndárs undervalue the Zamindári Schools because they are only designed to fit their children for their hereditary calling, it will, in His Honor's opinion, be matter for regret; but it would be a question whether in that event it would be worth while to maintain this particular type of school. No doubt, as the Director of Public Instruction remarks, we have to consider what is best for the people, but if they are not willing to accept that, we have no means of compelling them to do so.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Malleson's French in India.[*]

STUDENTS of Indian history are for the most part already aware of the value of Col. Malleson's endeavours to do justice to the exertions of the French to found an Indian Empire during the last century. These labours, indeed, have a two-fold interest for British subjects; for they not only show the energy and ability against which their predecessors had to contend while founding the British Indian Empire, but they further exhibit the sources whence was derived almost all the policy by which those founders were inspired. If the British Company of those days was able to march from commerce to conquest, it was the French who showed them the way; and the credit which is really due to Clive and Hastings, is less deserved by any originality of their conceptions, than by the practical sagacity with which they bettered their example.

The original work which appeared as a series of articles in the *Calcutta Review*, was entirely successful in calling attention to the great merits and ambitious designs of the French Chiefs in India,—Martin, Dumas, Dupleix and Bussy. Not only was this success admitted by the leading English critics, but French writers were equally ready to testify to the depth of the author's research and the perfect impartiality which he showed in dealing with the exploits of the officers and men on both sides. In the *Revue des deux Mondes*, a famous critic declared that it would never occur to a French reader that the book was written by a foreigner.

Col. Malleson's conclusions are by no means identical with those which have been lately recommended by the fine writing and perfect information of Sir Alfred Lyall (in Murray's "Extension Manual" series): but it is a question whether the brilliant summing-up of that acute and stimulating thinker ought to be accepted without some little qualification. The Directors of the British Company were, for the most part, ordinary London mercantile men, who resolutely withstood temptation, and restricted their operations within their appropriate sphere. Thus, in 1721, they wrote to their agents in Bengal:—"Remember! We are not fond of much territory, especially if it lies at a distance from you, and is not pretty near to the waterside—nor indeed of any." Looking through the old records, cited by Bruce and Auber, we find this the prevailing tone. It is quite true that Sir Josiah Child had, in the end

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[*] History of the French in India, 3rd edition, W. H. Allen & Co., Ld. 1893.

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of the 17th century, urged on his brother a different policy: but the result had not been encouraging and it seems to have acted as a strong deterrent for long after. Towards the middle of the reign of George II., after Fontenoy, and when trouble from Pondicherry was seen to be approaching, the Directors would hardly consent to spare any funds for purposes of defence. Even Fort St. George was in such a weak state that the chief naval officer—Commodore Barnett—declared that he could not sleep at night "if there were 500 French soldiers in Pondicherry."

It was Dupleix—aided by the ability and energy of his creole wife—who forced on Great Britain an inland movement; and the foundation of the Empire was not on the field of Plassey, but among the crumbling walls of captured Madras. In 1747 the servants of the British Company were cowering in Fort St. David, not knowing what a day might bring forth, or how long they might retain this, their last foothold, on the Coast of the Carnatic. Ten years later the "heaven born" General, whom Fortune had improvised out of a counting house clerk, was leading his astonished masters from Madras to Allahabad. In 1762 the last vestige of French supremacy had disappeared from India; three years later Clive had shewn that his capacity as administrator and statesman were no less consummate than his abilities as disciplinarian and strategist: and the Empire was founded.

Nevertheless, as Colonel Malleson clearly shows, it was in Madras, not in Bengal, that the indispensable preliminaries were begun; and the civil achievements of Clive were as much due to the bold conceptions of Dupleix and Bussy as his military exploits were foreshadowed by the audacious enterprises of Paradis and Esprémesnil. Without hazarding the whole assertion that Plassey and Buxar, the treaty with Oudh and the grant of the *Diwani*, would never have been without the initial example of the French, it may be safely said that in all such undertakings they were the original inventors and actual precursors. It was Dupleix who, carrying out the ideas of his immediate predecessors, turned the gentle races of the South into efficient musketeers, imbued with some of the discipline and tenacity of Europeans; and who, aided by able subordinates, showed how a resolute advance of well-drilled columns could disperse a hundred times their number of Asiatic troops. It was Bussy who, by practical experiment, demonstrated the power of a straightforward and determined diplomacy; and who proved the weight of a European "Resident" amid the intrigues and tragi-comedies of a Musalmán Court.

It is, indeed, amazing to see how long the British were in learning the lesson taught them by their brilliant, if unsuccessful, adversaries. It was really not until Warren Hastings was made "Governor-General," and the Company resolved to "stand forth as Diwán," that the Empire began any actual existence. Their slowly-moving minds were long contented with seeking after dividends, with bribes for king-making, and the hire of their troops to the best bidder. They were content with their possessions, not caring to enquire into the means of acquisition so long as their "investments" prospered. Even if John Company succeeded to the throne of Bengal after the battle of Buxar, he did not seem to realise his royalty. Professor Seeley, therefore, may be in an extreme when he teaches that it was all due to chance; it is at least equally wrong to compare the progress of the Anglo-Indians in the 18th century with the deliberate expansion of the Roman Empire, as is done by Macaulay. Equally exaggerated appears the supposition of a deep laid foundation, deliberately prepared for centuries, with the view of establishing a foreign dominion in Southern Asia.

For these reasons one would welcome the publication of a less able and interesting work than this, of which the third edition is now before us. Had the author used a duller pen and written with less authority, it would still be his merit to have steered us among shoals and breakers to a haven of practical usefulness for all earnest explorers.

Although the book has no pretensions to complete novelty, the present edition bears marks of careful revision. Notice is taken of the discoveries of Messrs. Wheeler and Forrest, while there is a copious *Appendix* devoted to the "Law-Case" unearthed by Sir Walter Morgan, in which there is matter bearing on the singular dispute that arose between the French Admiral and the Pondicherry Government over the capture of Madras in 1746. Dupleix, it may be remembered, was for rooting out the agents of the British Company altogether, a policy which was hampered—and ultimately frustrated—by delays caused by La Bourdonnais, who insisted on admitting Madras to ransom. Col. Malleson has always been inclined to think that the Admiral was influenced by corrupt motives; and he now considers that he has found absolute proof that La Bourdonnais received a present of £40,000 on the occasion. Sir G. Birdwood is disposed to see doubts of which he would give the brave sailor all due benefit; and the evidence must be allowed to be both tainted and for the most part hearsay. Without venturing on a positive decision, the reader may still find much interest in the examination of this historic puzzle.

What is clear is, that the keen French intellect was the first to perceive the conditions under which it was possible to establish a European Empire in India, even if the British were able to enter into their labour and reap the harvest which they had sown. *Sic vos non vobis !*

It may, indeed, be said that the whole situation is completely condensed in the somewhat homely tale of Foote and the Frenchman. When the English wit was comparing notes with his foreign friend in regard to the difference between the neighbour nations—so near and yet so far—the Frenchman insisting on the superior intelligence and inventive faculty of his countrymen, took up Foote's lace-ruffle and asked if that graceful appendage had not been due to the exercise of those qualities?

"True," replied Foote, "a Frenchman invented lace-ruffles; but then, you see, it was an Englishman that added the shirt."

It only remains to add that the book has a good map and index, but at the same time leaves much to be desired in the matter of printing. While nothing is wanting that can be fairly expected from the enterprise of the firm by which it has been brought out, the book is disfigured by some of the most careless *coquilles* that ever bewildered an unhappy reader. Some errors also there are for which one fears that the author must share the responsibility. "Pompadeur" may be a misprint; but what is to be made of "Desprémenil?" The particle of nobility indeed seems often to puzzle the gallant Colonel: thus, while he always gives us "La Bourdonnais" and "Bussy," we find him invariably writing "de la Touche," which is unnecessarily awkward. On the other hand, some of the native names—like "Innis Khan"—are plainly borrowed from the English writers of the day without inquiry. Mahfuz Khan is given as "Mafauz," with a deliberate, but quite unsatisfactory explanation.

A King's Hussar. Being the Military Memoirs for Twenty-five years of a Troop-Sergeant-Major of the 14th King's) Hussars. Collected and condensed by Herbert Compton. Cassell and Company, Ld., London, Paris, and Melbourne, 1893.

OMNIVOROUS readers who make it their business to overlook the shelves at Mudie's and kindred circulating libraries, the pride of which, is to be posted "up to date," must be well aware that soldiers are often very able raconteurs of moving tales of travel and adventure, and can, some of them, indite fancy-free novels with as glib a pen as, at another imaginative phase, is exercised on a treatise *re* Fire Discipline, scientific analysis of modern tactics, or the history of a campaign in "No Man's Land." It is no new thing for commissioned officers of Her Majesty's armies to win to themselves honours in the literary field, over and above those secured in sooner forgotten and forgiven battle arrays. But one does not often come across a worthily articulate voice from the ranks, that is unadulterated, on the face of it veritable expository of barrack room sentiment, and the candid opinion on army affairs and their direction, that finds vent in the high life below stairs seclusion of Sergeants' messes.

Troop Sergeant-Major Mole takes us behind the scenes, and exhibits Tommy Atkins in the flesh and the naturalness he hugs close to, whether in garrison, campaigning against savage sedition-mongers in Ireland, on the march from Hounslow to Edinburgh to relieve guard, fighting Boers in South Africa, or encompassed by the languid monotony of enforced idleness in "Kalapoosh." Which is cant for Indian cantonments and canteens. In the *memoire pour servir* before us every masonic secret that may, without offence, be submitted to public view is laid bare. The King's Hussar's predominant merit is his freedom from affectations and any taint of priggishness. A genial, kindly-humoured man, not deficient in timely sense of humour, is the Sergeant-Major. A man appropriately fond of horses, and knowledged in the difficult craft of horse-flesh. At some date between 1870 A.D. and 1880 (chronology is not one of his strong points) he was selected as one of the two non-commissioned officers despatched by the Government of India to Australia, to impress upon breeders there the advisability of adopting sensible plans of rearing young stock for the Indian remount market.

What the commission, of which Sergeant Mole was fractional part, helped to do for horse market valuations, becomes apparent in the following extract from his book:—"In 1874-75 the wretched skeletons of beasts that were bundled ashore at Madras, more dead than alive, were often sold at ten pounds a piece. In 1879, the Government price was sixty pounds a horse, and there was a large and lucrative private demand which must have put many thousands of pounds into the pockets of breeders in the colony," and quickened their praiseworthy impulse towards doing their best to meet the demand of a valuable market. Soon after his return from Australia, Mr. Mole got promotion, became rough riding Sergeant-Major of his regiment—no sinecure billet. "Day after day I began work at dawn, and rarely finished riding my last charger till ten o'clock. I was at it again by three, and continued busy as long as there was any daylight. But it paid me, and it agreed with me, for I got into hard condition, and found myself all the healthier and happier for the extra work." It follows that Mr. Mole can speak *ex cathedrâ*, when denouncing the idleness enforced on the English garrison in India. "With the exception of the fifty men or so, who were on duty for the day, the others had too much time on their hands, and this, broadly speaking, is one of the curses of the soldier's life in India. For five days a week the men had, as a rule, nothing to do between ten in the morning and five in the evening, except eat, drink, sleep, and roam about at their own free will over the country. There was no roll-call, and no restrictions were placed on their movements or their dress, unless they were going into cantonments, when they had to wear the regimental uniform. I think, as a rule, *the men got too much to eat, and ate too heavily for the climate they lived in.*" (We are responsible for the italics): "It was the being waited on by so many servants both in stables and barracks, that led to the weary hours of forced idleness that spoilt many a smart man. In giving the soldier native help in his work, the idea of Government was to avoid exposing him to the sun. To keep within the barracks during the day was the constant admonition dinned into his ears by those in authority over him. This soon had its influence on the men, and set them brooding over what they thought must be a deadly climate, when so much care was taken to confine them indoors. I do not deny that there is a great deal to be said against the climate, and in favour of the economy of sparing Europeans when native labour is so cheap; but in my opinion the theory was carried too far with us, and some got nervous, and actually predisposed to the alarming ills which it was the intention to ward off. For, what with being fed up to the chin, and having nothing to do to digest it or work it off, I often fancied the men would have been far healthier and hardier with less of the nigger, and more of the sun."

As a refuge from *ennui*, many of the men, when the regiment was at Bangalore, took to training birds and inciting them to talk slang, to butterfly collecting, to cobra catching. Profitable shikar this of cobras, for a flayed snake skin was always worth a rupee in the bazaar, and the body of the derelict, after being parboiled and buried and consumed by white ants, left a residuum of skeleton that, when threaded on wire, constituted a good price commanding curiosity for embryo museums and amateur naturalists. *Apropos* of the suppositious superiority of the mungoose to snake poison, Mr. Mole, an eye witness of many mortal combats between cobra and mungoose, contradicts a vulgar error, and maintains that, when the rodent misses his spring and is bitten, he dies in a few minutes—though not before he has killed his enemy. A yarn that recalls an Ingoldsby legend to remembrance, reads thus: "A man who spent most of his time in this pursuit (cobra hunting) was taken into hospital one day, complaining of a great pain in his right foot. It was examined, and the toe was found to be slightly scratched and very badly inflamed, whilst the symptoms were those of snake-bite. But the man strenuously denied that he had been bitten, although acknowledging that he was a cobra hunter. Blood-poisoning set in, and he died. As is always the case, his kit was sold by auction, in his troop, and a young fellow bought his boots. In a few days he had to go to hospital, suffering in a similar manner. The doctors questioned him closely; but he dreaded snakes too much to even approach them, and had no knowledge of even having seen one lately. His right toe, he explained, began to hurt him the very day he had first worn the boots purchased at the auction of his dead comrade's effects. He died in great agony, and the symptoms confirmed the doctors' suspicions that it was a case of snake-poisoning. The boots that both men had worn, were now sent for, and it was discovered that the fang of a cobra, charged with poison, had pierced the toe of one of them before it had broken, and that the point protruded inside, and to this was due the death of the two men." Another good yarn of sentry go at a mortuary, and a corpse enquiring "Chum, what's the time?" is told on pages, 184—187. One chapter of the *ex*-Sergeant Major's record, entitled *Pallida Mors*, is concerned with a visitation of cholera, and brings the grim side of Indian cantonment life into strong relief: "Within six months of our arrival at Bangalore, our good Colonel, who had done so much for us, was suddenly taken ill, and died within a few hours; and, although a different cause was assigned, it was the general belief that he had been carried off by cholera. I could fill pages with the description of the sorrow and gloom—I might almost call it the dismay—caused in the regiment by Colonel C's death." Loyal to Colonel and Queen were the King's Hussars. Fenian overtures to disloyalty, while the regiment was quartered in Ireland, failed ignominiously. In the first portion of its record now under notice, some amusing Irish experiences are detailed.

The book is replete with experiences, whiles amusing, whiles instructive, always set forth with candour and an engaging contempt for phylacteries. Its transparent honesty (approval of cockfighting and reminiscences of cockpit fights inclusive) recommends Mr. Mole's book to our sympathies as much as any of its other qualities.

Macmillan's Colonial Library. Marion Darche. A Story without Comment. Compiled by F. Marion Crawford, Author of 'Mr. Isaacs,' 'A Roman Singer,' 'Zoroaster,' 'A Tale of a Lonely Parish,' etc. London: Macmillan and Co. and New York, 1893.

MOST novels of the novel American School, inaugurated by Mr. Henry James, Mr. Julian Hawthorne, Mr. Sturgis, and lesser lights of their Academy, are too esoterically New World in tone and colour, and therefore too provincial for cosmopolitan appreciation.

Mr. Marion Crawford, staunchly American though he is *au fond*, is not wholly engrossed with his nationality; he has shown that he can, when inducement offers, be a citizen of the world, tolerant of conditions of life and society on which the hall mark of Boston or Washington approval has not been stamped. His cosmopolitanism contributes largely to his artistic strength. It has induced in his literary work, great variety of theme, wide range of purview. It has furthered the charity that judges men's motives and women's caprices kindly, and endowed him with a faculty for seeing that standards of right and wrong vary with latitudes and longitudes, and that it is unreasonable to expect identical social mechanisms and orderings all over the civilised world. He is always manly, vigorous, high-toned in his ideals of men and women of the world—his good men and women, we mean. It must needs be in the world that offences come. When he has to depict villainy, he knows how to lay on murk-pigments; uses another brush. Two rogues take leading parts in the tale now before us, father and son; the former senile, vain, a good-natured man according to his lights, too timid to become a thorough paced rascal; the latter selfish, surly, conceited, conscienceless. Contrast and likeness between the two are cleverly juxtaposed.

The plot of *Marion Darche* has not been cast, after Mr. Crawford's common wont, in foreign lands, but is confined to New York and its coteries; the New York that can claim to rank as the third biggest German City in the world; that at one end of the see-saw vibrates to the thrum of Heidelburg metaphysic, Weimar culture, aristocratic pretensions of Dutch derivation, and at the other end is fathoms deep in stocks, freights, Limited Liability Companies and Corners. Mr. Crawford knows New York by heart in all its variant aspects, and with all its faults, loves the æsthetically fringed emporium :—

> Among the many peculiarities which contribute to make New York unlike other cities, is the construction of what may be called its social map. As in the puzzles used in teaching children geography, all the pieces are of different shapes, different sizes, and different colours; but they fit neatly together in the compact whole, though the lines which define each bit are distinctly visible, especially when the map has been long used by the industrious child. What calls itself society everywhere else calls itself society in New York also, but whereas in European cities one instinctively speaks of the social scale, one familiar with New York people, will be much more inclined to speak of the social map. I do not mean to hint that society here exists on a dead level, but the absence of tradition, of all acknowledged precedents, and of all outward and perceptible distinctions, makes it quite impossible to define the position of any one set in regard to another, by the ordinary scale of superiority or inferiority. In London or Paris, for instance, ambitious persons are spoken of as climbing, in New York it would be more correct to speak of them as migrating, or attempting to migrate from one social field to the next,

It is impossible to imagine fields real or metaphorical yielding more different growths under the same sky.

One of the charms of *Marion Darche* consists in the crisp dialogue of which it is full. The following extract exemplifies one or two characteristics. It relates to Harry Brett, one of the heroes :—

> His happy vitality would have lent him something of beauty even if he had possessed none at all. But he had a considerable share of good looks in addition to his height and well-proportioned frame, his bright blue eyes, his fresh complexion, and short, curly brown hair. He too, like Vanbrugh, belonged to the American type, which has regular features, arched eyebrows, and rather deep-set eyes. The lower part of his face was strong, though the whole outline was oval rather than round or square.
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> Rather a conventional hero, perhaps, if he is to be a hero at all ; but then, many heroes have been thought to be quite average, ordinary persons, until the knot which heroism cuts was presented to them by fate. Then people discover in them all sorts of outward signs of the inward grace that can hit so very hard. Then the phrenologists descend upon their devoted skulls and discover there the cranial localities of the vast energy, the dauntless courage, the boundless devotion to a cause, the profound logic, by which great events are brought about and directed to the end. Julius Cæsar at the age of thirty was a frivolous dandy, an amateur lawyer, and a dilettante politician, in the eyes of good society in Rome.
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> Harry Brett, however, is not a great hero, even in this fiction—a manly fellow with no faults of any importance and no virtues of any great magnitude, young, healthy, good-looking, courageous, troubled a little with the canker of the untrue ideal which is apt to eat the common sense out of the core of life's tree, mistaken in his attempt to create in himself an artificial satisfaction in the friendship of the woman he had loved and was in danger of loving still, gifted with the clear sight which must sooner or later see through his self-made illusion, and possessed of more than the average share of readiness in speech and action— a contrast, in this respect, to Vanbrugh. The latter, from having too comprehensive a view of things, was often slow in reaching a decision. Brett was more like Mrs. Darche herself in respect of quick judgment and self-reliance at first sight, if such a novel expression is permissible.

Monado-Monism, an Essay on the Philosophy of Existence. By RAM CHANDRA SEN, formerly Inspector of Schools, Oudh. Author of "Credence Rules the World," "Crime—its Nature," "Cause, and Cure," "The Indian National Movement," "Human Life," &c. Banáres : Amar Press, 1893.

WE have often deplored that absence of ambition which led the biographer of Mr. Justice Onocool Mookerjea, to maintain silence and seclusion after achieving his immortal memoir.

He has, it would appear, been studying theosophy in the interim, and has now favoured the illuminati with a rhapsody entitled *Monado-Monism, or the Philosophy of Existence.* Philosophical seekers after the identity of the ego and non-ego, will rejoice over the assurances of personality thus afforded by *Monado-Monism* :—

> The simplest *individual* is a Mineral. A Mineral is a monad of imperfect Sense, with the sense of Touch only. In a Mineral, its monad is capable of *immediate* self-pleasure through its Sense of touch;

> its body consists of pure fine earth, capable of deflecting its monads towards a focus; and its environment is the sphere of its immediate percepts—the Mineral-monad identifying its own good through, or with the good of its environing percepts. A Mineral feels all the peculiar imperfect pleasures or pains of its imperfect "sensations of touch." Minerals are of different orders, according as their "sense of touch" is more or less imperfect—and Mineral-Sense becomes less and less imperfect, as more and more monads of imperfect Sense converge nearer and nearer to a focus. The least imperfect Mineral-monad is an imperfect focus of all elemental monads and atoms.

Then, again, how charming to know that a Seraph's "motive of self-satisfaction is larger than that of a Cherub;" by reason, we suppose, that Cherubs, as they informed St. Cecilia, when she politely asked them to be seated one day when they came to call on her, *n'avont pas de quoi.* Yet it would be reprehensible to conclude that they have not compensating balance of self-esteem to console them for this defect. There are, as Taine says, people who never allow themselves an indecently familiar intimacy with the realities of things. Our author does. He knows that they lie hidden in transcendental depths. Let us be grateful to him for fishing them up to the light of day for us. As he justly observes :—

> The personal identity of a Seraph depends upon spontaneous reconstitution. A Seraph feels all the *perfect* pleasures of his Perfect Super-Reflections, as well as all the more or less imperfect pleasures and pains of his more or less imperfect Super-Reflective Faith, Super-Faith, and Ultra-Faith. A Seraph, as Seraph, can therefore know *perfectly* only all his *perfect* Super-Reflective relations, but he can know nothing perfectly of his imperfect Super-Reflective Faith, Super-Faith, and Ultra-Faith. Seraphs are of different orders, according as their Ultra-Faith is more or less imperfect—and this imperfect Ultra-Faith becomes less and less imperfect as more and more monads of imperfect Ultra-Faith converge nearer and nearer to a focus. The least imperfect Seraph-monad is a quasi-imperfect focus of all subordinate monads and atoms.

Just so. *Sic itur ad verum.*